

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIGH-RISE APARTMENT
COMPLEX IN THE ROSLYN ROAD AREA OF WINNIPEG

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ABSTRACT The Development of the High-Rise Apartment
Complex in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg

This thesis examines the process by which a former first class residential area on the fringe of downtown Winnipeg was redeveloped as a high-rise, high-rent apartment complex during the decade 1961-1971. The primary redevelopment activity was that of the demolition and replacement of existing dwellings with high-rise apartment structures. Thirty-two properties were demolished and fifteen new apartment blocks were constructed, adding a total of 1646 apartment suites to the area. The population of the Roslyn Road Area increased almost six-fold from 450 in 1961 to 2660 in 1971.

In attempting to assess the reasons why the high-rise apartment complex developed in the Roslyn Road Area the thesis examined both the relationship of this neighbourhood to the critical periods of growth and decline in the urban development of the city as a whole, and the complex interaction of decisions by homeowners, development interests, planners and elected officials which resulted in development activity.

The theoretical framework for analyzing this land use change in the Roslyn Road Area was the process of land use succession and the location of high-density residential development as discussed in the researches of L. S. Bourne. The "building renewal cycle," as developed by Bourne and



others, provided a useful analytical tool for assessing the process by which the standing stock of buildings is continually adapted over time to the changing needs of the urban area. This case-study of the Roslyn Road Area also confirmed three of Bourne's major variables indicating location possibilities for high-density residential development.

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INTRODUCTION

The context for this thesis is provided by the resurgence of apartment development in Canadian urban centers in the decade 1961-1971. In 1961, housing starts in single-detached dwellings outnumbered apartments by more than 2 to 1, with apartments representing only 28.4% of the total number of starts.¹ By 1965, however, the construction of apartments outnumbered single-detached dwellings for the first time, amounting to 47% of all new housing starts. The peak in apartment development was reached in 1969, with 52.7% of total housing starts, a proportion that declined to 45.4% by 1971. (Table 1.) The peak in apartment construction during the decade 1961-71 was reached in 1969, when slightly more than half of all dwelling starts were in apartments. Table 2, shows the proportions of single-detached dwellings, apartment and all multi-family dwellings for five metropolitan areas in that year.

The apartment "boom" of the 1960's, therefore, was important in the development of Canada's urban centres. The expansion of multi-family housing and in particular high-rise apartments, was reflected in the changing composition of the housing stock, the increasing proportion of urban households living in apartments and in the morphology of the city.

¹Data compiled from Canadian Housing Statistics, 1967, 1969, and 1971, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Ottawa.

Table 1: Percentage Housing Starts by Type In Canada, 1961-1971.

	<u>Single Detached</u>	<u>Semi-detached & Duplex</u>	<u>Row Housing</u>	<u>Apartments</u>
1961	60.87	9.28	1.48	28.38
1962	57.22	8.44	2.88	31.47
1963	51.91	5.31	2.62	40.66
1964	46.53	5.26	2.87	45.35
1965*	45.29	4.76	3.19	46.76
1966	52.53	5.41	3.72	38.34
1967	44.19	6.06	4.50	45.25
1968	38.27	5.14	4.08	52.51
1969	37.26	4.93	5.10	52.71
1970	37.13	5.68	8.95	48.23
1971	41.97	5.89	6.70	45.45

Source:

Canadian Housing Statistics, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

*1965 represents the first year when the total number of apartment "starts" exceeded that of single-detached dwellings.

Table 2: Dwelling Starts, Single-Detached, Apartments and all Multi-family dwellings, for five Metropolitan Areas, 1969.

	<u>Single-Detached</u>		<u>Apartments</u>		<u>All Multi-family*</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Montreal	3627	15.34	19098	80.75	20023	84.66
Toronto	5782	18.14	21719	68.14	26092	81.86
Winnipeg	2134	23.63	6180	68.44	6896	76.37
Edmonton	2368	24.15	6699	68.31	7439	75.85
Vancouver	4763	26.92	11945	67.52	12927	73.08

Source:

Canadian Housing Statistics. 1970, pp. 12-13.
C. M. H. C.

*All multi-family dwellings includes semi-detached, duplexes, row housing, and apartments.

Thus the concentration of tall buildings was not confined to the Central Business District alone, but included multi-storey apartment clusters on the fringes of the downtown areas, along major transportation routes, and in new suburban concentrations.

One such apartment cluster is the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg, just south of downtown Winnipeg. (Map 1 and Figure 1.) During the decade 1961-1971 this area has undergone a significant transformation of its housing stock, population composition, neighbourhood function and morphology, by the replacement of large old former single-family dwellings with high-rise apartment buildings. This thesis, therefore, examines the reasons for the development of the high-rise apartment complex in the Roslyn Road Area, and the process by which it occurred.

Bourne² has suggested that our understanding of urban land use change can be enhanced by the study of the processes of land use succession at appropriate spatial levels, in particular, "the individual unit of land ownership." Land use succession he defines as "the succession of uses of urban property which are the result of adjustments in the building stock."³ One of the key themes of this thesis, therefore, is an analysis of the process by which the standing stock of

²Bourne, L. S. "Physical Adjustment Processes and Land Use Succession: A Conceptual Review and Central City Example," Economic Geography, Volume 47, No. 1, January 1971, p. 1.

³Ibid., p. 1.

buildings in the Roslyn Road Area is adapted to the changing demands for space in the larger urban area.

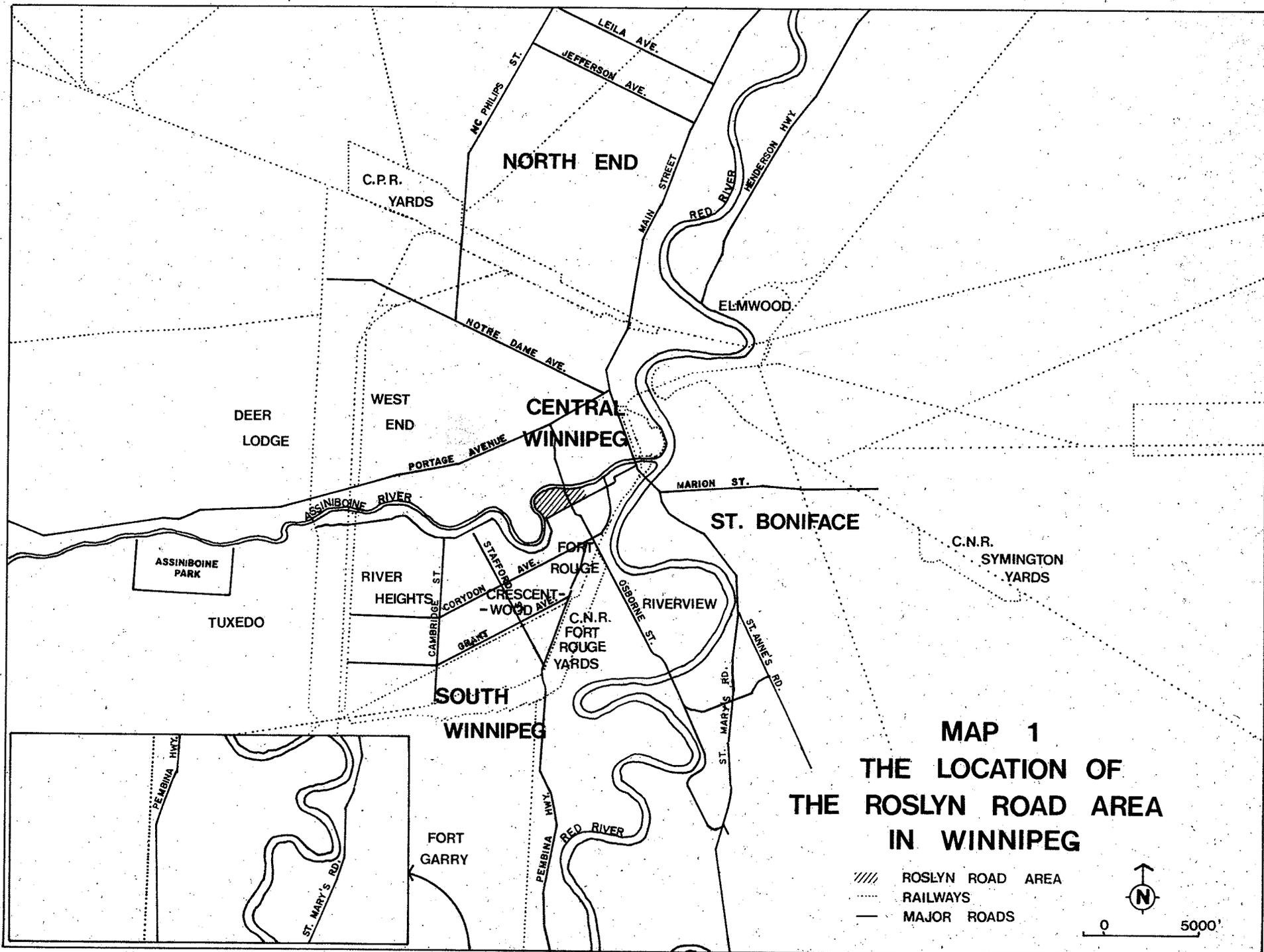
This study of apartment development in the decade 1961-1971 also responds to Bogue's call for increasing our understanding of present city structure by unravelling "layers" of building activity (each perhaps a decade long) and analyzing the activity in terms of the forces that accompanied it.⁴

The basic research question in this study thus becomes: "Why did the high-rise apartment complex develop in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg in the decade 1961-1971?" The hypothesis to be tested in this case-study can be stated as follows:

High-rise apartment development in centrally located areas of cities is likely to occur when economic, social and institutional factors articulate to the advantage of development interests.

Chapter I of the thesis explores the concepts of land use succession as they apply to this study, while Chapter III discusses the 'place' of Roslyn Road in the context of Winnipeg's urban development and the stage and location of apartment development in the urban area. The development of the high-rise apartment complex and the nature of structural change are examined in Chapter IV, while Chapter V analyzes the process of land use succession in the Roslyn Road Area, and the reasons for the apartment development in that neighbourhood.

⁴Bogue, D. J. Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research. Oxford, Ohio. Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University, and Population Research and Training Centre. University of Chicago, 1953, p. 23.



NORTH END

CENTRAL
WINNIPEG

SOUTH
WINNIPEG

ST. BONIFACE

FORT ROUGE
C.N.R. FORT ROUGE YARDS

WEST END

DEER LODGE

ASSINIBOINE PARK

TUXEDO

RIVER HEIGHTS

RIVERVIEW

C.N.R. SYMINGTON YARDS

FORT GARRY

C.P.R. YARDS

ELMWOOD

LEILA AVE.
JEFFERSON AVE.

MC PHILIPS ST.

MAIN STREET

RED RIVER
HENDERSON HWY

NOTRE DAME AVE.

PORTAGE AVENUE

MARION ST.

ASSINIBOINE RIVER

STAFFORD AVE.
CORYDON
GRANT
CAMBRIDGE ST.

OSBORNE ST.

ST. ANNE'S RD.

PEMBINA HWY.

ST. MARY'S RD.

PEMBINA HWY.

RED RIVER

Figure 1. The Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg, 1971.



The case study documented in this thesis involves the replacement of large old single-family dwellings by high-rent, high-density apartment buildings in the Roslyn Road area just south of Winnipeg's downtown. The two key themes therefore inherent in this study are: 1) the process of land use succession in developed urban areas, and 2) the location of high-density residential development. Since these themes provide the framework for analyzing the Roslyn Road development the literature review serves to explore their dimensions as a means of illuminating the case study experience. Two sets of literature are, therefore, examined: 1) the general theories of urban land use and residential differentiation, and 2) recent studies in central city redevelopment, high-rise apartment locations and the process of development itself.

1. Generalized Models of Urban Land Use and Residential Differentiation

In the midst of the obvious complexity of urban phenomena certain identifiable patterns emerge, such as the location of residences, shopping and recreational areas, and industry. This patterning or ordering of people and activities in urban areas has been the focus of study for geographers, sociologists and economists in attempts to understand the pattern and the process of urban differentiation. Research from these sources has concentrated on the spatial and functional relationships

of urban activities and the rationale for their development.

a. Ecological Models

Some of the earliest works in this area were provided by the Chicago "School" of ecologists, most of whom were sociologists. Borrowing concepts from both earlier economists and plant biologists they worked towards creating a generalized model of urban areas. Concerns for 'community' and 'natural areas' and the outworking of concepts such as invasion, succession, dominance, gradient, and competition led to one of the classical descriptive models of urban growth, the concentric zonal model of E. W. Burgess.¹ Burgess worked on the assumption that "given model conditions of a uniform land surface, universal accessibility and free competition for space, land use will arrange itself in a series of concentric zones around a central point. The sequence of land uses from centre to periphery suggested by Burgess was: 1) the central business district; 2) the transition zone; 3) the zone of workingmen's homes; 4) the zone of better residences and 5) the commuters' zone."²

¹Reissman, L. The Urban Process. Cities in Industrial Societies. The Free Press, New York, New York, 1964.

²Herbert, D. Urban Geography - A Social Perspective. David and Charles. Newton Abbot, 1972, p. 70.

For a more detailed analysis of urban ecology see also:

Robson, B. T. Urban Analysis. A Study of City Structure with Special Reference to Sunderland. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.

Timms, G. The Urban Mosaic. Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation. Cambridge: University Press, 1971.

Burgess postulated the dynamic aspects of the model to be related to growth at the centre of the urban area, setting up a centrifugal force throughout the surrounding zones. He thus described the encroachment of the central business and retail area on the "zone of transition" and the cycle of subsequent "waves" throughout the remaining zones. Burgess stressed the importance of competition for optimum sites, and the forces of age and obsolescence in the housing inventory which encouraged the higher income groups to constantly move outwards towards the periphery of the city. Thus he differentiated the location of residences in terms of zones, placing these higher-income areas, including both single-family homes and apartments, in zone four, between the zone of workingmen's homes and the periphery or commuting zone. The ecological concept of succession, therefore, so important in Burgess' model, referred to the gradual filtering of population groups outward from the centre of the urban area as their economic and social position improved.

The second classic model of urban spatial form was the sector model of urban land use formulated by Homer Hoyt.³ Researching for the specific task of outlining areas for 'risk' capital investment for the Federal Housing Administration in Washington, Hoyt studied 142 U.S. cities, focussing particularly on their high-rent neighbourhoods. He thus developed the idea that residential neighbourhoods are

³Herbert, op. cit., p. 72.

distributed sectorally or radially, and that the high-status population, due to its competitive 'bidding' advantage, influences this spatial arrangement. Thus high-status populations chose areas with special locational attributes or where the most effective transportation was available. Hoyt also pointed out that "once the high-grade character of a residential area is established it tends to continue its growth in the same direction: since land is available in an outward direction, the growth tends to be outward and radial."⁴ He thus added a directional component to the earlier model.

Hoyt's sector model has implications for the two major themes under consideration: i.e. the process of land use succession and the location of high-density residential development. With regard to the first Hoyt noted the movement of high-grade areas towards amenity land and the subsequent occupance of these vacated areas by progressively lower income groups. Hoyt therefore retained the ecological concepts of invasion and succession as dynamic components of neighbourhood change. On the subject of the location of high-density residential development Hoyt qualified his assertion of the inevitable outward expansion of high-status neighbourhoods with the observation that occasionally higher-income groups

⁴The Spatial Expression of Urban Growth. Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 7, Association of American Geographers. Washington D.C. 1969, p. 32.

favoured apartment living, in prestige locations, near the centre of the city.⁵

The third generalized statement of the urban land use pattern is the multiple nuclei model of C. D. Harris and E. L. Ullman.⁶ This model recognized the tendency for key focii such as shopping centres, transportation intersections and recreation and industrial areas to become traffic generators, thus gradually causing the city to develop a multi-nucleated structure. In this the authors abandoned the central business district as the sole focal point of urban activity. This multi-nucleated nature of the city, therefore, meant that no one generalized spatial form could be suggested.

In reviewing these ecological models Brian Berry has pointed out that major cities in fact show evidence of all three types of patterns - the concentric, the zonal and the clustered. On the basis of large-scale factor analytic studies he showed that there are just three dimensions of socioeconomic variations of city neighbourhoods. "These are (a) the axial (sectoral) variation of neighbourhoods by socioeconomic rank; (b) the concentric variation of neighbourhoods according to family structure; and (c) the localized segregation of particular ethnic groups."⁷ Within the concentric

⁵Hoyt, H. "The Pattern of Movement of Residential Rental Neighbourhoods," in Mayer, H. and Kohn, F. eds. Readings in Urban Geography. Chicago: University Press, 1959, p. 503.

⁶Herbert, op. cit., p. 72.

⁷Berry, B. J. L. "Internal Structure of the City," in Urban Problems and Prospects. Everett, R. O. and Leach, R. H. eds. Oceanic Publications Inc. New York, 1965, pp. 106-108.

pattern of family structure, Berry noted the continuum from low urbanization (suburban, younger families, single-family dwellings) to high urbanization (central city, older families, fewer children, apartments).

b. Economic Models

The early economists adapted Von Thunen's work on agricultural land markets to the urban land market, and in particular his concept of competitive bidding advantage and accessibility. Recent urban location theory has refined the concepts of rent and density gradients as explanations of residential space by introducing the idea of "equal advantage."⁸ This idea is expressed as a consumer trade-off between housing costs and transportation costs in locating at any given distance from the city centre. Thus Alonso writes: "A consumer, given his income and his pattern of tastes, will seek to balance the costs and bother of commuting against the advantages of cheaper land with increasing distance from the centre of the city and the satisfaction of more space for living."⁹ Alonso then goes on to show the point of equilibrium as the bid rent curve which maximizes distance from the city centre and the tastes and budget of the consumer. Despite the refinement of including household preferences in

⁸Winsborough, H. H. "City Growth and City Structure" in Leahy, W. H., McKee, D. L. and Dean, R. D. (eds.). Urban Economics: Theory, Development and Planning. The Free Press, New York, 1970, pp. 240.

