

PRIX
MARTIN ELI WEIL
PRIZE 2015

CITIZENS, PROTECT YOUR PROPERTY: Perspectives on Public Health, Nationalism, and Class in St. John's Bowring Park, 1911-1930

> DUSTIN VALEN

DUSTIN VALEN is a doctoral student in architectural history at McGill University. His research focuses on the cultural history of landscape in pre-Confederation Newfoundland.

'Tis there in moonlight's calm, more pen-
sive hour, When virtues war with crime's
unfettered power, A purer light out-burns
life's little gains, For, there with nature, only
virtue reigns.¹

- Rose M. Green, "To Bowring Park,
St. John's Newfoundland."



FIG. 1. SIGNS IN BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

In 1914, signs were placed in Bowring Park that instructed citizens: "Protect Your Property"² (figs. 1-2). They reminded visitors that citizenry was a moral code whose membership implied conformance to middle-class values, and that Newfoundland's property was a vast reserve of natural resources worth protecting. In doing so, these signs also imbricated Bowring Park with a political mission to transform the island's economy by modernizing its landscape and people.

Although urban parks throughout North America have been the subjects of numerous studies—from sites of romantic naturalism to instruments for the prevention of urban disease, elite social control, and economic stimulus³—scholarship on Canada's urban parks does not reflect the diversity of these analyses.⁴ In particular, little attention has been paid to the reception and use of these spaces. This omission is troubling since recent findings have shown that a significant gap often existed between the intentions of civic reformers and the future actions of park users. These scholars also assert the agency of park users to alter the meaning and function of parks by resisting reformers' impositions.⁵ Taken together, these views highlight the importance of urban parks as settings for conflict



FIG. 2. SIGNS IN BOWRING PARK (DETAIL), C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

and reconciliation, and as spaces where numerous modern values were actively negotiated, including progress, nationhood, and class.

The aim of this essay is not to refute any of these earlier arguments (they are all more or less true in the case of Bowring Park). Rather, it hopes to show how the history of Canada's urban parks can be significantly enriched by engaging this diverse literature and its approaches. Moreover, Bowring Park makes a unique contribution to this scholarship by showing how reformers used artificial landscapes to promote the development of other natural resources. Landscape design in turn-of-the-century Newfoundland was prefigured by a desire for economic progress and change. By exhibiting the country's landscape as a progressive force, Bowring Park was designed to instruct citizens and foreigners about the potential wealth of Newfoundland's land-based resources and stimulate interest in the island's undeveloped interior.

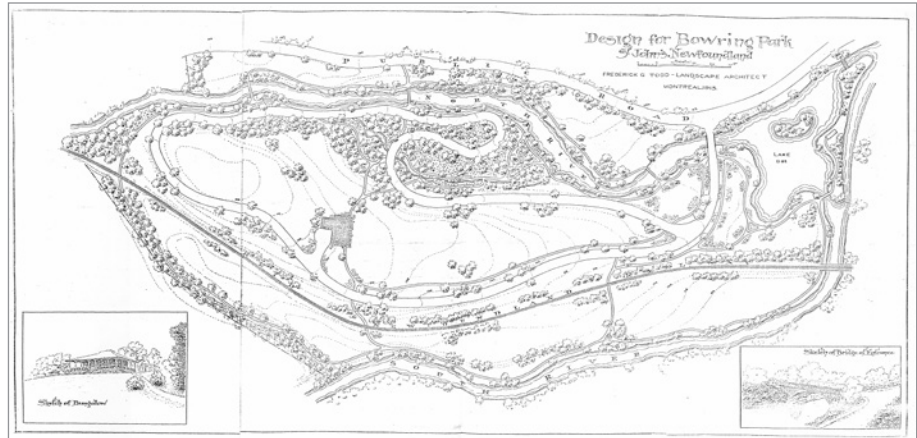


FIG. 3. FREDERICK G. TODD, DESIGN FOR BOWRING PARK, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND, 1913. | ST. JOHN'S, PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR.



FIG. 4. EDGAR RENNIE BOWRING AND THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AT THE OPENING OF BOWRING PARK, JULY 15, 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

THE CREATION OF BOWRING PARK

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a deep rift existed in Newfoundland's social and economic order as a result of longstanding practices in the fishery that helped concentrate the Colony's wealth in the hands of only a few.⁶ The Newfoundland Board of Trade even wrote to one prospective investor that, unlike in Canada or the United States, in

Newfoundland "there is no large middle class."⁷ In St. John's, where the Dominion's affluent were gathered, these inequalities were exacerbated for working-class individuals as a result of poor housing, inadequate sewerage and water supplies, and large tracts of urban slums.⁸ With a population of roughly thirty thousand, the seat of Newfoundland's government, and the country's principal port, St. John's was a busy commercial centre where



FIG. 5. SPECTATORS AT THE OPENING OF BOWRING PARK, JULY 15, 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.



FIG. 7. ARTIFICIAL FALLS, BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, CITY OF ST. JOHN'S ARCHIVES (01-18-056).

sharp divisions existed between the Dominion's political and merchant elite, and a far greater number of working-class citizens employed in the seasonal fishery and other trades.⁹ These disparities did not weigh on all minds equally. For those who could afford to, leisurely retreats around Quidi Vidi Lake or up Topsail Road provided welcome relief from the moral and sanitary offences of everyday urban life. In 1913, Newfoundland's governor

alluded to these privileged citizens and their exclusive pleasures. As rampant tuberculosis spread throughout the city, he recorded happily in his diary that "people [in St. John's] have the very best types of cars."¹⁰

It was in this context that Edgar Rennie Bowring, head of the powerful Bowring Brothers merchants in St. John's, decided that on the one hundredth anniversary

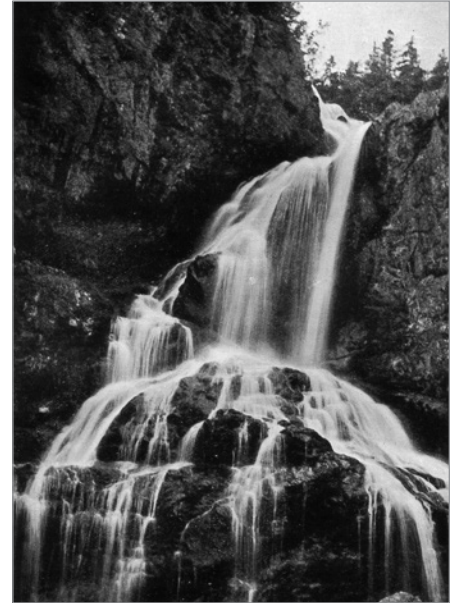


FIG. 6. CASCADE NEAR ST. PAUL'S. | FROM MCGRATH, PATRICK THOMAS, 1911, *NEWFOUNDLAND IN 1911*, LONDON, WHITEHEAD, MORRIS & CO.

of his firm in 1911 he would make a gift to the country in the form of a new public park. In contrast to the urban fray of St. John's, he decided, the new park would be located three miles outside of the city on a fertile plot of farmland nestled between two small rivers running through the Waterford Valley. Edgar Bowring announced that he would transfer the park to the city to conduct and manage it after personally overseeing its transformation.¹¹ In a special meeting of the St. John's Municipal Council held early in 1912, in front of the mayor, several parliamentary representatives, and Newfoundland's prime minister, Sir Edward Morris, a resolution was read aloud praising the future park as a monument to the Bowring firm.¹² Known formerly as Rae Island Farm, it would henceforth carry the name of its benefactor and be called Bowring Park.

