Urban Renewal as Conservative Surgery: The Role of Urban Renewal in the Development of Rideau Heights between 1952-1973

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A Master's Report submitted to the School of Urban and Regional Planning in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning

School of Urban and Regional Planning

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April 2025

Executive Summary

Urban Renewal as Conservative Surgery: The Role of Urban Renewal in the Development of Rideau Heights between 1952-1973

by Chloe Michaud

The Canadian urban renewal program operated from 1954 to 1970 and was overseen by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), a crown corporation now known as the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

This report examines the changes in the urban renewal plan for the redevelopment of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood in Kingston, Ontario.

Figure E-1: Map of Kingston c.1957, with a red outline indicating the current neighbourhood boundary of Rideau Heights. Source: Kingston Housing Authority, "Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights", (Kingston, Ontario: City of Kingston, 1957), 16.

The Rideau Heights community developed in the 1940s and 50s as a do-it-yourself neighbourhood on farmland subdivided into lots and sold at a low price by Albert E. Weller. As a part of Kingston Township, the area lacked formal planning regulations which resulted in the development of a self-built, informal suburban community on the fringe of the City of Kingston. Much of the self-built housing in Rideau Heights consisted of low-cost housing such as dugouts and tarpaper shacks lacking plumbing and water. As such, these structures were considered "substandard," and plans were made to improve the area. Furthermore, prior to annexation the community lacked basic amenities such as sewers, paved or gravel roads, or municipal water services.

The analysis begins in 1952, when Rideau Heights was annexed by the City of Kingston and efforts to remedy the "blight" conditions of the community began. In an effort to ameliorate the areas conditions, sewers were built, roads were paved, and lighting was installed over the decades that followed as to ensure the neighbourhood met municipal standards. In 1955, a special committee on housing was formed in an effort to solve the "blight" conditions in Rideau Heights. By 1960, 48.6 hectares containing 93 houses was recommended that the area be redeveloped.

The analysis will conclude in 1973, when the legislation for the federal Urban Renewal Program was repealed by the federal government and replaced with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

This report uses a single case study approach, using archival research and analysis methods with the goal of creating a more in depth understanding of the role urban renewal had in the development of the neighbourhood.

The City of Kingston's archival documents, as well as archival newspaper articles from the *Kingston Whig Standard*, were used to create a chronology, found in Appendix 1, which informed this report's analysis of the Rideau Heights Redevelopment Project. The report finds that urban renewal plan went through numerous iterations, originally spanning a much larger area than what is included in the final version of the plan. Unlike most urban renewal projects in Canada, and North America as a whole,

The Rideau Heights project constituted an unusual approach to urban renewal compared to other North American cities. Rather than raze the entire area and replace housing entirely with social housing, the final urban renewal project in Rideau Heights aimed to conserve as many homes as possible, even planning to move homes classified as "good" to prepared sites to fit the new plan of subdivision.

This was a long-term planning project which went through numerous iterations as the objective of the plan evolved. The 1960 redevelopment plan included ambitious plans to relocate homes classified as "good" to new lots in order to maximize the number of lots that could be created in the redevelopment area and replace houses with social housing on the western half of the redevelopment zone. 84 of the 93 homes would be demolished and the remaining nine would be moved to prepared lots in the new plan of subdivision. However, the cost of the project proved to be a major roadblock in the carrying out of this project, resulting in serious delays. This, along with a desire to increase community buy-in for the project, resulted in two major amendments to the redevelopment plan. The 1962 redevelopment plan would be altered to resemble the area's original layout. It would leave structures classified as "good" untouched, save for six structures which did not fit the new plan of subdivision which would be moved to prepared sites. 57 homes in poor condition would be demolished. A new street layout would be introduced to the area, as well as a site for a proposed park and school.

Evolution of the Urban Renewal plan for Rideau Heights from 1957-1966

1957

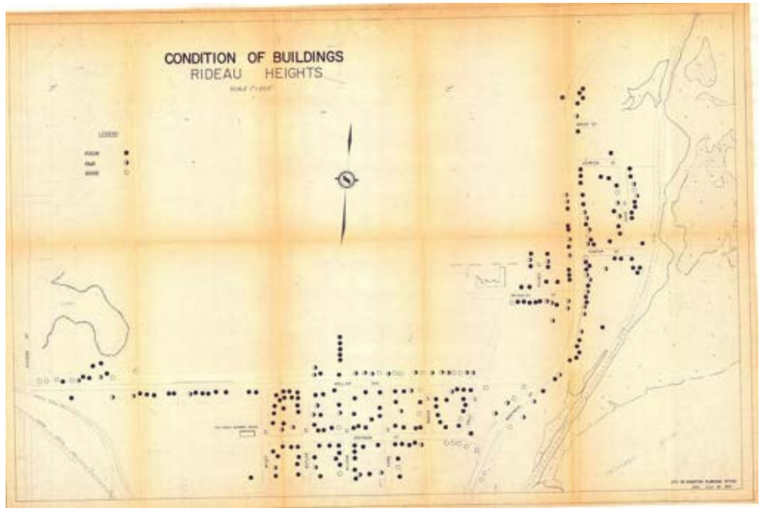


Figure E-2 Conditions of Buildings Survey, 1957..
Source: Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights. Kingston, ON: City of Kingston, 19.

1960

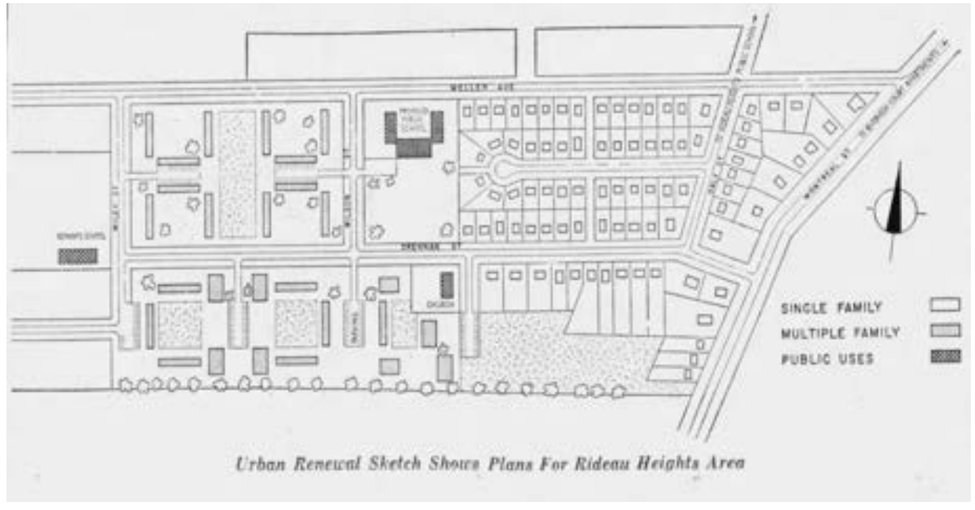


Figure E-3: Proposed redevelopment plan of Rideau Heights
Source: Stephenson & Muirhead. (1961), ill. 53, p. 68.

1962

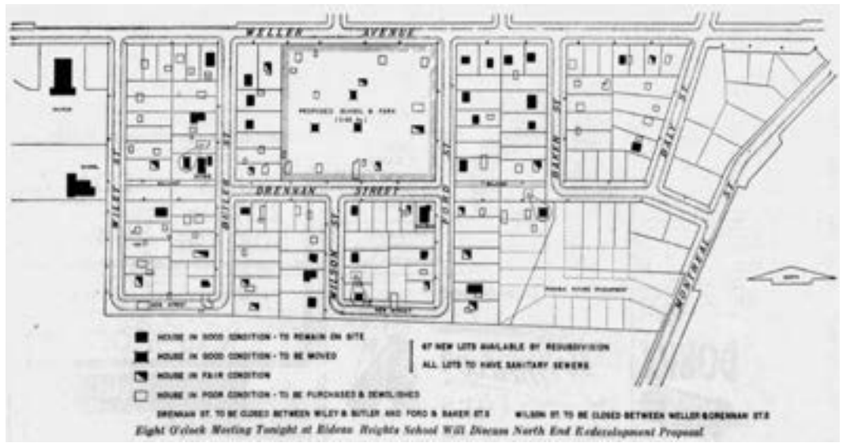


Figure E-6: 1962 Proposed Redevelopment Plan of Rideau Heights
Source: [Proposed redevelopment plan], *Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston),* August 9, 1962, Newspapers.com, 17.

1963

Figure E-5 Rideau Heights Proposed Redevelopment and Existing Buildings
Source: "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.

1966

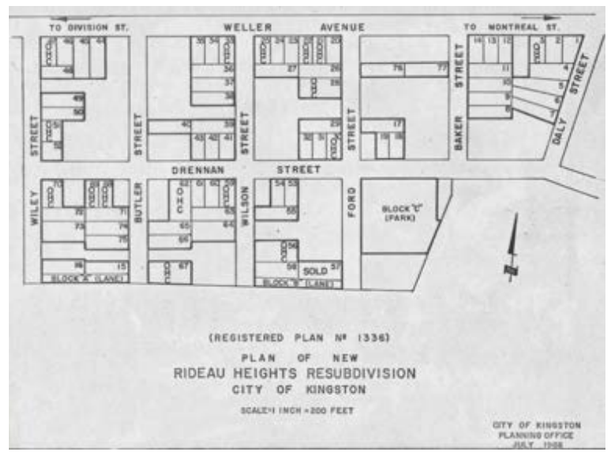


Figure E-4: 1966 Rideau Heights Plan of Subdivision
Source: Registered plan of subdivision of an abandoned Rideau Heights home, 1966, 4/100.9, Box 2, File 11, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

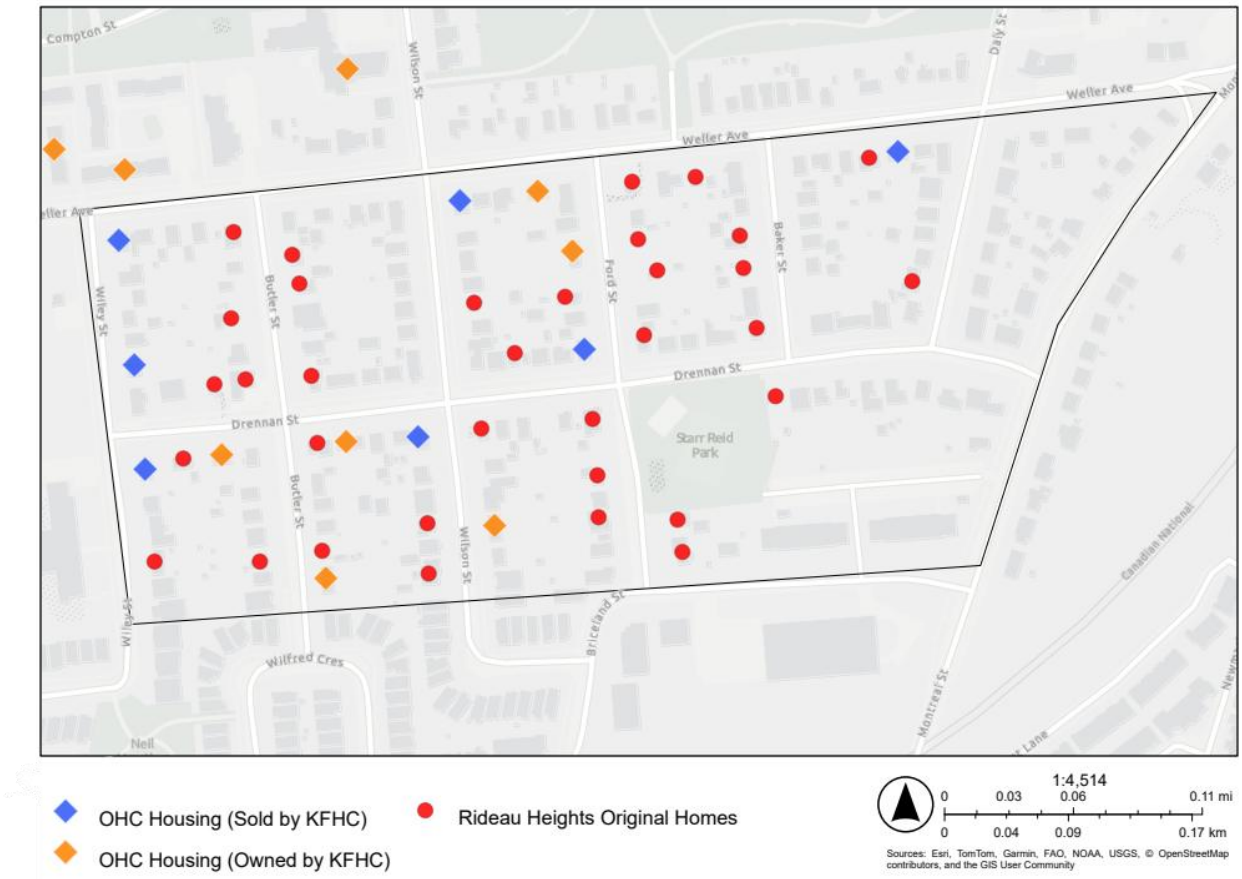
The 1963 amended redevelopment plan, however, would become even simpler, ultimately leaving the street system unchanged and lots with dwellings categorized as “good” and “fair” out of the redevelopment plan. 51 of the 92 structures included in the plan area would be demolished. 51 of the 92 structures included in the plan area would be demolished. 28 structures classified as “good” and 16 homes classified as “fair” homes would remain. The 44 “poor” homes, along with one structure classified as “good” which did not conform to the proposed plan of subdivision would be demolished and 6 “fair” homes that did not conform to the new layout would be demolished.

The final plan, approved by council in 1964, and used in the 1966 Plan of Subdivision, would retain 53 structures: 32 existing “good” dwellings, 19 existing “fair” dwellings, one church and one store. 45 existing “poor” structures, as well as one “fair” structure would be demolished. The plan would result in a total of 139 lots in the neighborhood. Land for a park would be provided south of Drennan Street and east of Ford Street. Lastly, the plan would make provision for two 33-foot lanes between Ford and Wilson Streets and between Butler and Wiley Streets. This plan was ultimately adopted in the 1966 plan of subdivision.

Table E-1: Evolution of the urban renewal plans for Rideau Heights

Plan	Total Number of Units	Total Number of Lots	Houses to be Moved	Houses to be Demolished	Houses to be Saved	Estimated Cost
1957 Housing Study	-	173 lots	-	-	-	-
1958-60 Stephenson and Muirhead Plan	260 units	86 lots	-	84 houses	10 houses	$350,000 ($3,789,735 in 2025).
1959-60 Riverview Court	71-unit subsidized low rental housing project.	-	-	-	-	$700,000 ($7,529,605 in 2025).
1962 Proposed Urban Renewal Plan	21-unit addition to Riverview Court.	Creation of 67 lots, totalling 148 lots in the redevelopment area.	6 houses	57 houses	28 houses	-
1963 Revised Urban Renewal Plan	-	Creation of 33 lots, totalling 133 lots in the redevelopment area.	-	44 houses	48 houses	$698,665 ($7,139,482 in 2025).
1966 Plan of Subdivision	-	Creation of 36 lots, totalling 139 lots in the redevelopment area.	-	46 houses	51 houses	$322,851 ($3,299,133 in 2025).
1966-67 – Riverview Court Expansion	70-unit addition to Riverview Court	-	-	-	-	-
1969-72 Headway Project	678-unit subsidized housing projected	-	-	-	-	$4,132,000 ($33,444,653 in 2025).

Though none of the houses in the scheme ended up being moved, the fact that this was considered illustrates the unusual nature of this urban renewal scheme compared to other urban renewal projects in Ontario. Today, original Rideau Heights homes are difficult to differentiate from those built after the urban renewal project, illustrating how the urban renewal project did improve the substandard housing conditions in the neighbourhood. No tar paper shacks, with outdoor privies remain, and municipal services have been fully extended to the area. 46 substandard homes were demolished as a part of the redevelopment project and 139 lots were created from the original 103. 40 of the original self-built homes which predate the urban renewal project still remain today, a reminder of the area's beginnings as a do-it-yourself neighbourhood.



The urban renewal project in Rideau Heights resulted in the neighbourhood undergoing major changes between 1952 and 1973, becoming almost unrecognisable within the 21-year period analyzed in this report.

Acknowledgements

I'm very grateful to my report supervisor Professor David Gordon for introducing me to this project and for his guidance as I wrote this report.

I would like to thank the archivists at the Queen's University Archives for their invaluable assistance in locating materials on Rideau Heights.

A special thank you to the friends I've made during my time at SURP. This report would not have been possible if not for the words of encouragement, laughs, and exorbitant amount of coffee we shared over the last two years.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for their support as I completed my Master of Urban Planning.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The Canadian urban renewal program operated from 1954 to 1970, changing the urban fabric of cities across the nation. Born from the modernist planning movement, urban renewal was done in an effort to purge cities of their obsolete historic designs in an effort to usher in new and modern city design. The downtowns of many historic North American cities were in a state of disrepair by the early 20th century, with slums and substandard housing a common sight. The modernist planning movement believed that the "blight" conditions of these neighbourhood led to social and moral decay in their cities, as well as negative impacts to residents' physical health. Urban renewal was considered the solution to this problem. By tearing down the crumbling inner city and urban slums and replacing them with social housing in high density towers, modernist planners believed they would be improving upon the cities of old and improving the civic health of their cities. The urban renewal of Toronto's Regent Park in 1948 was the first urban renewal project in Canada. The project involved the razing of all housing in the Regent Park "slum" and replacing it with high density social housing.[1] Dr. Albert Rose, an associate professor of social studies at the University of Toronto and leader in Toronto's Regent Park urban renewal program, would visit Kingston 1956 to aid in the completion of a survey of substandard dwellings in collaboration with the city's housing committee.[2]

This report examines the role of urban renewal in the development of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood in Kingston, Ontario. The informal self-built community developed in the 1940s and 50s on farmland subdivided into lots and sold at a low price by prominent landowner and philanthropist A. E. Weller. Prior to 1952, the area was a part of Kingston Township which lacked formal planning regulations. With little oversight from the township, Rideau Heights grew into an informal suburban community on the fringe of the City of Kingston consisting of do-it-yourself, low-cost housing such as

[1] Albert Rose. *Regent Park; a Study in Slum Clearance.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 76.
[2] "Kingston Slums "Worst Seen' by Expert", *Kingston Whig Standard*, February 18, 1956, Newspapers.com, 1.

dugouts and tarpaper shacks. Similar to other informal settlements on the fringe of Canadian cities, the informal nature of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood meant it lacked municipal services which would be considered basic amenities today, such as sewers, paved or gravel roads, or municipal water services.[3] Mud streets, outdoor privies, and one-bedroom shacks were common sights in the neighbourhood during this period.

Figure 1-1: Photograph of a substandard housing in Rideau Heights. Not the tar paper exterior walls, the outdoor water tank, and cinder block foundation.
Source: Stephenson & Muirhead, A Planning Study of Kingston, 67.

[3] Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 17

After annexation of the neighbourhood by the City of Kingston in 1952, efforts were made to improve the area, first with the extension of services to the area and later through an urban renewal project.

The analysis begins in 1952, when Rideau Heights was annexed by the City of Kingston and efforts to remedy the "blight" conditions of the community began. In an effort to ameliorate the area's conditions, sewers were built, roads were paved, and lighting was installed as to ensure the neighbourhood met municipal standards over the next decade. The report will analyze of the evolution of the urban renewal project and identify key developments and actors in the evolution of the urban renewal project to gain a deeper understanding of the role of urban renewal in the development of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood. The analysis will conclude in 1973, when the legislation for the federal Urban Renewal Program was repealed by the federal government and replaced with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. For better or for worse, the Rideau Heights Renewal Project created a lasting impact on the neighbourhood's urban fabric, the legacy of which can still be seen today.

Chapter 2 Methodology

2.1 Scope

This report will focus on the role of urban renewal in the development of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood in Kingston, Ontario. An analysis of the documents, plans and data collected from the post-war period during the urban renewal process in the neighbourhood will be completed to identify key themes and events that have contributed to the evolution of the urban fabric of Rideau Heights. This analysis was conducted using archival material from 1952, when the City of Kingston annexed the Rideau Heights neighbourhood, to 1973, when legislation for the Urban Renewal Program was repealed by the federal government and replaced with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.[4]

The analysis will conclude in the early 1970s, when the final public housing project was completed, and the Urban Renewal Program was cancelled by the federal government and replaced with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

The analysis will aim to answer the question: how did the urban renewal plan in Rideau Heights evolve?

2.2 Methods

This research report investigates the role of urban renewal in the development of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood in the post-war period, between 1952 and 1973. This is a single case study of urban renewal in Rideau Heights which uses archival research and analysis methods, with the goal of creating a more in depth understanding of the evolution of the urban renewal plans in Rideau Heights. The goal of the report is to answer the research question "How did the urban renewal plan in Rideau Heights evolve?"

[4] Rockwell, Margaret T. *Modernist Destruction for the Ambitious City: Hamilton, Ontario's Experience with Urban Renewa*l. Thesis. (Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 2004). http://hdl.handle.net/11375/11926

In "*Case Study Research,"* Yin describes a case study as "one way of doing social science research…[and] in general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events…"[5]. One reason to do a single case study, according to Yin, is when the case represents a unique case, which the urban renewal project in Rideau Heights represents. [6]

First, data from primary sources, such as archival research in the City of Kingston fonds in the Queen's University Archives, was collected. Data collected through a secondary source literature review, looking at sources such as government documents and newspaper articles, follows this in an effort to gain an understanding of the events that took place between 1940 and 1971 in Rideau Heights, as well as the Urban Renewal Program as a whole. Findings are cross referenced with archived newspaper articles published by the *Kingston Whig Standard* between 1952 and 1970, which are accessed on Newspapers.com. Sources such as Heather Nicol's "Field of Dreams: Urban Renewal in Kingston's North End 1955-1971" and Stephenson and Muirhead's 1960 *Planning Study of Kingston, Ontario* are cited.[7] These secondary sources are used to illustrate the social and political framework which contributed to the nature of the urban renewal project took place in Rideau Heights.

Then, a referenced chronology outlining the key events and actors in the urban renewal project in Rideau Height was created and used to analyze the data (Appendix A). This chronology includes data from primary sources gathered during archival research, as well as data from secondary sources gathered during the literature review. After the chronology was completed, it was analyzed to identify key themes, actors, and trends. A historical analysis of the archival data was then completed to identify what patterns affected historical events had on the development of Rideau Heights. The findings were synthesized into a report that detail the initial development of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood, the urban renewal project,

[5] Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2003), 1.
[6] Yin, 40.
[7] Gordon Stephenson and George Muirhead. *A Planning Study of Kingston, Ontario*. (Kingston, Ontario: Corporation of the City of Kingston, 1960).

and the evolution of urban renewal plan that has influenced the development of Rideau Heights into the neighbourhood it is today.

2.3 Limitations

The main limitation of this research will be dependence upon archival materials. A study of the changes of the neighbourhood's social characteristics would require extensive interviews with former residents and their families, some of whom may still be alive. Such interviews were beyond the scope of what could be accomplished in the limited time available for research for this project. As a result, this report will mainly focus on the physical changes to the neighbourhood. This research will use documents available in the City of Kingston fonds at the Queen's University Archives (QUA). It's success is therefore dependent on documentation available at the QUA. Fortunately, the Rideau Heights records in the QUA were extensive, including government reports, housing surveys, meeting minutes, and aerial imagery, among other documents. Also, a comprehensive set of building photos were available from the 1957 Housing Condition Survey and could be used to determine which houses in Rideau Heights are original to the neighbourhood pre-urban renewal.