⁹Alonso, W. "A Theory of the Urban Land Market" in Leahy, McKee and Dean, Urban Economics, op. cit. pp. 60.

their theory of urban land use authors such as Alonso and Wingo remain firmly in the tradition of explaining urban land use on the basis of land value gradients and accessibility measures.¹⁰

Hartshorn summarizes the critical viewpoints of several authors to demonstrate the inadequacy of this interpretation of urban land use patterns.¹¹ 1) The trade-off between increased space and travel distance as an explanation of housing consumption is unrealistic, since with modern transportation developments families can have both space and accessibility in outlying areas. 2) The success of new central city rental developments shows that the more affluent are prepared to live closer to the downtown if the quality of the apartments suits their tastes and preferences. 3) The traditional urban constructs do not apply to the rapidly growing non-white sector of North American cities. 4) The idea of the Central Business District as the single employment core in the city is unrealistic, given the decentralized nature of employment areas, retail outlets and apartment complexes.

With reference to the themes of land use succession in urban areas and the location of high-density development

¹⁰Wingo, L. Transportation and Urban Land. Washington. Resources for the Future, 1961. Alonso, W. Location and Land Use. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

¹¹Hartshorn, T. A. "Inner City Residential Structure and Decline", Annals of the Association of American Geographers. Volume 61, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 72-96.

Herbert points out that in his theory Alonso replaces the "mechanistic growth processes" of the ecologists as the explanation for urban residential differentiation with the "tastes, preferences and life-styles of individuals choosing a place to live," while the theory was also flexible enough to be able to "accommodate contemporary trends such as the move back towards the central city of a limited section of higher-income groups."¹²

Summary

On the basis of this review of the "generalized models of urban land use and residential differentiation" the two themes of this thesis can be summarized as follows:

1. The concept of land use succession can be described as the dual process of the "filtering down" of residences as the higher-income groups push out toward the periphery of the urban area, and the "filtering up" of lower-income groups out of the central city neighbourhoods into these homes as their economic and social status improves.¹³ The one major exception to this growth process is the preference for some high-status groups to live in apartment complexes close to the central area of the city.

¹²Herbert, op. cit., p. 77.

¹³A more detailed analysis of the filtering concept is provided in Smith, W. F. Filtering and Neighbourhood Change. The Centre for Real Estate and Urban Economics, Institute of Urban and Regional Development. University of California, Berkeley, 1964.

2. High-density residential developments are located in central areas, in particular on the fringes of the Central Business District, and at significant secondary nodes, such as major traffic intersections and along major traffic arteries. Burgess located apartments within the "zone of better residences," while Alonso in fact suggested that high-rise apartments could occur in any of the five concentric zones, provided that attractive amenities such as parks, shopping complexes or fast arterial highways were close.

2. Empirical Studies in Apartment Development

Several excellent works are available on the subject of apartment development.¹⁴ However, the primary author whose researches are to be examined in this section of the literature review is Larry S. Bourne.¹⁵ His research on redevelop-

¹⁴Frieden, B. J. The Future of Old Neighbourhoods. Rebuilding for a Changing Population. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964.

Smith, W. F. The Low Rise Speculative Apartment. The Centre for Real Estate and Urban Economics, Institute of Urban and Regional Government. University of California, Berkeley, 1964.

Neutze, M. The Suburban Apartment Boom. Case Study of a Land Use Problem. Resources for the Future Inc. Washington D. C., 1968.

Goodall, B. The Economics of Urban Areas. Oxford, New York, Pergamon Press, 1972.

¹⁵Bourne, L. S. Private Redevelopment of the Central City: Spatial Processes of Structural Change in the City of Toronto. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 112, 1967.

ment in the central area of Toronto provides the conceptual basis for the present thesis. On the basis of Bourne's work, therefore, the two key themes of the process of land use succession and the location of high-density residential development can be examined in greater detail. An additional theme examined by Bourne and his colleagues - the process of development itself - is also included in this literature review.

(i) The Process of Land Use Succession in Urban Areas

The aggregate approaches to land use analysis provided by the ecological and economic models fail to take into consideration the physical or structural resources of the city - i.e., the standing stock of buildings. Instead they concentrate on the movement of social groups through urban neighbourhoods at various points in time, with the resultant concentric, axial and clustered spatial configurations summarized by Berry.¹⁶ This sequent occupance of urban

- "Market, Location and Site Selection in Apartment Construction," Canadian Geographer. Volume XII, No. 4, 1968, pp. 211-226.

- "Land Use Succession in Urban Areas: A Study of Structure and Change," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Volume 1, 1969 (a), pp. 12-15.

- "Location Factors in the Redevelopment Process: A Model of Residential Change." Land Economics. Volume XLV, No. 2, May 1969 (b), pp. 183-193.

- "Physical Adjustment Processes and Land Use Succession: A Conceptual Review and Central City Example." Economic Geography. Volume 47, No. 1, January 1971, pp. 1-15.

¹⁶ Berry, op. cit., p. 108.

neighbourhoods by different social groups illustrates one of two interrelated processes of succession found in urban research.¹⁷

The second process of succession - and the one investigated by Bourne for Toronto - is that referring to the sequential occupance of a given site by different land uses.¹⁸

For Bourne, therefore, the process of land use succession is identified as "the succession of uses of urban property which are the result of adjustments in the building stock."¹⁹

Bourne notes that existing theories of the spatial patterning of urban land uses do not take into account the variable character of the structural stock and the processes of change within this stock. "Few studies have sought to establish the nature and process of structural change in the standing stock of buildings in a city, and to describe the characteristics of the sites and areas undergoing change."²⁰ He thus supports Bogue's call for increasing our understanding of present city structure by unravelling "layers" of building activity (each perhaps a decade long) and analyzing the activity in terms

¹⁷ Bourne, Private Redevelopment of the Central City. 1967, p. 37.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁹ Bourne, Economic Geography. 1971, p. 1.

²⁰ Bourne, Private Redevelopment . . . 1967, p. 13.

of the forces that accompanied it.²¹ The standing stock of buildings, therefore, is involved in the overall response of the urban area to changes in the underlying conditions of supply and demand. As Goodall notes:

Increased demand generated by growth of population and activities is accommodated within existing urban structures, at least in the short run. Changes in demand, reflecting changes in social standards consequent upon economic progress and growth, must also be largely satisfied within existing supply situations. Improvements in transport, routes and media alter the relative locational advantage of sites and prompt changes in use and intensity of use of sites and buildings within the existing built-up area. Technological advance can reduce the relative attractiveness of older buildings for the uses for which they were originally designed. Changes within the existing stock of buildings, redevelopment, and addition to stock by outward expansion, represent complementary adjustments in the process of urban growth.²²

The building stock, therefore, has to continuously adapt to changing needs and demands for space. This adaptation varies from adjustments and modifications within the property or building unit itself to total replacement and redevelopment of the property. However, because of the nature of urban real property investment, the latter action resulting in new construction, is a much costlier and thus less frequent decision than the internal modification of individual properties. "In any urban area, given the durability and immobility of buildings, the supply of real property is fixed

²¹Bogue, D. J. Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research. Oxford, Ohio. Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University and Population Research and Training Centre. University of Chicago, 1953, p. 23.

²²Goodall, op. cit., p. 205.

in the short run and change is slow and costly. Once a building has been erected, it is generally uneconomic to replace it with anything other than a building which represents a more intensive use."²³

Bourne adds a time dimension to this adaptation in the structural stock of buildings. He notes that the process of adaptation to change tends to be gradual and fall into a series of distinct stages:²⁴

First, the original function* for which the building was intended, the equilibrium* situation is replaced by a new function, usually resulting in an increased intensity of use. The next stage involves partial conversion of the building to better accommodate its new occupant. Several such modifications may take place over the life of a building. The final and least widespread stage is the physical replacement of the building which in effect establishes a new equilibrium between structure and function."²⁵

For Bourne, therefore, the conceptual development of land use succession is a sequent occupance idea referring to the adjustment process by which the land and building stock are adapted over time to changing needs. Thus the definition noted earlier in this section which refers to the process of

²³Goodall, op. cit., p. 206.

²⁴Bourne, Land Economics. 1969, p. 184.

*Author's italics.

²⁵For a parallel analysis of the cyclical pattern of change in neighbourhoods, see Hoover, E. M. and Vernon, R. Anatomy of a Metropolis. New York Metropolitan Region Study. Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co. 1962.

See also: Birch, D. L. "Toward a Stage Theory of Urban Growth," Journal of American Institute of Planners. Volume 37, March 1971, pp. 78-87.

land use succession as "the succession of uses of urban property which are the result of adjustments in the building stock." In centrally developed areas this adjustment will normally be to a higher density, more than likely within the same land use type and for the most part involving both development of vacant land and replacement of existing properties with new construction.²⁶

Bourne tested this concept of land use succession in Toronto, utilizing assessment and building permit data for the period 1952 - 1962 inclusive. He found redevelopment to be increasingly intensive (i.e., from low to high density), specialized (i.e., offices and apartments), and localized (i.e., higher income areas close to downtown).²⁷ The localization factors involved in the process of land use succession are examined in greater detail in the following section.

(ii) The Location of High-Density Residential Development

The emphasis in this thesis is on the process of land use succession in older residential areas, resulting for the most part in high-rise, high-rent apartment developments. Bourne distinguishes between two types of apartment construction as part of the spatial continuum of urban development and redevelopment. In this context urban development occurs mostly in the suburban fringe, while redevelopment is concen-

²⁶Bourne, Economic Geography. 1971, p. 5.

²⁷Bourne, Private Redevelopment of the Central City. 1967, p. 117.

trated in the central older areas of cities, where all building activity involves the replacement of one structure by another.²⁸ Thus he notes:

In replacing existing building stock, apartment redevelopment encounters extremely high land costs as well as the considerable costs of demolition and lost income from the existing building which are not faced in suburban developments . . . To a particular developer (therefore) potential suburban and central city sites are competitive locational choices within the same housing market for investment - risk capital in high-rise construction.²⁹

To differentiate the potential of specific locations for attracting new construction Bourne posits a three-step location process. The first spatial level is regional which refers to the location of each city neighbourhood within the existing building framework and transportation network of the entire urban area. The second spatial level stresses the importance of the local environment in urban real estate transactions. "For residential purposes the environment is obviously the neighbourhood unit, but a unit defined not only by social class but also by the condition of the physical structures, by adjacent and antecedent land uses and by the presence of local amenities."³⁰ The third spatial level focusses on the characteristics of individual sites and properties. Favourable sites are those which offer sufficient space,

²⁸ Bourne, Private Redevelopment of the Central City. 1967, p. 40.

²⁹ Bourne, Canadian Geographer. 1968, p. 218.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 218.

low acquisition costs (preferably vacant land) and attractive vistas.³¹

On the basis of these three sets of location factors Bourne stated his hypothesis on "location factors - urban redevelopment" as follows:

The distribution of redevelopment activity (new construction) among built-up areas of the city is a function of the character and distribution of the existing stock of buildings and land uses; the relative accessibility of each area to the city centre, to mass transit and to the metropolitan population as a whole; the physical and socioeconomic environment; and the cost and ease of land assembly, and the availability of vacant land.³²

He found apartment location in Toronto to have significant and positive correlation with: a) high-status residential areas on the fringe of downtown; b) large lots; c) presence of amenities; d) existing apartment concentrations and e) proximity to mass transit and major transportation routes.³³

Of interest is the negative relationship indicated between total residential construction and age of housing. Bourne, therefore, disputes Smith's contention that apartment development is primarily related to the age and obsolescence of dwellings.³⁴ He notes, on the contrary, that changes in the real property market come about as a result of external economic pressures.

³¹ Ibid., p. 218.

³² Bourne, Land Economics, 1969, pp. 186-187.

³³ Bourne, 1967, Chapters V-VII; 1968, pp. 216-222, and May 1969, pp. 185-193.

³⁴ See Smith, W. F. The Low Rise Speculative Apartment, op. cit., p. 79.

The application of these location variables, therefore, to apartment development in the Roslyn Road area will be examined in detail in Chapter Five.

(iii) The Development Process

Bourne added a third dimension to his study of private redevelopment in the City of Toronto - i.e. the process of development itself. His research had indicated the extreme degree of spatial concentration taking place in urban redevelopment, but he was anxious to show why new construction was initiated in some, but not all, areas with similar characteristics. Under his supervision a series of reports have been produced in Toronto dealing with the theme of development.³⁵ Such studies attempt to explain the developer decision-making process (i.e. the process by which a developer selects a site and begins the procedure which ends in the clearing of a site and the erection of a new building), the role of the developer in determining the location of new construction, and the ability of the developer to act within policy and political constraints.

³⁵Carney, B. Residential Development: A Study of the Decision-Making Process. M.sc. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1970.

Chamberlain, S. B. Aspects of Developer Behaviour in the Land Development Business. Research Paper No. 56, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, April 1972.

Sharpe, C. A. Public Policy and the Apartment Development Process. M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1971.

In his Toronto research Bourne notes two significant aspects of developer behaviour. The first is related to the operation of housing sub-markets, which he explores with such concepts as "clustering," "triggering mechanism" and "chain linkage location decision."³⁶ Development decisions are made in response to combinations of economic, social and political forces in different areas of the city. Once the development process is "triggered," it tends to accelerate and to be self-reinforcing. Thus Bourne notes:

Once an apartment project is approved in an area, developers will concentrate their efforts to take advantage of whatever externalities do exist and to build before land costs rise appreciably. When an area is effectively saturated, either to the limits of zoning density controls or to the point where rising land costs eliminate the competitive advantage of the area, developers will then shift elsewhere and the process begins again. There is therefore a definite chain-linkage of location decisions in apartment construction which creates a highly flexible spatial pattern over short periods of time.³⁷

In other words, once a location is seen to be profitable, the developers rush to buy up available sites, put up developments until the area is 'built-up' and then migrate elsewhere.

The second aspect of developer behaviour described by Bourne (and Neutze, The Suburban Apartment Boom, op. cit.) refers to the tendency for developers to reduce the importance of traditional location variables by increasing the scale of their developments and thus building-in externalities, such

³⁶ Bourne, Canadian Geographer. 1968, p. 222.

³⁷ Ibid.

as recreation and commercial facilities. These development trends are evident both in downtown and urban fringe locations. These two aspects of developer behaviour are not mutually exclusive, and will be examined within the Roslyn Road context in Chapters Four and Five.

Summary

This review of the literature has provided a detailed examination of the themes of land use succession and the location of high-density residential development. The two themes are linked in that in central city areas the process of land use succession for the most part results in the replacement of existing structures by new construction, primarily high-density apartment and office buildings. Such development in central city areas is also highly localized.

The relationship between the two sources of this review - the ecological and empirical literature - is aptly summarized by Goodall, who concludes that:

. . . The replacement of existing stock does not fit readily into existing theories of urban spatial structure. The process of structural change in the standing stock of buildings in an urban area represents a long-run adjustment to supply and demand forces. From the dynamic viewpoint the historical theories of urban structure and growth, which emphasize age and obsolescence, suggest that the replacement process should be concomitant with land use succession and the spatial pattern would be readily apparent, for the rate and magnitude of such structural change would be greatest at the margins of each expanding zone. A wave-like progression of new building outward from the centre following the original pattern of growth would be expected. This . . . does not seem to be the case for, even in the sequent occupance of existing buildings, there has been a shift from concentric expansion-zonation to one of uneven and interrupted expansion . . . due to better transport, artificially high

central land values, trends in business operations, and a changed attitude toward the urban centre. More and more activities have migrated to outlying locations.³⁸

It is within this changing pattern of urban development that the development of the high-rise apartment complex in the Roslyn Road area of Winnipeg is examined.

³⁸Goodall, op. cit., p. 227.

I. Introduction

The basic aim of this thesis is to answer the question: "Why did the high-rise apartment complex develop in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg?" As Figure 1 shows, a compact development of high-rise apartments is located in the bend of the Assiniboine River in the vicinity of the Legislative Buildings and within a mile of downtown Winnipeg. The following chapter examines the Roslyn Road Area in the context of the development of Winnipeg and in particular the location of the City's high-status residential district. In short, one of the City's earliest and most dramatic examples of high-rise development occurred in a distinctive Winnipeg neighbourhood, a description illustrative not only of its quiet treed environment, but also of its remarkable social history.

As the Introduction to the thesis pointed out, the second half of the decade of the sixties witnessed the rapid emergence of apartment living as a serious alternative to the single family dwelling. Several excellent studies and reports have examined this development in terms of housing economics, urban structure and urban societal life-styles.¹ Bourne in particular has examined high-rise apartment construction as part of his study of central city redevelopment for the City

¹Chapter, I, Footnotes 14-15.

of Toronto.² This thesis, however, attempts to study the dynamics of central city redevelopment as it applies to apartment development within the context of a single urban neighbourhood. Much can be learned about the process of urban development and neighbourhood change from a case-study approach to central city redevelopment. The Roslyn Road Area becomes the focus for such an intensive investigation in the present thesis. The study therefore explores the reasons for apartment development in this area of the city, looking for answers both within the characteristics peculiar to the neighbourhood itself as well as in events occurring in the larger urban and societal framework.

2. The Research Process

The sequence of research steps comprising the research design for this study are as follows:

- A. Identification of significant themes from the theoretical and empirical literature which can provide the analytic framework for the thesis.

While the focus of the study is relatively narrow - that of an explanatory study of apartment development in a small urban neighbourhood - the subject matter of private redevelopment in central city areas is decidedly complex. In his study of Toronto, Bourne lists nine major sub-headings under which he reviews an extensive theoretical and empirical literature. These include the following themes:

²Bourne, Private Redevelopment of the Central City. 1967.

1. urban spatial patterning
2. space organizing concepts
3. land use succession
4. real estate and real property
5. differential between land and building values
6. economics of redevelopment and replacement
7. filtering and the housing market
8. urban renewal and redevelopment research
9. synthesis: dynamics of urban structural change.³

An examination of this literature therefore served as the starting-point for the analysis of changes in the Roslyn Road Area. The immediate task was to identify those themes which might have predictive and explanatory capacity for the analysis of high-rise apartment development in the central city. Three were chosen:

1. the process of land use succession
2. the location of high-density residential development and
3. the development process

The first two themes were considered particularly significant for understanding the Roslyn Road experience.

