"Grand Designs on the Fringes of Empire: New Towns for British North America,"

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GRAND DESIGN ON THE FRINGES OF EMPIRE: NEW TOWNS FOR BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

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There was an increasing elaboration of a town model introduced by British authorities to the new American colonies in the second half of the eighteenth century. The simplest versions, in Nova Scotia (from 1749), gave way to 'classic' Charlottetown (1768) and eventually to excesses in Ontario (ca 1790). The model and its elaboration are clarified, the circuitous route for the planning inspiration is traced, and an explanation is offered for the over-ambitious model bestowed on Ontario. Themes include late Renaissance ideas for new towns, the impact on colonial peripheries of a sophisticated imperial administration, 'landscape by committee,' and the diffusion of ideas.

Pendant la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle, il y eut dans les nouvelles colonies américaines une élaboration croissante du modèle urbain introduit par les autorités britanniques. Les expressions les plus simples de ce modèle, en Nouvelle Écosse (de 1749), cédèrent au style « classique » de Charlottetown (1768) et menèrent éventuellement aux excès en Ontario (ca 1790). Nous clarifierons ce modèle et son évolution ; nous tracerons les multiples influences qui inspirèrent cet urbanisme ; et nous expliquerons le modèle par trop ambitieux qui se manifesta en Ontario. Les thèmes de cet article incluent les idées sur les « new towns » qui eurent cours vers la fin de la Renaissance ; l'impact d'une administration impériale raffinée sur les périphéries coloniales ; la fabrication « par comité » du paysage urbain ; et la diffusion des idées.

Britain lost a large part of its presence in North America as a result of the 1783 treaty that recognized the successful rebellion of the American seaboard colonies. What was left to Britain was widely thought of as a rump, but it took the place of the prized American possessions. The British North America under discussion here is the northern tier of colonies passed over to Britain by treaties in 1713 and 1763, and eventually to become the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. On this palimpsest (generally excluding the settled area that had been New France) were sketched out designs of particular attractiveness to the new colonial administrations. Indeed, it appears that the colonies provided ground for playing out some of the stimulation of the European Enlightenment. One of the most pervasive of the many remarkable products of this stimulation was the geometrical survey system that became standard in North America by the 1780s. And one elaboration within this system was the survey practice that would apply to the laying out of new towns.

Canadian evidence from the last thirty-five years of the eighteenth century shows a striking consistency in morphological details in plans for new towns. This can be illustrated with examples from the Atlantic coast or from land-locked sites in Ontario.[1] In fact, it is reasonable to suspect that there was one dominating town plan tradition at work. That invites an attempt to track the underlying ideas and, by so doing, to gain further understanding of the processes of innovation and diffusion. Can we determine the provenance of the plans? To what degree were they simply importations from a British intellectual hearth – reverberations of the late Renaissance? To what extent did metamorphosis take place as a result of experience in the New World? In general terms, how

appropriate, how fitting, how fertile were the urban morphologies applied to lat eighteenth-century British North America?

DESIGNING A COLONY

Let us work back in time from the intentions expressed when British settlement wa extended into the basins of lakes Ontario and Erie in the 1780s. Governor-General Lor Dorchester's *Rules and Regulations for the Conduct of the Land-Office Department*, i 1789, were quite explicit:

> The Town plot in every Township shall be one mile square. In an inland Township it shall be situate in the center thereof; and in a Township upon a navigable river or water, it shall be in the center of th front bordering upon the ... water.
>
> Every Town-lot shall contain one acre ...
>
> Every Town-park shall contain twenty-four acres ...
>
> Every Farm-lot shall contain two hundred acres ...
>
> There shall be a Public Square or parade, in the center of the Town, containing four acres ...
>
> There shall be four more Public Squares ... of the like extent at equal and convenient distances fron the center.
>
> A Square of four acres ... shall be reserved on each side of the center square for places of Divin worship, one Parsonage house, one Schoolhouse, a Court or Town-house, a Prison, and a Poor o Work-house.
>
> A Square of four acres ... shall be reserved at each of the four corners of the Town-plot, for a common Burying ground, Hospital, etc.
>
> Four Squares of four acres each ... shall be reserved for Market-places, at the four extremities of the Town ...
>
> An area half a mile ... in depth, surrounding the Town, shall be reserved for works of defence if necessary.[2]

Dorchester's *Rules and Regulations* built on what he apparently considered to be a prerogative of his office. At least, there was no specific direction to him, as far as I can determine, to engage in this kind of thorough-going planning, although fourteen years earlier the seed had been planted through royal instructions to him on his previous appointment as governor-general:

> You are also to cause a proper place in ... each Township to be marked out for building a Town ... with Town and Pasture lots convenient to each Tenement, taking Care that the said Town be laid out upon ... some Navigable River or the Sea Coast, and You are also to reserve to Us proper Quantities of Land ... for Erecting Fortifications and Barracks ... for the Growth and Produce of Naval Timber ...
>
> And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that a particular Spot ... be set apart for the Building a Church, and four hundred Acres adjacent thereto, allotted for the Maintenance of a Minister and two hundred Acres for a Schoolmaster.[3]

Going one step further back, we find this same instruction sent to the first British civilian governor of Canada in 1763.