During the same meeting the parliamentary representative for St. John's West, John R. Bennett, made an uncanny



FIG. 8. ARTIFICIAL RAPIDS, BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S CITY OF ST. JOHN'S ARCHIVES (01-18-064).

forecast by remarking how this generous gift was “possibly the forerunner of others.”¹³ Just nine days later, Council was forced to amend their resolution in order to thank both the Bowring Brothers and the Reid-Newfoundland Company. In the meantime, the Reids had announced their intention to gift a modern sanatorium to the city for the treatment of tuberculosis. They proposed to locate the new building adjacent to the new park. Praise for the Bowrings and Reids was unanimous. Taken together, Council declared, these two institutions dedicated to recreation and public health were evidence of a “new spirit among our men of wealth . . . likely to promote a greater spirit of brotherhood and mutual understanding amongst all classes of our people.”¹⁴ Soon after, Council received a letter from the Montreal-based landscape architect Frederick Gage Todd offering them his services and congratulating them on their recent gift. The letter was promptly forwarded to Edgar Bowring who commissioned Todd to prepare a design for the new park¹⁵ (fig. 3).



FIG. 9. FOREST NEAR GRAND FALLS. | FROM MCGRATH, PATRICK THOMAS, 1911, *NEWFOUNDLAND IN 1911*, LONDON, WHITEHEAD, MORRIS & CO.

Two years later, Council secretary, John Slattery, described the future park to an eagerly awaiting public. “For a number of years past,” he wrote, “much difficulty has been found in having a place that would embrace the country aspect without entailing much cost for transportation . . . where they [the public] will get the benefit of the fresh air and the sunshine all the time.” He praised the park’s attractive features and the artistry of its design, cautioning future visitors to “cherish it well, and see that it will be a resort only for proper recreation and pleasure.”¹⁶ In July 1914, Bowring Park was officially opened before a crowd of some 4000 onlookers (figs. 4-5). Presided over by the Duke of Connaught, at the ceremony’s conclusion the deed to the park was gifted to the city by Edgar Bowring, and the rest—so it goes—is history. In the words of one St. John’s historian: “In the western suburbs beyond Victoria Park a beauty spot named Bowring Park was laid out in 1911, rather like an English public garden . . . a botanical haven containing many hundreds of species of trees, shrubs and flowers.”¹⁷

Straightforward as this version of events might seem, however, several questions cast some doubt on its veracity. Why,

for instance, did a modestly sized, fifty-acre park located three miles outside of St. John’s garner the interest of the Dominion’s government and its prime minister? What had caused the Bowrings and Reids to be become simultaneously philanthropic toward the country? And how was this gift really received (as Council had claimed) by “all classes of our people”?

PUBLIC HEALTH

As if to cast some doubt on the priority of park building in St. John’s, just two days after Council’s meeting to discuss the gift of Bowring Park, the city’s sanitary supervisor delivered a disheartening report. He urged Council to address the deplorable condition of the city stables, to reduce the use of night carts by creating more water and sewerage connections, and noted the many “depredations” committed by goats and dogs.¹⁸ The consequences of these deficiencies had been severe. In a report published in 1902, the tuberculosis expert, Dr. James Sinclair Tait, had referred to the high death rate from consumption in St. John’s as “nothing less than alarming and disgraceful,” and called for “immediate inquiry and prompt measures of reform.”¹⁹ Admonishing as it was, Tait’s



FIG. 10. SHADOW BRIDGE, BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

report might have remained incidental were it not for the fact that *Good Health* magazine—the mouthpiece of physician, showman, and health promoter John Harvey Kellogg—printed an article in 1910 slandering the Dominion's primary export commodity. The article linked an appetite for Newfoundland's codfish with an elevated risk of contracting tuberculosis. It described in gruesome detail how men and women who—the author claimed—were almost all consumptives prepared the codfish amid filth and foul air while expectorating freely over their product and its environs. "These close observations have given good ground for the belief that codfish may possibly be infected with tubercle germs . . . one who has witnessed the methods of packing codfish and preparing them for the market will never again taste of this article of food."²⁰ The article was far beyond embarrassing for St. John's fish merchants; it risked becoming a severe financial burden. In the ensuing scandal, the Board of Trade wrote despairingly to the Prime Minister that if word spread, the results would be disastrous, urging the government to quietly "mitigate the condition of affairs."²¹ Springing into action, Morris had two hundred copies of the article circulate among St. John's principal fish dealers (including the Bowrings

and the Reids) along with a private and confidential letter expressing the Board's concern.²²

In St. John's, a new park and sanatorium were just what the doctor ordered. Echoing landscape designers like Todd who championed the ability of parks to cure ailments of the lungs,²³ Tait's report had called for sanitation, pure fresh air, sunshine, and exercise to combat tuberculosis in St. John's. "How is it that . . . 'England's oldest colony,'" he chastised civic leaders, "has not to-day one single public institution wherein to receive a poor, wretched, dying consumptive, and thus relieve his miseries, and remove him as a centre of infection to others?"²⁴

For Newfoundland's political and merchant elite, public health was seen as an economic priority, and outdoor recreation as an effective way of preventing urban disease.²⁵ Nor were the Bowrings and Reids disinterested in the daily affairs of St. John's. Both companies appeared regularly on the city's payroll. In addition to operating the Dominion's recently completed railway line, the Reid-Co. held contracts with the city to provide electric lighting, sprinklering, and streetcar tracks.²⁶ Even after the gift of the park

was announced, the practical benefits to be derived from its undertaking were not lost on Edgar Bowring. In 1912, Morris selected him as Newfoundland's representative on a Royal Commission to investigate the natural resources and trade within the Empire.²⁷ That same year, he lobbied Council as a representative of the St. John's Gas Light Company to repeal their annual gas tax, citing the company's diminishing profits as a result of electrification.²⁸ Two days later, with his request still under consideration, he asked Council to visit Bowring Park and see the work in progress, touring them around the grounds and reminding them that it would be "one of the most up to date parks in the world."²⁹ Soon afterward the four-hundred-dollar gas tax was repealed.