B. Construction of a General Hypothesis.

This thesis is primarily qualitative in scope. Empirical data is used mostly in a descriptive fashion, while the analysis attempts to pull together the various strands of the argument for change. The focus of the argument, however, can be stated in the form of a general hypothesis, based upon the key themes of the analytic framework outlined above. In an activity as complex as central city redevelopment which involves such a wide range of decision-agents, it is perhaps

³Bourne, op. cit., p. 17.

hazardous to attempt any form of summary explanation for its occurrence. However, it is felt that the factors comprising the statement of hypothesis are both sufficiently concise in their relationship to one another and comprehensive in their scope to afford a focussed direction for the analysis.

Thus the hypothesis can be stated as follows:

High-rise apartment development in centrally located areas of cities is likely to occur when economic, social and institutional factors articulate to the advantage of development interests.

In this thesis, therefore, economic factors refer to:

the stage in the life-cycle of individual buildings, the cost of property redevelopment, the availability and locational choice of investment capital in new residential construction, and the rent-paying capacity of significant rental groups.

Social factors refer to:

the values and attitudes inherent in the demand for high-rise, high-rent apartment living in areas close to the downtown.

Institutional factors refer to:

the City's zoning by-law and the political climate affecting high-rise development on the one hand, and on the other hand the nature of homeowner and institutional resistance to zoning changes which encourage such development in their neighbourhoods, while

development interests refer to:

those sectors of society willing to make entrepreneurial decisions in the high-rise, high-rent residential market for the purposes of long-term investment or short-term capital gains.

C. Identification, Collection and Preparation of Data.

The primary task at this point in the thesis is to provide data which will have both descriptive and interpretive usefulness; descriptive, in that the area, its properties,

land use, population, zoning, environment and major functions within the urban network can be determined, (at various points in time); and interpretive, in that the dynamic process of change has to be explored. Thus in effect one level of data is needed to describe individual properties and land use, while a second level of data must relate these to the characteristics of the immediate neighbourhood and the larger urban area as a whole. Sources of data thus include the following:

1. City of Winnipeg Departments, such as Taxation, Assessment and Planning.
2. Historical, social, geographical and planning reports and studies referring to Winnipeg and the Roslyn Road Area, particularly during the major eras of the City's urban development.
3. Newspaper accounts within the context described above.
4. City Directories, maps, and in particular aerial photographs referring to the study area at various points in time.
5. Interviews with a wide range of people knowledgeable about the area, especially those who participated in its redevelopment.
6. Statistics Canada, for selected census years.

With such a wide range of data sources involving many of a qualitative nature, the necessity for an analytic framework, as outlined earlier, becomes increasingly important. Thus the hypothesis and the major analytic themes provide the framework within which to assemble and interpret data on Roslyn Road.

- D. Examination of the dimensions of change in the Roslyn Road Area, 1961 - 1971.

This section of the thesis will document the nature of the changes from an area of predominantly large old single family

dwellings (particularly west of Osborne Street) to an area of high-rise, high-rent apartments. Although construction of apartment blocks had started east of Osborne Street in the mid-1950's, these were mostly low-rise blocks. This part of the Roslyn Road Area had been zoned for this type of apartment development for some time. The major zoning change which affected the area west of Osborne Street, and which precipitated the redevelopment of that area, did not occur until early 1961. It is on this basis, therefore, that the decade 1961 - 1971 was chosen as the time-period for detailed analysis. This period also coincides with the census time-framework.

- E. Analysis of the reasons for land use change - "Why did the high-rise apartment complex develop in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg?"

The analysis of change utilizes the data sources defined earlier and attempts to relate the era of land use change to the general hypothesis and to the major themes of the literature review.

3. Scope and Limitations of the Thesis

It was pointed out earlier in this chapter that the subject of private redevelopment in the central city is a complex issue, while the hypothetical statement also attempts to recognize this. Thus it is often necessary to touch upon certain aspects of this complex issue without having the necessary data or mandate in a thesis of this nature to carry these issues to a detailed conclusion. It is therefore appropriate at this point to briefly state what this study is not:

- a. It is not a planning study, in the sense of looking at the problems of planning a high-density residential development in a relatively enclosed area, with the attendant problems of traffic congestion, shopping facilities, green space and incompatibility of land uses.
- b. It is not a sociological study in the sense of determining household activity patterns, or the degree of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with high-density apartment living.
- c. It is not a political science study in the sense of analyzing the process of decision-making, particularly with regard to zoning changes, or the nature of resident-developer confrontation.

Rather, the study attempts to keep to its relatively narrow focus, utilizing the concept of land use succession, the location of high-density residential development, and the development process itself, within a wide framework of urban geographical analysis, to explore the reasons why an area of large old single family dwellings was redeveloped in the short space of a decade into a distinctive neighbourhood of high-rise, high-rent apartments.

This chapter will examine the Roslyn Road Area in the context of the urban development of Winnipeg, with particular reference to a) the establishment of the high-status residential areas, and b) the pattern of apartment development in Winnipeg.

1. The Establishment of the High-Status Residential Areas

The ecological models referred to in the literature review discussed the residential pattern of the city in terms of socio-economic differentiation and the dynamic nature of this differentiation in terms of the continual sorting or sifting of population groups through the various urban neighbourhoods.¹ Hoyt in particular highlighted the importance of the high-status areas in the residential patterns of cities. Because of the competitive advantage of such upper-income groups they were able to exploit the locational advantages of certain areas in the city. Thus their residences were normally towards areas of scenic and amenity value, with good topographical features and, if possible, away from industry, factories and associated housing environments. An essential component of first class residential areas was the availability of good transportation facilities, be they roads,

¹See Chapter 1, pp. 8-12.

street-cars or railway lines. In addition, Hoyt pointed out that such areas of high-status housing are normally axial in character, following a transportation route in a wedge or sector from a central point in the city. In recent years Berry has confirmed the axial or sectoral pattern of high-income areas in cities, and in addition, has shown that family characteristics are distributed concentrically, while a third urban pattern, that of clustering or segregation, has been consistently identified with the location of ethnic groups, in North American cities at least.²

Recent studies of the social dimensions of urban structure in Winnipeg have identified the 'social rank' dimension as sectoral.³ Thus in commenting on the social structure of Winnipeg's environment Baxter notes that "a sector of high values to the southwest exists between Broadway, through Fort Rouge, into River Heights, and terminating at Tuxedo."⁴ (See Map 1.) Nicholson's socio-economic component was composed mainly of upper-and middle-income White Anglo-

²See Chapter I, p. 12.

³Baxter, R. S. "The Use of Diagnostic Variables in Urban Analysis with Particular Reference to Winnipeg." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Manitoba.) 1968

Nicholson, T. G. "The Structure and Pattern of Socio-Economic Areas and Housing Types in Winnipeg, 1961." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.) 1968

Herbert, D. Urban Geography, A Social Perspective, David and Charles. Newton Abbot, 1972, pp. 135-152.

⁴Baxter, op.cit., p. 152.

Saxon Protestants, located in a clearly sectoral fashion in the south and southwest portion of the city.⁵ He did note though that a slight concentric effect was operating in this sector, denoting concentrations of affluent non-W.A.S.P. ethnic groups.

For purposes of this thesis it is important to relate the location of the high-status residential areas to the historic development of the city. Winnipeg's urban pattern was set by 1914.⁶ Geography, railways, rapid population growth, the presence of a large ethnic population and the actions of real estate developers and speculators had resulted in Winnipeg becoming a city of distinctive urban neighbourhoods. (See Map 1.) The rivers not only provided the city with its early transportation routes, but also formed the basis for the river lot system that gave Winnipeg its street pattern and established the city's particular urban morphology.⁷ On the western bank of the Red the river lots met the north-south oriented lots of the Assiniboine River, thus lending to the

⁵Nicholson, op. cit., p. 58.

⁶Artibise, A. "The Urban Development of Winnipeg, 1874-1914." (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of British Columbia.) 1971.

Report and Recommendations of the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission. Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1959.

Hosse, H. A. "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba.) 1956.

⁷Gray, J. The Boy from Winnipeg. MacMillan of Canada, Toronto, 1970, p. 5.

city a distinctive rectilinear pattern. In the central portion of the city, including the area between the Assiniboine River, Notre Dame Avenue, and the first north-south river lot, the traditional North American grid-iron street pattern was adopted.⁸ The first river lot south of the Assiniboine River, running west from the Red River to the Assiniboine, was named River Avenue and forms the southern limit of the Roslyn Road Area.

This orientation established by the rivers and the river lot system was further enhanced by the arrival of the railways in Winnipeg in the years after 1881.⁹ As Map 1 shows the two major concentrations of railway activities which had the most impact on the pattern of Winnipeg's development were located north of the Assiniboine River running west from Point Douglas, and southwest of the Red River through the area known as Fort Rouge. Thus the compartmentalization of Winnipeg into distinct districts initiated by residential location in relation to the two rivers, was further encouraged by the presence of the railways. The C.P.R. yards and the Fort Rouge yards became distinct entities in the city and associated with them were such residential neighbourhoods as Weston and Fort Rouge itself. While the former area was

⁸Warkentin, J. and Ruggles, R. eds. Manitoba Historical Atlas. A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969. The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Winnipeg 1970, pp. 234, 254.

⁹Artibise, op. cit., p. 100 ff; Report and Recommendations of the G.W.I.C., op. cit., p. 29 and pp. 30-48; Hosse, op. cit., p. 87 ff.

sometimes known as 'C.P.R. town'¹⁰ Fort Rouge included such diverse socio-economic areas as Roslyn Road and its environs and the districts associated with the railway yards. However, it was the location of the C.P.R. track and yards which perhaps did more to fragment the city than any other factor. The line came through the Point Douglas area (which in 1881 was the best residential district) and the large area it came to occupy north of, and parallel to, the Assiniboine had the effect of creating a third major district in the city, namely the 'North End' of Winnipeg. Thus the C.P.R. shops and yards and the Assiniboine River gave to Winnipeg in the first decade of the 20th century three distinct residential entities known as the "North End" (north of the C.P.R. yards), Central Winnipeg (between the railway yards and the Assiniboine River, west to Sherbrook) and the 'South End' or South Winnipeg (the area south of the Assiniboine and west of the Red River).

The Rivers and railways thus provided the basic physical framework within which the city experienced a dramatic population increase in the period 1896 to 1914. The Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission refers to these years as the period of "Winnipeg's Great Expansion."¹¹ This was definitely the 'boom' period in Winnipeg's urban development, of much greater and lasting impact than the brief but

¹⁰The Manitoba Free Press, August 17, 1907.

¹¹Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, p. 32.

spectacular real estate 'boom' of 1881-1882 at which time the district of Fort Rouge was incorporated into the city.¹² The population of Winnipeg increased from 40,000 in 1900 to approximately 150,000 in 1914.¹³ This four-fold population growth resulted in the pressure for extensive subdivision of lots in central and north Winnipeg, and in the creation of new residential suburbs such as Riverview, Elmwood and River Heights in Winnipeg, and in Norwood and Deer Lodge in adjoining municipalities.¹⁴ The 'West End' and the 'South End' developed as middle- and upper-income neighbourhoods respectively, with residents of British ancestry predominating in both areas.¹⁵

This contrasted greatly with both the 'North End' and the City of St. Boniface, two areas where non-British residents predominated. The City of St. Boniface had a long history as a French-Canadian settlement, founded by Roman Catholic missionaries, while the 'North End' of Winnipeg became synonymous with immigrants from Central and Eastern

¹²Hosse, p. 113.

¹³Both Artibise (p. 173) and the G.W.I.C. (p. 46) give the City of Winnipeg's 1914 population to be approximately 150,000, while Hosse (p. 16) claims a population of 275,000 for Greater Winnipeg in 1914 based on estimates by the Henderson Directories (see Footnote below).

¹⁴Henderson's Greater Winnipeg Directories. Winnipeg: Henderson Directories Limited, 1906, 1907.

¹⁵Artibise, op. cit., p. 243 ff.

Europe.¹⁶ The 'North End' developed as the ethnic quarter of Winnipeg, the area of first settlement for the majority of immigrants crowding into Winnipeg as the Canadian West was opened up under the great settlement programme of the Canadian Government in the years between 1896 and the First World War. The district north of the C.P.R. tracks was first settled by railway workers from the British Isles and Ontario, then in succession by Jewish and Slavic immigrants. By 1914 the city had attained a distinctive ethnic and cultural character: thus St. Boniface was French, the 'North End' was East European, in particular Jewish and Slavic, the 'West End' and the 'South End' were British, while in central Winnipeg separate enclaves of Icelandic and German populations were established.

However, within South Winnipeg there was considerable variation in the socio-economic character of the population and in the housing they inhabited. Significant in this development were the activities of real estate companies and land speculators.¹⁷ By the turn of the century the attraction

¹⁶Fromson, R. "Geographic Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups, 1951-1961." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba.) 1964

For an initial exploration of the 'North End' of Winnipeg as an ethnic quarter see, Vincent, D. B. "Ethnic Groups in Winnipeg: A Socio-Economic Study of the North End." (Unpublished paper, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, April, 1967.)

¹⁷The Manitoba Free Press, June 20, 1903, refers to the action of a syndicate in the purchase and subdivision of exclusive 'Armstrong's Point'; The Manitoba Free Press,

of the Assiniboine River for high-status residences was well established. The pressure on the central area of Winnipeg as a result of Winnipeg's great urban expansion after 1896 had rendered the first class residential area of the Hudson's Bay Reserve, between the Assiniboine and Portage Avenue, increasingly unattractive. The Roslyn Road Area had become the new locale for high-status residences, to be joined after 1903 and 1904 by the areas of Armstrong's Point and Crescentwood.¹⁸ This latest subdivision was created out of 300 acres of land south of, and including, the magnificent boulevard of Wellington Crescent which ran along the southern bank of the Assiniboine River from River Avenue west into the area soon to be known as Tuxedo. West of Crescentwood the affluent 'suburb' of River Heights was developed in 1907. Thus by 1914 the area of high-status housing extended in a wedge southwest of the Assiniboine, separated from the central business area by the Assiniboine River and from the Fort Rouge railway yards by the Pembina Road and the middle-and lower-income districts of Crescentwood and Fort Rouge.

(See Map 1.)

In his book, The Boy from Winnipeg, James Gray noted that in the late 1890's "the grain brokers and economic upper-crust had already begun to move across the river into Fort

November 6, 1909, in an article entitled: "A Year of Progress in South Winnipeg," refers to the initiative of C. H. Enderton & Co. in creating the exclusive residential district of Crescentwood, opposite Armstrong's Point, in 1904.

¹⁸See Footnote 17.

Rouge and Crescentwood and along Wellington Crescent," while The Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission simply stated that "south of the River, on Mayfair, River and Stradbrook Avenues, and on Wellington Crescent, a number of mansion-type homes were built on ample grounds."¹⁹ Contemporary authors, however, were not so restrained in their descriptions of these high-status residential areas. Thus the Manitoba Free Press of 1907 in an article entitled, "August Trip Through Suburban Winnipeg," describes the area of Roslyn Road to Crescentwood as follows:

Perhaps the most noticeable improvements to be recorded is in South Winnipeg, whose natural advantages in the way of trees and situation have given it a handicap which is hard to overcome by the other portions of the city . . . There is no doubt that this portion of the city is perhaps known as the most delightful residential portion of Winnipeg, and a trip through its principal thoroughfare is liable to clinch that idea in the mind of the impartial visitor. Mayfair Avenue and Roslyn Road, River Avenue, Spadina (Stradbrook) and Wardlaw can perhaps scarcely be classed as suburban streets, being within fifteen to twenty minutes walk of the business section; but when this section is passed, one drops directly into suburbia, and not only that, but into a district of fine residences, beautiful well treed boulevards, and perfectly paved streets. . . Wellington Crescent is now one of the most desirable portions of Winnipeg and it is here that many of the city's merchant princes and financial men have their homes."²⁰

Such authors were also quick to note the accessibility of the area to the central business district, an accessibility enhanced by the construction of bridges across the Assinboine

¹⁹ Gray, J. The Boy from Winnipeg, op. cit., p. 3.
Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, op. cit., p. 46.

²⁰ The Manitoba Free Press, August 17, 1907.

at Maryland, Osborne and Main Street and the availability of the 'street-car' through the area. Thus the first electric street-car which ran from Main Street to Fort Osborne via River Avenue and Osborne Street,²¹ utilized two of the three bridges mentioned earlier and some of Fort Rouge's well-paved streets. The advantages of site, amenity value and functional accessibility combined to highlight the competitive advantage of the upper-income group in locating their residences as suggested by Hoyt.²²

While the first decade of the 20th Century was a period of great urban development in Winnipeg, the inter-war years were years of quiet stagnation, except for a brief spurt of construction activity between 1927 and 1930.²³ The Depression Years (1929-1939) had a marked effect on the first class residential area, including Roslyn Road and its environs. By 1930 the neighbourhood of Tuxedo, immediately to the west of the established first class residential area, was being developed as the newest location of prestigious housing.²⁴ The Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission also noted, however, that "within the City of Winnipeg more old houses were demolished during the years 1931-1939 than new ones constructed. Among the houses torn down were some of the

²¹The Manitoba Free Press, August 10, 1907.

²²See Chapter I, p. 9..

²³Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, pp. 49-50.

