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Place Bonaventure: Process, Form, and Interpretation

James A. Vioria

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History**

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

March 1994

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Abstract

Place Bonaventure: Process, Form, and Interpretation

Place Bonaventure, a multi-use complex situated in downtown Montreal at 900 de la Gauchetière Street West, is a seminal work in the career of architect, Raymond T. Affleck (1922-1989). The building was designed in 1964-67 by the architectural firm Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold & Sise, informally known as Architects in Cooperative Partnership (ARCOP). As partner in charge of the project, Affleck was given an unprecedented opportunity to apply theoretical ideas to a method of architectural production. This thesis relates Affleck's formal education and chosen readings to the collaborative procedure by which Place Bonaventure was conceived, designed, and constructed; analyzes the methods by which professionals both from within and outside of the field of architecture chose to discuss Place Bonaventure in selected publications; and aims to provide an understanding of the manner in which the written works may have conditioned perceptions of the structure. This study combines an interest in the interaction of individual, ideological, and institutional factors during the production of Place Bonaventure with the recognition that the final built form elicits diverse interpretations.

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Introduction

The relationship between the design intentions for a building and the interpretations that the same structure may provoke give some indication of how one building through history has been perceived.

Place Bonaventure (fig.1) was the first attempt in Canada to create a permanent trade fair incorporating large-scale convention and exhibition facilities. The complex is situated in downtown Montreal at 900 de la Gauchetière Street West and occupies a full city block bordered by de la Gauchetière Street West to the north, University Street to the east, St. Antoine Street to the south, and Mansfield Street to the west. The structure is a multi-use complex that incorporates: a shopping concourse that connects to subway, railway, and pedestrian systems of Montreal; an exhibition hall of 250,000 square feet designed to accommodate large temporary exhibits; a merchandise mart of five floors providing offices and permanent exhibition facilities for manufacturers; an international centre for the trade departments of various countries; and on the roof, a 400-room hotel. Place Bonaventure contains over three million square feet of floor space and was the second largest commercial building in the world when construction was completed.¹ In 1964-67, the building was designed by the architectural firm Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold & Sise, informally known as "Architects in Cooperative Partnership" (ARCOP).²

¹ The largest commercial structure at the time was the Merchandise Mart in Chicago, designed in 1928-1931, by Graham, Anderson, Probst & White. See "Loft to Office Conversion," *Architectural Forum* 93 (Oct 1950): 144-145, 186, 190.

² The partnership of Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud, & Sise came together in 1953-54 with the commission for the design of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre in Vancouver, British Columbia. At the time of the Place Bonaventure Project, Jean Michaud had left the practice to pursue other career interests. The title "ARCOP & Associates" was officially recognized by the Order of Architects of Quebec in 1970, by which time only Raymond T. Affleck and Fred Lebensold remained of the original partners.

Place Bonaventure is a seminal work in the career of architect, Raymond T. Affleck (1922-1989). As partner in charge of the project, Affleck was given an unprecedented opportunity to apply theoretical ideas to a method of architectural production. His belief in the dissolution of the Renaissance concept of the autonomous artist encouraged a process of simultaneous interaction of individuals and organizations involved in the design and construction of the building.

Affleck was born in Penticton, British Columbia, and received his Bachelor of Architecture degree from McGill University in 1947. He attended the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich in 1948. Before entering private practice in Montreal in 1953, Affleck was with McDougall, Smith, & Fleming, as well as with Vincent Rother Architects, Montreal. From 1954 to 1958 he was Assistant Professor, School of Architecture, McGill University. Recipient of the Massey Medal (1961, 1964, 1967, 1970), and the Canadian Centennial Medal (1967), he acquired honorary doctorates from the University of Calgary (1972), Nova Scotia Technical College (1976), McGill University (1984), and Concordia University (1988).

This thesis analyzes the factors that shaped the philosophy of Affleck, the collaborative procedure by which Place Bonaventure was designed, and the reception of the project by the professional press, newspapers, and potential users of the building. Most of the publications heretofore written about Place Bonaventure have focused on the building's quantitative aspects or have situated the structure within particular architectural movements. This study validates that to arrive at a significant understanding of a building, an examination of architectural intentions and of the interpretations of the work is required.

Chapter One examines the relationship of the formal education and chosen readings of Affleck to his philosophical intentions at the time of the conception of Place Bonaventure. This section will also act as a point of reference for the

examination of criticism of Place Bonaventure appearing in Chapter Two.

Affleck attended the School of Architecture at McGill University in 1941-47, a period during which its director John Bland instituted changes in the curriculum that were derived loosely from general Bauhaus methods. At McGill, Affleck was exposed to concepts which he was to retain and expand upon in his role as partner in charge of the Place Bonaventure project.

The influence of the architectural education of Affleck extended to his partnership. McGill graduates Jean Michaud (1919-), Guy Desbarats (1925-), and Dimitri Dimakopoulos (1929-), and McGill instructors Fred Lebensold (1917-1985) and Hazen Sise (1906-1974) were each at one time or another partners with Affleck in architectural practice. For Guy Desbarats, "the ARCOP theory was really distilled out of Harvard, Gropius, and 'The Architects' Collaborative' (TAC)."³ In the press release for a 1965 exhibition of the work of ARCOP held at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, the firm was described as a "co-partnership on an equal basis, with no seniors or directors."⁴ When the names of the partners had to be listed, the order was purely alphabetical.

In the early stages of the Place Bonaventure project, the philosophy of Affleck was ordered by his reading of the writings of theorist Marshall McLuhan. During a 1989 interview Affleck revealed that the book Understanding Media, written by McLuhan, elucidated concepts with which Affleck was already familiar and acted as a catalyst to clarify his own architectural reasoning.⁵ Affleck

³ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

⁴ "Press Release," Museum of Fine Arts: Montreal, 27 October 1965, 30.

⁵ I would like to thank Barrington Nevitt and Maurice McLuhan for sharing with me their written material which is currently in press. Barrington Nevitt et al., Who Was Marshall McLuhan? ed. Nelson Thall (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Company Ltd., in press).

continued to admire the work of McLuhan long after the completion of Place Bonaventure.⁶

Chapter One is concerned with the intentions of the architects in designing Place Bonaventure, and the manner in which these goals helped to shape the form of the building. The published and unpublished writings of Affleck as well as studies of Place Bonaventure appearing in the major architectural periodicals reveal the procedure by which Place Bonaventure was designed and built.⁷ Drawings and specifications manifest abstract symbols of this process. Personal interviews were conducted with Affleck's wife, Betty Ann Affleck, one of Affleck's sons, architect Gavin Affleck, journalist Peter Desbarats, and with architects directly involved with Place Bonaventure: Guy Desbarats, Rhamesh Khosla, and Eva Vecsei.

Chapter Two focuses on the reception of the project. This chapter searches for the reasons for which and the manner in which selected writers have interpreted Place Bonaventure. Since the approaches of the writers include criticism of the formal and spatial elements of the building, an examination of these aspects, as a matter of course, will be made.

Architectural meaning is mutable and directly related to its human application which is based partially on perception and knowledge. Any human reaction to a building may be formed or influenced by, among other things, a reading of written material. Chapter Two incorporates an analysis of language in the publications chosen to situate each view of the complex. The changing cultural context within which the building has appeared will be examined as yet

⁶ Affleck refers to McLuhan in "Architecture, The Tactile Art," Building With Words: Canadian Architects on Architecture, eds. William Bernstein and Ruth Cawker (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1981) 18-19.

⁷ I have been given permission to examine the unpublished writings of Affleck by his wife, Betty Ann Affleck.

another component effecting a response to Place Bonaventure. The library of The Gazette, a Montreal daily newspaper, maintains a microfiche of articles written about Place Bonaventure that contains useful information about changes that have occurred in the appearance, occupancy, and management of the building. A comparison of promotional material written about Place Bonaventure to date demonstrates changing attitudes regarding the clientele that the management of the building was trying to attract through chosen images and words.

Since this thesis deals with several perspectives, one might assume that in the end, a complete view of Place Bonaventure will be achieved. This study, however, is by no means exhaustive in its own focus or inclusive of all significant themes. The multiple and complex histories that construct any building or any individual often undermine a rational sense of truth. As an historian, I acknowledge the impermanent quality of any written record of the past.

Chapter One Process, Form

The intentions of the architects and the process of design that produced the form of Place Bonaventure can be traced back to the formal and informal education that shaped the philosophy of Raymond T. Affleck.

McGill

The philosophical position of Affleck at the time of the Place Bonaventure project can be attributed partially to his formal training (1941-47) at McGill University. The School of Architecture, under the direction of John Bland (1911-), incorporated into its program of study principles derived from the Bauhaus School of Design in Germany.⁸ As a student, Affleck was exposed to concepts involving an interdisciplinary approach to building design, a concern for the intervention of architecture into social matters, and an experimentation with architectural form, space, and material.

The faculty of the School of Architecture offered the students an opportunity to view architecture from multiple perspectives. The staff, as assembled by Bland in the 1940s, included Canadian designer and painter Gordon Webber (1909-65), Canadian painter Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), English town-planner Harold Spence-Sales (1908-), Ottawa architect J. Watson Balharrie (1910-67) and Swiss-born architect Frederic Lasserre (1911-61).⁹ The professional

⁸ John Bland at Eighty: A Tribute, eds. Irena Murray and Norbert Schoenauer (Montreal: McGill University, 1991); and Anne McDougall, "John Bland and the McGill School of Architecture," Canadian Architect vol.33 no.3 (March 1988): 33-37. Canadian schools of architecture, according to Dieter Roger, opened up to Bauhaus ideas after 1934, the year in which Great Britain honoured Gropius with an extensive exhibition of his work. See Dieter Roger, "From German Pioneer Building to Bauhaus," in German-Canadian Yearbook vol.4 (1978): 135-167.

⁹ McDougall 34.

diversity of the faculty recalled the belief of Walter Gropius (1883-1969), Bauhaus director (Weimar, 1919-25; Dessau, 1925-28), in the "common citizenship of all forms of creative work, and their logical interdependence on one another in the modern world."¹⁰ School of Architecture graduate and ARCOP partner, Guy Desbarats, recounted the program objectives of Bland:

He concluded, quite sensibly, that students of the profession would require an even-handed exposure to the many disciplines that provide the knowledge resources that a budding architect might need to assimilate and that are now available in major universities.¹¹

Frederic Lasserre associated the interdisciplinary approach to architecture with the social and political realm of culture. In a 1945 essay, Lasserre expressed the need for Canadian architects to play the "democratic" role of "intermediary between the building industry ... and town planning which represents the interests of society—of the people."¹² Lasserre perceived the post-war Canadian architect as a "servant" of the nation, but cautioned that the designer could not perform this intermediate job alone:

He [the architect] needs engineers, he needs social scientists who will analyse the human requirements to be fulfilled, he needs artists and sculptors, he needs accountants and legal experts and finally he needs the contractor. His job is to coordinate these - to bring them together and find out how their findings and requirements can be pooled into a building.¹³

Bland noted the contribution by Lasserre to Affleck's development and wrote that Lasserre "had a love of beauty and sense of order that likely made him a close ally"

¹⁰ Walter Gropius, The Scope of Total Architecture (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955) 7.

¹¹ Guy Desbarats in John Bland at Eighty: A Tribute 48.

¹² Frederic Lasserre, "A Canadian Architect Looks at his Profession," Canadian Art vol.3 no.1 (Oct/Nov 1945): 29.

¹³ Lasserre 28.

of Affleck.¹⁴ Bland also commented on the influence of J. Watson Balharrie "who knew how to detail in a modern manner, above all respecting the sequence of assembly - the building process, an architectural fundamental."¹⁵ For Affleck, a strong social conscience had progressively been formed from his youth, and his experience at the School of Architecture encouraged his own intrinsic philosophy.¹⁶

Gordon Webber was among the instructors at the School of Architecture who were sensitive to social issues. His teaching of design at McGill was influenced by his experience as a pupil of Laszlo Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946) at the New Bauhaus in Chicago.¹⁷ Webber, like Moholy-Nagy, was a designer who believed that the arts could be associated with social change. In a 1944 interview, Webber described his painting "Distorted Man" (1942), as a picture "to express the inhuman atmosphere of big cities where little natural movement is possible."¹⁸ Desbarats pointed out that the use of resources in the social sciences at McGill by Bland was "pioneering," and he cited, as an example, Professor Carl A. Dawson (1887-1964) of the Sociology Department, who "opened the eyes of many students

¹⁴ John Bland, "Ray Affleck and the McGill School of Architecture," Architecture Québec 34 (1986): 10. Bland also pointed out that Affleck chose to attend the Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule in Zurich, Switzerland, a school that Lasserre had formerly attended.

¹⁵ Bland 10.

¹⁶ Betty Ann Affleck, personal interview, 18 March 1993. Mrs. Affleck attributes Affleck's social concerns to the wounding of Affleck's father in the First World War and to the death of two uncles at Passchendaele, Belgium, also during the First World War. These circumstances led Affleck to a pacifist point of view. She also pointed out that as a young person, Affleck was interested in the writings of Karl Marx, although he never joined the Communist Party.

¹⁷ See Joseph Harris Caton, The Utopian Vision of Moholy-Nagy (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980).

¹⁸ Walter Abell, "Young Canada: Gordon Webber," Canadian Art (June/July 1944): 200.

to the mysteries of the whole range of human cares in housing, in a metropolitan, cosmopolitan city like Montreal."¹⁹

The teaching methods employed at the School of Architecture required that students explore the formal, spatial, and material components of design and were comparable to those used in the preliminary course of Bauhaus training, as instituted by Johannes Itten (1888-1967) in 1918 and later developed by Josef Albers (1888-1976).²⁰ The Bauhaus student was, as Gropius wrote, introduced "to three dimensional experiments; that is, to the elements of 'building,' i.e., composition in space with all sorts of experiments in materials."²¹ McGill graduate Arthur Erickson (1924-), recalled that Webber "made you study the potential of materials, following Bauhaus methods."²² The use by Webber of watercolour, tempera, dye, photography, maps, and typed inscriptions in his own paintings mirrored the Bauhaus concern for material investigation.

The model and drawings prepared by Affleck for his 1947 thesis project of a McGill University library (figs.2-6) signalled concepts which he would later cultivate. The study shows a simple and sharply modelled geometric glass and steel slab connected to smaller blocks of varying materials. Instead of anchoring the buildings ponderously to the ground, Affleck poised the construction lightly yet firmly to its site. The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building (George Howe, William Lescaze, 1931-32) possessed similar qualities in its formal composition and materials and was, as Guy Desbarats pointed out, a building that

¹⁹ Guy Desbarats in John Bland at Eighty: A Tribute 49.

²⁰ See Johannes Itten, Design and Form: The Basic Course at the Bauhaus (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964).

²¹ Gropius 51.

²² Arthur Erickson, quoted in Edith Iglauer, "Profile," The New Yorker 4 June 1979: 56.

Affleck admired.²³ The thesis project embodied a straightforward approach to integrating structure with circulation. The individual nature of the thesis project belied the process of creativity that Affleck was later to promote.

Collaboration, humanization of the built environment, and experimentation with form, space, and materials were concepts to which Affleck was directly exposed at McGill. Collectively, these ideas were implemented in a creative process only when ARCOP received the commission for Place Bonaventure. Guy Desbarats recalled that ARCOP had won earlier architectural competitions because the architects had planned seminars discussing client needs and the nature of the projects,²⁴ but as John Bland explained:

Seen in relation to the simplicity of the earlier competition schemes one can appreciate that it [Place Bonaventure] is completely their opposite. It could never have been conceived as a response to a brief. Its conception is a synthesis of many diverse factors.²⁵

The chosen readings of Affleck at the time of the Place Bonaventure project enabled him to order, validate and expand upon his basic architectural reasoning.

Marshall McLuhan

The writings of theorist Marshall McLuhan (1911-80) and, in particular, his book Understanding Media (1964) inspired Affleck's approach to the design of Place Bonaventure.²⁶ McLuhan discussed the concept of the world as a "global village" made possible through mass communication systems that offered a

²³ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

²⁴ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

²⁵ Bland 10-11. Bland has noted that "glimpses" of the concerns of Affleck for issues involving the adequacy of traditional practice, the social component in architecture, and integration of technical services had occurred early in his career during a summer spent assisting the architect Ross Wiggs in the design and supervision of a country house.

²⁶ Betty Ann Affleck, personal interview, 18 March 1993.

decentralized vision of the universe. In 1989, Affleck was questioned by writers Barrington Nevitt and Maurice McLuhan about the general influence of Marshall McLuhan on his architectural work.²⁷ Affleck stated, "I well remember my excitement back in 1965 when I first read Understanding Media - every paragraph a challenge to the conventional wisdom."²⁸ For Affleck, the writings of McLuhan were fundamentally significant. He admitted:

I found most of McLuhan's work strikingly original, but sometimes I felt I already understood his probes, albeit in a halting vague unstructured way. What he did was bring it all together in a meaningful way fitting it in to the fabric of the emerging post-modern world.²⁹

Affleck admired the advocacy of McLuhan for a specific productive process:

McLuhan's insights also helped me break away from a rigid linear process of design, design development, and decision making. The alternative process involved simultaneity and dialogue among the principal players - replacing a linear process by a cyclical one - that operates through the intersection of imaging, judging, and understanding.³⁰

Affleck, like many architects of the twentieth century, referred to the methods undertaken in the design of Place Bonaventure as a "game" in which all of the players maintained a "professional level of commitment," and he employed Venn diagrams (fig.7) to illustrate the generative practice which he supported.³¹ Affleck echoed the thoughts of McLuhan who wrote, "Games are situations contrived to permit simultaneous participation of many people in some significant pattern of

²⁷ Affleck was asked the question in this interview, "What did you learn from Marshall McLuhan that you didn't already know?"

²⁸ Raymond T. Affleck in Who Was Marshall McLuhan? 145.

²⁹ Affleck in Who Was Marshall McLuhan? 145.

³⁰ Affleck in Who Was Marshall McLuhan? 146.

³¹ Raymond T. Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View," Architecture Canada vol.44 no.7 (July 1967): 32. Affleck's use of Venn diagrams came as a result of helping his son Neil with his high school mathematics homework. Betty Ann Affleck, personal interview, 6 January 1994.

their own corporate lives."³²

Affleck respected similar values held by William J.J. Gordon whose work entitled, Synerctics: The Development of Creative Capacity, was cited in Affleck's essay, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View."³³ Gordon discussed the concept of "synerctics," from the Greek, "the joining together of different and apparently irrelevant elements," and applied this definition to the idea of an "integration of diverse individuals into a problem-stating problem-solving group."³⁴ Gordon's concept of "synerctics" is consistent with the ideas of McLuhan and with the collaborative procedure undertaken in the design of Place Bonaventure, which in turn, is an extension of Gropius's belief in the union of all forms of creative work. Affleck acknowledged that for the design of Place Bonaventure, creativity was not limited to the architectural profession:

[I]t was found that in the process of problem stating, problem solving and decision making, basic ideas came from any individual or any discipline. The follow-through of ideas tended to remain within the traditional professional channels, but the origination of basic concepts frequently transcended professional or occupational divisions.³⁵

Affleck was equally concerned with architectural systems of circulation, an interest that seemed to have been confirmed by his reading of McLuhan. Affleck observed:

As the program-design process advanced, it rapidly became apparent that it was not the design of the entities themselves that was the major problem, but rather the design of the linkages and connections between these diverse functions. This led to the development of an extensive system of pedestrian circulation, both horizontal and

³² Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (New York: Mentor, 1964) 216.

³³ William J.J. Gordon, Synerctics: the Development of Creative Capacity (New York: Harper & Row, 1961); and Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 31-39.

³⁴ Gordon 3.

³⁵ Raymond T. Affleck, "Celebration of the Mixmaster," Modulus 5 (1968): 65.

vertical, and the architectural celebration of significant nodal points within the system.³⁶

While individuals involved in the design of Place Bonaventure participated in a dialogue in the attempt to achieve productive results, each component of Place Bonaventure was designed with a focus on their interrelations. Affleck concentrated on systems of communication not only during the design of Place Bonaventure, but in the structure of the final built form as well. These ideas are analogous to the observations of McLuhan regarding electrical automation:

Anybody who begins to examine the patterns of automation finds that perfecting the individual machine by making it automatic involves 'feedback.' That means introducing an information loop or circuit, where before there had been merely a one way flow or mechanical sequence ... Feedback or dialogue between the mechanism and its environment brings a further weaving of individual machines into a galaxy of such machines throughout the entire plant. There follows a still further weaving of individual plants and factories into the entire industrial matrix and services of a culture.³⁷

The shopping concourse, exhibition hall, merchandise mart, international trade centre, and hotel of Place Bonaventure can each be seen as a "mechanism" woven together through a communicative system of circulation. Furthermore, the entire form of Place Bonaventure is connected to exterior systems of pedestrian, subway, railway, and, to an extent, highway transportation. The significance of interrelations, as stressed by McLuhan, is reiterated in the design of Place Bonaventure.

In addition to Affleck's belief in a particular process of creativity, related to the ideas of McLuhan and Gordon, he admired the method by which McLuhan approached a work of art:

Particularly important were his perceptions about the multi-sensual

³⁶ Affleck, "Celebration of the Mixmaster" 68.

³⁷ McLuhan, Understanding Media 307.

environment - his critique of our tendency to stress the visual sense at the expense of the other senses, particularly the tactile ... Understanding that the medium of architecture is space itself enabled me to develop the design process around probes of spatial experience - the experience of a subject moving through space using all the senses. This is, of course, in marked contrast to a fixed object 'looked at' by a fixed observer - an attitude to architectural design that had come down to us almost unscathed from the Renaissance.³⁸

Affleck asserted that the art of architecture was not solely a visual practice.³⁹ One of his primary concerns in the design of Place Bonaventure was with the quality of spaces through which people moved and experienced with all of their senses. In Understanding Media, McLuhan explained:

This faculty of touch, called the 'haptic' sense by the Greeks, was popularized as such by the Bauhaus program of sensuous education, through the work of Paul Klee, Walter Gropius, and many others in the Germany of the 1920's ... More and more it has occurred to people that the sense of touch is necessary to integral existence.⁴⁰

Affleck was not alone in relating the philosophy of McLuhan to architecture.⁴¹ Jonathan Barnett, associate editor of the Architectural Record, remarked in 1967, "We had been noticing for some time that almost every architect who came into the office had the paperback edition of McLuhan's Understanding Media tucked into an overcoat pocket, or nestling among the model photos in his briefcase..."⁴² American architect and theorist John Hedjuk (1929-) questioned McLuhan's concept of non-visual space:

³⁸ Affleck in Who Was Marshall McLuhan? 145-46.

³⁹ Affleck, "Architecture, The Tactile Art" 18.

⁴⁰ McLuhan, Understanding Media 105.

⁴¹ McLuhan addressed issues concerning architecture, communications, and the environment in a talk entitled, "Address at Vision '65," at the University of Southern Illinois on 23 Oct. 1965. This speech was originally published in The American Scholar (Spring 1966): 196-205. The transcript of the lecture also appeared retitled and edited in many periodicals including Perspecta no.11 (Fall, 1966): 163-67; and Arts/Canada no.105 (Feb 1967): 5-7.

⁴² Jonathan Barnett, "Architecture in the Electronic Age," Architectural Record vol.141 no.3 (March 1967): 151.

... as long as men have eyes, there will be space that a man can see, and this is visual. We now still live in a visual environment, and I suspect that we will continue to do so for some time ...⁴³

Hedjuk's comments reveal that aspects of McLuhan's philosophy were not readily accepted by all architects.

Process, Intentions

Place Bonaventure can be seen as an abstract symbol of the manner in which the building was conceived, designed and constructed. Cultural, political, philosophical, economic, technical, and gender-related factors helped to shape the form of the massive project.

The process occurred in the social form of weekly "programme meetings" and comprised an active participation of the developers, Concordia Estates Development Company, the general contractors, Concordia Construction Incorporated, and other specialists when necessary. "As a rule eight to twelve experts with varied backgrounds were sitting around the table and examining every possibility from a different angle," Affleck recounted.⁴⁴ The design of the separate components of the building and the mechanical and circulation services connecting these elements required a considerable amount of collaboration between the architects, developers, engineers, and consultants.

The deviation from a linear productive practice was an empirical and practical solution to managing the terms of the contract, and enabled all parties to arrive at a consensus regarding the design of the building. "This process was by no means the result of conscious pre-planning," Affleck wrote, "but largely evolved as a response to extremely difficult constraints of time and money related to a

⁴³ Barnett 152.

