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**Frederick John Alexander,
Ottawa Architect:
Domestic Designs in the Queen Anne Revival Style**

by

Alice White, B.A. Hons.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

September 11th

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of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

**Frederick John Alexander, Ottawa Architect: Domestic Designs
in the Queen Anne Revival Style**

Submitted by Alice White, B.A., Honours (Guelph)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Kelly Crossman, Thesis Supervisor

Bryan Gillingham, Director: SSAC

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 2000

Abstract

The following thesis is a study of Frederick John Alexander (1849-1930), an Ottawa architect working at the end of the nineteenth-century. By investigating the different stages of Alexander's life, it is possible to trace the changes in architecture from the education and training of Canadian architects, to the stylistic shifts from the Gothic revival to the Queen Anne revival style. This thesis will prove first, that Alexander's life and experiences typify the early education and development of the Canadian architect working and practising during the end of the nineteenth-century. Secondly, it will prove that his designs and the ways in which they developed exemplify the Queen Anne revival style in Canada, and specifically, Ottawa.

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Table of Contents

Certificate of Examination.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
 List of Illustrations.....	 1
 Introduction.....	 7
 Chapter 1	
1.1 Canadian Domestic Architecture in the Late Nineteenth-Century: A Literary Review.....	13
 Chapter 2	
2.1 The Triumph of the Queen Anne Revival Style in Ontario and Its Theoretical Impact on Late Nineteenth-Century Domestic Design.....	29
2.2 The Queen Anne Revival Style and House Planning.....	47
 Chapter 3	
3.1 The Development of an Architect: F.J. Alexander's Early Education and Training (1865-1877).....	62
3.2 Canada's Education System at the Turn of the Century.....	77
 Chapter 4	
4.1 Alexander's Early Work and Development as an Architect (1874-1886).....	86

Chapter 5

5.1	F.J. Alexander, Architect: Domestic Designs from his Private Practice (1886-1906).....	99
-----	---	----

Conclusion.....	128
------------------------	-----

Appendix

Chronological List of Works.....	134
----------------------------------	-----

Figures.....	142
---------------------	-----

Bibliography.....	175
--------------------------	-----

Illustrations

Fig. 1 F.J. Alexander, photograph taken in front of family's Lees Avenue home, n.d. (From Mrs. Seaman's private collection)

Fig. 2 F.J. Alexander, photograph n.d. (NAC PA 501214)

Fig. 3 Eden Nesfield, Kinnel Park, Denbighshire, 1868. ((RCAHMW No 860741, reproduced by permission of Sir John Cotterell) Taken from James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (London, 1990), 120.

Fig. 4 Eden Nesfield, Kew Gardens, Temperate House lodge, 1867. (Taken from Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven, 1976), fig. 31.)

Fig. 5 Philip Webb, Red House, Bexleyheath, Kent, 1860. Built for William Morris. (Taken from J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (London, 1987), fig. 133)

Fig. 6 William Butterfield, Milton Ernest Hall, Bedfordshire, 1853-6. ((RCHME No AA78/6827) Taken from James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (London, 1990), 60.)

Fig. 7 Richard Norman Shaw et al., Bedford Park, London (1876 onwards). (Taken from J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (London, 1987), 175.)

Fig. 8 Design for Detached Villa for Bedford Park by Richard Norman Shaw, 1879. ((Reprinted from *Building News*). Taken from Margaret Jones Bolsterli, *The Early Community at Bedford Park* (Ohio, 1977), fig.13.)

Fig. 9 Floor plans and elevations of third semi-detached design at Bedford Park, 1878. (Taken from Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven, 1976), fig. 152.)

Fig. 10 Lander and Bedells Architects, Congregational Church, Llanelli, South Wales, n.d. (Taken from *Examples of Modern Architecture Ecclesiastical and Domestic* (Boston, 1873), plate 3)

Fig. 11 Lander and Bedells Architects, Rectory Place Congregational Chapel, Woolwich, n.d. (Taken from *Examples of Modern Architecture Ecclesiastical and Domestic* (Boston, 1873), plate 20)

Fig. 12 Henry Langley, Toronto Post Office No. 8, Toronto Ontario, 1871-4. Alexander worked on the drawings for this building while he was working as a draftsman in

Langley's office. (NA, PA 149200) Taken from Janet Wright, *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867-1967*. (Toronto, 1997), 11.)

Fig. 13 Henry Langley, Toronto Post Office No. 8, South elevation, Toronto Ontario, 1871-4. (Metro Toronto Reference Library, The Langley Collection, Accession numbers 157-165.)

Fig. 14 Henry Langley, Toronto Post Office No. 8, ground plan, Toronto Ontario, 1871-4. (Metro Toronto Reference Library, The Langley Collection, Accession numbers 157-165.)