²⁴The Winnipeg Tribune, February 26, 1930.

most handsome in the city, located in fashionable River Heights, and demolished to avoid the crushing burden of municipal taxation."²⁵ Three of the largest estates on Roslyn Road were also broken up at this time and the land put on the market as a new subdivision for single family houses.²⁶

These demolitions were perhaps the most dramatic effects of the Depression Years on the first class residential areas of Winnipeg. Other significant changes to neighbourhood and property also occurred as noted by the historian for St. Luke's Parish Church, the parish which encompassed the oldest part of Fort Rouge, of which Roslyn Road was perhaps the most affluent sector:

During this period the whole face of the parish began to change. This district, which was once made up of private homes in which family life played an integral part, gradually became a district of duplexes, rooming houses, nursing homes and apartment blocks.²⁷

Thus in these two decades the first class residential district expanded westward into the Tuxedo Park area, while the oldest section of this high-status housing experienced the demolition of homes, conversion of others into suites, and the accompanying migration of some of the earliest Roslyn Road families

²⁵Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, op. cit., p. 50.

²⁶City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division. Personal Communication, Mr. C. R. Simonite, Winnipeg.

²⁷"Our First Half Century." The Story of St. Luke's, Winnipeg, 1897-1947. Winnipeg, 1947, p. 12.

from the area.²⁸

The impact on the Roslyn Road area of World War II and the years of urban growth which followed it is examined in detail in Chapter 5.

2. The Pattern of Apartment Development in Winnipeg

One of Bourne's key locator variables in the location of new high-rise apartment developments was the relationship between new apartment construction and past directions of apartment growth in the city.²⁹ It is, therefore, important to examine the historical and locational trends of apartment development in Winnipeg, and to view the Roslyn Road area in this context. Three recent studies are helpful in this regard.³⁰ In an essentially qualitative study of apartment

²⁸Bachtold, J. et. al. "A Survey of Two Down Town Areas in the City of Winnipeg." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, School of Social Work, University of Manitoba.) 1959.

²⁹See Chapter I, p. 22.

³⁰Styliaras, D., Koerte, A., and Hurst, W. H. A Study of Apartment Housing in Winnipeg, and Recommendations for Future Apartment Building in the Prairie Regions. A Research Project undertaken by the Planning Research Center, at the Faculty of Architecture, the University of Manitoba, sponsored by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Winnipeg. October, 1967.

Reid, Crowther and Partners Ltd. Analysis of Apartments in Metropolitan Winnipeg: A Study of Occupancy and Parking Factors Related to Zoning. Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg. March, 1969.

Humphrey, R. B. "An Analysis of Apartment Growth, Location, Morphology, and Quality in Metropolitan Winnipeg, 1969." (Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg, April 1971.)

development in Winnipeg, Styliaras noted four periods of apartment development:

1. up to 1914
2. the inter-war years, up to 1940
3. 1946-1955
4. 1955-1967³¹

and described the location of these apartments in four concentric rings:

1. downtown areas
2. sub-downtown apartment areas (includes Roslyn Road)
3. older single-family areas
4. outlying areas³²

The first two time-periods studies by Styliaras have already been reviewed in the first part of this chapter, under the establishment of the high-status residential areas. It is nonetheless helpful to briefly note the key factors in apartment developments during the four time-periods as follows:

1. up to 1914: as the earlier section has shown, Winnipeg's urban pattern was set by that date. Since apartments at that time favoured a middle class tenancy, good neighbourhoods such as the Hudson's Bay Reserve and Fort Rouge were considered important.³³ Besides the socio-economic quality of the neighbourhood, locational characteristics were also important. Thus proximity to the city centre and street-car lines favoured residential areas such as Fort Rouge, in particular streets such as River Avenue, Stradbrook and Osborne. Two apartment

³¹Styliaras, op. cit., Introduction.

³²Ibid., p. 142.

³³Styliaras, op. cit., p. 23.

buildings - the Rosemount and the Roslyn Apartments - were constructed during this period in the Roslyn Road area.³⁴

(See Map 3.)

2. the inter-war years: the brief construction spurt between 1927 and 1930 continued to favour areas close to downtown Winnipeg for apartment development.³⁵ The Fort Rouge area was still included in this pattern and six new blocks were built in the Roslyn Road area.³⁶ (See Map 3.) As the previous section pointed out, there was great pressure during the Depression decade of 1929-1939 to subdivide both large apartment suites and single-family dwellings.

3. post World War II to 1955: during the war the federal government encouraged the construction of many small 2 1/2 storey blocks along major roads, such as Corydon Avenue, Marion Street and Academy Road.³⁷ (Plate 1 and Map 2.) Although the suburban expansion of Winnipeg, and indeed the growth of the city itself, was proceeding rapidly during this decade, apartment development was the least recorded of any of the four time-periods.³⁸ Only one block - The Saigon - was built in Roslyn Road during this time.³⁹ (See Map 3.)

³⁴City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

³⁵Styliaras, p. 48.

³⁶City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division: the new apartment buildings were: The Lonsdale; The Bronx; The Biltmore; The Locarno; The Blackstone; The Rossmore.

³⁷Styliaras, p. 62.

³⁸Styliaras, p. 66.

³⁹City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

4. 1955 to 1967: Styliaras noted that the combination of technological innovation and apartment demand in the mid-fifties led to the tremendous expansion of high-rise apartment development, both in the suburbs and in the city proper.⁴⁰ Within the city new construction favoured areas close to the downtown, especially in what were considered 'prestige areas', such as Wellington Crescent and Roslyn Road.⁴¹ Seventeen apartment blocks were built in the Roslyn Road area during this time-period. Their locations are shown in Map Three. Of these seventeen blocks, seven were low-rise apartments (under four storeys), three were high-rise apartments (four to seven storeys) and seven were large high-rise apartment developments (more than seven storeys).⁴² The seven low-rise blocks provided 225 apartment units as opposed to 855 for the ten high-rise blocks. The Reid-Crowther Report noted that in the period 1960-1966 high-rise apartment units*, located primarily in the Roslyn Road area, Portage West (see Map 2 and Plates 2 and 3) and Grant Avenue (see Map 2 and Plates 4 and 5) accounted for 47 per cent of all apartment units.⁴³

⁴⁰Styliaras, p. 70, and Reid-Crowther, Analysis of Apartments in Metropolitan Winnipeg. p. 4.

⁴¹Styliaras, p. 76.

⁴²City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division. (Between 1968 and 1971 five more apartment developments - all large high-rise apartment blocks - were constructed in the Roslyn Road area, providing 876 apartment units. See Map 3.)

⁴³Reid-Crowther, op. cit., p. 6.

*High-rise refers to both four-seven storeys and large high-rise unless otherwise indicated.

In terms of actual apartment structures, however, low-rise blocks outnumbered high-rise 289 to 51.⁴⁴ Humphrey also pointed out that in 1969, the peak year for apartment development in Winnipeg, the proportion of high-rise apartment blocks (four-seven storeys) weakened in favour of low-rise and large high-rise apartment blocks,⁴⁵ a trend evidenced in Roslyn Road between 1968 and 1971. (See footnote 42.)

Styliaras described the location of apartment developments in Winnipeg in terms of four concentric rings: a) the downtown; b) the sub-downtown; c) older single-family residential areas, and d) outlying areas.⁴⁶ These four areas basically summarize the 21 major and minor apartment districts identified by Reid-Crowther in their study.⁴⁷ The authors also noted that over the period of apartment development in Winnipeg they studied (1960-1966), 50 per cent of all apartments were located with a 1 1/4 mile radius of Portage Avenue and Memorial Boulevard (see Map 2),⁴⁸ a radius that would include the downtown and sub-downtown concentrations of Styliaras. During the period 1960-1966, however, when the number of apartment units in suburban locations almost equalled that

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 6

⁴⁵Humphrey, op. cit., p. 23

⁴⁶Styliaras, op. cit., p. 142.

⁴⁷Reid-Crowther, Table 3, p. 7. The Roslyn Road Area as defined in this thesis is both expanded by the authors and divided into two, as Roslyn West and Roslyn East.

⁴⁸Reid-Crowther, p. 6.

of the city (4557 to 4619), major transportation routes became the prime locations for apartment development.⁴⁹ Areas such as Portage Avenue West and Grant Avenue have previously been mentioned in this regard (see footnote 43). This trend both to major transportation routes and to suburban locations continued such that, by 1969, the peak year of apartment development in Winnipeg, Humphrey found that slightly more than half of the 5158 apartment units were located in new clusters of apartment development, mostly suburban, such as Fort Garry, South of the University of Manitoba (Plates 6 and 7), along Pembina Highway, St. Vital, near St. Mary's shopping centre (Plate 8), North Kildonan, along Henderson Highway (Plates 9 and 10) and West Kildonan, along Leila and Jefferson (Plate 11).⁵⁰ These areas are also shown on Map 2. The year 1969 also marked a trend towards large high-rise apartment construction in the downtown area, as a response to the Downtown Development Plan of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg.⁵¹ Although the scale of apartment development in Winnipeg dropped markedly in 1970 and 1971, the suburban locations continued to attract apartment development at the expense of the city whose percentage of the total (for both row and apartment units) fell from 46.1 per cent in

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁰Humphrey, R., op. cit., pp. 12-13.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

1969 to 19.4 and 23.5 per cent respectively in 1970 and 1971.⁵²

Summary

In summary, therefore, the spatial expression of apartment development in Winnipeg in the decade 1961 to 1971 was threefold, involving: a) the downtown area and downtown fringe; b) major transportation routes, and c) suburban development, including the urban fringe.

This section also showed the cyclical pattern of apartment development in Winnipeg over a 60 year period, with an apartment boom first in the period 1910-1914, then again briefly from 1927-1930, and thirdly the sustained growth of apartment development from the mid-1950's to the present. Differences between the pre-1930 and post-1955 periods have been noted. In the former period apartment buildings rarely exceeded four storeys (an exception was the Roslyn Apartments, at the corner of Roslyn Road and Osborne, built 1909, see Plate 12), while in response to the transportation facilities of the time, they also favoured proximity both to street-car lines and downtown Winnipeg.

In the present era, the apartment industry has responded to new construction technology, increased land costs and a major shift in the social values and attitudes of people with large high-rise apartment developments located in a

⁵²The City of Winnipeg, Planning Division, unpublished data, July 19, 1973.

distinct pattern as described above. In both periods, however, the importance of good neighbourhoods was stressed, and that, combined with the natural attractiveness of the Roslyn Road area and its proximity to central Winnipeg, caused the area to be favoured by apartment developments.

CHAPTER IV High-Rise Apartment Development in the
Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg

1. Introduction

In his study of Toronto Bourne utilized the concept of structural change in the standing stock of buildings to examine the complex process of urban change in the city.¹ Structural change he defined as "including all new construction, major building modifications and demolitions,"² and in his analysis he attempted:

- "1. a description of the nature* of changes in the period under study, in terms of the amount, type, density and general distribution of new construction within the city;
2. a description of the relative rate of change among and between different activities and areas;
3. an examination of the degree of correlation between structural change and the economic, physical and social characteristics of the areas affected by change; and
4. an examination of the characteristics of individual properties before and after redevelopment to analyze the replacement process in structures and to establish a succession of land uses through time."³

In the case-study approach adopted in the present thesis, therefore, the second area of analysis does not apply. The

¹Bourne, L. S. Private Redevelopment of the Central City, op. cit.

²Ibid., p. 62-63.

³p. 64.

*Author's emphasis.

relationships between structural change and neighbourhood characteristics, and structural change and the process of land use succession are considered in the following chapter. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to examine the nature of structural change in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg in the decade 1961-1971.

While Bourne was able to utilize complete property inventories for Toronto in the years 1949 and 1962, in terms of detailed lot and building characteristics, only one such inventory was available for the present study. Certain data adjustments were therefore necessary. The starting point was the 1961 City of Winnipeg Tax Roll which listed all properties by lot description. Since Assessment Data was unavailable for 1961 properties which have since been demolished the Henderson Directories provided an indication of property use at the beginning of the study period. On this basis, therefore, a generalized land use inventory of the area was all that could be prepared since the City Street Directory is not sufficiently reliable to permit a detailed classification of Residential Uses to be made. The 1959 aerial photograph of the Roslyn Road Area (Figure 2), in conjunction with a large-scale property map (1":100') enabled the identification of the properties involved.

Since the focus of the analysis at this stage of the thesis was the examination of the nature of structural change in the period 1961-1971, the record of Building Permits (City of Winnipeg, Planning Division) became the major source



Figure 2. The Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg, 1959.

of data. Thus all new construction, major building modifications and demolitions were listed for area properties in the time-period.

The third step in data preparation was the compilation of a 1971 land use inventory, based on the 1971 Assessment Rolls, utilizing the same generalized classification as the 1961 inventory. Thus in somewhat limited form the 'before' and 'after' dimensions of structural change in the Roslyn Road Area in the decade 1961-1971 were recorded.

2. The Nature of Structural Change in the Roslyn Road Area

The most significant dimension of structural change in the Roslyn Road Area is the overwhelming influence of replacement in the process of the area's adaptation and change. Forty-one properties (including two removals) were demolished in the area during the decade 1961-1971.* In 1961, thirty-two of these properties were classified as 'Residential', five as "Commercial', and the remaining four as 'Institutional'. Table 3 shows the properties affected by demolition and their subsequent re-use. For every two dwellings demolished one apartment building was constructed. Of the 16 new apartment structures, one ambitious twin-storey project halted construction once the foundations were in,

* Roslyn Crescent is not included in this portion of the analysis. Although one new home was built on the Crescent in the time-period 1961-1971, since the area is comparatively new and zoned R1, Single Family, building modifications are most likely to be additions to the dwelling or garage.

two are three-storey walk-ups, and the remaining 13 are high-rise apartment buildings.⁴

It is important to examine each of these elements of structural change in more detail.

A. Demolitions

Data from the Henderson Directory indicate that more than half of the residential dwellings were being used by two or more households, and some, in fact, were designated as apartments. All but two of these dwellings were located west of Osborne Street. Thus the impact of demolition as an element of structural change becomes all the more significant in this portion of the study area. The four 'Institutional' properties are all located in the area between Evergreen Place and Osborne Street. Two of these buildings were used by the Winnipeg Bible College, one was a nursing home and the other was owned by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Winnipeg. The five 'Commercial' properties included three service stations on Osborne Street, and two unspecified commercial ventures, one on River Avenue, and the other behind the Roslyn Apartments on Osborne Street.

While 'Residential' demolitions represent almost 80 per cent of the total demolitions it is instructive to look at this figure in relationship to the 1961 land use inventory assembled from the 1961 Tax Rolls and Henderson's

⁴City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division: all data on apartments are from this source.

City Directory. The total of 105 in the inventory includes, 'Residential'-77; 'Institutional'-13; 'Commercial'-9; and 'Vacant Land'-6. Approximately 40 per cent of the 1961 inventory was affected by demolitions, with a similar proportion applying to the 'Residential' uses (41.5 per cent). However, when the 17 apartment buildings of the Roslyn Road Area are subtracted from this total, the proportion of residential dwellings affected by this element of structural change is all the more significant (53 per cent). However dramatic this data might be it is necessary to include into the 'Residential' total the 24 properties of Roslyn Crescent: thus the percentage of 'Residential' demolitions as a proportion of all non-apartment dwellings drops to 36.6 per cent, and to 31.6 per cent as a proportion of all residential dwellings in the Roslyn Road Area in 1961.

B. Major Building Modifications

A total of six building modifications were recorded. Three involved alterations to properties which included some activity besides 'Residential', one a dentist's office with suites on the second floor and the other two, nursing homes. In the other three properties, a garage was converted into a dwelling (a bachelor suite) while non-specified alterations were recorded for a dwelling and a dental clinic.

This element of structural change, therefore, in comparison to that of demolitions, played a relatively minor role in the land use change process in the study area. These structural changes, however, are important for our under-

standing of the process by which the building stock continually adjusts itself to changing conditions and demands.

C. New Construction

Table 3 and Map 3 attempt to illustrate the process of replacement in the development of the Roslyn Road Area during the time-period 1961-1971. This economic intervention in the life of the area not only precipitated the removal of many of the finest homes in the neighbourhood, but it also introduced a more intensive residential land use, and, in many ways, a new residential environment. Fifteen new apartment buildings were constructed in the Roslyn Road Area, all of them west of Osborne Street. The first two apartment buildings were three-storey walk-ups, "Clifford Arms" and "Nassau Manor", with a total of 54 apartment suites. The remaining 13 apartment buildings are differentiated as High-Rise Apartments (4-7 storeys) and Large High-Rise (8 storeys and over). The last three apartment developments to be built in the area doubled and in one case quadrupled this height qualification. Only two High-Rise Apartments were constructed in the Roslyn Road Area in this decade: the 6-storey "Wilmot Park Plaza" (84 suites) and 7-storey "Dorset House" (24 suites). The 11 Large High-Rise Apartment blocks, therefore, range in height from the 8-storey "London Towers" (7 storeys, plus Penthouse, 31 suites) to the 38-storey "55 Nassau" (292 suites). Table 3 and Map 3 denote the number of storeys and suites of the remaining eight blocks. Plans for "Hycroft

Table 3. Structural Change in the Roslyn Road Area, 1961-1971.

<u>Street</u>	<u>New Construction</u>	<u>Major Bldg. Mods.</u>	<u>Demolitions</u>	<u>Site Re-Use</u>
Roslyn Road	35 36 62 138 139			
		Nursing Home Dwelling	Residential	Parking
	London Towers (7+ Penthouse 31)		Residential	Parking
	144 Clifford Arms (3:23)		Residential	
	188 188 Roslyn Road (10:34)		Residential	
	195		Residential	Apt. Site
	214		Residential	Vacant
	230 Sussex House (14:111)			
	236		Residential	Apt. Site
	238		Residential	Apt. Site
	242-4		Residential	Apt. Site
	246 Imperial Place (12:118)		Residential	
	252		Residential	Apt. Site
	264		Residential	Apt. Site
	260- Canterbury House (12:142)		Residential	
	270		(2)	
	280		Residential	Apt. Site
	300 Fountain House (13:180)			
Roslyn Place	1 2 3 4		Residential	Apt. Site
			Residential	Apt. Site
			Residential	Apt. Site
			Residential	Apt. Site
Wilmot Place	59	Wilmot Park Plaza (6:84)	Residential	
Nassau Street	48 50		Residential	Apt. Site
		Nassau Manor (3:31)		
	56		Residential	Apt. Site
	64			
	55	Nassau (38:292)	Garage to Dwlg.	