⁴⁴ Raymond T. Affleck quoted in "The Team Concept Scored With Place Bonaventure," Canadian Builder (Feb 1969): 52.

complex, multi-use program."⁴⁵ The date of completion was targeted to coincide with the opening of the 1967 World's Exposition to be held in Montreal.⁴⁶ André Corboz asserted that, "Le groupe des investisseurs ne voulait pas que ses capitaux fussent immobilisés pendant un an, délai nécessaire à la production du projet."⁴⁷ Had the steps involved in producing Place Bonaventure not been integrated, six years would have been required to complete the project.⁴⁸ The insights of McLuhan, at this point, seem to be of particular significance. As Affleck had read Understanding Media only in the year following the beginning of the Place Bonaventure project, McLuhan's writings appear to have catalyzed the process of design. Concordia Construction, instead of providing Affleck with a set of specifications and then waiting for him to present a finished plan, brought, as journalist Peter Desbarats wrote, "the architect in on the ground floor in a literal sense."⁴⁹ Construction on the lower levels of the building was begun before the architects had started to examine specifics of the upper stories.⁵⁰ A project architect for Place Bonaventure, Daniel Lazosky, explained:

The initial design development set the lines of structure, circulation and services as well as the aesthetics of architectural elements related to their involvement within the urban setting. From the continuous flow of information moderated by program meetings and the assessment of functional, mechanical and structural requirements, construction techniques, availability of materials,

⁴⁵ Affleck, "Celebration of the Mixmaster" 62.

⁴⁶ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure (Montreal: Desbarats Printing, [1968?]) 34.

⁴⁷ André Corboz, "Place Bonaventure, Kraak de l'Import-Export," Archithèse no.10 (1974): 34-40.

⁴⁸ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 33.

⁴⁹ Peter Desbarats, "The Unlikely Conversion of Ray Affleck," Saturday Night 85:5 (1970): 31-32.

⁵⁰ Desbarats, "The Unlikely Conversion of Ray Affleck" 32.

costs, or change in programming in design considerations, major and minor modifications were made throughout the construction.⁵¹

Eva Vecsei, head project designer for Place Bonaventure, played a major role in determining the outcome of the structure. She often worked closely with Affleck throughout the duration of construction and remembered, "We were almost like twins ... He was more the thinker and talker and I was the doer. He was forming the ideas very well and I think I was forming the forms very well."⁵²

Rhamesh Khosla, the tenant architect for the project, considered his participation in the design of Place Bonaventure as a novel learning process:

The learning became more profound because as you are not confined only with the question of pure architecture, and urban design, and the use of technology but attitudes also ... The way that people communicated here was very different from what I was used to from my own background - the openness, the free expression of ideas. This was a very strong difference that I had noticed from my experiences elsewhere ... I think a very significant part of my learning was the art of communication ...⁵³

The comments of Khosla, originally from Simla, India, indicated that a perception of architecture was dependent upon cultural factors, and Khosla, as a member of ARCOP, was one of the relatively few known persons of colour who worked as an architect in Canada at the time.⁵⁴

Affleck considered his experience of designing Place Bonaventure as an "open-ended process of discovery."⁵⁵ "The coordination of all building elements

51 Daniel Lazosky, "Place Bonaventure: Design-Build," Canadian Architect 12 (Sept 1967): 59.

52 Vecsei, personal interview, 28 January 1994.

53 Rhamesh Khosla, personal interview, 14 January 1994. Khosla studied architecture in New Delhi, the University of Hannover, Germany, and at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, where he became a member of the teaching faculty.

54 A comprehensive study of Canadian architects of colour merits further investigation and is not included in the breadth of this thesis.

55 Raymond T. Affleck, "The City as Process," Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 75 (1968): 259.

with the consultants and contractor in relation to the design criteria," Lazosky wrote, "maintained the continuity and flexibility of change with the awareness of the consequences of change."⁵⁶

For Affleck, the productive forces of the Place Bonaventure project signalled a departure from traditional architectural practice. He wrote:

The classical triumvirate of Owner, Architect and Contractor functioning in linear sequence and in relative isolation from one another, was replaced by the simultaneous interaction of these entities...⁵⁷

The words "Owner," "Architect," and "Contractor" were used by Affleck as "handy labels" to designate groups of people, rather than individuals, and did not "adequately describe the complexity of function performed within each general category."⁵⁸ Affleck pointed out that this "phenomenon is, of course, already familiar to the architect in relation to the engineers and other experts required for contemporary technology."⁵⁹

The design process employed by ARCOP can be situated amongst other North American architectural practices of the twentieth century. Bernard Michael Boyle, in his study, "Architectural Practice in America, 1865-1965," observed that a profession that had once been comprised of ateliers grew, in the twentieth century, to include large offices representing a new type of architectural practice that responded to the unprecedented demands of complex and grand-scale projects:

It might be concluded that from H.H. Richardson to Skidmore, Owings and Merrill the organization of the large architectural office

⁵⁶ Lazosky 59.

⁵⁷ Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 32.

⁵⁸ Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 35.

⁵⁹ Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 35.

in America moved from generalization to specialization, while at the same time the method of work moved from collaboration to division.⁶⁰

ARCOP attempted to maintain a large office, while at the same time, endeavoured to achieve a type of medieval collaborative character of architectural practice. The firm can thus be seen as a combination of both the idea of a craft guild, as found in Richardson's office, with the large scale of the Skidmore, Owings and Merrill partnership. The working methods of ARCOP were similar to those of the firm TAC, founded in 1945 by a group of young architects who had approached Walter Gropius with the suggestion that he join them in group practice.⁶¹ This alliance aimed to operate in accordance to the principles of teamwork and participation that Gropius had proposed to his students in previous years. In his declaration of TAC's objectives, Gropius wrote of the role of the architect:

His scope must be broad, for design and planning are of vast complexity. They embrace civilized life in all its major aspects, the destiny of the land, the cities and the countryside, the knowledge of man through biology, sociology and psychology, law, government, and economics, art, architecture and engineering. All are interdependent; we cannot consider them separately in compartments ... The key for a successful rebuilding of our environment will be the architect's determination to let the human element be the dominant factor.⁶²

Whereas Gropius's concerns were rooted in his desire to respond to the realities of the modern industrial world,⁶³ Affleck's aim was in reconciling the emerging age of communications in his own architecture.

⁶⁰ Bernard Michael Boyle, "Architectural Practice in America, 1865-1965," The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977) 330.

⁶¹ Boyle 335.

⁶² Walter Gropius, "TAC's Objectives," The Architects Collaborative: 1945-65, eds. Walter Gropius et al (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1966) 20.

⁶³ Boyle 320.

The site of Place Bonaventure (fig.8) was opened for development in 1963 by its proprietors, the Canadian National Railways (CNR), a publicly owned transit system corporation. Kenneth Frampton praised the provisions taken by the railway company for future development above the CNR tracks:

Its planned location here is first and foremost a tribute to an enlightened public corporation who, when building their Gare Centrale, had the foresight to envisage future utilization of the over track air space and provide knock out panels in the platforms between the tracks to accommodate future foundations.⁶⁴

The Railways originally had asked for proposals from developers that would include both financial and environmental considerations.

The attempt was made by the architects to adapt their design to the architectural and geographical character of its site. Place Bonaventure lies in the lower end of a north-south axis in the downtown core of Montreal formed by structures including Place Ville Marie (I.M.Pei Associates with ARCOP, 1958-62, fig.9) and the Queen Elizabeth Hotel (George Drummond & Harold Greensides, 1958, figs.10,11). The site of Place Bonaventure was well known by the architects since they had worked as associates on the Place Ville Marie project and were aware of the networking opportunities of highway, bus, railroad, and pedestrian transportation. "Place Ville Marie's underground concourses indirectly inspired," wrote Frederick Gutheim, "the creation of three and a half miles of underground shopping and promenades, the immense shopping mart, Place Bonaventure, and the Metro."⁶⁵ "We realized that we were sitting," Guy Desbarats stated, "on one of the most extraordinary crossroads of any major city."⁶⁶ This new centre of

⁶⁴ Kenneth Frampton, "Place Bonaventure, Montreal," Architectural Design (Jan 1968): 34.

⁶⁵ Frederick Gutheim, "The City and EXPO 67," Architectural Design 37 (July 1967): 332.

⁶⁶ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

Montreal replaced the earlier east-west axes of the city formed by Saint Jacques, Dorchester and Saint Catherine Streets. Allen Freeman pointed out that the island core of Montreal proved advantageous for subterranean development due to the slope from St. Catherine Street to the St. Lawrence River, permitting the terracing and layering of structures.⁶⁷ Since the ground of Place Bonaventure was created by building above the tracks of the CNR, it became a conscious design decision, and the idea of above ground and underground required a new perception.⁶⁸ The architects respected the land upon which Place Bonaventure was built, while they integrated the structure into its surrounding urban fabric. The final proposal, consisting of a massive block covering the tracks of the CNR, was accepted on 13 March 1964.⁶⁹ It was developed on the basis of a 99-year lease of aerial rights after which the entire property would return to public ownership.

Specific elements of Place Bonaventure were decided upon before the details of the design of the structure were even realized. Everything about the design was dependent, both structurally and dimensionally, upon a 25-foot grid. The multi-functional programme of the building was jointly considered by the developers and the architects. Both groups had envisaged a wholesale merchandise mart accommodating a wide range of industries.⁷⁰ Initially, Concordia Estates had proposed the design of a podium comprised of a trade mart and an exhibition hall, upon which a high rise hotel would tower. The architects, however, suggested a much lower form in which the hotel would cover the upper storeys and turn inwards to a courtyard away from the noise of the traffic below.

⁶⁷ Allen Freeman, "In Montreal, Promenades Weave MXDs into an Integrated Core," American Institute of Architects Journal 66 (1977): 41.

⁶⁸ Affleck, "Celebration of the Mixmaster" 69.

⁶⁹ Place Bonaventure: le centre commercial du Canada (Montreal: Domaines Concordia Limitée, [1964?]).

⁷⁰ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 15.

For James Acland, this approach would create a mass akin to the nearby Windsor Station (Bruce Price, 1887-90, fig.12) rather than "springing another competing and distracting tower into the sky of Montreal."⁷¹ Guy Desbarats had worked on Place Bonaventure in its early stages and proposed a form similar to that of Fort Chambly (ca.1709-1850, figs.13,14) in Chambly, Quebec.⁷² For the design of Place Bonaventure, instead of conceiving architectural objects appealing primarily to the visual sense, what Affleck later disparaged as composing "building blocks tastefully arranged in a flat plaza-table,"⁷³ he attempted to understand main pedestrian patterns through simulation sessions and to use the results as a principal basis of design.⁷⁴ Affleck evidently departed from the stringent formal composition of his 1947 thesis project. Early models and renderings (figs.15-18) of Place Bonaventure illustrate the fortress-like quality of the proposed structure and its tentative design elements.

Place Bonaventure was not alone as a structure in Montreal possessing an enclosed quality. In 1967, Norbert Schoenauer observed that an "'insular' character" was apparent in all of the major office complexes of Montreal's new city centre, and of these developments most were of a multi-use nature.⁷⁵ Place Bonaventure was designed as a "self-contained urban unit," wrote J. M. Richards, with its connection to all forms of transport, its shopping levels, and its hotel.⁷⁶ P.

⁷¹ James H. Acland, "Place Bonaventure and Municipal Decision," Canadian Architect 12 no.9 (Sept 1967): 49.

⁷² Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993. See Pierre Beaudet and Céline Cloutier, Archaeology at Fort Chambly (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites, Park Service, Environment Canada, 1989).

⁷³ Affleck, "Architecture, The Tactile Art" 19.

⁷⁴ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

⁷⁵ Norbert Schoenauer, "The New City Centre," Architectural Design 37 (July 1967): 317.

⁷⁶ J.M. Richards, "Trade Centre, Montreal," Architectural Review 143:853 (March 1968): 185.

Reyner Banham devoted a chapter of his book, Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past, to a study, in which Place Bonaventure was included, of large-scale projects in Montreal.⁷⁷ The existence of monumental structures in the core of the city signalled that the civic administration of Montreal was open to allowing this type of development.

The choice of concrete as the main structural and finish material of the building was made partially for reasons of economy and availability. The exterior façades consisted of a warm coloured Shawville aggregate that was cast on site in movable forms of corrugated steel.⁷⁸ Eva Vecsei pointed out that the selection of concrete was due largely to the sparsity of other materials which had been taken to be used for the construction of projects on the site of the 1967 World Exposition held in Montreal.⁷⁹ This practical consideration can be seen as perhaps the most significant of the factors which affected the form of Place Bonaventure.

Affleck had long been interested in the use of concrete in design, and after his graduate studies in Zurich, he had worked for Swiss architect Karl Moser (1860-1936), who as Bland wrote, was "a serious talented architect and a pioneer in the architectural use of concrete who likely made lasting impressions upon him [Affleck]."⁸⁰ Many of Affleck's major commissions with ARCOP involved the use of concrete. The Stephen Leacock Building (1962-64, fig.19) at McGill University has been described as "nothing short of a great technical achievement in poured and precast concrete."⁸¹

⁷⁷ Reyner Banham, Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976). A discussion of Banham's method of interpreting Place Bonaventure will appear in Chapter Two.

⁷⁸ Acland 49.

⁷⁹ Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 29 October 1993.

⁸⁰ Bland 10.

⁸¹ Bland 11.

The choice of materials for Place Bonaventure later became one of the chief aids to communicating the formal intentions of the architects to consultants and contractors.⁸² The designers detailed the formworks for textural finishes, interior and exterior walls, columns, balustrades, beams, the hotel area, and vertical circulation shafts. "The use of textures to related elements of structure and space," wrote Lazosky, "provided a focus between architect, consultants, and contractor."⁸³ "The consistency of design relationships for problems of services and construction for exposed concrete," he added, "brought about a common level of understanding between all parties."⁸⁴

The design of the elements comprising the general program of Place Bonaventure and the connections between them represent areas in which the circulation system became the factor on which Affleck focused throughout the entire building and in which collaboration gave form to the structure. The circulation system, Affleck observed, "evolved as the framework for the total design."⁸⁵ The only constant features on all levels of the building are the four mechanical and transportation service towers (fig.20) located at the corners of the structure, a layout forced upon the design of the complex by the location of the tracks of the CNR beneath the building. A nucleus of services located in the centre of the structure would have presented substantial technical difficulties involving mechanical connections around the tracks below.⁸⁶

The two storey shopping concourse, containing over 100 retail stores, was

⁸² Lazosky 60.

⁸³ Lazosky 60.

⁸⁴ Lazosky 60.

⁸⁵ Affleck, "Celebration of the Mixmaster" 68.

⁸⁶ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

accessible from areas both within and outside of Place Bonaventure (figs.21,22,23). The upper level, known as 'Les Galeries Bonaventure,' led to the lower boutiques and subway connection via escalators located on the "main square" of the space.⁸⁷ A tunnel underneath Lagauchetière Street joined 'Les Galeries' to central station, the building north of Place Bonaventure, which subsequently was connected to Place Ville Marie via another underground tunnel. There is direct access to the concourse from Lagauchetière Street and through the main entrance of Hotel Bonaventure located on the west side of the building. Eastern access to the area is through the elevators and stairways situated on University and on St. Antoine Streets. The entrance to the exhibition hall, just above 'Les Galeries,' is at the southern end of the main north-south passageway.

The construction of the levels of the shopping concourse resulted in compromise between both the clients and the architects. "When the shopping levels were being designed ...," Peter Desbarats remarked, "the developer's leasing experts were there to make sure that the store would have services and characteristics valued by prospective tenants."⁸⁸ Rhamesh Khosla recalled that the architects went through two complete cycles of design for the shopping areas of Place Bonaventure.⁸⁹ The first scheme consisted of a complete metal and glass storefront system, much like the earlier schemes found in the shopping areas of Place Ville Marie (fig.24) and Place Victoria (Pier Luigi Nervi/Luigi Moretti, 1963-64, fig.25). The architects, however, opted for an urban design point of view with the concept of a main boulevard, side avenues, plazas in the front and in the back of the structure, the lower level, and the subway connection. Affleck believed that the street had "traditionally been a great generator and organizer of urban form -

⁸⁷ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 22.

⁸⁸ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 35.

⁸⁹ Rhamesh Khosla, personal interview, 14 January 1994.

the ever-present meeting place - ambiguous, inclusive, unpredictable, open-ended, and multi-purpose."⁹⁰ As William H. Whyte wrote in his study of the design and management of urban spaces, "... what is most fascinating about the life of the street is the interchanges between the people that take place in it."⁹¹ With this approach, the designers attempted to humanize the built environment not only through scale, but also through the importance that they saw in the tactile qualities of architecture.⁹² The rough-cut concrete bricks used on the walls of the interior of the concourse as well as the wooden awnings above each store front can be seen both as an indirect response by Affleck to the plea of Gordon Webber for a humanely built environment and as a continuation of an interest in space and basic materials acquired during the years Affleck spent at McGill.

The design of the exhibition hall (figs.26,27) above the shopping concourse, known as Concordia Hall, required discussion between the architects and the engineers. The function of the area necessitated a maximum amount of clear floor space with a minimum number of vertical supports.⁹³ Covering over 200,000 square feet on one floor, the hall contains 30 feet high 5 feet by 9 feet concrete piers spaced at 50 and 75 feet centres with beris supporting the superimposed 25 feet centre columns of the office and hotel floors above.⁹⁴ The space created was, for Frampton, "of a very direct order."⁹⁵ The system of columns, beams, and slabs required "careful coordination," Lazosky wrote, where the "engineering drawings [became] the architectural drawings for all profiles and

⁹⁰ Affleck, "The City as Process" 261.

⁹¹ William H. Whyte, City: Rediscovering the City Center (New York: Doubleday, 1988) 2.

⁹² Rhamesh Khosla, personal interview, 14 January 1994.

⁹³ Lazosky 63.

⁹⁴ Acland 49.

⁹⁵ Frampton 38.

configuration [sic]."⁹⁶

The construction of the truck ramp servicing Place Bonaventure (fig.28) revealed one instance where a major political figure intervened in the architectural process. It was necessary to keep the exhibition hall near the street level to satisfy the demands of access and to facilitate the rapid mounting and demounting of exhibits.⁹⁷ This requirement led to the construction of a large loading dock at the south side of the hall level. The loading dock was connected to a ramp extending to the outside ground level, providing direct truck access to the floor of the hall. Initially, the architects had suggested the placement of a vehicular incline on the north side of the structure, but as Guy Desbarats revealed, Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau, "would not tolerate" any construction over Lagauchetière Street, and thus it was decided to construct the acclivity on the south profile of the building alongside the tracks of the CNR which bridge St. Antoine Street from the block of land south of the structure.⁹⁸ The pedestrian connection under Lagauchetière Street was negotiated with the City Planning and Public Works Departments.⁹⁹

Consultation with professionals from the manufacturing industry enabled the architects to devise an integrated structural system involving storefronts, corridors, ceilings, mechanical connections, signage, lighting, and entrance and exit doors for both the Merchandise Mart and the International Trade Centre (figs.29,30).¹⁰⁰ The architects were presented with the challenge of providing showrooms to display adequately a variety of items and goods. The five storey Merchandise Mart was created as a wholesale shopping area, while the Trade

⁹⁶ Lazosky 63.

⁹⁷ Frampton 38.

⁹⁸ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

⁹⁹ Raymond T. Affleck, unpublished letter to Gerald L. Mitchell and Colin Fudge, Department of Architecture, University of Sheffield, 16 April 1968.

¹⁰⁰ Rhamesh Khosla, personal interview, 14 January 1994.

Centre acted as a showroom of nations and manufacturers from all parts of the world designed to promote international commerce and travel. For the Merchandise Mart in particular, a system of storefronts had to be developed that was flexible enough to accommodate a variety of commodities and inexpensive enough to meet the needs of the budget of the project.¹⁰¹ Total transparency was required for the display of goods.

Collaboration extended to creating the scheme of the Hotel Bonaventure (fig.31) and involved the landscape architecture firm Sasaki, Dawson, & DeMay Associates, Incorporated, of Watertown, Massachusetts, with Masao Kinoshita as the partner in charge. Affleck described the intentions of this alliance:

We felt this introduction of a garden in the heart of downtown Montreal was a particularly strong theme for a hotel - in contrast to the slick commercial feeling of many in-city hotels. We were particularly interested in the 'surprise' element of arriving at the top of the building in such an unexpected environment, and still seeing the surrounding skyscrapers over the low roofline of the guest room wings. We were also very interested in the experience of guests walking from the registration desk or restaurants across the glazed bridges to their rooms - a walk that is much longer than most hotels, and one that we thought should be full of stimulation and interest.¹⁰²

The windows of the rooms of the hotel either face the garden which encircles administration and public facilities, or frame views of Montreal and its environs.

The focus on circulation in the design of Place Bonaventure was absent from other examples of integrated enclosed systems in North America. At Rockefeller Center (Raymond M. Hood, Wallace K. Harrison, and others, 1931-39) and Grand Central Station (Warren and Wetmore, 1903-13) in New York, and to a large extent at Place Ville Marie, the architects, Affleck explained, tended to treat

¹⁰¹ Rhamesh Khosla, personal interview, 14 January 1993.

¹⁰² Raymond T. Affleck, unpublished letter to Joanne Pugh, Public Relations, Hotel Bonaventure, 23 January 1970.

the pedestrian systems as "subsidiary convenience items rather than as one of the roots of architectural expression."¹⁰³

The design of the rooftop hotel and winter garden (figs.32,33,34) is one material manifestation of Affleck's concern for the sensual experience of the individual in architecture as proposed by McLuhan. "It seemed to us," Affleck stated, "that in the jet age a hotel almost more than any other environment should have a very special sense of place - that 'you should really know you've left home.'"¹⁰⁴ Water, rocks, trees, and other plants consciously were inserted into the physical atmosphere of the hotel to represent aspects of a Canadian landscape. Red Pine, Douglas Fir, and Sargent Crabapple trees were among the plants chosen both for the association they evoked and for their ability to thrive in Canadian winters.¹⁰⁵ Affleck's attempt to create a Canadian atmosphere can be situated within a general trend that had begun to occur in Canada at the turn of the century, where architects focused on creating buildings rooted in the soil of their own country. Canadian architecture of the late nineteenth century was, wrote Kelly Crossman, "adapted to local conditions, climate, materials, and way of life."¹⁰⁶ The design of the garden, along with the inclusion of Place Bonaventure into the weather protected pedestrian system of Montreal, can be seen to address the issues listed by Crossman.

The garden exhibited one instance where the form of the building was determined by structural and mechanical considerations. Streams were included in the design of the garden because the architects were faced with load limitations that they obviously could not exceed. Since water weighed less than the four feet

¹⁰³ Affleck, "The City as Process" 261.

¹⁰⁴ Affleck, "The City as Process" 261.

¹⁰⁵ "Three Hotels," Landscape Design 117 (Feb 1977): 17

¹⁰⁶ Kelly Crossman, Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987) 3.

of earth needed for trees, the architects decided to mix both greenery and running water to ease the structural load. The streams also doubled as cooling tanks for the air conditioning system of the building.

Place Bonaventure was, for Affleck, "an architecture of participation where form is understood as process rather than object."¹⁰⁷ The "psychological concept of 'effective surprise' played an important part," he wrote, in carrying out the design of the hotel which juxtaposed "the garden environment with the familiar downtown skyscrapers surrounding the site."¹⁰⁸ "We were also very interested," he added, "in the experience of guests walking from the registration desk or restaurants across the glazed bridges to their rooms - a walk that is much longer than most hotels, and one that we thought should be full of stimulation and interest."¹⁰⁹ The concerns of Affleck for this area extended to the lighting which was reflected off the plant forms and streams of the garden. The effect of using organic surfaces as lighting fixtures enhanced, Affleck wrote, "the feeling of romance and surprise" in the garden at nighttime and during the day.¹¹⁰

Some elements of Place Bonaventure reflected the personal imprint of individuals involved in the design process. The heated swimming pool (figs.35,36) located amidst the gardens of the hotel was open all year and was an invention that originally included a "Hungarian" connection between the indoor and outdoor pool areas, the "Special signature of Hungarian born Eva Vecsei."¹¹¹ "I developed this idea", Vecsei stated, "that if we bring down a glass door to the surface of the water which we can push if we swim out, then we reasonably seal

¹⁰⁷ Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 37.

¹⁰⁸ Affleck, "The City as Process" 261.

¹⁰⁹ Affleck, unpublished letter to Joanne Pugh.

¹¹⁰ Affleck, unpublished letter to Joanne Pugh. The lighting consultant for the entire structure was Wm. M. C. Lam.