Fig. 15 F.J. Alexander, design for the Parliamentary Gate, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1872, half of the larger gate to the East entrance. (NAC RG11, NMC 122094)

Fig. 16 F.J. Alexander, Gate surrounding Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1872. (Photo taken by A.White, 1999)

Fig. 17 F.J. Alexander, Government Workshops, Wellington Street, Ottawa, 1873. (Taken from Eric Minton, *Ottawa the Way We Were: A Collection of Photo Stories about Canada's Capital City*. (Willowdale, 1975), 19)

Fig. 18 F.J. Alexander, design for the interior fittings for the Library of Parliament, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1874-77. (Photo used with the permission of the Library of Parliament Legal Services)

Fig. 19 F.J. Alexander, design for the interior fittings for the Library of Parliament, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1874-77. (Photo used with the permission of the Library of Parliament Legal Services)

Fig. 20 F.J. Alexander, design for a Villa Residence for H.F. MacCarthy, 1874, cellar plan, ground plan, first floor plan, roof plan, front elevation. (National Archives of Canada (NAC) NMC 029875)

Fig. 21 F.J. Alexander, Dutch Reformed Church, Greytown, South Africa, 1880. (NAC NMC 030196)

Fig. 22 F.J. Alexander, Dutch Reformed Church, Harrismith, South Africa, 1885 (Proposed Design). (NAC NMC 030204)

Fig. 23 F.J. Alexander, residence for Archdeacon T.E. Usherwood, 1880, front elevation. (NAC NMC 030180)

Fig. 24 F.J. Alexander, unidentified residence, Natal, South Africa, n.d., front elevation. (NAC NMC 030183)

Fig. 25 F.J. Alexander, design for H.F. MacCarthy, 37 Kent Street, Ottawa, 1888, front elevation. (NAC NMC 030039)

Fig. 26 F.J. Alexander, design for H.F. MacCarthy, 37 Kent Street, Ottawa, 1888, basement and roof plan. (NAC NMC 030040)

Fig. 27 F.J. Alexander, design for H.F. MacCarthy, 37 Kent Street, Ottawa, 1888, ground floor plan. (NAC NMC 030040)

Fig. 28 F.J. Alexander, design for H.F. MacCarthy, 37 Kent Street, Ottawa, 1888, first floor and attic floor plans. (NAC NMC 030040)

Fig. 29 F.J. Alexander, Clerk's Chair, House of Commons, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1873, side profile. (Photo taken by A.White, with permission by the House of Commons Legal Services, 1999)

Fig. 30 F.J. Alexander, design for fireplace mantle for J.G. Bourinot, 141 Cooper St., Ottawa, 1886. (NAC NMC 23414)

Fig. 31 F.J. Alexander, design for Mrs. Carrie L. Gibbs, N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St. Ottawa, 1887, front elevation. (NAC NMC 019042)

Fig. 32 F.J. Alexander, design for Mrs. Carrie L. Gibbs, N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St. Ottawa, 1887, ground floor plan. (NAC NMC 019042)

Fig. 33 F.J. Alexander, design for Mrs. Carrie L. Gibbs, N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St. Ottawa, 1887, first floor plan. (NAC NMC 019042)

Fig. 34 F.J. Alexander, design for Mrs. Carrie L. Gibbs, N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St. Ottawa, 1887, proposed design. (NAC NMC 029868)

Fig. 35 F.J. Alexander, detail for main staircase for Mrs. Carrie L. Gibbs, N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St. Ottawa, 1887. (NAC NMC 029876)

Fig. 36 F.J. Alexander, design for William E. Matthews, Daly Avenue, Ottawa, n.d., front and East side elevation. (NAC NMC 029856)

Fig. 37 F.J. Alexander, design for William E. Matthews, Daly Avenue, Ottawa, n.d., West side elevation. (NAC NMC 029857)

Fig. 38 F.J. Alexander, design for William E. Matthews, Daly Avenue, Ottawa, n.d., basement, ground floor, first floor and attic floor plans. (NAC NMC 029862)

Fig. 39 Langley & Burke, Daniel E. Thomson Residence, Toronto, 1889. (Archives of Ontario, 506[3], taken from Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 3.

Fig. 40 Langley & Burke, Daniel E. Thomson Residence, ground floor plan Toronto, 1889. (Archives of Ontario, 506[3], taken from Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 26.

Fig. 41 F.J. Alexander, design for his own house, 161 Argyle St., Ottawa, 1891, front elevation. (NAC NMC 029859)

Fig. 42 F.J. Alexander, design for his own house, 161 Argyle St., Ottawa, 1891, East elevation. (NAC NMC 029859)

Fig. 43 F.J. Alexander, design for his own house, 161 Argyle St., Ottawa, 1891, West elevation. (NAC NMC 029859)

Fig. 44 F.J. Alexander, design for his own house, 161 Argyle St., Ottawa, 1891, ground floor plan. (NAC NMC 029859)

Fig. 45 F.J. Alexander, design for his own house, 161 Argyle St., Ottawa, 1891, first floor plan. (NAC NMC 029859)

Fig. 46 F.J. Alexander, design for S.W. Hunton, Sackville, N.B., 1894, front and side elevation, and section. (NAC NMC 030077)