Type I errors, when a false positive when a true null hypothesis is rejected, and Type II errors, when a false negative when a false null hypothesis is not rejected, are likely to occur in archival research due to time limitations and constraints when viewing materials. In an effort to mitigate this, I will follow the advice of Hill, I will concentrate my research efforts on collecting data from the Queen's University Archives, which I know to house a large amount of archives City of Kingston documents and has a detailed finding aid, allowing for the more effective and efficient use of time spent undertaking archival research.[8] Furthermore, the data collected was triangulated to reduce the risk of errors and bias. Archival

[8] Michael R. Hill. *Archival Strategies and Techniques*, Qualitative Research Methods, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1993), p. 49.

records, secondar source government documents, archived *Kingston Whig Standard* newspapers articles, and oral histories are analysed to ensure the analysis and findings are informed by a breadth of sources.

Chapter 3 Case Study

3.1 Geographic Context

Kingston, Ontario is located on the northern shore of Lake Ontario between three major Canadian cities, approximately 260 kilometres east of Toronto Ontario, 196 kilometres south-west of Ottawa, Ontario, and 288 kilometres southwest of Montréal, Québec.

The Rideau Heights neighbourhood is located in North End of Kingston, Ontario. Historically, there has been three neighbourhoods of note in Kingston: The North end, the West end, and downtown[9]. There has been a prominent geographic class divide in Kingston, with the city's wealthiest living in the downtown of Kingston and the northern end of Kingston being largely working-class neighbourhoods[10].

[9] Richard Harris, *Democracy in Kingston: A Social Movement in Urban Politics, 1965-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 61.
[10] Harris, 63.

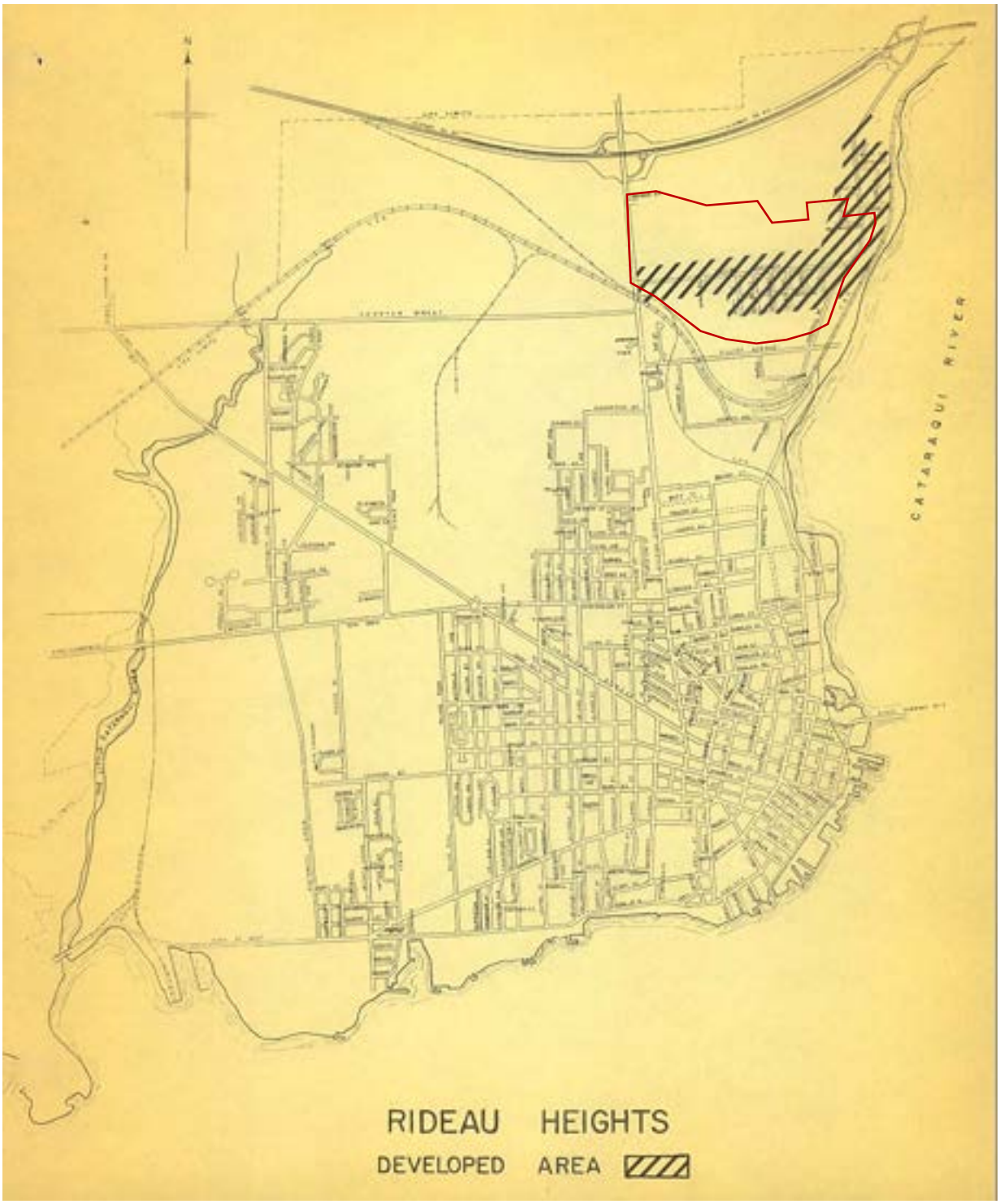

Figure 3-1: Map of Kingston c.1957, with a red outline indicating the current neighbourhood boundary of Rideau Heights. Source: Kingston Housing Authority, "Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights", (Kingston, Ontario: City of Kingston, 1957), 16

3.2 History of Rideau Heights

The Rideau Heights community developed in the 1940s and 50s as a do-it-yourself neighbourhood on farmland subdivided into lots and sold at a low price by Albert E. Weller. Weller was a prominent figure in Kingston in the early 20th century. A local businessman, former alderman, and landowner, Weller was the owner of the old Folger farm which he had purchased in 1900.[11] Weller was a staunch liberal, congregate of St. George's Anglican cathedral, and philanthropist during his lifetime. Weller's farm had at one time extended from the north end of Montreal Street down to Concession Street. In the 1930s depression, Weller had donated land and lumber to those who could not afford them so that they would be able to build and own their own home. Beginning in 1944, Weller would subdivide part of his farm north of the which would become the Rideau Heights (shown in Figure 3-3), Dovercourt and Kingston Heights neighbourhoods. The lots in Rideau Heights were sold well below market value, Weller doing so due to his genuine desire to help those in need, despite the fact that development would not be economically profitable.[12] In fact, it was discovered later on when executors of his estate were sorting the deeds and bills of sale of these lots, that Weller had written many of

Figure 3-2: Photograph of A.E. Weller c.1915
Source: "Another Fair of Large Proportion to be Held Next September", The Weekly British Whig (Kingston), January 22, 1915, Newspapers.com, 9.

[11] "A.E. Weller Dies at Age of 86 Years", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 16, 1965, Newspapers.com, 1.
[12] Nichol, 269.

them on scraps of paper and serviettes.[13] It was clear that Weller had sold these lots due to his genuine desire to create a community for those in need of assistance in Kingston Township.

Figure 3-3: Aerial imagery of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood c.1949
Source: North of the CN Station shows "Marker Subdivision", 1949, V25.6, Box 1, Item 9-26, George E.O. Lilley Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

The inexpensive lots, paired with low municipal taxes and nonexistent building codes or planning regulations in Kingston Township allowed those with limited means to build their own homes at their own pace. Those with limited means could be property owners, something that, for many, would not be

[13] Nichol, 283.

possible in the City of Kingston. A lack of formal planning regulations in the township resulted in the development of a self-built, informal suburb on the fringe of the City of Kingston. Much of the self-built housing in Rideau Heights consisted of low-cost housing such as dugouts and tarpaper shacks with earthen floors that lacked indoor plumbing and running water.[14] Two examples from the QUA show an example of a one-bedroom shack in Frontenac County in 1937, which would have been typical in Rideau Heights during the 1940s.[15]

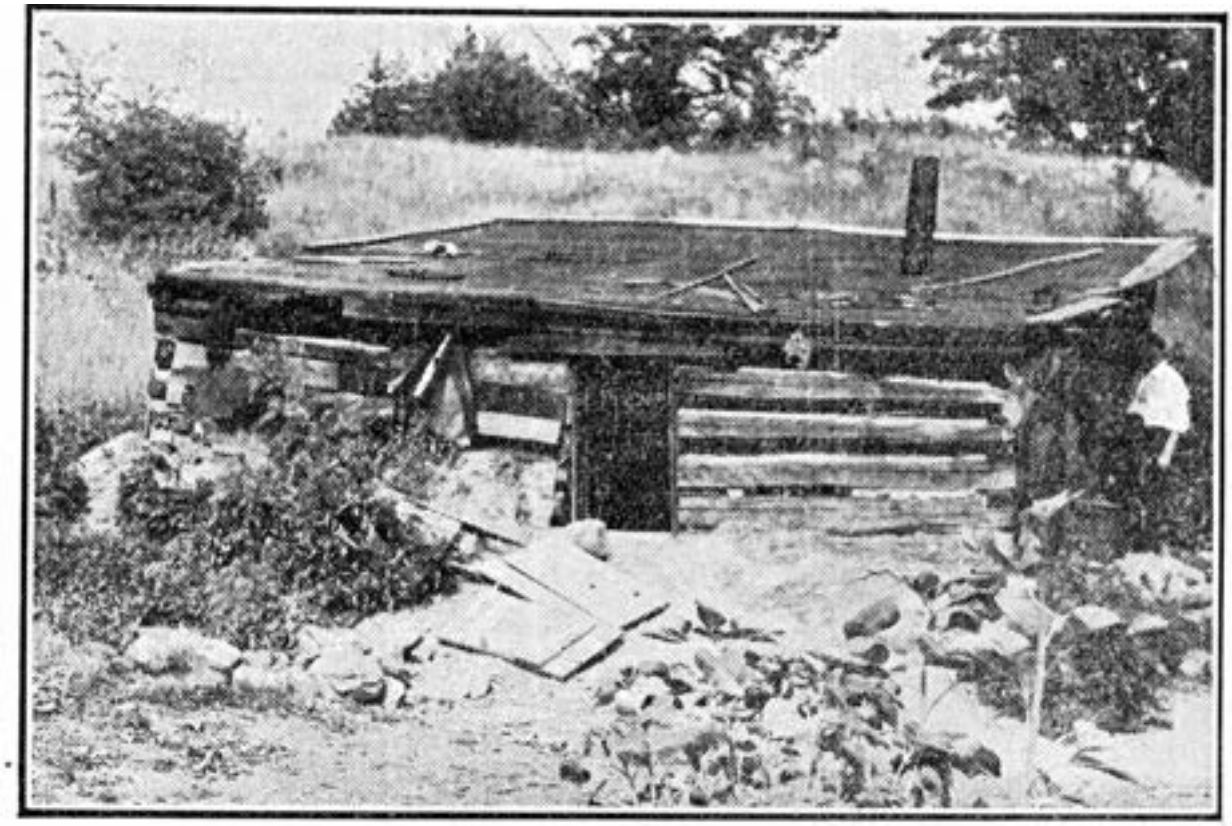

Figure 3-4: Image of a one room wooden shack in Frontenac County c.1937.
*Source: [*One bedroom shack in Frontenac County*], October 27, 1937, photograph, Kingston Whig Standard.*

At the time, the Rideau Heights area was populated predominately by poor, white migrants from rural eastern Ontario. Though settlement of the area had been attempted in the nineteenth century, the soil's poor quality had resulted in a steady rate of emigration to nearby municipalities such as the City of

[14] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston*, 32.
[15] [*Rideau Heights one bedroom shack*], October 27, 1937, photograph, *Kingston Whig Standard.*

Kingston, Cornwall, and Brockville. Those who had elected to remain often worked odd-jobs or received welfare as a means to get by.[16] The area's isolation from the City of Kingston was not only physical, with residents facing significant social and class divides with other urban residents.

Due to Weller's generosity, the area had a high level of working-class homeowners. By 1955, the area was inhabited by approximately 1400 with 280 dwellings. 75% of dwellings were owner-occupied in 1957. The survey reported that "of 210 families interviewed 158 or 75.2% are listed as owner-occupants while 52 or 24.8% are reported to be tenants."[17] This was higher than the average for Kingston, which sat at 47.2% of homes being owner-occupied, the Ontario urban average of 65%, and the national urban average of 56.1%.[18] The opinion of middle and upper class Kingstonians, was that Rideau Heights was a centre of urban blight. Reverend T.H. Good, rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, stated the area was "as depressed as the worst cabbage towns of any city in Canada… and this is to our eternal shame".[19] Despite this narrative, Rideau Height residents took pride in their homes and neighbourhood. Though many of the homes were one and two storey shacks, many residents were continually improving them when they had the funds to do so. When surveyed in 1957, only 67, or 32%, of the 210 families interviewed expressed their willingness to move to a unit in a public housing project. Of these 67 families, 37 were tenants and 30 were homeowners.[20] To the surprise of many, the majority of residents wished to remain in their homes. By 1958, the area had two elementary schools, the Rideau Heights Public School built in 1926 and located on McCauley Street, and Holy Family Roman Catholic Elementary School built in 1954 and located on Wiley Street.[21]

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[16] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston*, 32.
[17] Kingston Housing Authority, "Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights", (Kingston, Ontario: City of Kingston, 1957), 16.
[18] Kingston Housing Authority, *Preliminary Report on Housing,* 16.
[19] "Bad as Worst in Canada, Rev. T.H. Good Declares", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 15, 1955, Newspapers.com, 1.; David Cleland, "Low-rental Housing Nort Answer: Minister", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 16, 1965, Newspapers.com, 1.
[20] Kingston Housing Authority, *Preliminary Report on Housing*, 16.
[21] "Rideau Public School*," The Daily British Whig* (Kingston), November 10, 1926, Newspapers.com, 7.; Fred Pense "Holy Family Schools Fills Great Need", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), November 12, 1954, Newspapers.com, 21; Kingston Housing Authority, *Preliminary Report on Housing*, 18.

The high level of working-class homeownership in Rideau Heights, along with its rurality, made Rideau Heights a unique urban slum on the northern fringe of Kingston. Three quarters of the homes in Rideau Heights were owner-occupied, however the pattern of subdivision and placement of dwellings was unlike typical subdivisions of the time. The area was sparsely inhabited with dwellings placed haphazardly in what was essentially a large field. The dirt roads and irregular placement of dwellings is highlighted in the following photographs.

Figure 3-5: Photograph of Rideau Heights facing South-East showing scattered layout of dwellings and mud streets.
Source: 1958, V123, Box 1, File 6, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

Figure 3-6: 1950 Aerial Imagery of Rideau Heights showing irregular layout of dwellings and dirt roads.
Source: Aerial photograph of a Rideau Heights, 1950, V123, Box 1, File 9, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

The majority of lots in the neighbourhood were 80 ft x 150 ft, with average lot area totalling 15,000 sq ft. The large size of lots was due to the fact that the area was not serviced, and therefore residents were required to abide by the Provincial Department of Health regulations for subdivisions which required adequate ground areas surrounding each house for septic tanks and tile fields. The size of these lots, as well as the seemingly random placement of dwellings on them, posed a serious challenge for the provision of water and sewer services to area. In a subdivision where services weren't available, it was customary at the time to have 80 by 150 ft lots, however the location of dwellings on these lots would be strategically placed to allow the lots to subdivided into 2 or 3 lots upon the future delivery of municipal water and sewer service to the area[22]. Further compounding the difficulty in subdividing the area for services was the fact that the shape of lots in Rideau Heights meant that lot frontages would be

[22] Kingston Housing Authority, *Preliminary Report on Housing*, 15.

under the 50 ft minimum frontage requirement for residential lots in the R2 zone should they be subdivided. Also, the location of houses on the lots makes it so that some houses would need to be moved for the lots to be subdivided.[23]

In the years before the area was annexed by the City of Kingston, and in some years following it, the neighbourhood lacked basic amenities such as sewers, paved or gravel roads, or municipal water services. Houses used septic tank or outdoor privies for the disposal of waste. Tar paper exterior walls, wells, and outdoor privies were common housing conditions in Rideau Heights that residents lived in prior to urban renewal.

Rideau Heights, along with Kingscourt, Grenville Park, Hillendale, Valleyview, and Portsmouth Village, were annexed by the City of Kingston in 1952 to accommodate future residential and commercial development, adding 5,585 acres of land containing 9,000 persons to the City of Kingston.[24]

[23] Kingston Housing Authority, *Preliminary Report on Housing Condition*, 15.
[24] Gordon Stephenson and George Muirhead. *A Planning Study of Kingston, Ontario*. (Kingston, Ontario: Corporation of the City of Kingston, 1960), 18.

Figure 3-7: Land Annexed by the City of Kingston in 1952.
Source: Fran Willes, A study to examine the boundary expansions of Kingston from a legal and land perspective, MPL thesis, School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, 2014.

This jurisdictional transfer would, however, have larger impacts on the neighbourhood than a simple change of address from Kingston Township to the City of Kingston. The area, which had originally been viewed as an isolated community of working class, do-it-yourself homeowners came under scrutiny for being a blighted, substandard shantytown at Kingston's urban fringe. Throughout the 1950s, the construction of single-family homes was steady. However, the latter half of the decade saw the number of applications for new subdivisions and construction of homes began to wane. By 1956, only nine building permits were issued in all of Rideau Heights, with Nichols stating that 1956 marked the approximate end of building activity in the original community.[25]

[25] Nichols, *Field of Dreams,* 280.

In November 1957, the *Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights* was published by the Kingston Planning Board. This report found that 68% of the 280 houses under examination were substandard, 23% were in fair condition, and 9% were in good condition.[26] The results of the social survey conducted in Rideau Heights found that the majority of residents living in substandard housing did so due to insufficient income available to afford to purchase or rent adequate, market-price housing.[27]

Figure 3-8: "Good" housing in Rideau Heights, c.1958
Source: Photograph of a Rideau Heights home #12, 1958, V123, Box 1, File 6, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

[26] Kingston Housing Authority, *Preliminary Report on Housing*, 20.
[27] "City Council Moves to Start On Rideau Heights Program", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 11, 1958, Newspapers.com, 13.

Figure 3-9: Substandard housing in Rideau Heights, c.1958. Note the tarpaper exterior walls, and snow piled against the home to insulate from the cold.
Source: Photograph of a Rideau Heights home, 1958, V123, Box 1, File 6, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

3.3 The Urban Renewal Program in Canada

The concept of urban renewal was born out of the modernist intellectual movement of the early 20th century in response to the aging, and often dilapidated, conditions of the Western inner cities. A key player in the Modernist planning movement was Swiss-French architect and designer Le Corbusier, founder of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) in 1928 and published the Modernist manifesto, the Athens Charter, in 1943. The Athens Charter called for the reorganizing of historic inner cities in order to make them more efficient. He called the house "a machine for living", and in his Contemporary City, or *Ville Contemporaine*, concept, he imagined a city where, instead of having single family homes grouped in small clusters with a neighbourhood park, there would instead be a large

park with 60-storey office towers and 10-storey apartment buildings organized in a zigzag pattern.[28] Modernist planning also called for the division of the city into four functions: dwelling, work, recreation, and transportation. These four functions were to be separated within the city and connected using automobiles, electric railways, and aircrafts. Historic cities, which were the antithesis of these modernist principles, were viewed as being inefficient, and furthermore the aging and often dilapidated downtowns of historic cities were believed to causing moral decay within cities. The Bruce Report in 1934 also played a significant role in the creation of the urban renewal program in Canada. Written by Herbert Bruce, then Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the report examined the urban slums of Toronto and recommended that the poor conditions of the downtown be remedied by the establishment of a municipal planning commission, the demolition of substandard housing, and the razing of slums. On the topic of substandard housing and urban slums, Bruce stated:

> Bad houses are not only a menace: they are active agents of destruction. The Committee is satisfied from its investigations and enquiries that they destroy happiness, health and life. They destroy morality and family ties. They destroy the basis of society itself by their destruction of self-respect and their promotion of delinquency and crime.[29]

The Canadian urban renewal program operated from 1954 to 1970 overseen by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), a crown corporation now known as the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The housing landscape in Canada in the early 20th century looked very different to how it does today. There was little government involvement in housing and mortgages were difficult to acquire, offered by banks and insurance companies with high interest rates, and often reserved for the wealthiest of society. Instead, the working class often relied on personal savings, self-built housing was common and would be built with materials the homeowner could afford and gradually improved when

[28] Hodge, Gerald, David L.A. Gordon, and Pamela Shaw. *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to the Principles, Practice, and Participants in the 21st Century,* 7th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 2020), 81-82.
[29] Herbert A. Bruce, Report of the Lieutenant-Governor's Committee on Housing Conditions in Toronto(Committee on Housing Conditions in Toronto), 4.

one had the means to do so.[30] However, in response to the Great Depression, the Canadian federal government issued the *Dominion Housing Act* in 1935 to provide $20 million ($454,166,666 in 2025) in loans over three years to finance private dwellings, rental units, and limited dividend housing corporations for social housing projects across the nation.[31]

In 1937, the Federal Home Improvement Plan was rolled out and would subsidize interest rates on loans for the rehabilitation and improvement of housing. A year later, in 1938, the National Housing Act (NHA) was issued and would provide assistance to home buyers by providing mortgages which allowed home buyers to borrow up to 80 to 90% of the cost of a home. This is when the CMHC was created to promote mortgage borrowing by providing them at a reasonable rate and to also insure residential mortgages. It would replace the Wartime Housing Corporation, which ran from 1941-47, and whose principal role was to address the housing shortages in Canada post-World War II and encourage the construction of housing across the country. In doing so, homeownership rates and housing construction became more accessible to working and middle-class Canadians.[32]

The urban renewal program in Canada had its infancy in the 1944 NHA, when the federal government created legislation to allow it to provide subsidies for the acquisition and substandard housing on the condition it be cleared and social housing be built in its place. However, this initially resulted in little action[33] Regent Park was the first project undertaken under this program, which involved the razing of the neighbourhood of substandard housing and replacing it with high density public housing.[34]

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[30] Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy,* 17.
[31] Patricia Begin, "Housing and Parliamentary Action," in *Homelessness in Canada,* Patricia Begin, Lyne Casavant, Nancy Miller Chenier, Political and Social Affairs Division Jean Dupuis, Economics Division (Ottawa, ON: Parliamentary Research Branch, 1999), 35 https://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection-R/LoPBdP/PRB-e/PRB991-e.pdf
[32] Begin, *Housing and Parliamentary Action*.
[33] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation in Canada", (Ottawa, ON: Central Mortgage and Housing Company), 3.
[34] Albert Rose, *Regent Park,* 76.

In 1949, the NHA was amended to order to provide federal and provincial funding for the construction of social housing.

The 1954 amendment to the NHA would provide more funding to municipalities for the demolition of aging and deteriorating buildings. Under Section 23, a municipality would be provided with a federal grant that covered up to half of the cost of purchasing the land for the purpose of the removal of substandard dwellings, which would be done for the purpose of "new rental housing or for another public purposes"[35]. 75% of the cost of implementing public housing would be covered by the federal government, the remainder would be covered at the provincial government's discretion and by the municipality. Ontario's provincial government took a generous approach to funding social housing during this period, often funding the entire 25% which was not funded federally.[36] Municipalities would also receive funding to subsidize the cost of carrying out an urban renewal study to determine the existing physical, economic, and social conditions of an area under consideration for an urban renewal scheme, the study would assess the need for housing in the area and identify which actions should be undertaken as part of the urban renewal scheme for the betterment of the area.[37] This more generous funding for urban renewal studies and implementation caught the attention of many Canadian cities, including Kingston.