By 1789 a detailed model for both a township and its town had crystallized. The township was to have two phases – the one, fronting on a watercourse, to be 9 by 12 miles; the other, inland, to be 10 by 10 miles. It should be kept in mind, however, that these prototypes remained simply as written descriptions, and did not reach the stage of drawing a ground plan at least until the surveyor-general's office in Quebec decided to put them on paper. And

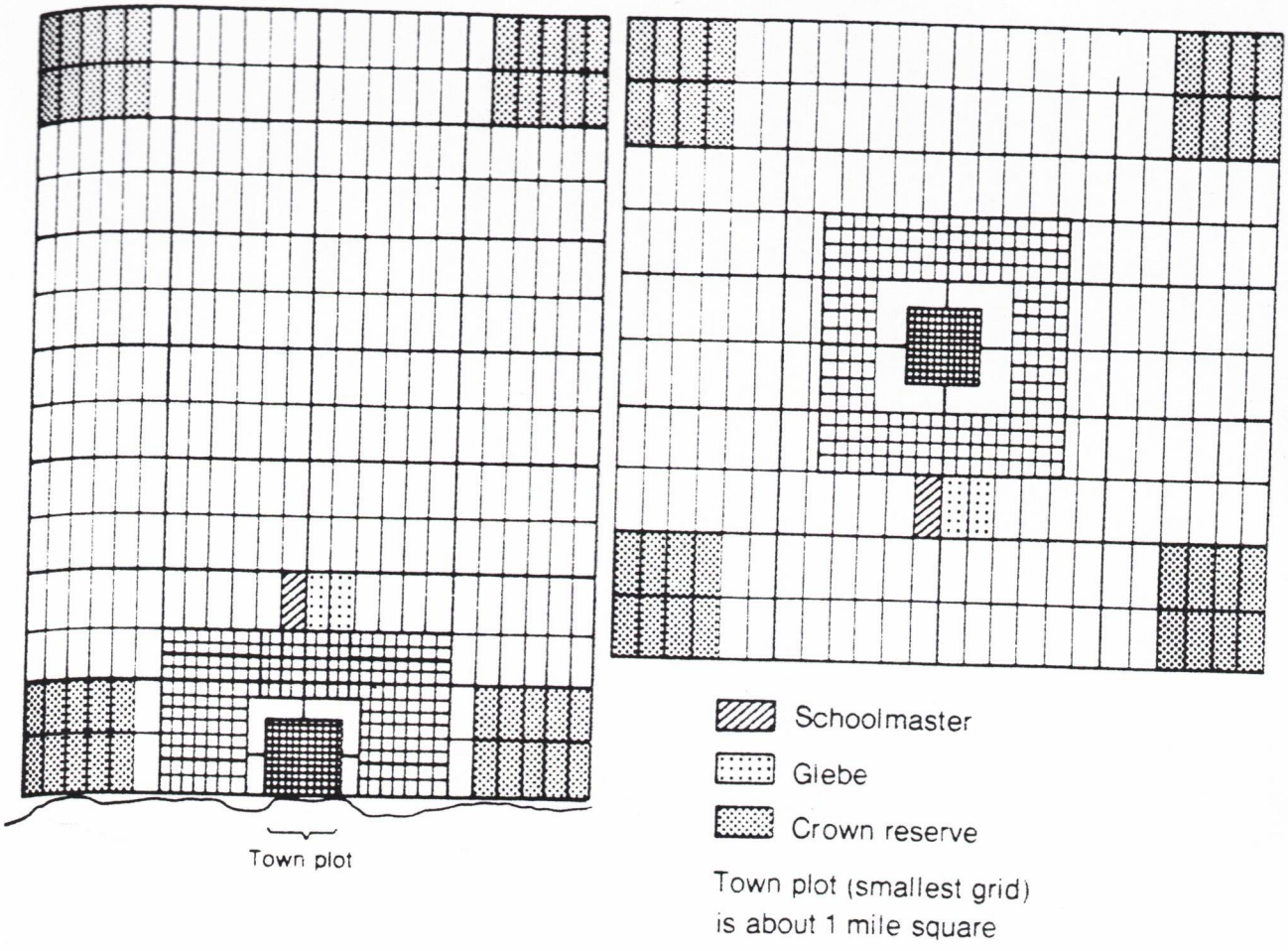

FIGURE 1. The plat on the left was for a township with a water frontage; that on the right, for an inland township. The versions shown here follow Gilbert Paterson's less than precise representation, as displayed in the *Sixteenth Report of the Department of Archives of the Province of Ontario, 1920* (Toronto: 1921), pp. 27, 31. There were a number of semi-official interpretations around 1790, none of which represented *Rules and Regulations* very satisfactorily.

relatively few of the surveyor-general's drawings were actually laid out on the ground. The general features of the two phases proposed for Ontario in the late 1780s are shown in Figure 1, and enlarged details of the town model are illustrated in Figure 2. The provision of a township focused on a ready-made town may have been an attempt to create something like a British rural parish, which usually was tributary to its central parish town.