Fig. 47 F.J. Alexander, design for S.W. Hunton, Sackville, N.B., 1894, basement and ground floor plans. (NAC NMC 030077)

Fig. 48 F.J. Alexander, design for S.W. Hunton, Sackville, N.B., 1894, first floor and attic plans. (NAC NMC 030077)

Fig. 49 F.J. Alexander, design for S.W. Hunton, Sackville, N.B., 1894, proposed design for basement, ground and first floor plans. (NAC NMC 030070)

Fig. 50 F.J. Alexander, design for Major Hayter Reed, 201 Wurtemburg Street, Ottawa, 1894. ((NAC PA 27454) Taken from Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 132)

Fig. 51 F.J. Alexander, design for Major Hayter Reed, 201 Wurtemburg Street, Ottawa, 1894, interior view of the hall. (Taken from Helen Turcotte, "Distinctive Homes in Ottawa: The Chinese Embassy – A House of History", *The Journal* (Home Section, Saturday May 23, 1964): H2-3.)

Fig. 52 F.J. Alexander, design for Major Hayter Reed, 201 Wurtemberg Street, Ottawa, 1894, interior view of the living room. (Taken from Helen Turcotte, "Distinctive Homes in Ottawa: The Chinese Embassy – A House of History", *The Journal* (Home Section, Saturday May 23, 1964): H2-3.)

Fig. 53 F.J. Alexander, design for Major Hayter Reed, 201 Wurtemberg Street, Ottawa, 1894, interior view of the dining room. (Taken from Helen Turcotte, "Distinctive Homes in Ottawa: The Chinese Embassy – A House of History", *The Journal* (Home Section, Saturday May 23, 1964): H2-3.)

Fig. 54 F.J. Alexander, design for a cottage for Moses Brown, Lake Temiscamingue, Quebec, 1893, front elevation. (NAC NMC 019558)

Fig. 55 F.J. Alexander, design for a cottage for Moses Brown, Lake Temiscamingue, Quebec, 1893, side elevation. (NAC NMC 019558)

Fig. 56 F.J. Alexander, design for a cottage for Moses Brown, Lake Temiscamingue, Quebec, 1893, transverse section and section through kitchen. (NAC NMC 019558)

Fig. 57 F.J. Alexander, design for a cottage for Moses Brown, Lake Temiscamingue, Quebec, 1893, floor plan. (NAC NMC 019558)

Fig. 58 F.J. Alexander, design for R.P. Blake, McLeod St., Ottawa, May 1906, front elevation. (NAC NMC 030059)

Fig. 59 F.J. Alexander, design for R.P. Blake, McLeod St., Ottawa, May 1906, West elevation. (NAC NMC 030068)

Fig. 60 F.J. Alexander, design for R.P. Blake, McLeod St., Ottawa, May 1906, ground floor plan. (NAC NMC 030067)

Fig. 61 F.J. Alexander, design for R.P. Blake, McLeod St., Ottawa, May 1906, first floor plan. (NAC NMC 030067)

Fig. 62 F.J. Alexander, design for Ormond Higman, 231 McLeod Street, Ottawa, 1906, front and side elevations, and roof sections. (NAC NMC 030083)

Fig. 63 F.J. Alexander, design for Ormond Higman, 231 McLeod Street, Ottawa, 1906, ground and first floor plans. (NAC NMC 030078)

Fig. 64 F.J. Alexander, C. Ross Co., corner of Sparks and Metcalfe St., Ottawa, c.1895. (NAC NMC 030114)

Fig. 65 F.J. Alexander, design for the Union Bank of Canada, Wellington Street, Ottawa, 1888, front elevation. (NAC NMC 23415)

Fig. 66 F.J. Alexander, design for the Union Bank of Canada, Wellington Street, Ottawa, 1888, front elevation. (Photo taken by A. White, 1999)

Introduction

Frederick John Alexander (1849-1930) (fig. 1, 2) was born in Pewsey, Wiltshire, a small town in the south of England.¹ Well known in his own time as a gentleman and an architect, Alexander has gone virtually unmentioned for almost a century. The contemporary recognition he has received involves his Ottawa work with the Department of Public Works for the interior of the Library of Parliament and his design for the Parliamentary Fence, which surrounds the Parliament Buildings. He has also received a brief mention for his later work on the Union Bank, located on Wellington Street, and his design for Major Hayter Reed's house (also known as the Robert L. Borden Residence).² These works account for only a small portion of his accomplishments, and greatly neglect his contributions to Ottawa's domestic architecture during the late nineteenth-century. An even more unfortunate aspect is that these domestic designs represent some of his best work in the Queen Anne revival style. The Queen Anne, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 2, was a late nineteenth-century British-inspired movement popular in Ottawa amongst the British-Canadian elite.

¹ Alexander was the eldest of six siblings: Charlie, Kate, Elizabeth, Walter, and Annie who became a leading actress in Windsor.

² Alexander's work here has been briefly mention in Harold Kalman's *Exploring Ottawa: Ten Tours for Walking, Skating, Bicycling or Driving* (Toronto, 1983), and Leslie Maitland's *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990).