The 1964 NHA introduced more legislation for urban renewal and expanded the provisions of the federal urban renewal program. Prior to this amendment, federal funding was restricted to demolitions of substandard housing. With the 1964 NHA amendment, the federal government would expand their definition of urban renewal, which would now consist of three approaches, redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation, and individual urban renewal projects were empowered to use these approaches collectively in the creation of urban renewal schemes. The federal government would cover 50% of the cost of a second type of urban renewal study, which would be more comprehensive than the studies of the

[35] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Annual Report to the Minister of Public Works 1954", (Ottawa, ON: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1955), 25.
[36] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Annual Report to the Minister", 25.
[37] Stanley H. Pickett, "An Appraisal of the Urban Renewal Programme in Canada." (Toronto, ON: The University of Toronto Law Journal 18, no. 3 1968) 233–47. https://doi.org/10.2307/824956.

past and would include components such as "a reuse plan set within the context of the official plan for the community; the designation of buildings for clearance and for rehabilitation; a re-housing plan for persons and families displaced", etc.[38] The 1964 NHA led to the creation of provincial housing corporations, such as the Ontario Housing Corporation, to manage the construction of social housing throughout the province. Part III of the NHA was also amended to broaden the types of urban renewal schemes allowed, expanding from only residential areas to the redevelopment of both residential and commercial areas. Loans for urban rehabilitation became available, rather than grants, under this legislation.

The changes to the NHA under the 1964 amendment resulted in an increase in the number of urban renewal schemes across Canada. Growing public disapproval of the urban renewal program occurred in response to this expansion, and in 1969 the Canadian government created a task force, the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, to "to examine housing and urban development in Canada and to report on ways in which the Federal government, in company with other levels of government and the private sector, can help meet the housing needs of all Canadians and contribute to the development of modern, vital cities."[39] The report made a recommendation that urban renewal be discontinued, stating that when an urban renewal project occurs, "community spirit ends and community uncertainty and, in most cases, resentment begins".[40] The task force suggested that:

> the very act of circling entire neighbourhoods with an urban renewal pencil, when the real concern, in fact, is with one or two blocks or a single street or even a group of houses on one street. If this is the case, why stigmatize the entire area If public designations are necessary at all, they should be more carefully defined to cover the dwellings or groups of dwellings which really are at issue.[41]

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[38] Picket, "An Appraisal of the Urban Renewal", 236.
[39] Paul Hellyer, "Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development", (Ottawa, ON: Queen's Printer, 1969), n1.
[40] Hellyer, "Report on the Federal Task Force…", 69.
[41] Hellyer, "Report on the Federal Task Force…", 69.

As a result of this report, the federal urban renewal program was frozen, with funds being dispersed on a limited basis.[42] The federal urban renewal program had in total funded 200 urban renewal studies, 100 of which had been successfully implemented. Those that had been implemented, or were still in the process of implementation, received funding after the programs freeze to complete the project.[43] The 1973, the NHA was amended once again and the legislation for the urban renewal program was repealed. It was replaced by two programs, the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan Program (NIP) and the Urban Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), to address the rehabilitation of substandard housing. The goal of the NIP was to "to conserve and maintain the desirable qualities of residential neighbourhoods before they deteriorate to a state where major redevelopment is required".[44] The purpose of RRAP was a program to "improve the housing conditions of low and moderate income families by assisting in the repair of existing family housing units".[45]

The urban renewal program in Canada was not without its criticisms of racism and discrimination of people of colour. The urban renewal scheme of Africville in Halifax, Nova Scotia, which entailed razing of the homes of 400 black Nova Scotians and their forced displacement, is now synonymous with the racist urban renewal practices and is one of the most prominent Canadian planning injustices of the 1960s.[46] In the case of Rideau Heights, where racial injustice was not connected to the urban renewal projects, classism played a major role in the carrying out of the project. In the 1950s and 60s, the Rideau Heights neighbourhood was largely populated by white, working-class families and as could be seen in other areas of Kingston's North End, had a higher rate of families and individuals receiving welfare than in other Kingston neighbourhoods.[47]

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[42] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation…", 3.
[43] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation…", 3.
[44] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation…", 4.
[45] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation…", 5.
[46] Tina Loo, "The View from Jacob Street: Reframing Urban Renewal in Postwar Halifax", (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis 48, no. 2, 2019), 5–42. https://doi.org/10.1353/aca.2019.0009.
[47] Harris, "Democracy in Kingston", 32.; Gordon Stephenson and George Muirhead. *A Planning Study of Kingston, Ontario*. (Kingston, Ontario: Corporation of the City of Kingston, 1960), 42.

Chapter 4 Analysis

The plan for the Rideau Heights urban renewal project went through a number of iterations between the time it was conceived by Stephenson and Muirhead in 1955 and when the final plan of subdivision was approved in 1966. The 1957 *Preliminary Report on Housing* was a precursor to the urban renewal plan, a study required by the federal government to demonstrate the City's need for funding and had a much larger boundary than later plans. The urban renewal plan developed by Stephenson and Muirhead and outlined in their 1961 *Planning Study of Kingston* showed a typical urban renewal plan with the razing of the neighbourhood and the construction of a modernist superblock of affordable housing and a modernist cul-de-sac with single detached and duplex housing. The 1962 plan would become even simpler, keeping the general street layout and instead converting dead-end streets to modernist crescents. Interestingly, the plan called for six structures classified as "good" that did not conform to the new layout of lots would be moved to prepared sites in the plan area. The revised 1963 would become even simpler, dwellings classified as "good" and "fair" would remain untouched, save for 1 "good" dwelling and 6 "fair" dwellings, which did not conform to the new layout and would be demolished. The final plan of subdivision in 1966 involved small alterations to the 1963 plan, including adding another modernist crescent and leaving houses classified as "good" and "fair" untouched. It also involved the sale of 16 lots to OHC for the construction of affordable housing. The final urban renewal plan for in Rideau Heights was one that not typically seen in North America, more closely resembling the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan which ultimately replaced the federal Urban Renewal Program.

4.1 1957 *Preliminary Report on Housing*

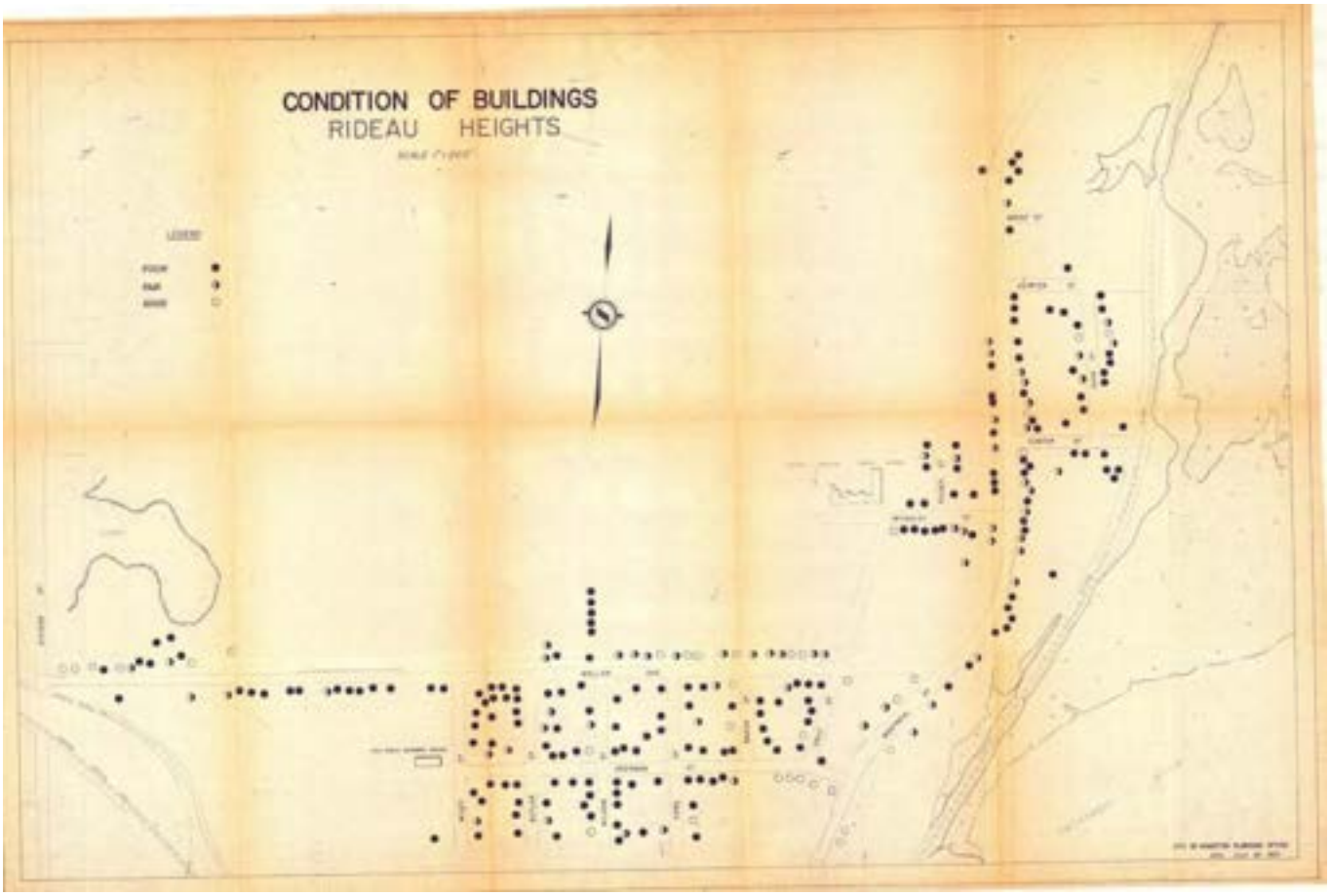

Figure 4-1: Conditions of Buildings Survey, 1957..
Source: Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights. Kingston, ON: City of Kingston, 19.

The 1957 *Preliminary Report on Housing* laid the groundwork for the urban renewal studies that came later. This report found that 68% of the 280 houses under examination were substandard, 23% were in fair condition, and 9% were in good condition.[48] The results of the social survey conducted in Rideau Heights found that the majority of residents living in substandard housing did so due to insufficient income available to afford to purchase or rent adequate, market-price housing.[49]

[48] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston, V*
[49] "City Council Moves to Start On Rideau Heights Program", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 11, 1958, Newspapers.com, 13.

The initial survey on housing conditions published in November 1957 had a larger boundary than later redevelopment plans, looking at houses between Division Street, Montreal Street, and north of Brent Street. The plan would later be bounded by Wiley Street to the west, Weller Avenue to the north, and Montreal Street to the east.

Figure 4-2: Photo of Rideau Heights home, note the unpaved streets and irregular layout of dwellings..
Source: *Photograph of a Rideau Heights home, 1958, V123, Box 1, File 6, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.*

4.2 1958-60 Stephenson and Muirhead Plan

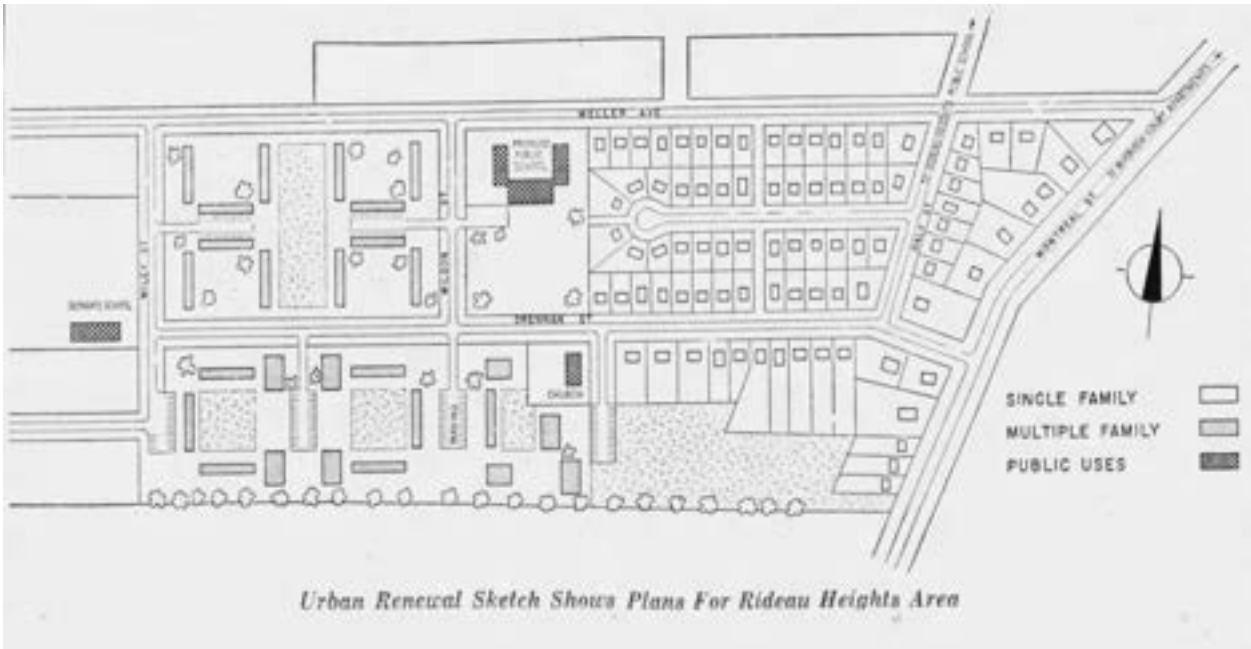

Figure 4-3: Proposed redevelopment plan of Rideau Heights
Source: Stephenson & Muirhead. (1961), ill. 53, p. 68.

The proposed development plan outlined in Stephenson and Muirheads *A Planning Study of Kingston, 1960* began to be developed as early as 1958, when work began on the study. The study cost a total of $20,000 ($216,556 in 2025), $5000 ($54,139 in 2025) of which would be covered by the municipality.[50] The boundary of the urban renewal area was smaller than what had been studied in the 1957 *Preliminary Report on Housing*, and was bounded by Weller Avenue in the north, Montreal Street in the east, and Wiley Street to the west, as shown in Figure 4-3.

The acquisition of land and structures and subsequent demolition of structures would cost $334,684 ($3,623,896 in 2025), where 50% would be paid by the federal government and 25% would be paid by the provincial government. [51]

[50] "Renewal Report Concentrates on Four City Areas", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 24, 1960, Newspapers.com, 15.
[51] "Redevelopment Project in Rideau Heights Planned", *Kingston Whig Standard*, March 9, 1960.

Section IX of the *Planning Study of Kingston, 1960* detailed the special study into Rideau Heights, summarizing previous studies' findings and detailing proposal for redevelopment of the neighbourhood. The plan, shown above, involved the razing of the neighbourhood and the introduction of a modernist superblock of public housing, shown on the left side of the plan, which replaced the majority of the substandard housing in the area. The remainder of housing would be provided in modernist cul-de-sac, shown on the right side, which would have single detached or duplex dwellings. The report stated that:

> In this Report it is proposed that there should be a reorganization of properties south of Weller Avenue, and the removal of substandard structures, to allow a more seemly, healthy and economical development. The area south of Weller Avenue consists mainly of lots eighty feet wide by a hundred and fifty feet deep. It is zoned R2 which permits one and two family dwellings. Water, hydro, and the telephone service are available, but there are no gas or sewer pipes in the streets, septic tanks and outside [lavatories] being used. In the nine housing blocks illustrated in detail there are 94 houses. It is suggested that about 84 should be removed. It is proposed that houses which are in good condition should be retained, either on their existing lots or by removal to an adjacent block, Since the lots are generally 80 feet wide by 150 feet deep this will allow redevelopment on the cleared sites to at least double the density by using 50 x 100 foot lots, or to even greater density if row-housing is introduced. As the area is deficient in schools at the moment, one block is suggested for a new public school. In addition some park area is proposed. It is hoped that a transformed Rideau Heights will readily and reasonably link up with the proposed development to the north. The scheme could result in an increase of about 250 units on the 36 acres, which would include a public school site of 3 acres and a park of 3 acres.[52]

[52] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston*, 68.

Figure 4-4: Substandard housing in Rideau Heights, c.1958. This image was included in Stephenson and Muirhead's 1960 Study of Kingston, ON as Illustration No. 51.
Source: Photograph of a social worker visiting a substandard Rideau Heights home, 1958, V123, Box 1, File 6, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

As shown in Figure 4-3, the plan involved the demolition of homes classified as substandard and replaced them with subsidized public housing project on the parcel bounded by Wiley and Wilson Streets. The boundary of the urban renewal area was much smaller than that set out in the 1957 *Preliminary Report on Housing* with the northern border of the urban renewal project delineated by Weller Avenue, likely due to budget constraints. A new public school would be constructed on the parcel west of Wilson Street bounded by Weller Avenue in the north and Drennan Street in the south. The current 80-foot lot frontages would be reduced to 50-foot frontages, allowing for a greater density of single-family homes.[53] The redevelopment would cost an estimated $350,000 ($3,789,735 in 2025).[54] The plan would also

[53] "Redevelopment Approved", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 9, 1961, Newspapers.com, 13.
[54] "City Council to Debate Rideau Heights Proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 8, 1961, Newspapers.com, 17.

include the addition of a new public elementary school, located on Weller Avenue and a new park located in the south-eastern portion of the plan area, as shown above in Figure 4-3.

The design was ultimately abandoned, and later versions of the plan opted to introduce infill and use the existing street grid.

4.3 1959-60 – Riverview Court

In 1959, a $700,000 ($7,529,605 in 2025), 71-unit social housing project was approved for the Rideau Heights area on Montreal Street. The social housing development, later named Riverview Court, would address the need for low-rental housing in Kingston and would also be used to house those displaced by a potential future urban renewal project for the area. Riverview Court would have 20 two-bedroom units and 51 three-bedroom units.[55]

Figure 4-5: Riverview Court c.1962
Source: "Riverview Court is Given Bouquets", *Kingston Whig Standard,* July 17, 1962, Newspapers.com, 13.

[55] "Rideau Heights Housing Project Gets Approved", *Kingston Whig Standard,* February 25, 1959, Newspapers.com, 33.

4.4 1962 – Rideau Heights Urban Renewal Plan

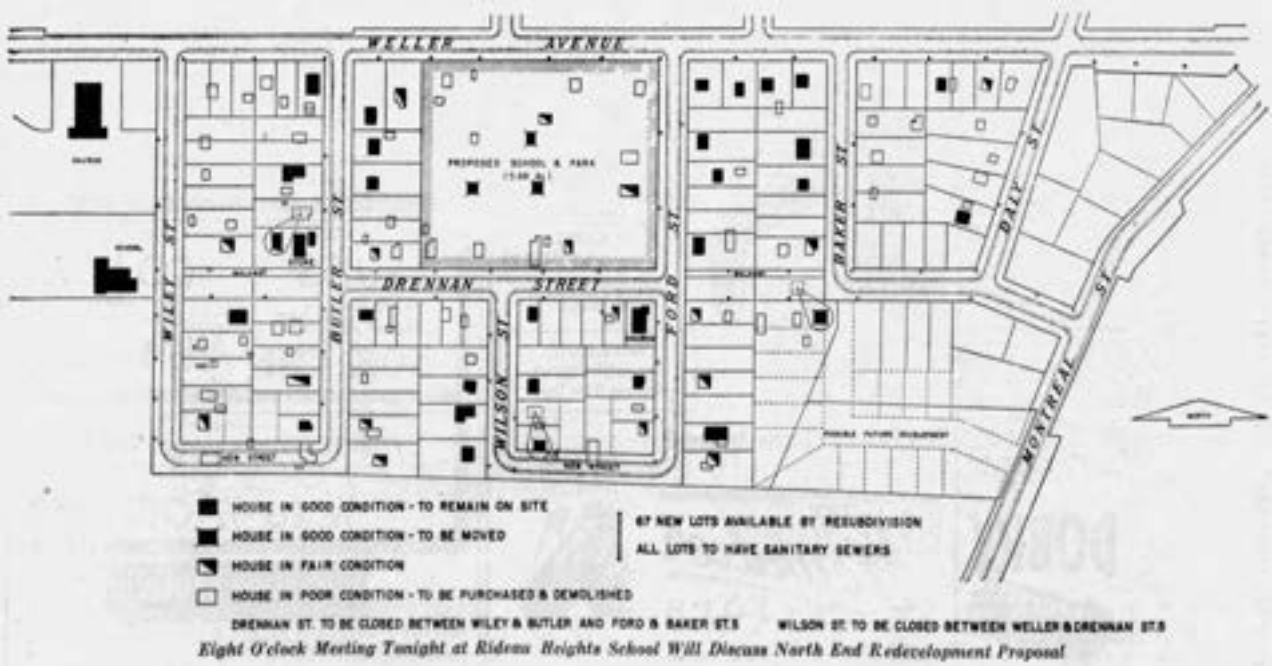

Figure 4-6: 1962 Proposed Redevelopment Plan of Rideau Heights
Source: [Proposed redevelopment plan], *Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston),* August 9, 1962, Newspapers.com, 17.

The plan presented in 1962 made several changes from the 1960 plan. Amendments to the earlier version of the plan both to reduce the cost of the urban renewal project by leaving good structures untouched and moving away from the typical style of urban renewal which razed and rebuilt the entire designated area. The new plan would leave structures classified as "good" untouched, save for six structures which did not fit the new plan of subdivision and would be moved to prepared sites, and would involve the demolition of 57 homes in poor condition. A new street layout would be introduced to the area, as well as a site for a proposed park and school. Rather than build new public housing in the plan area, which had been suggested in earlier iterations of the plan, residents who wished to move into subsidized rental housing rather than purchase a lot after the project would be offered housing in a

proposed 21-unit extension to the existing Riverview Court on Montreal Street.[56] The plan would result in the addition of 67 lots to the redevelopment area.

The streetscape would also be converted to modernist crescents, as shown above connecting Wiley and Butler Streets, Wilson and Ford Streets, and Baker and Daly Streets. This change from the area's grid street pattern would serve to eliminate the "gridiron type" design and discourage through traffic.[57] Drennan Street would be closed Wiley and Butler Streets and between Ford and Barker Streets. Wilson Street would also be closed between Drennan Street and Weller Avenue to make space for a proposed school and park site. To fit this new streetscape and lot layout, six structures would need to be moved.

Figure 4-7: Picture of a "fair" Rideau Heights home c.1962
Source: Photograph of an abandoned Rideau Heights home, 1962, 4/100.9, Box 3, File 1, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

[56] "Rideau Heights Redevelopment Gets Favorable Reception", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 10, 1962, Newspapers.com, 13.
[57] "Public Meeting Thursday on North End Planning", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 8, 1962, Newspapers.com, 17.