The model town was an important aspect of imperial policy for Canada. It was to provide the functions thought necessary to the smooth working of a rural hinterland and thus to expedite the successful settling of the colony. But, certainly as far as Ontario is concerned, the implementation of this intention leaves much to be desired; it appears that only three of these models were laid out on the ground, and none came close to implementing the prototype. One (Newark, now called Niagara-on-the-Lake) was at the strategic confluence of the Niagara River with Lake Ontario. The other two – Johnstown and Cornwall – were located on the St Lawrence River east of Lake Ontario. They both were subjects of rather acrimonious debate in the land board of the district, primarily because the occupants would not submit to dimensions and bounds devised at a clerk's desk in London or Quebec, and, as a result, there were many cases where settlers tried to claim more land than they were entitled to, or where two or more claims overlapped on a desirable property.[4] Figure 3 illustrates the basic plan for these towns and also documents the kinds of divergence that

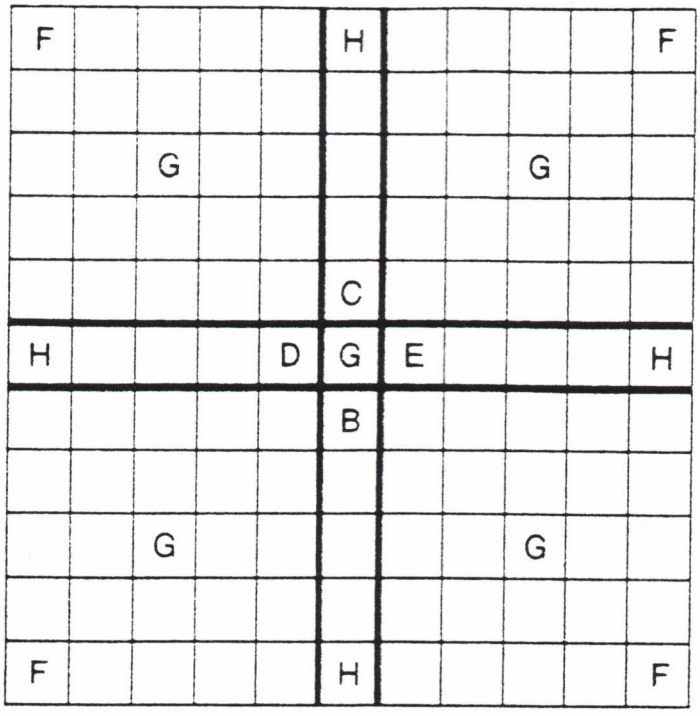

FIGURE 2. The original proposal for the town that became Toronto. This town plot was to fit into a township plan in the waterfront example in Figure 1. Based on a copy of Gother Mann's drawing of December 1788, in t Ontario Archives map collection (D-9). This proposal was not implemented.

grew up in the first few years. The judgment of this model, in the concrete terms (settlement manifested, must be that it was a failure.

VERSIONS OF THE TOWN MODEL

It is obvious, even from a superficial inquiry, that the town model did not arise overnight o as much as we might wish to simplify its genesis, from a single, clear source. There are hin of it – or at least of its underlying concepts – in many urban creations in the New Worl both earlier and later. This is not surprising in light of the royal instructions to coloni governors. We might well ask, however, why such a formal model would have bee proposed, and, further, why it would have been elaborated and bestowed on the ne backwoods settlements which opened in the upper St Lawrence and along Lake Ontario

In tracing the evidence, there are a number of pertinent Canadian and other Nort American precursors. During the same post-Rebellion generation, new towns were bein established in other parts of British North America, particularly on the Atlantic coasts and i accessible river valleys. St Andrews and Fredericton were laid out in 1785, the former wit a square grid of streets, narrow water-frontage lots, three large squares (one on th waterfront), and a common surrounding the grid; the latter with a rectangular grid, barrack and other quasi-public structures near the river, and a large square away from the river, nea the center of the grid.[5] A couple of years earlier, the Loyalist influx around the mouth of th same Saint John River had hastened the surveying of a town which was to acquir commercial prominence as the city of Saint John. Thomson describes this survey (th settlement then being called Parr Town) as having 'public squares, private lots fortifications and public landings.'[6]