NATIONALISM

Efforts to improve public health in Newfoundland were just one facet of a political program that aimed to modernize the Dominion's economic and social affairs. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Newfoundland's political leaders had pursued landward industrialization in an effort to diversify the country's maritime economy.³⁰ Their efforts were spurred on by the expansion of iron-ore mining at Bell Island, the completion of a railway linking western and eastern shores that gave access to the island's undeveloped interior, and a new pulp and paper mill and inland city at Grand Falls. Unlike the fishery which had been wracked by unstable market prices and fluctuating catches since the nineteenth century, Newfoundland's landscape was heralded as a promising new source of labour, industry, and tourism. In his polemical book *Newfoundland in 1911*, the former-journalist-turned-political-propagandist Patrick Thomas McGrath declared that a "modern and progressive era" had begun



FIG. 11. EXCAVATING THE LAKE AT BOWRING PARK, C. 1913. | ST. JOHN'S, CITY OF ST. JOHN'S ARCHIVES (01-18-018).



FIG. 12. WORKING ON THE ROADWAY AT BOWRING PARK, C. 1912. | ST. JOHN'S, CITY OF ST. JOHN'S ARCHIVES (01-18-017).

in Newfoundland.³¹ Anticipating that capitalists would flock from the Old World to the New, he triumphantly eulogized the moment:

[Newfoundland's] winter is now over and gone, and the cheering summer is with the people at last; the voice of the locomotive is heard in the solitudes of the interior; the unknown wilderness has proved to be a fair territory, with mighty forests, smiling plains, rich mineral treasures, and scenery unexcelled in this beautiful world.³²

At a time when the country's landscape was being promoted on an unprecedented scale, the transformation of one fertile plot of farmland on the outskirts of St. John's into a flagship park was also an opportunity to help reify this nationalist agenda. For residents of St. John's who were far removed from the island's forested interior, the park was testimony to Newfoundland's abundant, land-based resources, healthful climate, and leisurely attractions. Images of the park were another kind of proof. They were used by reformers to promote the island's interior to foreign investors and tourists.

Mirroring the island's picturesque interior illustrated by McGrath, the landscape at Bowring Park was remade to accord with an idealized image of nature formed in the minds of the Dominion's political elite. The park was crisscrossed with walkways and bridges designed to reveal touristic views; two streams bordering the park were transformed into a series of artificial waterfalls and gushing rapids that recalled the country's potential for water power (fig. 6-8); a dam was constructed to fill the newly excavated lake and a series of shady pools that resembled the island's best fishing places; and rustic timber bridges and furniture evoked the abundant virgin forests that supplied the country's new paper mill, disproving—as McGrath had claimed—rumours of a country “covered with snow and ice and devoid of forest growth” (fig. 9-10). Even the diagonal timber fences at Bowring seemed to recall McGrath's description of the vanished Beothuk Indians who hunted caribou across Newfoundland by felling trees, “their branches being then interlaced in such a fashion as made it impossible for the deer to escape.”³⁴

Upward of eighty men worked for over two years to transform the site into a pristine park with lush vegetation and gravel roadways (fig. 11-12). By 1923, when the park was officially turned over to the municipality, Sir Edgar Bowring's (he was knighted in 1915) gift had cost him nearly one hundred and sixty thousand dollars to complete.³⁵ Testament to this transformation, in 1914 Morris praised the “the magic wand of the donors, and the artists working under them . . . for the metamorphosis that has taken place.”³⁶

Just as McGrath had forecast the island's attraction as a sportsman's paradise with hundreds of streams “that have never wet a line” and where “anybody with the slightest knowledge of woodcraft” could kill caribou, Bowring Park became a showcase for the Dominion's abundant and edible fauna.³⁷ In 1913, two tame caribou—a doe and a stag—were taken from the island's interior and released in the hopes that they would soon populate the area.³⁸ At a Methodist College garden party in 1921, visitors could try their hand at a recently stocked salmon pool.³⁹ And in 1927, a seal was even briefly placed in the park until

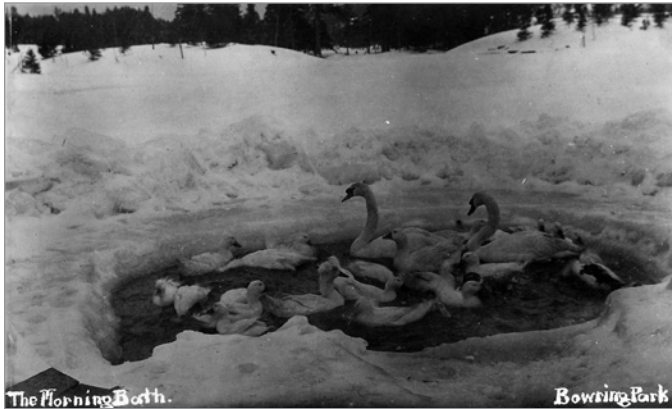


FIG. 13. THE MORNING BATH, BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.



FIG. 14. MOTOR CAR IN BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

its enclosure was destroyed by a violent storm.⁴⁰ Ironically, it was the creatures and not the visitors who objected to this ersatz wilderness. Not long after its opening, three of the park's resident swans promptly escaped—owing, perhaps, to the fact that a bath for the animals had to be cut through the ice and snow that covered the lake each winter⁴¹ (fig. 13).

It was Morris who proclaimed in 1909 that Newfoundland's "procession of progress" was to be accomplished, in part, by "advertising and publicity." "A country," he declared, "like a business, has to be made known."⁴² Images of Bowring Park were soon pervasive. Local studios made postcards and souvenir albums featuring scenes inside the park.⁴³ A film was made and screened at the local Nickel Theater.⁴⁴ Photographs of the park also began to appear in promotional literature aimed at investors and tourists from abroad. Shown alongside images of Newfoundland's land-based industries and scenic views of the island's interior, Bowring Park helped advertise Newfoundland's landscape as a resource that could be exploited for profit and for pleasure. A Newfoundland Railway folder touting the island's "vast natural

resources" and "ideal climate"⁴⁵ included scenes from the park alongside views of salmon fishing in the interior, the mountainous western shore, and a new pulp and paper mill. Tourist folders and foreign articles often carried descriptions of the park and its features. One folder claimed that tourists had pronounced the park to be "the most beautiful natural park on the American continent."⁴⁶ Elsewhere, images of the park helped refute rumours that Newfoundland was nothing but "wintry wastes, and great drifting icebergs."⁴⁷ The fact that it was an artificial landscape was soon forgotten. Foreign newspapers described it as "entirely natural" and an ideal resort for motorists.⁴⁸ To the presumed delight of reformers, in 1929 the park's superintendent reported that tourists often expressed amazement at the park's natural beauty, "as one hears time and again opinions expressed about the lack of artificial aid."⁴⁹

As a result of a political mission to diversify the country's economy, Newfoundlanders, after centuries of taking their livelihood from the sea, were pressed to make an about-face and to look upon the landscape for their future. In Bowring Park

signs reinforced this revolutionary urge, but they extended its meaning as well. The park was designed to reform the Dominion's people as well by teaching them progressive and modern behaviour.