4.5 1963 – Revised Urban Renewal Plan

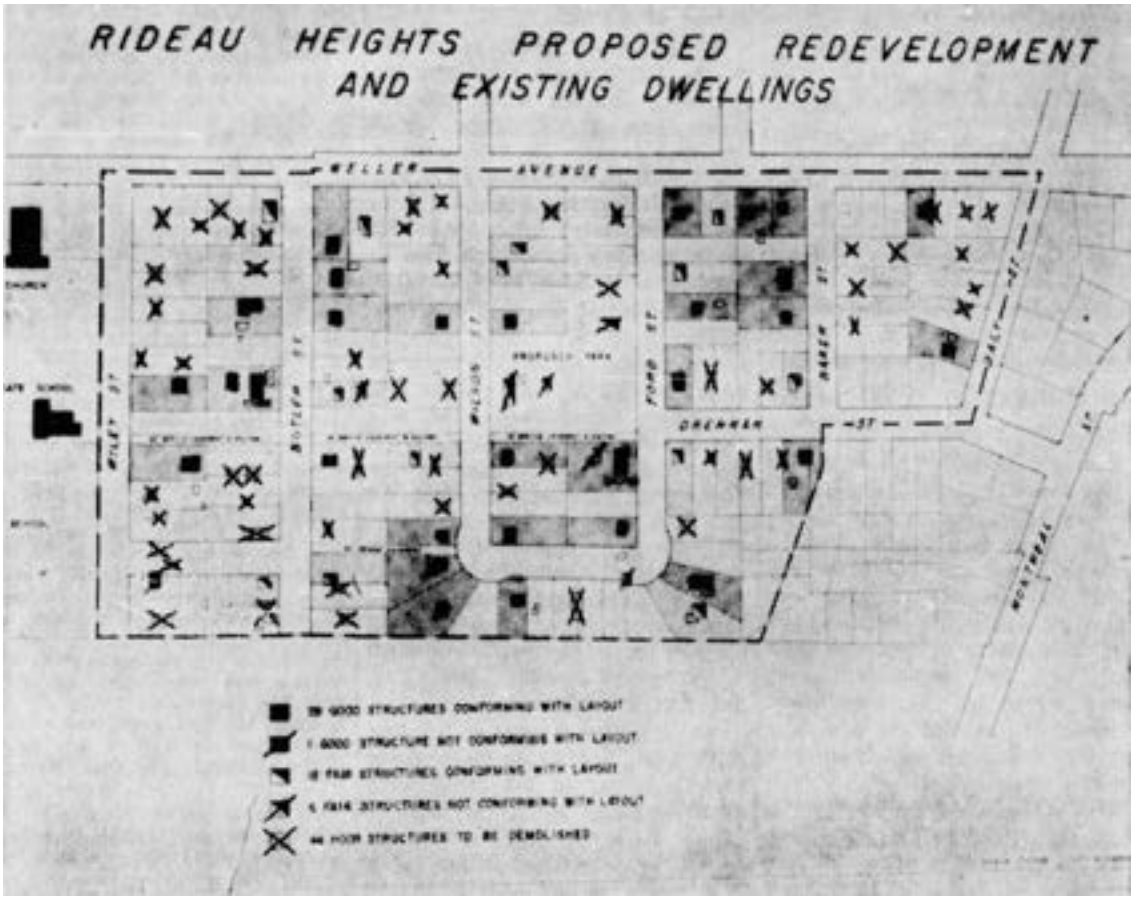

Figure 4-8: Rideau Heights Proposed Redevelopment and Existing Buildings
Source: "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.

A revised plan for the urban renewal plan in 1963 made minor changes to the 1962 version. Changes had been made to the earlier plan to further reduce the cost of the urban renewal project. The plan opted to keep the existing street grid and abandoned the plan to clear a large portion of land between Weller Avenue and Drennan Street into a large park and school area. These changes reduced the number of lots the city would need to expropriate and left the majority of "good" and "fair" structures untouched. This further reduced the cost of the redevelopment plan, reducing the cost of lots by $700 ($7153 in 2025), bringing the price of a lot in the redevelopment area down to $2000 ($20,437 in 2025), increasing their affordability for residents of the Rideau Heights. Furthermore, the boundary of the urban renewal

area was decreased, the eastern border only extending to Daly Street rather than to Montreal Street as it had in earlier iterations of the plan.

The approved final draft of application for the Rideau Heights redevelopment for $698,665 ($7,139,482 in 2025)[58]. The city would assume $70,421 ($719,614 in 2025) of the costs.[59] The finance committee recommended to Council that the redevelopment be done on a basis of minimum services. In this revised plan, 133 lots would be provided instead of the original 100, and would cost an estimated $1400 ($14,306 in 2025) per lot. The price of a serviced lot would be reduced from $3335 ($34,079 in 2025) or $2440 ($24,933 in 2025), down to $2000 ($20,437 in 2025) per lot. In this new plan, 51 of the 92 structures included in the plan area would be demolished. The 28 structures classified as "good", and 16 homes classified as "fair" homes would remain. The 44 "poor" homes, along with one structure classified as "good" which did not conform to the proposed plan of subdivision would be demolished and 6 "fair" homes that did not conform to the new layout would be demolished.

The proposed streetscape would also be changed to be more similar to the existing streetscape of Rideau Heights at the time. Drennan Street would now extend from Montreal Street and be closed at Ford Street. Rather than become a crescent, Wiley Street and Butler Street would instead be connected by a new street two lots north of the streets' dead-ends. The only modernist crescent to remain would be one connecting Wilson and Ford Streets, as shown in the image above. A proposed park would be included in the plan between Wilson and Ford Streets.

[58] "Rideau Heights Plan Gets Council Approval", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 17, 1963, Newspapers.com, 15.
[59] "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.

Figure 4-9: Image of an abandoned Rideau Heights house graded as "poor"
Source: Photograph of an abandoned Rideau Heights home, 1962, 4/100.9, Box 3, File 1, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

4.6 1966 – Plan of Subdivision

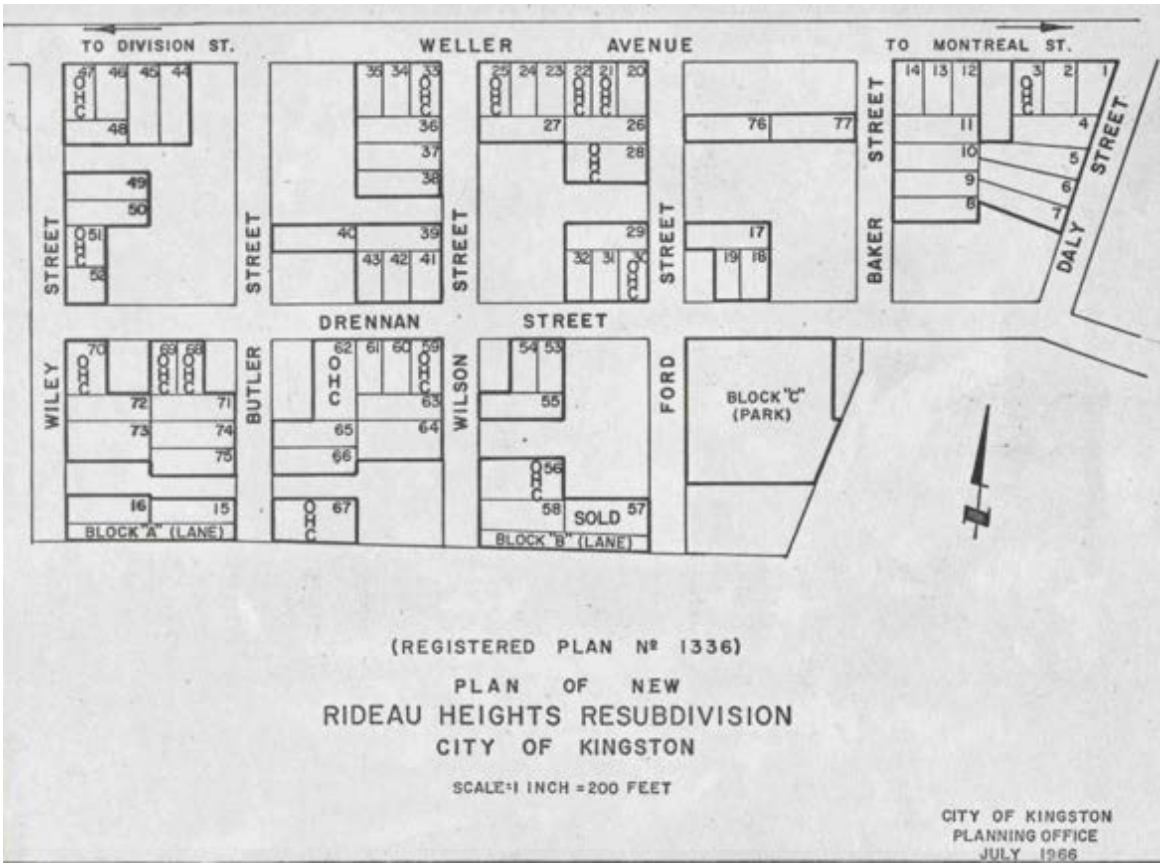

Figure 4-10: 1966 Rideau Heights Plan of Subdivision
Source: Registered plan of subdivision of an abandoned Rideau Heights home, 1966, 4/100.9, Box 2, File 11, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

In an effort to further increase affordability of lots in the urban renewal area, further modification to the renewal plan were made. The final plan would use the existing street grid and therefore eliminated the need to expropriate lots with dwellings that were "good" or "fair". The cost of development was more than halved as a result of the changes made, bringing the total cost of the urban renewal project down from $698,665 ($7,008,081 in 2025) to $322,851 ($3,238,413 in 2025).[60]

In April 1964, Council received and approved a final draft of application for the Rideau Heights redevelopment for a total of $322,851[61]. The city would assume $59,149 ($593,304 in 2025) of the

[60] "Legal Notices", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 10, 1964, Newspapers.com, 28.
[61] "Modified Plan Adopted", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 28, 1964, Newspapers.com, 15.

costs.[62] The finance committee recommended to Council that the redevelopment be done on a basis of minimum services. In this revised plan, 139 lots would be provided instead of the original 103, and would cost an estimated $1400 ($14,042 in 2025) per lot. The price of a serviced lot would be reduced from $3335 ($33,452 in 2025) or $2440 ($24,474 in 2025), down to $2000 ($20,061 in 2025) per lot.

The plan had been updated after the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) ruled in 1966 that lots with structures classified as "good" on them could not be expropriated. The plan was therefore amended to ensure those lots would not be impacted by the plan. It was decided that lots with homes classified as "good" or "fair" would be untouched. The plan would involve the retention of 53 structures, which included 32 existing "good" dwellings, 19 existing "fair" dwellings, one church and one store. The plan involved the demolition of 46 structures, 45 "poor" homes and one "fair". 139 lots would be created from the 103 that were expropriated.

Displaced residents had first choice for the lots, then land would be sold to the OHC for 20 public housing units. The 1966 registered plan of subdivision for the redevelopment area, Figure 4-10, shows that OHC purchased 16 lots to build single and semi-detached units of affordable housing.

The final plan also kept the existing street grid, adding two modernist crescents connecting Wiley and Butler Streets and Wilson and Ford Streets. Land for a park was provided south of Drennan Street and east of Ford Street, shown as "Block "C" (Park)" in Figure 4-10.

[62]"Modified Plan Adopted", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), 15.

Figure 4-11: 1970 aerial photograph of Rideau Heights showing the modernist crescents and Starr Reid Park constructed as a part of the urban renewal project.
Source: 1970 Air Photo Service [computer file]. Kingston, ON: City of Kingston. Available: KMaps (Accessed March 30, 2025).

4.7 1966-67 – Riverview Court Expansion

Figure 4-12: Riverview Court expansion c.1966
Source*:* "Firsts Steps to Alleviate Housing Shortage", *Kingston Whig Standard,* March 14, 1966, Newspapers.com, 21.

The OHC announced an additional 70 units of public housing to be located on Montreal Street in Rideau Heights. These units, along with 100 other units across the city, were built in response to a shortage of low-rental housing across the city.

4.8 1969-71 – Headway Corporation Housing Development

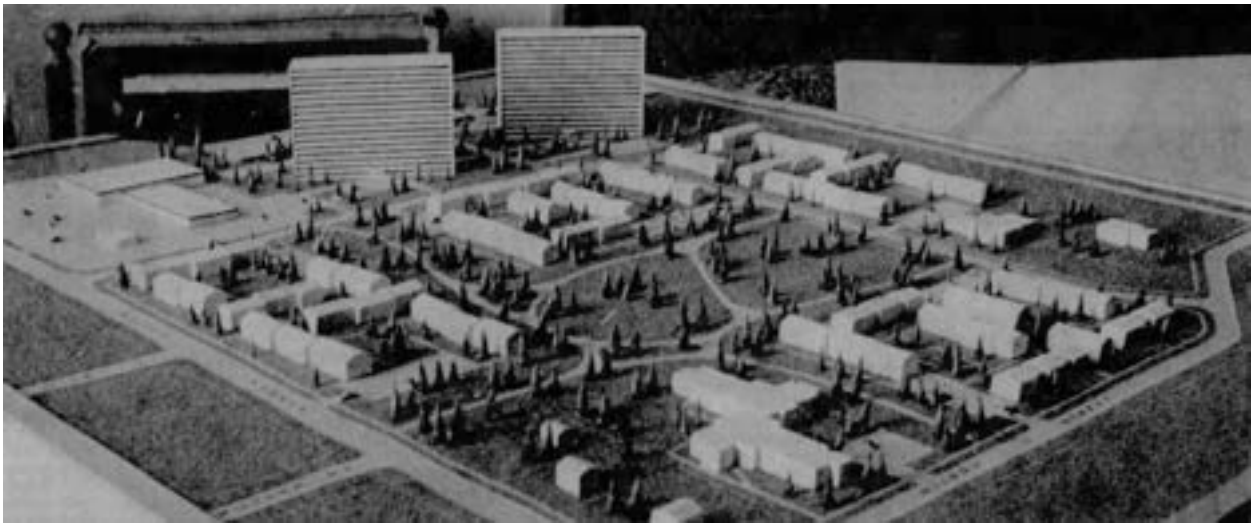

Figure 4-13: Model of proposed Headway project plan
Source: Board approves increased density for Headway development", Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston), March 11, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.

In December 1969, the Kingston Housing Committee approved a 298-unit rent geared to income (RGI) project consisting of 184 family RGI units, 52 seniors' units, and 62 family units at the south north of Weller and Wylie Streets. The OHC contract for the project was awarded to the Headway Corporation and was set to begin in the spring of 1970 dependent on city approval and a zone change. [63] On December 18, the Headway Corporation received $2,776,768 ($23,523,397 in 2025) loan from CMHC to build 184 of family RGI units.[64]

However, the plan was rejected by the OMB in October of 1970 after months of community opposition to the project. The project was then revised and was presented in the beginning of 1971. The plan for the Headway development was presented to Council in February 1971 and was larger and denser than originally planned. An additional 380 apartment units and 10 town house units were included in the development, totalling 688 units, and the density of the project would increase from 17 dwellings per acre to 28 units per acre.[65] After being rejected by City Council in February, the plan was modified to have 246

[63] "Housing Committee approves proposal to construct 298 units", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 15, 1969, Newspapers.com, 19.
[64] "Another housing project", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 18, 1969, Newspapers.com, 35.
[65] "More opposition to proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 29, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.

RGI units and 52 seniors' units, as well as two 16-storey apartment buildings with 380 units.[66] The plan would also include a central park space, as shown above in Figure 4-12. This plan was approved by Council in March 1971 but was rejected by the OMB in June.

In February 1972, the OMB held another hearing for the Headway project, and on March 2, the OMB approved Headway's proposal to build 678 units on Weller Avenue.[67] The Headway project received a $4,132,000 ($31,276,944 in 2025) loan from CMHC for construction of RGI units in October of the same year.[68]

[66] "Board approves increased density for Headway development", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 11, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.
[67] "Headway project approved", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 2, 1972, Newspapers.com, 1.
[68] "Headway receives a loan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 5, 1972, Newspapers.com, 39.

4.9 Discussion

The Rideau Heights urban renewal project has had lasting impacts on the urban fabric of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood which last today. The implementation of public housing on Montreal Street was the result of a 1958 Condition of Building Survey undertaken by the OHC to determine the need for public housing in Kingston. This would kickstart the development of numerous public housing units in the area, with the addition of units to Riverview Court in 1966 and the Headway project in 1972. The legacy of public housing is one that has continued to impact Rideau Heights today.

Table 4-1: Evolution of the urban renewal plans for Rideau Heights

Plan	Total Number of Units	Total Number of Lots	Houses to be Moved	Houses to be Demolished	Houses to be Saved	Estimated Cost
1957 Housing Study	-	173 lots	-	-	-	-
1958-60 Stephenson and Muirhead Plan	260 units	86 lots	-	84 houses	10 houses	$350,000 ($3,789,735 in 2025).
1959-60 Riverview Court	71-unit subsidized low rental housing project.	-	-	-	-	$700,000 ($7,529,605 in 2025).
1962 Proposed Urban Renewal Plan	21-unit addition to Riverview Court.	Creation of 67 lots, totalling 148 lots in the redevelopment area.	6 houses	57 houses	28 houses	-
1963 Revised Urban Renewal Plan	-	Creation of 33 lots, totalling 133 lots in the redevelopment area.	-	44 houses	48 houses	$698,665 ($7,139,482 in 2025).
1966 Plan of Subdivision	-	Creation of 36 lots, totalling 139 lots in the redevelopment area.	-	46 houses	51 houses	$322,851 ($3,299,133 in 2025).
1966-67 – Riverview Court Expansion	70-unit addition to Riverview Court	-	-	-	-	-
1969-72 Headway Project	678-unit subsidized housing projected	-	-	-	-	$4,132,000 ($33,444,653 in 2025).

The plan went through numerous iterations, with earlier versions that detailed ambitious plans to relocate homes classified as “good” to new lots in order to maximize the number of lots that could be created in the redevelopment area. However, the cost of the project proved to be a major roadblock in the

carrying out of this project, resulting in serious delays, as detailed above. The cost, along with community pushback against the modification of lots with "good" houses on them resulted in an OMB ruling in 1964 that no lots with houses categorized as "good" would be altered. The 1963 amended redevelopment plan ultimately decided that lots with dwellings categorized as "good" and "fair" would be left out of the redevelopment plan. The final plan would cost $322,851 ($3,238,413 in 2025), with the City of Kingston's share of the urban renewal project would be $59,149 ($593,304 in 2025). This, plus the $66,913 ($671,182 in 2025) for the cost of utilities and streets, meant the total cost of the project for the City of Kingston would be $126,062 ($1,264,486 in 2025), making up 1.2% of the City's $9,800,000 ($98,300,613 in 2025) budget for 1964.[69]

As the plan evolved, it became increasingly less complex. The 1960 Stephenson and Muirhead plan intended to essentially clear the entire area. However, as the plan evolved, the proposed plan for the urban renewal area became less elaborate and began to resemble the neighbourhood's existing layout. This was done to reduce the cost of the project and to make the plan more acceptable to residents. Furthermore, the boundaries of the urban renewal area shrunk and the layout changed to reduce the cost of the overall redevelopment project, both in an effort to reduce the City's share of the cost but also to reduce the cost per lot for residents, and to reduce neighbourhood opposition to changes being made to homes categorized as "good".

Phase 1 of the redevelopment plan was completed in 1966. The plan resulted in the retention of 53 original lots and the demolition of 51 substandard homes. The total amount of lots in the area rose from 103 to 139 as a result of the redevelopment project. 51 of the original self-built homes were not scheduled for demolition as a part of the urban renewal project and many still remain today, serving as reminders of the area's history. Of the 46 families whose homes were demolished as a part of the urban renewal project, only nine opted to be relocated into public housing. Of the remaining 37 families, those

[69] "$9.8 Million Budget Is on Agenda", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 23, 1964, Newspapers.com, 13.

who had been homeowners relocated to other homes in Kingston and those who had been tenants did the same. Those who relocated outside of the city, however, moved to dwellings with poor housing conditions similar to their former homes.[70]

As discussed above, the 1966 registered plan of subdivision for the redevelopment area shows that OHC purchased 16 lots to build single and semi-detached units of affordable housing. OHC built affordable rental housing on all of their lots, which were inherited by the Kingston Frontenac Housing Corporation when the responsibility for the development and delivery of affordable housing was downloaded from the province of Ontario to municipalities in 1998 under the Local Services Realignment program.[71] In 2007, KFHC sold 8 of their properties in Rideau Heights transforming those addresses into private owner-occupied housing and increasing the rate of private homeownership in the area and moving subsidized units out of Kingston's North End.[72]

The two parks created as a part of the urban renewal project: Shannon Park, immediately north of Weller Avenue and immediately north of the northern boundary of the redevelopment area, and Starr Reid Park, located south of Drennan Street and east of Ford Street within the redevelopment area. Both still stand today in Rideau Heights, serving as important recreational spaces for the neighbourhood. Though no schools were built in the redevelopment area, John Graves Simcoe Public School was built in 1969 on lands immediately west to the urban renewal area on Wiley Street. This was the third school to be built in the area, Rideau Heights Public School and Holy Family Catholic School having both been built prior to the urban renewal project. A retail plaza was built on the north side of Weller Avenue in the 1970s following the completion of the urban renewal project.

[70]Elda Presse, "Urban Renewal – "Pick Up the Phone", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 4, 1967, Newspapers.com, 10.
[71] Office of the Auditor General of Ontario, *2009 Annual Report*, 2009, 277, https://www.auditor.on.ca/en/content/annualreports/arreports/en09/2009AR_en_web_entire.pdf
[72] John Henderson, email message to author, March 28, 2025.

Most importantly, the area is now serviced, with paved streets and sidewalks, streetlights, water and sewer, and no tar paper shacks remain.

However, the percentage of residents who own their homes changed dramatically as a result of the urban renewal project, and not for the better. Prior to urban renewal, the area had a higher-than-average percentage of homeowners. 75.2% of residents interviewed in the 1957 Housing Study identified as owner-occupants, compared to the city's average of 47.2%, the Ontario urban average of 65.3%, and the national urban average of 56.16% in the early 1950s.[73] Today, the percentage of owner-occupied homes in Rideau Heights, and the larger Kingscourt-Rideau census tract, which includes the Rideau Heights and Kingscourt neighbourhoods, is 44%, far lower than the rest of the city's average of 55%, the provincial average of 68.4%, and the national average of 66.5%.[74] This is as a result of the increased social housing stock built in the area during and after the urban renewal project. Ironically, in the original urban renewal area the rate of homeownership is nearly 100%.

The Rideau Heights urban renewal project constituted a different type of urban renewal than what had typically been seen across Canada with projects such as Regent Park in Toronto, ON and Africville in Halifax, NS. Rideau Heights took a more sensitive, individualized approach to urban renewal akin to Patrick Geddes' concept of conservative surgery: keep buildings that were in good condition or could be repaired and remove those that could not. Though none of the houses in the scheme ended up being moved, the fact that this was considered illustrate how different this urban renewal scheme was compared to those that completely razed the site and replaced them with high density social housing projects. Today, original Rideau Heights homes are difficult to differentiate from those built after the urban renewal

[73] City of Kingston Planning Board, *Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions…*, 16.
[74]"Kingston, ON Demographics", Point2Homes, accessed February 24, 2025, https://www.point2homes.com/CA/Demographics/ON/Kingston-Demographics.html ;
City of Kingston, Electoral District Census Profiles: Family Housing and Mobility (Kingston ON, City of Kingston, January 6, 2025); Statistics Canada, Homeownership rate declines from 2011 to 2021 in all provinces and territories, except in the Northwest Territories (Ottawa, ON, Government of Canada, 2022).

project, illustrating how the urban renewal project did improve the substandard living conditions in the neighbourhood.