<u>Street</u>	<u>New Construction</u>	<u>Major Bldg Mods</u>	<u>Demolitions</u>	<u>Site Re-Use</u>
Ever-green	1	No.1 Evergreen Pl. (29:224)		
	2			Institutional Apt. Site (2)
	3			Institutional Apt. Site
	7-	Hycroft Towers (Incomplete)		
	11			
	15	Dorset House (7:24)		Residential
River	385-7			
	421			
	435		Commercial	Parking
	501		Residential	Parking
	503		Residential	Parking
	547		Residential	Parking
	555	555 River (10:144)	Residential	Apt. Site
	565		Residential	Apt. Site
	595	River Crescent Gardens Apts. (11:110)	Residential	
	605-	Harewood House		
	607	(17:98)	Residential	
Osborne Street	12		Alteration/ Institution	
	15			Institution Apt. Site
	30-			Commercial Vacant
	34			
	45	Restaurant		Commercial
	48	Shopping Centre		Commercial
	51		Dentists/ Apartments	
	56	Service Station		Commercial

Sources: Building Permits: 1961-1971
Assessment Roll: 1971
Tax Roll: 1961
Henderson's City Directories: 1961, 1971.

Towers" called for twin apartment towers of 23 storeys and 238 suites.

As the earlier data on demolitions indicated, the process of private redevelopment of the Roslyn Road Area depended to an overwhelming degree on the replacement of existing structures, for the most part Residential. The non-Residential structures which were demolished were located between Evergreen Place and Osborne Street, and their site areas were re-used primarily for apartment development, ("No. 1 Evergreen Place" and "Hycroft Towers") although 45 Osborne was redeveloped as a restaurant. Thus vacant land played a minor role both as a locator variable and as an element in the redevelopment process in the study area. One exception to this finding was "Dorset House", developed on a lot identified as Vacant Land in 1961. "Wilmot Park Plaza" and "55 Nassau" also used vacant lots in conjunction with cleared site areas. The latter development in fact acquired the former Roslyn Place as part of their site plan following the demolition of all four properties. On the whole, however, Vacant Land in Roslyn Road in comparison to replacement of dwellings does not play the role accorded it in Bourne's study of Toronto.⁵

The re-use of site areas subsequent to the demolition of dwellings is indicated both in Table 3 and Map 3. In particular the re-use of the river properties by high-rise

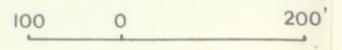
⁵Bourne, Private Redevelopment of the Central City, op. cit., p. 131.



APARTMENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE ROSLYN ROAD AREA

STREET NUMBER	43
BUILDING HEIGHT	- 8 *
BUILT BEFORE 1914	
1914 - 1940	
1946 - 1955	
1956 - 1971	

* half-storeys not shown



apartments is also forcibly demonstrated in Figure 1. One of the striking features of the Roslyn Road Area development is the clustering effect of the new apartments between the Assiniboine River and the western end of Roslyn Road, River Avenue and Nassau Street. (Plates 13 and 14.) Where once the large old homes sat in fairly spacious grounds (see Figure 2) a compact high-rise apartment development now overlooks the river and adjoining areas. (Plates 15 and 16).

While the predominant site re-use in the study area is the high-rise apartment complex, 'Parking' as a land use activity is also important. East of Osborne Street, the dwelling at 35 Roslyn Road was demolished so that "Blair House" could relocate its parking lot from the rear of the apartment block to alongside the building, while on River Avenue, four properties in two adjoining lots both east and west of Osborne Street were used for parking purposes. On Roslyn Road west of Osborne, the property at 138 was demolished to provide parking space for the restaurant. Most of the apartment structures provide on-site parking (especially those built under the later R3B zoning controls), but this re-use is not classified under 'Parking'. Three new commercial ventures were constructed in this period: a major service station at River and Osborne, a shopping centre on Osborne south of Roslyn, east side, and a restaurant on Osborne west at Roslyn Road.

The effect of demolitions, major building modifications and new construction on the subsequent land use of the Roslyn

Road Area is indicated in the following comparison of the 1971 and 1961 land use inventories. The total number of properties has declined from 105 to 78 (25.7 per cent).

'Residential' properties were reduced by 24.6 per cent from 77 to 58 although the number of apartment structures almost doubled, from 17 to 32. 'Commercial' uses remained the same, while 'Institutional' and 'Vacant Land' both dropped by four to nine and two respectively.

Thus the significance of structural change in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg was observed in the fact that while the number of 'Residential' properties (the predominant land use in 1961) decreased in the decade 1961-1971, the land remained in the same 'use' throughout, except in a more intensive capacity. The outcome of the process of structural change in the Roslyn Road Area, therefore, was the development of a high-rise apartment complex in the area west of Osborne Street, which seemed just to pick up in 1961 where its predecessor east of Osborne Street tapered off in 1960. (Figure 2 and Map 3.)

3. Additional Indicators of Land Use Change in the Roslyn Road Area

A. High-Density Residential Development

The apartment development in the decade just described resulted in a total of 15 new blocks being constructed and a total of 1646 apartment suites being added to the area. Had "Hycroft Towers" been completed the total number of apartment suites in this portion of the Roslyn Road Area would have

been in excess of 2000. High-rise apartment developments in built-up areas result not only in a new morphology for urban neighbourhoods, but also in a new social fabric of which an important indicator is population density. The population of the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne in 1961, including both single-family (Roslyn Crescent) and multi-family homes, was 450, accounted for in a single enumeration area.⁶ This area contained approximately 46 acres, of which 31.4 acres were net residential land.⁷ Thus in 1961 the population density of persons per acre was approximately 10, and persons per net residential acre, 14. East of Osborne Street the apartment developments of the late 1950's were represented by four enumeration areas and a population of 1617.⁸

By 1971, however, both the land use, building type and population totals had altered dramatically in the area west of Osborne Street. The high-density residential development now required 10 enumeration areas, with the largest apartments each covered by one census unit.⁹ The population of this area had increased almost six-fold in the decade

⁶Census of Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Basic Population Tabulation by Specified Age Groups, for District and Enumeration Areas, Manitoba, 1961.

⁷"Report on the Development of the Roslyn Road Area," Unpublished Paper, Planning Division, City of Winnipeg, September 1970, p. 2.

⁸Census of Canada, 1961: one of the enumeration areas overlapped a portion outside of the study area: therefore 50 per cent of the population total was used.

⁹Census of Canada, 1971: estimate of one enumeration made as above.

from 450 in 1961 to 2660 in 1971¹⁰ while the population density had increased accordingly, from 10 to 58 persons per acre and from 14 to 85 persons per net residential acre. The population east of Osborne Street decreased by some 4.4 per cent in the same period.

Several interesting changes occurred in the demographic structure of the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne as a result of the decade of apartment development. The proportion of the population aged 34 years, and under increased from 40.4 per cent in 1961 to 50.8 per cent in 1971, despite a drop of over 6 per cent in the 0-14 age category.¹¹ The proportions in the 35-54 and 55-64 age groups increased by less than 2 per cent, while the 65 and over age group decreased significantly from 26.4 per cent in 1961 to 14.6 per cent in 1971, a percentage still well above the average of 9.5 per cent for the City of Winnipeg as a whole.¹²

The number of households in this area increased from 105 to 1455 in the time period.¹³ Of particular importance in this development is the increase in the proportion of

¹⁰Census of Canada, Statistics Canada. Population by Five Year Age Groups and Sex, For Electoral Districts by Enumeration Areas, 1971.

¹¹Census of Canada, 1971.

¹²Census of Canada, Statistics Canada. Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, Winnipeg, Catalogue 95-723, 1971.

¹³Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Household Tabulations by Enumeration Area, 1961.

Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Households by Number of Persons, For Census Enumeration Areas Within Electoral Districts, 1971.

single person households from 16.2 per cent in 1961 to 38.8 per cent in 1971. The proportion of two-person households declined to 25.8 per cent from 32.5 per cent in 1961, while the average number of persons per household also declined from 3.181 in 1961 to 1.82 in 1971.¹⁴

In terms of family composition, while some 60 per cent of the 87 families in 1961 were two-person families, that proportion increased to 76.9 per cent in 1971. The average number of persons per family declined slightly in the decade from 2.943 to 2.434.¹⁵

Thus the predominance of two-person families and single person households, few children and a population with significant numbers of young adults and older age groups reflected the "high urbanization" character associated with central city high-rise apartment developments.¹⁶

B. Taxable Assessment in the Roslyn Road Area, 1961-1971

A further indication of the changes brought about by the intensification of land use from low-density to high-density residential is the comparison of the assessed value of the land and buildings at the beginning and the end of the

¹⁴Census of Canada, 1961, 1971.

¹⁵Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Families by Number of Persons For Census Enumeration Areas Within Electoral Districts, 1961.

Census of Canada, Statistics Canada. Families By Number of Persons For Census Enumeration Areas Within Electoral Districts, 1971.

¹⁶Berry, B. J. L. "Internal Structure of the City," op. cit., pp. 106-108.

study period. The taxable assessment of the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne Street is shown as follows:¹⁷

Table 4. Summary Analysis of Taxable Assessment
Roslyn Road Area, West of Osborne Street

	<u>Land</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960 Roll Estimate	315,690	730,400	1,046,090
1972 Roll	1,328,630	9,088,000	10,156,630
Net Increase	+1,012,940	+8,357,600	+9,110,540

This ten-fold increase in the total assessed value of the land and buildings further represents the dramatic revision of the standing stock of buildings in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg.

Summary

The nature of structural change in the study area, therefore, is best illustrated by a comparison of the two aerial photographs, representing the neighbourhood morphology before and after development activity, 1961-1971. Few of the 1959 homes remain. They have been replaced by high-rise apartment buildings as part of the on-going process of structural adaptation and change.

¹⁷Report on the Development of the Roslyn Road Area,"
op. cit., September 1970.

CHAPTER V An Analysis of the High-Rise Apartment
Complex in the Roslyn Road Area

Introduction

While the preceding chapter was primarily descriptive, stating what happened to the Roslyn Road Area in terms of the physical modification and replacement of structures, and attendant changes in their use and value, this chapter attempts to analyze why the apartment complex developed in this area of the city at this point in time. The basic approach adopted for this analysis was to examine the process of change and adaptation through the integration of data at two different levels. First, the primary data source was that regarding the individual properties in the Roslyn Road Area. Thus, for example, assessment and realty tax records provided descriptive data on the properties (and occasionally on changes occurring in the area) while requests for zoning variations with their attendant documentation served both to expand on this descriptive information and at the same time to relate the data to the demands and pressures for change.* In addition, this data source illustrated the complex nature of redevelopment in a central area as the case for and against change was argued by resident homeowners and their neighbourhood associations,

*Data is drawn from the files of the Zoning Board under the former City of Winnipeg, and the Zoning Board of Adjustment, under the former Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, which had jurisdiction over zoning from April 1961 until December 1971.

lawyers, real estate companies, developers, planners and elected officials. The "emotional climate" accompanying the process of land use succession was often given clear expression in this way. It should be noted that not all properties are referred to in these files: some are missing, others have gaps in the record of events, while others simply note the technical information regarding requests for, and approval or denial of, change. In their totality, however, the files from these Zoning Boards demonstrated the complex dynamics of land use change at the individual property level.

The second data source involved those references which in a sense helped to interpret the primary data within the context of Winnipeg's development. Thus aggregate data from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Planning Division of the former Metropolitan Corporation and the Henderson Directories of Greater Winnipeg provided a record of population and housing changes throughout the period, an analysis assisted to a great extent by comparing air photo coverage of the area at different periods of time (eg. 1946, 1951, and 1959). Studies referring to critical events in the life of the city as a whole, such as the housing shortage of the Depression and War Years, provided an important context within which neighbourhood change could be interpreted. Two additional sources in this second data level provided useful insight into the dynamics of change in the Roslyn Road Area: a) newspaper coverage of the major zoning changes, and b) the observations of people involved in and affected by the development of the area.

The integrative point for these two data levels was provided by the statement of general hypothesis, as well as the three themes of the literature review, viz, a) the process of land use succession; b) the location of high-density residential development, and c) the development process. Concepts inherent in the complex phenomenon of the life cycle of buildings, referring in this instance to the replacement of large old single family dwellings by high-rise apartment blocks, provided the necessary theoretical perspective on the Roslyn Road development.

These several data sources therefore provided the basis for the analysis of why the Roslyn Road Area was developed as a high-rise apartment complex. Two of the most significant involve: a) the interrelationship between the pressures and demands for change that are both internal and external to urban neighbourhoods;¹ and b) the complex interactions leading to development decisions between the various participants in the development process, as noted earlier.² Rather than examine the individual impact of each of these factors, it is proposed to explicate their significance in the development of the high-rise apartment complex in the Roslyn Road Area by examining the critical changes and decision-points in the life of the area between the beginning of the

¹Bourne, Economic Geography. 1971, p. 3; and Goodall, The Economics of Urban Areas. 1972, p. 205.

²Chamberlain, S. B. Aspects of Developer Behaviour in the Land Development Business, op. cit.

"new era" of the late 1930's, and the major zoning by-laws of the 1960's, which finally permitted the construction of high-rise apartments in this neighbourhood. Five key dates seem to highlight the process of structural adaptation, which finally leads to the replacement of so many large old single family dwellings in the study area. On the basis of this data, therefore, the major reasons for apartment development will be summarized in the light of the general hypothesis, and the significance of the two major themes of the literature review - a) the process of land use succession, and b) the location of high-density residential development - will be examined.

1. Adaptation and Change in the Roslyn Road Area

A. 1942

In the midst of a housing crisis that spanned the Depression-War- and Post-War years it is perhaps hazardous to select any one date as being of particular significance for the city, or for that matter, an area such as Roslyn Road. However, the year 1942 did hold special significance for both urban areas. A major housing report of that time quotes the 1942 City Health Department as stating that 9000 units of housing were required in order that the citizens of Winnipeg could live within the requirements of the by-laws then in force.³ The City's housing shortage was intensified by a marked increase

³Housing in Winnipeg. Council of Social Agencies, Report of the Committee on Housing. Winnipeg, 1943, p. 5.

in the rate of family formation, along with the migration of rural people into the city, attracted by the new job opportunities in Winnipeg as a result of the war.⁴ However, the critical need for housing identified by the City's Health Department and concerned social agencies was not to be met by new housing construction in the city. As the Report of the Council of Social Agencies noted: "Low rents and the continuance of proportionately high building costs drove all investment away from construction, particularly of homes, and there was a virtual cessation of home building."⁵

Faced with this situation, therefore, the City Council in 1942 requested the Federal Government to extend the War-time Prices and Trade Board Order No. A 200 to cover Winnipeg.⁶

The declared purpose of Order No. A 200 was to ensure that the maximum and best possible use of available housing accommodation be made in congested areas in Canada where there is insufficient accommodation available by ordinary means for the shelter of all who were in need of such accommodation. . . It provides that, notwithstanding any by-law, every householder shall have the right to share the possession of housing accommodation with such person or persons as he may see fit, and to let or sublet such portion or portions

⁴Report of a Survey of Housing Areas of Winnipeg. Emergency Housing Department, City of Winnipeg, 1955, pp. 48-49.

⁵Housing in Winnipeg, op. cit., p. 18.

⁶The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Order No. 200, "Respecting Housing Accommodation in Congested Areas." The Canada Gazette, Volume LXXVI, No. 20, November 14, 1942, p. 2473.

Winnipeg Tribune, November 4, 1952: Winnipeg Free Press, November 27, 1952. Letter from Acting Chief Inspector, Division of Sanitation and Housing, City of Winnipeg, Zoning Board, April 25, 1949.

of such housing accommodation as are not required by him and the members of his family.⁷

The impact of this action by the City, therefore, is demonstrated in the 1951 Census of Canada which estimated that some 10,000 Winnipeg families were sharing accommodation in single family dwellings.⁸ Thus while this action on the part of the City Council may have provided temporary alleviation for a critical housing shortage in the city as a whole, its impact in terms of particular neighbourhoods, for example, the inner city and Roslyn Road areas, had quite serious repercussions.⁹

Roslyn Road was certainly not immune to the changing social and economic conditions of the Depression and War years. In Chapter III it was noted that three of the largest estates on Roslyn Road succumbed to the heavy economic costs of upkeep and the lack of buyers, were demolished and plans made to redevelop the land as a high class residential subdivision.¹⁰ The historian for the parish Church in the

⁷Zoning Board, op. cit.

⁸Historical Background of Housing in Winnipeg. Public Welfare Department, the City of Winnipeg. October 1961, p. 1.

⁹For the impact of this housing shortage (and that of 1900-1914) on the inner city area of Winnipeg, see: Vincent, D. B., "The Inner City - A Winnipeg Example," in Axworthy, N. L. et. al. (eds.) The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal. Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, August 1972, pp. 43-69.

¹⁰Chapter III, p. 44, footnote 25. See also: The Tax Burden on Owners of Real Property. Submission to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, by the Winnipeg Real Estate Board, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1937.

area (St. Luke's) referred to these years as the time when "the whole face of the parish began to change, as rooming houses, duplexes, apartments and nursing homes began to invade this traditional district of single family homes."¹¹

The Roslyn Road Area was experiencing a new relationship between building structure and function in these two critical decades of Depression, War and Post-War reconstruction. In 1932, seven houses in the study area had more than one household, with only one out of the seven having more than two households.¹² In 1941 three out of the seven had more than two households, and, in addition, three properties were being used as a fraternity house, a consulate and a nursing home.¹³

While these figures give some indication of the trend towards the re-use of single family dwellings they are obviously unable to describe the process of adaptation and change in the area. Those residents and homeowners who were involved in the changes taking place, either as supporters or opponents, provide a contemporary analysis of this residential development.¹⁴ The focus of the underlying struggle for preservation or change was zoning, and a major compli-

¹¹"Our First Half Century." The Story of St. Luke's, Winnipeg, 1897-1947. Winnipeg, 1947, p. 12.