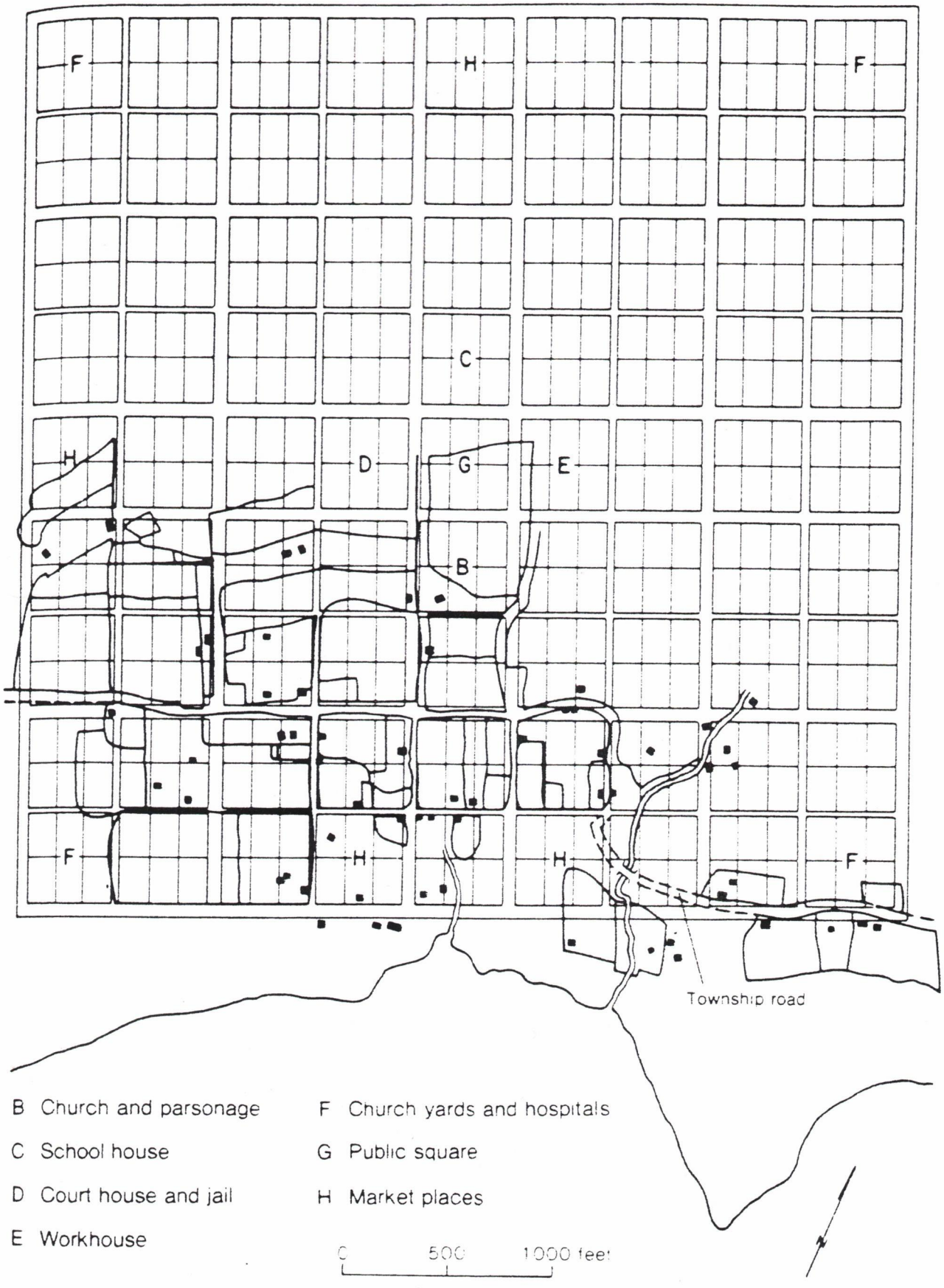

FIGURE 3. The plan for Cornwall, originally prepared in 1792 (after a delay of three years), showing some evidence of the actual settlement that had occurred to that date. The darker lines represent fences; the black squares, residences. Settlement had started on the site before the surveying based on the 1789 stipulations. Redrawn from a copy in the National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada (v3/440 – Cornwall – 1792).