The purpose of this thesis is to uncover the work of an important Canadian architect. This thesis will therefore argue that Alexander's life and experiences typify those of the Canadian architect working and practising during the end of the nineteenth-century, specifically looking at the education and training system and the development of the Queen Anne revival style in Canada, and specifically, Ottawa.

On the topic of the education and training of Canadian architects during the late nineteenth-century, a few sources exist, namely in the work of Nancy Z. Tausky and Lynne D. Di Stefano's *Victorian Architecture in London and South Western Ontario: Symbols of Aspiration*, Kelly Crossman's *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906*, and Angela Carr's *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*. These sources have been used in conjunction with references describing the British system on which the Canadian was based. With a basis on which to compare it is possible to better understand, and place the experiences of Alexander in the correct context.

While much literature exists on the Queen Anne revival in England, very little is available on the style's impact on Canada. This makes the work of the small handful of architectural historians writing and conducting research in this field even more significant. Of those that bear mention, a few will be discussed further in the first chapter of this thesis. On the topic of Alexander himself, both Harold Kalman's *Exploring Ottawa: Ten Tours for Walking, Skating, Bicycling or Driving* and Leslie Maitland's *The*

Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture mention his work. Others who have had a profound impact on this thesis and this branch of Canadian architectural history include work by these two authors, as well as Angela Carr, Kelly Crossman, Anne Marie Adams, Deryck Holdsworth, and the team of Lynn di Stephano and Nancy Tausky. It is hoped that this thesis will add to these works, increasing our knowledge about the period and about those who played a part in it.

This thesis relies heavily on Alexander's original drawings dating from 1872 to 1906 and on his diaries from 1868 to 1887, all graciously donated to the National Archives of Canada by Alexander's family.³ While this collection is in no way complete, it does provide for a fair assessment of Alexander's design techniques, methods, and stylistic tendencies. Together these two primary sources provide insight into the architect's early training and private practice. That being said, these sources also presented certain restrictions in my research. While the diaries span most of Alexander's early years, they end just as he begins his private practice. The gaps in months and years throughout his diaries, as well as Alexander's modesty when discussing his work, has left little concrete information as to his own feelings and thoughts regarding his work. As well, the existing drawings do not provide a complete collection of his work. In addition, the his houses, with the exception of a few, have, sadly, been destroyed. Therefore, one can only speculate as to their interiors and how they were used and whether or not they met the needs and requirements of the owner after they were constructed.

I will attempt to use Alexander's drawings and diaries as a guide, with other primary and secondary sources filling in the gaps in order to supply a historical context in which Alexander would have fit. The focus of this thesis will be on his early education and training and his development, as well as how his involvement as an architect shaped his later work in the Queen Anne revival. Concentrating on his domestic work that led up to and included his private practice, Alexander's work exemplifies the period of domestic design in which we see the growth and development of the Queen Anne revival style in Canada. His work and his experiences will, therefore help to uncover the reasons for and the development of the style in Canada and reveal how one architect attempted to deal with the issues that impacted upon and surrounded this movement.

In order to comprehend these issues the first chapter will look at the contemporary scholars who have written about the period. This chapter will provide information on what has already been written about on the subject of late nineteenth-century domestic architecture. Specifically, it addresses some of the ways contemporary historians have thought about domestic architecture from the late nineteenth-century, and the issues and theories that have been raised on the topic. Many of which will be discussed in relation to the work of Alexander.

³ The plans come from the Alexander Collection as well as from the Public Works Collection RG-11 in the National Archives of Canada.

The second chapter will provide an overview of the origins of the Queen Anne revival and its development in Canada. This chapter will raise some of the important issues that plagued Canadian architects during this period, including climate, materials and ornamentation, siting and landscape, and planning. With the background knowledge of the Queen Anne discussed and the issues surrounding it raised, the thesis will then turn to apply the theories of the movement and its issues to the work of Alexander.

Chapter three discusses Alexander's early training and education, offering insight into the typical education of British and Canadian architects during the late nineteenth-century. This chapter describes the pupilage system and the experiences architects such as Alexander would have had. It also addresses Alexander's later work with the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA), and the changes that occurred to the education system at the turn of the century.

Chapter four acts as a bridge between the early years of Alexander's life and the later years of his private practice. This chapter takes a brief look at some of Alexander's early work while still working for the Department of Public Works, and his work in Natal, South Africa. The work from this period is important, as it provides insight into the shift from the Gothic revival to that of the Queen Anne revival style.

Finally, chapter five looks at the domestic designs from Alexander's private practice with regard to the issues raised throughout the beginning of this paper. By

investigating these issues through analysis of Alexander's work, a new piece will be added to the puzzle of Canadian architecture. It is hoped that Alexander's life will provide insight into the experiences of one Canadian architect at the turn of the century, while an examination of his work will broaden the understanding of domestic architecture from this period, specifically in the Queen Anne revival.

