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"Canada's Model Town"?
Building Oromocto, 1950-1969

David Gordon and Miranda Virginillo

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"CANADA'S MODEL TOWN"?
Building Oromocto, 1950-1969[1]

> DAVID GORDON AND
MIRANDA VIRGINILLO

DAVID GORDON FCIP RPP AICP is professor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning of the Department of Geography and Planning at Queen's University. He was SURP director for over a decade and has taught at McGill, TMU, Toronto, Riga, Western Australia, Harvard, and Pennsylvania, where he was a Fulbright Scholar. Dr. Gordon is a Fellow of the Canadian Institute of Planners, sharing their National Award of Distinction four times. Recent books include *Town and Crown* (Invenire, 2015) and *Planning Canadian Communities* (Nelson, 2021). His latest research addresses planning history and compares Canadian, Australian, and American suburbs. He lived in Oromocto with his family from 1960 to 1966.

MIRANDA VIRGINILLO is a recent graduate of Carleton University's History and Theory of Architecture program and the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Queen's University. She was a project assistant to David Gordon's research on "How Canada Became a Suburban Nation." Her graduate research on the early years of the Community Planning Association of Canada was funded by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and awarded the Sue Hendler Fellowship for Excellence in Urban Planning Research. She is now the communications coordinator for the SSAC and works as a land use planning consultant in Ottawa, Ontario.

In 1959, the *Globe and Mail* reviewed a new Canadian town:

How would you build a dream town?

Well, let's have the thoroughfares wide and straight for traffic through the commercial district, the residential streets gracefully curved to prevent speeding. Get good, clean modern designs for the homes and stores, the schools, churches and public buildings. Keep the noisy transport and warehouse areas and the used car lots off by themselves. We might as well put the power and telephone lines underground while we are at it and do away with slums and substandard housing entirely . . .

Dream Town, Canada, is Oromocto in New Brunswick . . . Oromocto is now Canada's most completely planned and modern town . . .[2]

Most Canadians had never heard of Oromocto, even though it had a population of 12,170 in 1961. It had been a sleepy village of 600 souls on the Saint John River not five years earlier, before the construction of a new army base. The new military base, initially named Camp Gagetown, included a training area that covered much of the land between Fredericton and Saint John. Canada's Department of National Defence (DND) had extensive experience in rapid development of military bases from WWII, but Camp Gagetown would be different. The training area would be the largest in the Commonwealth and the base itself would be one of the first designed in the age of nuclear warfare.[3]
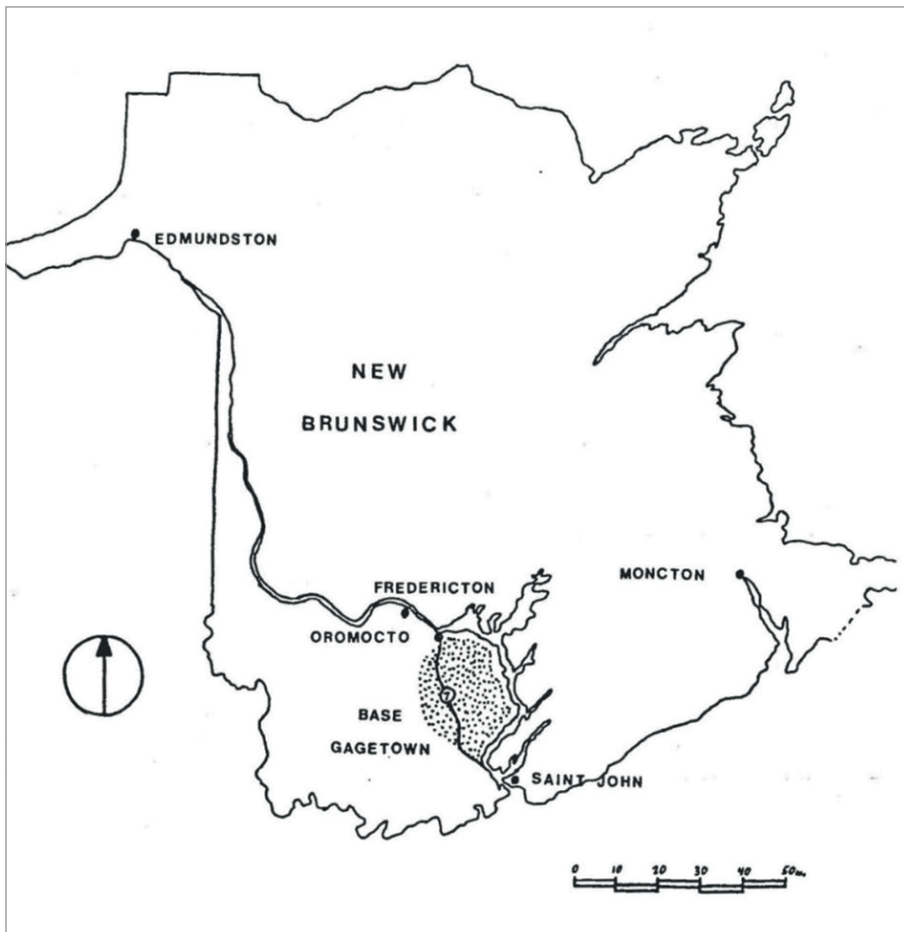

FIG. 1. LOCATION OF OROMOCTO AND BASE GAGETOWN. | BROOKS, 1981, *OROMOCTO: A CASE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MILITARY TOWN*, P. 9.

Family housing at Camp Gagetown would also be different from WWII bases, which often included only a few small clusters of houses within the base perimeter, similar to the company houses within older Canadian resource towns.[4] Since Gagetown would require housing for over 12,000 people, the DND decided to develop Oromocto, an entire new town outside the base, providing some welcome separation between military and family life for the all-volunteer Army of the 1950s. Designed by British émigré Harold Spence-Sales who was also the founder of Canada's first planning program, at McGill University in Montréal, Oromocto was regarded as one of the leading examples of the New Towns Movement in Canada, not just by the media, but also by community planners such as Humphrey Carver, the federal government's senior urban policy advisor.[5]

This essay first provides an overview of planning concepts and initiatives, from both outside Canada and within, that fundamentally underpinned Oromocto's development. The second part of the article analyzes Oromocto in detail, tying specific features back to the national and global planning principles.

THE GARDEN CITIES AND NEW TOWNS MOVEMENT

New Towns were a powerful global idea in regional and urban planning in the 1950s. Although there had been a long tradition of bastides and planted towns in Europe and North America, the intellectual source for the twentieth-century diffusion of new town planning was Britain's Garden City Movement. English social reformer Ebenezer Howard's 1902 book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*[6] was the manual for the movement. Howard recommended that metropolitan areas expand by developing "garden cities" of about

32,000 people in the rural countryside, separated from each other and the central city by a "green belt" of agricultural land. Oromocto's planners would adopt these principles by developing a new community separated from Fredericton and with a greenbelt between the town, the base, and adjacent villages.

According to Howard, a Garden City would be developed by a limited dividend corporation that builds infrastructure, services land, and leases land to employers for industry and to residents for homes. After the infrastructure debentures were paid off, the town would be owned by its residents, who could keep land and housing prices affordable over the long term. This utopian vision was based on the principles of Fabian Socialism and the co-operative movement.[7]

Most utopian settlement plans were never realized, but Howard's ideas were quickly spread around the world by the Garden Cities Association, organized by British planner Thomas Adams. In 1903, Howard started the development of Letchworth, north of London, through the First Garden City Ltd., with Adams as Corporate Secretary.[8] Since Howard was not a designer, his theoretical diagrams were transformed into a town plan by the architects (and fellow Fabians) Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, with buildings in the Arts and Crafts style.[9] A second example, Welwyn Garden City was underway by 1920, designed by Canadian architect Louis de Soissons in the Georgian style.[10]

Thomas Adams's appointment as town planning advisor to the federal Commission of Conservation brought a strong advocate for Garden Cities to Canada in 1914. He suggested that a separate community planned on Garden City principles would be an improvement over

the company-owned houses and stores that were an unsatisfactory feature of many Canadian resource towns.[11] Adams designed Temiskaming QC (1917), Jasper AB (1921), and Corner Brook NL (1923) as demonstrations of these principles. Other mid-century examples were Arvida QC (Harry B. Brainerd and Hjalmar E. Skougor 1926) and Kitimat BC (Clarence Stein 1952).[12] In terms of design, this separation of work and home appears to have influenced the federal planners of Gagetown and Oromocto.

Some elements of Garden City design were exported to Garden Suburbs, which were new neighbourhoods built on the edge of existing urban areas. Unwin and Parker were the designers of Hampstead Garden Suburb, on the edge of London, an early and influential example of Garden Suburb design.[13] A Garden Suburb connected to existing services was easier to develop than a stand-alone Garden City, so this model spread rapidly in the first half of the twentieth-century.[14] Adams demonstrated the Garden Suburb idea with his designs for affordable housing in Halifax's Hydrostone neighbourhood and Ottawa's Lindenlea.[15]

Garden Suburb ideas also migrated to the United States through the work of architect Clarence Stein, who designed Radburn NJ with Henry Wright in 1928. Radburn, nicknamed the "Town for the Motor Age," combined British Garden Suburb ideas with Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit[16] principles:

- Each neighbourhood was to be designed as a "super-block," with an elementary school at its centre.
- Through traffic would be deflected to arterial roads on the edges of the super-blocks.
- Pedestrian and bicycle movements would be separated from automobile

traffic, onto a network of internal pathways focused on the schools.