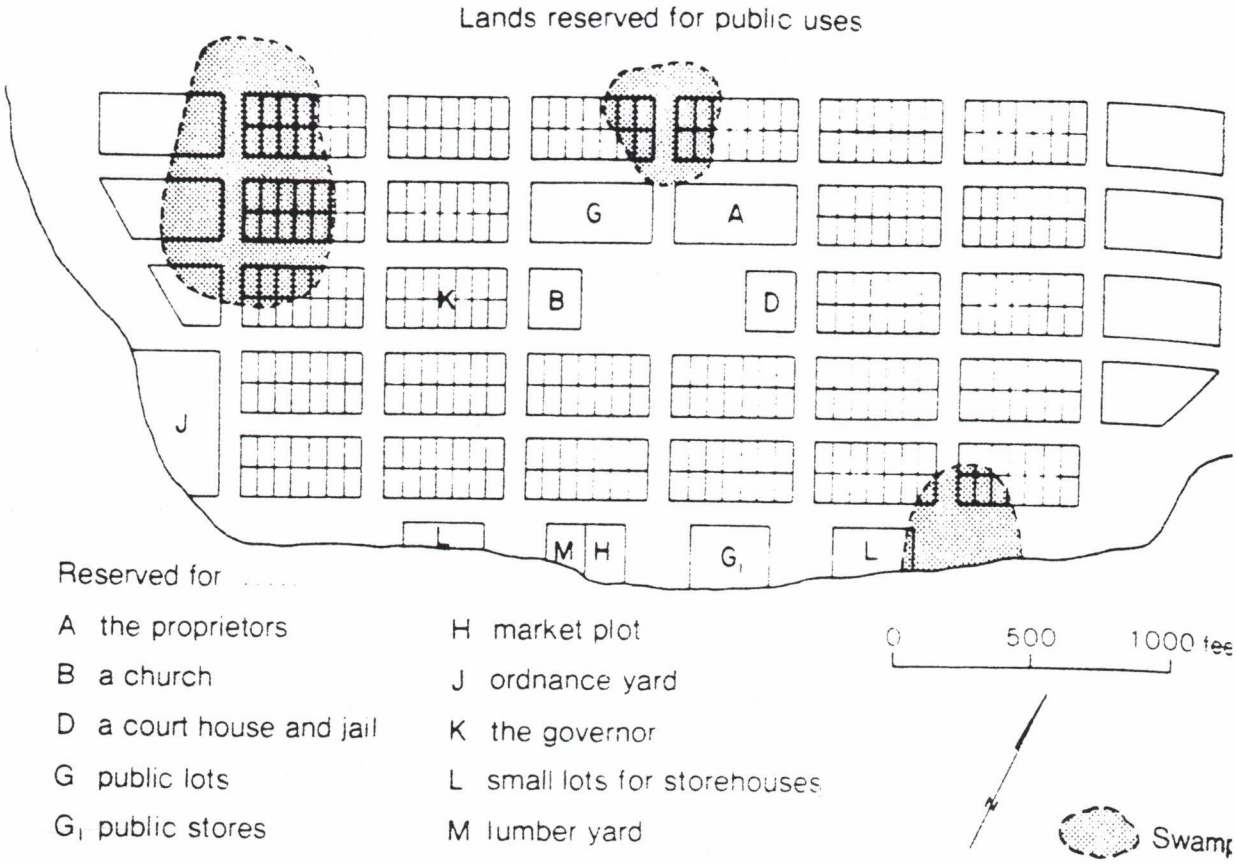

FIGURE 4. The 1768 plan for Charlottetown, ordered by the lieutenant-governor and drawn by Charles Morris. Here redrawn from a copy in the National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada (H1/240 – Charlottetown – 1768).

Even more to the point of pursuing the concepts and initiatives behind the model town plans are some of the products of the first flood of British imperial activity in the newly acquired northern colonies. Two important examples were laid out in Prince Edward Island in 1768, incorporating the characteristics that apparently were crystallizing into an official prototype. The experienced surveyor Samuel Holland was dispatched to survey Prince Edward Island in 1764. This basic survey was embellished with town plans four years later by Charles Morris, chief surveyor of Nova Scotia (the relevant jurisdiction at that date). The plan for the main town of the island, Charlottetown, is shown in Figure 4. It is a clear example of this genre of colonial town creation: it is a grid, it has a symmetrical array of spaces for public purposes, and it has a defensive capability. A map that included the surroundings would reveal a hierarchy of lots, from town lots, through pasture lots available for use by townsfolk, to the farm lots proper, and a common belt ('Lands Reserved for Public Uses') intervening between the town lots and the pasture lots. About the same time a similar but less elaborate plan was provided for Georgetown, another county town in Prince Edward Island.

If we follow the tradition further back in the Canadian evidence, we can find other examples that contain the germ of the later models. The 1760 plan of Horton, apparently prepared for the influx of New Englanders into the area of Minas Basin, Nova Scotia, displays a long, rectangular plot, with a square in the centre and one towards each end, and with lots identified for a glebe, a minister, and a school.[7] Even tiny places, such as the fishing village of Canso (plan dated 1764) or the proposed town plot for King's County, Nova Scotia (1765), had a regular grid of streets and lots, with one or more public squares.[8]

The simple, bastide-like layout of Halifax in 1749, inside its fortifications, had its central open space (The Parade) and adjacent courthouse-prison and church.[9] Lunenburg, in 1752, was visualized as having a rectangular grid but no alienated public spaces, except for large expanses of common that surrounded the peninsular location of the town and garden lots.[10]

Reps's classic work, *The Making of Urban America*, illustrates a number of even earlier precursors. New England does not provide models; the dissenting, community-oriented traditions there led to unique morphologies – what we might call 'deductive' town plans. The southern colonies, in contrast, were particularly amenable – like Nova Scotia – to imported models, because the home government had begun to encourage a rather vigorous settlement rate. In the 1730s and 1740s publicized towns such as Savannah and New Ebenezer were being laid out according to designs emanating from drawing offices and lecture halls in the sophisticated capitals of Europe, these designs being what we might call 'inductive' or superimposed town plans. Taking Savannah as a good example we find provision made in 1734 for the following public land uses: a large square for approximately 40 house lots, a church lot, a mill and oven, a court-house, a house for strangers, fortifications, and (according to a later diagram) a common.[11] Reps assumes that Philadelphia provided much of the inspiration for Savannah, as also, directly or indirectly, did the post-Great Fire plans for London, and probably those for the plantation towns of Ulster (notably Londonderry and Coleraine). Whether or not direct influence can be proven, what stands out with most of the eighteenth-century plans that were given manuscript or concrete form is the repetition of certain formal features. The evidence is of a piecemeal crystallization of an urban design tradition – namely, the tradition that was to manifest itself in the plans for the first Ontario towns, at the end of the eighteenth century. In this progression there was a point at which the official idea reached a critical stage. Charlottetown is a good representative. It obviously was in the same tradition as Savannah, but it more explicitly brought together the features that were to reappear in most officially sanctioned town plans in British North America in the eighteenth century. Our search points to the 1760s as the decade in which the critical stage was reached, as an outcome of conscious initiatives in colonial administration.

The persistence and continuity of the tradition is demonstrated in the further colonies of Australia and New Zealand, in the strongly reminiscent patterns of what were called there 'parkland towns.'[12] Good explanations can be provided for the diffusion of this simple version of Renaissance town planning through the parade of British colonies from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and these are dealt with in the next section.