¹¹¹ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 46.

off the inside from the cold air."¹¹² She likened the scheme of the outdoor pool, regarded as the first of its kind to be built, to springs in Budapest which, due to the warmer climate, did not require this transitional element.¹¹³

The construction of the garden involved consultations between the architects, contractors, engineers, and the Division of Building Research of the National Research Council.¹¹⁴ The technical problems presented by a rooftop garden included questions of waterproofing, drainage, roof load, insulation, and connections to the lower portions of the building. The layer of construction below the garden was developed to accommodate the plans laid out by the landscape architects. Garden drainage and fountain piping were coordinated with the services and areas underneath this structural slab.¹¹⁵

Affleck's social concerns are evident in the unprecedented treatment of the circulation system where he met the needs of the physically challenged. Provisions were made to have special facilities for wheelchair mobility built into the structure of Place Bonaventure. Illuminated signs indicated wheelchair ramps, five hotel rooms possessed extra wide doors and special bathroom facilities, and elevators and pay phones were designed specifically with the disabled in mind. Officials of the Canadian Paraplegic Association announced that Place Bonaventure was probably the first commercial building in the world to provide these services.¹¹⁶

The relation of Place Bonaventure to the areas encompassing its site required an understanding between the architects and the civic administration.

112 Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 28 January 1994.

113 Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 28 January 1994.

114 Lazosky 63-64.

115 Lazosky 64.

116 "Handicapped Looked After in New Place," The Gazette 9 July 1966: 15.

The Metro authority, the Montreal rapid transit authority in charge of design development and operation of the Montreal subway system, were involved in the design and connections of the Bonaventure Metro Station (Victor Prus, 1964-67) and in the inclusion, in the fabric of Place Bonaventure, of an electrical sub-station to service the whole south west section of Metro.¹¹⁷

A significant area of contact between the City and the architects was in the development of the public open space immediately to the west of the building (fig.37). The land for this section of the project was developed for a hotel entry with an underground parking area that was able to accommodate 1,000 cars.¹¹⁸ The City Planning Department entered directly into the quality of the design since they were concerned that the space should be accessible to the general public.¹¹⁹ "This was a successful design collaboration," Affleck wrote, "with the one exception of an occasion when we advanced too far with our design without sufficient consultation with the City Planners and had to retreat somewhat."¹²⁰

Since ARCOP did not have either Federal or Provincial Planning Legislation, the City Planning and Transit Authorities were the only public jurisdictions with which the firm worked. It did, however, cooperate with the Provincial Highways Department on the ramifications, exits and entryways of a cross-town expressway built immediately south of Place Bonaventure. For Affleck, "This relationship involved intensive design collaboration between our parking and traffic consultants and the Highway design consultants retained by the Province of Quebec."¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Affleck, unpublished letter to Gerald L. Mitchell and Colin Fudge.

¹¹⁸ Affleck, unpublished letter to Gerald L. Mitchell and Colin Fudge.

¹¹⁹ Affleck, unpublished letter to Gerald L. Mitchell and Colin Fudge.

¹²⁰ Affleck, unpublished letter to Gerald L. Mitchell and Colin Fudge.

¹²¹ Affleck, unpublished letter to Gerald L. Mitchell and Colin Fudge.

The difference between Place Bonaventure and many other monumental urban projects was that the diversity of activities was not expressed on the exterior of the building as isolated forms but was "enclosed within one relatively simple environmental barrier."¹²² In 1967, Mildred Schmertz wrote, "As a building type it has no counterpart anywhere."¹²³ According to Affleck, "In effect, the city was 'turned inside-out' and the familiar urban equation of streets and public spaces related to individual private uses reappeared within a large climate controlled environment."¹²⁴

The intentions of Affleck in designing the façades of the complex can be related to his general interest in tactility and spatial experience. The ribbed concrete exterior of the structure (fig.38) has been compared to the similar façade of the Art and Architecture Building (1958-64) by Paul Rudolph at Yale University.¹²⁵ "I can't say we invented the rib ...," stated Guy Desbarats, "but I don't think the forms of Place Bonaventure were as monumental or as mannerist as [those of] Rudolph." Desbarats, Khosla, and Vecsei all admitted an admiration for the architecture of Paul Rudolph, but as Desbarats pointed out, Affleck was "afraid of mannerism" and insisted that both the west and south façades remain relatively flat.¹²⁶ Place Bonaventure was not a "pictorial" building grasping vision from a single vantage point, but instead it was best observed, Khosla asserted, if a viewer circled the building and enjoyed constantly shifting patterns formed by its façade (fig.39).¹²⁷ Vecsei explained that the ribbing and terracing of the exterior form

¹²² Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 36.

¹²³ Mildred Schmertz, "Place Bonaventure: A Unique Urban Complex," Architectural Record 142 (Dec 1967): 139.

¹²⁴ Affleck, "Celebration of the Mixmaster" 68.

¹²⁵ Frampton 42. A discussion of methods of interpreting architecture will be discussed in Chapter Two.

¹²⁶ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

gave the building a lighter feeling rather than that of a "white elephant" which she believed could have occurred had the façades remained flat.¹²⁸

The façades of Place Bonaventure also represent areas where gender played a conscious role in determining the final form. Vecsei claimed that since many women architects at the time had been associated with a "Better Homes and Gardens" approach, she felt that the "masculinity" of Place Bonaventure would distinguish her from other female designers.¹²⁹ She also admitted, however, that she had possessed, for a long time, an affinity for the use of concrete in architecture and stated, "I like a certain poetic sensual effect of the surfaces of the concrete."¹³⁰ Vecsei's comments signalled that gender was an issue in her perception of architecture and confirmed the statements of Leslie Kanes Weisman who wrote:

In architecture these different frames of reference for women and men are not necessarily manifest in the use of different spatial forms and building technologies, but rather in the different social and ethical contexts in which women and men are likely to conceptualize and design buildings and spaces.¹³¹

Affleck's use of the relatively windowless portions of Place Bonaventure's façades stems from not only pragmatic but also aesthetic concerns. Affleck maintained that the general opacity of the exterior walls was a solution to the principal function of the building as a place of exposition where display requirements demanded wall space rather than windows, and where controlled

¹²⁷ Rhamesh Khosla, as quoted in Dusty Vineberg, "Vast New Mart Swallows It All," Montreal Star 5 August 1967: 21.

¹²⁸ Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 29 October 1993.

¹²⁹ Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 28 January 1994.

¹³⁰ Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 28 January 1994.

¹³¹ Leslie Kanes Weisman, Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 29.

artificial lighting was needed to exhibit objects well.¹³² Another exhibition structure, the Medical Merchandise Mart in Chicago (Fridstein and Fitch, 1966) was "designed to provide high visibility in exhibition spaces where doctors, hospital administrators and consultants could see and purchase a variety of medical equipment."¹³³ The building, unlike Place Bonaventure, possessed skylights and a fairly extensive system of fenestration, and signalled that a trade structure did not have to be designed with windowless façades, and as J.M. Richards questioned in 1968:

We are accustomed today to factories and department stores that choose to do without daylight and many of the floors of Place Bonaventure are for exhibition and display purposes and come into the category of interiors in which wall-space is more valuable than windows. But in some other floors this is more questionable; notably those given over to sheltered shopping streets ... They are well above the surrounding street level and would surely have been more agreeable opened up - at least in certain places - to the light of day?¹³⁴

Regarding the opacity of the exterior walls of Place Bonaventure, Jean-Claude Marsan asserted, "A thin sheet of glass covering this centre of activities, in the fashion of a geodesic dome, for example, would have given true meaning to [sic] outer walls which after all serve no other purpose than that of a climatic and environmental barrier."¹³⁵ Marsan offered an alternative treatment, albeit too late, of a structural system that was not possible considering the constraints of budget and availability of materials. In any case, the architects of Place Bonaventure were pleased with their approach. "As we couldn't have windows,"

¹³² Jacques Varry, "Discussion sur l'Architecture de la Place Bonaventure," Architecture-Bâtiment-Construction 22 no.260 (Décembre 1967): 25; and Vineberg 21.

¹³³ "Medical Merchandise Mart," Architectural Record 139 (April 1966): 164.

¹³⁴ Richards 185.

¹³⁵ Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal in Evolution (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981) 355.

Khosla maintained, "we broke up the façades so there is a mosaic of elements, forms, shapes and depths."¹³⁶ Affleck acknowledged that the question of orientation in a building such as Place Bonaventure was intricate and that the complex required a clear system of directional signs.¹³⁷

Since Affleck advocated a multi-sensual experience of the built environment, his trouble in treating the façades of Place Bonaventure indicated his essential difficulty in dealing with an architectural form that had been designed traditionally as a purely visual element. Affleck admitted that "the environmental barrier (façade) was the most difficult element to cope with; - maybe because of the weight of historical baggage that we still carry with us in this area of expression."¹³⁸ His comment not only signifies the general interest of the Modern Movement in abandoning historical reference as a stylistic tool, but also situates Affleck within the context of a quickly growing metropolis. As Frederick Gutheim wrote in 1967:

Montreal has at last been stirred by a cultural revolution. More than three centuries of stagnation under a feudal yoke imposed by history, imperialism and the Church had formed a social backwater from which new ideas, economic growth and cultural change have been excluded. Up to the last war and beyond, Montreal has been an anachronism - particularly among cities of the new world. All that has now changed - and the change is dramatically evident in the city and its grand international exhibition.¹³⁹

The design and opening of Place Bonaventure coincided with preparations for and the launching of the 1967 World's Fair, held in Montreal. The first social event to take place in Concordia Hall occurred in April 1967, when Montreal artists and

¹³⁶ Rhamesh Khosla, as quoted in Vineberg 21.

¹³⁷ Varry 24-25.

¹³⁸ Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View" 37.

¹³⁹ Gutheim 332.

writers staged a "Super-party" to celebrate the opening of Expo '67.¹⁴⁰ The Exposition brought the city a new sense of pride and made architecture a subject of lively interest and fresh possibilities. Robert Fulford described the atmosphere created by some of the pavilions of the fair:

New shapes, new facts, new ideas opened up the minds of the people who attended the affair, all 50,306,648 of them ... You had the sense, wherever you turned, that the world's problems were being solved. Man The Provider was defeating starvation, and Man The Explorer was reaching to the ocean depths to provide riches for all of us. Man The Creator was expressing an elevated view of human existence, and Man The Producer was moving forward fearlessly on all fronts.¹⁴¹

In 1967, it was estimated that over 4,000,000 people would inhabit Montreal by the year 1981, and that the disappearance of agricultural land and its rural population would "call for a new type of aggregation."¹⁴² The fact that Montreal hosted Expo '67 was but one factor underlying change. "The presence of an energetic and very able mayor, the stimulus of a booming economy, the influx of many immigrants and perhaps most important of all, the increasing self-assertion of the *Montréalais*, the French-speaking inhabitants of the city," wrote Norbert Schoenauer, were equally significant in the city's development.¹⁴³ It is within this optimistic context that Place Bonaventure was designed. "These changes have not only radically affected such features as public transportation and architecture," added Schoenauer, "but even the spirit and aspirations of its very inhabitants."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 37.

¹⁴¹ Robert Fulford, Remember Expo: A Pictorial Record (Toronto: McLelland and Stuart, c.1968) 8.

¹⁴² Philip Beinhaker, "Montreal: Future Development," Architectural Design 37 (July 1967): 306.

¹⁴³ Schoenauer, "The New City Centre" 313.

¹⁴⁴ Schoenauer, "The New City Centre" 313.

Affleck anticipated a new reality for the users of Place Bonaventure that involved communication within a multi-sensual environment.

The final form of Place Bonaventure (figs.40-41) was considerably different than the renderings created in its initial stages of production. The process played a significant role in shaping the space of the structure. The intentions of Affleck in the design of Place Bonaventure included a concern for composition, materials, and human circulation culminating in a physical and psychological experience, and a response to the interests of the owners, developers, and contractors of the building. The final built structure, therefore, can be seen as a representation of these ideas. Place Bonaventure, however, is not alone in this regard. The work of TAC signifies similar notions and ambitions. Ideals which demonstrate the general quality of the work of the firm include, "A sensitivity and respect for the land, the place, the people, the climate from which design determinants are drawn," and "A concern for spatial composition, movement, view, sequence and the total psychological environment taking precedence over structural and constructional composition in which technological and material factors dominate."¹⁴⁵ Concerning the work of TAC, Sam T. Hurst wrote, "Neither the dogma of technological supremacy nor aesthetic promiscuity has been allowed to prevail."¹⁴⁶ The design by the firm of the unrealized Back Bay Center Development (1953) for downtown Boston was based on studies that estimated the volume of motorists, pedestrians, and mass-transportation riders that would visit the center on an average day.¹⁴⁷ Like Place Bonaventure, the Back Bay project incorporated a variety of components including a shopping center, a department

¹⁴⁵ The Architects Collaborative, eds. Walter Gropius et al. (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co. Inc., 1966): 8-9.

¹⁴⁶ Sam T. Hurst, "The Way of Working," in The Architects Collaborative 8.

¹⁴⁷ "Proposed Back Bay Center Development by Boston Center Architects," Progressive Architecture 35 (Jan 1954): 76.

store, a supermarket, four office buildings, a hotel, an exhibition space, a convention hall, and parking space.¹⁴⁸ Despite the similarities in program and intentions of both complexes, however, the final designs are manifestly distinguishable. Instead of enclosing the multiple components of the complex within one relatively uniform volume, the architects of the Back Bay project chose to express each constituent of the design as a relatively independent entity. An office building and shopping center, for instance, are separated from the department store by a large plaza. The comparison of the Back Bay Center Development to Place Bonaventure gives evidence of the interpretive flexibility of concepts such as programme, space, and sensitivity to human needs.

The process employed during the construction of Place Bonaventure exemplified that a variety of factors determined the outcome of the final design. The design-build procedure gave form to a building that was adapted to its site and integrated with its surrounding environment. Place Bonaventure encouraged an appreciation of the tactile qualities of materials as experienced through space with its rough bricks and ribbed walls, both constructed of concrete for reasons of economy and availability. Circulation systems played a major role in the design of the building as they comprised the roots of architectural expression, while, at the same, they enabled the designers to address their concerns for form, space, and materials. Each programmatic element of Place Bonaventure represented areas in which the concerns of the architects were manifested. The designers attempted to provoke an exploratory experience of architecture as seen in the design of the hotel and garden, but since all of the major structural elements were determined by a 25-foot grid, the building also possessed, in its interior, a relatively rational layout as seen in the plans of each main component of the programme.

¹⁴⁸ The Architects Collaborative 81.

Lessons Learned

Affleck outlined the lessons learned from his experience of creating Place Bonaventure in a 1968 lecture delivered for the Royal Institute of British Architects.¹⁴⁹ In the section of his speech focusing on the theme "Urban Design Process," he recounted the intentions and the methods used in producing Place Bonaventure. In describing his experience Affleck stated:

I am not suggesting that there is any new magic formula for dealing with the complex problems of urban design. I do, however, believe that the traditional relationships are inappropriate to the scope and complexity of our problems today; and that great changes within the process of design and implementation are both necessary and desirable ... We are at the present time more in need of a *model* for process and participation, than of still more architectural scale models, important as the latter may eventually be in the carrying through of the design process.¹⁵⁰

Affleck realized that the participatory methods used for Place Bonaventure could be applied to other projects of similar scope to meet the practical requirements of time, budget, and satisfaction for all parties involved. For Affleck, the architect was never, "God Almighty."¹⁵¹

The other general area of discussion in Affleck's speech came under the heading "The City as Process" signifying Affleck's notion of "an abandonment of the traditional architectural preoccupation with *form as object*."¹⁵² Basing this section again on the specific experience of designing Place Bonaventure, he attempted to predict future trends in urbanism:

I think that the economically determined city is now pretty well obsolete - by this I mean the familiar city of mechanical conformity where people have to live close together to meet the contingencies

149 Affleck, "The City as Process" 258-261.

150 Affleck, "The City as Process" 259, 261.

151 Betty Ann Affleck, personal interview, 18 March 1993.

152 Affleck, "The City as Process" 261.

of production and transportation. Since our main business is information, not production (and we live in an era of instant information), we can live any place in the world, or 'no place' in particular. The city therefore becomes a matter of choice not of necessity - in effect the 'live show', in which one participates by choice.

The idea of an architecture expressing its times has long been the goal of many designers of the twentieth century.¹⁵³ Place Bonaventure with its indoor pedestrian streets separated from vehicular traffic, protected from the harsh Canadian winter, and connected to other buildings and forms of transportation, provided for Affleck "an almost complete range of urban activities" enhanced by a sensual experience.¹⁵⁴

The social manner in which Place Bonaventure was designed was to present Affleck with an ethical self-consciousness when it was applied to projects later in his career. Peter Desbarats pointed out that the "success of the formula" of collaboration in designing Place Bonaventure, contained "the seeds of trouble" when it was applied to the La Cité Concordia project (fig.42) on which Affleck worked but later abandoned.¹⁵⁵ During what was popularly known as the Milton-Park Affair of 1969, Affleck found himself facing pressures and conflicts involving the architects and land developers who proposed the construction of a business and residential complex in Milton Park, and the citizens of the area which is bounded by Milton, Pine, Hutchison, and St. Famille Streets in Montreal. The citizens' committee was in direct opposition to Concordia Estates, the same land developer that was engaged in the Place Bonaventure project. Whereas the original site for Place Bonaventure was the airspace above the Canadian National

153 Lewis Mumford, "The Case Against Modern Architecture," Architectural Record vol.131 no.4 (April 1962): 157-58.

154 Affleck, "The City as Process" 260.

155 Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure 32.

Railways tracks, the proposed site for Cité Concordia, was a residential block, most of which was slated for demolition. This situation required the displacement of hundreds of tenants. The controversial withdrawal of Affleck from the commission confirmed his struggle to reconcile his social concerns with architecture.¹⁵⁶ Affleck's departure also demonstrated that the theory of collaboration in architectural design was not always successfully applied in practice.

Tactility was to be a continuing concern of Affleck throughout his career after Place Bonaventure. In 1981, he reiterated his concerns for architectural space:

First of all we should remind ourselves that space is not experienced visually - we don't see space, we *feel* it, we literally are *in touch* with space through our entire bodies - in a way that involves all our senses, but particularly the sense of touch, or tactility. Furthermore, the social aspect of architecture revolves around the sharing of space among a variety of people - we are in touch with each other through sharing the same space.¹⁵⁷

The intentions of Affleck and the group of individuals with whom he worked give evidence that the architect is not the sole originator of a design of a building. As the partner in charge of the Place Bonaventure project, Affleck could have taken an authoritative stance. His education, partnership, and readings encouraged, however, a strong interest in communication on a relatively equal basis. Affleck chose to coordinate, rather than to dictate, a process of creativity based on the social interaction of diverse individuals whose concerns were validated by the experience of designing Place Bonaventure. The building itself

¹⁵⁶ Claire Helman, The Milton-Park Affair (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1987) 49-51.

¹⁵⁷ Affleck, "Architecture, The Tactile Art" 18.

can be seen to embody the concerns which Affleck acquired throughout his early life: collaboration, humanization of the built environment, and experimentation with form, space, and materials.

Chapter Two Form, Interpretation

In the preceding chapter, an attempt was made to interpret the goals and factors underlying the design and construction of Place Bonaventure. "Designers may in fact try to anticipate," wrote Juan Pablo Bonta, "and to even control, people's interpretation of these forms - but their ultimate failure in achieving effective control need not invalidate the process of assignment of meaning."¹⁵⁸ The extent to which writers were aware of these intentions can effect their approach to and understanding of the structure. An analysis of the diversity of meanings applied to Place Bonaventure by professionals within the field of architecture and urban planning, as well as by those working outside of the disciplines of design will further contribute to an understanding of the history of the edifice. Furthermore, the style and content of each writing under analysis can influence or shape an individual perception of a built environment. This chapter aims to show how, why, and in what context writers discussed Place Bonaventure, with the ultimate goal of arriving at an understanding of how these publications may have shaped the perceptions of their respective audiences.

The writings by design specialists appeared in publications directed mainly to individuals in the same discipline. These writers, therefore, contributed to a sum of knowledge to be shared by a specific community.

Form

An examination of the writings addressing the form of Place Bonaventure reveals the analytical methods of the authors, situates their comments within the general context of twentieth-century architectural history, and questions the role of

¹⁵⁸ Juan Pablo Bonta, Architecture and its Interpretation (London: Lund Humphries, 1979) 227.

formal analysis in architectural criticism.

In response to Affleck's suggestion that the difficulty in treating the façades of Place Bonaventure was due to a weight of "historical baggage," Frampton placed Place Bonaventure within a stylistic timeline claiming that the rough concrete exterior of the building was "clearly derived as surface syntax" from Paul Rudolph's Art and Architecture building at Yale University, and ultimately derived from the late work of Le Corbusier:

It is this that is the 'cultural weight'; these forms, romantically derived from the late 'brut' work of Le Corbusier, are manipulated and emasculated without sufficient understanding of the mythical complexity that attended their initial appearance in the Master's work. Here we come to the crux of the issue: the powerful 'cultural' influence of the east coast of America - its present compulsion towards the creation of mannered architectural forms that are expressionistic, theatrical and monumental.¹⁵⁹

By using the phrase "surface syntax," Frampton interpreted architecture, in some instances, as a language that referred to itself and its history, communicating a purely formal vocabulary.¹⁶⁰ His use of the word "emasculated" demonstrated that he interpreted certain works of architecture as representational space, a language expressing meanings outside itself, and in this case gender related characteristics.¹⁶¹ Frampton held the opposite opinion to Eva Vecsei, who, as has

¹⁵⁹ Frampton, "Place Bonaventure, Montreal," Architectural Design (Jan 1968): 42. The interpretation of art history as a succession of styles follows from the writings of J.J. Winckelmann, H. Wölfflin, and W. Worringer. See "Principles of Art History," in Modern Perspectives in Western Art History, ed. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971).

¹⁶⁰ Weisman 16. Weisman has made the distinction between architectural and extra-architectural roots of meaning. For commentary on the limits of semiology in architectural criticism, see Alan Colquhoun, Essays in Architectural Criticism (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press) 129-139.

¹⁶¹ Weisman 16. For recent feminist critiques of architecture see also Drawing/Building/Text, ed. Andrea Kahn (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991); and Architecture: A Place for Women, ed. Ellen Perry Berkeley (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1989).

been seen, perceived Place Bonaventure as a masculine structure.

The manner in which Frampton declared the stylistic similarities between Place Bonaventure, American east-coast architecture, and the works of Rudolph and Le Corbusier, was problematic. Place Bonaventure and the Yale Art and Architecture Building have similar ribbed concrete façades, but compared to the recessions and protrusions of the forms of the building at Yale, Place Bonaventure seems only modestly mannerist. A perhaps more profound similarity between the two structures, and one that binds most architectural works, was that their architects aimed to provoke a psychological reaction from the spaces of each building, a concept that Frampton alludes to in his description of eastern American architectural forms as "expressionistic, theatrical and monumental." "And the variety of space being simultaneously intimate and grand, sophisticated and simple - I think you find those characteristics," stated Rudolph, "in the A & A building ..."¹⁶² Rudolph's social concerns, however, were not as sharply defined as those of Affleck. "I'm afraid that I would rather see most buildings without people in them," Rudolph remarked.¹⁶³ In any case, the history of a structure can be obscured when one only looks to formal elements to situate it within a broader trend. Although Frampton's research is useful in identifying common expressions of concrete in architecture, the approaches to the structures in which the common treatments appear were manifestly different. For Frampton to insert Place Bonaventure into one formal architectural movement was to run the risk of diminishing the significance of the productive forces that participated in building such a structure. Although Rudolph's building may have influenced the façade

¹⁶² Paul Rudolph, quoted in Michael J. Crosbie, "Paul Rudolph on Yale's A & A: His First Interview on His Most Famous Work," American Institute of Architects Journal 11 (Nov 1988): 105.

¹⁶³ Paul Rudolph, quoted in Jonathan Barnett, "A School for the Arts at Yale," Architectural Record 135 (Feb 1964): 118.

treatment of Place Bonaventure, it seems that this is the only area where the influence occurred.