- Private houses would be sited on local streets and culs-de-sac with direct access to the pedestrian network.
- A group of three or four neighbourhoods would combine to form a community, with a high school and shopping centre at its focus.

Radburn's first neighbourhood was completed just before the 1930s Depression, but its design was widely circulated and influential.[17]

The Radburn plan influenced the design of many mid-century Canadian neighbourhoods. A prominent early example was Montréal's Cité-jardin du Tricentenaire, designed by Samuel Gitterman in 1941.[18] However, snow clearance from Canadian winters was impractical in Radburn-style culs-de-sac. They were replaced with crescents in Winnipeg's Wildwood Park (1945), Toronto's Don Mills (1952), and in Clarence Stein's own design for Kitimat BC (1952).[19] These plans, in turn, influenced Gitterman's 1955 designs for Oromocto's neighbourhoods, as we shall see.

During the interwar period, the Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM), led by the Swiss architect Le Corbusier, also advocated for new cities in the countryside, only at a far larger scale. For example, Le Corbusier's Ville Contemporaine was designed for one million people.[20] These new cities would be built with Modern architectural design and planning principles, incorporating separated land uses, the superblock, and neighbourhood unit. The 1935 Moscow plan combined a greenbelt and new towns built with these Modernist and Garden City principles. These Modern architecture and planning principles became dominant in the postwar period, both in the universities and in professional practice.[21]

Garden City and Modernist ideas were the foundation of the planning for redevelopment of London after World War II. The *Greater London Plan* (1944) called for ten new towns to be built within a new greenbelt that would surround the current metropolis.[22] This plan was vigorously implemented by Britain's new Labour government, which passed a *Town and Country Planning Act* that allowed greenbelts to be established by regulation.

London's first postwar new town was Stevenage (1946), designed by Gordon Stephenson.[23] The postwar new towns differed from the earlier garden cities in three important areas. First, the new towns were designed and built by a nationally owned development corporation rather than a non-profit corporation owned by the residents. Second, the new towns were designed with Modernist planning principles, such as the superblock and Neighbourhood Unit. Third, the buildings in the new towns were designed in the Modern style.

The Garden City / Greenbelt / New Town ideas in the *Greater London Plan* influenced an entire generation of postwar plans including Copenhagen (1948), Stockholm (1950), Helsinki (1951), Chandigarh (1951), Brasilia (1957), Islamabad (1960), Washington (1961), and Paris (1966).[24] The *Greater London Plan*'s ideas also influenced the most important mid-century Canadian plan, Jacques Gréber's 1950 *Plan for the National Capital*.[25] The plan included a greenbelt placed at some distance from Ottawa's 1950 outside urban edge. This design allowed development of new neighbourhood units to double the population inside the greenbelt, with long-term expansion via new suburban towns proposed outside the greenbelt.[26] So when the federal government decided to create a new town in New Brunswick, they were,

in fact, "of their time," consistent with global development trends and following on their own recent plans for Canada's capital city.

GARDEN CITIES AND NEW TOWNS IN POSTWAR CANADA

In Canada, Humphrey Carver [1902-1995] was an important Canadian garden cities supporter. He had stumbled across Howard's book in an Oxford library in the 1920s, before studying at London's Architectural Association (AA) school. He also became a passionate convert to Modern architecture and planning principles, despite the AA's Beaux-Arts curriculum in that era. After emigrating to Canada in 1930, Carver taught at the University of Toronto and wrote articles calling for public housing and community planning, specifically featuring the Garden City and Radburn plan as models and advocating for CIAM planning principles.[27]

After the Second World War, Carver had a unique opportunity to explore new ideas in housing and planning as director of the research program at Canada's new housing agency, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).[28] For the next two decades, he guided the introduction of public housing, the re-establishment of community planning in Canada, and the rapid expansion of suburban communities.[29] CMHC also took over the land bank acquired by the federal wartime housing agency (the crown corporation called Wartime Housing Limited), completed their unfinished projects, and developed new neighbourhoods on vacant federal land across Canada.[30] The agency also designed and built new housing for other federal departments, such as National Defence. CMHC's community planning staff, led by architects Samuel Gitterman and Alan Armstrong,[31] used

these projects to test and demonstrate new ideas in neighbourhood planning, house grouping, and small home design for affordable housing. All of these were deployed in Oromocto.[32]

Carver proposed to write two books during a 1959-1960 leave from the federal public service. He completed the first volume, *Cities in the Suburbs*, on the need for suburban town centres.[33] The second manuscript, left incomplete, was an examination of three new towns in Canada. The book was to feature Kitimat BC for best practices in a planned resource town and Don Mills ON as a leading example of a privately developed satellite community in a metropolitan area. The third case study was Oromocto NB, which, in 1959, was the leading Canadian example of a publicly developed New Town.[34]

NEW BRUNSWICK RECEIVES A NEW ARMY BASE

The Canadian Army needed a new training base in the 1950s to meet its European commitments to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Canada maintained a mechanized brigade (about 5000 troops) on the front lines in Germany in the 1950s and 1960s, with a commitment to rapidly reinforce them if the Cold War turned into World War III. Although Canada had built hundreds of military bases in WWII, none of them were large enough to train a division (10,000-15,000 soldiers), the main combat unit for large-scale warfare.

The selection criteria for the new training base included:

- a location connected by rail to an Eastern Canada all-weather port, to permit rapid European deployment;
- it had to be big, to train a division with modern, long-range weapons;

- the terrain should be similar to northern Europe and accommodate wheeled and tracked vehicles, including tanks;
- climate suitable for summer and winter training;
- minimum disturbance to the civilian population.[35]

The selected site was approximately 1100 square kilometres (427 square miles) in southeastern New Brunswick, near the village of Gagetown (fig. 1). The training area was an egg-shaped parcel, stretching about 42 kilometres (26 miles) between Fredericton and Saint John. The northern edge was at the village of Oromocto, some 19 kilometres (12 miles) south of Fredericton. The training area boundary was pulled back 5 kilometres (3 miles) from the fertile valley of the Saint John River, but still required relocation of approximately 3000 people, including 104 farm families.[36]

The announcement of the Eastern Training Area (soon renamed Camp Gagetown) was made on August 1, 1952. Expropriation began immediately and was nearly complete by 1956 at a cost of $12.5 million.[37] The New Brunswick government was pleased to turn over the 32,500 hectares (80,000 acres) of provincial Crown lands, since the province had experienced slow economic growth in the postwar period. The training camp would be a major injection into the provincial economy, employing over 6000 construction workers and providing over 700 civilian jobs on the new base, combined with the expenditures of 5000 garrison troops and an estimated 10,000 troops in summer training.[38]

The expropriated lands were the traditional territories of the Wolastoqey (Maliseet) Peoples, including part of a small reserve for the Welamukotuk

(Oromocto) First Nation located adjacent to Oromocto village. The Indigenous Peoples were not consulted about the taking of their traditional lands, in the same manner that scores of military bases were established on Indigenous lands during the war years. Worse, the Welamukotuk First Nation received a paltry $3500 for the 28 hectares (70 acres) of reserve land that were expropriated for the base, setting off a land claim dispute that was not settled for decades.[39] Notably, at the same time, the settler community of Oromocto Village[40] was in decline in the early 1950s, following the closure of its last sawmill.[41] The village residents largely welcomed the many jobs and new economic activity generated by the new army base.[42]

PLANNING CANADA'S LARGEST ARMY BASE

The DND's Planning Division prepared the plan for Camp Gagetown and development was managed by Defence Construction Limited, a federal crown corporation with extensive experience in military construction in remote locations.

The military base was located adjacent to Oromocto Village to take advantage of rail and road access to Saint John. The base itself occupied a large site (485 hectares, or 1200 acres) designed for a full-time garrison of 5000 troops and training accommodation for 10,000. Camp Gagetown was designed with an extensive road network to service its low-density layout, which was thought to increase resilience in the event of a nuclear attack.[43] The base was fully serviced, with a new water treatment plant on the Oromocto River, a sewage treatment plant on the Saint John River, and electrical power distribution from adjacent NB Hydroelectric power stations.

Single soldiers were accommodated in modern barracks, fed at collective messes, and provided with extensive recreation facilities on the base. During WWII, almost all soldiers on a base were single or serving away from their families. A few married soldiers might be accommodated in Private Married Quarters (PMQs) on older bases. However, the peacetime, all-volunteer Army was quite different in the 1950s, including married WWII veterans and many young children from the postwar baby boom. The base planners anticipated demand for up to 2000 PMQs and 700 civilian housing units, with a population of 12,000 to 15,000.[44] The projected size of the civilian and family populations was unprecedented and caused the military planners to consider alternatives outside the base.