¹²Henderson's Greater Winnipeg Directories. 1932.

¹³Henderson's Directories. 1942.

¹⁴Zoning Board correspondence re. applications for zoning variations, Planning Division, City of Winnipeg.

cation in the zoning process was the 1942 Order No. A 200 of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Two City of Winnipeg By-Laws in 1928 and 1932 had zoned the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne Street, R.1., which permitted single family dwellings and duplexes, while the area east of Osborne was zoned R.3., a category which permitted dwellings and a variety of institutional uses such as nursing homes, fraternity houses and boarding houses. Owners, therefore, who wished to develop their properties according to some non-conforming use were required to petition the City's Zoning Board for a zoning variation. Public hearings on the issue were held, providing both a safeguard for those residents determined to maintain the area as a high-class single family district, and an opportunity for those property owners demanding changes.

The latter represented an interesting combination of people and attitudes. The data in the Zoning Board correspondence are neither sufficiently detailed nor comprehensive to be able to clearly distinguish between original and new owners or between real estate interests and speculators and those citizens who wished to become residents of a changing though still fashionable neighbourhood. Thus the data suggest two types of response to property management in the midst of these changing social and economic conditions. On the one hand some resident property-owners duplexed their dwellings or took in 'paying guests', two strategies permissible under the zoning regulations, which enabled them, therefore, to remain in the area. On the other hand it was realized by

others that property in the Roslyn Road Area could be purchased and redeveloped to good economic advantage.¹⁵

In the R.1. area west of Osborne, these changes encountered considerable opposition from resident homeowners. Thus in 1935 a proposal by a Roman Catholic Order of Nuns to open a preparatory school at 246 Roslyn Road was opposed by thirty neighbours and defeated. That same year owners in the area protested vigorously to city authorities on learning that zoning changes (to an R.3. category) were being considered for the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne. Although not formally banded into a homeowner association, they were once again successful. In spite of their opposition, however, between 1940 and 1948 the Zoning Board permitted the conversion into suites of five large single family dwellings on Roslyn Road.¹⁶ The property owners arguing for the changes stated that the houses in the area were too large and too expensive to be used as single family dwellings under 'contemporary' conditions.¹⁷ Thus to make economic sense these properties had to be converted into suites. Some of

¹⁵This speculative activity in Winnipeg in the 1940's was also noted by R. E. Grauer: Canada, Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations - Housing, 1949, quoted in The Metropolitan Urban Renewal Study, Interim Report. January 1963, Winnipeg. The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, p. 13.

¹⁶Zoning Board, 1948: these properties were 270, 140, 182, 176, 246.

¹⁷For a detailed study of large old homes, see Harper, W. "The Large Old Single Family House (LOSFH). A House Type Study in Cincinnati, Ohio." (M.A. Thesis, The Graduate School, University of Cincinnati, 1964.)

the houses previously had 'roomers' or 'paying guests', and as assessment officers remarked at the time, some of these old properties were making a poor return on their money, and thus alterations into suites was a logical next step.

The "logic" of the situation was not always appreciated either by other residents or members of the Zoning Board; thus several well-argued petitions for zoning variations were turned down. One of these included a property on Roslyn Place, where the executor for the estate of a long-time Roslyn homeowner argued that the property had been on the market for a year (1941-1942) and could not be sold as a single family dwelling. This fact, along with the "changes" purported to be occurring in the immediate neighbourhood convinced the new owner that the property must be converted into suites in order to be economically viable. Owners of surrounding properties protested to the Zoning Board, and despite the owner's willingness to reduce the number of suites requested, the petition for a zoning variation was rejected.¹⁸

Two items of particular interest are illustrated by this case. The first concerns the consultant role played by real estate companies in representing property owners to the Zoning Board. They assessed the usefulness of the property, contracted the architects and building contractors to design and estimate the cost of conversion, and petitioned the Zoning Board for the necessary zoning changes. The second

¹⁸Zoning Board, 1942.

interesting item reflected the willingness of "opposing" property owners to compromise on the number of suites being requested by the petitioner. As a result of this the Zoning Board in a number of instances reduced the allowable number of suites in granting the zoning variation.

Perhaps this compromise spirit on the part of these owners reflected their total opposition to other non-conforming uses in the neighbourhood. In the post-war years many Roslyn Road homeowners protested not only the aforementioned changes, but particularly those speculative developments in the form of "rooming houses." Several of these had begun operation in the Roslyn Road Area, permitted under the Administrative Order No. A 200 (1942), which set aside all existing zoning by-laws and caveats, in the interests of providing much-needed housing accommodation in the city. Although a wartime measure this Order was still in operation in 1949. It permitted a dwelling to be shared by more than one household, as long as no structural alterations were required, and as long as minimum health and safety standards were met. Thus the large 13 and 14-room dwellings of the Roslyn Road Area were ideal for this use, particularly those properties anxious for some form of income supplement. Obviously this situation was open to abuse and in one Roslyn Road case, investigated by the City Health Department, following protests by neighbouring homeowners, it was discovered that seven families and a total of twenty persons were living in one dwelling.¹⁹

¹⁹Zoning Board, April 25, 1949.

By the late 1940's the residents of the area were particularly upset because the new expensive homes of the Roslyn Crescent subdivision were starting to be built, thus giving a renewed hope to some of a district of single family dwellings. While the subdivision did develop as a fine Crescent of single family residences (Plate 17) the Roslyn Road Area as a whole had already incorporated many of the elements of a multi-family district. East of Osborne, the trend to nursing homes, rooming houses and other institutional uses was well established, while west of Osborne, institutional uses were made of two properties on Evergreen Place and a proposal was made by the owner of 176 Roslyn Road to build a 21-suite apartment block on the northeast corner of Evergreen Place and Roslyn Road. As expected it was vigorously opposed and dismissed by the Zoning Board.²⁰

Thus by 1950 the external factor of a city-wide housing shortage and the internal factor of economic and social realities led to a growing pressure on the housing stock of the Roslyn Road Area, resulting in the conversion of dwellings into suites and various institutional uses.

B. April 1, 1950

On this date the first city-and metropolitan-wide zoning by-law was enacted in Winnipeg and suburbs.²¹ Its enactment followed several years of research and public hearings by

²⁰Zoning Board, 1948.

²¹By-Laws of the City of Winnipeg, No. 16502. December 14, 1949.

the Metropolitan Planning Commission.²² This by-law continued the practice of zoning the Roslyn Road Area as two categories east and west of Osborne. Thus in 1950 the western portion was zoned R.2. (two family residential) while the eastern portion retained its R.3. designation which permitted multi-family dwellings and various institutional uses. The R.2. designation recognized that certain changes had occurred in the neighbourhood, particularly with regard to the more intensive uses of single family dwellings. It was understood by some residents, however, that the Metropolitan Planning Commission had interpreted these changes as suggesting an R.3. category for the whole Roslyn Road Area.²³ Thus, without necessarily identifying the Roslyn Road Area, their Zoning Report noted: "If, in spite of two-family residential zoning, the land use map showed that an area contained a substantial number of apartments, or other multiple dwellings, consideration was given to zoning the area for apartment development."²⁴ The final zoning plan, however, permitted only one- and two-family dwellings in the area west of Osborne.

²²Zoning in Greater Winnipeg. Report No. 6 - Metropolitan Plan for Greater Winnipeg. Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, Winnipeg, 1947.

²³Winnipeg Free Press. November 4, 1954.

²⁴Zoning in Greater Winnipeg, op. cit., p. 23.

In terms of residential development the years immediately following the enactment of By-Law 16502 were hardly peaceful ones for the Roslyn Road Area, or indeed for the eastern wedge of the high-status residential area as a whole. The year 1950 was almost mid-point in a decade of great urban expansion. "The economy of Western Canada continued to expand and diversify after World War II. Metropolitan Winnipeg's rate of growth was accelerated by such factors as immigration, natural increase and a rural-urban shift resulting in a population increase of approximately 28 per cent during the 1946-1956 decade."²⁵ With the scale of construction unparalleled since the early 1900's, the suburbs grew rapidly and relatively little vacant land remained in the city.²⁶ The Roslyn Road Area, especially west of Osborne, participated in this growth. Starting in 1947 the new Roslyn Crescent subdivision was opened up, adding 23 new homes to the area.²⁷ At the same time four new homes were added to this section of Roslyn Road, including two duplexes on the south side between Nassau and Osborne.²⁸

Thus the Roslyn Road Area was not under the sort of pressure associated with the housing shortage of the late

²⁵Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Report 1966-1991. Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, December 1968, p. 11.

²⁶Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, op. cit., p. 50.

²⁷City of Winnipeg Assessment Division.

²⁸Ibid.

1930's and 40's. However, while the problem in that form no longer existed, the legacy of that problem still persisted within the area itself and in particular in the areas of Fort Rouge and Crescentwood south and west of Roslyn Road. While the new zoning by-law had designated a large area south of the Assiniboine River between Osborne Street, Pembina Highway, Grosvenor and Stafford as a two-family residential district, many non-conforming uses were however scattered throughout the area. The most notable of these uses were rooming houses. In the previous section of this chapter it was noted that in the late 1940's Roslyn Road homeowners were particularly exercised over the presence of two of these residences on their street. Under the new zoning by-law rooming houses were forbidden in R.1. and R.2. districts, with their owners liable to prosecution by the City Health Department. With these legal provisions available, therefore, it seemed like a relatively straight forward task for the Roslyn Home Owners Association and the Crescentwood Property Owners Association to press the City into taking action against such contraventions of the zoning by-law as represented by rooming houses.

The actual situation, however, was not quite that straight forward. In the first place it had been estimated that some 400 rooming houses were located in the Fort Rouge area alone during the early years of the 1950's.²⁹ As North

²⁹Winnipeg Free Press. October 12, 1954.

End aldermen were quick to point out, these rooming houses were providing housing for people and, even if the city were to enforce the zoning regulations fully, it would occupy the City Health Department on a full-time basis, thus leading to neglect of other needy areas.

Secondly, the rooming house operators claimed that the initiative for this development lay with the Federal Government in response to the City's chronic war-time housing shortage³⁰ - a charge that was all the more significant (and problematic) since the Wartime Prices and Trade Board Order No. A 200, passed in 1942, was still in effect for the first two years of the City's new by-law. This administrative order became Provincial legislation on April 20, 1951, when the Province of Manitoba took over the Leasehold Regulations Act from the Federal Government. One year later the Province repealed this Act and Order No. A 200 ceased to apply. Thus an important question remained to be settled: "Did the City by-law become effective April 1, 1950 or April 9, 1952?" The City obviously argued for the original date. Other property owners, however, argued for the latter date, maintaining that non-conforming uses introduced between 1950 and 1952 were legal. The Crescentwood Property Owners Association pressed the City to test the new by-law in the courts, and using a case from the Crescentwood area the City won its point.

³⁰Winnipeg Free Press. October 13, 1954.

At the same time the City authorized the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission to study "the problems presented by the existence of multiple dwellings in R.1. and R.2. districts."³¹ In response the Commission recommended the conversion of these large old single family dwellings as long as minimum conditions were met. This reflected an awareness of the economic and social factors which made many of these homes too burdensome for a single family to maintain. Between 1952 and 1954 Council received several deputations from the Fort Rouge area wishing to speak to this issue. On the one hand the Roslyn Road Protective Association, representing the rooming house operators in the area south of and including the Roslyn Road Area, recommended that the area be zoned R.3. to permit the full range of multiple uses in that category, a situation which they claimed was presently in existence.³² They were opposed by the Roslyn Home Owner's Association, comprising many of the same residents who protested against the "invasion" of non-R.1. uses in the decade previously. They demanded that the area south to Stradbrook be retained in its present R.2. zoning, claiming that the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne would be "injuriously affected" if the R.3. zoning were permitted.³³ At the same

³¹The Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, Annual Report. 1953.

³²The Winnipeg Free Press. November 4, 1954.

³³Ibid.

time the Crescentwood Property Owner's Association were determined to actively discourage non-R.1. uses in their area. They not only made strong representations to City Council but also used the courts to compel non-conforming uses to move out or change.³⁴

By December 1954, therefore, the City had reviewed the situation regarding the conversion of large single family homes in the Fort Rouge area in the light of the new city by-law and had decided that the majority of the population could best be served by rezoning the area under consideration, designating the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne, R2C - a conversion district, and the remainder of the district south to Corydon and west to Daly, R.3., thus permitting rooming houses.³⁵

The Roslyn Home Owner's Association thus both won and lost in this struggle. They won in the sense of rejecting the R.3. designation (although of course it still applied east of Osborne), and lost in that a new zoning category, R2C, was now applied to their area. Thus multiple dwellings, (excluding apartment blocks and rooming houses) were permitted

³⁴The Winnipeg Free Press. November 4, 1952; The Winnipeg Free Press. September 29, 1953; The Winnipeg Tribune. May 19, 1956.

³⁵By-Laws of the City of Winnipeg, No. 17361, December 20, 1954.

The Winnipeg Free Press. December 21, 1954.

By-Law No. 17248 (City of Winnipeg), March 29, 1954 had zoned Roslyn Crescent "R.1."

in this area as long as the minimum lot areas per household as set down in the new zoning regulations were observed.

By the mid-point in the decade, therefore, the Roslyn Road Area, both east and west of Osborne Street, had moved still further away from its original function as a single family dwelling area. East of Osborne at least seven nursing homes and a major hospital were in operation, while one new apartment block (The Saigon) had been built. West of Osborne the R.2. zoning category was modified to permit the conversion of the large old single family dwellings into duplexes and triplexes which, if the regulations were observed, did not require permission of the Zoning Board.

C. June 15, 1959

The Roslyn Road Area east of Osborne Street, participated in the general resurgence of apartment construction in the city and suburbs which began in the mid-fifties.³⁶ Six apartment blocks were constructed along Roslyn Road: The Gannon, Marquis, Shelldrake, Roslyn Manor and Shorecrest Plaza were all low-rise apartment blocks, while Blair House, at five storeys, was the first of the new high-rise blocks to be constructed.³⁷ West of Osborne, the Roslyn Home Owners

³⁶ Styliaras, D., et. al. A Study of Apartment Housing in Winnipeg, op. cit., p. 70 ff.

Reid Crowther and Partners Ltd. Analysis of Apartments in Metropolitan Winnipeg, op. cit. Table 1, page 4, Table 8, page 18.

³⁷ City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

Association in 1958 successfully appealed two proposed developments to the Manitoba Public Utilities Board, one a guest house and the other a five-storey apartment block.³⁸

However, the importance of 1959 to the Roslyn Road Area is found in the zoning change which occurred at the south-west periphery of the area, where River Avenue meets Wellington Crescent, the most prestigious street in Winnipeg (Map Three). In March 1959 the Zoning Board permitted a ten-storey, 117 suite apartment block to be constructed on the west side of Wellington Crescent between River and Stradbrook.³⁹ Following appeals by other area residents the Municipal and Public Utilities Board rejected the Zoning Board's variation on June 1, stating that: "If a change of land use in this vicinity is necessary for the proper development of the city, such change can be properly brought about by amendment to the zoning by-law, in which case such amendment, if deemed advisable, can prescribe the limits of the area affected, the density of population to be permitted, the maximum height of buildings, off-street parking and similar requirements."⁴⁰ The Board, therefore, implied the need for area revision of the zoning by-law, not just spot zoning variations.

The group behind the apartment project, however, were not prepared to delay development proposals much longer, and

³⁸Zoning Board. 1958.

³⁹The Winnipeg Free Press. March 1959.

⁴⁰The Winnipeg Free Press. June 1, 1959.

indicated to the City that if the requisite zoning by-law were not forthcoming, they would take their proposals elsewhere. On June 15, therefore, a City By-law rezoned the west side of Wellington Crescent, between River and Stradbrook, R4A, thus permitting multiple dwellings up to twelve storeys or 120 feet, with 25 foot clearance on all four sides.⁴¹ At the same time Council indicated that the possibility of extending the R4A designation was to be reviewed.

D. February 20, 1961

The most important zoning decision affecting the Roslyn Road Area was made by City Council on February 20, 1961. The Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne Street, excluding the area bounded by Roslyn Road and Roslyn Crescent (which had reverted to R.1.) was zoned R4A, multiple family district.⁴² This zoning change thus permitted high-rise apartment blocks up to 12 storeys or 120 feet, in the area west of Osborne Street. The distinction of being the first large high-rise apartment block in the Roslyn Road Area had already gone to "Penthouse Towers", 71 Roslyn Road, which had been authorized by the Zoning Board in 1959.⁴³ But with the new R4A desig-

⁴¹By-Laws of the City of Winnipeg. No. 18240, June 15, 1959.

The Winnipeg Free Press. June 16, 1959.

⁴²By-Laws of The City of Winnipeg, No. 18548, February, 20, 1961 and No. 18571, March 20, 1961.

The Winnipeg Tribune. February 22, 1961.

⁴³City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

nation the momentum for apartment development shifted to the western portion of the Roslyn Road Area, within the bend of the Assiniboine River. Following the decision to rezone the short section of Wellington Crescent R4A in June 1959, neighbouring properties in the Roslyn Road Area initiated plans for apartment development of their properties. Thus in 1960 applications were made to the Zoning Board for permission to construct two high-rise apartment blocks on neighbouring properties at 595 River Avenue and 252 Roslyn Road.⁴⁴ The Roslyn Road Home Owners Association appealed the zoning variation on the 11-storey block at 595 River Avenue and won, while the Zoning Board refused a zoning variation for a 5-storey block at 252 Roslyn Road. In this latter case two interesting facts emerged; one, that thirteen of the surrounding property owners on River Avenue, Roslyn Place, Wilmot Place and Roslyn Road supported the application; and two, that the proponents of the development claimed that a City of Winnipeg Engineering Department Survey that same year had recommended this district be zoned for apartments.⁴⁵

At the same time as some Roslyn Road Area homeowners were lending their support to apartment projects in their immediate neighbourhood, other residents, the Roslyn Road Home Owners Association, were petitioning the City to allow part of the same district to revert back to its earlier R.1.