Architect and historian Mildred Schmertz held views similar to those of Frampton and also responded to Affleck's contention of being partially deterred by history in his design of the façades of Place Bonaventure. She did not place the building, as did Frampton, into an aesthetic movement, but compared Place Bonaventure to contemporary concrete structures. For Schmertz, it was a given that every building comprised a number of formal citations of the past:

Place Bonaventure's architects, in designing the facade of their monolith, did not have to delve too far in the past for 'historical baggage' ... The greater part of it was ready to be hoisted aboard as recently as the fall of 1963 when Paul Rudolph's Yale Art and Architecture Building first opened its doors. Rudolph's highly influential structure carries some historical baggage of its own to be sure - no good building would yet dare be without it - but this baggage within baggage merely increases the load which Affleck deplors.¹⁶⁴

In addition, Schmertz suggested that although Rudolph's building was small in comparison to Place Bonaventure, "its bold vigorous concrete forms do provide a key to the proper use of the materials for projects many times its size."¹⁶⁵ Moreover, she suggested that the architects could have gained from looking more closely to the work of Rudolph who had established "several precedents for the elaboration of exterior forms which might have increased definition and comprehensibility in Place Bonaventure."¹⁶⁶ She remarked that the massing at each of the four corners of the structure could have been stronger, and she stated that, unlike Place Bonaventure, Rudolph's Art and Architecture Building "as every

¹⁶⁴ Schmertz 142.

¹⁶⁵ Schmertz 142-43.

¹⁶⁶ Schmertz 146.

disciple knows, turns a corner."¹⁶⁷ Her phrase, "as every disciple knows" signalled that the audience which she was addressing had a shared knowledge of the building by Rudolph to which she was referring.

Schmertz's suggestion that Place Bonaventure did not quite "turn a corner" is arguable since her interpretation and, in general, any formal assessment as such, is dependent upon specific points of reference. P. Reyner Banham compared Place Bonaventure to other projects of similar form and contradicted Schmertz's reading of the building:

The effect is closed, defensive, fortress-like - or, given the small-scale eruptions of the hotel on its cresting, like an ocean liner in its 'definiteness of boundary' and the transience and lack of community among its 'unrelated' inhabitants, to cite only two of the characteristics of liners identified by Paolo Soleri.¹⁶⁸

Banham was referring to Soleri's concept of a floating town that Soleri claimed was an ancestor to his invention of "arcologies," giant architectural ecologies for whole communities.¹⁶⁹ Banham's perception of the hotel as possessing a "definiteness of boundary" as characterized by Soleri is in direct opposition to Schmertz's view that the corner elements of the building appeared weak.

Inconsistencies within architectural criticism have been studied by Bonta who believed that the expressive systems of design as perceived by an observer were dependent upon, among other things, cultural, temporal, and social factors. Citing as an example Louis Sullivan's Carson, Pirie and Scott building (1899-1901), he noted, "Nikolaus Pevsner argued that the upper storeys of the building were completely void of ornament," while "William Jordy found those very storeys to be

¹⁶⁷ Schmertz 146.

¹⁶⁸ Banham 121.

¹⁶⁹ Banham 22.

blossoming in a highly visible, rather crude ornament."¹⁷⁰ Bonta observed:

It would seem that those who found the upper storeys of the CPS building to be unornamented had not seen the edifice, or seen it only in distant photographs. This type of confrontation, however, is somewhat mischievous - for the snap-shots of the façade on which judgement seems to be based are taken out of context. The meaning of a form depends not only on the form itself, but also on the position the form occupies within a system. Certainly, in relation to the overdecorated lower storeys of the CPS building, *the upper storeys of the façade appear to be bare.*

Bonta's comment signalled that one interpretation of a building is related to a frame of reference. Compared to the Yale Art and Architecture Building, Place Bonaventure may seem to possess weak corner elements. It may also be observed, however, that Place Bonaventure clearly articulates its corners, if there existed the *a priori* knowledge that each of these corners was a service tower. In any case, Schmertz's remarks indicated a desire to see a definite boundary to the building, a concept related to ideas of legibility in architecture.

Legibility

The concept of legibility posed problems for many of those analyzing Place Bonaventure. Romedi Passini defined a building possessing a high legibility factor as, "A place that facilitates the obtaining and understanding of environmental information ..."¹⁷¹ Legibility was related to the convention created by the Paris École des Beaux-Arts (established 1819, architectural section terminated 1968). As Rosalind M. Pepall has noted:

The ultimate goal of Beaux-Arts design was clarity and order in the composition of a building. To achieve this aim, the École stressed the classical rules of proportion and composition in the plan and elevation of a structure ... In addition, the École recommended that a

¹⁷⁰ Bonta 11.

¹⁷¹ Romedi Passini, *Wayfinding in Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984) 110.

building express its own particular character, which would depend upon its purpose, the nature of its site and its client.¹⁷²

The treatment of the exterior walls of Place Bonaventure prompted Frampton to question the resulting appearance of the building that he believed possessed qualities of "picturesqueness and lack of clarity" which left the viewer confused:

At first reading this façade immediately suggests to the beholder six vertical elements on its perimeter running up the full height of the building; their function, either service or access, varying according to evident changes in projection and/or fenestration. As it is nothing of the sort occurs.¹⁷³

Frampton found it difficult to locate an entrance and elevator to the structure since they were, "handled in such a manner that they tend to merge both internally and externally with the massive cladding of 'box walls'."¹⁷⁴ The search by Frampton for "clarity" in architectural form signalled his preference for a rational over a sensual and exploratory experience when witnessing a building. Furthermore, the breaking up of the façades was, as has been discussed, consciously done by the architects to avoid a monotonous appearance of the building.

Frampton's inability to read the building as a structure outwardly expressing its interior elements, and his resulting comments were due to his preference for an easily legible built environment, a view held by many individuals, both in and out of the design professions.¹⁷⁵ Since the architects of Place Bonaventure attempted to encourage an exploratory experience of design for the façades, it is

¹⁷² Rosalind M. Pepall, Building a Beaux-Arts Museum (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1986) 88.

¹⁷³ Frampton, "Place Bonaventure, Montreal" 42.

¹⁷⁴ Frampton, "Place Bonaventure, Montreal" 42.

¹⁷⁵ Passini has discussed the psychological means of connecting origins and destinations in the built environment, along with the spatial and visual enhancement of circulation routes, in studies involving building users.

understandable that for Frampton and for other proponents of architectural clarity, the "picturesque" qualities of Place Bonaventure would not be well received.

Schmertz, like Frampton, searched for clarity on the exterior of Place Bonaventure. She proposed that the form of the rooftop hotel "could have made a great cornice," such as the one found at Boston City Hall (Kallman, McKinnell and Knowles, 1968) which marks the offices of the mayor and the municipal library.¹⁷⁶ The early renderings of Place Bonaventure illustrated a structure surrounded by a projecting cornice, but as Guy Desbarats pointed out, Affleck believed that the hotel with its windows provided an adequate enough entablature to cap the building.¹⁷⁷ Despite her criticism of the façades of the building, Schmertz had no problems with the interior of the structure "where space grows larger and thrusts upwards to define major points within the complex."¹⁷⁸

Schmertz's concern for legibility in architecture appeared not only in her study of Place Bonaventure, but also in other publications. In 1963, she argued that despite its problems, the Pan Am Building in New York City (Walter Gropius, Pietro Belluschi, Richard Roth, 1963) was "decisive in form."¹⁷⁹ In a 1966 examination of the proposed Denver Museum of Modern Art (James Sudler, Gio Ponti, 1972), Schmertz wrote that the architects "made clear the organization of exhibits by stacking galleries in an easily understood vertical arrangement."¹⁸⁰

The type of aesthetic experience of architecture as advocated by the *École des Beaux-Arts* was in opposition to Affleck's interest in the tactile qualities of design encountered through a process of discovery. It was inevitable that a *Beaux-*

¹⁷⁶ Schmertz 146.

¹⁷⁷ Guy Desbarats, personal interview, 24 June 1993.

¹⁷⁸ Schmertz 146.

¹⁷⁹ Mildred Schmertz, "The Problem of Pan Am," Architectural Record 133 (May 1963): 153.

¹⁸⁰ Mildred Schmertz, "Three Museums," Architectural Record 139 (April 1966): 195.

Arts method of interpreting Place Bonaventure would lead to problems in viewing the complex. The writings of both Frampton and Schmertz, did appear, however, in major periodicals and thus could have perpetuated this mode of perception. Moreover, the methods of the Beaux-Arts did not take into consideration the cultural diversity of the users of the building. Since Montreal was quickly becoming a cosmopolitan metropolis, many backgrounds and many points of references with which to associate Place Bonaventure appeared. It is hard to believe that a person who is fascinated by the mystery and massiveness of, for example, an Egyptian pyramid with its exterior giving little indication of its interior elements, would be bothered by the questions of legibility as posed by both Frampton and Schmertz. Although the pyramid was a sacred and private structure compared to the public character of Place Bonaventure, the experience of viewing a pyramid signalled that a perception of Place Bonaventure could be made without a concern for legibility.

Classification

The process of classifying a building within an architectural movement has inherent limitations.

P. Reyner Banham examined Place Bonaventure within the context of a world-wide architectural "megastructure movement" that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. He traced both the term and definition of "megastructure" to two sources and used these references as a frame from which he could classify several buildings and projects. He pointed out that Fumihiko Maki's Investigations in

Collective Form (1964) defined megastructure as:

a large frame in which all the functions of a city or part of a city are housed. It has been made possible by present day technology. In a sense it is a man-made feature of the landscape. It is like the great hill on which Italian towns were built ...¹⁸¹

Banham also attributed the term to Ralph Wilcoxon's Megastructure Bibliography (1968), which contained in its introduction a four-part definition:

- 1 constructed of modular units;
- 2 capable of great or even 'unlimited' extension
- 3 a structural framework into which smaller structural units (for example, rooms, houses, or small buildings of other sorts) can be built - or even 'plugged-in' or 'clipped-on' after having been prefabricated elsewhere;
- 4 a structural framework expected to have a useful life much longer than that of the smaller units which it might support¹⁸²

Banham then identified Le Corbusier's *Projet 'A,' Fort l'Empereur* in Algiers (1931), as the true ancestor of the megastructure since it contained essential elements of the megastructure as it was to emerge thirty years later. "Visible connections between this prime ancestor and its widely distributed progeny were few," wrote Banham, "yet the fundamental discrimination between the parts of urban high-density construction persists: on the one hand a massive, even monumental, supporting frame; on the other, various arrangements of habitable containers beyond the control of the architect."¹⁸³ Megastructures thus could be classified as structures of "a permanent and dominating frame containing subordinate and transient accommodations."¹⁸⁴

In a chapter of his book entitled "Megacity Montreal," Banham attempted to locate a megastructure movement in the city "which was showing powerful

¹⁸¹ Fumihiko Maki, quoted in Banham 8.

¹⁸² Ralph Wilcoxon, quoted in Banham 8.

¹⁸³ Banham 8.

¹⁸⁴ Banham 9.

megatendencies throughout."¹⁸⁵ Citing as examples Moshe Safdie's Habitat as well as the Expo '67 pavilions, Banham regretted that most of the Montreal megastructures, save Habitat, were not well recorded and therefore hindered him from seeing:

Mega-Montreal of the mid-sixties as a complete historical phenomena, inclusive enough in its ramifications to cover, among other things, architectural education at McGill University; the topography of downtown; the atmosphere of optimism induced by the onset of Expo preparations; the mysterious power of the local money establishment to promote major property adventures; a bilingual culture with unexpected world linkages; the land use policy of Canadian National Railways; and yet stranger affairs, including the personality of Mayor Drapeau.¹⁸⁶

The fact that Banham desired to view "a complete historical phenomena" presumed an understanding of history as final, a concept which does not take into consideration factors and influences which may have taken part in constructing any building or person, and which are relatively limitless. Nevertheless, with the acknowledgement that there were many venues of research still to be examined, Banham attempted to view, macroscopically, the megastructure movement in Montreal.

In his analysis of Place Bonaventure, Banham felt that it was "a building which adds greatly to the interest and architectural quality of the exiguous register of completed buildings which might just about qualify for the title of megastructure."¹⁸⁷ Banham thus concentrated on situating aspects of Place Bonaventure that could fulfill the definitions of both Maki and Wilcoxon.

Banham attempted to discern whether or not Place Bonaventure's form, programme, site, and character were deemed "megastructural." Place Bonaventure

¹⁸⁵ Banham 105.

¹⁸⁶ Banham 105.

¹⁸⁷ Banham 121.

was only "disputably" a megastructure, he wrote, "because of the predominantly vertical emphasis of its exteriors and its very closed look."¹⁸⁸ Structures designed with a horizontal emphasis such as Kenzo Tange's Yamanishi Communications Centre (1967) were generally a prerequisite for a building to be considered as a megastructure since these building types had the appearance or potential of expansion on the landscape.¹⁸⁹ The programmatic complexity of Place Bonaventure was in the megastructure range, and its location "in the kind of sensitive 'urban-frontier' condition," was, wrote Banham, what "many megastructuralists saw as the proper deployment of their designs."¹⁹⁰ He also compared Place Bonaventure to the unrealized Palais Metro project (François Dallegret, 1967), "an indoor megastructure of boutiques, bars, discos etc. to be housed in the cavernous interior of an abandoned drill-hall over the Metro station at Place des Arts (Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud & Sise, 1963). Banham believed that both structures projected a "certain air of pleasure-seeking, among the shopping crowds ..."¹⁹¹ Banham related this environment of fun to a theme of the "ludique," a concept involving recreation in architecture, and one which, for Banham, became another characteristic of the megastructure.¹⁹² The most acute realization of the "ludique" theme in Montreal came, Banham wrote, with the construction of Alexis Nihon Plaza (Harold Ship, 1967) where "selling activities have spilled out on to the galleries and central floor of the main plaza."¹⁹³

188 Banham 121.

189 Banham 121.

190 Banham 121.

191 Banham 124.

192 Banham 81.

193 Banham 125.

Banham, like Frampton and Schmertz, found difficulty in predicting the interior elements of Place Bonaventure by looking at the structure's exterior, but this difficulty was rooted in a different perspective.¹⁹⁴ "It is not easy to read the whole as a system of modular units carved in a massive frame," he wrote, "... in spite of the fact that everything about the design depends, structurally and dimensionally, from that 25-foot grid which originates down below the tracks."¹⁹⁵ Banham, however, did not see this difficulty as a mistake on the behalf of the architects. Legibility was an issue only because it hindered him from classifying Place Bonaventure as a megastructure in accordance with its definitions.

Banham hinted that Montreal was an appropriate area for the deployment of megastructures, and he cited the grain elevators (fig.43) along the shores of the St. Lawrence River as related to the whole concept of megastructure:

They are enormous, but their impressive size has nothing to do with architecture, its ambitions and visions: their purely functional enormity is another guarantee that megastructures grow naturally in the right time and place. And visitors going to examine them would discover that this indeed 'must be the place,' for right behind the largest of them all lies the immensely long and now manifestly multifunctional Marché Bonsecours [figs.44,45], which has as good a title as the Königsbau in Stuttgart to be considered a neo-classical megastructure.¹⁹⁶

His identification of a general tradition of megastructure building in Montreal gives an indication of the reasons for which large-scale projects such as Place Bonaventure might have been achieved, but since Place Bonaventure was one of the megastructures that, for Banham, was not "well-recorded," his research of the structure was halted at this general level.

¹⁹⁴ Banham 121.

¹⁹⁵ Banham 121.

¹⁹⁶ Banham 119.

Banham's assessment of Place Bonaventure involved the identification of elements of the building that fell into the megastructure category. Unlike Frampton, Banham did not clearly declare a direct influence on Place Bonaventure by architectural antecedents, but his analysis equally contained the exclusion of significant factors. In his attempt to project a sense of coherence of a complex series of architectural designs, he ignored the aspects that could be considered crucial to an understanding of one work of architecture. The writings of Pevsner, for example, attempted to illustrate a view of architecture as representing unified periods of time in history through a concept of *zeitgeist* or a "spirit" of an age. Paul Jay has criticized the amount of information excluded from Pevsner's An Outline of European Architecture¹⁹⁷ and has questioned Pevsner's separation of concepts which are inextricably linked:

At what expense is this coherence purchased? Not simply by discounting the role of material and social forces in historical change as opposed to spiritual ones, but by insisting on a kind of absolute opposition between material and social forces ... Pevsner's absolute division between material conditions and "spirit" begs the question of the complex *interrelationship* between material, social and spiritual forces.¹⁹⁸

Banham himself had been a student of Pevsner at the Courtauld institute from which he graduated in 1952,¹⁹⁹ and his study of Place Bonaventure presents some of the same limitations as those found in Pevsner's writings. In the epilogue of Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past, Banham stated:

Megastructure was, obviously, close kin to Big Management; those to whom conglomerates and multi-nationals were unacceptable would

¹⁹⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).

¹⁹⁸ Paul Jay, "Critical Historicism," in Restructuring Architectural Theory, eds. Marco Diani and Catherine Ingram (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1988) 31.

¹⁹⁹ Nigel Whiteley, "Banham and 'Otherness': Reyner Banham and His Quest for an *Architecture Autre*," Architectural History 33 (1990): 188.

find megastructure unacceptable too. Megastructures that could come anywhere near delivering even the limited permissiveness of Plug-In City would represent very massive investments in very high technology; neo-Marxists and neo-Luddites would therefore unite in finding megastructure unacceptable.²⁰⁰

Banham's generalization that neo-Marxists would find the concept of megastructures abhorrent comes without a stated knowledge of Affleck's interest in social matters as they shaped a work of art. Banham thus would have one believe that creators of megastructures were purely liberal-capitalists, an idea which is inconsistent with Affleck's socially influenced background. One can learn general trends from Banham's work and others based on classification, but this type of analysis has a higher potential to project a relatively false comprehension of a building than does a specific investigation, since the former leaves unexamined, within its system, a whole set of productive factors. It is difficult enough to strive towards a "truthful" understanding of a building by looking at specific elements, and given the infinite range of influences that one building or person may encounter throughout their lifespan, the potential for misunderstanding is already high. The extreme case of this occurs when the criteria that binds works of art for inclusion in a study are as vague or as broad, for example, as those found in survey books which pride themselves on recounting art through millennia. Classification in the general sciences has been used to determine some sort of preliminary diagnosis. An analysis of chromosomes, for example, may identify an illness based on chromosome breakage or translocation, but the essence of the problem may be more easily read in a specific gene. For the purposes of architectural criticism, classifications are only useful as a preliminary method of research and will offer a general idea or field of knowledge of a suggested topic.

Classification also presents problems of exclusion. For each textbook

²⁰⁰ Banham 209.

survey of history must finish with a final page, thus excluding a countless number of works of art which could be considered significant by persons other than the author of such a book. Although Frampton, for example, had written an article on Place Bonaventure in the 1960s, curiously he failed to include Place Bonaventure in his book entitled Modern Architecture: A Critical History.²⁰¹ Although the idea of closure is possible in any analytical endeavour, the solution comes not from a logical process of analysis but in the manner in which a work is presented. If a writer attempts to establish finality to a work, the reader will gain an image of research that is absolute, unless he or she has been trained to question the written information. If, on the other hand, an author writes in a manner that avoids the suggestion of completion or universality, the reader will then be able to use what knowledge has been achieved from the text in order to expand his or her understanding of a given painting, sculpture, or building, for all research is ultimately theoretical and cannot have the pretense of truth. Banham seems only to touch upon this acknowledgement. In the introduction of his book, he wrote:

The chapters that follow aim to illuminate as well as chronicle the megastructure, and to expose something of the frame of mind in which it was conceived, elaborated and finally abandoned ...²⁰²

Banham's use of the phrases, "aim to illuminate," and "expose something of the frame of mind" indicates some recognition that his is but one perspective of history open to change and expansion. His methods, nonetheless, inherently possessed the risk of transmitting misinformation.

²⁰¹ Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture: A Critical History (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

²⁰² Banham 11.

Productive Forces

Janet Wolff has written that "the idea of the artist as the sole originator of a work obscures the fact that art has continued to be a collective product."²⁰³ The extent to which writers mentioned or criticized the collaborative process by which Place Bonaventure was designed reveals the image of the structure that they chose to convey.

Frampton's assessment of the productive factors that shaped Place Bonaventure comprised an acknowledgement of Affleck's proponent of the collaborative effort in the design of Place Bonaventure and an indirect reference to Affleck as a "genius." He wrote:

It was one of Le Corbusier's later aphorisms to say that to design well you need talent, but that to programme well you require genius. Affleck's achievement and contribution lies in this: in his commitment to the programme as a source of 'structure' and in his advocacy of a realistic approach to design, in which all parties concerned are equally involved in determining the design from the outset, and in which the separate stages of design, budgeting and fabrication become parts of an almost continuous process.²⁰⁴

As flattering as it may have been for Affleck to be referred to in such a manner, Frampton's use of the term "genius" belied the education and readings of Affleck which played a major role in his approach to the design of Place Bonaventure.

Schmertz, like most authors who addressed Place Bonaventure, praised ARCOP's methods of production and wrote that "'Simultaneous' is better than 'sequential' collaboration," and simply summarized the processes outlined in Affleck's article, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View."²⁰⁵ Her description of the generative practice related to Place Bonaventure was consistent with her

²⁰³ Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981) 27.

²⁰⁴ Frampton 42.

²⁰⁵ Schmertz 140.

general interest in how social forces shape the built environment. Writing about the Pan Am Building, she disagreed with the critics who only questioned the structure's formal appearance and she wrote:

The journalistic criticism it [the Pan Am building] has so far received does not contribute to anyone's understanding of the real forces which shape cities and buildings. To understand all is not necessarily to forgive all, but to know more is to cope better, and the economic and social dynamics behind Pan Am should be better comprehended by both citizen and architect.²⁰⁶

Although Schmertz only briefly described the forces at play during Place Bonaventure's design and construction, she relayed a perspective of the architectural intentions that was consistent with the situation as it had actually occurred.

Although most of the authors who discussed Place Bonaventure commended the practice employed by ARCOP, J. M. Richards, writing for the professional journal, *Architectural Review*, neglected to address the process by which Place Bonaventure was designed. Richards wrote only a physical description of the building along with minor criticism that has already been noted in this study. Since the design-build process of Place Bonaventure was the essence of its creation, its omission from a study of the structure is a crucial one which greatly detracts from an understanding of the massive project.

Architecture and Politics

Throughout history, architecture and urban design have been manipulated in the service of politics in various parts of the world. Montreal is no exception. The methods by which Place Bonaventure were brought into a discourse involving architecture and politics shed light on how certain edifices were conceived and built, and ultimately how the circumstances surrounding their construction were

²⁰⁶ Schmertz, "The Problem of Pan Am" 153.

legitimized by architectural writers.

Marsan, in Montreal in Evolution, situated Place Bonaventure within a nationalist context by comparing the building with the massive Complexe Desjardins structure (fig.46), built in 1972 by La Société La Haye-Ouellet.²⁰⁷ The latter covers a block of land in Montreal, on Saint Catherine Street between Jeanne Mance and Saint Urbain Streets, and is comprised of four towers of varying heights between twelve and forty storeys. Marsan explained that Complexe Desjardins constituted the best symbol, at the time, of the advancement of French Canadians towards an architectural level comparable to that of the rest of North America.²⁰⁸ Montreal architect Melvin Charney has referred to Complexe Desjardins as "the last gasp of the Quiet Revolution" of 1960-70, a period in which Québec was rapidly modernized by a new generation of individuals who attempted to bring its government in line with the needs of a modern industrial state.²⁰⁹ As Charney has pointed out, Complexe Desjardins "was backed by a local credit union, which was founded at the turn of the century in church basements, and which, by the 1970's, is [sic] one of Québec's most important financial institutions: what began with the implantation of a new relationship in society was translated into a system capable of reproducing the society itself."²¹⁰

Although Complexe Desjardins is not a *capitol* in the sense that it houses the government's lawmakers, it does approach the original meaning of *capitol* which connoted a citadel on a hill.²¹¹ As Lawrence J. Vale has pointed out,

²⁰⁷ Marsan 387-88.

²⁰⁸ Marsan 387.

²⁰⁹ Melvin Charney, "Quebec's Modern Architecture," in Documents in Canadian Architecture, ed. Geoffrey Simmins, (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1992): 277.

²¹⁰ Charney 277.

²¹¹ Lawrence J. Vale, Architecture, Power, and National Identity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 11.

"Rome's Capitoline Hill, site of the ancient Temple of Jupiter, within which the Roman Senate sometimes convened, provides a clue to both the political and topographical origins of the word."²¹² Complexe Desjardins is not situated on a hill, but it does possess a citadel-like character with its four towers aiming to dominate the skyline of the city. Furthermore, as Vale explained, the *capitol* was located in a *capital* city that was "expected to be a symbolic center."²¹³ Like Place Bonaventure, Complexe Desjardins possessed an enclosed quality of form, which could be equated with Affleck's definition of Place Bonaventure as a city turned "inside out." Hence, in this sense, Complex Desjardins could be seen as symbolic *capitol* and *capital* for the French Canadian population of Montreal. Whether or not this perception of the complex is correct (nationalism remains a contentious issue), this image of the building has been legitimized and encouraged by those who chose to analyze the structure.