Speaking at the park's opening ceremony in 1914, Edgar Bowring directed visitors' attention to the signs placed in different parts of the park viz.: "CITIZENS PROTECT YOUR PROPERTY." He emphasized how stewardship of this landscape was a public responsibility, explaining further that completing and maintaining it depended entirely on public support.⁵⁰ In actual fact, it would be almost a decade before he relinquished control of the park. Even though his initial gift had more than tripled in value by 1923, Sir Edgar seemed reluctant to transfer control of the park to municipal authorities. Sceptical, perhaps, of Council's ability to maintain the park's high standard, Sir Edgar specified in the deed of transfer that a sufficient sum must be allocated to properly maintain the park, and that three members of the Board of Trade serve on a committee charged with overseeing the park's affairs.⁵¹ One of the committee members was even required to be a director of



FIG. 15. PLEASURE SEEKERS, BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, CITY OF ST. JOHN'S ARCHIVES (01-18-069).

the Bowring firm, a position Sir Edgar assumed in 1923 when the Board of Trade nominated him to the first Bowring Park Committee.⁵²

His concerns were not unfounded. Even at just fifty acres, the cost of maintaining Bowring Park presented a considerable problem for the city, that is, raise an additional ten thousand dollars each year. This figure instantly doubled the city's annual budget for parks, open spaces, and swimming pools. Quite another matter was securing the talents of Alfred E. Canning, a skilled horticulturalist and gardener who had served as superintendent of Bowring Park under Edgar Bowring since 1917. In a letter to Council in 1923, Canning offered his services for the princely sum of two thousand and four hundred dollars per year.⁵³ Indignant at Council's counteroffer which amounted to just two-thirds of his asking price, Canning declined the position at first but then accepted Council's terms with the understanding that a better arrangement would be made the following year.⁵⁴ As a result of these mounting financial burdens, in 1925 Council asked the Government to contribute five thousand dollars annually

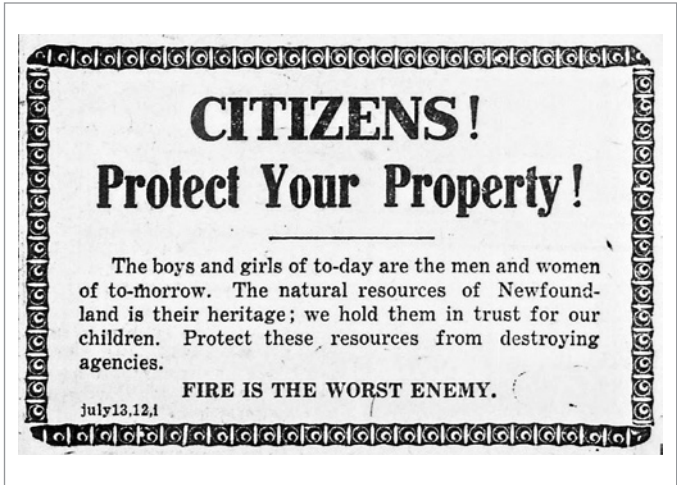
toward the upkeep of the park. In a carefully worded letter they plied the fervour of Newfoundland's spirited reformers by reminding them that Bowring Park was "a great attraction to visitors from abroad."⁵⁵ The Government agreed. They offered to share in the park's maintenance and stated in no uncertain terms that "Bowring Park is more or less a national as well as a City matter."⁵⁶

CLASS CONFLICT

For most working-class citizens of St. John's, however, for whom the Dominion's economic reform and the enticement of foreign capital were—at best—distant concerns, building and maintaining an expensive park three miles outside of the city invited criticism and, in the minds of some, marred the generosity of its benefactor. As early as 1902, John Slattery (future Council secretary) had argued for the expansion of St. John's park system with a view to providing more "breathing spaces" and recreation for the city's growing population.⁵⁷ With only two small urban parks serving the entire city (Victoria Park on the west and the more centrally located

Bannerman Park), Slattery called for the construction of a new park and suggested that a piece of land along the Waterford Bridge Valley would be an ideal spot for this new enterprise. However, beneath his appeal for the safety of children condemned to play in the streets and the health-inducing vigour of sport was a thinly veiled critique of St. John's working class. He complained that small boys attended park concerts "with the express command to conduct themselves in the most noisy way possible," and called for better lighting in both city parks and policemen to help maintain order there.⁵⁸ In 1912, the Prime Minister reiterated these feelings. Describing ruefully how "one million dollars was expended on drink [in the previous] year and nearly the same on tobacco," Morris hoped that Sunday picnics and family outings to Bowring Park would soon displace these other working-class pastimes.⁵⁹

Accusations of elitism soon enveloped the future park. Despite the Prime Minister's insistence that no other philanthropic work was better suited to the needs of the poor and working class, "the man without the motor car and the carriage and pair,"⁶⁰ one

FIG. 16. ADVERTISEMENT, *EVENING TELEGRAM*, 1925. | ST. JOHN'S, DIGITAL ARCHIVES, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

labourer questioned the “absurd” plan to rent houses across from the park for \$120 to \$150 per annum and to extend street-car tracks in that direction, asking: “what labouring man in St. John’s can afford to pay that sum, not including car fares [. . . and] how many laboring men would walk all the way . . . if they had daily work to perform?”⁶¹ These concerns were amplified after 1916 when increasingly heavy traffic to and from the park sparked complaints against motorists whose trailing clouds of dust made walking there a vexing experience.⁶² By 1923, motor traffic in Bowring Park was so heavy that the roads were becoming ruined.⁶³ The following year the Newfoundland Motor Association issued a plea to drivers to refrain from visiting the park on Sundays and holidays for the sake of those citizens “deluged with dust” and “splattered with mud.”⁶⁴ Despite frequent complaints about motorists ignoring speed limits and harassing pedestrians, a motion to ban vehicles from the park on Sundays was not passed until 1931.⁶⁵

Methods of travelling to and from Bowring Park quickly multiplied as the site gradually gained in popularity for Sunday and holiday outings. In the spring of 1913, motorbuses began making daily trips to and from St. John’s for a fare of just ten cents.⁶⁶ Excursion trains conveyed upward of two hundred and fifty passengers to and from the park six times a day⁶⁷ (fig. 15). Beginning in 1916, a special Jitney train service carrying five hundred passengers each trip was added on weekends and holidays, with the result that the park’s weekend attendance quickly climbed into the thousands.⁶⁸ For the city’s well-to-do or for those visitors who could afford to travel by taxi, Bowring Park became a favourite driving spot and a fashionable wedding destination.