⁴⁴Zoning Board, 1960; The Winnipeg Tribune. May 4, 1960.

⁴⁵Zoning Board, 1960.

designation. This group, which included many Roslyn Crescent homeowners, were adamantly opposed to apartment blocks in the area and feared a zoning change which would permit their construction in the area. Thus they requested that, excluding River Avenue, the entire Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne Street be zoned R.1.⁴⁶

By early 1961, therefore, at least four developers were awaiting a rezoning decision in the Roslyn Road Area, and when that decision finally was passed in February of that year, redevelopment of the area began in earnest. By June and September 1962, two 3-storey walk-up blocks - 144 Roslyn Road and 50 Nassau - were ready for occupancy, while by November of that year, almost half of the 84 suites in the 6-storey "Wilmot Park Plaza" (59 Wilmot Place) were already occupied.⁴⁷ Shortly after the important zoning decision a developer purchased both 595 River Avenue and 252 Roslyn Road for an 11-storey, 110-suite apartment block, "River Crescent Gardens". Excavations were begun in January 1962 and the building was ready for occupancy in May 1964.⁴⁸

Citizen opposition to these developments continued, but as long as developers stayed within the zoning regulations, their complaints had little effect. However, early in the redevelopment process the Roslyn Road Home Owners Association

⁴⁶The Winnipeg Tribune. September 24, 1960.

⁴⁷City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

⁴⁸Ibid.

had an opportunity to appeal a zoning variation to permit construction of the 13-storey "Fountain House". The Home-owners lost the appeal.⁴⁹ Their Association did successfully appeal a 13-storey apartment project on the neighbouring properties of 264 and 270 Roslyn Road,⁵⁰ a project which, even though revised, had another appeal sustained against it by the neighbouring developer in 1966, and which did not get underway as "Canterbury House" until late in 1967.⁵¹ By this time, therefore, "Sussex House" (14 storeys) "188 Roslyn Road" (10 storeys), "London Towers" (7 storeys and Penthouse) and "Dorset House" (7 storeys) had been added to the stock of apartment developments in the Roslyn Road Area.⁵² Some thirteen dwellings had been demolished to make way for this redevelopment activity, and in the short span of six years, the whole morphology of this quiet area had changed.⁵³ Large high-rise apartment blocks now stood out in stark contrast to the new bungalows of Roslyn Crescent and the large old dwellings still remaining on Roslyn Road and surrounding streets. According to the Reid-Crowther study, however, this densely populated, compact development was still hidden for the most part by the dense foliage of the area.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Zoning Board of Adjustment, 1963.

⁵⁰Zoning Board, 1964.

⁵¹City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³City of Winnipeg, Planning Division, Building Permits.

⁵⁴Reid-Crowther, op. cit., p. 9

A decision had been made in 1966, however, which was soon to alter the scale at which most of the subsequent apartment projects in the area would be developed. This was the decision by the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg to rezone the area known as No. 7 and 11 Evergreen Place (south of the Assiniboine River at the foot of the Osborne Bridge) to R3B - Bulk Range 3. (See Map 3 and Plate 18.)⁵⁵ The aim of this new zoning category was to permit a better balance between the size of apartment building and the site it occupied. Under the R4A designation the developments tended to fill up the total lot area. The developers of "Hycroft Towers" therefore proposed two 23-storey apartment blocks for a total of 476 suites. Thus a new dimension of apartment development was introduced to the Roslyn Road Area, and while as the initial development under this new zoning designation it failed to proceed beyond the foundation stage, the apartment projects which accompanied the zoning change of January 1968 altered yet again the morphology of the Roslyn Road Area.

E. January 11, 1968

The Roslyn Road Area developed rapidly between 1961 and 1967. Planning was now the responsibility of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, and by 1967

⁵⁵By-Laws of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, No. 923, being an amendment to the City of Winnipeg, By-Law 16502 (Section 302) May 12, 1966. Approval for the apartment development was granted on November 28, 1968.

councillors, planners and many residents of the neighbourhood had reservations about the type of development taking place. Some of the more obvious concerns of citizens, officials and planners revolved around traffic congestion, increasing population density, the extent to which the area was being built up, aggravated by the lack of parks and open space and the fear that development of this type would continue unchecked. The Metropolitan Council, therefore, decided upon a strategy which involved a major zoning change in the area, from R4A to R3B - Planned Building Group. This zoning category provided greater planning and development controls over high-rise apartment construction. Thus the "bulk" of the building was related to the amount of land available in order to ensure proper orientation for light, air and sun, off-street parking facilities, and adequate landscaped open space. Whereas the previous R4A zoning category permitted a building gross area of five times the lot area, without any consideration for usable open space for the inhabitants (although "Fountain House" is a notable exception), the R3B-Bulk Range 3 - category would limit the building land coverage to 3.25 as a maximum, and even then, only if the developer provided 100 per cent of the site area in usable open space, according to the specific zoning regulations. Thus following the mandatory public hearings and discussions in Council the City of Winnipeg By-Law 16502 (Section 302) was amended by the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg on January 11, 1968, and the Roslyn Road Area, west of Osborne Street,

excluding the R1 and R2C designations, was rezoned R3B-Bulk Range 3.⁵⁶

The change in the area was not immediate. Two apartment blocks - "555 River" and "Imperial Place" - were built in much the same design as those under the R4A zoning regulations. However, by late 1968, the first major "skyscraper" high-rise, the 38-storey "55 Nassau" - was approved, to be followed by "No. 1 Evergreen Place" (29-storeys) and "Harewood House" (17-storeys).⁵⁷ The first two in particular now dominate this thoroughly urban landscape.

With the construction of these three blocks high-rise apartment development in the Roslyn Road Area during the decade 1961-1971 came to an end. In 1969 the Metro Council had agreed in principle to a freeze on high-rise construction in the area, by attempting to rezone the block between Roslyn Road, River Avenue, Nassau Street and the lane behind Osborne Street, from R3B to R2C, its zoning designation prior to 1961. For once the zoning authority found itself supported by residents, but the measure was opposed by the property-owners in the block, as well as other developers. In September 1969 the Manitoba Municipal Board rejected the Metro Council's position (By-Law 1435) and the area remained R3B.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁶By-Laws of the Metropolitan Council of Greater Winnipeg, No. 1197, being an amendment to the City of Winnipeg, By-Law 16502 (Section 302), January 11, 1968.

⁵⁷City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division.

⁵⁸The Winnipeg Free Press. June 13, 1969; The Winnipeg Tribune. August 21, 1969 and September 15, 1969.

decade of development closed out on Roslyn Road with another form of economic initiative in the area - the plans by Canada Safeway Ltd. (Osborne and River) to expand further into the aforementioned block west of Osborne Street. The request for a zoning change for three houses and the Winnipeg Lawn Tennis Club on Roslyn Road placed the Metro Council in something of a dilemma. The commercial zoning would permit the expansion of the Safeway store by some 50 per cent, requiring the demolition of the three homes with an entrance facing onto Roslyn Road, and the remainder of the site in parking. In the view of opposing residents and some councillors this development would conflict with the residential nature of the neighbourhood. However, not to rezone was to leave the land zoned for high-rise apartment development, a prospect that Metro had attempted to prevent in 1969 through its By-Law 1435. The Metro Council nonetheless approved the rezoning (to "C2", April 1971) but in June of that year the Manitoba Municipal Board once again refused this section of Roslyn Road to be rezoned. The company submitted revised plans to the new Unicity Council early in 1972, and despite the vigorous opposition of the Fort Rouge 'Residents Advisory Group', Council approved the rezoning on February 21, 1973. In the new agreement, only one of the three houses was to be demolished in the next ten years.⁵⁹

⁵⁹"The Battle for Fort Rouge", Inland. Volume 1, No. 5, December 1973. pp. 16-27.

2. Reasons for the Development of the High-Rise Apartment Complex in the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg

As the previous section indicated a series of decisions were made which finally culminated in the development of a high-rise apartment complex in the Roslyn Road Area. These decisions occurred over a period of some twenty years in response to factors both internal and external to the area. While Section 1 of this chapter attempted to describe some of the dynamic aspects of the neighbourhood's development in the two decades between 1940 and 1960, at this juncture it is necessary to recognize the composite of factors which interacted to produce a high-density residential district within one mile of downtown Winnipeg. No attempt is made to rank these factors in order of importance, although it is clear that certain of these, such as zoning changes, exerted overwhelming influence. What seems to be of particular significance, however, is the extent to which internal characteristics predisposed the area to private redevelopment in the decade 1961-1971.

A. Adaptation of Properties

Section 1 of this chapter dealt with the importance of adaptation and change in this area in the years following the Depression and War. Some of the largest properties were demolished, others applied for zoning variations to permit conversion into suites, while still others were used for a variety of institutional purposes such as nursing homes. Social and economic changes in these years prompted this

adaptation. Data from interviews and petitions for zoning variations indicated the problems facing property-owners from such factors as the high cost of servants, heating and maintenance. Therefore, those property-owners who felt particularly vulnerable to such conditions adapted their dwellings as indicated above. These property changes continued after the new zoning by-law of 1950. According to the record of Building Permits, between 1950 and 1967, twenty properties in the Roslyn Road Area were altered in some way.⁶⁰ Some dwellings were altered more than once, and occasionally to different uses, such as from suites to nursing homes. As a result of these internal modifications, one dwelling became an apartment building, two became a dental clinic, two dwellings were altered into nursing homes and the remainder were converted into suites or had additions built on to them.

Related to this adaptation of properties in the Roslyn Road Area was the idea of acquiring or developing income-producing properties, both for investment and speculative purposes. In these two decades of the 1940's and 1950's there were occasional references to the area west of Osborne being zoned upward to R3 to permit apartment developments in line with that portion of the area east of Osborne Street. As the earlier sections indicated this trend to income-producing properties caused vigorous opposition among many of the home-owners in the Roslyn Road Area.

⁶⁰City of Winnipeg, Building Permits, Planning Division.

Thus a major factor in the development of the Roslyn Road Area as a high-rise apartment complex was the trend to income-producing properties in the 1940's and 50's, including some who purchased in anticipation of the time when the area would be zoned for apartment development.

B. Supply and Demand Factors in Apartment Development

As the Introduction to this thesis noted, Winnipeg participated in the apartment boom that occurred in Canadian urban centres in the decade of the sixties. The housing industry responded to the major demographic and social shifts occurring in the cities by rapid suburbanization of the population in single family dwellings as well as by specialization in high-rise apartment developments within the industry itself. As Smith points out: ". . . the major demographic components affecting housing demand in the post-war era were net family household formation, net non-family household formation and undoubling of families."^{61*} Thus the most significant element in this population growth was the proportion of non-family households, which in metropolitan areas rose by 41 per cent as compared to 13 per cent for families.⁶²

⁶¹Smith, L. B. Housing in Canada. Research Monograph 2, Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects. Ottawa 1971. p. 13.

*"Undoubling" refers to the demand for separate housing accomadation by lodging families.

⁶²Ibid.

The shift to apartment living as a result of these demographic factors was further stimulated by the changing social preferences of this population. Thus while Bourne indicates an apparent preference among the younger population for centrally located apartments, he also notes "a willingness among a larger proportion of the society in total to accept apartment living."⁶³ At the same time he argues that "the greater mobility provided by rental accommodation, as well as generally lower costs, built-in conveniences, and higher accessibility, either because of central location or proximity to mass transit, have accelerated the shift to apartments."⁶⁴

Developers responded to this new market demand as well as to the increasing costs of land (both suburban and central) and construction, by specializing in buildings which used relatively little land, which often contained many of the conveniences demanded by consumers and which because of the rent appeared to provide profitable economic returns on their investment. The lending institutions also responded to this new growth in residential construction. From 1958, the National Housing Act has increased the amount of guaranteed mortgage financing at a higher per unit ratio and thus has provided an incentive for construction firms

⁶³Bourne, L. S. "Market, Location and Site Selection in Apartment Construction," The Canadian Geographer. Volume XII, No. 4, Winter 1968, p. 214.

⁶⁴Ibid.

to build larger apartment developments.⁶⁵ In reviewing the availability of mortgage funds for rental accommodation, the report on Canadian Housing Statistics also noted that "an added consideration under both N.H.A. and Conventional financing, for pension funds which represent a potential secondary market, and particularly for life companies, is the desire on the part of the lender to acquire some form of equity participation. This is only possible for them in apartment building."⁶⁶ The development of the high-rise apartment complex in the Roslyn Road Area reflects the participation of major life insurance companies. The net effect of these various measures was that capital and entrepreneurial resources were made available through various development interests to shape this growing market for rental accommodation.

By the mid-1950's the construction industry had developed sufficient technological resources to be able to respond to this sector of the housing market. As Styliaras noted: ". . . the mid-1950's saw the resurgence of the elevator in apartment buildings, coupled with innovations like the 'lift-slab' mode of construction and balconies."⁶⁷ The first high-rise apartment block to be constructed in Winnipeg

⁶⁵Report on Apartments in North York. Planning Department, Board of Education, Borough of North York. August 1968, p. 2.

⁶⁶Canadian Housing Statistics. 1968, p. ix.

⁶⁷Styliaras, op. cit., p. 70.

after the Second War was "Park Towers" (Plates 2 and 3) built in 1955, which "precipitated a string of apartment blocks along Portage Avenue West."⁶⁸ The developer subsequently became one of the major apartment builders in the Roslyn Road Area. By 1960, however, the scale of apartment developments was also changing as larger high-rise apartments, such as "Penthouse Towers" in Roslyn Road, came on the market. This building reflected not only taller apartment blocks (10 storeys) but also the reinforcement of a trend towards "high-rent" or luxury apartment developments. When apartment construction finally got underway in the area west of Osborne Street in 1961, its major characteristic was the high-rise, high-rent apartment block. The "luxury" apartment developments, however, were built along that section of Wellington Crescent adjacent to the Roslyn Road Area.

Thus an important factor in the development of the high-rise apartment complex in the study area was the entrepreneurial ability of development interests to respond to the burgeoning market demand for apartment living by acquiring the capital necessary for major apartment projects and utilizing the technological improvements and experience in the construction industry.

C. Site and Amenity Characteristics of the Roslyn Road Area

Four key characteristics fall under this heading - site,

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 71, footnote 2.

amenity value, location and prestige. The first is primarily concerned with lot size and layout. The high cost of serviced land not only in the periphery of the city but also in the urban core gave those locations an added advantage where land could be assembled for high-rise apartment development without undue difficulty. Such was the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg. As a former high-status residential area its many fine houses occupied spacious lots, while its peculiar position, enclosed by the river on the north and west, Fort Rouge Park on the east and River Avenue on the south, afforded the area a very real measure of privacy and seclusion. (Map 3 and Figure 2). Added to this was the fact that few streets broke up the area into separate blocks. Prior to the Roslyn Crescent development, the major indentations in the area west of Osborne were made by Nassau Street, and the three small "places" - Wilmot Place, Roslyn Place and Evergreen Place.

The large lots, therefore, particularly those with river frontage, made land assembly relatively easy. Thus "Fountain House" acquired the fan-shaped property at 280 Roslyn Road, 200 feet by 200 feet approximately, with additional land sloping down to the river.⁶⁹ Its neighbour, "Canterbury House" (which also includes a row of townhouses) was built on a site of some 341 feet by 361 feet, composed of slightly more than six lots at the western end of Roslyn Road. "River Crescent Garden Apartments" was developed on

⁶⁹The Following property dimensions are taken from The City of Winnipeg, Assessment Division; and Zoning Board.

the properties of 595 River and 252 Roslyn Road, with the former property alone measuring approximately 290 feet by 210 feet. East of Osborne Street, Figure 2 shows the extensive property (190 feet by 375 feet) on which "Penthouse Towers" was built. "Blair House" and "188 Roslyn Road" were both built on single lots of 100 foot frontage with depths of 250 feet (includes river frontage) and 150 feet respectively. Some of the apartment blocks required more elaborate land assembly. In particular, "55 Nassau" acquired over a period of eight years the properties surrounding and including Roslyn Place. Part of one of those lots was used for "Sussex House", but the remainder, some 2 1/2 acres, was used for the 38-storey "55 Nassau". On the other hand, its near neighbour, "Wilmot Park Plaza" occupied the four narrow lots of the original property, 59 Wilmot Place, a lot area of some 220 feet by 250 feet. Along River Avenue, three properties on five lots (one owner) between Nassau Street and Wilmot Place (a lot area of 140 feet by 265 feet) became "555 River".

These few examples are illustrative of the lot sizes in the Roslyn Road Area, and as Figure 2 shows, they stand in direct comparison to the smaller lots of the streets south of River Avenue.

The second factor in this section, 'amenity value', has already been considered to some extent. This involves the presence of the lots close to the river, the extensive tree cover and the somewhat secluded nature of the Roslyn Road Area. The river view and particularly that overlooking the

Legislative Buildings just across the Osborne Street Bridge, was a strong selling point for high-rise apartment blocks in the area.

A third factor in this consideration involves the location of the apartment area in relation to the City Proper. Situated slightly over one mile from downtown Winnipeg and linked to the central business district by the Osborne Street Bridge, the Roslyn Road Area is well located with reference to the urban area as a whole. East along River Avenue leads to the Midtown Bridge and downtown, while further along is Main Street, the Main Street Bridge to St. Boniface and St. Vital. South on Osborne Street leads to the Trans-Canada Highway, and also to the suburbs of St. Vital and St. Boniface. West from the area along Wellington Crescent leads to Assinboine Park and into River Heights and Tuxedo, as well as along Academy Road to the St. James Bridge and St. James-Assiniboia. South along Nassau Street (and Osborne) leads to Pembina Highway, Fort Garry, and Fort Richmond, and along Highway 75 to southern Manitoba. At the same time the City Transit service also connects all these areas, north-south along Osborne Street, and east-west along River Avenue and Stradbrook. Thus the Roslyn Road Area has many of the locational advantages of a downtown area, but without the activity of a central business district, while still afforded the amenity values described earlier.