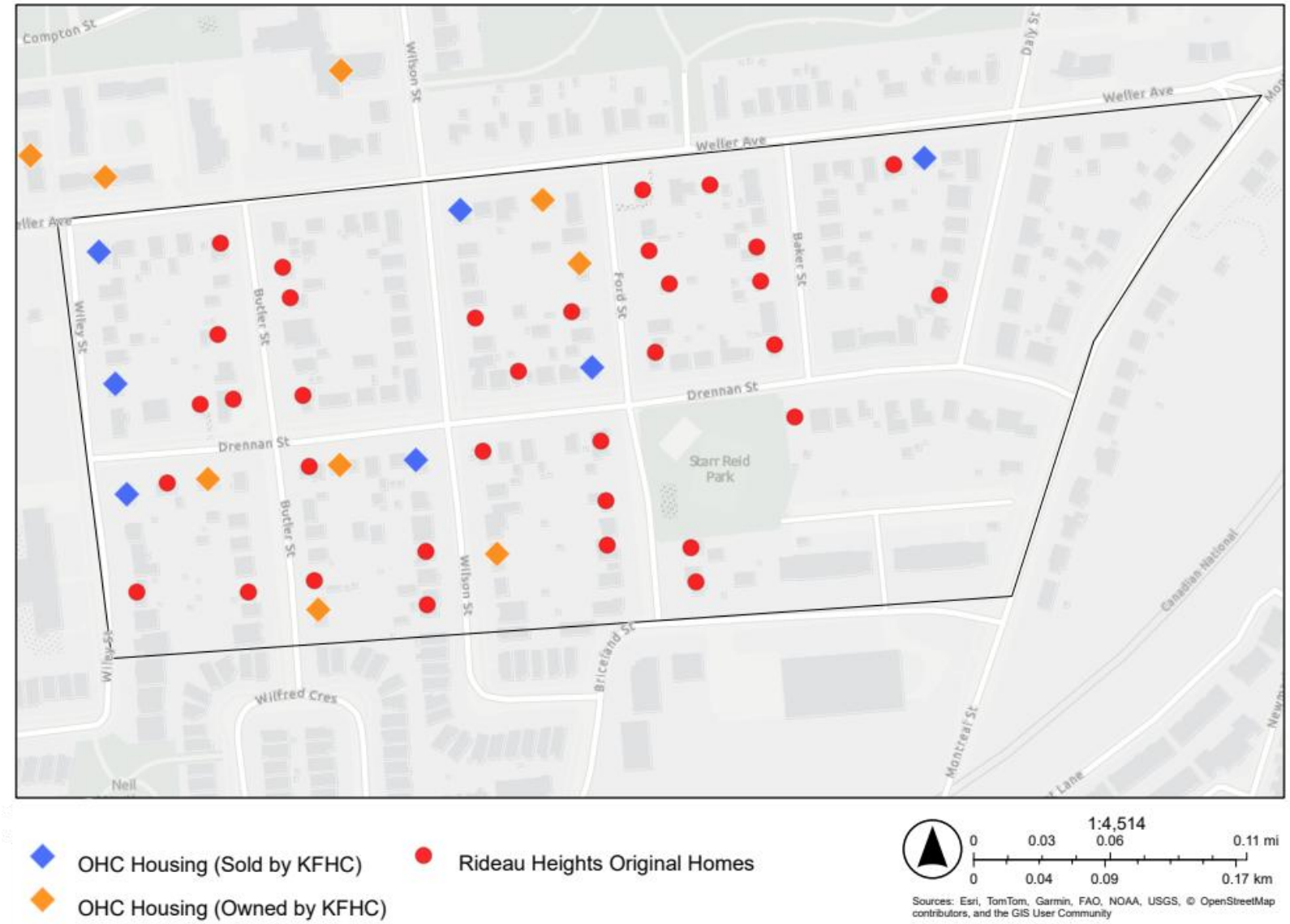

Figure 4-14: Map of remaining original homes in Rideau Heights

Examples of Rideau Heights Homes Before and After:

80 Wilson Street

Before

Figure 4-15: Photo of 80 Wilson Street c.1962
Source: Photograph 80 Wilson Street, 1962, 4/100.9, Box 3, File 1, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

After

Figure 4-16: Google Streetview Image of 80 Wilson Street c.2014
Source: Google Maps. [n.d.]. [Streetview image of 80 Wilson Streetc.2014] [Street]. Retrieved [March 30, 2025], from https://maps.app.goo.gl/MfTspGPq2ta7bMoEA.

76 Drennan Street

Before

Figure 4-17: Photo of 76 Drennan Street c.1962
Source: Photograph 76 Drennan Street, 1962, 4/100.9, Box 3, File 1, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

After

Figure 4-18: Google Streetview Image of 76 Drennan Street c.2023
Source: Google Maps. [n.d.]. [Streetview image of 76 Drennan Street c.2023] [Street]. Retrieved [March 30, 2025], from https://maps.app.goo.gl/LB8FGPoyCC8im51p9.

Evolution of the Urban Renewal plan for Rideau Heights from 1957-1966

1957

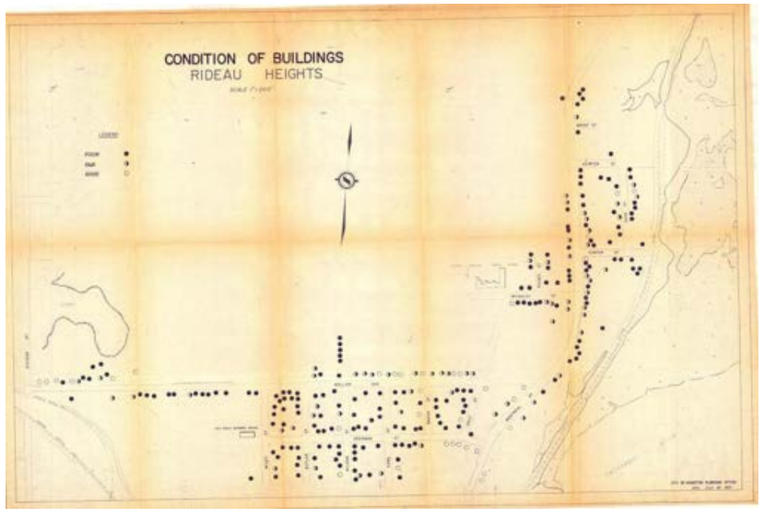

Figure 4-19 Conditions of Buildings Survey, 1957..
Source: Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights. Kingston, ON: City of Kingston, 19.

1960

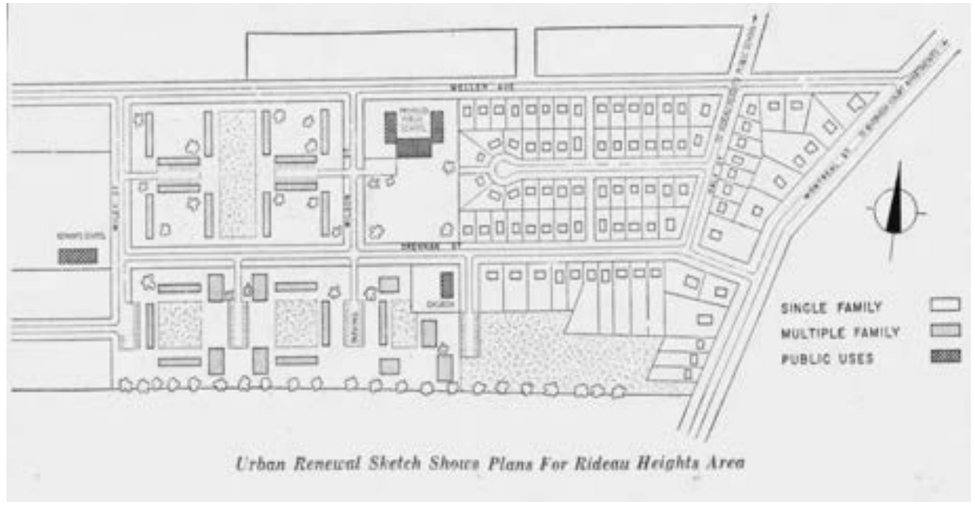

Figure 4-20: Proposed redevelopment plan of Rideau Heights
Source: Stephenson & Muirhead. (1961), ill. 53, p. 68.

1962

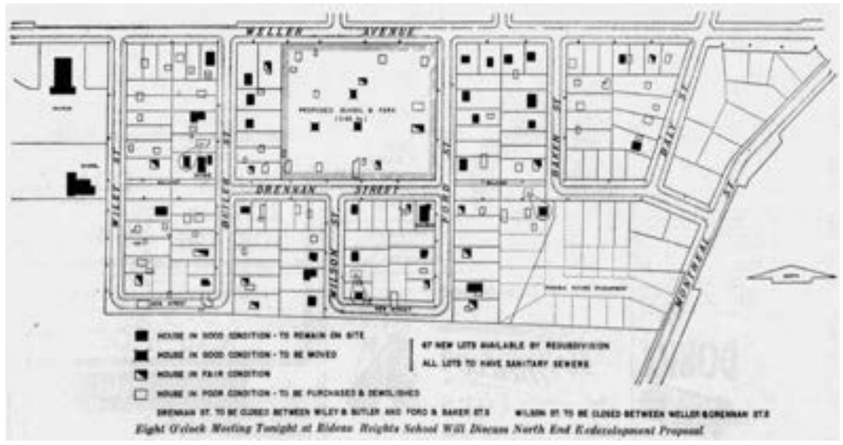

Figure 4-23: 1962 Proposed Redevelopment Plan of Rideau Heights
Source: [Proposed redevelopment plan], *Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston),* August 9, 1962, Newspapers.com, 17.

1963

Figure 4-22 Rideau Heights Proposed Redevelopment and Existing Buildings
Source: "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.

1966

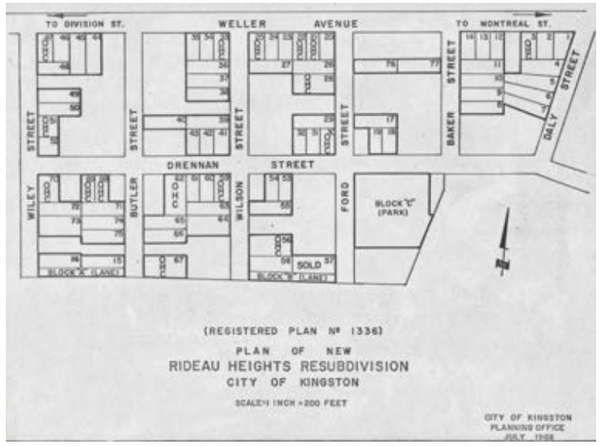

Figure 4-21: 1966 Rideau Heights Plan of Subdivision
Source: Registered plan of subdivision of an abandoned Rideau Heights home, 1966, 4/100.9, Box 2, File 11, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This report analyzed the role of urban renewal in the evolution of the Rideau Heights urban renewal plan in Kingston, Ontario using a mixture of primary and secondary sources, including plans and data collected from during the urban renewal process in the neighbourhood.

The analysis began in 1952, when the City of Kingston annexed the Rideau Heights neighbourhood, to 1973, when legislation for the Urban Renewal Program was repealed by the federal government and replaced with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.[75] The analysis used a single case study approach, which uses archival research and analysis methods, with the goal of creating a more in depth understanding of the role urban renewal had in the development of the neighbourhood. Using the chronology in Appendix A, key themes and events that have contributed to the evolution of the urban fabric of Rideau Heights were identified.

The report finds that urban renewal plan spanned a long period of time, having been conceived in 1955 and realized 11 years later in 1966, and went through several iterations, originally spanning a much larger area than what is included in the final version of the plan. The project in Rideau Heights was an unusual approach to urban renewal. Although Stephenson and Muirhead initially followed standard practice and suggested razing the core of the self-built housing, the final urban renewal project in Rideau Heights aimed to conserve as many homes as possible, even planning to move homes classified as “good” to prepared sites to fit the new plan of subdivision.

Though none of the houses in the scheme ended up being moved, the fact that this was considered illustrates the difference of this urban renewal scheme compared to other urban renewal projects in Ontario. Today, original Rideau Heights homes are difficult to differentiate from those built after the

[75] Rockwell, Margaret T. Modernist Destruction for the Ambitious City: Hamilton, Ontario's Experience with Urban Renewal. Thesis. (Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 2004). http://hdl.handle.net/11375/11926

urban renewal project, illustrating how the urban renewal project did improve the substandard housing conditions in the neighbourhood. Only 46 substandard homes were demolished as a part of the redevelopment project and 139 lots were created from the original 103. 45 of the original self-built homes which predate the urban renewal project still remain today, 34 of these homes are within the boundary of the urban renewal project and 11 were not included in the urban renewal project. These homes serve as reminders of the area's beginnings as a do-it-yourself neighbourhood and their location can be seen in Figure 4-14.[76] The original Stephenson and Muirhead urban renewal plan for the area followed the traditional model of urban renewal, suggested a Modernist superblock of public housing and a modernist cul-de-sac. The designs for the superblock of public housing, the curvilinear streets were eventually abandoned in favour with a simple redevelopment of the original street grid with the addition of two cul-de-sacs. These changes were made in part to reduce the overall cost of the urban renewal project in an effort to reduce the City's share and to increase affordability of lots in the redevelopment area. Street. Neighbourhood opposition to structures classified as "good" being impacted by the redevelopment project also resulted in further changes being made to the urban renewal plan and led to lots with structures classified as "good" and "fair" being left as-is in the 1966 plan of subdivision. Two parks were introduced to the neighbourhood as during the urban renewal project, Shannon Park and Starr Reid Park. Three years after the completion of the urban renewal project, one public elementary school, John Graves Simcoe Public School, was built on land immediately west of the urban renewal area on Wiley

The urban renewal project had a lasting impact on the social makeup of the neighbourhood. The percentage of owner-occupied dwellings in the area decreased from a higher-than-average percentage of homeowners of 75.2% to 44%, though the majority of the homes in the urban renewal area are owner-occupied style dwellings. 16 lots were purchased by OHC in 1966, and affordable housing was developed

[76] Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy*, 11.

to immediate north, east and west of the area, reducing the share of owner-occupied housing in the census tract.

The urban renewal project in Rideau Heights resulted in the neighbourhood undergoing major changes between 1952 and 1973. Today, no traces of the tarpaper shacks or outdoor privies remain, and municipal services have been fully extended to the area. The final version of the urban renewal plan focuses on rehabilitation, and new infill construction, similar to the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan that followed urban renewal in Canada.

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Appendix A

Referenced Chronology

This appendix will outline the steps taken for the Rideau Heights Redevelopment Plan and the impacts this had on the urban fabric of the Rideau Heights neighbourhood. The chapter will cover 22 years of events, beginning in 1952, when Rideau Heights was annexed by the City of Kingston and outline key events that occurred each year until 1974, when the federal government discontinued the Urban Renewal Program in favour for the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan. Key themes will then be discussed.

1952

In 1952, the Rideau Heights neighbourhood, along with a number of other partially developed suburbs were annexed from Kingston Township by the City of Kingston. The City of Kingston's population grew dramatically from 33,459 in 1951 to 48,581 in 1956 as a result of the annexations. The Rideau Heights neighbourhood contained unregulated, self-built housing on large un-serviced lots and was lacking in basic amenities such as sewers, paved or gravel roads, or municipal water services.[77] One storey, tar paper shacks fitted with outdoor privies and lacking in basic amenities such as water and sewage were not a rare sight in the neighbourhood.[78]

Many of the structures built prior to annexation were built with no formal planning or oversight by the Kingston Township and were considered "substandard" by the City of Kingston's regulations. Plans were therefore made to improve the area. Sewers were to be built, roads to be paved, and lighting to be installed to ensure the neighbourhood met municipal standards. This, however, would come at no small cost to the municipality or residents. Furthermore, lot sizes in the area were large, usually 80 feet wide by

[77] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston*, 63.
[78] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston*, 32

150 feet deep, to accommodate for septic tanks and wells due to the lack of water and sewers in the area. The size of lots were oversized by the city's municipal standards, making servicing them a challenge.[79]

1953

In February 1953, Works Commissioner Victor Robert Currie estimated that the cost of the proposed trunk sewer extension to the North and West ends would cost $1,469,000 ($17,279,244 in 2025).[80] Alderman Robert McKee stated plans to extend water services to Rideau Heights in the same month, and by June 1953 the water service extension was under way and expected to be completed by the end of the year at an estimated cost of $185,000 ($2,176,079 in 2025).[81]

1954

Between 1954 and 1955, water services were installed into the neighbourhood.[82] Sewers, however, would not be installed so swiftly, not being installed until 1959.[83]

In August 1954, A.E. Weller passed away at the age of 86 years old.[84]

The Holy Family Separate School opened in September of 1954 and was the second school to be opened in Rideau Heights.[85]

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[79] "Rideau Heights Residents Approve Renewal Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard (*Kingston*)*, July 15, 1964, Newspapers.com, 19.
[80] "Estimates for Proposed Sewer Set at $1,469,000 by V. Currie", *Kingston Whig Standard (*Kingston*)*, February 3, 1953, Newspapers.com, 13.
[81] "Consulting Engineer Criticized by Mayor", *Kingston Whig Standard (*Kingston*)*, February 9, 1953, Newspapers.com, 13; "Water Extension Program in Rideau Heights May Be Completed the End of Present Year", *Kingston Whig Standard (*Kingston*)*, June 23, 1953, Newspapers.com, 15.
[82] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston,* 31.
[83] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston,* 32.
[84] " A.E. Weller Dies at Age Of 86 Years ", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 19, 1954, Newspapers.com, 17.
[85] Pense "Holy Family Schools Fills Great Need", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), 9.

1955

In April 1955, Kingston hired George Muirhead as its planning officer. Muirhead was one of the first graduates of the University of Toronto's planning program. [86]

In 1955, a special committee on housing was formed in an effort to solve the "blight" in Rideau Heights following increasing calls for action to be taken to address the poverty and inequality in Rideau Heights. Despite a lack of local support for action to be taken to address the state of Rideau Heights, a speech by Reverend T.H. Good, rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, in September 1955 to the Kingston Trades and Labour Council in September 1955 encouraged the idea of a local project being taken on to remedy the blight conditions in the neighbourhood. In his speech, Reverend T.H. Good stated that "there are parts of this city", referring to Rideau Heights, "as depressed as the worst cabbage towns of any city in Canada… and this is to our eternal shame".[87] Reverend Good spoke about the "appalling conditions" of some of the houses in Kingston:

> There are children being brought up in places that have no right to be called homes…I have been in homes where the earthen floors have remained hard in frosty weather except for a few feet around the little stove ... the children go to bed hungry half the time…I visited a home in the back yard of one of our main streets. I sought a boy on parole from Bowmanville (boys training school.) I passed the shack in which he stayed, several times thinking it was a dog house or something of the sort.[88]

This statement sparked renewed public interest in the Rideau Heights neighbourhood, especially after Reverend Good's statement that "any city that can tolerate a cabbage town within its walls is dead as

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[86] David L.A. Gordon & Michelle Nicholson, "Beyond the Tabula Rasa: Gordon Stephenson and Urban Renewal in Kingston, Ontario", *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 3 (2012): 337–54. https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2012.19.; "Takes Over Duties Here As Planner", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 15, 1955, Newspapers.com, 17.
[87] "Bad as Worst in Canada, Rev. T.H. Good Declares", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 15, 1955, Newspapers.com, 1.; David Cleland, "Low-rental Housing Nort Answer: Minister", *Kingston Whig Standard*, June 16, 1965, Newspapers.com, 1.
[88] "Local Slums", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 15, 1955, Newspapers.com, 2.

far as civic spirit goes"[89]. These comments resulted in a push by local and provincial officials, the press and private citizens for something to be done about the area's blight conditions.[90]

On October 22, Hon. W.M. Nickle, Minister of Planning and Development for the province of Ontario, made a statement that the Ontario government would work with the City of Kingston to start a slum clearance project, offering assistance in starting a survey on housing conditions and would "cooperate to our utmost in making our resources, knowledge and advice available".[91] . However, such a project would need to be initiated by the municipality.[92]

In response to the outcry, a special committee on housing was appointed by Mayor George Clark Wright on December 13, 1955, in an effort to solve the blight conditions in Rideau Heights.[93] The Committee consisted of three aldermen and five citizens (three from the Trades and Labour Council and one from the Chamber of Commerce).[94]

The Committee on Housing held its first meeting on December 20, 1955. A motion was carried that the purpose of The Committee would be to "give priority to the matter of clearance (or redevelopment) of substandard housing conditions in Kingston, and to low cost housing projects for the City of Kingston, including a Subsidized Rental Housing Project".[95] At their subsequent meeting on January 4, 1956, it was decided a city-wide survey should be conducted to locate and identify substandard housing in the city, starting at Weller Ave and continuing through Rideau Heights.[96]

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[89] "Local Slums", *Kingston Whig Standar*d, 2.
[90] City of Kingston Planning Board (1957). *Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights*. Kingston, ON: City of Kingston, 2.
[91] "Would Help Clear Slum Areas In Kingston Says W.M. Nickle", *Kingston Whig Standard*, October 22, 1955, Newspapers.com, 28.
[92] "Would Help Clear Slum Areas In Kingston Says W.M. Nickle", *Kingston Whig Standar*d, 28.
[93] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston,* V.
[94] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston,* 43.
[95] City of Kingston Planning Board, *Preliminary Report on Housing*, 1.
[96] City of Kingston Planning Board, *Preliminary Report on Housing,* 1

1956

Though the provision of street lighting as well as water had been nearly completely finished by January 1956, with 21 of 22 of the scheduled streetlights installed and water having been laid over the previous two years, plans on when a trunk sewer extension would be installed in Rideau Heights remained stagnant for the majority of 1956.[97]

In February of 1956, Dr. Albert Rose, an associate professor of social studies at the University of Toronto and leader in Toronto's Regent Park urban renewal program, visited Kingston to complete a survey of substandard dwellings in Kingston in collaboration with the city's housing committee.[98] Dr. Rose was shocked by the condition of the neighbourhood. "The slums here are the worst I've ever seen… even the downtown slums of Toronto or Montreal look better than the slums I saw here", comparing the pockets of substandard housing in Kingston to depression-era shack towns that had been "allowed to sit and rot ever since."[99] Dr. Rose made it clear: City Council would need to do something to address the substandard housing in Kingston. The solution would need to be "double-barreled", addressing both the substandard housing and need for affordable housing.[100]

Work on enhancing the conditions of Rideau Heights throughout 1956 had been slow to start. Although streets had had crushed stone applied in April and had been oiled and reoiled again in June through September, the conditions of streets remained subpar compared to rest of Kingston.[101] Alderman Harold Shannon criticized the Board of Works in October 1956 for its disregard for the road conditions in Rideau Heights, calling the treatment "downright careless" as the roads had been oiled without filling existing potholes.[102] Two weeks later, Works Commissioner Donald Ross admitted that the width of the

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[97] "Stiffer Regulations Seen to Deal with Damages Done", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 24, 1956, Newspapers.com, 13.
[98] "Kingston Slums "Worst Seen' by Expert", *Kingston Whig Standard*, February 18, 1956, Newspapers.com, 1.
[99] "Kingston Slums "Worst Seen' by Expert", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 1.
[100] "City Slums", *Kingston Whig Standard*, February 18, 1956, Newspapers.com, 2.
[101] "Peace Reigns Again at City Hall", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 16, 1956, Newspapers.com, 13.
[102] "Present Arrangement Allows Space for Only 22 Vehicles", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 2, 1956, Newspapers.com, 13.

surface, shoulders, and ditching on roads in the Rideau Heights neighbourhood were below standards of the rest of the city, however it would cost approximately $40,000 ($463,829 in 2025) to bring the roads up to standard. At that same meeting, $4000 ($46,382 in 2025) was allocated for preliminary storm and sanitary sewer plans for Rideau Heights.[103]

1957

A further $12,000 ($134,383 in 2025) was allocated to the sewer project in January 1957 after City Council voted in favour of amending a bylaw to borrow the amount upon debentures.[104]

In 1957, municipal planning staff met Professor Gordon Stephenson of the University of Toronto at a planning conference held at Queen's University. Stephenson had just completed *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia* and suggested that Kingston do the same in order to receive federal funding for an urban renewal project of their own to address substandard housing throughout the city.[105] An application for funding to complete the city-wide planning study was granted in CMHC later in 1958.