Moreover, when Marsan compared the symbolic form of Complexe Desjardins to that of Place Bonaventure, he infused the latter with a symbolic English Canadian meaning, stating that since Complexe Desjardins was built in a sector of the city that was traditionally associated with francophones, it contributed to the geographic manifestation of the dichotomous linguistic division in Montreal and created "a new version of the 'two solitudes'," the English and the French.²¹⁴ He stated that Complexe Desjardins rivalled, in size and scale, Place Ville Marie and Place Bonaventure, thus suggesting that the *dimensions of a building* determined the magnitude of its intended ideological statement. Marsan would have one believe, thus, that Place Bonaventure was created by those of the anglophone establishment when, in fact, architects of diverse backgrounds,

212 Vale 11.

213 Vale 11.

214 Marsan 387-388.

including those of Hungarian, Indian, and French Canadian descent, took part in the design of the building. Marsan's desire to see an architectural and planning dichotomy shades the reality of a quickly changing and growing cosmopolitan population, where in 1971 nearly twenty percent of the inhabitants of metropolitan Montreal were of countries whose first language was neither French nor English.²¹⁵ Marsan speaks seriously of only French, Irish, British, and American immigration in Montreal in Evolution. Since the governments of Canada, Quebec, and Montreal are based in democracy, it is understandable that the concerns of the majority will, in general, come before those of the minority, but to neglect an acknowledgement of "others," and to talk only of "two solitudes" is to perpetuate a misunderstanding of reality. It is significant to note that Place Bonaventure and Place Ville Marie were included in Claude Beaulieu's Architecture contemporaine au Canada français (1969).²¹⁶ Since the title of the work itself would suggest that its contents were buildings in French Canada, and since several Montreal buildings were included in the study, Place Ville Marie and Place Bonaventure could be seen as structures which are symbolically French Canadian. In this case, Marsan's argument would be further flawed.

Newspapers

The publications written about Place Bonaventure that do not specifically address an audience of professionals in the field of design give some indication of the manner in which the perception of individuals from society at large may have been formed.

²¹⁵ Statistics Canada, Ethnic Origin (Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1973) 1971 Census of Canada. Catalogue number 92-723: 6.3.

²¹⁶ Claude Beaulieu, Architecture contemporaine au Canada français (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1969).

Al Palmer discussed Place Bonaventure from a journalistic point of view and included several articles pertaining to the building in his daily column in the Montreal Gazette entitled "Our Town". Reporting on Place Bonaventure from construction until after completion, Palmer offered his readers a periodical view of the project and its effect on the inhabitants of the city. "Pedestrians often find themselves making their way," he wrote, "through terrain more like a battlefield of World War One than [through] the centre of Canada's largest city."²¹⁷ His metaphor was symptomatic of his experience in the Second World War as a reporter for the Maple Leaf, the army newspaper, and signalled that his work related more strongly to those for whom the memory of war was still vivid.

Palmer related the building to a broader historical context, situating Montreal within a period in which the city was rapidly growing architecturally and commercially. "It's very obvious that Montreal's face has changed," he wrote, "more in the past few years than it has in any period of its history since Paul Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, led his gallant band up the St. Lawrence just about 324 years ago."²¹⁸

Palmer extolled Place Bonaventure and the new structures ascending in Montreal, and predicted that the city would be a "great ... town - if they ever finish building it."²¹⁹ For Palmer, Place Bonaventure was a new asset for Montreal that did not threaten the architectural heritage of the city.²²⁰ A tunnel station located on de la Gauchetière Street was the only structure demolished throughout the construction of the building.

217 Al Palmer, "Our Town," Gazette Montreal 3 January 1966: 3.

218 Palmer, 3 January 1966: 3.

219 Al Palmer, "Our Town," Gazette Montreal 11 April 1966: 3.

220 Al Palmer, "Our Town," Gazette Montreal 24 October 1966: 3.

Palmer wrote about a variety of topics and unlike many writers dealing with architecture, he addressed the needs of the physically challenged. He indicated that those who were confined to wheelchairs were catered for in the design of Place Bonaventure.²²¹ He exposed Place Bonaventure, like an event, to the public, and offered his readers the general facts about the size, site, and multiple functions of the building.

Palmer revealed his attachment to Montreal in his column. His writing style was casual, accessible and strongly influenced by civic pride. The fact that his daily piece was entitled "Our Town" reflected that Palmer was a citizen of Montreal who wanted to share a realistic view of the city with the public. The perceptions of Place Bonaventure by the readers of Palmer's column could have been shaped, to an extent, by his optimism, and since his writings appeared in a daily newspaper, it is possible that his words affected or influenced more persons than did those of the design specialists whose audience was mainly comprised of students or professionals within the disciplines related to architecture.

The 1965 exhibition of the work of ARCOP held at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts prompted reviews by several critics. The review of Alan Hepburn Jarvis (1915-1972), a former director of the National Gallery of Canada and editor of Canadian Art, appeared in the Montreal Star and situated Place Bonaventure within twenty-one of ARCOP's projects.²²²

Although Jarvis mentioned Place Bonaventure briefly in his article (he described Place Bonaventure as a work-in-progress), his approach to interpreting architecture was exemplified in the review. Like Frampton, he interpreted architecture as a language expressing meanings beyond itself, and he used words

²²¹ Al Palmer, "Our Town," Gazette Montreal 4 January 1966: 3.

²²² Alan Jarvis, "Architecture With Strong Individuality, Personality," Montreal Star 6 November 1965: Sec Entertainments 4.

such as "masculinity," "robustness," and "vitality" to describe an "immediately recognizable style" of the firm. Jarvis did not view the architect as a "selfish individualist bent on personal expression if not aggrandizement."²²³ He praised ARCOF for their partnership status which de-mystified the individual artist, and he wrote that the firm demonstrated "conclusively that a group working as a design unit can create architecture with a very strong individual character and personality of its own."²²⁴

In his article, Jarvis advocated an image of the architect as a person who worked as a team member in the design of a building. This recognition of the collaborative practice aided in diluting the perception of an artist as an autonomously creative individual. As Wolff explained:

The concept of the artist/author as some kind of asocial being, blessed with genius, waiting for divine inspiration and exempt from all normal rules of social intercourse is therefore very much an ahistorical and limited one.²²⁵

Wolff argued against the "romantic and mystical notion of art as the creation of 'genius', transcending existence, society and time," and demonstrated that art is "rather the complex construction of a number of real, historical factors."²²⁶

A Changing Context

Place Bonaventure has, throughout the years, undergone changes in ownership, appearance, function, and occupancy. These transformations may have played a role in altering a perception of the building which was different than that acquired from when the complex first opened its doors in 1967.

²²³ Jarvis 4.

²²⁴ Jarvis 4.

²²⁵ Wolff 12.

²²⁶ Wolff 1.

Most of the publications written about Place Bonaventure occurred within ten years following the completion of the project (fig.47), and few of the sources that retrospectively viewed the structure beyond this time frame comprehensively examined its various elements. Most of the writings about Place Bonaventure were produced with a knowledge of the structure as it appeared initially, either through the primary experience of the building or through a reading of publications. A study of articles found in Montreal daily newspapers elucidates an understanding of the alterations that the structure has sustained since its completion.

For the business industry in 1969, Place Bonaventure could have acted as a symbol of a potentially non-lucrative endeavour. The complex was put up for sale for the failure to pay taxes totalling over 1.6 million dollars.²²⁷ The building was sold by Concordia Estates, its controlling shareholder, to the Great-West Life Assurance Company who brought in the Trizec Corporation to manage the building. "Though the building is admired architecturally and continues to attract new tenants," reported the Gazette, "they [the tenants] have not so far been signed up in sufficient numbers to stave off a financial squeeze."²²⁸ Plans to build a fifty-storey office building near Place Bonaventure were abandoned when it became evident that business in the area was slow. Marsan pointed out the relationship between capitalism and urban planning by stressing the dependence of the livelihood of Place Bonaventure on retail shops and on the comfort and safety of pedestrian circulation to make the structure welcoming and easily accessible.²²⁹ "The renovation of downtown Montreal helped the developers to realize," he wrote, "that if their investments were to be profitable in the long run, planning and

227 "PB on Sale for Failure to Pay Taxes," Gazette 31 October 1969: 1.

228 "Place Bonaventure is Sold," Gazette 28 nov 1969: 11.

229 For a general view of the subject of architecture and capitalism see Manfredo Tafuri, Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976).

management should be such as to ensure the future social and economic viability of their projects."²³⁰

The year 1971 marked the fifth anniversary of the opening of Place Bonaventure and saw changes in the functions of areas within the structure. The new owners made cosmetic changes to the building in the attempt to improve business.²³¹ Discussing the initial lighting fixtures on the structure, Eva Vecsei stated, "We thought very strongly that the warmth of concrete exists only if you have incandescent light on it ... which gives it a warm glow."²³² The proprietors replaced the incandescent lighting with fluorescent fixtures and installed carpeting on the previously bare concrete floors. Place Bonaventure president Leo Goldfarb said, "This concrete absorbs light like a sponge. Our task was to bring light into it - light and color."²³³

In 1971, the last empty store on the shopping concourse was let, and plans were made to create additional boutiques on the south side of the structure, below the truck ramp, in an area developed as "Le Viaduc" that was to serve as a link or viaduct to a never-realized office block on the south side of Saint Antoine Street.²³⁴

The year 1977 brought great economic success to the building. During the structure's tenth year of operation, the Montreal Star reported, "Nearly 100,000 people pass through Place Bonaventure daily, and 1.5 million visitors when [sic] through the exhibition hall last year."²³⁵ "The complex is in the black," said

²³⁰ Marsan 356.

²³¹ Eva Vecsei, personal interview, 29 October, 1993.

²³² Eva Vecsei, "Design Approaches," McGill University School of Architecture Lecture, Montreal, 15 February 1994.

²³³ Leo Goldfarb, quoted in Michael Shelton, "How You've Changed, Place Bonaventure," Montreal Star 5 June 1971: 12.

²³⁴ Shelton 12.

²³⁵ Boris Miskew, "Ten Years Old and Stronger Than Ever: Place Bonaventure Leaves Bad Days Behind," Montreal Star 12 September 1977: A12.

Goldfarb.²³⁶ The Hotel Bonaventure, in 1977, had one of the highest occupancy rates in Canada, and the Merchandise Mart remained a major attraction.²³⁷

Seven years later, more changes occurred within the functions of Place Bonaventure. "Le Viaduc," the shopping area that opened years earlier closed in order to make exhibition space for trade shows that were too small for the larger Exhibition Hall.²³⁸ Several merchants were turned out.

For its twenty-fifth anniversary Place Bonaventure received a new manager, a major new tenant, and plans for a multi-million-dollar face lift.²³⁹ Leo Goldfarb announced his resignation and was replaced by Peter Martin. Place Bonaventure's newest tenant was slated to be the Montreal Urban Community Transit Corporation, which would occupy two floors in Place Bonaventure and reduce the building's total vacancy to 15 percent from 35 percent. The Gazette reported that an "influx of nearly 700 MUCTC employees should be a boon to Place Bonaventure's struggling shopping plaza, which has been bit by the recession and the overbuilding of stores in Montreal's downtown core."²⁴⁰ Goldfarb stated that Bonaventure's owners, Great-West Life Assurance and Canadian National's real-estate arm, planned to spend twelve to fifteen million dollars in 1993 to upgrade the plaza.²⁴¹ Plans were also foreseen to install windows and make changes to the exterior of Place Bonaventure.²⁴² Much of the shopping concourse had

²³⁶ Leo Goldfarb, quoted in Miskew A12.

²³⁷ Miskew A12.

²³⁸ Jay Bryan, "Bonaventure Bounces 45 Tenants," Gazette Montreal 31 August 1983: C1.

²³⁹ Craig Toomey, "Goldfarb Gives Place Bonaventure parting Gift: A New Major Tenant," Gazette Montreal 24 November 1992: E3.

²⁴⁰ Toomey E3.

²⁴¹ Toomey E3.

²⁴² Toomey E3.

already been covered with pink granite (fig.48), which as Eva Vecsei pointed out, could be considered a "leitmotif" of architecture in the 1980s.²⁴³

The physical and administrative changes that occurred within Place Bonaventure throughout the years not only reveal the mutable condition of architecture but also signal the different states in which the building could have produced varied meanings. An interior of a building clad in pink granite, for example, will elicit a different reaction than one displaying concrete design elements. The history of Place Bonaventure includes, therefore, differences in its form, occupancy, and meaning.

Marketing

For prospective tenants, exhibitors, buyers, business people, or shoppers in Place Bonaventure, publications have been written to describe the various facets of the building. A comparison of works published during the early years of Place Bonaventure with more recent productions discloses a changing context within which the building has appeared. The manner in which these writings have been composed not only shapes the perception of a prospective user of the complex, but also reveals the assumed or intended clients of the structure.

A standard marketing package distributed by the Public Relations Department of Place Bonaventure contained pamphlets, dating from 1986 to 1992, in French and English that dealt with the main components of Place Bonaventure. Inherent in the bilingual nature of the writing was a heightened accessibility of information to the public.

²⁴³ Eva Vecsei, "Design Approaches."

The 1990 pamphlet presented glossy color photographs and the offbeat language of advertising. Phrases such as "customized service," "one-stop shopping," and "ideal trade center" were used to engage the senses of the reader. The pamphlet described Place Bonaventure as one of the most prestigious addresses in Montreal, and asked its audience, "Why not benefit from our success to build yours ... you'll be in good company."²⁴⁴ Phrases such as these expressed a dream of the potential clients of the building.

A brochure describing the Hotel Bonaventure was included in the package to promote accommodation for visitors to the complex, and displayed images of smiling caucasian couples, each comprised of a man and a woman, dressed in suits and gowns enjoying themselves beside the pool and in the restaurant (fig.49).²⁴⁵ The visitors whom the administration was trying to attract were, therefore, white, heterosexual couples.

An information sheet about the building described the assets of Place Bonaventure within a Canadian context, boasting that "Exits from the 5000-mile-long, coast to coast Trans-Canada highway lead right to Place Bonaventure's very door."²⁴⁶ The information sheet revealed the competitive nature of marketing as it compared "big, bold, and beautifully different" Place Bonaventure to other structures in Montreal, and vaunted that shoppers "delight in the staggering array of world-wide merchandise, brilliantly displayed in the shops and fashion boutiques"²⁴⁷.

A comparison of promotional publications written in the 1960s and in the recent decade reveals a changing business clientele, and suggests a relation to the

²⁴⁴ Place Bonaventure, Montréal (Montreal: n.p., 1990).

²⁴⁵ Montréal Bonaventure Hilton International (Montreal: n.p., 1986).

²⁴⁶ Place Bonaventure – A City Within a City (Montreal: n.p., 1992) 1.

²⁴⁷ Place Bonaventure – A City Within a City 2.

influence of the women's movement in marketing procedures. As Alladi Venkatesh wrote, "To the marketer, the significance of the feminist movement lies in the potential influence it has over the attitudes, opinions and behaviour of women in the marketplace."²⁴⁸ A publication produced by Peter Desbarats in the late 1960s as an "introduction to the building,"²⁴⁹ included a fictional story entitled, "The Couple Who Came In From the Cold," which dealt with a man who had brought his wife along on a business trip.²⁵⁰ The text was comprised mainly of a series of quotations made by the woman including:

I never though we'd actually do it. He used to laugh at all those ads about taking your wife along on a business trip ... No dishes. No diapers. And the way he's been looking at me ... No wonder he's so good at business, he looks so terrific. The girl in the dress shop said there's a make-up bar in the drug store. I should try something new ... I wonder if he'll take me with him next time? I just wish it wouldn't end ...²⁵¹

The illustrations of the story mainly depict the woman in moments of amusement, while one image shows her husband involved in a business conference. The story attempted to appeal to women who sought relaxation while their male companions worked on less leisurely pursuits. As Venkatesh has observed, "traditionally, a marketer's interest in women as consumers has centered around the roles of wife, mother, homemaker, and hostess, or single girl preparatory to the above mentioned roles."²⁵² Peter Desbarats's short story continued this traditional approach.

²⁴⁸ Alladi Venkatesh, The Significance of the Women's Movement to Marketing: A Life Style Analysis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985) 151.

²⁴⁹ Peter Desbarats, telephone interview, 26 January 1994.

²⁵⁰ Peter Desbarats, "The Couple Who Came In From the Cold," in The Outside-In City, Place Bonaventure.

²⁵¹ Peter Desbarats, The Outside-In City 8-10.

²⁵² Venkatesh 11.

The brochures in the marketing package of the past ten years revealed a movement towards the depiction of women and men in the workplace. The brochures showed photographs appearing periodically of both men and women dressed in business attire. The publications of the recent decade, therefore, have approached a realistic representation of the situation that women have increasingly participated in the labour force. Venkatesh pointed out that in the United States, between 1950 and 1974, the number of women workers nearly doubled.²⁵³

The approaches taken to discuss Place Bonaventure in the publications presented reveal how the written works may have shaped an understanding of the structure. It can be concluded that individuals who strive to analyze the form of a building should take certain precautions to minimize misrepresentation. Although one can never expect a complete analysis from any single study, as it is inevitable that information will be omitted, it is more significant to include what the author believes is relevant and to do so with the knowledge that the work may be updated, expanded, or revised with time. The practice of scholarly investigation, in this case, involves discourse more than it does a will to find a so-called "truth." Architectural criticism thus becomes an art in itself.

Newspaper articles and promotional publications discussing Place Bonaventure were included in this study to reach an understanding of the structure as it may have affected the citizens of Montreal and the users of the building. As with Affleck, the writers presented in this study each carried with them historical experiences which influenced their points of view, and which have only been scarcely touched upon in this thesis. Although the critical assessments of Place Bonaventure may have possessed fallacies in argument or ignorance of the

²⁵³ Venkatesh 183.

intentions of the architects, these suggested misreadings of the structure should not be discarded as invalid. The fact that each author possessed different approaches to and conclusions about Place Bonaventure may diminish any sense of objectivity about the structure, but as James Ackerman wrote on the diversity of scholarly interpretations:

Such pluralism is a distinguishing feature of the *sciences humaines* and should not make the effort suspect. One of the chief pleasures of studying the art of the past is that it admits us into the consciousness and sensibilities of people who thought and felt differently from ourselves. Being removed from it in time, we have the kind of perspective - however skewed by accumulated attitudes - that distance allows.²⁵⁴

Whether or not one writer is 'wrong' or 'right' is difficult to ascertain in light of their differing perspectives. Paramount is that the publications included in this study offered interpretations of the structure that were widely read and, potentially, highly influential. Each writing was based on a frame or system of reference that was identified in order to situate the comments within the body of publications presented. This study itself takes a position in a time different than that in which the publications selected were written. As Paul Jay wrote:

...what we call history is both something that is determined by 'what happened,' and something that is determined by the *methods we use* to determine what happened.²⁵⁵

The language of architectural criticism is thus included in its own subject matter.

²⁵⁴ James Ackerman, "Interpretation, Response: Toward a Theory of Art Criticism," in Distance Points (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991) 38.

²⁵⁵ Jay 29.

Conclusion

The analysis of the intentions of the architects who designed Place Bonaventure and of the resulting interpretations and projected meanings of the complex contribute to an understanding of the history of the building. An attempt was made in Chapter One to show how some of the life experiences of an architect aided in understanding the manner in which a work of art was conceived, designed, and built. Chapter Two concentrated on examining the contexts within which a building was discussed in publications to comprehend how the edifice was perceived by a relatively small portion of the population. What an architect says or writes about a work may condition a response, but a knowledge of his or her intentions is not essential in forming a critical position. Furthermore, if artistic convictions are seen to be held symbolically within the actual physical work of art itself, or if design ambitions are unknown, the process of research becomes more explicitly speculative. In this case, the frame of reference upon which a work is to be judged moves beyond the intentions of the architects and encompasses concepts such as formal comparison and classification. This study resulted in one perspective of architectural history. An understanding of the diversity of potential meanings that can be applied to any building brings one to the realization of the complexity and challenge of architectural analysis.



Figure 1. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, 1964-67. Taken from Place Bonaventure, Montréal. Montreal: n.p., 1990. Courtesy of Place Bonaventure Incorporated.

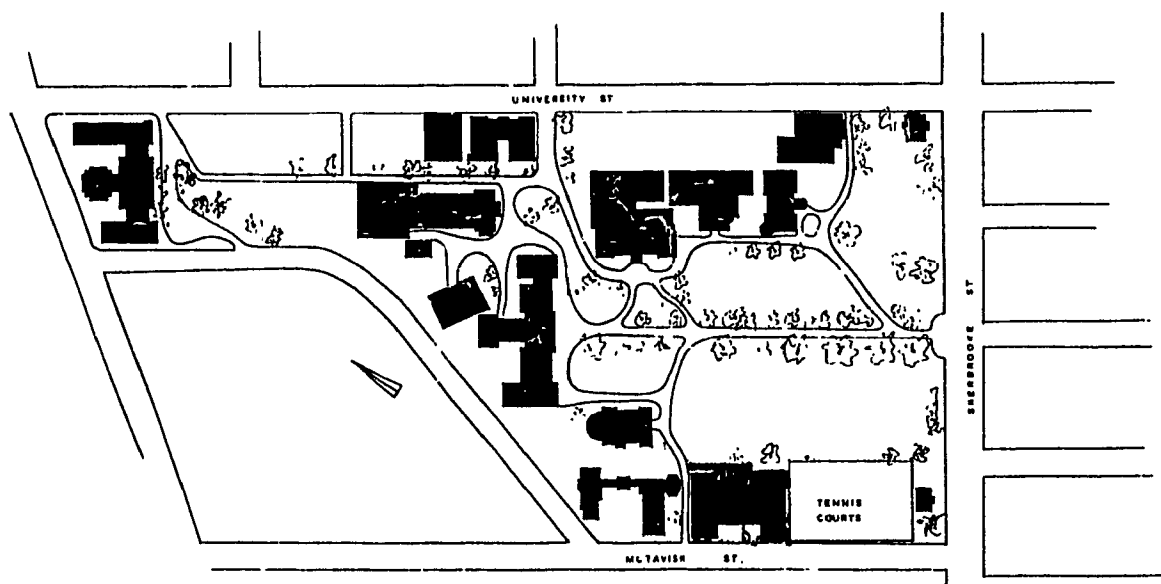


Figure 2. Raymond T. Affleck, Thesis Project of a McGill University Library, Plot Plan, March, 1947. Affleck Archive, Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University.

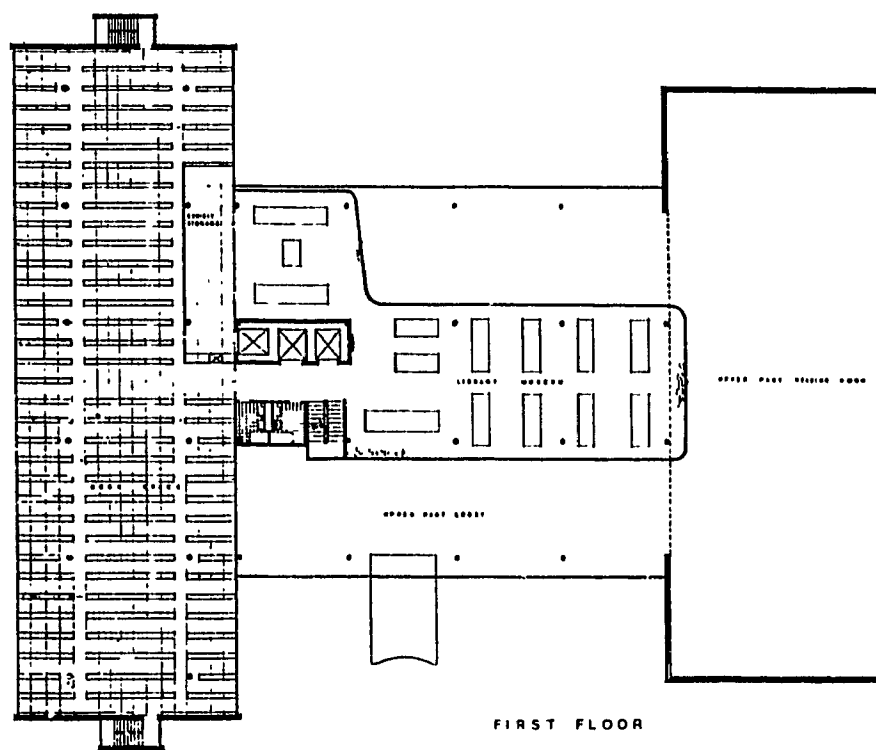


Figure 3. Raymond T. Affleck, Thesis Project of a McGill University Library, Plan, March, 1947. Affleck Archive, Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University.