As a venue shared between St. John’s economic elite and its more populous

working class, Bowring Park invited conflict as well. One local newspaper complained in 1914 that “for the one man who can afford a cab to take his family there, there are fifty who cannot, and for the man who can afford the bus or railway fare there are twenty who cannot,” asking: “why should we pay our badly needed money for the upkeep of a Park that is of advantage to such a limited number of people, and people too, who in any case can afford to drive or pay to get in the country when they want to?”⁶⁹ Others argued that the park provided “an opportunity to the average working man to have at least one day’s outing with his wife and little ones, that otherwise would be beyond his slender purse.”⁷⁰ However, even at just ten cents each way, the cost of visiting Bowring Park was prohibitive for many. For labourers employed in building the park who typically earned fifteen cents per hour (seven to ten dollars over the course of a six-day work week), the price of conveying a family of four to Bowring Park by coach or bus would have represented nearly an entire day’s wage, and a return trip by taxi almost half a week’s wage.⁷¹ Judging from a series of advertisements for objects lost in the park shortly after its opening, including such niceties as gold and silver jewellery, a pearl tie pin, sable cape, fur clothing, and a silk scarf, Bowring Park was a privileged retreat for those of sufficient means.

If citizens who could afford to visit the park by automobile were scorned by social critics, however, complaints levelled at the working class who made their way to the park in increasingly large numbers were equally systematic. Despite Council’s optimistic assessment that a “love of law and order are traditions which lie deep in the hearts of our people,” Alfred Canning’s first act as superintendent was to submit a list of rules governing

polite conduct in the park that had been enforced by Edgar Bowring.⁷² Fearing, perhaps, that this modest list was insufficient guidance for St. John’s law-admiring citizens, Council adopted a more extensive set of rules and regulations that same year. Administering freely over the behaviour of park users, the new rules guarded against the destruction of flowers and shrubs, restricted the use of the park to the hours between seven in the morning and ten in the evening, and banned profane language, intoxicating liquors, and any sort of behaviour “calculated to give annoyance.”⁷³ Maximum fines for infractions were set at fifty dollars, or, in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding sixty days. And although a motion to ban motor vehicles from the park was defeated by a vote of four to two, a special clause was included to reward people who volunteered information about incidents of rule-breaking with half the amount of the fine.⁷⁴ Amended in 1926 and again in 1930, the park’s rules soon swelled to over three pages.⁷⁵

Justice was meted out swiftly to those caught breaking the rules. Vagrants were arrested and carted away, and those under the influence of liquor or not properly garbed while swimming received summons. Two women caught picking flowers were arraigned in court and fined a dollar each, and one man caught carving his name on a rustic seat was given the choice of paying five dollars or spending fourteen days in lockup.⁷⁶ Although incidents of vandalism were relatively scarce, newspapers incited fear in park visitors and gave new meaning to the phrase “Protect Your Property” by claiming that the theft of food and clothing in Bowring Park had become “systematic.”⁷⁷ One visitor complained that the park’s signs were not being heeded after witnessing a child sweeping a pathway with the severed limb of a rose bush.⁷⁸ In 1926,



FIG. 17. BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.



FIG. 18. THE LAKE, BOWRING PARK, C. 1914. | ST. JOHN'S, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

the park committee was horrified to learn that inmates from the nearby Hospital for the Insane were frequenting the park. These “unfortunate people” were soon barred from using the park’s grounds.⁷⁹ To the chagrin of outraged park users who called on civic authorities to clear out these “undesirables” and put a stop to the “unseemly conduct of hooligans and bums,” the park’s slogan was used by reformers to reinforce nationalist sentiment instead.⁸⁰ Appearing beneath the park’s familiar directive, a series of advertisements cautioned travellers visiting Newfoundland’s interior to help protect the island’s resources from destruction by forest fire⁸¹ (fig. 16).

Despite regular harassment by St. John’s moral crusaders, for working-class visitors the park’s popularity remained undiminished. By 1926, Alfred Canning estimated that in a single year, over one hundred thousand visitors had entered the park’s gates, only a fifth of whom had arrived by private motor or horse-drawn vehicles.⁸² Popular entertainments like band concerts, picnics, garden parties, and boating on the lake drew large crowds to the park. Swimming was another attraction. Owing

to its immense popularity, the swimming pool was enlarged in 1921 and free bathing garments were distributed to visitors. This was followed by the addition of gravel tennis courts in 1926. During the winter the park was used for sliding, skiing, and skating. However, all attractions paled in comparison to the Bowring Park playground. Opened in 1925, swings and slides were an immediate favourite among children, even after the addition of a playground superintendent in 1926 to ensure that St. John’s youngest citizens observed proper comportment while in the park.⁸³ For his part, Edgar Bowring continued to lavish gifts on the park and uphold its world-class image. Several monuments were added at his expense and, after 1930, he privately paid for a fourth tennis court, new playground equipment, and new boats for the lake.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

“To say that human landscape is a complex document is a cosmic understatement,” historian and geographer Peirce Lewis reminds us, adding: “in any landscape, a variety of readings is not only possible, but inevitable and

even necessary.”⁸⁵ Employed variously as a means to improve public health, exhibit Newfoundland’s national policy, and preserve moral values, Bowring Park highlights the critical role of landscape in shaping Newfoundland’s twentieth-century heritage and modernity. Whereas historians have often pointed to the perceived loss of wilderness in many industrialized nations as motivation for establishing and protecting new parks,⁸⁶ in Newfoundland reformers used landscape design to catalyze industrial development across the island. By embodying the image of this new resource frontier and its future promises, Bowring Park presented an argument for the exploitation of Newfoundland’s wilderness, not its preservation. Secondly, Bowring Park reminds us that Canada’s urban parks are also complex social sites whose meaning and function are being continually shaped by the people who use them and the actions that take place there. In addition to reflecting social and economic tensions between Newfoundland’s merchant and labouring classes, Bowring Park provided a setting where these inequalities could be contested, and in some cases even changed.