In November, the *Preliminary Report on Housing Conditions in Rideau Heights* was published by the Kingston Planning Board. This report found that 68% of the 280 houses under examination were substandard, 23% were in fair condition, and 9% were in good condition.[106] The results of the social survey conducted in Rideau Heights found that the majority of residents living in substandard housing did so due to insufficient income available to afford to purchase or rent adequate, market-price housing.[107]

1958

By 1958, the topic of urban renewal was increasingly being spoken about. On February 10, city council approved a motion to make an application for federal assistance to carry out a redevelopment

[103] "Peace Reigns Again at City Hall", 13.
[104] "To Prepare Sewers Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 15, 1957, Newspapers.com, 17.
[105] Gordon & Nicholson, "Beyond the Tabula Rasa…", 339.
[106] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston, V*
[107] "City Council Moves to Start On Rideau Heights Program", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 11, 1958, Newspapers.com, 13.

program in Rideau Heights under the National Housing Act.[108] This decision was not agreed upon by all, however. Notably, Alderman J.J. Clarke made his opposition known by stating that "the city could help those who wanted to help themselves but not those who didn't want to be helped". Four days later, Hon. W.M. Nickle, then MLA for Kingston and Minister of Planning and Development, stated after speaking to Premier Leslie Frost regarding an announcement made that the Ontario provincial government had allocated $5,000,000 ($54,139,072 in 2025) to be spent on supplementary works programs, that Rideau Heights would qualify for as a works program given it be done between February 15 and May 31.[109] On March 25, it was decided that an official an application to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation for financial assistance to conduct an urban renewal study of Kingston with attention to the Rideau Heights neighbourhood. A comprehensive study of the entire city's needs would need to be carried out for the application to be considered, however, according to Nickle.[110] In his address to the annual meeting of the Kingston Welfare Council on April 17, George Muirhead, who at this time was the City Planning Officer, spoke further about the elimination of inadequate housing in urban areas and the steps municipalities had to take to qualify for federal and provincial assistance. Assistance, which needed to be requested at the municipal level, would only be granted if a city-wide survey and a city-wide development study had been complete. This, he said, was to ensure that the problem would not arise again. Before inadequate housing would be removed, however, it was imperative that alternative accommodations be provided for those displaced and, uniquely, that the redevelopment plan must have both the financial and moral approval of the community.[111] To work towards this, council approved a survey of Kingston's low-rental housing needs, particularly in the Rideau Heights area on April 28.

With that, May 1958 saw the beginning of the Urban Renewal study. The city retained architect-planner John Billingham as a full-time assistant for the planning study from May 1958 to September

[108] "City Council Moves to Start…", *Kingston Whig Standard,* 13.
[109] "Rideau Plan Said Eligible For Grant", Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston), February 14, 1958, Newspapers.com, 15.
[110] "Will Seek Application Approval", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 25, 1958, Newspapers.com, 2.
[111] "Government Aid Answer To the Need of Housing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 18, 1958, Newspapers.com, 17.

1959.[112] Two representatives from the housing branch of the Ontario department of planning and development were to visit Kingston to initiate a Condition of Building Survey to assess the need for low-cost housing in Kingston.[113] The survey was conducted over a five-week period between June and July 1958 to assess both the external and internal conditions of residential buildings in the entire City.[114] On June 12, 1958, the Joint Advisory Committee for the Kingston Urban Renewal Study met for the first time and discussed steps that had already been taken to complete an urban renewal study and outlined steps to be taken in the future, namely the completion of a building conditions survey of Rideau Heights.[115] On September 17th the Ontario government agreed to pay 25% of the cost of land acquisition and clearance for Kingston, given satisfactory progress had been made on an urban renewal study of the city.[116]

With the results of the Housing Needs Survey that was conducted by the Ontario Department of Planning and Development on building conditions in Rideau Heights, it was found that there was a need for low-cost rental housing in the City and resulted in the decision to add a 52-unit public housing units to the area, with construction beginning in 1960.[117] Approval from council for a 52-unit low-cost public housing project was obtained in September 23. It was later decided that the project would instead be 71-units and located in Rideau Heights on city-owned lands and was approved again by council January 27, 1959.[118] With the approval of the public housing project, work on a sewer extension to Rideau Heights

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[112] David L.A. Gordon & Michelle Nicholson, "Reflections on the 1960 Planning Study of Kingston", in *Global Plans, Local Influences: Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Gordon Stephenson and George Muirhead's "Planning Study for Kingston": An Exhibition in the W.D. Jordan Special Collections & Music Library, April 4 to May 20, 2011,* ed. David L.A. Gordon *(*Kingston, ON: W. D. Jordan Special Collections & Music Library, 2011), 31.
[113] "To Conduct Survey Here on Housing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 27, 1958, Newspapers.com, 13.
[114] External Building Conditions, 1958, V123-1-2, box 1, folder 2, City of Kingston fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.; Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston,* VI.
[115] Joint Advisory Committee – Kingston Urban Renewal Study, 1958, QUA 4-100-9, box 3, file 21, City of Kingston fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.
[116] "Planning Officer Finds Gap In Clearance Allocation", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 18, 1958, Newspapers.com, 1.
[117] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston,* V.
[118] "Home Project Wins Backing Of Council", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 23, 1958, Newspapers.com, 13.; "Liquor Store Bylaw Gets First Reading", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 27, 1959, Newspapers.com, 18.

was finally approved on November 25. This comes after a year of by Rideau Heights resident calls for the sewer extension, a public meeting on the matter, and a petition which ultimately did not garner enough signatures to be presented to the city.[119]

1959

Finally, however, by 1959, work on extending storm and sanitary sewers to Rideau Heights had finally begun, though it would only be to the new public housing project. A trunk sewer would be laid and connect to the public housing project to be constructed on Montreal Street and was now estimated to cost $385,000 ($4,141,282 in 2025), though the federal and provincial government would cover 75% of labour costs associated with the construction.[120] The public housing project for Rideau Heights was agreed upon on February 24, 1959 at a cost of $700,000 ($7,529,605 in 2025), with 75% of the cost to be covered by the federal government and 25% covered by the provincial government.[121] A Special Committee on Housing was appointed in May 1959 to manage the project and a plan for the project was approved by the Kingston

Figure A-1 Sod turning ceremony for Montreal Street housing project
Source: "Sod-turning Event Marks Rideau Heights Home Plan", Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston), December 18, 1959, Newspaper.com, 1.

[119] "Plans Made to Connect with Sewer", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 18, 1958, Newspapers.com, 37.
[120] Stephenson & Muirhead, *A Planning Study of Kingston,* V.; "Is the Works Programme Working?", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 08, 1959, Newspapers.com, 4.
[121] "To See Plans: Meeting on Matter Scheduled By Officials for Thursday", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 25, 1959, Newspapers.com, 4

Area Planning board on June 5.[122] In December, construction of the project had begun and was marked by a celebratory sod turning ceremony.[123]

Not all Rideau Heights residents were particularly receptive to the project or to the idea of redeveloping the neighbourhood. As one resident wrote in a letter to the editor titled 'Hands Off Rideau Heights!':

> Now they are talking of cheap rental units. There is no such thing as cheap rental unless low wage-earners can go on the way we are doing by building our own as we go along. Everyone is trying to improve his property a little each year as he saves a little money to do so. You must remember the people out here have not got the money that the people of City Planning Committee have. Do they not realize that we cannot build the way they do? What each man has out here he is proud of. What is here now should be let alone…[124]

Community spirit and pride in the Rideau Heights neighbourhood was strong, and residents were ready to defend it fiercely. "If you do something that Rideau people don't like, they land on your doorstep the next day" noted Commissioner R. W. Sutton in response to George Muirhead stating the importance of redeveloping with as little disturbances as possible to residents, emphasizing that "we know we have to treat the people with impunity and can't just push something on them".[125] Preliminary plans for the redevelopment project, though still hazy, would entail doubling the residential density of the neighbourhood by tearing down substandard housing and replacing them with semi-detached dwellings as well as dividing a number of the 80 foot lots in half. Houses found to be in good condition would be left standing, however, rather than be torn down.[126]

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[122] "Committee On Housing Is Selected", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 21, 1959, Newspapers.com, 35; "Plans Given Approval by Board", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 5, 1959, Newspapers.com, 17.
[123] "Sod-turning Event Marks Rideau Heights Home Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 18, 1959, Newspapers.com, 1.
[124] "Hands Off Rideau Heights!", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 12, 1959, Newspapers.com, 4.
[125] "Community Spirit Thrives in Rideau Heights Area", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 4, 1959, Newspapers.com, 13.
[126] "To Double Density of Area", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 24, 1959, Newspapers.com, 15.

The partial redevelopment plan of Rideau Heights was discussed by Alderman Lin Elliott at the Rideau Heights Ratepayers Association meeting later in the year, on December 21, 1959. Alderman Elliott emphasized the fact that the redevelopment plan would not entail the razing of the entire neighbourhood, like the urban renewal of Toronto's Regent Park had entailed a mere eleven years prior in 1948.[127] The committee on housing, she stressed, had no schemes or money for total redevelopment, asserting "we don't want to wipe out what's already here, we just want to make the district easier to live in".[128] Rideau Heights' problems, in her opinion, were purely physical and there is no need for community or social redevelopment.

Though work on the provision of low-cost rental housing and the creation of a redevelopment plan had advanced significantly over the previous two years, some felt that not enough work had been done to better the conditions of Rideau Heights. Namely, Reverend T.H. Good, made a comment where he expressed his disapproval of the lack of work that had been done to better the neighborhood. In his opinion, no change had been made to the neighbourhood since 1955 and had not heard of any future action to be taken to remedy the blight. He felt that should the area be left as it is, that the public housing project would be of no value.[129] To this, Alderman Lin Elliott replied that "When we're dealing with a person's property and way of life, we want to take time to make perfectly sure we are doing the right thing…We have to be absolutely certain of our intentions before we act".[130]

1960

On March 8, the City of Kingston Administration endorsed the idea of establishing a Housing Code for the City of Kingston which would set minimum standards for housing conditions. Before the

[127] Albert Rose. *Regent Park; a Study in Slum Clearance.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 76.
[128] "Partial Redevelopment of Rideau Heights Proposed", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 22, 1959, Newspapers.com, 17.
[129] "Planning and Rideau Heights", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 26, 1959, Newspapers.com, 4.
[130] "Ald. Lin Elliott Disagrees With View of Rev. T.H. Good", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 31, 1959, Newspapers.com, 13.

bylaw can be established, however, it must get approval from the province.[131] The next day, on March 9, Alderman Lin Elliott made an announcement regarding the nature of the Rideau Heights redevelopment project.

The plan would encompass a 36-acre parcel south of Weller Avenue between Wiley and Daly streets. At the time, the population of Rideau Heights was composed of 95 families, with 217 adults and 282 children. Land uses included 94 single family dwellings, one church, one car wrecking yard and a grocery store. Of the 94 single family dwellings in the redevelopment area, 84 were classified as being substandard and would be demolished. The ten houses classified as "good" would remain, however nine would be moved to prepared sites in the land assembly area and one would remain in its current location. 284 unit subsidized low rental housing project, a 4.5-acre land assembly project and a three-acre public school site would be built on the 22-acre cleared site. The remaining 3.5 acres of undeveloped lands would be filled with a 3.5-acre park which would be placed somewhere in the redevelopment area.[132]

Alderman Elliott the explained the steps that would need to be taken to complete the redevelopment plan. First, the city would need to expropriate the entire redevelopment area. Next, a multiphase approach to relocating families to public housing and clearing the block. Alderman Elliot explained that,

> "After the redevelopment plan was officially adopted, families living in the first block on Weller Avenue would be moved to the 71-unit low rental project presently under construction on Montreal Street. Then the first block would be cleared, and construction of the new 284-unit low rental project would commence there. Next, families from the second block would be moved to

[131] "Proposal for Housing Code Endorsed by Administration", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 9, 1960, Newspapers.com, 33.
[132] "Redevelopment Project in Rideau Heights Planned on Big Scale, Ald. Elliott Reveals", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 9, 1960, Newspapers.com, 33.

low rental units in the first block. And so the procedure would continue until the whole redevelopment area is cleared."[133]

The acquisition of land and structures and subsequent demolition of structures would cost $334,684 ($3,553,300 in 2025), where 50% would be paid by the federal government and 25% would be paid by the provincial government.[134]

By June, the Stephenson and Muirhead planning study which had been underway since 1958 was complete and presented to the Kingston Planning Board.[135] The Study, named *A Planning Study of Kingston, 1960,* covered a large scope, with numerous background studies and made recommendations for future development of the city, including how the challenge of substandard housing across the city could be addressed. Section IX of the report detailed the special study into Rideau Heights, summarizing previous studies' findings and detailing proposal for redevelopment of the neighbourhood. The report read:

A housing survey was undertaken in Rideau Heights. The following is a brief summary of the findings:

(1) Out of 279 dwellings inspected, approximately 188 or 68% are substandard and should be replaced.

(2) The developed area covers about 120 acres. 50 acres should be sufficient for this number of dwellings where there is water but no sewer, and 35 acres where there is both water and sewer. Accommodation in apartments would require about 10 acres.

In this Report it is proposed that there should be a reorganization of properties south of Weller Avenue, and the removal of substandard structures, to allow a more seemly, healthy and economical development.

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[133] "Redevelopment Project in Rideau Heights Planned", *Kingston Whig Standard*, March 9, 1960.
[134] "Redevelopment Project in Rideau Heights Planned", *Kingston Whig Standard*, March 9, 1960.
[135] "Renewal Report Concentrates on Four City Areas", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 24, 1960, Newspapers.com, 15.

The area south of Weller Avenue consists mainly of lots eighty feet wide by a hundred and fifty feet deep. It is zoned R2 which permits one- and two-family dwellings.

Water, hydro, and the telephone service are available, but there are no gas or sewer pipes in the streets, septic tanks and outside lavoratories being used. In the nine housing blocks illustrated in detail there are 94 houses. It is suggested that about 84 should be removed.

It is proposed that houses which are in good condition should be retained, either on their existing lots or by removal to an adjacent block, Since the lots are generally 80 feet wide by 150 feet deep this will allow redevelopment on the cleared sites to at least double the density by using 50 x 100 foot lots, or to even greater density if row-housing is introduced. As the area is deficient in schools at the moment, one block is suggested for a new public school. In addition, some park area is proposed. It is hoped that a transformed Rideau Heights will readily and reasonably link up with the proposed development to the north.

The scheme could result in an increase of about 250 units on the 36 acres, which would include a public-school site of 3 acres and a park of 3 acres.[136]

[136] Stephenson & Muirhead, A Planning Study, 68.

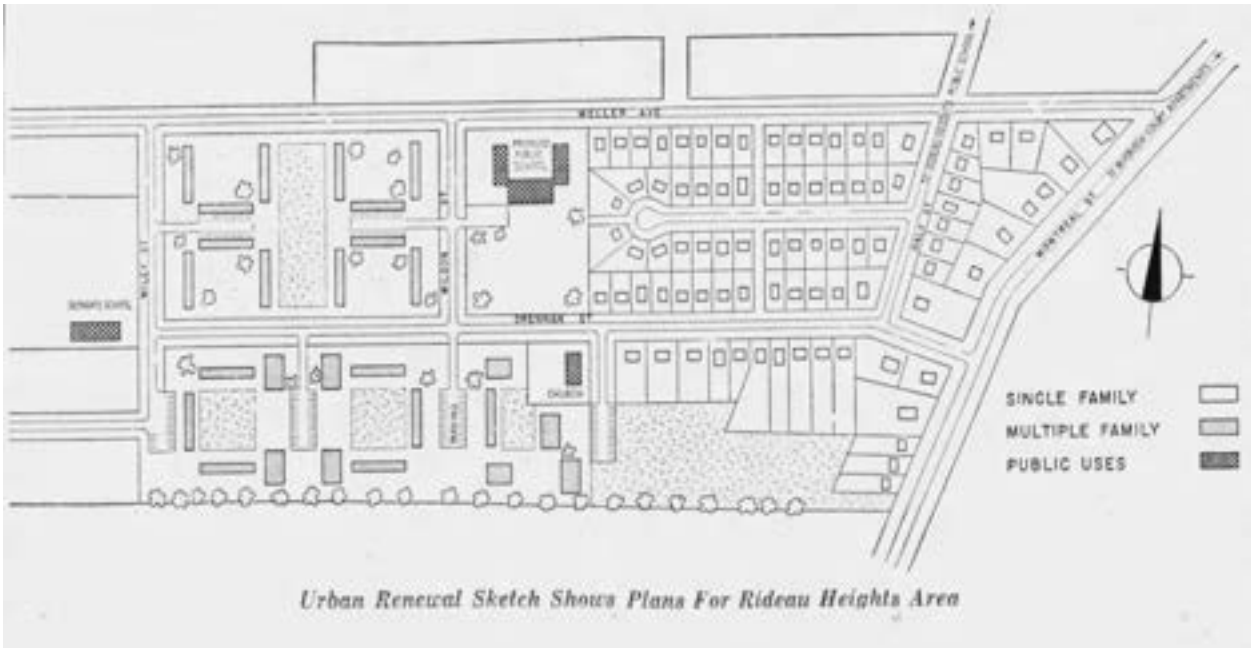

Figure A-2: Proposed redevelopment plan of Rideau Heights
Source: Stephenson & Muirhead. (1960), ill. 53, pp. 68.

On the topic of slum clearance, the report stated that:

> In Kingston there is bad housing scattered in small pockets over a wide area. Although the worst conditions are nearly all to be found in the Study Area, nowhere are there several blocks in which all the houses are in poor condition. There are advantages and disadvantages in this state of affairs. Wholesale clearance and redevelopment can be very disruptive to an old, well established neighbourhood; and the clearance of small dispersed pockets will avoid this difficulty. On the other hand, it is much it more difficult to devise a clearance and redevelopment program on a piecemeal basis.[137]

The report, despite having a large influence in the future planning of Kingston and being referred to as "Kingston's Planning Bible", would never be formally adopted by City Council. The report was tabled, read, analysed, but never adopted. Recommendations made in the report such as the

[137] Stephenson & Muirhead, A Planning Study, 64.

implementation of a minimum standards housing code and urban renewal proposal for Rideau Heights were adopted despite the study never being adopted.[138] With the study completed, Gordon Stephenson left Canada on June 28, returning to the University of Western Australia in Perth, Australia as a consultant architect.[139] By August, the 71-unit public housing project finally had a name: Riverview Court.[140]

With *A Planning Study of Kingston, Ontario, 1960* completed, CMHC's requirement of a city-wide survey and a city-wide development study for urban renewal funding were met. In August 1960, The Rideau Heights neighbourhood had 48.6 hectares designated for redevelopment with the passing of by-law #3399. The by-law, as well as a by-law #3448, which amended errors in by-law #3399, was approved by the Minister of Municipal Affairs on October 24, 1960. [141]

1961

The Riverview Court public housing project officially opened February 27, 1961, marking another milestone in the urban renewal project for Rideau Heights.[142]

On May 8, the Rideau Heights redevelopment application was approved at by council. The redevelopment plan would encompass the lands east of Montreal Street between Daly and Wiley Streets south of Weller Avenue. As shown in Figure 2, the plan involved the demolition of homes classified as substandard and replaced them with a 284-unit subsidized public housing project on the parcel bounded by Wiley and Wilson Streets. A new public school would be constructed on the parcel west of Wilson Street bounded by Weller Avenue in the north and Drennan Street in the south. The current 80-foot lot frontages would be reduced to 50-foot frontages, allowing for a greater density of single-family homes.[143]

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[138] "Stephenson-Muirhead report – Kingston's Planning "Bible"', *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), 26 October 1967, Newspapers.com, 12.
[139] Jenny Gregory, 'Stephenson, Gordon (1908–1997)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, last modified 2022, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stephenson-gordon-31956/text39423.
[140] "Riverview Court Name Endorsed", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 29, 1960, Newspapers.com, 15.
[141] Nicol, *Field of Dreams*, 294; Rideau Heights – chronology of events, QUA 4-100-9, box 2, folder 17, City of Kingston fonds, Queens University Archives, Kingston, ON.
[142] "Rain Fails to Dampen Enthusiasm at Riverview Opening", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 27, 1961, Newspapers.com, 13.
[143] "Redevelopment Approved", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 9, 1961, Newspapers.com, 13.

The redevelopment would cost an estimated $350,000 ($364,490 in 2025).[144] The plan was approved in principle by the province on July 17 and received federal approval in principle on October 23.[145]

1962

With the urban renewal project for Rideau Heights officially approved, a new building conditions survey was conducted over February 5-7 to create an up-to-date assessment of building conditions in Rideau Heights. [146]

Public consultation for the project was undertaken in July and August of 1962 (Harris, 1988). On July 26, the Planning Board presented the redevelopment plan at City Hall to a group of twelve community spokespersons made up of six clerics, two representatives from the Rideau Heights Home and School Association, Ralph Lawson from the ratepayers association, the principal of the Rideau Heights Public School, the chairman of the Separate School Board, and Marion Earl, chairman of the Kingston Housing Authority.[147]

A public meeting held on August 9th, 1962, at 8:00pm at Rideau Heights Public School presented the proposed plan of redevelopment for Rideau Heights to residents. The public meeting would be to inform residents on the plan, not to receive feedback or enter into any collaboration. At the time, the planning board was under no obligation to consult residents on planning matters.

The plan presented (Figure A-3) would leave structures classified as "good" untouched, save for six structures which did not fit the new plan of subdivision and would be moved to prepared sites, and would involve the demolition of 57 homes in poor condition. A new street layout would be introduced to

[144] "City Council to Debate Rideau Heights Proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 8, 1961, Newspapers.com, 17.
[145] Rideau Heights – Chronology, City of Kingston fonds.; "Province Approves Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 17, 1961, Newspapers.com, 13.

[146]Building Condition Survey – 1962, 1962, QUA 4-100-9, box 3, file 10, City of Kingston fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.
[147] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston,* 43.

the area, as well as a site for a proposed park and school. Rather than build new public housing in the plan area, which had been suggested in earlier iterations of the plan, residents who wished to move into subsidized rental housing rather than purchase a lot after the project would be offered housing in a proposed 21-unit extension to the existing Riverview Court on Montreal Street.[148]

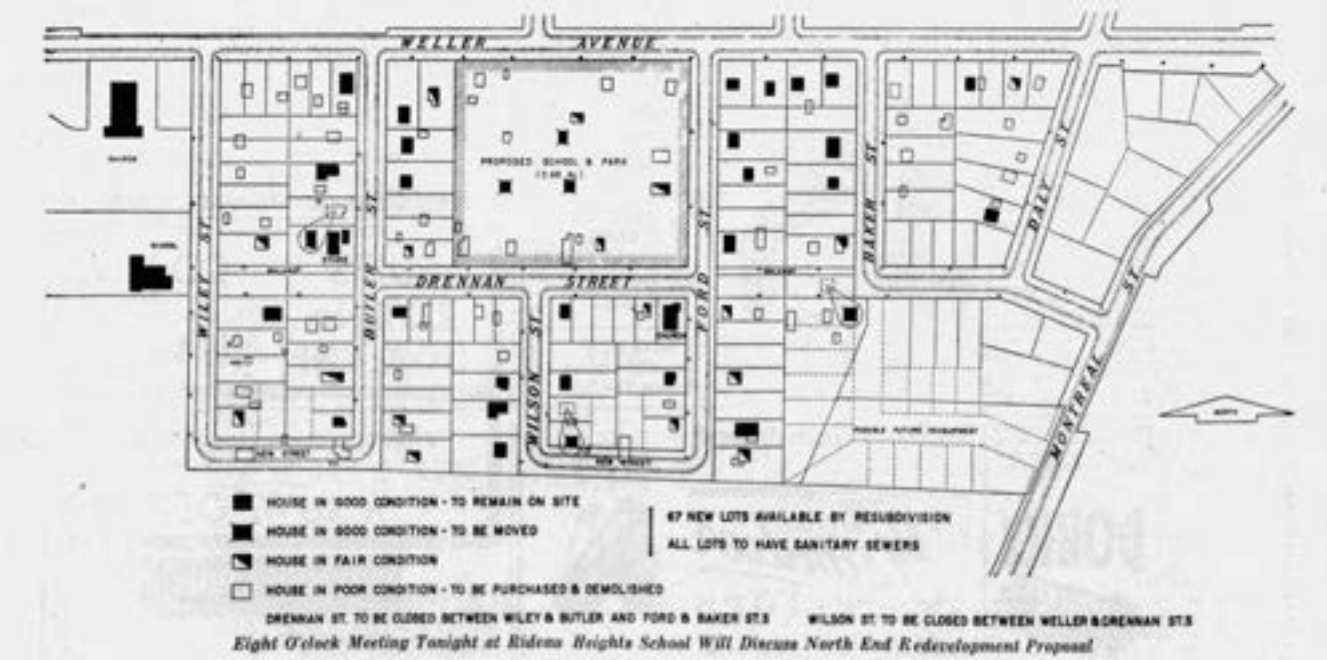

Figure A-3: 1962 Proposed Redevelopment Plan of Rideau Heights
Source: [Proposed redevelopment plan], *Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston),* August 9, 1962, Newspapers.com, 17.