THE PROVENANCE OF THE IDEAS

The geometrical plan was not an independent creation of colonial administrators. There was an external stimulus that came, in all eighteenth-century cases in what is now Canada, in the royal instructions to the governor-general. The suzerainty of the monarch might be thought of as itself sufficient to devise and establish a planned town. But, the thread goes further than the instructions; for most of the eighteenth century, and reaching a few years back into the seventeenth century, a major, if not the chief, agency in actually ministering to the colonies was the Board of Trade and Plantations, which was an advisory commission established by the king. For most of the century under discussion, the board was composed of some high officers of state (*ex officio* members) and half a dozen or so appointed

commissioners, commonly from the ranks of members of Parliament. The board had acces to power and the heights of expertise. But perhaps more significant to its effectiveness wa its secretariat, composed of approximately a dozen individuals, many of whom remaine for long tenures. It was this secretariat, fitting as it did into the firmament of the British civ service, that provided the continuity of planning ideas and precedents despite the politica vicissitudes of the board itself.[13]

One responsibility of the Board of Trade and Plantations was to prepare for the king' approval the royal instructions. The board early became the expert body which dealt wit colonies all over the world on all matters except those of imperial security. The instructior prepared by the board usually were the final draft, barring minor details. It is not surprising therefore, that governors in widely separated colonies – indeed, even in widely separate decades – received instructions that were similar in many details. Thus, the instructior read by Carleton (Lord Dorchester) on his return to Canada in 1786 had the ring of th instructions read by the first British civilian governor, Murray, in 1763, and of those read b governors in the Caribbean or Africa about mid-century. We might visualize the secretaria with its ready access to progressive thinking of all kinds and with relative stability in whic to develop its thinking, as a shelter where innovative ideas could take root an metamorphose over lengthy periods. The importance of the civil service tie is demonstrate by the striking similarities to earlier royal instructions that appear in the instructions of 178 and 1787, on the eve of which the board had suffered abolition (1782), temporar replacement by a modest bureau within the Home Office, and then revival with a reduce mandate (1784). Through it all, the continuity of the essential role, and its application t colonies in all parts of the world, were maintained. The reappearance of the plannir tradition in the parkland towns of Australia and New Zealand, at a time when the board wa no longer a dominant voice in colonial administration, seems a reiteration of the civ service tie.

The board was the source of the general statement of ideas related to the proper laying ou of new towns in the colonies. But there was a further vital step – namely, the *interpretatic* of those ideas on the chosen ground. At this point, and in no significant way before th point, a knowledge of the colonial terrain enters. The colonial surveyors take on the burde of adapting the ideas to the actual sites.

THE IDEAS ON THE GROUND

The surveyors-general and their surveyors were the persons responsible for setting down c the untamed terrain the plethora of instructions bearing on settlement. They were in th situation of having both too much and too little in the way of instructions. The peristalt response of the board, on the appearance of a new colony or new conditions, provide mainly through the royal instructions masses of admonitions and directions, many of whic applied to the dividing up of land. Consider the report of the board to the king-in-counci March 1764, communicating recommendations, which were accepted, on the origin surveying of Prince Edward Island (Île St-Jean): 'Each County, Parish, and Townsh should be laid out in such a manner as to partake as much as possible of the natur advantages of the Country ... There should be laid out in each County, a sufficient quanti of Land for the scite and accommodations of a Town in the best and most Commodious pa ... & ... a proper scite for a Church and a Glebe for a Minister.'[14] Yet, even detail

instructions could not handle field problems such as a break in slope or a swamp. As far as I can determine, the board did not provide a cartographic rendition of how the details would be adapted to the site. Even with a verbal picture in mind, the surveyors had to start with the ultimate basics: what would be the actual location and the orientation of the town?

Samuel Holland, who was surveyor-general of the northern district of North America and was engaged in surveying Prince Edward Island, summarized for the board his assessment of the potential town sites in the island in 1764:

> The capital ... Charlottetown, is ... to be built on the point of the harbour ... having the advantage of an immediate and easy communication with interior parts by means of three fine rivers ... The ground designated [presumably by Holland] for the town and fortress is well situated upon a regular ascent from the water front. A fine rivulet will run through the town.
>
> Georgetown is recommended to be built on the point of land called Cardigan Point, there being a good harbour for ships of any burden on each side ... On the Goose Neck may be a pier, where goods may be shipped with great convenience and facility.
>
> Princeton is proposed to be built on a most convenient spot ... The site is on a peninsula ... The town will have convenient ground for drying fish, and ships of burden can anchor near it in the bay. It can be fortified at little expense.[15]

Holland's words are very much to the point in our search for influences. He had risen to prominence as a surveyor early in the 1760s, principally as a result of some excellent work he did in the colony of Quebec. In March 1764 he was appointed as both surveyor-general of the province of Quebec and surveyor-general of the northern district, which was all the British territory north of the mouth of the Potomac River. Furthermore, he was in London from 1762 to 1764, and obviously consulted with the board. His may well have been the main expertise on which it drew for its pronouncements on the surveying of the new Maritime colonies at that time. He was mentioned by name, in flattering terms, in a report of February 1764 from the board to the king. This all suggests that Holland had at least a bipartite influence on the early town plans in Canada: he made available his wealth of North American experience to the Board of Trade, and, as the chief surveyor in the field during the years from 1764, he was responsible for establishing the practical adaptations to specific sites.

Holland and his surveyors effected an accommodation between what could be read into the document from the metropolis and what seemed possible and appropriate at the site. They were the guardians of whatever indigenous wisdom there was on town layout in North America. Certain consistencies in layouts appear during this period. First of all, it was necessary to find a site with sufficient spaciousness. Holland seemed to have preferred a gently sloping interfluve, keeping in mind defence and access to a hinterland that would allow convenient expansion and would help to support the urban center. Closely related was an apparent preference for a southerly exposure. The most desirable site at that time was on a shore. This had an obvious connection with the important harbour function and with local and regional defence. As the century proceeded and the surveying moved away from the sea, the surveyors looked as much for a mill site as for frontage on a navigable waterway.