Taken together, these different readings underscore an appreciation of Bowring Park for its role in promoting landscape as a cultural force in pre-Confederation Newfoundland.

NOTES

- Greene, Rose M., 1913, "To Bowring Park, St. John's Newfoundland," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 2, p. 28.
- This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in the form of a Canada Graduate Scholarship. Further assistance was provided by the Landscape Architecture Canada Foundation, and the Fondation communautaire du Grand Québec in the form of a 2008 Cultural Heritage Grant. I would like to thank Robert Mellin and Annmarie Adams for their helpful remarks, as well as Heather Braiden, Tanya Southcott, and Frederika Eilers who commented on an earlier version of this paper read at the Universities Art Association of Canada Conference in Toronto, in October 2014.
- Romanticism, transcendentalism, and an artistic approach to landscape design pervade earlier descriptions of Canada's foremost park planners. See: Murray, A.L., 1967, "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Design of Mount Royal Park, Montreal," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 26, no. 3, p. 163-171; Bellman, David, 1977, "Frederick Law Olmsted and a Plan for Mount Royal Park," *Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review (RACAR)*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 531-543; Jacobs, Peter, 1983, "Frederick G. Todd and the Creation of Canada's Urban Landscape," *APT Bulletin*, vol. 15, no. 4, p. 27-34. For a social and moral reform thesis applied to parks, see: Blodgett, Geoffrey, 1976, "Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 62, no. 4, p. 869-889; Starr, Roger, 1984, "The Motive Behind Olmsted's Park," *Public Interest*, no. 74, p. 66-76; Taylor, Dorceta E., 1999, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control: Urban Parks, Social Class and Leisure Behaviour in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Leisure Research*, vol. 31, no. 4, p. 420-477. On the economic incentive of park planning, see: Crompton, John L., 2007, "The Role of the Proximate Principle in the Emergence of Urban Parks in the United Kingdom and in the United States," *Leisure Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2, p. 213-234; Howell, Ocean, 2008, "Play Pays: Urban Land Politics and Playgrounds in the United States, 1900-1930," *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 34, no. 6, p. 961-994.
- The development of Canada's urban parks is often explained as an adaptation of various British- and American-inspired parks and recreation movements. Typically, these studies emphasize the artistic goals of landscape designers and the economic goals of civic-minded reformers. See: McKee, William C., 1979, "The Vancouver Park System, 1886-1929: A Product of Local Businessmen," *Urban History Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 33-49; Cavett, Mary Ellen, H. John Selwood and John C. Lehr, 1982, "Social Philosophy and the Early Development of Winnipeg's Public Parks," *Urban History Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 27-39; Rees, Ronald, 1983, "Wascana Centre: A Metaphor for Prairie Settlement," *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 219-232; Gordon, David L.A., 2002, "Frederick G. Todd and the Origins of the Park System in Canada's Capital," *Journal of Planning History*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 29-57; Williams, Ron, 2014, *Landscape Architecture in Canada*, Montreal-Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press. Some notable exceptions include Robert McDonald's discussion of divergent attitudes among Vancouver's middle and labouring classes over that city's park system, and Sarah Schmidt's exploration of Montreal's nineteenth-century parks as domestic enclaves inscribed with gender, class, and race specific definitions of acceptable behaviour. McDonald, Robert A.J., 1984, "'Holy Retreat or 'Practical Breathing Spot'?": Class Perceptions of Vancouver's Stanley Park, 1910-1913," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXV, no. 2, p. 127-153; Schmidt, Sarah, 1998, "'Private' Acts in 'Public' Spaces: Parks in Turn-of-the-Century Montreal," in Tamara Myers, Kate Boyer, Mary Anne Pontanen, and Steven Watt (eds.), *Power, Place and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec*, Montreal, Montreal History Group, p. 129-149.
- On the agency of park users, see: Rosenzweig, Roy, 1979, "Middle-Class Parks and Working-Class Play: The Struggle Over Recreational Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910," *Radical History Review*, no. 21, p. 31-46; Hardy, Stephen, 1980, "Parks for the People: Reforming the Boston Park System, 1870-1915," *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 5-24; Cranz, Galen, 1982, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America*, Cambridge, The MIT Press; Rosenzweig, Roy and Elizabeth Blackmar, 1998, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press; Lambert, David, 2007, "Rituals of Transgression in Public Parks in Britain, 1846 to the Present," in Michel Conan (ed.), *Performance and Appropriation: Profane Rituals in Gardens and Landscapes*, Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks, p. 195-210.
- Newfoundland became a self-governing colony after 1855 and a British Dominion after 1907. It did not confederate with Canada until 1949. At the beginning of the twentieth century, inequalities between fishers and Newfoundland's merchant class were engrained in the Dominion's society and politics. Called a "fishocracy" by its contemporaries, fishers obtained supplies from merchants at the beginning of each season on credit against their future catch. Merchants were then able to maximize their profits by manipulating the price of these goods at the end of each season with the result that fishers often remained indebted to them. Neiss, Barbara, 1981, "Competitive Merchants and Class Struggle in Newfoundland," *Studies in Political Economy*, no. 5, p. 127-143; Alexander, David, 1974, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland, 1880-1970," *Acadiensis*, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 3-31.
- Newfoundland Board of Trade to A.H. Vincent, January 12, 1912, Box 73, Newfoundland Board of Trade fonds, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (hereafter NBTF and PANL). This situation was less true in St. John's where a variety of service occupations and trades existed, and where a moderate level of manufacturing also took place.
- The worst of which were the centrally located tenements quickly erected in the aftermath of the Great Fire of 1892. Baker, Melvin, 1982, "Municipal Politics and Public Housing in St. John's, 1911-1921," in Melvin Baker, Robert Cuff and Bill Gillespie, *Workingmen's St. John's: Aspects of Social History in the Early 1900s*, St. John's, Harry Cuff, p. 29-43.
- At the beginning of the twentieth century, a full two-thirds of Newfoundland's labour force was engaged in the fishery. Alexander, David, 1980, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," in James Hiller and Peter Neary (eds.), *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 17-39.
- The governor travelled in an elite circle of wealthy merchants and politicians, including the Bowrings and the Reids. Davidson, Walter, *Diary*, June 29, 1913, Walter Edward Davidson fonds, PANL.