At the meeting, George Muirhead spoke to the planning process for the redevelopment plan and the presentation at City Hall, saying:

> The plans as now presented were unveiled to your representatives at that [July 26] meeting. It was decided that time to ask the Planning Board to hold a public meeting to present the plan as shown

[148] "Rideau Heights Redevelopment Gets Favorable Reception", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 10, 1962, Newspapers.com, 13.

here and to explain it to the residents of the area. On July 26th, 1962, it was unanimously passed by the Planning Board to hold this meeting.[149]

The turnout for the meeting was a record 130 people, a fact which the Kingston Planning Board Chairman Gordon Leach said indicated residents' interest in the plan and was "gratifying".[150] The plan itself received favourable reception despite some expressing concerns..[151] The meeting lasted one and half hours, and in that time Muirhead answered questions posed by 16 residents, one concerning a nearby piggery (nothing could be done about that, Muirhead disclosed, though the owner of the piggery may wish to release his holdings should the plan for the inclusion of light-industrial land uses in the area come to fruition). Questions surrounding which future land uses would be permitted under the new plan were popular, however the topic of the appraisal of properties was the largest concern of the residents, who wondered if the appraisal of their home would consider relative market value prior to the area being designated for urban renewal, though Muirhead was not able to answer this. Property values in Rideau Heights had been reduced since CMHC had paused mortgages and stopped insuring loans between 1958 and 1961 on account of the areas "undesirable character".[152] The plan was accepted by the majority of residents, with only three persons objecting to it.[153]

With the general approval of the plan from residents, two weeks later on August 23, the planning board quickly moved to recommend the Rideau Heights redevelopment plan prepared July 11 by CMHC

[149] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston,* 43-44*;* "Proceedings of a Public Meeting... to Discuss the Proposed Plan of Redevelopment for Rideau Heights," PB Minutes, Thursday, 9 August 196
[150] "Rideau Heights Redevelopment… Reception", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

[151] "Rideau Heights Redevelopment… Reception", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

[152] Harris, *Democracy in Kingston*, 64.; "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.
[153] "Rideau Heights Redevelopment… Reception", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

to council. [154] On September 11, the redevelopment plan was approved by council and preparations were made to obtain approval for the plan from the federal and provincial governments.[155]

1963

Progress on the application for federal assistance for the Rideau Heights redevelopment plan was slow to start. Without a planning officer, work on the urban renewal application slowed. Muirhead had left Kingston on January 1 for Etobicoke to take a position as Planning Director.[156] His replacement, Kurt Mumm, an architect-planner graduate of Harvard University's planning program, would not begin work until June 1963.[157]

Representatives of the three levels of government met on April 4 to outline a draft for of application and met again on May 22 and June 25.[158]

The high cost of the urban renewal project posed a serious roadblock for the redevelopment project. The cost of servicing the redevelopment alone would be an estimated $500,000 ($5,109,375 in 2025) and was proposed on a local improvement basis, something which local residents were not keen on.[159] Two alternative plans were proposed for the redevelopment. The first would cost an estimated $481,365 ($4,918,948 in 2025), or $2735 ($27,948.28 in 2025) each for 133 lots, with an additional $600 ($6131 in 2025) added for the cost of land, totalling $3335 ($34,079 in 2025) per lot. The alternative plan would cost an estimated $244,780 ($2,501,345 in 2025), or $1840 ($18,802 in 2025) per lot, with an

[154] "Council's Approval Sought For Rideau Heights Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 24, 1962, Newspapers.com, 17.
[155] "Rideau Heights Plan Approved By Council", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 11, 1962, Newspapers.com, 13.
[156] "Pick Planning Officer", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 23, 1963, Newspapers.com, 13.
[157] "New Planning Officer Takes Over", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 18, 1963, Newspapers.com, 13.
[158] Rideau Heights – Chronology, City of Kingston fonds.
[159] "Rideau Heights Residents Awaiting Redevelopment", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 10, 1963, Newspapers.com, 17.

additional $600 ($6131 in 2025) for the land, totalling $2440 ($24,933 in 2025) per lot.[160] One major concern of the redevelopment was that the cost of a serviced lot was well beyond the means of many Rideau Heights residents. Those who had had their unserviced lots expropriated would not be able to afford to return to the neighbourhood, effectively destroying the community which had presently existed in Rideau Heights. Another costly feature of the redevelopment plans included the transformation of the existing, grid like street layout to one that Alderman George L. Webb described as "the planners' "dream" of "locked-in" curves".[161]

Frustration caused by the lack of action on the plan was felt from both the residents and provincial government. In a letter to the editor, one frustrated resident expressed how the community had been waiting six years now. "Either do something", they write, "or leave us alone. There are a lot of people here who take pride in their homes because they are home-owners and like to improve their homes as they can afford it. Is it fair to us to invest more money not knowing what the future here holds for us?"[162]

The high cost of servicing the area had caused progress on the application to come to a standstill. Council hoped that perhaps the provincial and federal governments could subsidize the cost of services, reducing the cost of lots individually from $3335 ($34,079 in 2025) to $2500 ($24,933 in 2025). However, this had never been done before. Kurt Mumm, the city planning officer, hoped that if the provision of services to the area could not be subsidized by the federal and provincial governments, that perhaps the sale of lots could be instead or the governments could assume costs of the total project proportionately, which included the cost of services.[163] When council applied to the province for such assistance, the provincial government replied saying there was no legislation which permits it to offer

[160] "Council Considers Housing Plan Tonight", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 7, 1963, Newspapers.com, 17.
[161] "Rideau Heights Redevelopment", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 13, 1963, Newspapers.com, 4.
[162] "How Many Years?", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 5, 1963, Newspapers.com, 4.
[163] "Subsidized Lot Sale Proposed for North End", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 2, 1963, Newspapers.com, 13.

assistance for servicing.[164] Instead, Mumm was advised to cut the cost of the redevelopment project in order to lower the cost per lot.[165] Council was at an impasse. The redevelopment plan would only serve its purpose if the lots expropriated from residents could then be sold back to them after the project was completed. However, with the cost of servicing included in the lots it seemed as if a downpayment of $2700 ($27,590 in 2025) would be required for those who wished to rebuild in Rideau Height, a price far too high for the majority of residents.[166]

In May, CMHC and the Ontario government's community planning branch warned that if no final decision was made on the plan soon, that the federal government and Minister of Municipal Affairs may withdraw his approval of the redevelopment project.[167] The plan was brought before the Planning Board again on July 11, but no avail.[168] By August 1, a draft application was finally complete and ready to be reviewed at the Planning Board meeting, where further modifications to the application were suggested.[169] On August 7, City Council met in a closed session from 5:30 pm to 7:15 pm during a finance committee meeting to discuss the project and consider alternatives. Council had concerns about the project, including the high cost of servicing the lots and that should they go ahead with the redevelopment, that the city may not be able to sell the 133 lots. Council also expressed that the purpose of the redevelopment was not clear to them.[170] Originally, the purpose of the redevelopment was to improve conditions for residents of Rideau Heights by relocating them to public housing or to smaller, serviceable lots, but by 1963, of the families who would be displaced only 17 had indicated that they wished to be relocated to subsidized housing.[171] Many residents felt it was instead best to sell their land and move elsewhere.

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[164] "Finance Committee Asks Action in Rideau Heights", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 12, 1963, Newspapers.com, 35.
[165] "Subsidized Lot Sale Proposed", *Kingston Whig Standard*
[166] "City Finance Committee Faces Major Issues Tonight", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 11, 1963, Newspapers.com, 31.
[167] "Assistance Application Before Planning Board", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 31, 1963, Newspapers.com, 21.
[168] "Renewal Gets Another Airing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 11, 1963, Newspapers.com, 21.
[169] Rideau Heights – Chronology, City of Kingston fonds.
[170] "Doubts Surround Housing Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 8, 1963, Newspapers.com, 15.
[171] "Doubts Surround Housing Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

By November 28, the planning board had resolved that City Council must be asked to seek a solution to the high cost of the Rideau Heights redevelopment. If no solution could be found the project risked being dropped.[172]

December 9, the city was met with an ultimatum: take action on the redevelopment plan or lose the designation.[173] The city had received a letter from the Minister of Municipal Affairs warning them that if council could not come to a decision about installing services in the area, that the official designation of the area for redevelopment will be dropped by December 31, 1963.

Finally, on December 16 council received and approved a final draft of application for the Rideau Heights redevelopment for $698,665 ($7,139,482 in 2025)[174]. The city would assume $70,421 ($719,614 in 2025) of the costs.[175] The finance committee recommended to council that the redevelopment me done on a basis of minimum services. In this revised plan, 133 lots would be provided instead of the original 100, and would cost an estimated $1400 per lot. The price of a serviced lot would be reduced from $3335 ($34,079 in 2025) or $2440 ($24,933 in 2025), down to $2000 ($20,437 in 2025) per lot. In this new plan, 44 of the 92 structures included in the plan area would be demolished. The 28 structures classified as "good" would remain, and one structure classified as "good" which did not conform to the proposed plan of subdivision.

On December 24, the finalized draft and application for federal assistance was sent to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing with one week to spare.

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[172] Rideau Heights – Chronology, City of Kingston fonds.
[173] "Province Seeks Action On Plan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 9, 1963, Newspapers.com, 15.
[174] "Rideau Heights Plan Gets Council Approval", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 17, 1963, Newspapers.com, 15.
[175] "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.

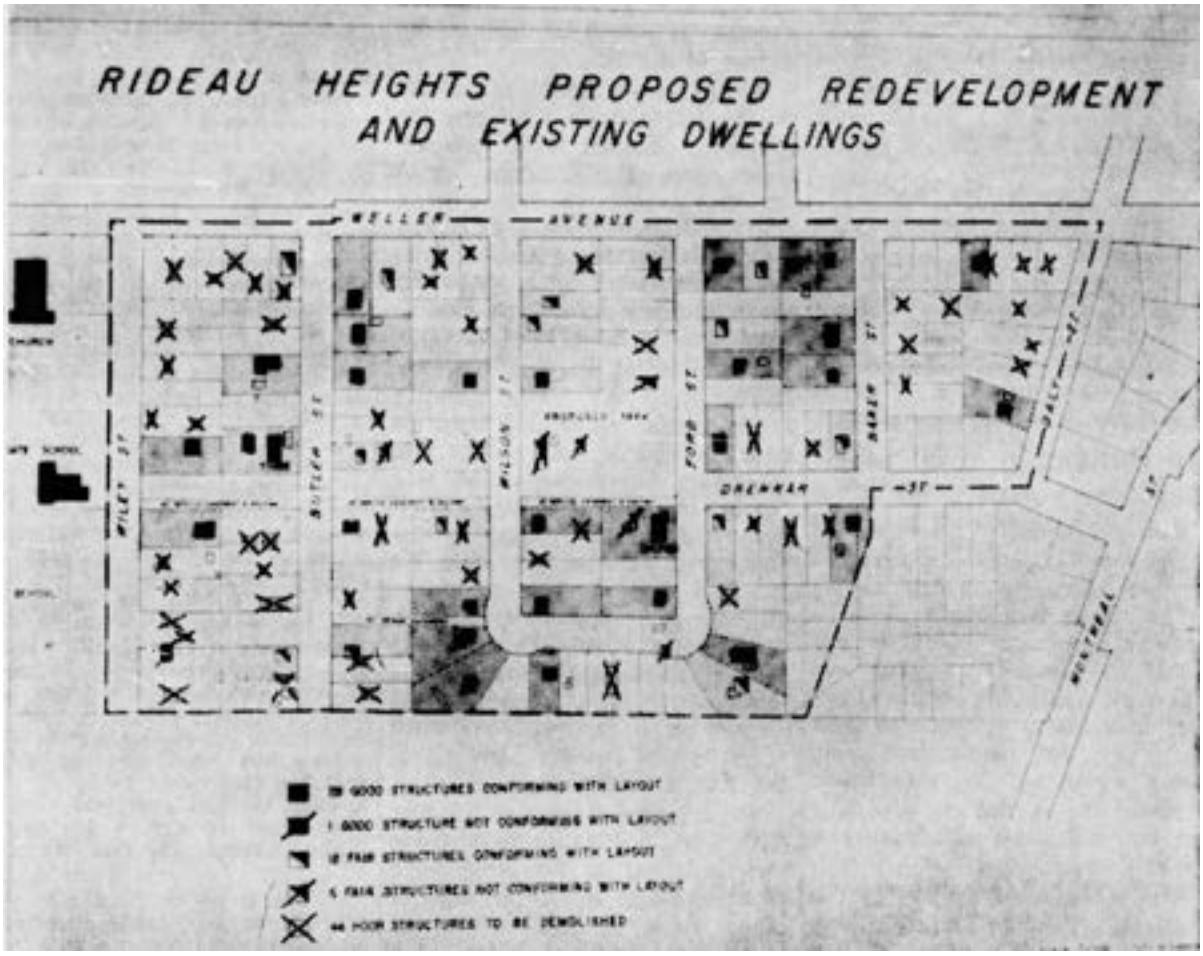

Figure A-4: Rideau Heights Proposed Redevelopment and Existing Buildings
Source: "Redevelopment of Rideau Heights to Cost Estimated $700,000", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 30, 1963, Newspapers.com, 3.

1964

Discussions surrounding the development of a new public housing development in Rideau Heights began in February when the finance committee advised council to sell two acres of city-owned land near Riverview Court for a 27-unit low-rental housing project to be developed by the federal-provincial government.[176]

[176] "Council Asked to Sell Land For Low Rental Housing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 10, 1964, Newspapers.com, 13.

In April, a modified plan of redevelopment approved by council. The new plan would abide by federal recommendations to use the existing street network and would not seek to expropriate houses classified as "good" and "fair" and would include an area for a 30-unit public housing project. These changes would cut the cost of redevelopment nearly in half, from an estimated $600,000 ($6,018,404 in 2025) to $322,85 ($3,238,413 in 2025).[177]

In June 1964, the federal government approved the application for financial assistance for the redevelopment project.[178] The city would pay $80,000 ($802,453 in 2025), which would be reduced again by winter works grants.[179]

On July 14, 1964, a public meeting was held at Rideau Heights Public School on to present the amended redevelopment plan proposed by the three levels of government. Under the presented plan, lot sizes in the area, which were primarily 80 feet wide by 150 feet long, would be reduced to 50 feet wide by 100 feet long.[180] Realtor J.B. Sampson suggested that lots be reduced to 40-foot frontages, citing the 1960 Planning Study's recommendation for 40-foot frontages. However, Mumm advises against this due to the fact that 18 of 32 good houses and 11 of 20 fair houses would need to be demolished, as well as six good and seven fair houses which would be non-conforming to the Zoning Bylaw's side yard requirement, to accommodate reduced lot sizes. The planning board instead recommended 50 foot frontages, which would increase the number of lots in the Rideau Heights neighbourhood from 103 to 139 and required the purchase and demolitions of 46 homes and 36 part lots.[181] The total cost of the plan would be an estimated $320,000 ($3,209,815 in 2025).[182] When the work was completed, lots were to be sold back to residents at cost, or to the general public if the residents did not want to repurchase a lot.

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[177] "Modified Plan Adopted". *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 28, 1964, Newspapers.com, 15.; "To Explain New Plan At Meeting, *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 9, 1964, Newspapers.com, 19.
[178] Rideau Heights – Chronology, City of Kingston fonds.
[179] "City Gets Grant", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 4, 1964, Newspapers.com, 2.
[180] "J.B. Sampson's Claim Contradicts City Study", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 17, 1964, Newspapers.com, 15.
[181] "Smaller Lots Not Advisable", *Kingston Whig Standard.*
[182] "Rideau Residents Approve Renewal Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

The meeting was attended by 75 people, who despite expressing frustration at the delay in servicing the area and apprehension surrounding the cost of servicing to residents, generally accepted the amended plan. Ralph Lawson (4 Drennan Street) drew applause from the crowd when he asserted that "A lot of people here would like to have sewers… We don't want to be left out of the city… we want services, and we can't be passed by!"[183] Gordon Gamble (80 Wilson Street) spoke to the fact that many residents simply could not afford to pay the cost of servicing.[184] However, anxieties that had surrounded the manner in which houses would be appraised were quelled when it was revealed that properties would be bought at approximately five times the assessed, with the city clerk-comptroller T.J. McKibbin affirming that "[residents] would get the market value for the land".[185] What was more exciting was the fact that with sewers finally being installed under the redevelopment plan, mortgages would soon finally be available to Rideau Heights for the construction of new homes and improvement of existing ones.[186]

On September 4, a 30-unit subsidized housing project was approved to be constructed on nine blocks around Weller Avenue. The federal, provincial, and municipal government would fund the project to house displaced Rideau Height's residents.[187]

The federal and provincial governments agreed to subsidize the cost of services to Rideau Heights and would cover 75% of the cost of servicing the area.[188]

On Dec 15, 1964, an OMB meeting was held to seek approval for Rideau Heights redevelopment plan. The total cost of buying and clearing the land, relocating 45 families, administration costs, and equipment would be estimated at $320,000 ($3,209,815 in 2025), 50% to be covered by the federal government, 25% by the provincial government, and 25% by the municipality. The cost of servicing would be $276,520 ($2,773,682 in 2025), which would be the responsibility of the municipality, though

[183] "Rideau Residents Approve Renewal Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[184] "Rideau Residents Approve Renewal Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[185] "Rideau Residents Approve Renewal Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[186] "Rideau Residents Approve Renewal Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[187] "Planners Endorse Development", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 4, 1964, Newspapers.com, 13.
[188] "Renewal Subsidy Is Obtained", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 3, 1964, Newspapers.com, 25.

subsidies would reduce the overall cost.[189] The cost of servicing the area, which had been $2600 ($26,079 in 2025) per lot in earlier iterations of the plan, would be reduced to $860 ($8626 in 2025) per lot. Servicing was still sorely needed in the area, as residents were forced to use septic tanks which overflowed in the spring and outdoor toilets as a result of the lack of services in the area.[190]

Though a decision was not made by the OMB at the December 15 meeting due to the fact that only one OMB member was present and he would need to report to the chairman of the OMB before any recommendations or approval was given, the meeting was still fruitful.[191] Property owners in Rideau Heights had won a victory at the hearing: no land would be expropriated from any lot having an 80-foot frontage where there is a dwelling rated as "good".[192] This came after Lawrence Sly, a property owner at 51 Drennan Street whose house was classified as "good" and would therefore not be demolished, petitioned that he did not want his 80 foot lot frontage to be reduced to 50 feet. Kingston city council conceded and agreed that lots with houses classified as "good" would not be altered.

1964 ended with Mayor Mills stepping down on December 29 and would be succeeded by Mayor Robert Fray.[193]

1965

The beginning of 1965 brought with it a flurry of activity. On January 5, after 13 years of waiting, sewers were approved by council for the Rideau Heights redevelopment area.[194] Work started on the sewers the next month in February 1965 with one and a half miles of sewers would be laid in Rideau Heights over a four-month period. Finally, with the completion of sewer services in 1965, all municipal

[189] "OMB Hearing City's Plans For Area", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 15, 1964, Newspapers.com, 15.
[190] "Hold Decision on Rideau Heights", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 16, 1964, Newspapers.com, 35.
[191] "Hold Decision on Rideau Heights", *Kingston Whig Standard.*
[192] "Hold Decision on Rideau Heights", *Kingston Whig Standard.*
[193] "Mayor Mills Steps Down", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 29, 1964, Newspapers.com, 4.
[194] "Sewer Tender Is Awarded", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 5, 1965, Newspapers.com, 13.

serviced had been extended to Rideau Heights.[195] On February 11, it was announced that former alderman and Rideau Heights resident Harold Shannon, would be honoured by having a 10-acre park in Rideau Heights, to be named Shannon Park, named after him.[196]

On April 6, the Rideau Heights Urban Renewal Project sign erected at the corner of Daly Street and Weller Street, marking the official beginning of work. The project which was at this point was nearly 7 years in the making, was expected to be completed by mid-1966.[197] With the redevelopment project underway, discussions about a possible secondary school for the area was discussed by the school board.[198] Work on parks for Rideau Heights was also underway in April, with the announcement of a new park for the area, to be named "Starr Reid Memorial Park after Kingston athlete Melville Reid, and work beginning on the creation of Shannon Park, which had been announced earlier in February.[199]

The fact that work had finally started on the redevelopment project did not mean, however, that the City of Kingston was immune to criticism. Criticism of the state of the city's "slums" was a hot topic in 1965. ON June 1, John W. Eleen, research director of the Ontario Federation of Labour discussed the state of Rideau Heights to the Kingston Committee on Welfare and Housing. "What I saw took mt breath away", he said while describing his experience driving around Rideau Heights, "I saw slum housing as I hadn't seen in a long time. It is terrible for a city like Kingston in this day and age". Mr. Eleen compared the houses he had seen in Rideau Heights to "shacks I saw on the prairies when I was grown up during the

[195] "Rideau Heights Renewal Begins", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 10, 1965, Newspapers.com, 21.
[196] "Former Aldermen Honoured", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 11, 1965, Newspapers.com, 27
[197] "New Sign Signifies Official Start", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 6, 1965, Newspapers.com, 13.
[198] "Rideau Heights High School Could Be Next on City's List", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 13, 1965, Newspapers.com, 17.
[199] "City Names Two Parks After Rodden, Star Reid.", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 17, 1965, Newspapers.com, 15.; "Work Started On New Park", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 23, 1965, Newspapers.com, 17.

depression". However, he commended the Riverview Court public housing development but warned that this should not be an isolated effort if real positive change was to be made in the neighbourhood.[200]

Figure A-5: Rideau Heights housing conditions c.1965
Source: "Slums Here 'Terrible' According to Authority, *Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston), June 1, 1965, Newspapers.com, 1*

These comments sparked discussion on the topic of Kingston's slums from a whole host of influential actors within the city. Revered T.H. Good, whose comments ten years earlier on the state of Kingston's substandard housing had triggered the investigation into Kingston's housing conditions which later led to the redevelopment of Rideau Heights, once again had more to say about the topic. Revered Good said that despite some areas of Kingston having been improved, that "little has been done to clear away the cheap, fire-trap and rat-infested hovels within the city" and that "we've rotated the population… Dwellings once occupied by those now enjoying low-rental housing have new tenants... I doubt if any slums in Kingston are vacant" [201] Reverend Good also reprimanded both the landlords of the substandard dwelling for allowing their rental properties to remain in such poor condition and city officials for

[200] "Kingston Slums 'Worst Seen by Expert", *Kingston Whig Standard, 1.*
[201] Cleland, "Low-rental Housing Not Answer: Minister", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

allowing city welfare to fund the landlords "who can well afford to clean up the mess".[202] Reverend Good put out yet another call for action, this time for the "slum landlords" of Kingston to be held accountable, saying "we've got blighted spots throughout the city and it's time pressure was brough to bear on the owners of these hovels who are a collecting the rents".[203]

John McKinnon, a member of Kingston's Welfare and Housing Committee, supported Reverend Good's comments and saying that Riverview Court was "the result of the embarrassment of politicians who needed to put up a political show" and that the housing project had not solved the problem of substandard housing in the city.[204] McKinnon also agreed with Reverend Good that the names of Kingston's 'slum landlords' should be released and that city council should be held accountable, and "shouldn't get off the hook… its a shameful thing that not once has any member of city council raised his voice in either protest or approval of the question of housing and welfare".[205] McKinnon even went further to say that city officials had failed to set the Committee on Welfare and Housing for success, having done nothing to create a terms of reference for the committee and that the committee was "trying to grope its way the best it can".[206] Alderman E.H. Hare commented on the matter of substandard housing saying that:

> Just because you tear down some slum houses and replace them with new projects doesn't solve the problem of poverty. We need social workers and educational programs to assist us. We're

[202] "Slums Not Solved Here", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 16, 1965, Newspapers.com, 2.
[203] "Slums Not Solved Here", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 2.
[204] "Cleric's Blast of Slum Conditions Stirs Controversy Among Officials", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 17, 1965, Newspapers.com, 19.
[205] "Cleric's Blast of Slum Conditions Stirs Controversy Among Officials", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 19.
[206] "Cleric's Blast of Slum Conditions Stirs Controversy Among Officials", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 19.

going to try and find out what we can do, what we can't do and what federal and provincial assistance we can get.[207]

In response to Reverend Good's statements, chairman of the social welfare committee Alderman Edwin Watts made a comment rejecting the claims that welfare money had been lining the pockets of slum landlords. Instead, Alderman Watts praised landlords, saying that "we are very fortunate in having landlords who take care of the people on welfare and provide places which the people on welfare must have in order to live" and even going as far as to say that some landlords go above and beyond in helping those receiving welfare.[208]

Figure A-6: Bulldozer demolishes 97 Wilson Street as part of redevelopment project.
Source: *"Redevelopment Project Is Underway", Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 11, 1965, Newspaper.com, 15.