Civilian employees are not permitted to live on a Canadian military base and the DND planners were reluctant to create a military family community of 10,000 within Camp Gagetown to avoid an overlap between military discipline and home life. This situation was somewhat similar to the difficulties with locating families within company-owned resource towns, and also contributed to the DND's decision to build a new town.[45]

The situation was further complicated because a Garden Suburb style expansion of nearby Fredericton did not appear to be politically feasible. New Brunswick's capital city was still experiencing postwar housing shortages, was reluctant to host the soldiers, and was quite opposed to paying *any* development expenses for a new community.[46] Although the Province of New Brunswick wanted the economic benefits of the new military base, the City of Fredericton initially refused to bear any development costs for a new neighbourhood, let alone a new town.[47]

PLANNING A NEW TOWN

In 1953, the military planners were faced with the reluctance of Fredericton and a need for speed to catch up with base construction. They proposed a novel solution: to create a mixed military–civilian new town outside the Camp, adjacent to the village of Oromocto and the reserve. Oromocto village had about 600 people living in 124 scattered and un-serviced houses in 1952. The adjacent Welamukotuk First Nation reserve included perhaps another 150 members, also residing in un-serviced wooden houses of varying quality.[48] The DND planners met with the village residents in late 1953 and shared preliminary plans that showed that most of the village and the developed area of the reserve were retained. There was little opposition at the time,[49] perhaps because the villagers would soon gain access to utilities, paved streets, shopping, new schools, and employment opportunities.

The old Oromocto village was simply a Local Improvement District in rural Sunbury County. It was hoped that after the new town was completed, that it would function as a regular New Brunswick local government. Yet, the federal government, which was about to spend $100 million to build the base and the town, wanted to control the development process. The "temporary" solution was embedded in the 1955 *Town of Oromocto Act*,[50] which created a Board of Commissioners to govern the community. The provincial government appointed three commissioners, representing the local ratepayers, Sunbury County, and the NB public service. The federal government appointed the chair and commissioners representing the DND, the Department of Finance, and the Commanding Officer of the NB Army Region.[51] Since the DND had no expertise in designing or building new

towns, they turned to an outside consultant for assistance, McGill Professor Harold Spence-Sales.[52]

Harold Spence-Sales [1907-2004] was born in India, educated in architecture in New Zealand and in planning at the Architectural Association School in London in the late 1930s. During the war, he designed munitions factories and planned reconstruction for bombed cities in Britain. Spence-Sales was working in London when the ground-breaking *Greater London Plan* was published, calling for the metropolis to expand by building New Towns separated from the central city by a greenbelt. In 1946, his AA classmate, Professor John Bland,[53] invited him to teach at McGill, and Spence-Sales promptly founded the first planning program at a Canadian university in 1947.[54]

Spence-Sales was active in research and practice, beyond his McGill teaching in architecture and planning. Carver, a fellow AA graduate and friend, quickly commissioned him to prepare the first compendium of Canadian planning laws.[55] The CMHC also supported Spence-Sales's subdivision school at McGill's Macdonald campus. Architects, engineers, surveyors, landscape architects, and builders learned how to fit suburban development to the landscape, studying topography, drainage, and vegetation. These skills were largely unknown in Canada during the late 1940s, except for CMHC's planning office. The school's curriculum was reproduced as a handsomely designed practice manual, *How to Subdivide*, which was distributed nationally by the CMHC and the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC).[56] This background would be important for Spence-Sales's Oromocto designs.

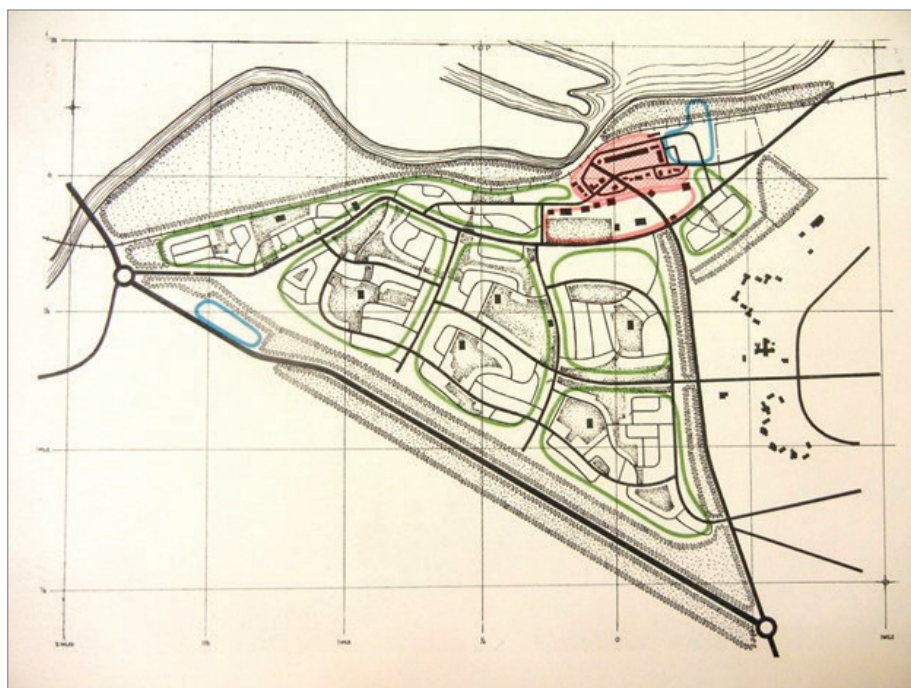Harold Spence-Sales was also active in professional practice, often partnering

FIG. 2. OROMOCTO TOWN PLAN, 1957. LEGEND: GREEN–RESIDENTIAL; RED RING–INSTITUTIONAL; RED HATCHED–TOWN CENTRE; BLUE–INDUSTRIAL; NOTE THE STIPPLED MID-BLOCK OPEN SPACES. | SPENCE-SALES, "OROMOCTO: CONFERENCE," MONTRÉAL QC: H. SPENCE-SALES, TOWN PLANNER, JANUARY 29-30, 1957. HAROLD SPENCE-SALES FONDS, CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CA CAC 97, P. 9.

- Parks and playgrounds are to be formed.
- The town is to be approached from an arterial bypass.[58]

The revised Town Plan was adopted in June 1956 (fig. 2).

Canada's private sector capacity in housing and community planning had declined dramatically during the Depression and war years.[59] So the DND typically collaborated with other federal agencies for the design and development of housing associated with military installations. As the CMHC had taken over the role of the Wartime Housing Limited after the war, it was therefore standard operating procedure for the DND to turn to the CMHC for the design of apartment buildings for single soldiers in Camp Gagetown and the PMQs for the new town. By 1953, the CMHC had developed considerable competence in the design and grouping of affordable small homes, publishing pattern books of popular, architect-designed houses and site planning handbooks for neighbourhoods.[60]

Oromocto's PMQs would be one of the CMHC's largest projects, starting with the selection of a range of house types from a pattern book specifically designed for military use[61] (figs. 3, 4, 5). These small houses in a simplified Modern style can still be seen on military bases across Canada. Similar small houses featuring economical and efficient floor plans popularized by the CMHC's Small House Designs pattern books printed from 1945 to the late 1960s can be found across Canada.[62]

CMHC's engineers were clearing roads on the Oromocto townsite after September 1954 (fig. 6) and the Corporation's survey crews worked through the winter of 1954-1955 to get detailed topographical mapping ready for the neighbourhood

with Bland, to produce planning studies for Edmonton (1948), Vancouver (1949), Sudbury (1950), Corner Brook (1952), and Prince Albert (1952). He had just completed the plan for Préville, a suburban new town on the south shore of Montréal, when he was approached by the DND to prepare a plan for Oromocto.

By hiring Spence-Sales, the DND retained the services of an expert consultant, one of the few in Canada with a professional background in designing neighbourhoods and new towns. The Department also benefited from his access to research resources as a professor of architecture and planning at Canada's leading university. Finally, by retaining a consultant, the DND shielded themselves from some criticism that inevitably follows as a project evolves from a plan to an inhabited town.[57]

Spence-Sales accepted the basic premise that Oromocto should be a new town, and added a greenbelt to separate it from the base and adjacent communities, following Garden City ideals. He also confirmed the principles governing the development of the townsite with the DND in November 1955:

- There are to be four residential neighbourhoods for 2000 military families and two neighbourhoods to accommodate 700 civilian families. Schools, local shops, and recreational facilities are to be provided.
- A Town Centre is to be created in which public and commercial buildings are to be erected.
- An institutional area is to contain churches and community buildings.
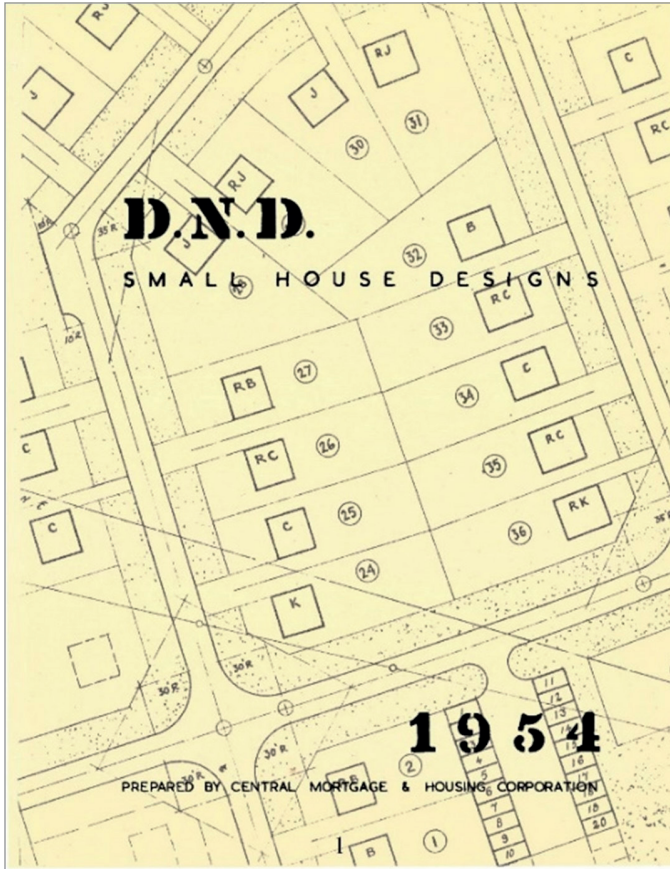- There are to be two small industrial areas.