11. Minutes of the St. John's Municipal Council (hereafter MSJMC), January 15, 1912, City of St. John's Archives (hereafter CSJA).
12. MSJMC, January 17, 1912, CSJA.
13. *Id.*
14. The Reid gift totalled \$50,000 (the same amount which had been proposed by Edgar Bowring). It included funds to erect and equip a modern sanatorium in St. John's and sixteen sanatoria in outport districts. MSJMC, January 26, 1912, CSJA.
15. Todd's interest in the future park was apparently unsolicited. After drafting the original plan for Bowring Park, Todd entrusted its realization to the Dutch landscape designer Rudolph Cochius who remained in St. John's to oversee its construction. MSJMC, February 2, 1912, CSJA. For more on Todd, see Jacobs, *op. cit.*
16. Slattery, John L., 1913, "The Bowring Park – Rae Island," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 10-11.
17. O'Neill, Paul, 2008 [2nd ed.], *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland*, Portugal Cove–St. Philip's, Newfoundland, Boulder, p. 492-494.
18. MSJMC, January 19, 1912, CSJA.
19. Tait, J. Sinclair, 1902, *Tuberculosis*, St. John's, G.S. Milligan Jr., p. 52.
20. Kellogg, John Harvey, 1910, "Consumption from Fish – a New Source of Tuberculosis Infection," *Good Health*, vol. 45, no. 2, p. 103-105. Kellogg's article quoted at length from Koch, Flex, November 1909, "How America Supplies the World with Fish," *National Food Magazine: What To Eat and How To Live*, vol. 27, p. 295-299.
21. Newfoundland Board of Trade to Edward P. Morris, March 3, 1910, Box 72, NBTF-PANL.
22. Minutes of the Newfoundland Board of Trade, March 23, 1910, "Minute Book, Mar. 1909 - Oct. 1910", Box 71, NBTF-PANL. He also appointed a commission on public health to investigate the colony's affairs. The Commission's report in 1911 stressed the need for prevention, better housing in St. John's, and recommended an anti-spitting law. Report of the Commission of Public Health for 1911, File GN 8.47, Box 5, Edward Patrick Morris sous fonds, PANL. It was not unusual for civic leaders to petition the city's merchants and industrialists for philanthropic aid. At a meeting in 1911 to address the housing crisis, the Government and Council decided that the best course of action was to encourage the city's industrial concerns to build "up-to-date model working-men's houses." MSJMC, September 18, 1911, CSJA.
23. Todd, Frederick G., 1905, "Character in Park Design," *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 18, no. 9, p. 135.
24. Tait : 57. Even the venerable Edgar Bowring's health was fast deteriorating; he was depressed, emaciated, and prone to illness (including abdominal catarrh, pleurisy, and pneumonia). His doctor had cautioned him in 1908 that excessive work and strain were the probable causes of his suffering and prescribed a minimum of six to twelve months rest. Keir, David, 1962, *The Bowring Story*, London, UK, The Bodley Head, p. 184-185.
25. This view was often repeated in tourist literature where Newfoundland was portrayed as an ideal resort for health seekers owing to its brisk climate. See Pocius, Gerald, 1994, "Tourists, Health Seekers and Sportsmen: Luring Americans to Newfoundland in the Early Twentieth Century," in James Hiller and Peter Neary (eds.), *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, St. John's, Breakwater, p. 47-77.
26. The Reid-Newfoundland Co. was substantially invested in Newfoundland's economy. As a result of a deal struck with Robert Reid in 1898 to finish to country's railway, the Reid's had acquired the government dry dock in St. John's. They also agreed to operate the ferry between Port aux Basques and Nova Scotia and run a subsidized coastal steamship service. The deal was widely criticized for transferring large amounts of Newfoundland's domestic economy into private hands. Hiller, James, 1980, "The Railway and Local Politics in Newfoundland, 1870-1901," in Hiller and Neary, *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, *op. cit.*, p. 123-147.
27. Edward P. Morris to Edgar R. Bowring, February 3, 1912, Edward Patrick Morris sous fonds, File GN 8.13, Box 2, PANL.
28. MSJMC, October 7, 1912, CSJA.
29. MSJMC, October 9, 1912, CSJA.
30. Cadigan, Sean T., 2009, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 125-176.
31. McGrath, Patrick Thomas, 1911, *Newfoundland in 1911, Being the Coronation Year of King George V and the Opening of the Second Decade of the Twentieth Century*, London, UK, Whitehead, Morris & Co., p. 23. On the life of Patrick Thomas McGrath, see Baker, Melvin, 1992-1993, "Patrick Thomas McGrath," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, vol. 87, no. 4, p. 37-38.
32. McGrath : 27-28.
33. *Id.* : 83.
34. *Id.* : 50. The Beothuk were often evoked by reformers as Newfoundland's original, inland inhabitants. In actuality, they were a migratory people who had occupied the island's coast until European settlement forced them to relocate to the island's interior.
35. Anonymous, 1912, "Getting Bowring Park Ready," *Evening Telegram*, October 3, p. 10; MSJMC, October 5, 1922, CSJA.
36. Newspaper article (transcription), 1914, "Opening of Bowring Park by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught," *Daily News* (St. John's), July 16, Folder "Bowring Park, miscellaneous, various dates," Box 2, Bowring Park Series, Department of Tourism, Recreation and Parks fonds, CSJA.
37. McGrath : 193, 195.
38. Anonymous, 1913, "Bringing Live Deer," *Evening Telegram*, April 5, p. 4.
39. Advertisement, 1921, *Evening Telegram*, July 9, p. 4.
40. W.W. MacDonald to Alfred E. Canning, June 8, 1927, Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA; Alfred Canning to John J. Mahony, September 29, 1927, Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA; MSJMC, November 10, 1927, CSJA.
41. Advertisement, 1914, *Evening Telegram*, July 16, p. 1.
42. Quoted in O'Flaherty, Patrick, 2005, *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933*, St. John's, Long Beach Press, p. 247.
43. Photographs of the park's opening ceremony were sold by Holloway Studio in St. John's. Postcards could be purchased at Parson's Art Store and The City Art Company.
44. The film was the first in a series of moving pictures called *Local Events* that were taken, developed, and finished in Newfoundland. Anonymous, 1914, "The Bowring Park Films," *Evening Telegram*, August 21, p. 6.
45. Newfoundland Railway, n.d., *Dominion of Newfoundland: Britain's Oldest Colony*, William J. Penney Collection, CSJA.