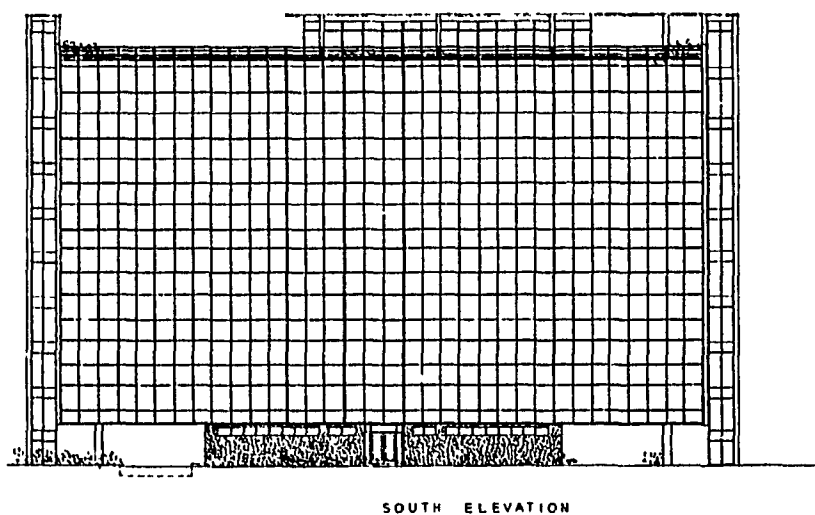


Figure 4. Raymond T. Affleck, Thesis Project of a McGill University Library, South Elevation, March, 1947. Affleck Archive, Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University.

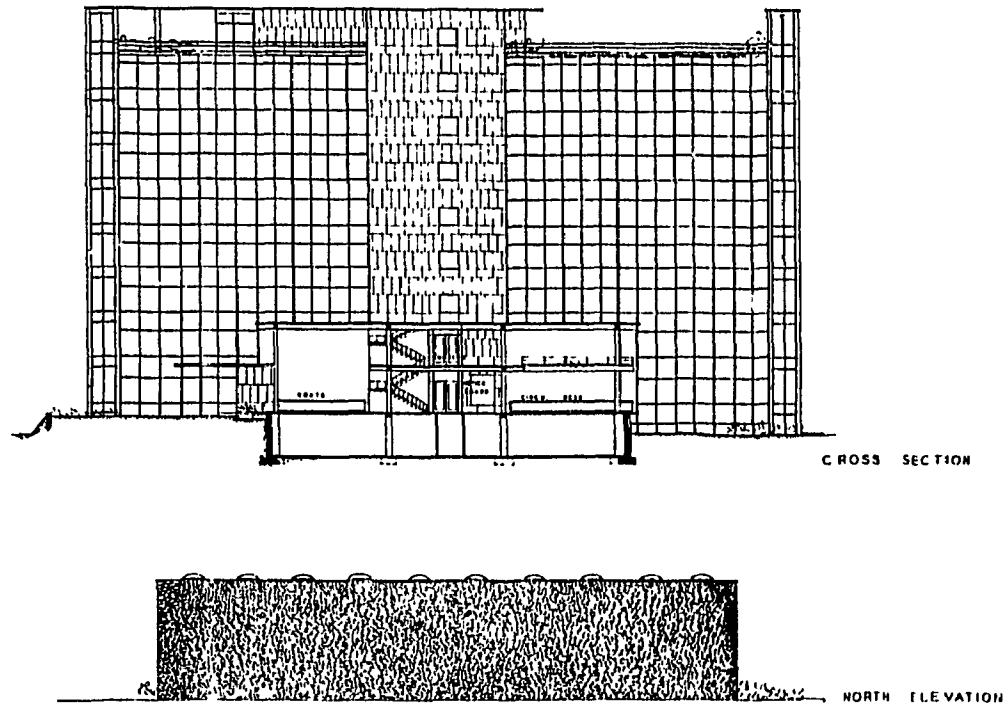


Figure 5. Raymond T. Affleck, Thesis Project of a McGill University Library, Cross Section/North Elevation, March, 1947. Affleck Archive, Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University.

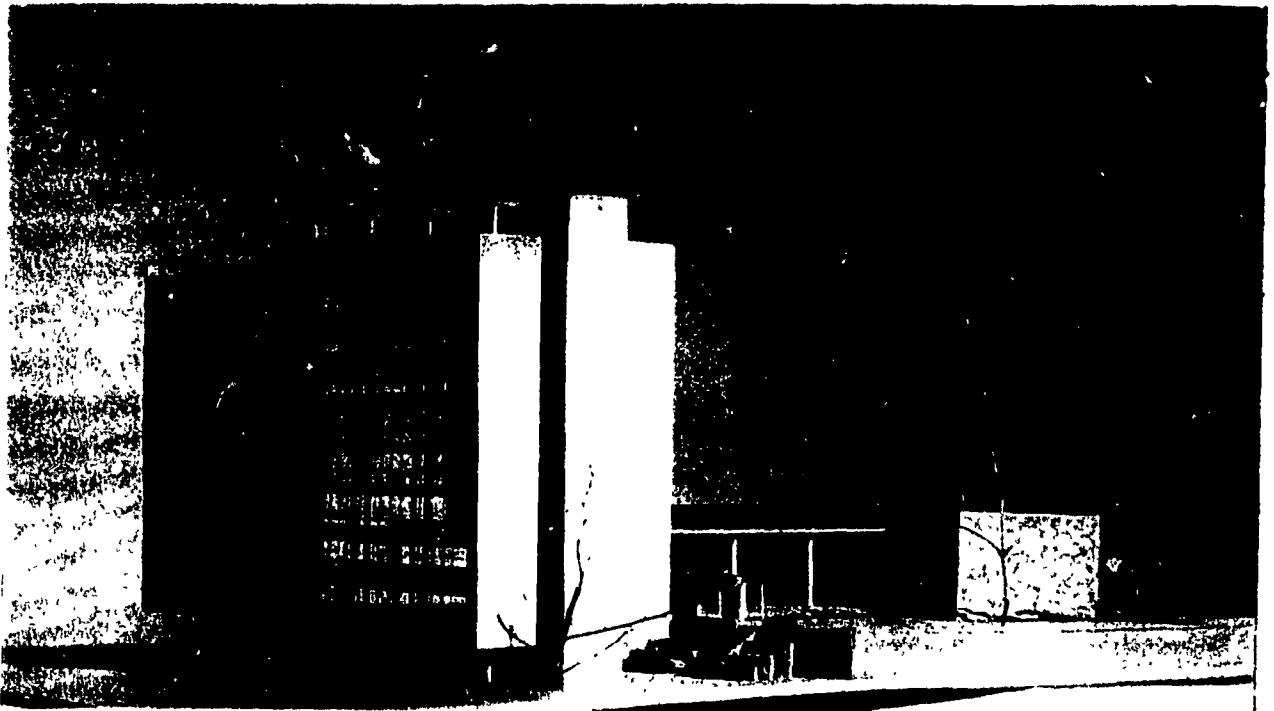


Figure 6. Raymond T. Affleck, Thesis Project of a McGill University Library, Model, March, 1947. Taken from École des arts graphiques, Montréal, Les Ateliers d'art graphiques no.3 (1949).

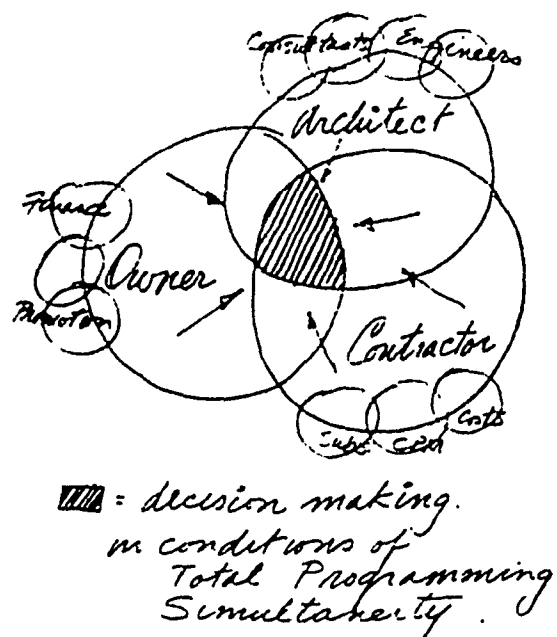


Figure 7. Raymond T. Affleck, Venn Diagram depicting design process, 1967. Taken from Affleck, "Place Bonaventure, The Architect's View."



Figure 8. Site conditions in 1963. ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

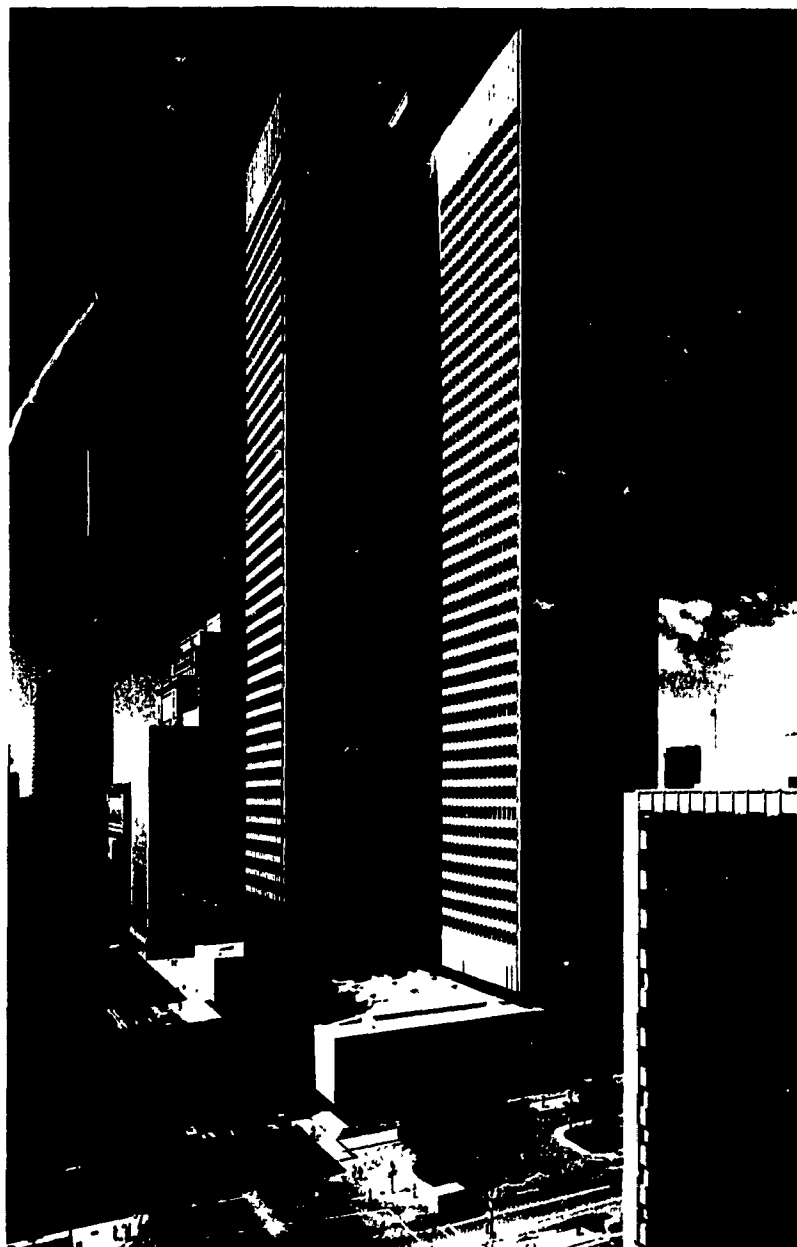


Figure 9. I.M. Pei Associates with ARCOP, Place Ville Marie, 1958-62.
Courtesy of Trizec Properties Limited.



Figure 10. George Drummond & Harold Greensides, Queen Elizabeth Hotel, 1958, with Mary Queen of the World Cathedral (Victor Bourgeau, 1870-94) in foreground.



Figure 11. George Drummond & Harold Greensides, Queen Elizabeth Hotel, 1958, with Place Ville Marie and Mary Queen of the World Cathedral.



Figure 12. Bruce Price, Windsor Station, Montreal, 1887-90.

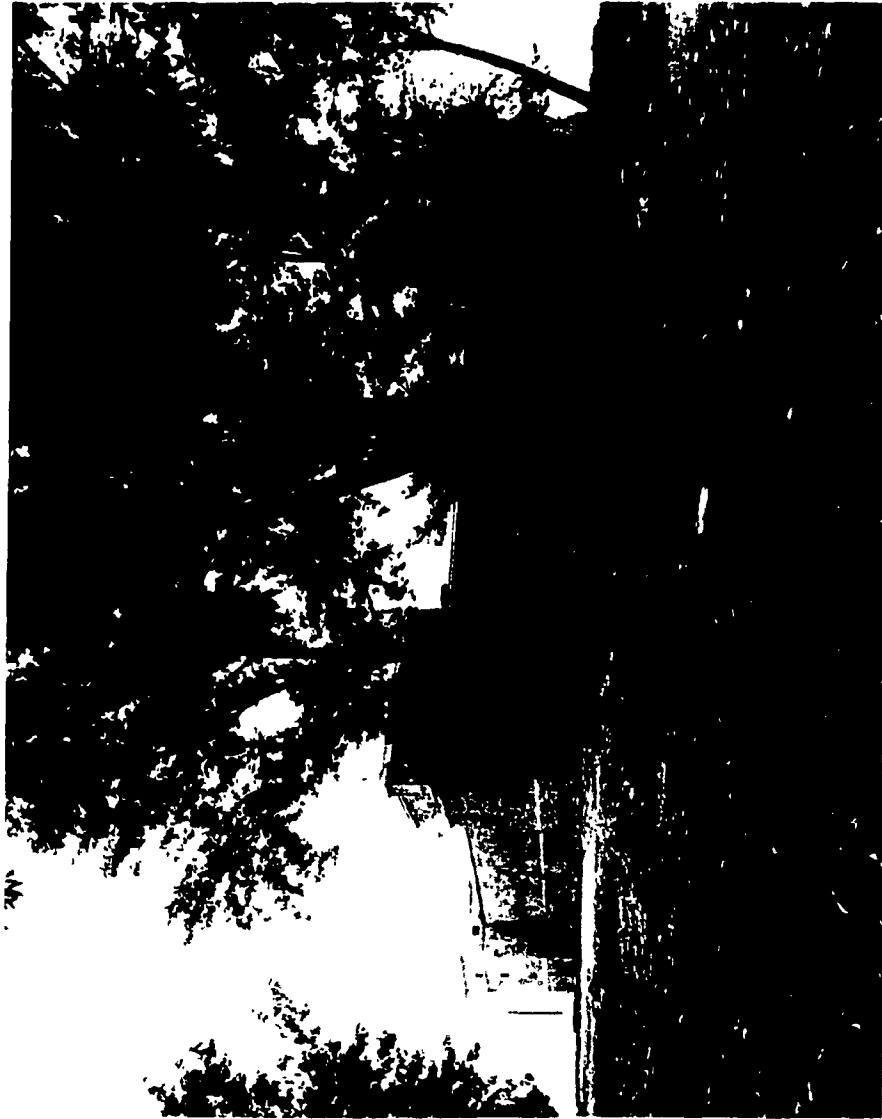


Figure 13. Fort Chambly, Chambly, Quebec, ca.1709-1850. Photograph taken in 1983. Courtesy of Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service.

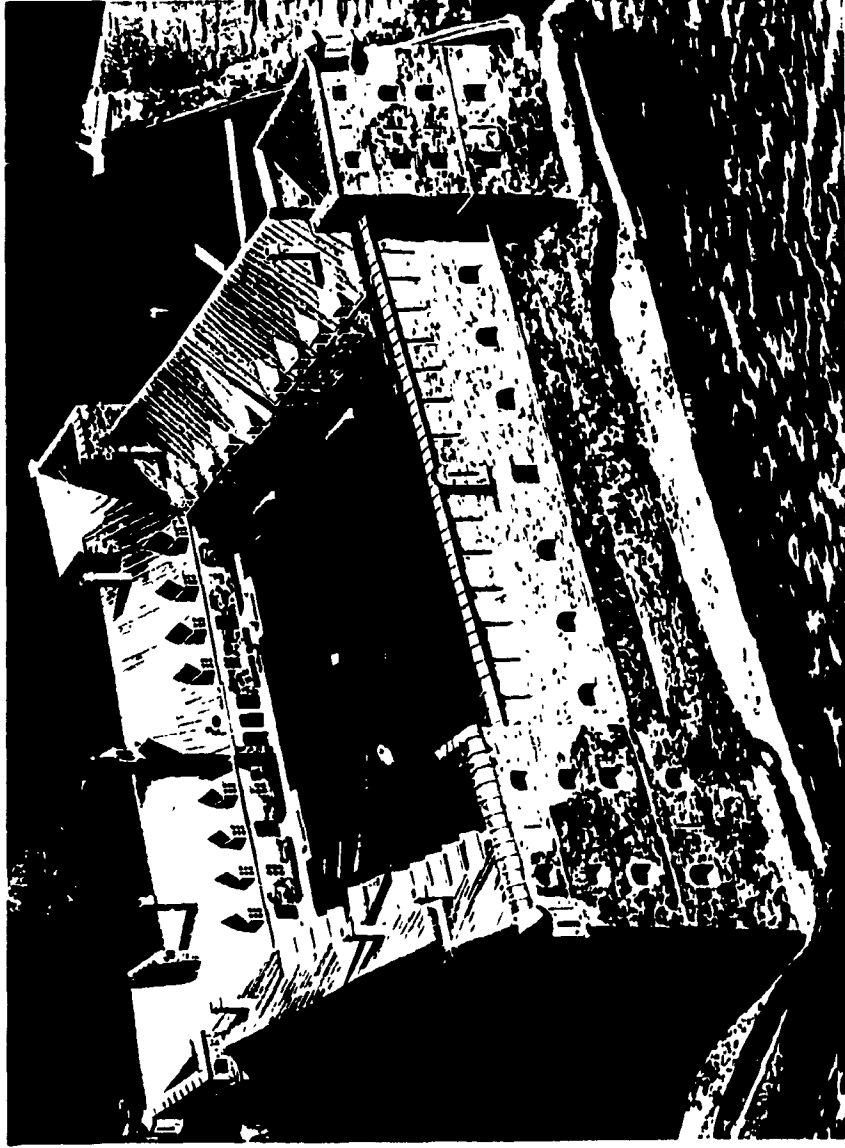


Figure 14. Fort Chambly, Chambly, Quebec, ca.1709-1850. Illustration NXX-F-141, ca.1977-80. Courtesy of Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service.

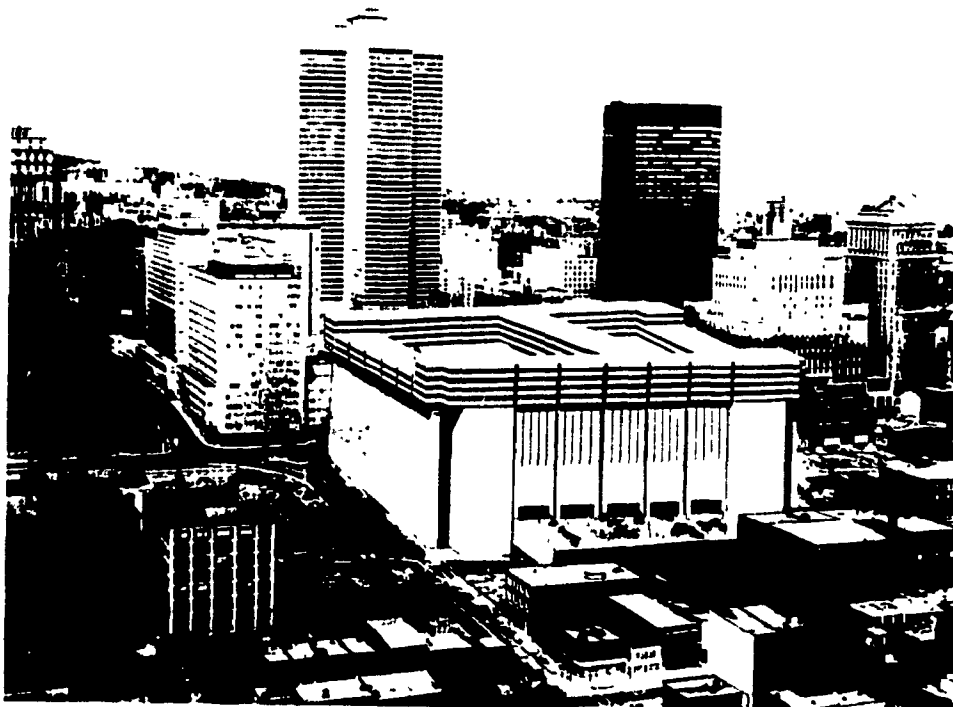


Figure 15. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Early Model, 1964. Reprinted, by permission of Concordia Estates Limited, from Place Bonaventure: le centre commercial du Canada. Montreal: Domaines Concordia Limitée, [1964?].



Figure 16. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Early Model, 1964. Reprinted, by permission of Concordia Estates Limited, from Place Bonaventure: le centre commercial du Canada. Montreal: Domaines Concordia Limitée, [1964?].

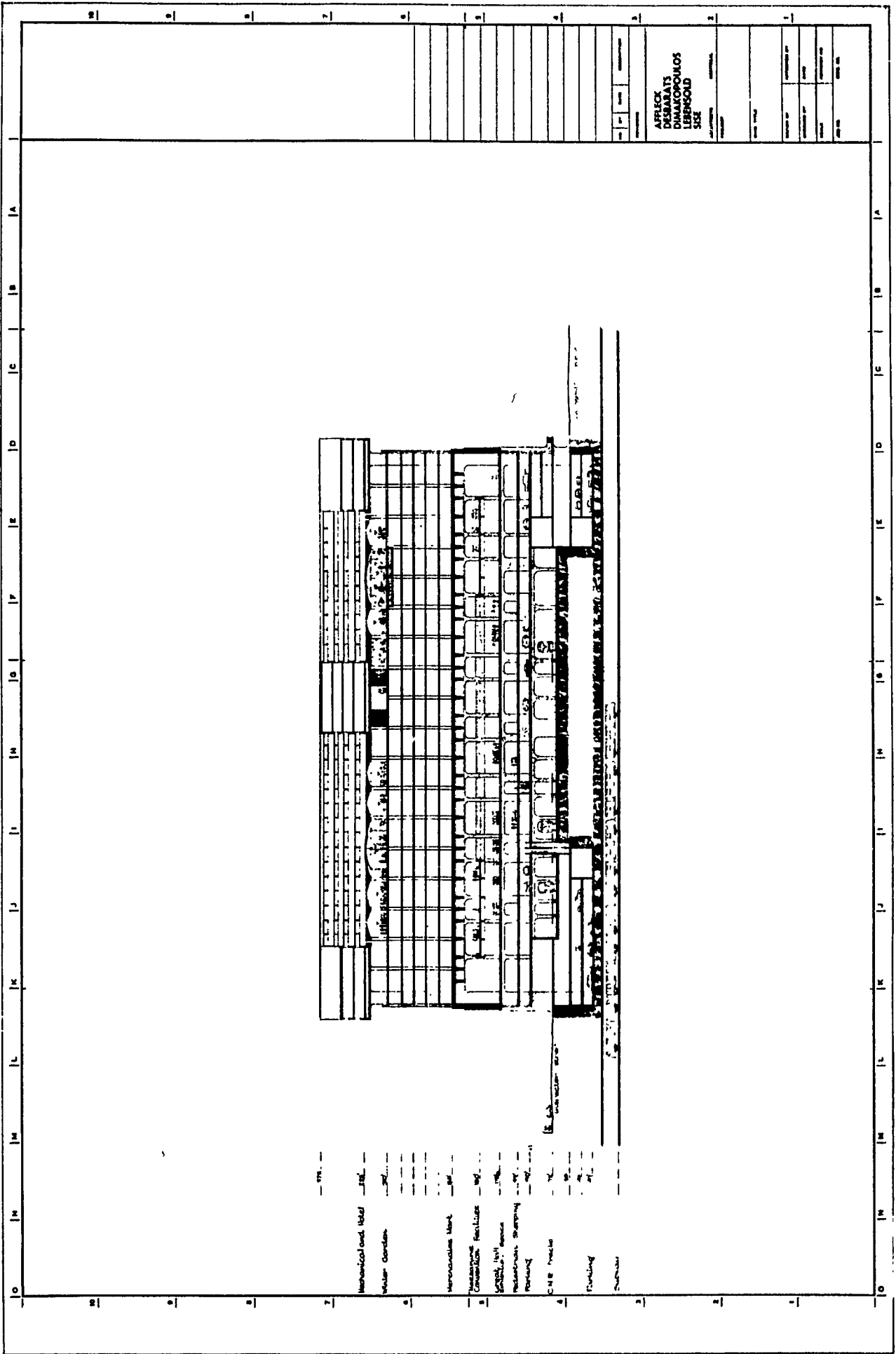


Figure 18. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Section Looking North, ca. 1964.
Affleck Archive, Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-
Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University.