FLOOR AREA
1178 SQUARE FEET

DESIGN JJ/54/T

53

FIG. 7. OROMOCTO HOUSES WITH WOODS IN THE BACK YARDS IN 1959. NOTE THE ADJACENT SCHOOL AND THE TREES PRESERVED IN SITE CLEARING. | JOYCE, 1960, "THE DEVELOPMENT OF OROMOCTO," P. 22. PHOTO BY JOE STONE.

planners. The DND's program of 2000 PMQs would require at least four neighbourhoods, each with its own elementary school.[63] The PMQ subdivisions and house groupings were designed by Samuel Gitterman, CMHC's chief architect and most experienced planner.[64] The two civilian neighbourhoods were designed by Spence-Sales.[65]

As noted above, the CMHC and the CPAC were strong advocates for the neighbourhood unit and Radburn plan in the postwar era. The modified neighbourhood unit layout was the foundation for Gitterman and Spence-Sales's designs and can also be seen in hundreds of 1950s subdivisions across Canada. In the case of Oromocto, the PMQ neighbourhoods incorporated several design features that were decades ahead of their time. First, the streams, hedgerows, and woodlots in the old Oromocto landscape were preserved and incorporated into the designs of the subdivisions and open spaces. Then, a 10- to 20-metre (30- to 60-foot) buffer incorporating streams and woods was left

in the centres of many blocks, providing stormwater infiltration and the best kind of adventure playground for the many neighbourhood children, right in their back yards. Other blocks backed onto woods from the town's forest greenbelt (fig. 7). Every neighbourhood had a network of simple mid-block asphalt paths connecting to the elementary schools; these networks allowed children to walk or cycle to school on paths or local streets with minimal traffic.

The elementary schools at the heart of each neighbourhood unit had to be built in a hurry, since the rural school system in Sunbury County could not cope with an additional 10,000 residents. The DND designed and built five elementary schools and two junior high schools from 1956 to 1958, all in the simple Modern style current at the time.

The new school system was managed by an appointed School Board with six military and three civilian representatives.[66] The new board expanded the Oromocto

Rural High School that had been built in the village in 1950 and commissioned a large new high school that opened in the centre of the town in 1965, just as the baby boom children became teenagers. Staffing the new system required hiring and training over 100 teachers, leading to complaints that Oromocto's high salaries and new schools were stealing the best teachers from across the Maritimes.[67] The first years were a scramble, but by 1959 the town could boast the most modern school system in the province. It not only served both the military and civilian neighbourhoods, but also the children of the former village and surrounding rural area. However, the Oromocto First Nation had lost their small school in the expropriation and initially preferred to send their children to Indigenous schools in Fredericton and Ekwpahak (Kingsclear).[68]

BUILDING THE TOWN CENTRE

In addition to preparing the Town's *Master Development Plan*, Harold Spence-Sales was also responsible for designing the civilian neighbourhoods and the Oromocto Town Centre.[69] These proved to be major challenges, compared to the PMQ neighbourhoods, which were substantially completed by the CMHC from 1956 to 1958. The Oromocto planning team had hoped that the civilian housing and the town centre would be built by entrepreneurs, but there were few private developers in slowly growing New Brunswick in the postwar era, and no builders that worked on a large scale.

In 1956, Spence-Sales prepared detailed plans for the two civilian neighbourhoods that he had sited to take advantage of the views along the Oromocto River (see fig. 8). The plans called for 754 units in a mixture of single homes, semi-detached houses, and walk-up apartments.[70] The sites were serviced, roads were paved,
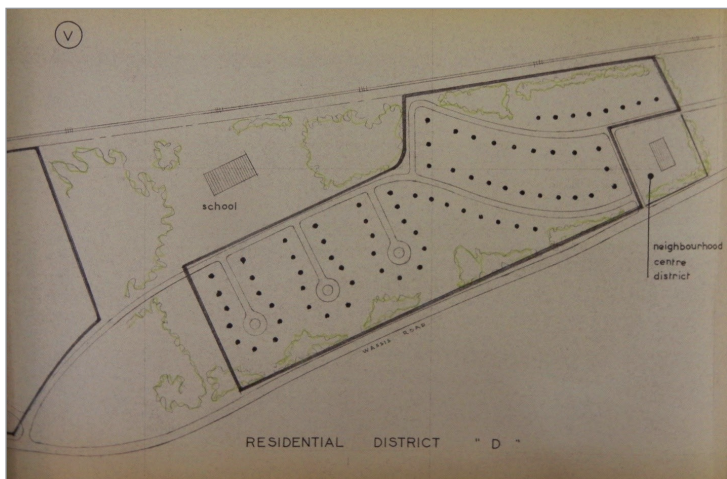
FIG. 8. 1956 SITE PLAN FOR CIVILIAN HOUSING BY SPENCE-SALES. THE OROMOCTO RIVER FLOOD PLAIN IS TO THE NORTH (TOP) AND THE CRESCENT AT THE RIGHT WAS THE SITE FOR THE "BRAD HOUSES." | SPENCE-SALES, 1956, "OROMOCTO: A MEMORANDUM TO THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS," HAROLD SPENCE-SALES FONDS, CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CA CAC 97, P. 6, FIG. V.

FIG. 9. THE AWARD-WINNING BRAD HOUSES IN 1959 (W.G. COOK, ARCHITECT). SLAB-ON-GRADE CONSTRUCTION WAS NOT POPULAR WITH OROMOCTO'S CIVILIAN BUYERS, WHO APPRECIATED A BASEMENT AND LOWER HEATING COSTS IN COLD NEW BRUNSWICK WINTERS. | "CANADIAN HOUSING DESIGN AWARDS – HOUSE GROUPING" *HABITAT*, VOL. 11, NO. 4, JULY 1959, P. 21.

but there was practically no interest in purchasing lots or building homes for sale. The small homebuilders in Fredericton or Saint John could sell anything they built in those under-served markets and had no interest in trying to sell Modern houses on a site in rural central New Brunswick. The surrounding rural counties had no legislative tools to implement planning and un-serviced lots were available for people who wanted to build a house. Oromocto's standard of development was far more expensive than the surrounding rural area, with paved streets, curbs, sidewalks, sewers, piped water, and underground electrical and telephone service, which made the lots more expensive than others available in the area. In addition, the rural areas permitted un-serviced trailer parks and inexpensive, self-built wooden buildings, while Oromocto's planners wanted architect-designed, professionally built homes in the Modern style.

Since no local builders were interested, the Town partnered with the province and the CMHC to build the first 100 civilian apartments as a low-income housing project. Finally, in 1957, one local builder agreed to option ten lots and try to sell a few houses, if the Town guaranteed their investment.[71] Sales were slow, since most families from the expropriated village preferred to purchase houses in the adjacent rural villages and the teachers and other civilian employees commuted to the new town from surrounding areas.[72]

The second private developer, Montréal's Brad Industries, created more difficulties. This builder proposed to construct a subdivision of single homes featuring an innovative slab-on-grade foundation to reduce prices. The subdivision plan won a 1959 Canadian Housing Design Council Award (see fig. 9). Unfortunately, slab-on-grade proved to be difficult to build and heat in central New Brunswick winters and local residents preferred houses with basements. The few houses sold slowly, and the developer went bankrupt in 1959.[73]

The Town Centre was even more difficult to develop. The initial plan was to place the centre on the high ground in the middle of the four PMQ neighbourhoods. However, the DND planners had doubts about putting the shopping centre in the middle of the military neighbourhoods, because

> they felt it would impose on them responsibilities to discipline commercial enterprises and other leisure-time and spending habits of the civilian population . . . Also, they thought it might be easier to attract private entrepreneurs into the Shopping Centre if it was not a military establishment and might even draw a larger business from "the locals"—even from Fredericton.[74]

Spence-Sales looked for a new location that represented neutral ground: "The reasons for doing so were to provide a more natural setting for the focus of a town that is to have both a military and civil character and to ensure positive development in a locality that would otherwise grow haphazardly . . ."[75]

FIG. 10. TOWN CENTRE MODEL. | SPENCE-SALES, 1956, "OROMOCTO: A MEMORANDUM TO THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS," HAROLD SPENCE-SALES FONDS, CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CA CAC 97, P. 5.