46. Newfoundland Tourist and Publicity Bureau, n.d., *St. John's Newfoundland*, William J. Penney Collection, CSJA; formed in 1925, the Newfoundland Tourist and Publicity Bureau was instrumental in spreading descriptions and images of the park abroad.
47. Jamieson, Charles, 1928, "The Attractions of Newfoundland," *International Paper Monthly*, Folder GN 51.15, Newfoundland Tourist Development Board fonds, PANL.
48. Maloney [sic], John J., 1929, "Newfoundland Capital Is Thriving Centre of Commercial Activity," *The Star* (Halifax), June 15, Folder GN 51.15, Newfoundland Tourist Development Board fonds, PANL.
49. Minutes of the Bowring Park Committee, April 8, 1930, Box 1, Committee Council Series, Department of Administrative Services and City Clerk fonds, CSJA.
50. Anonymous, 1914, "Visit of Duke of Connaught," *Evening Telegram*, July 16, p. 5.
51. Deed of Transfer, n.d., Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA; MSJMC, January 4, 1923, CSJA.
52. MSJMC, September 13 and 27, 1923, CSJA.
53. MSJMC, March 8, 1923, CSJA.
54. MSJMC, April 5, 12, and 19, 1923, CSJA; John J. Mahony to Alfred E. Canning, April 6, 1923, Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA; Alfred E. Canning to John J. Mahony, April 18, 1923, Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA. In June 1927, Canning applied to have his annual salary increased to \$2400 and enclosed a bill for \$2100 for the period 1923-1927 owing to Council's assurance in 1923 that he would be awarded a better salary after his first year of service. Instead, his salary was increased to \$2100 without back-pay, following a recommendation by the Bowring Park Committee. Alfred E. Canning to City of St. John's, June 13, 1927, Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA; MSJMC, July 14, 1927, CSJA.
55. MSJMC, February 10, 1925, CSJA.
56. MSJMC, April 15, 1926, CSJA.
57. Slattery, John L., 1902, "Parks and Recreation Grounds," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 19.
58. *Ibid.*
59. MSJMC, January 17, 1912, CSJA.
60. Newspaper article (transcription), *op. cit.*
61. Anonymous, 1911, "Housing Problem," *Evening Telegram*, December 13, p. 7. Slattery also alluded to exclusive real estate in the vicinity of the park, noting: "plans have been set afoot for the erection of residences along the Waterford Bridge Road which in summer time is considered the most beautiful suburb of our City." Slattery, "The Bowring Park - Rae Island," *op. cit.*, p. 11.
62. Anonymous, 1916, "Bowring Park," *Evening Telegram*, June 19, p. 8; Anonymous, 1917, "Smothered by Dust," *Daily Star*, June 18, p. 10; Whitty, E.J., 1919, "Live and Let Live," *Evening Telegram*, May 12, p. 5.
63. MSJMC, July 5, 1923, CSJA.
64. Outerbridge, P.E., 1924, "A Request to Motorists," *Evening Telegram*, August 9, p. 1.
65. MSJMC, July 26, 1923, CSJA; MSJMC, July 29, 1926, CSJA; MSJMC, July 9, 1929, CSJA; MSJMC, March 6, 1930, CSJA; MSJMC, July 2, 1931, CSJA. One visitor even complained that people were being prevented from riding bicycles in the park. Council reminded the park's superintendent that bicycle riders had the same rights as motorists and other drivers. MSJMC, July 15, 1926, CSJA.
66. Horse-drawn buckboards were also enlisted to convey people to and from the park, presumably at a lower price.
67. The train, en route to Kelligrews, was operated by the Reid-Newfoundland Company who also owned the railway line that traversed the park.
68. The service was kept up after the railway was nationalized in 1923 in the form of a daily steam coach service.
69. Anonymous, 1914, "The Thoughts of Theobald on Our Civic Problems," *Evening Telegram*, June 13, p. 11.
70. Anonymous, 1916, "A Great Success," *Evening Telegram*, June 5, p. 4.
71. In 1925, the Newfoundland Tourist and Publicity Association published a list of taxi fares, citing the cost of a trip from St. John's to the Bowring Park entrance as \$1.50, and a tour around Bowring Park as \$2.50. CSJA; Outerbridge, P.E., 1925, "The Taxi Schedule," *Evening Telegram*, October 10, p. 7.
72. Anonymous, 1914, "Visit of Duke of Connaught," *Evening Telegram*, July 16, p. 4; MSJMC, May 10, 1923, CSJA.
73. MSJMC, July 26, 1923, CSJA.
74. *Ibid.*
75. In 1926 the maximum fine was reduced to \$25 or a prison sentence not exceeding 30 days. MSJMC, June 4, 1926, CSJA; MSJMC, June 5, 1930, CSJA.
76. Anonymous, 1913, "The Police Court," *Evening Telegram*, July 24, p. 9; Anonymous, 1914, "Vandalism," *Evening Telegram*, June 22, p. 4.
77. Anonymous, 1925, "Pilfering at Bowring Park," *Evening Telegram*, July 11, p. 3. Alfred Canning reiterated these concerns in 1928 when he advised Council not to construct another gate for the convenience of a local vendor because it would serve as "an unprotected avenue of escape when the Park is closed," adding: "we have had our troubles in the Park, and it is imperative that we hold a tight grip." Alfred E. Canning to John J. Mahony, August 20, 1928, Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA.
78. Anonymous, 1923, "Bowring Park," *Evening Telegram*, July 27, p. 8.
79. Minutes of the Bowring Park Committee, June 26, 1926, Box 1, Committee Council Series, Department of Administrative Services and City Clerk fonds, CSJA. In 1913, patients of the hospital had also been forced to dig a new sewerage drain measuring 1200 feet long and from five to nine feet deep in order to reroute the asylum's waste pipes, which discharged into the Waterford River adjacent to the future park. Duncan, John G., 1914, "Report of the Medical Superintendent of St. John's Hospital for the Insane, for the Year 1913," January 10, 1914, *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1st Session of the 23rd General Assembly, St. John's, p. 436.

80. Anonymous, 1925, "Clear Out These Undesirables," *Evening Telegram*, September 7, p. 10.
81. Advertisement, 1925, *Evening Telegram*, July 23, p. 11. Another warned unwary trouters who made fires against the possible destruction "of millions of dollars worth of timber." Advertisement, 1925, *Evening Telegram*, July 16, p. 11.
82. Minutes of the Bowring Park Committee, May 25, 1927, Box 1, Committee Council Series, Department of Administrative Services and City Clerk fonds, CSJA.
83. Minutes of the Bowring Park Committee, April 8, 1930, Box 1, Committee Council Series, Department of Administrative Services and City Clerk fonds, CSJA; MSJMC, July 22, 1926, CSJA.
84. List of Gifts and Donations, n.d., Folder 26, Box 2, Jackman Collection, CSJA.
85. Lewis, Pierce, 2003, "The Monument and the Bungalow," in Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (eds.), *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p. 88.
86. Gröning, Gert and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 2013, "Gardens and the Larger Landscape," in Sonja Dümpelmann (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Age of Empire, vol. 5, A Cultural History of Gardens*, London, UK, Bloomsbury, p. 175-194.