Figure 19. ARCOP, Stephen Leacock Building, McGill University, Montreal, 1962-64. Photograph taken in 1994.



Figure 20. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Northeast Service Tower, 1964-67.
Photograph taken in 1994.

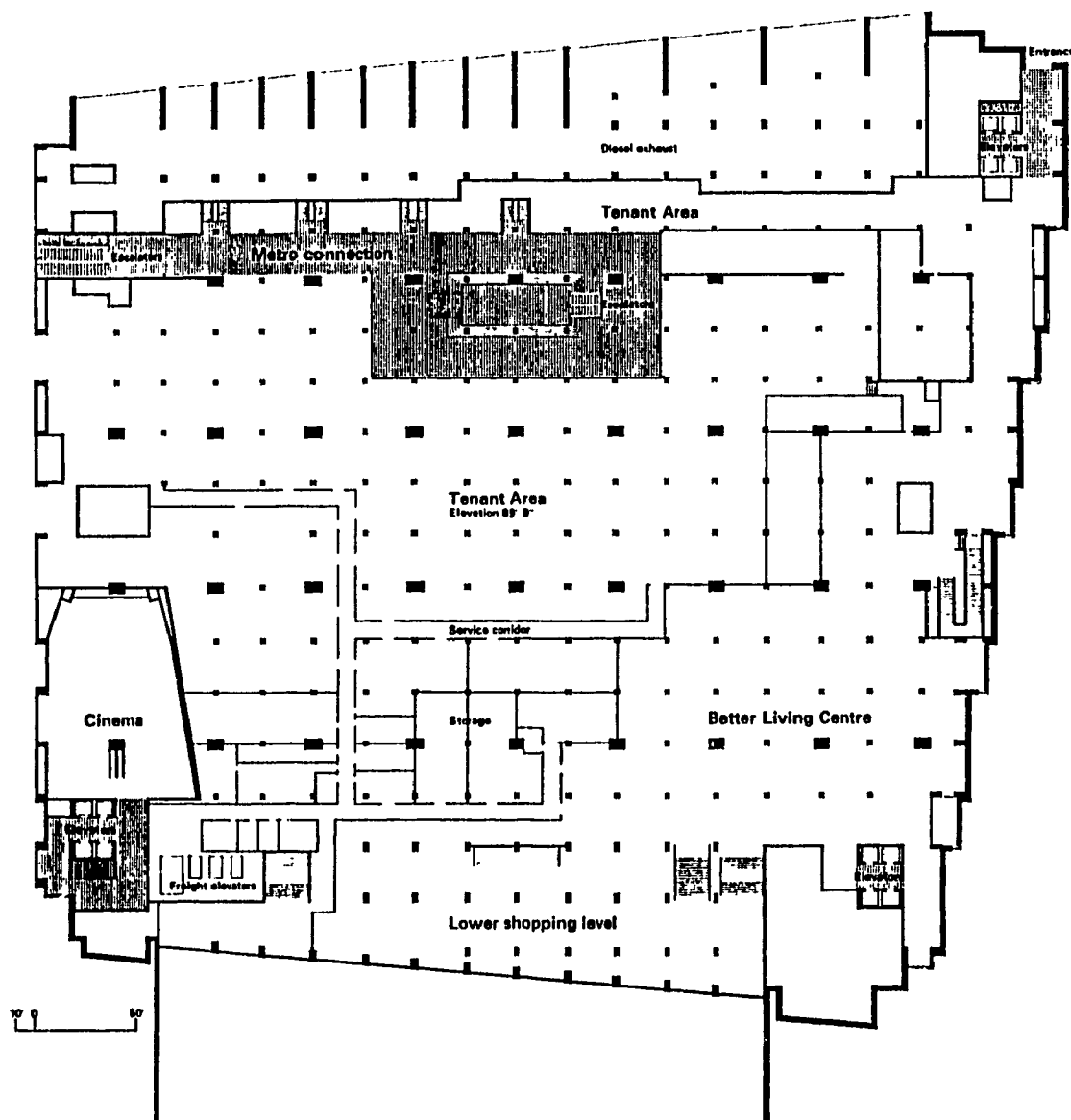


Figure 21. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Lower Shopping Level Plan, 1964-67. ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

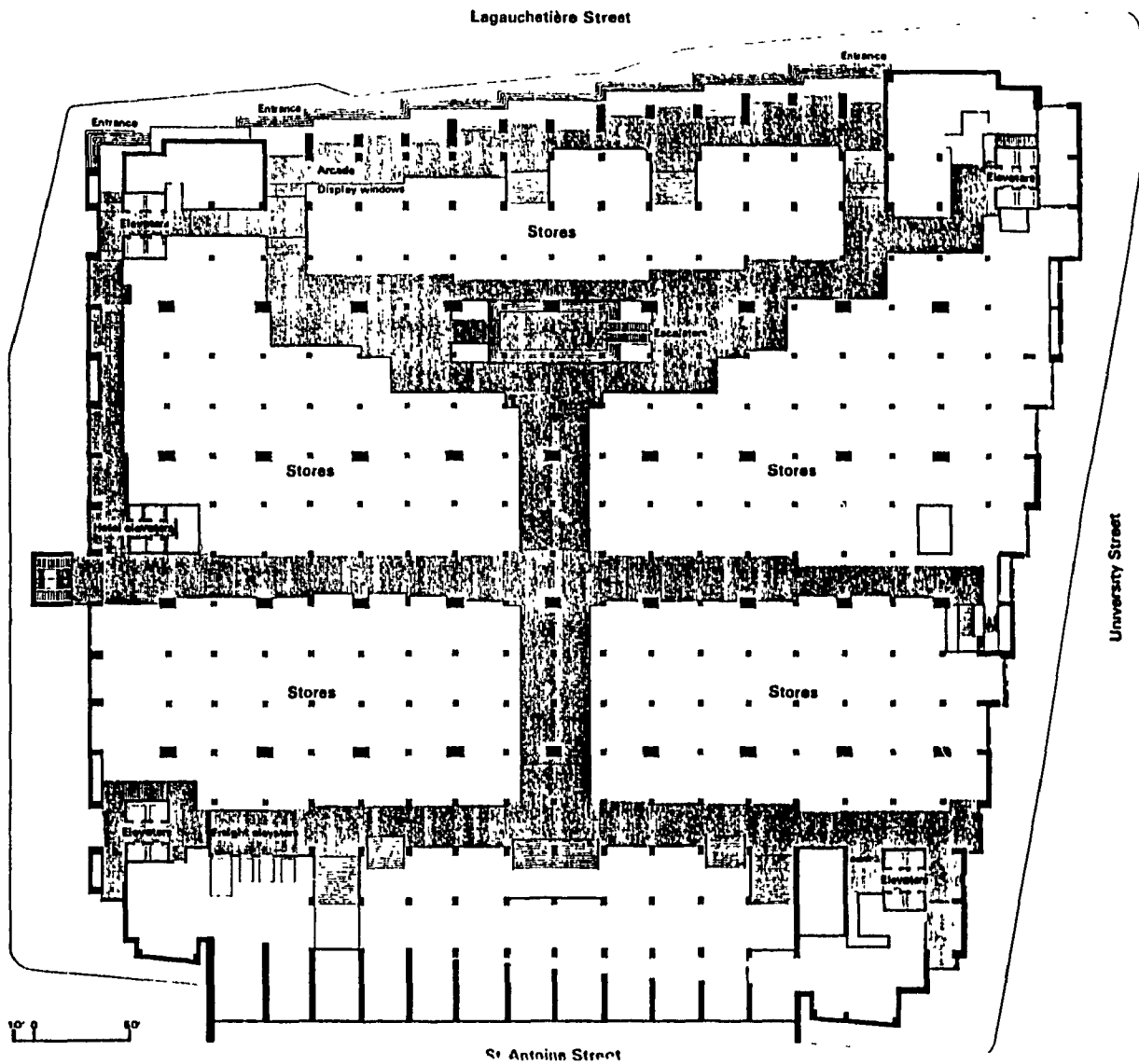


Figure 22. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Main Shopping Level Plan, 1964-67. ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

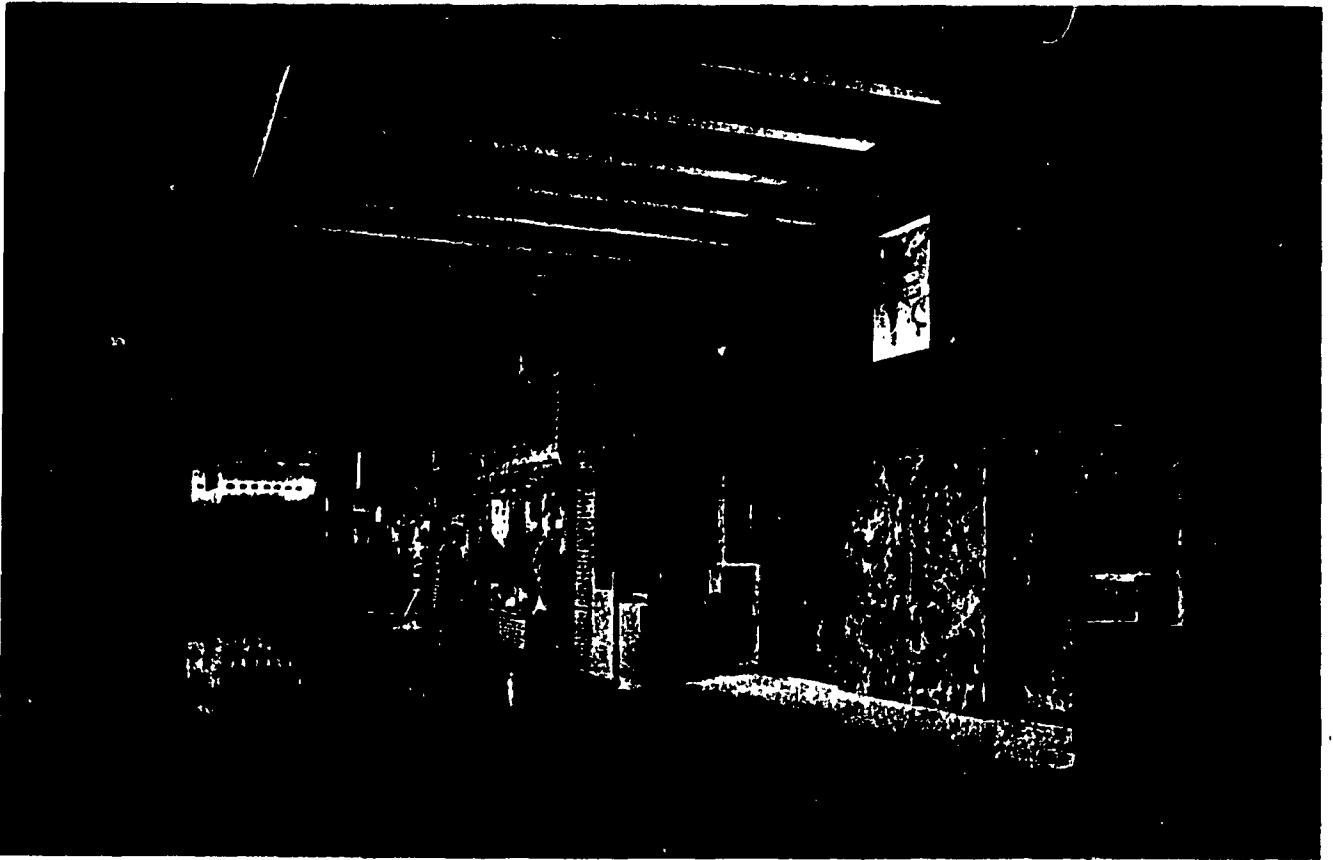


Figure 23. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Shopping Mall Interior. Reprinted, by permission of Michael Drummond, photographer, from Frampton, "Place Bonaventure, Montreal."



Figure 24. I.M. Pei Associates with ARCOP, Place Ville Marie, Interior, 1958-62. Photograph taken in 1994.



Figure 25. Pier Luigi Nervi and Luigi Moretti, Place Victoria, 1963-64.
Courtesy of the Corporation Immobilière Magil Laurentienne.

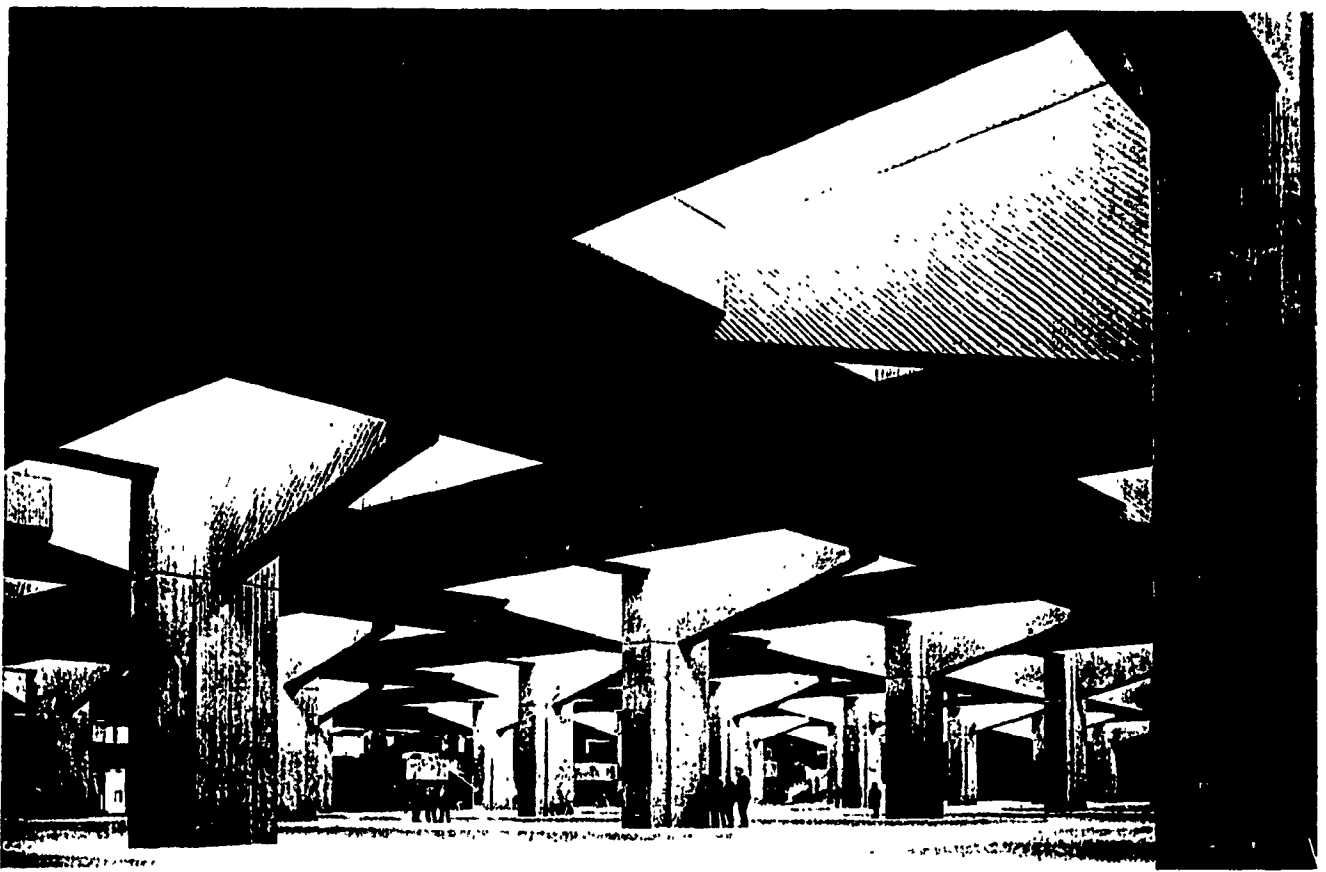


Figure 27. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Exhibition Hall, Interior, 1964-67. Reprinted, by permission of Michael Drummond, photographer, from Frampton, "Place Bonaventure, Montreal."

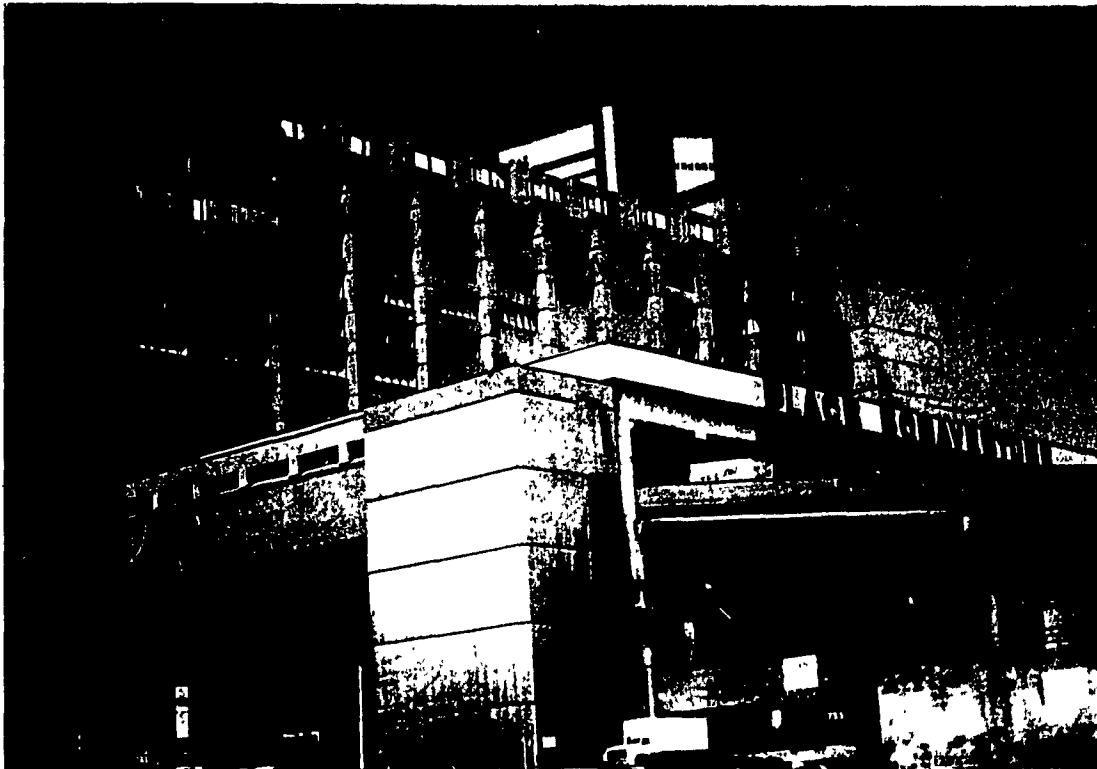


Figure 28. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Truck Ramp, South Side of Place Bonaventure, 1964-67. Photograph taken in 1994.

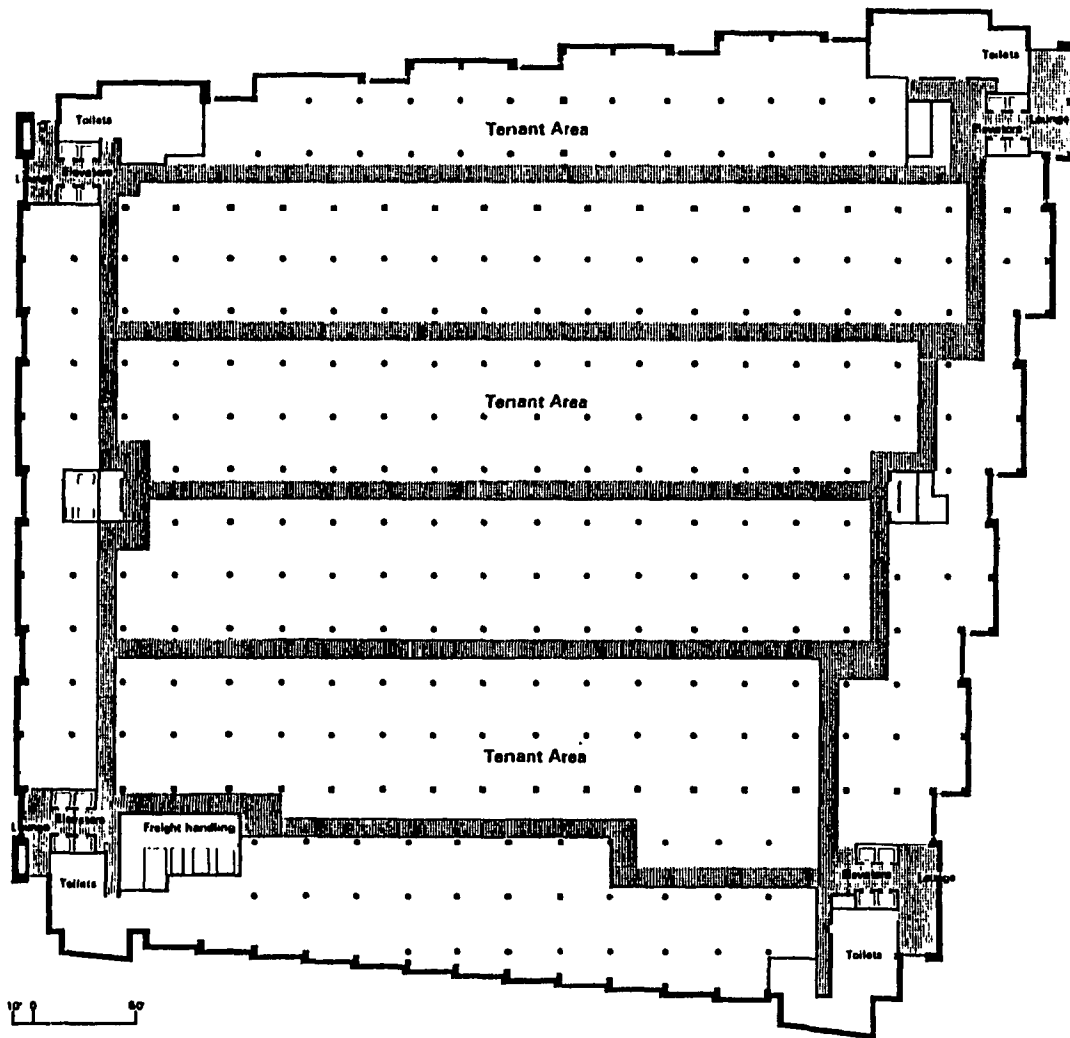


Figure 29. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Merchandise Mart, Plan, 1964-67.
ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