The surveyors were agents of mutation. For example the dimensions of lots or streets might be changed as a result of a surveyor's assessment on the spot. Or the line of a road or the location of a glebe might be adapted to specific conditions. But, in general, the planned towns retained an obvious conceptual relationship. We are witnessing the growth of an idea

in following the plans from the 1750s to the 1790s, but it is an idea which, by the time it comes to rest in Ontario, has been elaborated beyond the tolerance of the settlement it is meant to serve. The outcome was predictable: although the early plans for Charlottetown and Georgetown were fleshed out by the subsequent settlement, the three complex plans bestowed on Ontario sites ca 1789 were not found to be appropriate or useful by the settlers (see Figure 3). The emphasis was placed by the authorities on *survey structure* rather than on *social structure* and genuine needs.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

It is apparent that metamorphosis took place in town planning thought in Canada during the last forty years of the eighteenth century. If we compare Charlottetown or Georgetown with the plans prepared for the urban nuclei in Ontario in 1789, it is obvious that there was an increase in the authorized detail. Charlottetown had the public squares and a market, a wharf, an ordnance yard, and a common. The Ontario model town, too, had the common or defensive belt, but it also had fixed sites for a church, a school, a poor-house, hospitals/graveyards, court-house/jail, as well as market-places. This represents a considerable elaboration; not a break with the tradition, but excessive improvisation on a theme.

This last point warrants some attention. When we look at other examples of the tradition, such as the Australian parkland towns of a later era, and later Ontario towns such as Richmond, Cobourg, Guelph and Goderich, we see once again a simpler version that is more akin to Charlottetown than Johnstown. There was a retreat from the extreme elaboration of Ontario's ambitious earliest plans, perhaps because of the failure of those plans to cope with the demands of rough-and-tumble pioneer settlement. Only where there were simpler plans, and where authority was near at hand, could the superimposition be faithfully maintained.

CONCLUSION: LANDSCAPE BY COMMITTEE

Scanning these three or four decades of town planning provides a useful perspective. Significant planning ideas are re-iterated, as follows: (1) geometrical regularity, in the form of a grid of streets and blocks; (2) the allocation of public spaces, certainly a market square and usually four or more others; (3) an allowance, at least, for a defensive role, commonly as a site for fortifications and sometimes a barrack (by the 1780s in Ontario this coincided with a common); (4) a distinction between urban and non-urban, specifically in terms of the different classes of lot, viz. town, town-park or pasture, and farm, with a common circumscribing the town.

The features emanated from interpretations of the royal instructions; that is to say, they took form in the secretariat of the Board of Trade and Plantations. The surveyor-general and surveyors in British North America were responsible for specific applications, usually including things such as the number of squares and the relationship between the grid and the terrain. It appears also that, as far as sites would allow, the surveyors oriented the survey to provide a southerly exposure. Yet another influence in the result that appeared on the ground was the governor-general-in-council, which embellished the instructions with any further

elaboration thought appropriate to the colonial circumstances. And obviously one last influence was the unpredictable mix of settlers at the site, who had their own interpretations of what should be.

The end product of this process can best be described as 'landscape by committee.' The origin of the town plats was planning at least thrice removed: (1) The inexorable process began with the secretariat of the Board of Trade, nourished as it was by the metropolitan Enlightenment. (2) The royal instructions from the monarch to the governor-general embodied in essence the board's text on management of the colony. (3) The governor-general, on receipt of the instructions, would work out with appropriate advisors (including, especially in the Canadian case, the surveyor-general) the terms by which the instructions would be implemented. (4) The surveyor-general and the working surveyors, either together or separately, would interpret and augment the survey instructions delivered to them. (5) Finally, the conglomerate plan for the town would arrive at the chosen location, and taking into account the onsite peculiarities of people and terrain, it would be pegged out on the site. Thus, when we look at the ambitious town plans proposed for Ontario in 1789, we are witnessing a kind of bureaucratic 'dinosaur.' What actually came into existence as a result of settlers' efforts, and what succeeded it as a colonial town model in Ontario and elsewhere, was a simpler and more efficient version.

We might well ask why colonial administrators would have persisted in not just applying but also embellishing a model that could be fitted to New World conditions only with great difficulty and expense. To what degree were the plans importations from a British intellectual hearth? Obviously there were feelings of imperial responsibility to the untamed colonies, and the Board of Trade and Plantations manifested this responsibility *in general terms* by providing a verbal description of a serviceable town that could be planted in any colony. And why attempt to establish a model town in a new colony? There is a wise answer in the much earlier Spanish royal instructions to the New World (1513): 'Towns newly founded may be established according to plan without difficulty. *If not started with form they will never attain it* [italics added].'[16] For the colonial administrators, maintaining an orderly form was profoundly important. A metamorphosis took place in the New World, partly as a result of experience – e.g. practical adjustments in the orientation of the grid to the terrain, or in deciding on the shape and dimensions of the grid – but partly also as an expression of ill-placed pretensions of administrators in British North America in the 1780s which ran counter to what would seem to have been the obvious conditions of backwoods life.