Chapter 1

Canadian Domestic Architecture in the Late Nineteenth-Century:

A Literary Review

In order to gain a better understanding of nineteenth-century architecture and the period as a whole, one must understand the issues that helped to define and form it. Through contemporary historians' analyses of the period it is possible to gain valuable insight into the topic of nineteenth-century architecture from a different perspective than those who lived during that time. While the historical perspective is important and will be discussed in chapter two, it is helpful to look at Alexander's work in the context of issues raised from a contemporary approach. Some of these issues that characterized architectural practices during this period include, theories revolving around Canada's development of the Queen Anne revival, the affect of climate on these stylistic influences, the regional use of materials, the impact of technology on architecture, and the issue of nationalism in Canadian architecture. Although all of these issues do not necessarily pertain to Alexander's work, they do help to place him in a historical context.

While this review does not attempt to look at all the sources written on the subject of late nineteenth-century Canadian architecture, it does, however, investigate a select few that set the tone for other writers in the field. It is also important to keep in mind that

this review will focus on the authors' thoughts and words on the Queen Anne revival, and the issues that it raised, specifically in the domestic realm, as this pertains to the topic of Alexander's domestic work. This review will consist of an investigation of the following books and articles: Harold Kalman's *A History of Canadian Architecture*; Leslie Maitland's *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture*; Kelly Crossman's *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906*; Angela Carr's *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*; and finally Annemarie Adams' article entitled "Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival," in the *Urban History Review*.¹ In order to retain clarity and understanding of the period, the discussion of these works has been organized by topic rather than by publication date.

To begin this review we will look at Kalman's two-volume work, as it provides a comprehensive overview of the history of Canadian architecture. Dividing his work into sections under headings of building themes and types, the author is able to move away from the typical survey text. Kalman brings to light a number of Canadian architects and their buildings, from the First Nations and early settlers to contemporary architects. In his chapter on domestic architecture in the second volume, Kalman raises the different issues and themes that run throughout Canadian domestic architecture. By strictly looking at his section on domestic design from the nineteenth-century, Kalman raises the idea of Canadian architects' respect for nature and their surroundings, the use of local materials, and the adaptation of British and European ideas. The author asserts that these

¹ Annmarie Adams, "Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival", *Urban History Review* (March 1993): 104-115.

issues are expressed regionally, producing slight variations on traditional European ideas of architecture.

In his discussion of domestic architecture, Kalman argues that the home is formed by outside as well as inside influences. This includes environmental issues, availability of materials, as well as social and cultural traditions, and effects the way in which the house is designed. As we will see in the work of Alexander this impacted both his choice of style and his method of design.

Specifically looking at the single-family dwelling, Kalman discusses high architecture from the point of view of style, type, and function. In his outline of the different styles of houses in the second half of the nineteenth-century, Kalman states that style was dependent upon fashions coming out of England, Europe, and by the end of the century, the United States. Due to the fact that wealthy patrons looked to European influences, architects were required to be well versed in all styles, from Italian urban palaces and Scottish baronial castles to Romanesque palaces.

Kalman has attributed the spread of high architectural styles and building types to British trained architects coming to Canada and the distribution of pattern books and journals from Britain, and during the later years, the United States. It was not until 1864 that Canada had its first journal, *The Canadian Farmer*, which often published models of buildings. However, even with the founding of the *Canadian Architect and Builder* in 1888, the depiction of British and American designs was frequent, and the influence that

these designs had can be seen in many of the illustrations submitted to the journal by Canadian architects.

By the late nineteenth-century the Queen Anne revival was receiving a high level of attention from Canadian architects. Kalman credits its popularity, in part, to its ability to adapt to North American architectural needs. In the United States the author uses examples of work by architects such as H.H. Richardson to show the extent of the adaptation. Richardson brought together elements of Shavian and American colonial vernacular to the Queen Anne revival. Kalman demonstrates this trend in Richardson's design for the W.W. Sherman house (1874-6) in Newport Rhode Island, which he also offers as the first example of Queen Anne in the United States.² In the case of Canada, the Queen Anne style was only slightly removed from its British precedents. Kalman feels that this was partly due to the large number of British-Canadians living in Ontario, which resulted in the overwhelming popularity of the style.³

Overall, Kalman's book provides a concise overview of Canadian architecture, and his section on late nineteenth-century domestic architecture raises many difficult issues and topics. However, the book only skims over these topics and only through further investigation and research would it be possible to fully understand any of these

² *Ibid*, 613.

³ *Ibid*, 613. From his examples of the style in Canada, the majority of which exist in Ontario, as well as the large Anglophile population living in Ontario, it is possible to discern that the very British version of the style dominated in Ontario.

issues. In fairness, it was probably not Kalman's intention to answer all the questions, but to pose them in order for others to discuss.