It was clear that the issue of substandard housing conditions and the landlords who leased out such houses would not be easily solved. However, in response to the outcries, Mayor Fray made a statement to the *Kingston Whig Standard* in where he expressed that though he did feel the provision of public housing did help to alleviate poverty in the city, he conceded that it was not enough to wholly fix the issue. Mayor Fray assigned Alderman E.H. Hare to head the city's Committee on Welfare and Housing and provided guidance on steps the committee could take to investigate the issue.[209]

With the instillation of sewers in the Rideau Heights redevelopment area finally complete, demolition of substandard housing could begin in September of 1965. On September 10, the first home in

[207] "Cleric's Blast of Slum Conditions Stirs Controversy Among Officials", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 19.
[208] "Cleric's Blast of Slum Conditions Stirs Controversy Among Officials", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 19.
[209] "Cleric's Blast of Slum Conditions Stirs Controversy Among Officials", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 19.

the redevelopment project, 97 Wilson Street, was demolished. A ceremony to mark the beginning of demolitions was held at 2:30 pm in front of the home.[210]

September 1965 also saw the initiation of a housing need survey by the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC).[211]

1966

The Kingston Planning Board approved the final draft of the Rideau Heights redevelopment plan at their first meeting of 1966. The plan had been updated after the OMB ruled lots with structures classified as "good" on them could not be expropriated. As a result, the plan had to be amended to ensure those lots would not be changed. The plan would involve the demolition of 48 buildings, and 129 lots would be created from the 103 that were expropriated.[212]

The housing survey conducted by the OHC, which was initiated in September 1965, was also completed in January and the results showed that there was a massive need for subsidized housing in the city. The public housing already constructed in Kingston would not be enough to serve the need of the entire city. After receiving 200 applications for public housing, it was decided that 100 units would be built, 20 of which would be built in Rideau Heights in addition to the 30-unit addition already approved for Riverview Heights.[213] Residents objected to the construction of more units in Rideau Heights. They felt that 130 public housing units in the neighbourhood was too much, and that public housing should be spread throughout the city rather than concentrated in one neighbourhood.[214] Complaints of housing segregation and the high concentration of public housing in Rideau Heights were made by concerned

[210] Rideau Heights Redevelopment – Meeting No. 13 Minutes, 1965, QUA 4-100-9, box 1, folder 2, City of Kingston fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON; *"Redevelopment Project Is Underway", Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 11, 1965, Newspapers.com, 15.
[211]Brian Small, "Immediate Housing Need 100 Units; But Figure Far From Enough!", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 22, 1966, Newspapers.com, 13.
[212] Kingston Planning Board Meeting Minutes, January 6, 1966, QUA 4-100-9, box 1, folder 6, City of Kingston fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.
[213] Small, ""Immediate Housing Need 100 Units; But Figure Far From Enough!", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[214] Small, ""Immediate Housing Need 100 Units; But Figure Far From Enough!", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

residents and aldermen alike who feared about the units resulting in a drop in property values in the neighbourhood.[215] Alderman George Webb called the concentration of public housing a "glorified ghetto".[216] Mayor Fray disagreed with his notion, calling the idea that the high number of social housing units in the neighbourhood would devalue property values "utter nonsense".[217]

In June 1966, the plan of subdivision for the Rideau Heights redevelopment area was registered. At a public meeting on May 31 at the Rideau Heights Public School, Planning Officer Kurt Mumm explained the procedure for the sale of the new lots. Displaced residents had first choice for the lots, then land would be sold to the OHC for 20 public housing units. Leftover lots would then become available to individuals for one month before the sale of lots would open up to developers. The meeting was not well attended, with only 35 attendees from the public.[218] The plan of subdivision was registered June 14 and the sale of the first lot occurred on June 23.[219] By June 27, sales to the general public had opened up as well.[220]

[215] "Housing Segregation" *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 25, 1966, Newspapers.com, 4.
[216] Small, ""Immediate Housing Need 100 Units; But Figure Far From Enough!", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 13.
[217] Small, ""Immediate Housing Need 100 Units; But Figure Far From Enough!", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 13.
[218] "Lot Sale Planned For Area", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 1, 1966, Newspapers.com, 2.
[219] Ontario Land Registry Access, "FRONTENAC (Kingston) LRO #13", April 26, 2021, Teraview.ca, https://www.teraview.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/13_Frontenac__Plan_Prefix_Codes_April-2021.pdf; "Redevelopment Officer Dies After Heart Attack", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 23, 1966, Newspapers.com, 1.
[220] "Full Agenda Ahead", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 27, 1966, Newspapers.com, 17.

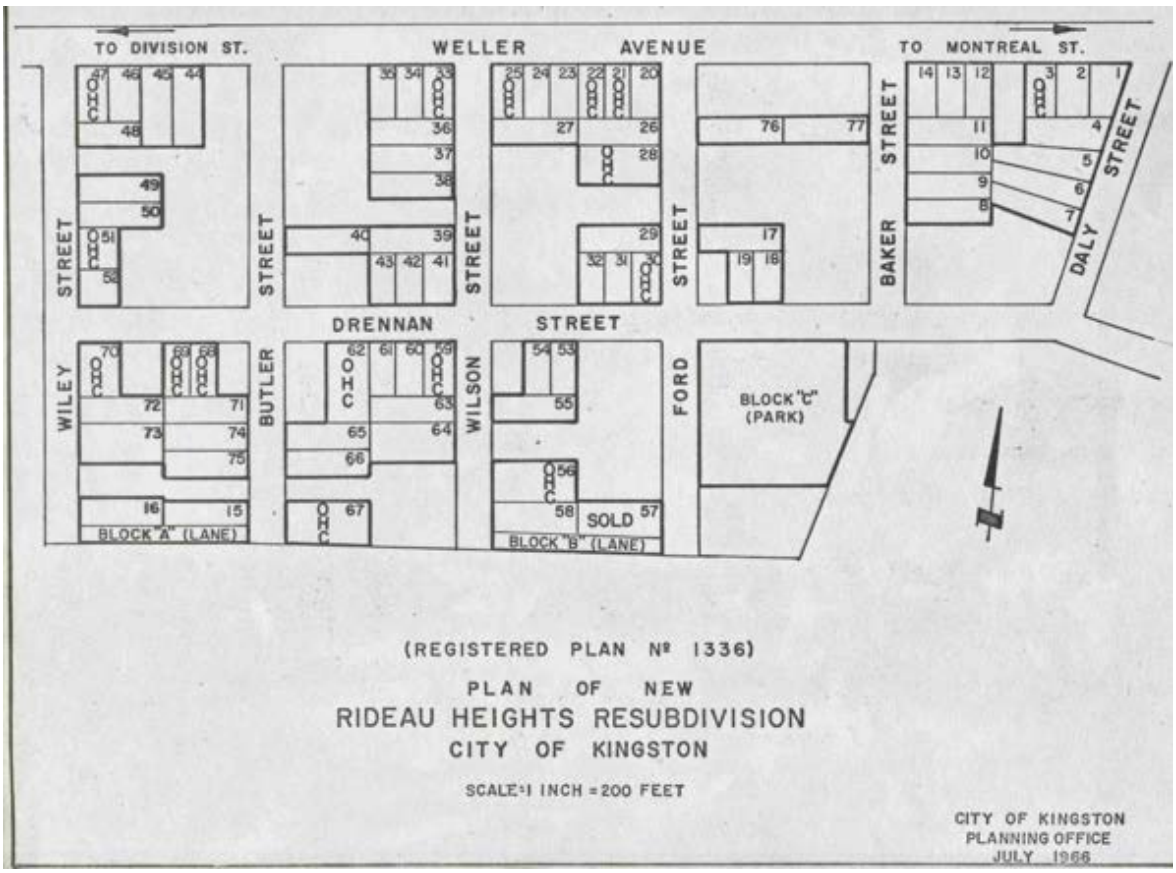

Figure A-7: 1966 Rideau Heights Plan of Subdivision
Source: Registered plan of subdivision of an abandoned Rideau Heights home, 1966, 4/100.9, Box 2, File 11, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.

The battle regarding public housing was ignited once again in October, when the OHC announced an additional 70 units of public housing to be located on Montreal Street in Rideau Heights, despite promises from the city's finance committee that the additional 20 approved earlier in the year would be the last.[221] Alderman Kenneth Matthews accused the OHC of discriminatory practices, and that by locating an additional 70 units of public housing in Rideau Heights they were "perpetrating a war between the north and the south" of the city. Alderman Matthews announced to city council that Rideau Heights residents were "not third-rate citizens and we won't be treated as third-rate citizens!"[222]

[221] "Nobody Wants Public Housing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 25, 1966, Newspapers.com, 18.
[222] "Nobody Wants Public Housing", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 18.

Commenting on the past year in an article December 29, Mayor Fray stated at all 77 lots in Rideau Heights were sold and the redevelopment neared completion.[223]

1967

With phase one of the redevelopment project completed and lots sold in 1966, the second phase of the Rideau Heights redevelopment project was underway. On February 14, 1967, council approved the second phase of the Rideau Heights scheme, which designates a strip of land along Weller Avenue as a redevelopment zone.[224] The area had originally been zoned for light industrial uses and residents had been petitioning the city since 1966 to rezone the land as residential so to allow them to build additions to their homes, or rebuild should something destroy their home.[225] The awkward size of the lots made it so that the lots were too small to sell for industrial development, despite the fact they were zoned industrial, and too large to service for residential use. An attempt by the city to rezone the area for residential use had been overruled by the OMB in 1965, and since then council could not find a solution for what to do with the properties. As work on the redevelopment project stagnated again, the Kingston Planning Board finally resolved in August 1967 to hire a consultant to conduct a survey on the area and come to a conclusion on what should be done with the land.[226]

At a meeting of the Kingston Association of Women Electors, John Raine, manager of the CMHC spoke about the success of the Rideau Heights urban renewal project. Of the 47 families whose homes were demolished as a part of the urban renewal project, only 9 had chosen to be relocated into public housing. Those who had owned their homes had relocated to "better homes in areas better than Rideau Heights", and those who had rented had also improved their conditions". He did state, however, that

[223] Brian Small, "Mayor Fray: "All in All" Progress", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 29, 1966, Newspapers.com, 17.
[224] "Approval for Second Phase Of Rideau Heights' Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 10, 1967, Newspapers.com, 12.
[225] "Weller Residents Seek Zone Change", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 13, 1966, Newspapers.com, 18.
[226] "Land Study Urged", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 11, 1967, Newspapers.com, 15.

"those who moved to rural areas did not improve their living conditions very much". The redevelopment retained 47 original lots and created 77 new lots as a part of the redevelopment project.[227]

1967 also saw the creation of a minimum housing standards by-law by the City of Kingston. City council approved a new by-law would create minimum standards for the maintenance and occupancy of housing in Kingston.[228] The by-law was approved by the Ontario Municipal Board on November 21, realizing the suggestion made in Stephenson and Muirhead's 1960 *Planning Study of Kingston*.[229] With the passing of the bylaw, the city could now enforce minimum housing standards for the city and target substandard housing conditions across Kingston, including in Rideau Heights.

1968

On January 15, a meeting was held at the Holy Family Separate School to give residents a chance to discuss the second phase of redevelopment in Rideau Heights with Planning Officer Kurt Mumm and Kingston Planning Board chairman Gordon Fraser.[230] 40 residents attended the meeting, and reviews of the second phase of the redevelopment plan were mixed, with residents indicating they would like new housing but were apprehensive, worried that they would not receive enough compensation for their properties to repurchase the lot and build a new house after the completion of phase two of the redevelopment plan. "Sure, I'd like a new house. But I don't know if we could afford it" one woman said.[231]

Due to the mixed reception of the plan, another public meeting on the topic was held on February 15 and again on March 15.[232] By March, the message was clear: residents did not what the area to

[227] Elsa Presse, "Urban Renewal – "Pick Up the Phone", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 4, 1967, Newspapers.com, 10.
[228] "Standards Now Law", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 8, 1967, Newspapers.com, 2.
[229] "Housing Standards Now Law", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 8, 1967, Newspapers.com, 1.
[230] Elisa Presse, "Residents' Sentiments Buried Despite Two Hour Meeting", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 18, 1968, Newspapers.com, 2.
[231] Presse, "Residents' Sentiments Buried…", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 2.
[232] "Meeting Will Discuss Redevelopment Scheme", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 15, 1968, Newspapers.com, 13.

undergo urban renewal.[233] A petition made by 16 residents opposed the redevelopment due to the fact that no appraisal value had been given for their homes and no plan to relocate them existed.[234]

Another public meeting was held May 14 to discuss the topic, and it was the Planning Board's hope that the residents could be persuaded to accept the scheme. This, however, did not occur and residents maintained their opposition to the redevelopment scheme. Many residents who would be affected by phase two of the redevelopment project owed more on their mortgages than they felt they would receive when the City expropriated the land. The risk on coming out of the redevelopment project with nothing was too large for the residents to chance. Instead, residents asked for the land to be rezoned from industrial to residential so that their homes could be expanded or rebuilt should something happen to the structures. Alderman Matthews suggested that rather than work on phase two of the redevelopment plan, the Planning Board make a second application to the OMB for the land to be rezoned as residential.[235] As a result of the strong opposition to the redevelopment plan, Planning Officer Kurt Mumm made the recommendation to the planning board that the plan be dropped.[236]

1969

With the Rideau Heights redevelopment project completed in 1968, it seemed like the final year of the 60s would be a quiet one for Rideau Heights. This, however, would not be the case. Instead, the decade would end with residents in an uproar over the construction of yet another OHC housing project in Rideau Heights. After the completion of a housing need survey in the fall of 1968, it was recommended to council in January of 1969 that an additional 236 units of public housing be constructed in Kingston.[237]

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[233] "Redevelopment opposed", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 15, 1968, Newspapers.com, 41.
[234] "Redevelopment Scheme To Get Another Airing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 15, 1968, Newspapers.com, 13.
[235] "Redevelopment opposed", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[236] "Redevelopment opposed", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[237] "Committee's letter to Mr. Randall", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 2, 1969, Newspapers.com, 7.

John Graves Simcoe Public School opened on Wiley Street in January of 1969, becoming the third school in the Rideau Heights neighbourhood.[238]

On December 10, the Kingston Housing Committee approved a 298-unit rent geared to income (RGI) project consisting of 184 family RGI units, 52 seniors' units, and 62 family units at the south north of Weller and Wylie Streets. The OHC contract for the project was awarded to the Headway Corporation and was set to begin in the spring of 1970 dependent on city approval and a zone change. [239] On December 18, the Headway Corporation received $2,776,768 ($23,523,397 in 2025) loan from CMHC to build 184 of family RGI units.[240]

1970

The beginning of 1970 brought with it a change in the federal urban renewal project. By the beginning of the year, federal funding for urban renewal projects had begun to slow. Federal funding since Dec 18, 1969, began to only be available on a restricted basis.[241]

In Kingston, the Headway project remained as contentious as ever. On February 20, the Kingston Planning Board approved a zone change for the Headway project site, changing the area from industrial to "modified residential". The zone change would still need to be approved by the OMB, however, before the change could officially be made.[242] Residents did not approve. The feeling was that there were enough public and RGI housing units in Rideau Heights already and were against the addition of 298 units. Planning Officer Kurt Mumm did not agree with this sentiment, however, and stated that he was become disgusted by the "malicious tongues and malicious minds" of those who opposed the project, and that

[238] "Simcoe Public School opening on Monday", *Kingston Whig Standard (*Kingston*),* January 4, 1969, Newspapers.com, 13.
[239] "Housing Committee approves proposal to construct 298 units", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 15, 1969, Newspapers.com, 19.
[240] "Another housing project", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), December 18, 1969, Newspapers.com, 35.
[241] "Federal government blamed for urban renewal slowdown", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 12, 1970, Newspapers.com, 22.
[242] "Zone change opens way for Headway project", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 20, 1970, Newspapers.com, 2.

people's objections to the project were and creating "a tempest in a teapot".[243] However, Mumm would not have to deal with the pushback for long, as he resigned from the City the following month to work for the Metro Toronto Separate School Board. He would be replaced by none other than George Muirhead, the planning officer who Mumm had replaced seven years earlier. Muirhead would return as Director of Planning and Urban Renewal and replace Kurt Mumm on July 1.[244]

Despite the change in planning staff, the fight against the Headway project raged on. In May, council approved the zone change which would allow the construction of the project.[245] Residents were not pleased and this resulted in an OMB hearing.

In August, the OMB hearing for the Headway project was held and the hearing was given an indefinite adjournment so Rideau Heights citizen committee could secure a lawyer.[246] The hearing would resume four weeks later on September 17, 1970. At this hearing, Headway presented their proposal which would entail the construction of build 541 housing units, 298 of them being RGI units sponsored by the OHC.[247] The OMB would rule in favour of the Rideau Heights residents and reject Headway's proposal. Though Kingston needed more subsidized housing, it was the opinion of the OMB that the Headway proposal would not be the best use of land and was not considerate of the community interest.[248] This would not be the end of the battle, however.

1971

1971 would begin with yet another public meeting to discuss planning proposals for the entire neighbourhood.[249] The meeting would discuss the proposed zone changes and official plan amendment for

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[243] "Mumm raps protesters", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 24, 1970, Newspapers.com, 17.
[244] "George Muirhead is going to get his old office back", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), April 28, 1970, Newspapers.com, 17.
[245] "Public housing project gets a push", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), May 26, 1970, Newspapers.com, 20.
[246] "Headway hearing postponed", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), August 11, 1970, Newspapers.com, 2.
[247] John Kirkpatrick, "City calls 10 witnesses, developer testifies at OMB hearing", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), September 17, 1970, Newspapers.com, 23.
[248] "Meeting to discuss decision", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 3, 1970, Newspapers.com, 1.
[249] David Cleland, "Rideau Heights area planning subject of public meeting Thursday", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 25, 1971, Newspapers.com, 22.

the area which would be necessary for the Headway project and mobile home park to proceed.[250] In a 15 page report on the subject, Muirhead's recommendations included that the total number of dwelling units be capped at 5300 and that multiple family units not exceed 4200, that the "quarry property on Division Street, north of Weller avenue, be designated as commercial on the city's Official Plan, and that the rezoning of this property be permitted only in conformity with an overall development plan of the entire quarry property".[251]

The public meeting, held on January 28, was attended by 120 residents. The proposal for a mobile home park and the plan for the Headway project were discussed. The public was generally accepting of the mobile home park but remained staunchly against the Headway project.[252] Since being rejected by the OMB, the Headway project had been revised and would be larger and denser than originally planned. An additional 380 apartment units and 10 town house units would now be included in the development, now totalling 688 units, and the density of the project would increase from 17 dwellings per acre to 28 units per acre.[253] Residents were in opposition this. One resident commented on the Headway project, saying he objected to the Rideau Heights neighbourhood being used as "as experimentation area". Residents also commented on the density of the project, one saying that the project was "like putting people in a barn".[254] K.M. Burrel, chairman of the Rideau Heights Ratepayers' Association, said he would "like to see the whole thing put out in Siberia".[255] Alderman Matthews remained steadfast in his belief that OHC units should not be concentrated in Rideau Heights and should instead be spread throughout the city.[256]

[250] Cleland, "Rideau Heights area planning…", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[251] Cleland, "Rideau Heights area planning…", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 22.
[252] "More opposition to proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard*.
[253] "More opposition to proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), January 29, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.
[254] "More opposition to proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 17.
[255] "More opposition to proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard*, 17.
[256] "More opposition to proposal", *Kingston Whig Standard*.

Figure A-8: Model of the Headway proposal
Source: "Board approves increased density for Headway development", Kingston Whig Standard (Kingston), March 11, 1971, Newspaper.com, 17.

The Headway project went before council again on February 22. At this city council meeting, the residents of Rideau Heights would win a small victory in their fight against the project. City council voted 13-1 against the project due to strong objections from by the Rideau Heights Ratepayers' Association and sent the plan back to the planning board to be modified.[257] A modified plan for the project was presented to the planning board again on March 8 and was approved.[258] The plan would have 246 RGI units and 52 seniors' units, as well as two 16-storey apartment buildings with 380 units.[259] At this same meeting, the application for a mobile home park was approved for Rideau Heights.[260]

On March 30, Headway received approval for the project by city council, but just barely. The vote had been close at 8-7 for the project.[261]

[257] "Headway project goes back to planning", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), February 23, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.
[258] "Block S: New plan suggested", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 8, 1971, Newspapers.com, 16.
[259] "Board approves increased density for Headway development", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 11, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.
[260] "Getting approval no problem", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 11, 1971, Newspapers.com, 7.
[261] "Headway gets council approval but battle may not be over*", Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 30, 1971, Newspapers.com, 17.

On June 17, the Headway project was back at the OMB, now seeking to build 678 units. Residents of Rideau Heights were still against the project and sought to have the development rejected again.[262]

1972

On February 15, the OMB held another hearing for the Headway project, and on March 2, the OMB approved Headway's proposal to build 678 units on Weller Avenue.[263]

The planning board approved an eight-lot urban renewal subdivision for Weller Avenue on July 7. The eight-lot subdivision would be located south of Weller Avenue and a neighbourhood shopping centre would be located directly across from the site.[264]

On October 5, the Headway project received a $4,132,000 ($3,127,694 in 2025) loan from CMHC for construction of RGI units.[265]

1973

In 1973, an amendment to the NHA marks the end of federal urban renewal program.[266]

1974

In 1974, the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan becomes operational, replacing the federal urban renewal project.[267]

[262] "Headway plan back to OMB*", Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), June 17, 1971, Newspapers.com, 41.
[263] "Headway project approved", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), March 2, 1972, Newspapers.com, 1.
[264] "Subdivision plan approved by board", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), July 7, 1972, Newspapers.com, 20.
[265] "Headway receives a loan", *Kingston Whig Standard* (Kingston), October 5, 1972, Newspapers.com, 39.
[266] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation…", 5.
[267] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Neighbourhood Improvement & Housing Rehabilitation…", 5.