This leads to tentative answers to the questions of how appropriate, how fitting, and how fertile were the urban morphologies applied to late-eighteenth-century British North America. It is necessary to underline the separation between the theory of the town planning and the actual process of settlement. Although most of the settlers shared similar ultimate social and political values with the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations and the governor-general, they shared next to nothing in life-style. In effect, all the plans proposed were impractical in an untamed, forested land, and the more ambitious were glaringly irrelevant. The test of their appropriateness is displayed perhaps most starkly by the peculiar distortions wrought by settlement on the plan for Cornwall (Figure 3). The commentary on the original drawing of 1792 explains that all the settlers had occupied more land than their entitlement, and that many of the settlement structures were at odds with the plan and should

eventually be changed. As far as fittingness is concerned, the actual site's creeks and swampy ground and the convenient informal ('township') road were not to be easily forced into the strait-jacket of a gridiron.

In the final analysis, however, it may be possible to identify some offspring from this Renaissance exercise. Many Canadian cities, towns, and villages that date back to the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries boast market and court-house squares, and a grid street pattern sometimes with a noble vista or two. Although it would be difficult to prove a direct connection, it seems likely that these modest adornments at least claim adherence to the same tradition. To this extent the imperial system fulfilled a role as a disseminator of ideas or, in other words, as an agent of diffusion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 J. David Wood, 'Bureaucratic fancies, colonial realities: the first urban plans in Ontario (Canada),' in M. Macka (ed.), *Historical Changes of the Territorial Organization of Cities and Their Urbanized Hinterlands* (Brno: Czechoslovak Academy of Science, Institute of Geography, Studia Geographica 73, 1980), pp. 181–95. With regard to terminology, there is a temptation to try to identify the model introduced in British North America more precisely as a *phase* of Renaissance planning. In many ways the formality and practicality of the Mannerist plans come closest to what appeared in the early Canadian model, but when all is said and done the latter probably is best described as 'late Renaissance,' since it is a modest reflection of some of the grand designs widely known in Europe in the eighteenth century. Cf H. Rosenau, *The Ideal City in Its Architectural Evolution* (Boston: Boston Book & Art Shop, 1959); and S. Lang, 'The ideal city from Plato to Howard,' *Architectural Review*, 112 (1952), pp. 90–101.

2 From *Additional Rules and Regulations for the Conduct of the Land-Office Department* (Quebec: The Council-Chamber, 25 August 1789, printed by S. Neilson).

3 From a rendering in *Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1904*, Sessional Paper No. 18 of 4–5 Edward VII (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1905), p. 220. I have corrected the beginning of this quotation, in keeping with other versions of the instructions, to use 'Town' where the source reads 'Fort.' The royal instructions were sent to a governor on his appointment and sometimes on other occasions thereafter.

4 This can be studied conveniently in the *Seventeenth Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario*, by Alexander Fraser, 1928 (Toronto: Printer to the King, 1929), especially p. 66, passim.

5 The plan for St Andrews is displayed on one of the British Library's collection of 'Kings Maps,' a copy of which is in the Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection (hereafter NMC), as No. H3/240 – St Andrews – 1785. There are some comments on the surveying of the Fredericton site in D.W. Thomson, *Men and Meridians – The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), vol. 1, p. 140.

6 Thomson, op. cit., p. 138. Thomson locates the original in the University of New Brunswick Library.

7 In NMC, No. H3/240 – Horton – 1797.

8 In NMC, No. H3/240 – Canso – [1764], and No. H3/240 – Cornwallis – [1765].

9 In NMC, No. H3/240 – Halifax – [1749].

10 In NMC, No. H3/240 – Lunenburg – [1752].

11 J.W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), chapter 7, especially figures 110–14.

12 M. Williams, 'The parkland towns of Australia and New Zealand,' *Geographical Review*, 56 (1966), pp. 67–89.

13 There are numerous sources that deal with the board; for example, C.M. Andrews, *Guide to the Material for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office* ... (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1912); A.H.

Basye, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925); M.P. Clarke, 'The Board of Trade at work,' *American Historical Review*, 17 (1911), pp. 17–43; and R.B. Pugh, *The Records of the Colonial and Dominion Offices* (London: HMSO, Public Record Office Handbooks No. 3, 1964). It will be noted that I take exception to Andrews's claim that the board 'had nothing to do' with colonial administration. I prefer Pugh's interpretation: 'The Board was subordinate to the Secretaries [of State, especially Southern Department], but the Secretaries were dependent upon the Board for effective action.' In addition, the original correspondence of the board leaves no doubt that, even during what proved to be the difficult 1760s, the board had direct influence on the administration of the colonies.

14 From the Board of Trade and Plantations. Original Correspondence, 23 March 1764, C.O. 217/20 (on microfilm from Public Archives of Canada, reel B-1029, 7 sides ending at f. 370). There are striking similarities to the wording of the instructions Dorchester received in the 1770s (see note 3).

15 Quoted in W. Chipman, 'The life and times of Major Samuel Holland, Surveyor-General, 1764–1801,' *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 21 (1924), pp. 31–2.

16 Quoted in D. Stanislawski, 'Early Spanish town planning in the New World,' *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), p. 96. Stanislawski argues that the Spanish instructions draw extensively on Vitruvius.