Maitland's book, *The Queen Anne Revival in Canadian Architecture*, followed the publication of an earlier article on the same topic entitled, "Queen Anne Revival: A nineteenth-century, essentially British style became comfortably Canadian."⁴ Her book elaborates on the themes Maitland introduced in the article regarding materials and climate as well as geography. Where Kalman's work is a synopsis of nineteenth-century architecture (and beyond), Maitland's book focuses in on one particular style providing a detailed overview of the Queen Anne revival's origins and its development in Canada, as well as its interpretations in the United States. As this is the only comprehensive work on the Queen Anne revival in Canada, it was an invaluable source for this thesis. The author breaks her chapters into the style's effect on domestic, institutional, and commercial buildings. For our purposes, this review will focus on her comments regarding the domestic realm.

Maitland begins her book by discussing the origins of the style. She then subdivides the second chapter, addressing the issues that helped to form the style in Canada, including climate, materials, composition, and culture. Maitland's main argument is that through these considerations, the Queen Anne revival style was adapted and naturalized.⁵ With regard to climate, Maitland writes about the need in Canada for simplicity in design and planning. This was an issue raised by nineteenth-century British architect and

⁴ Leslie Maitland, "Queen Anne Revival: A 19th century, essentially British style became comfortably Canadian", *Canadian Collector* (January 1986): 42-48.

historian, J.J. Stevenson, as he felt that simplicity in design and planning were integral to the conservation of heat, a point that would later be reiterated by Toronto architect Edmund Burke.⁶ Maitland also points out that due to the Canadian climate's harsh effects on delicate details and ornamentation, more emphasis was placed on broad effects of mass, such as verandahs or porches.⁷

Insight is offered into the style's many characteristics as they were expressed through the use of local materials across the country. Maitland argues that materials offered the style a sense of locality or identity with its surroundings. She cites as an example the fact that the red brick of the traditional British Queen Anne house was extremely popular in Ontario, whereas the wood construction dominated on the West and East coasts of the country.⁸ These materials were often taken from the land, but architects also heavily imported materials from Britain, Europe, and even other parts of Canada.⁹

In addressing the issue of landscape and its effect on the overall composition of the house, the author discusses the theory of the Queen Anne revival's relationship to its surroundings. A house in the countryside was meant to relate to its surrounding natural

⁵ Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 29.

⁶ Stevenson discusses compactness as one of the characteristics of modern planning which he associates with a nobler kind of architecture in his book entitled *House Architecture* (London: 1880), 49. Burke followed suit when he wrote about simplicity and compactness in planning. This would not only conserve heat, but would also help in the running of the house. Edmund Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 55-56.

⁷ The porch was also widely used in England. As Muthesius described, "the porch is as much a part of the English house as the nose is of the face." Hermann Muthesius, *The English House* (New York: 1979), 91.

⁸ Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 31.

environment. This meant that its design was to be ground-hugging with an emphasize on horizontal lines in order for the design to better blend in with the pastoral elements of the countryside. Whereas a house designed on the coast was to stand out as bold as the rock face it was placed against. The Queen Anne revival emphasized this connection with nature and was expressed in its choice of materials and its overall plan.

Maitland concludes this section with a look at the culture that made the Queen Anne re-vival popular in Canada. What she found was that there was a high population of British-Canadians who clung to their British roots.¹⁰ These staunch imperialists wanted to retain their connection with the mother country and applauded anything British, including its architecture.

The remainder of her book investigates the style's implications for domestic, apartment, recreational, institutional, and commercial architecture. Her chapter on domestic architecture is subdivided, covering the style's different regional personalities, as well as the Queen Anne revival's impact on the interior of a house. In providing an overview of the style with illustrated examples, Maitland is able to describe the movements many characteristics as it developed and evolved across Canada.

⁹ The railway made it possible for materials to travel from one coast to the other, so while the Queen Anne recommended that only regional materials be used, this was not always the case. As Maitland says, "one could have Ontario brick, British Columbia shingles, New Brunswick sandstone...." *Ibid*, 35.

¹⁰ While Maitland does not list any demographic source for this statement, her assumption is correct, as seen in the population reports in Harry J. Walker's, *The Ottawa Story: Through 150 Years* (Reprinted from *The Ottawa Journal's Coronation Souvenir Issue*, (1 June, 1953)), 36.

Maitland's book offers a source guide that in combination with her collection of illustrations provides invaluable information about the style, its origins, developments, and characteristics. She puts forth the argument that the style was naturalized through its adaptation. While she provides examples of how the style was adapted to fit the Canadian context, she raises the issue of defining the concept of a national architecture. Maitland's argument is important when looking at the work of Alexander, as it will help us to define his work, and understand how his work represented Canadian architecture at the time.

Kelly Crossman's book entitled *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* deals with the issue of a Canadian national identity. His work looks at the elements that led to the search for a national architecture during the end of the nineteenth-century, and the events that brought about its formation in the first decades of the twentieth century. Crossman begins his book by stating that Canadian architecture during the last half of the nineteenth-century followed the trends of Britain, France, Europe, and the United States. This attachment to foreign ideas reflected the personal, cultural, and commercial ties to these countries. Crossman assesses the events that led up to the changes in Canadian architecture, arguing that change did not come until after the turn of the century; therefore, all other events were simply a transition, and Canadian architecture during the later half of the nineteenth-century remained deeply rooted in British and European design trends and traditions.