The alternative location for the Town Centre was adjacent to the Oromocto River, next to the proposed train station and bus depot, but it required removing half of the existing village. During the 1950s heyday of urban renewal, some demolition was considered an advantage, as it removed an "untidy group of homes . . ." according to CMHC staff.[76]

Spence-Sales was aware of the difficult implications of the move:

> that the village would have to be disrupted; that comprehensive redevelopment would have to be undertaken; that heavy capital expenditures would be entailed with some prospects of loss. It was felt at the same time that the measures contemplated would result in more stable growth and in greater security in the town as a whole . . ."[77]

Spence-Sales's 1956 design for the Town Centre on the riverfront site (fig. 10) included:

- a Civic Area containing banks, a town hall and a post office;
- a Commercial Area including a community shopping centre, a cinema and ancillary shops, and a bus depot, adjacent to a railway station;
- the Business Area, containing offices with subsidiary banking and shopping facilities, a hotel-motel and a residential hotel;
- the Recreational Area, comprising an arena and other community buildings.[78]

With easy access and free surface parking for 1000 cars, this was certainly a town centre for the Motor Age. It was designed with a community shopping centre in the Modern style, to be anchored by a grocery store and junior department store. Shopping centres of this type were routinely developed in the suburbs of many North American cities in the late 1950s, including Montréal and Toronto, where the original Don Mills Shopping Centre (1954) was quite similar. Unfortunately, there were few commercial developers in New Brunswick in the 1950s and none willing to try this new concept, especially in an isolated location in a rural area. The visionary ideals of the planners had once again run into the harsh economic realities of developing a new town in rural New Brunswick during the 1950s.

The Oromocto staff could not even get a nibble on a grocery store, even as the first residents moved in, leading to immediate complaints: "Without exception, they expressed dis-satisfaction with the lack of shopping facilities, the unpaved roads and the absence of recreational provisions for children. On the other side of the ledger, they voiced delight with the comfortable, roomy and inexpensive homes . . ."[79]

Early in 1957, Harold Spence-Sales convened a conference on strategies for the Town Centre in Montréal, including federal and provincial bureaucrats, town planning experts, and representatives of two private companies: a Québec grocery chain named Steinberg's and Community

FIG. 11. OROMOCTO SHOPPING CENTRE *C.* 1959. THE SHOPPING CENTRE WITH ITS PARKING LOT WAS A MODERN TOWN
CENTRE. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA: CMHC NEGATIVE NUMBER 11541.

FIG. 12. TOWN OF OROMOCTO 2022 WEBSITE LOGO. | [HTTPS://WWW.OVROMOCTO.CA/INTERESTING-FACTS], ACCESSED APRIL 12, 2022.

Enterprises, the developer building the handful of houses in the town centre. The Board of Commissioners followed up with a promotional booklet on the town centre and advertised for private developers in July. They received no significant responses.[80]

At that point it became clear that there simply were no private entrepreneurs willing to develop the buildings in the town centre of an unproven market. After more consultation with federal officials, it was decided that the public sector would need to be the developer for the Oromocto Town Centre, similar to the new town development corporations

in the UK. The Board of Commissioners approved the concept of an Oromocto Development Corporation (ODC) late in 1957. It was established as a NB Crown Corporation, with six directors appointed by the federal and provincial governments and authorization to issue $1.5 million in debentures to build the town centre.[81] Equally important, the ODC hired a professional real estate manager, Alfred Miller, of the Montréal firm S.D. Miller and Sons, as the Town's development agent.[82]

Results were almost immediate. Although Steinberg's was not willing to be the shopping centre developer, they quickly

agreed to provide a temporary store in the central neighbourhood and lease the shopping centre supermarket, provided that the ODC gave them a right of first refusal on future grocery stores. The ODC appointed Eliasoph & Berkowitz of Montréal as architects for the shopping centre, which was tendered in June 1958.[83] Leasing space in a shopping centre that was under construction was much easier than finding a developer and Miller quickly added banks, a liquor store, and a junior department store (Woolworth's). The shopping centre was fully leased before the completion of its construction in the following spring. The ODC was also able to commence construction of an office building and hotel on adjacent lots in the Town Centre.

The decision to move the Town Centre to the river raised awkward questions about what to do with the houses in the existing village and the adjacent reserve—should they be demolished or re-habilitated? Urban renewal was a prominent idea in the 1950s and the planners were tempted to demolish both. After much deliberation among the professional staff, the decision was to demolish many buildings in the village, and to rehabilitate the houses owned by the First Nation in the reserve. Garden City ideals once again were confounded by the harsh realities of developing a new town in a hurry.

Many older village buildings on the town centre site were demolished, and others that could be rehabilitated were connected to the new services and streets. Several fine older buildings, such as the Sunbury County Registry Office, were destroyed. The displaced residents felt angry and betrayed at the loss of their homes, even though it was reported that "those who were forced to sell received adequate compensation for their properties."[84]

The Welamukotuk (Oromocto) First Nation was badly treated in the seizure of its lands for the base, but the reserve houses were treated better than those in the village. The First Nation's homes were connected to the municipal services at no charge in 1960, becoming one of the province's first fully serviced reserves. The federal government also provided the 120 FN members with a substantial grant to renovate houses.[85]

The official opening of the shopping centre on April 23, 1959, could also be considered as the official opening of the Town of Oromocto. The houses in the three military neighbourhoods were complete, the roads were paved, the parks were planted, and seven new schools were opened. The Oromocto Shopping Centre (fig. 11) was considered a marvel of modern planning: 15,000-20,000 people attended the grand opening; the shops were packed, and previously hostile rural villages demanded construction of a new bridge to provide access to the new Town Centre.[86]

The scale of the achievements of the previous five years were evident in 1959, with the completion of the Commonwealth's largest military base and a modern new town of 10,000 people. Complimentary articles appeared in the national and international press, referring to a dream town, or model planned community.[87] The Oromocto municipal government adopted the theme to brand itself as "Canada's Model Town" (see fig. 12).[88]

TRANSITION TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

When the new town idea first emerged, there was skepticism about whether military families, who move every two or three years, could effectively engage in municipal politics, or even community

action. The early military families proved adept at organizing all manner of community activities—revitalizing the local churches, organizing recreation leagues, Brownie packs, Guide groups, Scout troops, and demanding the highest standards from the teachers in the new schools.[89]

The military wives were a formidable lobbying force, pressuring the Board of Commissioners to open a grocery store, lobbying Ottawa and Fredericton for a local hospital, and marching children across neighbourhoods to protest when schools were overcrowded. However, this citizen action did not lead to a taxpayers' revolt against the Town's un-elected Board of Commissioners, since the military families did not pay property taxes on their leased houses.[90]

Surprisingly, the demand for democracy came from the Town Centre's commercial tenants, who organized themselves into the Oromocto Board of Trade. The ODC was their landlord, with directors that overlapped with the un-elected Board of Commissioners. Both were unresponsive to suggestions to promote the isolated centre to passing tourist traffic or complaints that the military's Canex retail outlets on the base were cutting into their trade. By 1967, the dispute had turned nasty, with the Board of Trade referring to the town as "Oromosco"—a low blow during the Cold War era.[91]

After twelve years, the "temporary" Board of Commissioners had overstayed its welcome. Though it was necessary during the construction of the town, the Board could not be wound up because the operation of the Oromocto local government ran a large deficit that was covered by the federal government. A regular New Brunswick municipal government would not be solvent under

the debt load that Oromocto carried in the 1960s. The solution was for the province to fund the schools and for the federal government to pay off some of the Town's infrastructure loans.[92]

New provincial legislation dissolved the Commissioners and created a regular municipal government to be elected in 1969.[93] Spence-Sales's town plan became the Oromocto Master Plan under New Brunswick's new *Community Planning Act*. The hated provisions for control of adjacent rural lands to create a greenbelt were dropped, but the rural areas were now under provincial planning regimes that controlled most of the un-serviced development that had been a concern in the past. The Oromocto Development Corporation finally sold the Town Centre's retail plaza, hotel, and office building to a Swiss developer in 1973.[94] However, the ODC continued as a provincial crown corporation dedicated to the difficult task of expanding the industrial base of the town.

OBSERVATIONS AND CRITIQUE

How might we evaluate the planning and development of "Canada's Model Town" as it stood in 1969?

With the benefit of hindsight, a critical review might start by noting neither the Indigenous nor the settler residents were consulted or involved in the planning of the town. The federal government and Canadian Army imposed their wills on the residents in the name of national defence. This was top-down, expert-led planning, typical of the postwar era, especially in defence matters.

The Welamukotuk First Nation were treated badly, and a piece of their tiny reserve lands was expropriated for a paltry sum. Their land claim was finally

settled in 1983 for $2.5 million, but they were left with only a small fragment of their traditional lands, resulting in a new land claim for all the Wolastoq (Saint John) River Basin in 2020.[95] The only positive outcomes were employment opportunities on the base and reserve houses that were rehabilitated and connected to services.