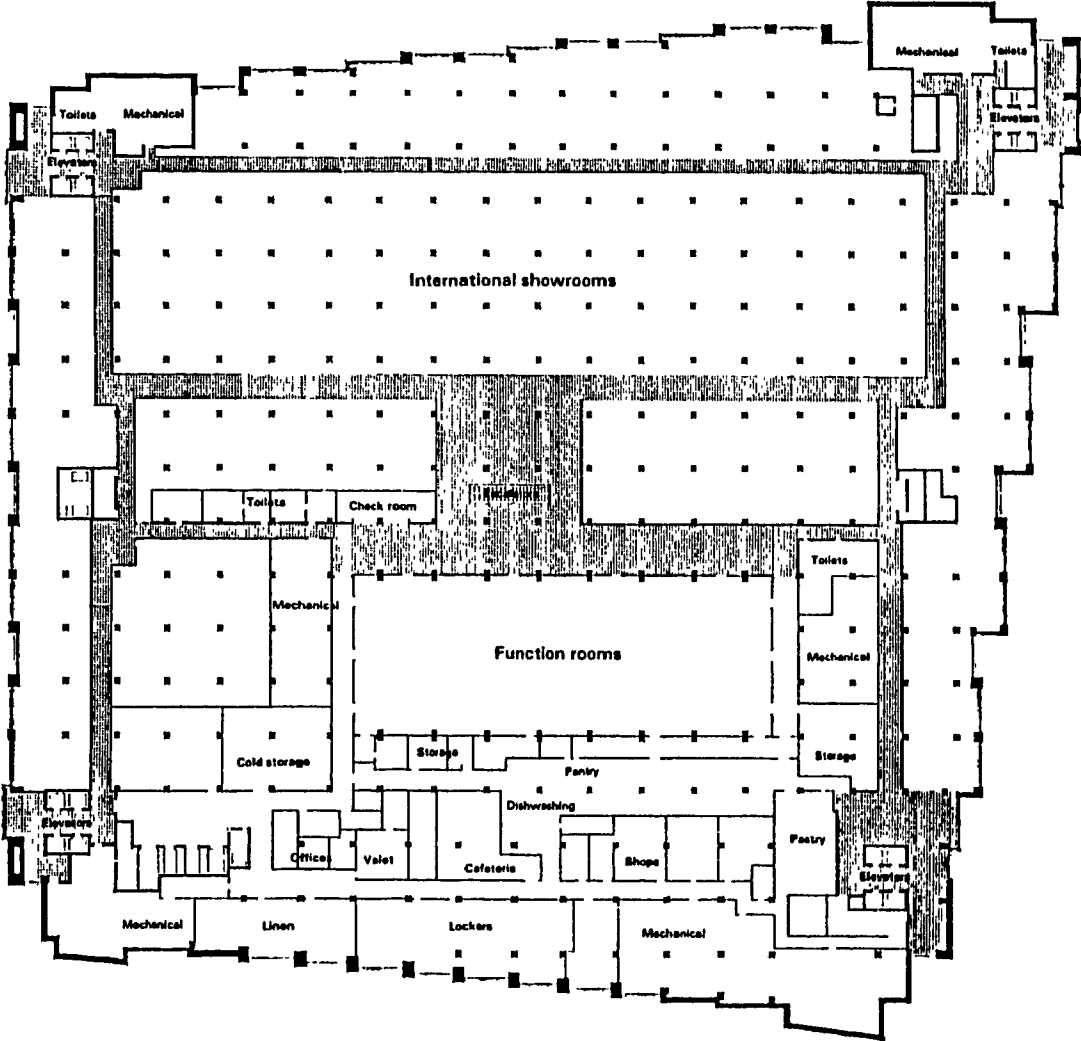


Figure 30. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, International Trade Centre, Plan, 1964-67. ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

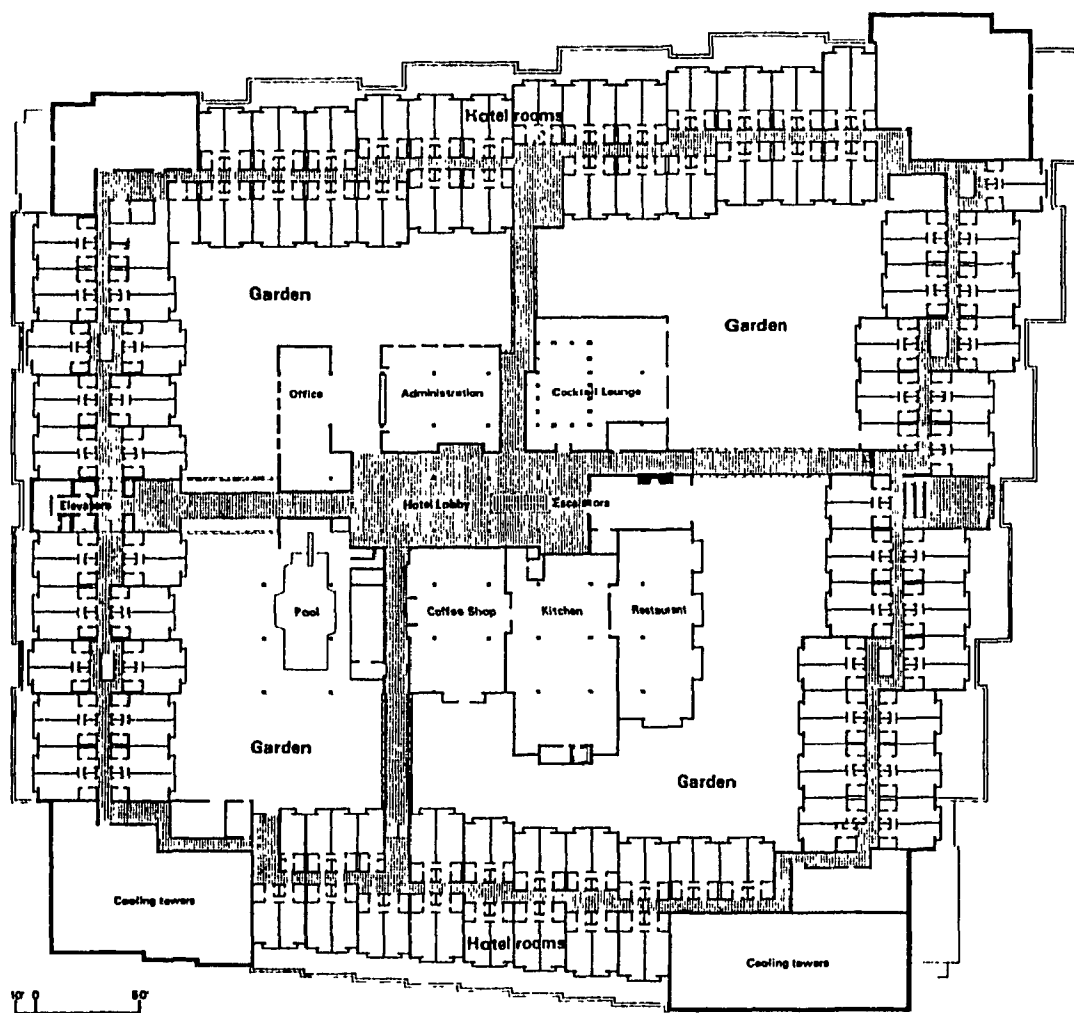


Figure 31. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Hotel and Garden, Plan, 1964-67.
ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.



Figure 32. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Hotel and Garden, detail, 1964-67.
Photograph taken in 1993.

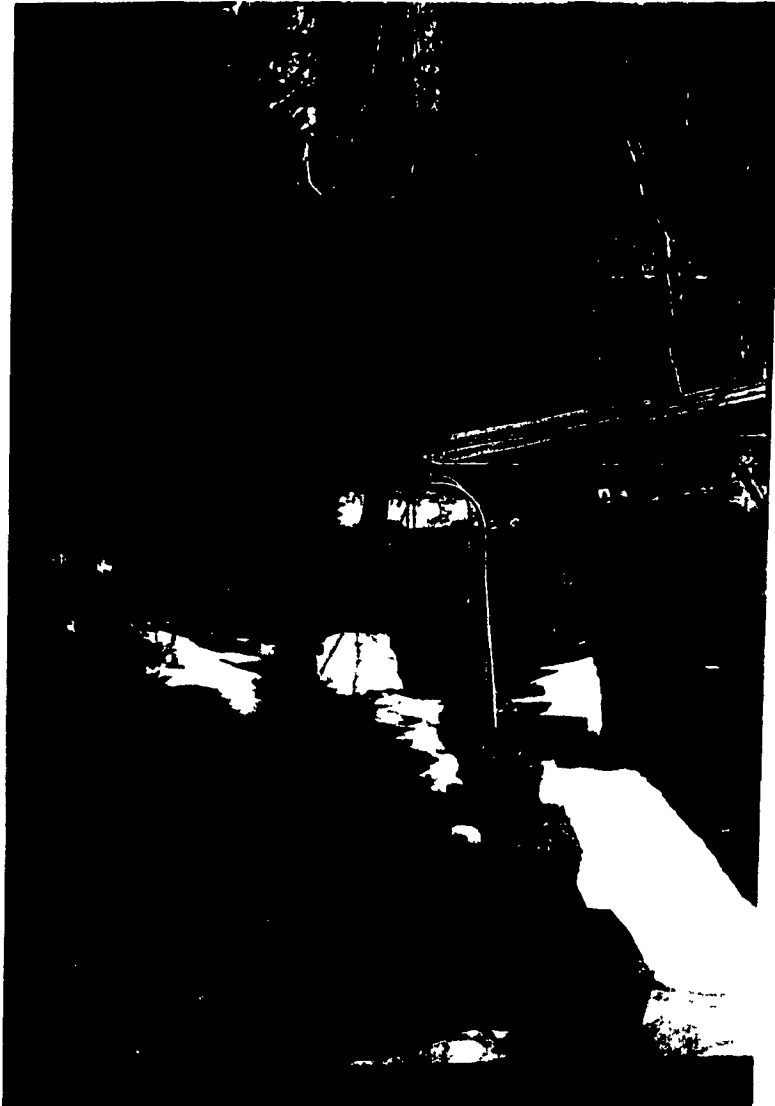


Figure 33. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Hotel and Garden, detail, 1964-67.
Photograph taken in 1993.



Figure 34. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Hotel and Garden, detail, 1964-67.
Photograph taken in 1993.



Figure 35. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Hotel and Garden, Swimming Pool, 1964-67. Photograph taken in 1993.



Figure 36. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Hotel and Garden, Swimming Pool, 1964-67. Photograph taken in 1993.



Figure 37. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, West Plaza, 1964-67. Photograph taken in 1993.

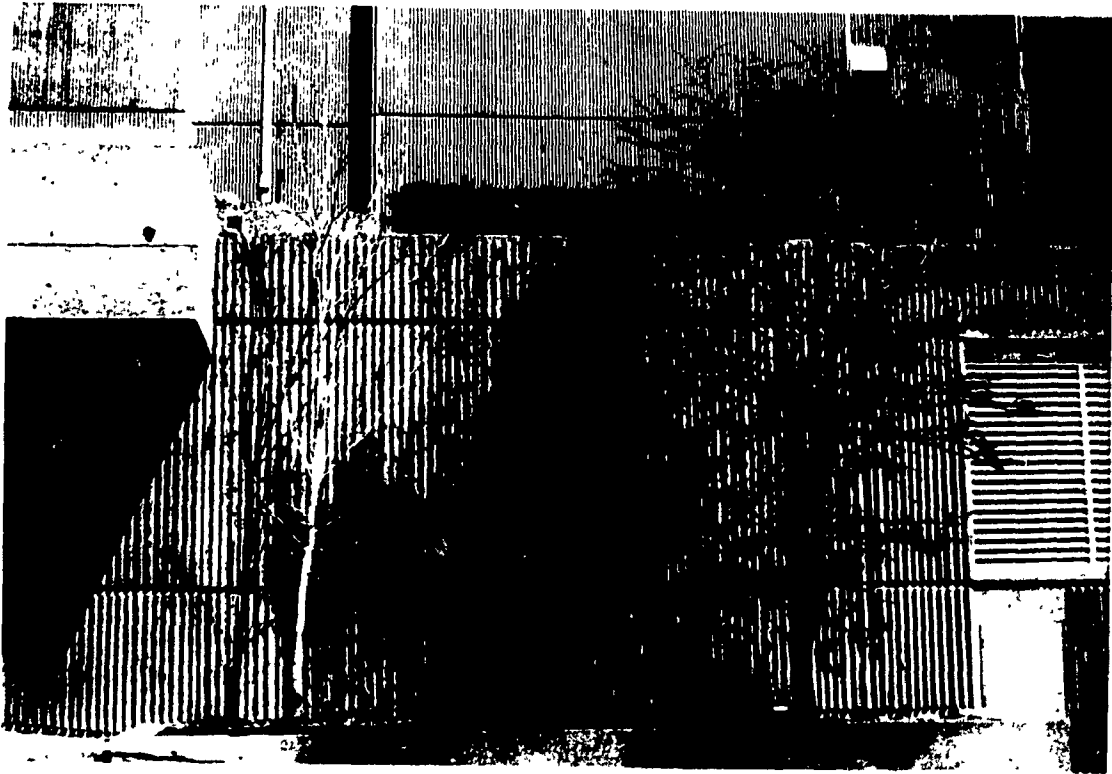


Figure 38. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Ribbed Concrete Façade, Detail, 1964-67. Photograph taken in 1993.



Figure 39. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, East Façade, 1964-67. Courtesy of Place Bonaventure Incorporated.

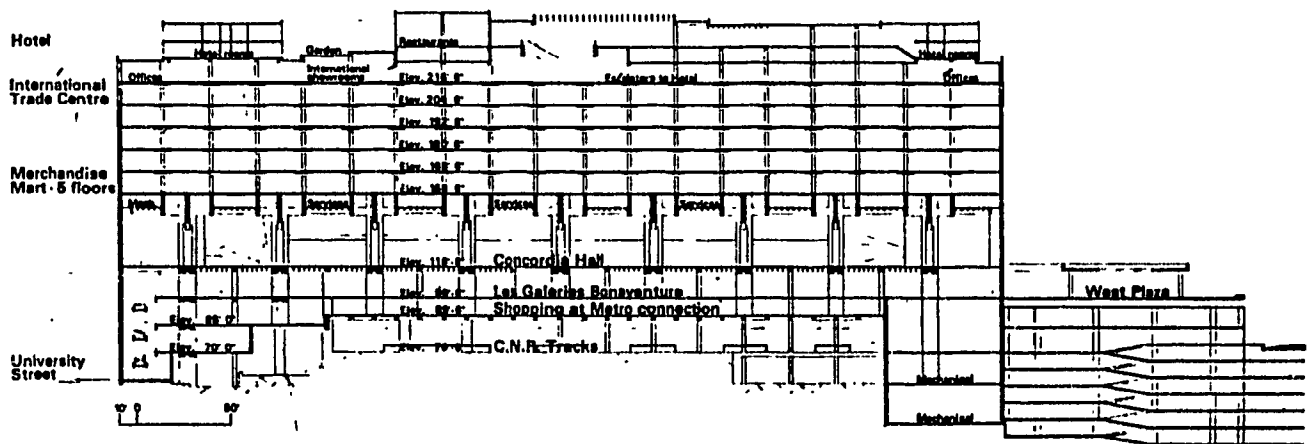


Figure 40. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Section Looking South, 1966.
ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

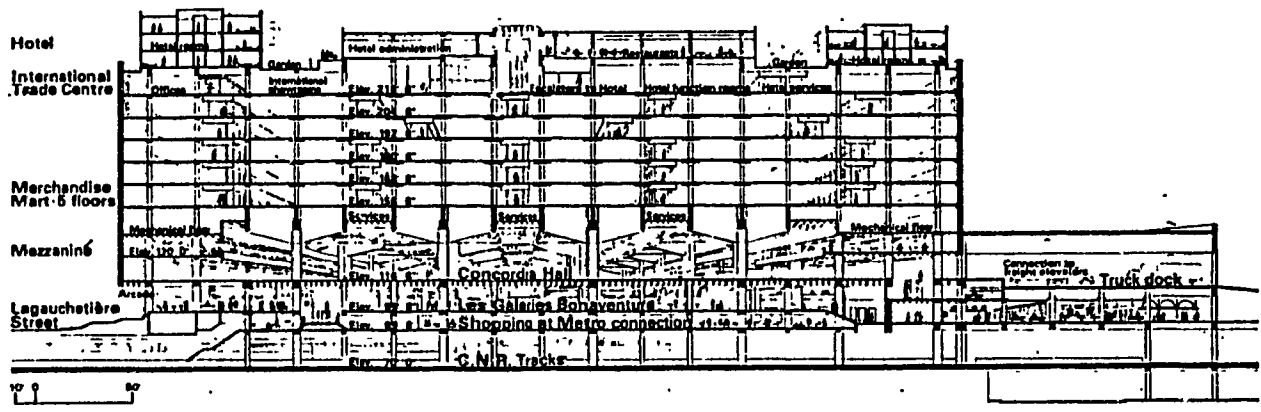


Figure 41. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Section Looking East, 1966.
ARCOP Archive, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

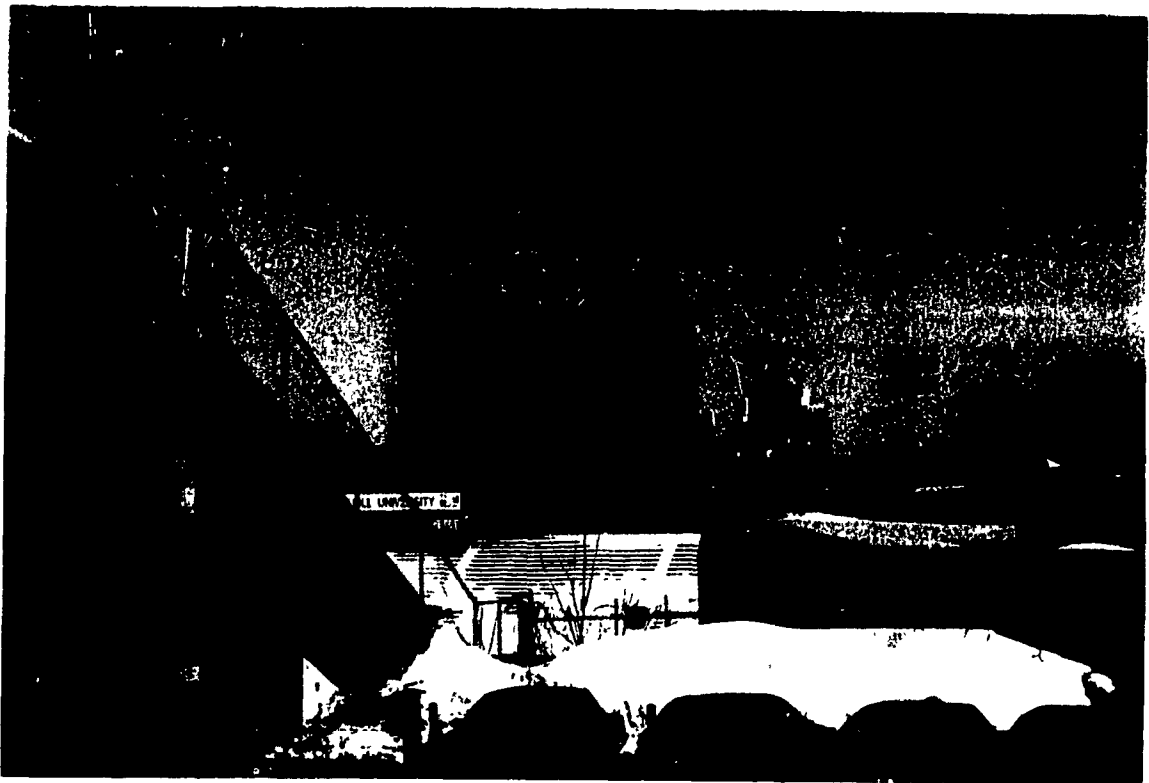


Figure 42. Les Architectes Vecsei, La Cité, completed in 1977. Photograph taken in 1994.

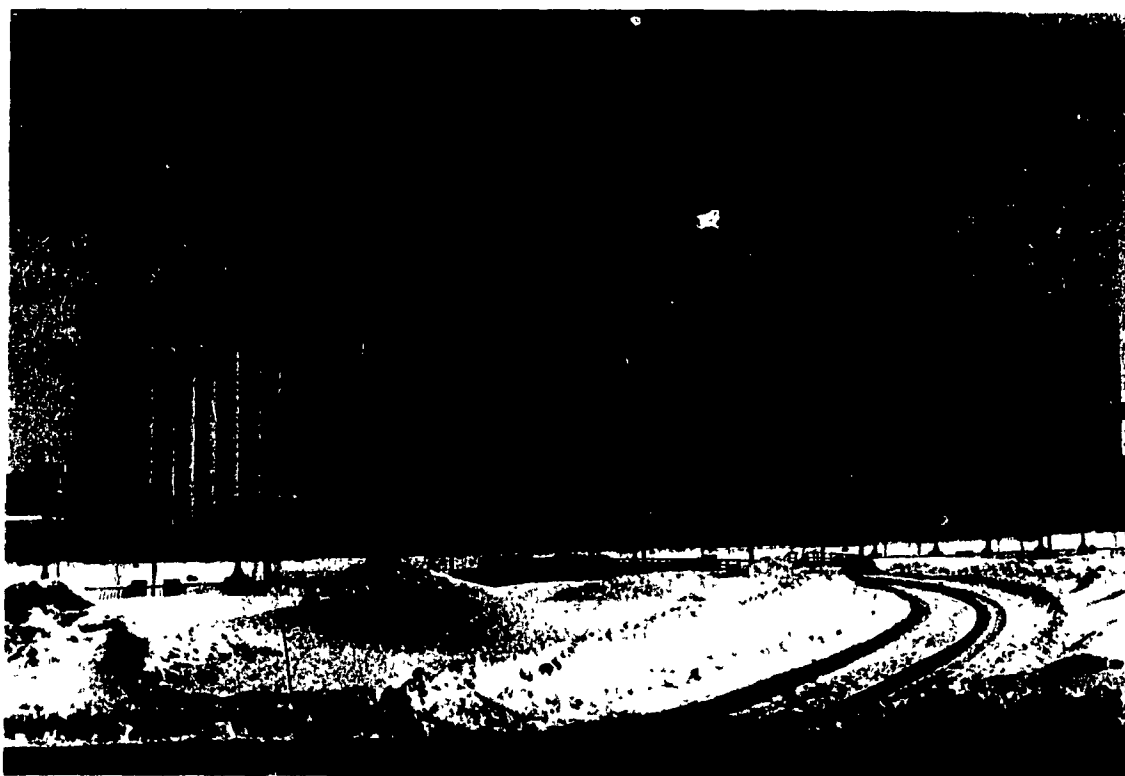


Figure 43. Grain Elevator no.5, Pointe du Moulin, Montreal, 1903-05.
Photograph taken in 1994.



Figure 44. William Footner, Bonsecours Market, South Façade, 1845-47.
Photograph taken in 1994.



Figure 45. William Footner, Bonsecours Market, North Façade, 1845-47.
Photograph taken in 1994.



Figure 46. La Société La Haye-Ouellet, Complexe Desjardins, 1972.
Courtesy of Place Desjardins Inc.

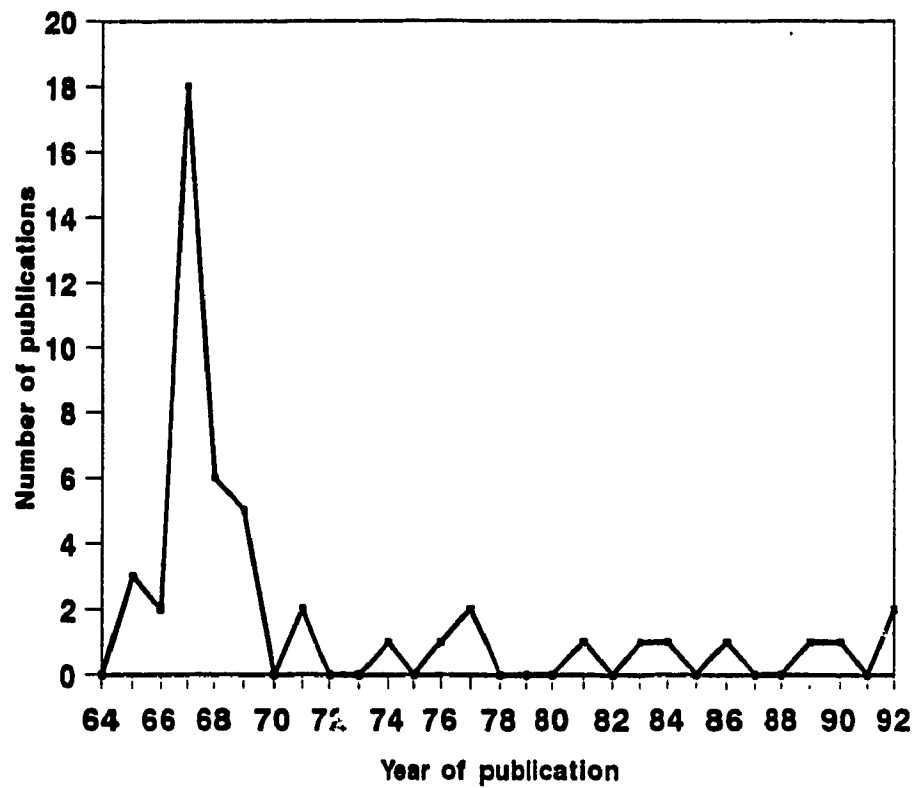


Figure 47. Selected sample of publications, from bibliography, by year addressing Place Bonaventure.



Figure 48. ARCOP, Place Bonaventure, Shopping Mall, Interior, 1964-67. Photograph taken ca. 1988. Taken from Place Bonaventure Exhibition Halls. Montreal: Place Bonaventure Inc.?, 1988. Courtesy of Place Bonaventure Incorporated.



Figure 49. Marketing Brochure, 1988. Taken from Place Bonaventure Exhibition Halls. Montreal: Place Bonaventure Inc.?, 1988. Courtesy of Place Bonaventure Incorporated.

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