The chapters of Crossman's book are divided into themes that formed the basis of the transition. These include professionalism, new ideas, and nationalism. Within these themes there were many different elements that promoted new ways of thinking and encouraged the idea of change. Under the heading of Professionalism, some of these included the advent of Canadian periodicals such as the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, *Construction*, *Canadian Contract Record* and the *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal*. These periodicals raised current issues regarding Canadian architecture and were available to architects as well as the general public nation-wide. Another aspect that stimulated change was the developments that occurred in the education and training process, brought about partly with the formation and development of the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. The former was one of the forerunners in the battle to obtain structured architectural education in Canada, which was finally regulated and taught in universities by 1910. Crossman devotes a large portion of his book to the development of the education system in Canada. He argues that the problems associated with education of Canadian architects under the apprenticeship system could be found in its application. Crossman states that the training of architects during the late nineteenth-century was "disorganized, sporadic, and inconsistent." He then further discusses the training system and its weaknesses, as well as providing an account of its evolution into structured education.¹¹

In the second part of the book, Crossman discusses the new ideas and methods in building that provided incentive for change in the late nineteenth-century, including a

¹¹ Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* (Kingston and Montreal, 1987), 51.

section on steel, iron and glass, and another on Beaux-Arts ideas in education. He argues that new developments in materials, such as the use of iron in 1885 and then steel and reinforced concrete in 1910, affected the ways in which architects organized their offices, as well as the way in which they approached the design process. The result of these new materials was the re-evaluation of architectural theories and building methods. Crossman addresses these new theories and building methods and the problems associated with them. He goes on to discuss the Eighteen Club and the new ideas in education brought about by the Beaux-Arts school, which resulted in a greater desire for standardized education and training of Canadian architects.

In the final part of his book, Crossman discusses the issue of nationalism, arguing that at the end of the century when the economic depression lifted, a national idea in architecture began to develop. With the issues raised, the final section shows how, during the 1880s and 1890s, these issues developed and began to change the way in which architects looked at architecture. The result of this was the interest in, and desire for, a national architecture. Crossman argues that although there was an absence of a "Canadian" style in the latter half of the century, architects used the traditional styles in meaningful ways that were uniquely Canadian. The traditional styles did not look out of place in Canada, as they responded to their surroundings; however, they could not accurately be referred to as a Canadian national style.¹²

The predominance of British ideas continued well into the twentieth-century despite the strong desire of architects to form a Canadian architecture. Many architects,

such as G.F. Stalker, felt that Canada's climate would lead to the development of a Canadian architecture.¹³ Crossman discusses this in relation to Percy Nobbs and his impact on a National theory. Nobbs believed that it was acceptable to work with these British traditional ideas, such as the Arts and Crafts movement, provided it was not an exact copy of the historical version. Because of this Nobbs was able to adapt aesthetic theory to the Canadian context.¹⁴

Crossman's book traces the development of the Canadian architects' struggle to find their own way; one that began in the 1880s and 1890s, and resulted in changes that came about after the turn of the century. His book offers great insight into the technological changes that occurred during the period, and how the use of new materials impacted upon commercial architecture. As well, he provides an impressive overview of the changes that occurred in the education system at the turn of the century. His research uncovered the spark of a national idea in architecture, instigated through these other changes and found in the work of architects such as Percy Nobbs. The strength of this work lay in Crossman's meticulous research of the period, and his ability to provide the reader with a look into the issues that brought about the changes in architecture during the turn of the century. While his findings on the education system in Canada were of vital importance to this thesis, the remainder of his book served as a contextual guide that helped to place Alexander amongst his colleagues and the period itself.

¹² *Ibid*, 110.

¹³ *Ibid*, 115.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 133.

In the beginning of her book, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Angela Carr refers to Crossman's book as a point of departure for her own investigation of Burke. In this book, Carr looks at the life and work of Edmund Burke, a Toronto architect who practised architecture around the turn of the century. Through an investigation of Burke's life and work, Carr places him in the context of the era that Crossman described.

Carr's first chapter is devoted to Burke's apprenticeship and education, providing insightful information about the training and early work of those who would later become Burke's partners, or work within his office. The first of these was Henry Langley, the architect under whom Burke apprenticed, and with whom he later partnered. She also discusses Horwood, another of Burke's partners who also articulated under Langley. The brief look at these men provides background information that directly relates to the development of Burke and the way he practised architecture, as well as, to a certain degree, Alexander, as he apprenticed under Langley with Burke from 1870 until 1872.

The next chapters concern Burke's work with ecclesiastical, domestic, institutional and commercial commissions. In these chapters Carr situates Burke in the Canadian context, describing what was going on in architecture at the time. The author shows how Burke, while keeping the Canadian climate and environment in mind, used British and American models as the basis of his designs. Burke used the British-influenced Queen Anne revival style to represent his early domestic designs, whereas the

American methods of building were more prevalent in his later domestic work and his commercial works, such as his design of the Simpson store.