Many residents of the Oromocto village lost their homes. The new houses built in the model town were either too expensive or lacked the rural characteristics they appreciated. Most of the original settlers relocated to other villages in the valley.[96]

The town centre that caused this disruption never lived up to its planner's aspirations. The shopping centre turns its back on the river, which is the most attractive element in the town centre.[97] Retail planning for the town was ineffective. The grocery store arrived late and with conditions that reduced future choices. The shopping centre now suffers from competition from the Canex shops on the base and commercial strip development along the highways.

The arena, cinema, curling rink, and other community facilities were built elsewhere, so the planned critical mass of community facilities was never achieved. The railway station and bus depot were never built, leaving the town as a low-density, automobile-dependent community, with a huge parking lot as the focus of its town centre. Life in the town is difficult for groups without access to a car, teenagers for example.[98]

Spence-Sales's attempts to create a greenbelt by regulation around the new town failed. Canadian planning acts lacked the provisions of Britain's postwar legislation, which allowed the creation of the London greenbelt. The federal government had to expropriate large tracts of farmland to create the Ottawa Greenbelt in 1959.[99] An Oromocto greenbelt would have required more expropriation in the Saint John River Valley, for which there was no political appetite in the late 1950s.

The Board of Commissioners hung on too long as the "temporary" un-elected local government, causing unnecessary resentment at the local, county, and provincial levels. Fears of non-participation by military residents were unfounded, and the financial deal that corrected the Town's fiscal problems was available much earlier. A "sunset clause" of perhaps eight to ten years would have been appropriate.

The assumptions in the 1950s town plans contained two flaws that only became apparent decades later. First was the expectation that the new base would be permanently garrisoned at a brigade level, with 5000 soldiers. Although CFB Gagetown has a long-term future as a training base, cuts in the staffing of the Canadian Forces following the end of the Cold War reduced the size of garrisons in Europe and across Canada, including Gagetown.

Second, the assumption that military families would prefer to rent PMQs proved less robust after military salaries were increased in the 1960s and 1970s. Many soldiers now have the income to purchase a home in inexpensive regions such as central NB and military families have become adept at buying and selling homes to accommodate their frequent transfers.

As a result of these issues, Oromocto later suffered some of the problems of traditional resource towns—retail vacancies, housing abandonment, and excess infrastructure.[100]

CONCLUSIONS – LESSONS LEARNED

Despite these flaws, in 1959, Oromocto was a good example of the New Towns Movement that spread globally in the postwar period. Harold Spence-Sales and Samuel Gitterman adapted many new planning ideas to a Canadian context with some skill.

First, separating "Crown" and "Town" was a good call. The over-arching idea to create a town that was separate and outside the military base has demonstrated social benefits beyond those of a "company town" built inside the gates.

Second, the early town plans were excellent demonstrations of the neighbourhood unit principle. The CMHC used Oromocto to demonstrate its suburban neighbourhood planning principles at a large scale. The early subdivision planning and site design was skillfully fitted to the landscape, with innovations in "green" and "blue" planning that would be considered current today. The pedestrian path network was good, except for an initial lack of sidewalks on some local streets.

Third, the neighbourhoods were reinforced by a good public school system, with walk-to elementary and junior high schools that were properly located in their catchment areas and connected with pedestrian and bike paths. The benefits of the school system were extended to the adjacent village, rural area, and eventually to the Indigenous children in the adjacent reserve.

Fourth, the servicing that supported the town was ahead of its time.[101] Many observers noted that the street trees and underground electrical and telephone servicing created attractive streetscapes.

More importantly, the base and Oromocto shared efficient water and sewage treatment plants at a time when most communities drew their water from wells and the raw sewage discharged into the Saint John River by other communities made it unfit for swimming.

Finally, Oromocto was a showcase for inexpensive Modern architecture from the 1950s. The CMHC demonstrated its affordable, architect-designed plans for single-family, semi-detached, row-house, and apartment units. These plans were available to the public through widely distributed pattern books (see fig. 3).

Elsewhere in the town, Spence-Sales used his design-review authority to ensure that the civilian housing and Town Centre buildings were created in a coherent mid-century Modern idiom.[102] Although Oromocto architecture rarely reached the level for awards (with the unfortunate exception of the Brad houses), the original community design is a good example of suburban planning and design following Modernist principles.

It was therefore not surprising that Humphrey Carver included Oromocto with Don Mills and Kitimat in his proposed book on Canadian new towns in 1959.

EPILOGUE – OROMOCTO AFTER 1969

In 1969, Oromocto's first elected Council could not have known that the town's population had peaked at 14,112 in 1966. The Town assumed that the rapid population growth of the previous decade would continue, preparing plans for an additional 30,000 people in Oromocto West.[103] The Town approved extensive auto-oriented commercial development along the Trans-Canada Highway and two

new neighbourhoods in Oromocto West that met the demands for freehold homes for purchase by military families.

Garrison reductions and the new residential alternatives decimated demand for rental PMQs in the 1950s townsite. Most of the townhouse courts have been demolished, leaving only single homes in the local crescents within the neighbourhoods.

The continuing population decline (to 9045 in 2021), new stores along the highway, and fast connection to Fredericton reduced the market for businesses in the 1950s town centre. The hotel was demolished, and the office building and shopping centre have many vacancies. The Town Hall was later moved to a site by the highway in Oromocto West, reinforcing the change to an automobile-dependent community. Few traces of "Canada's Model Town" remain today, other than Gitterman's design for the original PMQ neighbourhoods.[104]

Despite the branding, Oromocto did not become a model for new town development in Canada. Spence-Sales's utopian ideals and British precedents did not transfer easily to rural New Brunswick in the 1950s.[105] Oromocto, like Kitimat, did demonstrate the effectiveness of a new town to support a major new employment centre in an isolated area. However, Britain's postwar model of metropolitan expansion via publicly developed New Towns never caught on in Canada. Instead, large-scale, privately developed satellite communities, such as Don Mills, became the norm for the second half of the twentieth century.[106] Meanwhile, Humphrey Carver, one of Canada's greatest proponents of public development, retired from the CMHC in 1967 after a last, unsuccessful effort to get the federal government to embrace the development

of new towns as a national policy for metropolitan expansion. He never finished his book on new towns in Canada.[107]

ABBREVIATIONS FOR PRIMARY SOURCES

CMHC   Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG 56.

HSMC   Humphrey S.M. Carver papers, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Collection 20.

HSS   Harold Spence-Sales fonds, Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Library CA CAC 97.

SAG   Samuel A. Gitterman fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 31, B 49.

NOTES

1.   The research was partially funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Insight Grant 435-2018-0378 awarded to David Gordon, and by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Graduate Scholarship and the Queen's University Sue Hendler Graduate Fellowship awarded to Miranda Virginillo.

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2.   Burgoyne, Bert, 1959, "The Nation's Dream Town is found at Oromocto," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), February 28.

3.   Community Planning Association of Canada, 1952, *The City Nuclear: A Regional Pattern for Urban Growth*, Ottawa, CPAC.

4.   Morisset, Lucie K. and Jessica Mace, 2020, *Identity on the Land: Company Towns in Canada*, Montréal, Patrimonium.

5.   Carver, Humphrey, *c.* 1959, "A Public Town," Notes in HSMC hand, Carver Papers, Canadian Centre for Architecture. Montréal, box 23, file 20-303-3, "Part II."

6.   Howard, Ebenezer, 1902, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, London, Swan Sonnenschien; originally *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, 1898 (Routledge).

7. Fishman, Robert, 1982, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press; Hall, Peter and Colin Ward, 1998, *Sociable Cities: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*, Chichester UK, Wiley.

8. Simpson, Michael, 1985, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900-1940*, London, Alexandrine Press; Ward, Stephen (ed.), 1992, *The Garden City Past, Present and Future*, London, Spon.

9. Miller, Mervyn, 2002, *Letchworth: The First Garden City*, Chichester UK, Phillimore.

10. Louis de Soissons, FRIBA [1890-1962] was born in Montréal and educated at Paris's École des Beaux-Arts. He was consultant to Welwyn throughout his career and directed the postwar reconstruction of Plymouth. See de Soissons, Maurice, 1988, *Welwyn Garden City: A Town Designed for Healthy Living*, Cambridge UK, Publications for Companies; and [https://louisdesoissons.com/about/our-history/], accessed August 2021.

11. Adams, Thomas, 1917, *Rural Planning and Development*, Ottawa, Commission of Conservation; Commission of Conservation, 1919, "Planning and Building New Towns in Canada: Kipawa," *Conservation of Life*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 10-16; also Morisset and Mace, *Identity on the Land, op. cit.*

12. Morisset, Lucie K., 1998, *Arvida, cité industrielle. Une épopée urbaine en Amérique*, Québec, Septentrion; Morisset, Lucie K., 2011, "Non-fiction Utopia: Arvida, Cité Industrielle Made Real," *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 3-40; Cross, Brad, 2016, "Modern Living 'Hewn out of the Unknown Wilderness': Aluminum, City Planning, and Alcan's British Columbian Industrial Town of Kitimat in the 1950s," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, vol. 45, no. 1, p. 7-17

13. Miller, Mervyn, 2006. *Hampstead Garden Suburb: Arts and Crafts Utopia?*, Sussex, Phillimore.

14. Stern, Robert A.M., David Fishman, and Jacob Tilove, 2013, *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City*, New York, The Monacelli Press, LLC.