The fourth characteristic of the Roslyn Road Area under consideration in this section is that of the 'prestige'

or social status of the area. One of the key developers in the area stated that his company had carried out careful studies of possible central locations for apartment development in the city before deciding upon Roslyn Road, as one whose name held an important social status connotation. This bears out Max Neutze's contention that "near the city centres (developers) give considerable weight to a prestigious address, nearness to employment centres, good shops and cultural amenities, and to the character of the neighbourhood."⁷⁰ The Roslyn Road Area still retained this prestige connotation, and in this it was helped considerably by the new expensive single-family residences of Roslyn Crescent. One of Bourne's key locator variables for high-rise and office development was also areas of high-status residences on the periphery of the central business district.⁷¹

Thus the Roslyn Road Area contained important internal characteristics which gave it decided advantages as an area for high-rise, high-rent apartment development.

D. Zoning Development in the Roslyn Road Area

A brief review of the major zoning changes in this area was given in Section 1. of this chapter. The most crucial zoning developments for the Roslyn Road Area in this

⁷⁰Neutze, M. The Suburban Apartment Boom, Resources for the Future Inc. The John Hopkins Press, 1968, p. 5.

⁷¹Bourne, Private Redevelopment of the Central City, op. cit., p. 123.

context were obviously the amendments to By-Law 16502 (B.L. 18548, February 1961 and B.L. 18571, March 1961) which rezoned the major portion of Roslyn Road west of Osborne Street, R4A, Multiple Family District. In practical terms the Roslyn Road Area developed as a high-rise apartment complex because this zoning permitted such high-density development. Bourne refers to zoning as "the most comprehensive form of public control of the private land market", thus making it a critical factor in the location of new construction.⁷² The 'public' thus intervened in the Roslyn Road Area, with this essentially 'permissive' legislation. Apartments could be built to a height of 12 storeys or 120 feet, with a density of some 130 to 150 suites per acre.

Pressure on the area had been building during the 1950's, first with the conflict involving the rooming house operators, and then as a natural response to the apartment developments on Roslyn Road east of Osborne Street later in the decade. The decision which appeared to "trigger" the rezoning, resulted from the action of the City in 1959 (B.L. 18240) in rezoning to R4A, a small section of Wellington Crescent immediately south of the area, with the stated intention by city authorities to study other areas which might be suitable for apartment development. The Roslyn Road Area was obviously such a neighbourhood, and in fact some

⁷²Bourne, L. S. Private Redevelopment of the Central City, op. cit., p. 93.

planners had recommended it be zoned as such as early as the Metropolitan Planning Commission studies of the 1940's. However, once high-density development was approved adjacent to the study area, development pressure naturally increased in the Roslyn Road Area, and in two zoning decisions in February and March 1961 the City Council opened the way for the neighbourhood's redevelopment. Obviously this decision suited those owners, both resident and absentee, who had held on to or purchased their properties throughout the fifties in anticipation of such a development. With the rezoning and the potential for development the value of their land increased, thus making it profitable for owners to sell.

Some seven years later the Metro Council again rezoned part of the area, this time to R3B, thus removing the height limitation on buildings, while lowering the density of suites per acre. The three tallest buildings in the area were developed under this zoning designation, while a fourth, an ambitious undertaking from the start, halted construction at the foundation stage.

E. Neighbourhood Resistance to Zoning Changes

Residents of the Roslyn Road Area have been active in zoning disputes since the mid-1930's, as Section 1. of this chapter has noted. Using all possible appeal procedures they managed to retain their area as a two-family district, at least until 1954 when City Council rezoned part of their area R2C - Conversion District, in December of that year (B.L. 17361), having previously rezoned Roslyn Crescent R1

from R2 (B.L. 17248). Despite this setback (i.e. the R2C zoning classification) which permitted the conversion of older homes under certain conditions into more than two suites, the Roslyn Home Owners Association continued to fight against any further multiple family developments in their area. In this they had occasional success. However, they were powerless to stop the critical zoning changes in February and March 1961 despite their protest to the City some months earlier. From that point on, as long as the developers kept within the regulations (and sometimes even when they did not) the resident association was unable to halt the high-rise apartment invasion of their neighbourhood.

Their efforts stand in direct contrast to those of the more powerful Crescentwood Property Owners Association, which reversed the wartime trend to rooming houses and dwelling conversions in their area in the early fifties, and held off attempts in the mid-1960's to redevelop Wellington Crescent near the junction with Academy Road.

Summary

These five factors in composite form, therefore, represent the major reasons why the Roslyn Road Area developed as a high-rise apartment complex in the decade 1961-1971. They illustrate the complex nature of redevelopment activity in built-up areas of the city, as individuals, interest groups and elected officials respond to the ongoing social and economic processes in the city. At the same time these five

factors tend to confirm the general statement of hypothesis,
that:

High-rise apartment development in centrally located areas of cities is likely to occur when economic, social and institutional factors articulate to the advantage of development interests.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

Introduction

This thesis has had both practical and theoretical aims. The practical aspect of the study involved the analysis of the nature of structural change in the Roslyn Road Area in the time-period 1961-1971, which resulted in the replacement of low-density with high-density residential dwellings, specifically high-rise apartments (Chapter IV). In Chapter V Section 1 reviewed the process of adaptation and change in the area's standing stock of buildings as they responded to both internal and external demands, particularly in the two decades preceding apartment development in the sixties. Section 2 of Chapter V attempted to identify and examine the major factors responsible for the development of the high-rise apartment complex in the Roslyn Road Area.

With regard to the theoretical aspect of the thesis, therefore, it is necessary to comment upon the redevelopment of the study area in the light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 1. Three themes were identified in this review as being of particular significance to this study: a) the process of land use succession; b) the location of high-density residential development; and c) the residential development process. Since the emphasis in the thesis was placed on the adjustment process in the building stock, and the significance of the immediate neighbourhood in this regard rather than on

the logistics of the development process in the area, this third theme will receive only summary treatment.

1. The Process of Land Use Succession in Urban Areas.

The concept of a "building renewal cycle" as identified by Bourne is a helpful one in reviewing the process of land use succession in the Roslyn Road Area.¹ While Chapter IV dealt with the decisive action of replacement and redevelopment of the study area, Section 1 of Chapter V examined the process of adaptation and change in the building stock of the area against a background of Roslyn Road as a first class residential district, as noted in Chapter III. This area, therefore, developed as a district of substantial homes, on spacious lots, often with river frontage.

The 'stages' in the area's development, as noted in this thesis, are summarized as follows:

1. the development of the Roslyn Road Area as a first class residential district south of the Assiniboine River (Chapter III:1).
2. the effects of the Depression and War on the economic and social viability of the properties, leading to demolition of some and the subsequent re-use of others, initiating the trend to income-properties. This development was two-fold: a) 'institutional' uses, such as nursing homes, fraternity houses,

¹Bourne, L. S. "Location Factors in the Redevelopment Process: A Model of Residential Change." Land Economics, Volume XLV, No. 2, May 1969, p. 184.

consulates and educational and professional services (eg. theological college); b) residential uses, in terms of "paying guests" and conversion of single family dwellings into duplexes and apartment suites (Chapter V, Section 1).

3. the process of property conversion which began in the forties was intensified with the zoning designation of the area west of Osborne Street as a 'Conversion District', in 1954 (Chapter V, Section 1).
4. the demolition of dwellings in the area east of Osborne Street in the mid-1950's, initially for the construction of three-storey walk-up apartment buildings, but later for high-rise apartment developments along the bank of the Assiniboine River (Chapter III:2; Chapters IV and V). This process intensified west of Osborne Street beginning in 1961: 32 residential properties were demolished, to be replaced by 15 new apartment blocks. As Chapter IV noted, more than half of these properties were used by more than two households, an activity which in itself represented earlier modifications to these dwellings.

The decade 1961-1971 therefore established "a new equilibrium" for a major part of the Roslyn Road Area, with the transition of the area from a low-density to a high-density residential use. Of considerable interest in this review of the land use succession process is the fact that an example of "a new

equilibrium" between structure and function preceded the high-rise phenomenon in the Roslyn Road Area. The subdivision of expensive single family dwellings on Roslyn Crescent was undertaken in the late 1940's and 1950's on land vacated when three large residences were demolished in the Depression Years.

Thus the process of land use succession in the Roslyn Road Area has involved the adjustment of the building stock to changing needs and demands for space. The outcome of this adjustment process was the demolition of a major portion of former single-family residences and their replacement by high-rise, high-density apartment buildings. This activity in the Roslyn Road Area confirms (with one exception) Bourne's findings that re-adjustments in the building stock in centrally developed areas tend to be towards a higher density, often within the same land use type, and for the most part involving both development of vacant land and replacement of existing properties with new construction.² The exception refers to the relatively minor role of vacant land in the redevelopment of the Roslyn Road Area.

2. The Location of High-Density Residential Development

In his Toronto research Bourne found the location of apartment development to have significant and positive correlation with:

1. existing apartment concentrations;
2. the large lots and "attractive social environments" of high-status residential areas;

²Bourne, L. S. Economic Geography, 1971, p. 5.

3. proximity to mass transit and major transportation routes.³

The relationship between these three major location factors and the Roslyn Road Area apartment development can be stated as follows:

1. As Chapter III indicated in some detail, the Roslyn Road Area, as part of the Fort Rouge district, participated in some of the earliest apartment developments in Winnipeg. Because of the location of Fort Rouge, immediately south of the downtown across the Assiniboine River, and the transportation service provided area residents by street-car lines, the area was one of the most important apartment concentrations in the City of Winnipeg. Thus when the post war housing boom which had begun in the late 1940's initiated a new wave of apartment construction in the mid-1950's, the Roslyn Road Area east of Osborne, which was zoned R3, participated in this development. When the Multiple Family District was applied to the western portion of the district in 1961, the activity of the developers in apartment construction was immediate. The Roslyn Road Area thus contains within its apartment morphology, apartment blocks from pre-1914, inter-war and post war years. (Map 3.)

2. Chapter III also deals at some length with the place of Roslyn Road in the development of the high-status residential sector of Winnipeg. In Section 2 of Chapter V it was noted that one of the major factors accounting for the development

³Bourne, L. S. Land Economics, 1969, pp. 191-192.

of the study area as a high-rise apartment district was the presence of amenities such as river location in a quiet treed area, as well as the importance of the large lot sizes which accompanied the spacious homes of this high-status area. In the 1950's the amenity value of the area was enhanced by the development of Roslyn Crescent as a subdivision of expensive homes. Thus in 1960 a land use map of the city identified that part of the Roslyn Road Area west of Osborne which included Roslyn Crescent and the homes between Nassau, Roslyn Place, Wilmot Place and River Avenue, as a "Class A" residential district, while the remainder of the immediate area was rated "Class B".⁴ Thus in terms of Bourne's criteria the Roslyn Road Area represented a high-status residential district on the fringe of the downtown, while as Chapter IV and V (Section 2) noted, the land assembly for apartment redevelopment was aided considerably by the pattern of lot sizes in this neighbourhood.

3. Section 2 of Chapter V also noted the excellent locational position enjoyed by the Roslyn Road Area with respect to accessibility to downtown Winnipeg, suburban locations or connections with important urban services, such as the airport and shopping centres in St. James-Assiniboia. In particular, of course, five minutes by car or fifteen to twenty minutes on foot brings the employment, cultural,

⁴Economic Atlas of Manitoba, ed. Weir, T. R. Department of Industry and Commerce, Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1960, p. 77.

entertainment and retail facilities of downtown Winnipeg within reach of the Roslyn Road Area residents.

Thus on these three factors, the study area confirms the usefulness of Bourne's locator variables.

3. The Development Process

It is appropriate at this point to comment on two aspects of developer behaviour noted in Chapter I of this thesis; a) the "clustering" effects of high-rise apartment development, and b) the tendency for developers to reduce the importance of specific neighbourhood and accessibility variables by increasing the scale of their developments, thus building-in the externalities such as recreation and commercial facilities. The Roslyn Road apartment complex gives examples of both these trends. Bourne's Toronto research indicated that once the development process is "triggered" development tends to accelerate and be self-reinforcing.⁵ Thus once a location is determined as 'marketable', the industry tends to concentrate development there until the area is 'built-up', at which point a new location is developed. Obviously this does not prohibit large development companies from building in more than one location at the same time. The Roslyn Road experience, however, demonstrated that development was concentrated in the short span of seven years, from 1961 to 1968, although the major projects initiated in the later years were not completed in some cases until 1971.

⁵Bourne, L. S. Canadian Geographer, 1968, p. 222.

No new construction has occurred in the area since that time.

The second developer activity refers to the scale of new apartment buildings in the area, whereby in accordance with the zoning regulations (R3B) the height limitation is removed as long as an equal area of open space is provided. This through various provisions of the zoning regulations can be made up of both outdoor and indoor open space, such as recreation areas. At the same time some developers are including commercial as well as recreational services within their apartment structures, thus reducing for some residents at least the dependence on accessible service centres. Neutze has described the particular importance of this type of development in urban fringe locations.⁶ Within the Roslyn Road Area, the 38-storey "55 Nassau" has included stores and service establishments, as well as a sizeable recreation area. The building is also linked by underground walk-way to an adjacent apartment structure, thus enhancing the service accessibility of this development.

This case-study of the Roslyn Road Area, therefore, has explored the land use and construction history of a neighbourhood on the downtown fringe of a medium-sized Canadian city. While the major land use changes have occurred dramatically in the decade 1961-1971, the study has attempted to place this change in the perspective of the critical

⁶Neutze, M. The Suburban Apartment Boom, op. cit.

periods of growth and decline in the urban development of the city as a whole, and the complex interaction of decisions by homeowners, development interests, planners and elected officials. The theoretical framework for analyzing this land use change in the Roslyn Road Area was the process of land use succession and the location of high-density residential development as discussed in the researches of L. S. Bourne.

Plate 1. Marion Street, St. Boniface



Plate 2. Portage Avenue West



Plate 3. Park West Apartments



Plate 4. Grant Avenue, Looking East.



Plate 5. Grant Avenue, Looking West.



Plate 6. Pembina Highway. South of University.



Plate 7. Pembina Highway. South of University.



Plate 8. St. Mary's Road, at Dakota Village.



Plate 9. Henderson Highway, Valhalla River Village.



Plate 10. Henderson Highway, Valhalla River Village.



Plate 11. Jefferson Avenue.



Plate 12. The Roslyn Apartments



Plate 13. Clustering of Apartments, West End of Roslyn Road



Plate 14. Clustering of Apartments, Viewed from Assiniboine River.



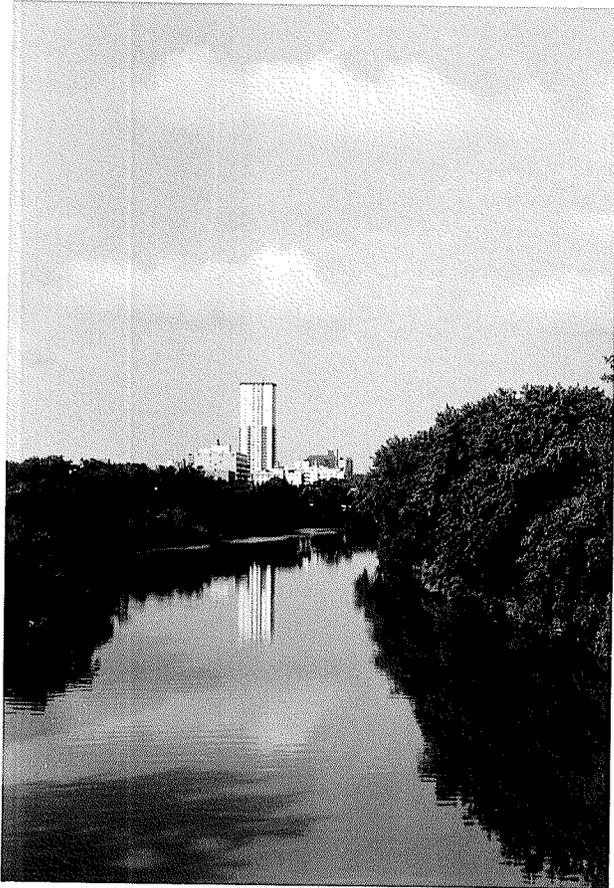


Plate 15.

Roslyn Road Apartment
Development, Viewed
From Assiniboine
River, East.

Plate 16.

Looking Towards Roslyn
Road From Roslyn
Crescent

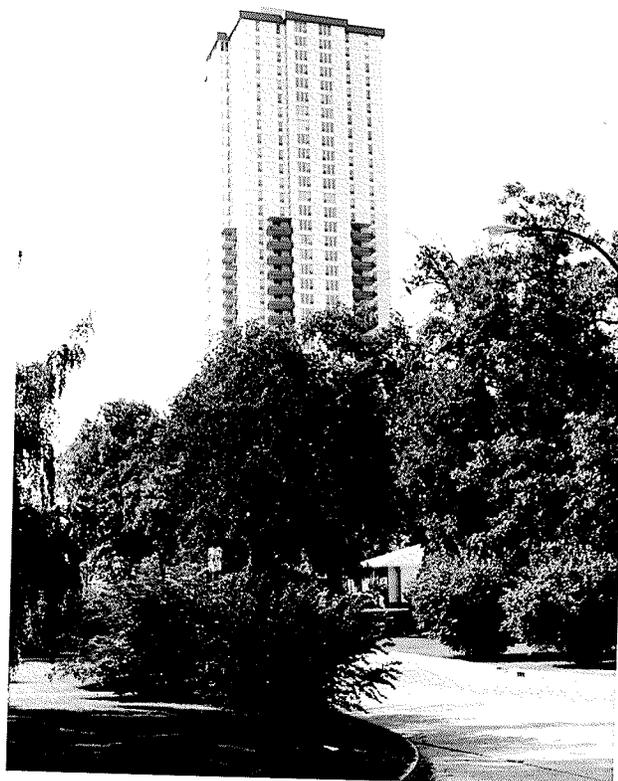


Plate 17. Roslyn Crescent



Plate 18. "Hycroft Towers," 7-11 Evergreen Place.



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