15. Adams's Hydrostone and Lindenlea. Canadian railway companies developed Garden Suburbs with beautiful designs but no affordable housing, in places such as Vancouver's Shaughnessy, Calgary's Mount Royal, and Toronto's Leaside. See Williams, Ron, 2014, *Landscape Architecture in Canada*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

16. Perry, Clarence Arthur, 1929, *The Neighborhood Unit*, vol. 7, "Regional Survey of New York and its Environs," Monograph I, New York, Routledge/ Thoemmes Press.

17. Stein, Clarence, 1951, *Toward New Towns for America*, Liverpool UK, Liverpool University Press; Birch, Eugenie, 1980, "Radburn and the American Planning Movement: The Persistence of an Idea," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 46, no. 4, p. 424-431.

18. Choko, Marc, 1988, *Une cité-jardin à Montréal. La cité-jardin du Tricentenaire, 1940-1947*, Montréal, Méridien.

19. Selwood, H. John, 1986, "Lots, Plots and Blocks: Some Winnipeg Examples of Subdivision Design," *Bulletin (Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada)* vol. 11, no. 2, p. 6-8; Martin, Michael, 2001, "The Landscapes of Winnipeg's Wildwood Park," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, vol. 30, no. 1, p. 22-39; Sewell, John, 1993, *The Shape of the City: Toronto Struggles with Modern Planning*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press; Cross, "Modern Living 'Hewn out of the Unknown Wilderness,'" *op. cit.*

20. Le Corbusier, 1929, *The City of Tomorrow and its Planning*, London, John Rooker; Le Corbusier, 1935, *La ville radieuse*, Boulogne, Éditions de L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui.

21. Sert, Jose Luis, 1943, *Can Our Cities Survive?*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press; Mumford, Eric, 2000, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press.

22. Abercrombie, Patrick, 1945, *Greater London Plan 1944*, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO).

23. Ward, Stephen V., 2012, "Gordon Stephenson and the 'Galaxy of Talent': Planning for Postwar Reconstruction in Britain 1942-1947," *The Town Planning Review*, p. 279-296; Stephenson, Gordon and Christina DeMarco, 1992, *On a Human Scale: A Life in City Design*, Fremantle WA, Fremantle Arts Centre.

24. Ward, Stephen, 2002, *Planning the Twentieth-century City: The Advanced Capitalist World*, New York, Wiley; Gordon, David, 2017, "Politics, Power, and Urban Form," *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, London, Routledge, p. 301-312.

25. Gréber, Jacques, 1950, *Plan for the National Capital*, Ottawa, King's Printer; Gordon, David, 2001, "Weaving a Modern Plan for Canada's Capital: Jacques Gréber and the 1950 Plan for the National Capital Region," *Urban History Review*, vol. 29, no. 2 p. 43-61.

26. These satellite towns were never built, but replaced by suburbs such as Kanata and Glencairn attached to the outside edge of the greenbelt; see Gordon, David L.A., 2015, *Town and Crown: An Illustrated History of Canada's Capital*, Ottawa, Invenire.

27. Carver, Humphrey, 1975, *Compassionate Landscape*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press; Carver, 1941, "The Strategy of Town Planning," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal*, vol. 18, no. 3, p. 35-40. Carver also wrote the housing and planning chapter in the League for Social Reconstruction's, 1935, *Social Planning for Canada*, Toronto, T. Nelson, p. 451-455; see HSMC papers, file 20/1.

28. HSMC papers, "Community Planning Association," file 20/42; "CPAC National Executive," file 20/43; "The CPAC 1946," file 20/45; Carver, Humphrey, 1948, *Houses for Canadians*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

29. HSMC papers, boxes 4-8; Gordon, David L.A., 2018, "Humphrey Carver and the federal Government's Postwar Revival of Canadian Community Planning," *Urban History Review*, vol. 46, no. 2, p. 71-84; Logan, Steven, 2021, *In the Suburbs of History: Modernist Visions of the Urban Periphery*, Toronto ON, University of Toronto Press, ch. 5.

30. See Toronto's Topham Park in White, Richard, 2016, *Planning Toronto: The Planners, the Plans, their Legacies, 1940-80*, Vancouver BC, UBC Press, p. 51-52, 75. For a detailed examination of two CMHC designed and developed Kingston neighbourhoods, see McGeachy, Robert, 2005, "Polson Park and Calvin Park, 1954-1962: Two Land Assembly Subdivisions in Kingston, Ontario," *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada,* vol. 30, no. 1, p. 25-36.

31. Samuel A. Gitterman fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 31, B 49, box 1, files 9 and 10, "War Worker Houses: Revisions" Draft, 1952; "*DND Small House Designs,*" Draft, 1954.

32. CMHC, 1952, *Choosing a House Design* Ottawa: CMHC; *Principles of Small House Grouping* Ottawa: CMHC, 1954.

33. Carver, Humphrey, 1962, *Cities in the Suburbs*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

34. HSMC papers box 23, file 20/303 (3) includes research notes and draft text for an incomplete book on Canadian new towns. Carver completed a first draft of the Kitimat case, a detailed outline on Don Mills and left his interview notes on Oromocto.

35. Swartzen, Gordon A, 1965, *The Impact of a Military Installation on a Local Economy. A Case Study of Camp Gagetown and the Town of Oromocto*, M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, p. 2.

36. Dyck, D., 1962, "Relocation Adjustments of 95 New Brunswick Farm Families, 1956-60," *The Economic Annalist*, vol. 32, no. 4, p. 87-93; Swartzen, *id.*, p. 13-14.

37. Swartzen, *id.*, p. 13-14.

38. *Id.*, ch. 2 "The Economic Impact on the Province of New Brunswick," p. 9-31.

39. *Globe and Mail*, 1983, "Ottawa Freezes Indians' Funds," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), October 6.

40. European settlement in the region began with Acadians in 1693, followed by a few New Englanders in 1762. The British Army then built a blockhouse and trading post called Fort Hughes at the junction of the Oromocto and Saint John rivers. European settlement began in earnest in 1783, after United Empire Loyalist refugees were settled in the Saint John Valley villages of Gagetown, Geary, and Burton. See Brooks, Gordon, 1981, *Oromocto: A Case Study of the Development of a Military Town*, Montréal QC, Unpublished supervised research project, McGill University, School of Urban Planning, July, p. 8.

41. As the village had been a shipbuilding centre from 1834 to 1878, then as a sawmill site, drawing on access to adjacent forests. Most of the village's nineteenth-century buildings were destroyed in a disastrous fire in 1919, and the remaining buildings did not receive electrical service until 1932. Kimball, Harold, 1966, *History of Oromocto*, Fredericton NB, Unipress, p. 18-19, 22.

42. Brooks, *Oromocto: A Case Study of the Development of a Military Town*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

43. Harold Spence-Sales, 1956, *A Guide to Urban Dispersal*, Ottawa, Canada Defence Research Board Civil Defence report CD-3; Spence-Sales, 1960, "Oromocto: Papers on Development of the Town," February, p. 12. Copies in HSS papers, box 59.

44. HSS, 1957, "Oromocto: Conference," January 29-30. Unpublished report held in Harold Spence-Sales fonds, box 59.

45. Morisset and Mace, *Identity on the Land*, *op. cit.*, p. 91-149.

46. Hickey, Harvey, 1955, "Fredericton Fears Gagetown Personnel to Disrupt Old City," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), October 28; Smith, Bill, *c.* 1984, "The Story of Oromocto: A Military-Civilian New Town," Oromocto NB, Unpublished manuscript, held at Oromocto Public Library, p. 5-7. *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, November 7, 1953.

47. Smith, *id.*, p. 9.

48. Brooks, *Oromocto: A Case Study of the Development of a Military Town*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

49. Kimball, *History of Oromocto*, *op. cit.*, p. 36; *Globe and Mail*, 1958, "Friendly Army Invasion Welcomed," *The Globe and Mail*, August 13, p. 35.

50. New Brunswick, *Town of Oromocto Act* (an act respecting the Town of Oromocto and Fringe Areas). NB 1955 Acts, *c.* 15; revised by NB Acts 1956, *c.* 155, March 29, 1956.

51. New Brunswick, *Town of Oromocto Act*, *id.*; Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, p. 10-14.

52. HSMC papers, box 23, file 20-303-3 "A Public Town," Notes in HSMC hand, "Oromocto: Conversation with Gitterman, July 14, 1959.

53. John Bland FRAIC [1911-2002] studied architecture at McGill and planning at the AA, graduating in 1937. He practiced with Spence-Sales in Britain before returning to McGill to teach architecture from 1939 to 1979. In addition to his distinguished architectural career, Bland was active as an urban planner, preparing plans for Deep River ON (1944), Saint John's NL (1946), Montréal's Jeanne Mance project (1958), Port Cartier QC (1959), Acadia University, Carleton University, and several planning strategy studies with Spence-Sales. See "The John Bland Archive," Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, [https://cac.mcgill.ca/bland/index.htm], accessed August 2021.

54. Wolfe, Jeanne M., 2004, "Harold Spence-Sales, 1907-2004: Poet of Space and Place," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, vol. 13, no. 1, Supplement: *Canadian Planning and Policy*, p. vi.

55. Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, *op. cit.*, ch. 9; HSMC papers, file 20-45, Letter June 7, 1948, Alan Armstrong (CPAC Director) to HSMC; HSS, box 59, "How to Subdivide."

56. Spence-Sales, Harold, 1950, *How to Subdivide: A Handbook on the Layout of Housing Developments*, Ottawa ON, Community Planning Association of Canada.

57. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, ch. 4, "Advances and Set-backs for the Planning Authorities"; Kimball (*History of Oromocto*, *op. cit.*, p. 37-38), refers to the imperfections caused by the "uncontrolled efforts of an artistic planning expert."

58. HSS papers, box 28, "Oromocto: Conference," Montréal QC, H. Spence-Sales, Town Planner, January 29-30, 1957, p. 8.

59. Canada, 1944, "Housing and Community Planning," Final Reports of the Subcommittees of Canada Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Ottawa, King's Printer. Popularly known as the "Curtis Report" after its chair, Professor C.A. Curtis of Queen's University.

60. CMHC, 1949, *Small House Designs: Bungalows*, Ottawa ON, CMHC. Annotated copy in SAG fonds, vol. 1, file 6.

61. CMHC, 1954, *DND Small House Designs*. Copy in SAG fonds, vol. 1, file 10, includes annotations "Approved for Gagetown" for several models.

62. Teodorescu, Ioana, 2012, *Building Small Houses in Postwar Canada: Architects, Homeowners and Bureaucratic Ideals, 1947-1974*, Doctoral thesis, McGill University, Montréal, p. 154

63. Joyce, Robert K., 1960, "The Development of Oromocto," *Habitat*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 18-22.

64. Samuel Gitterman [1911-1998] received a B.Arch. from McGill in 1935. He joined the DND in 1937 and the National Housing Administration (NHA) in 1939. He assisted Wartime Housing Limited as director of the NHA's Town Planning Division after 1943. Gitterman joined CMHC in 1946 as chief architect and planner, designing townsites and large-scale housing projects. See SAG fonds, vol. 1, file 1, "Curriculum Vitae."

65. HSS papers, box 28, "Oromocto: A Memorandum to the Board of Commissioners on Residential Development in Neighbourhoods I and II," Montréal QC, H. Spence-Sales, Town Planner, June 27, 1956.

66. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, p. 13-14.

67. *Globe and Mail*, 1956, "Principal Prepares for Job in Town that Doesn't Exist," *The Globe and Mail*, August 13, p. 4; Smith, *id.*, p. 145-146.

68. Smith, *id.*, p. 222-223; *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, September 15, 1965.

69. HSS papers, box 28, "Oromocto: A Memorandum to the Board of Commissioners," *op. cit.*

70. *Ibid.*

71. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, ch. 5. "Increased Public Administration and the Fizzling of Private Enterprise."

72. Kimball, *History of Oromocto*, *op. cit.*, p. 36-37.

73. *Globe and Mail*, 1959, "Metro Builders take 5 of 6 House Grouping Awards," *The Globe and Mail*, March 12, p. 29; Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, p. 56.

74. HSMC papers, box 23, file 20-303-3, "Oromocto Shopping Centre: Conversation with Armstrong, 29-6-59," Carver and Armstrong disagreed with this decision; Carver noted "Tail wags dog."

75. HSS papers, "Memo on the Town Centre," p. 1.

76. HSMC papers, "Oromocto Shopping Centre."

77. HSS papers, "Memo on the Town Centre," p. 1.

78. *Id.*, p. 3.

79. *Saint John Telegraph Journal*, August 27, 1957, cited in Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, p. 22.

80. HSS papers, box 28, "Oromocto: Conference," January 29-30, 1957; and "The Town of Oromocto: Opportunities for Development, 1957-58" June 27, 1956, Montréal QC, H. Spence-Sales, Town Planner; *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, July 8, 1956.

81. New Brunswick, *The Oromocto Development Corporation Act*, NB 1958 Acts, *c.* 126. The ODC's borrowing power was later increased to $8 million.

82. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, p. 71; based on interview with the director of ODC, Air Vice Marshall C.F. Johns, May 16, 1984.

83. Smith, *id.*, p. 73-74, 106; Eliasoph & Berkowitz were architects for the Dorval Shopping Centre (1954-1955) and the Westgate Shopping Centre in Ottawa (1955); see the *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada*, [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/2523], accessed August 2021.

84. Kimball, *History of Oromocto*, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

85. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, p. 222.

86. *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, April 23, 1959, cited in Smith, p. 114.

87. Burgoyne, 1959, in HSMC papers, box 23, file 20-303-3; *New York Times*, 1959, "New Brunswick Stressing Roads–Army Camp Proves a Boon," *New York Times,* January 14, p. 61; *Hartford Courant*, 1959, "Canada's Picture Province Boasts a Dream Town," *The Hartford Courant*, Hartford CT, May 31, p. 7B.

88. Town of Oromocto, "Canada's Model Town: Oromocto – Interesting Facts," [https://oromocto.ca/interesting-facts] (accessed July 30, 2021) includes the lyrics to the Town's anthem, "This Model Town" by Sgt. J. Montminy.

89. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," *op. cit.*, ch. 18, "Trouble with Good Times."

90. Military PMQs are leased accommodation. The DND makes payments in lieu of property taxes.

91. *Maclean's*, 1969, "The Oromocto Merchants' War with the Canadian Army," *Maclean's Reports*, vol. 82, no. 5; Smith, ch. 19, "The Breach."

92. Smith, ch. 20, "Preparing for Self-government."

93. New Brunswick, *Oromocto Town Charter Act*, NB Acts 1968-69, ch. 87.

94. Smith, "The Story of Oromocto," p. 274.

95. *Globe and Mail*, 1983, "Ottawa Freezes Indians' Funds," *The Globe and Mail*, October 6; A second land claim was launched in 2020 by the Wolastoqey Nation for title to the entire watershed of the Wolastoq (Saint John River) in lands currently known as New Brunswick and Quebec, including the entire area developed as CFB Gagetown and the Town of Oromocto. Wolastoqey Nation, 2020, Press Release, October 5, [http://wnnb.wolastoqey.ca/], accessed August 2021.

96. Kimball, *History of Oromocto*, *op. cit.*, p. 36-38.

97. Arif, Hassan, 2014, "Oromocto – A New Frontier for Urbanism?" *Spacing Atlantic,* October 15, [http://spacing.ca/atlantic/2014/10/15/oromocto-new-frontier-urbanism/], accessed July 30, 2021.

98. Dull, Monique, 1998, "There's no Life Like it (Yeah, Right): CFB Gagetown's Campaign to Capture the Hearts and Minds of its Young and Restless," *The Globe and Mail*, May 25, A2.

99. Gordon, *Town and Crown*, *op. cit.*, ch. 10.

100. Hartt, Maxwell, 2021, *Quietly Shrinking Cities: Canadian Urban Population Loss in an Age of Growth*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press.

101. These elements of the plan followed the best traditions of the City Scientific Planning Movement. See Hodge, Gerald, David Gordon, and Pamela Shaw, 2020 [7th ed.], *Planning Canadian Communities*, Toronto, Nelson, ch. 5.

102. The residents disliked HSS for this role; see Smith, ch. 10, "Consolidation and Conflict"; and Kimball, *History of Oromocto*, *op. cit.*, p. 37-38.

103. Can Plan Consultants, 1974, *Oromocto Development Plan*, Fredericton NB; and Brooks, *Oromocto: A Case Study of the Development of a Military Town*, *op. cit.*, ch. 2-3.

104. Oromocto was one of Sam Gitterman's last large-scale designs for CMHC. He returned to his interest in prefabricated housing design and led the Corporation's research in this field until his retirement from CMHC in 1959. He later designed the Glencairn community, west of Ottawa, and experimental homes for the Canadian Association of Homebuilders. See SAG papers, Glencairn, vol. 2, files 18-30; National Home Builders' Association (NHBA) l, vol. 3; Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

105. Spence-Sales, prepared plans for Fredericton (1956), Moncton (1959), and Sydney (1960), but no more new towns. After he retired from McGill in 1970, he continued to design large-scale residential communities including Glen Abbey (Oakville ON) and neighbourhoods in Alberta cities that were closer to his new homes in Victoria and Vancouver. See HSS papers, box 59 and tube 29; Wolfe, "Harold Spence-Sales, 1907-2004, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

106. Sewell, *The Shape of the City*, *op. cit.*

107. Carver describes his disappointment with the 1967 federal-provincial conference on urban affairs in *Compassionate Landscape*, *op. cit.*, ch. 14, "Turbulence."