Carr addresses Burke's influence and impact on the development and formation of the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA). Burke, like Alexander, encouraged change in the education and training of architects, advocating the standardization of education for Canadian architects. Burke's position with the OAA as president also enabled him to address issues surrounding innovations in planning and technical building methods. Burke's publication of these methods in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* helped to educate architects and builders in technical change as it pertained to Canadian architecture around the turn of the nineteenth-century.

Carr's book demonstrates Burke's design methodology and provides insight into his British and, later, American influences. While her book is an investigation of an architect, she addresses many of the issues plaguing architects of this period, such as building and construction methods, and education. Unlike Percy Nobbs, Burke was not searching for a national architecture, but for the best way to approach the architectural "problem." Carr does address the issue of nationalism in her conclusion stating that "nationalist sentiments seemed to be reserved for those occasions when Canadian patrons employed American architects, or when individuals like Percy Nobbs sought to promote Arts and Crafts methods in preference to those of the Beaux-Arts."¹⁵ Carr's writing on Burke is therefore important for a number of reasons, as it shows the variance among

¹⁵ Angela Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture* (Montreal & Kingston, 1995), 171.

architects with regard to the search and development of a Canadian national architecture. As Burke was a friend and a colleague of Alexander, Carr's work provides a context in which to situate Alexander and his work. While their lives were hardly parallel, they were contemporaries, and faced similar obstacles. As well, they both experienced and had a hand in instigating the changes which affected architecture at that time.

In an attempt to reveal the many ways of looking at Canadian architecture from the late nineteenth-century, our final look will be at Annemarie Adams' article "Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival."¹⁶ Adams' work views Smith's work as the last of the English trends, where Canadian architects begin to promote what is 'Canadian'. She begins her paper by agreeing with Kelly Crossman and others, that the true search for national architecture did not begin until the second decade of the twentieth century.¹⁷ Writing about Smith in the late nineteenth-century Adams emphasizes the "Englishness" of his domestic designs, investigating the image of what an 'English house' represented in Edwardian Toronto.

Adams states that notwithstanding Confederation in 1867, Canada continued to associate a national style in terms of its relationship to English architecture. In the case of Smith, this was the basis of his popularity as an architect. Adams argues that Smith's designs were able to appear both British and Canadian at once. Although his work was

¹⁶ Annemarie Adams, "Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival", *Urban History Review*, (March 1993): 104-115.

¹⁷ Some of the others noted include: Alan Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, rev. ed. (Toronto, 1966); Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990); Pierre Mayrad and John Bland, *Three Centuries of Architecture in Canada* (Montreal, 1971); T. Ritchie, *Canada Builds 1867-1967* (Toronto, 1967).

compared to that of Shaw, Webb, and Voysey, the designs were marketed in Toronto as a Canadian house-type. He presented his work to Toronto's middle-class as English, only to market the same houses as distinctly Canadian after the turn of the century. Adams attributes his change of association with English style to that of a Canadian national style to the formation of the Arts and Letters Club in 1908.

Adams' argument is that Smith's designs were a reaction to British methods of planning, and were therefore 'Canadian.' As she states, historian Eric Arthur called Smith's 'turned about' designs revolutionary. Essentially, Smith took the typical British floor plan and turned it around, so that the kitchen areas were at the front and the living spaces were at the rear of the suburban home. While different to the way Alexander and others designed houses, these plans raise the question of what was considered 'Canadian.' Adams argument implies that anything that questioned British methods became 'Canadian,' but Smith's designs were only a deviation from the British norm.

In her conclusion, Adams admits that the 'Canadianness' of architecture was truly in the eyes of the beholder during the first few decades of the twentieth century. While Adams' look at Smith has little direct relation to Alexander, her work is important in that it raises an interesting issue regarding the definition of Canadian culture. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canada's culture was heavily based on the English traditions and ideals that were then expressed through the use of 'British' styles in architecture, such as through the Queen Anne revival. For this reason it is important to

look to Adams' work in order to question Alexander's own work and his design methodologies and how it fits into that of his colleagues.

Each author raises important issues with regard to late nineteenth-century Canadian architecture. Their points of view prove that there are many different ways of looking at Canadian architecture during this time period. All of these issues affected many different aspects of Canadian architecture during this period, including how the Queen Anne revival was translated to fit the Canadian climate, materials, and aesthetic, how Canadian architects were trained, how architects dealt with new technologies, and finally, the notion of nationalism in architecture. While other books have also helped with the understanding of this period, and specifically Alexander's life and work, such as Janet Wright's *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867-1967*, the authors discussed here represent some of the main themes that existed during the late nineteenth-century. The work of these authors will stand as a point of departure for this paper. They offer insight into the issues that helped define and form Canadian architecture during the late nineteenth-century, articulating questions that help us look at Canadian architecture in new ways. As many of them formed the basis of my secondary research, they help us to assess F.J. Alexander's work and place it in Canadian architectural history.

Chapter 2

The Triumph of the Queen Anne Revival in Ontario And Its Theoretical Impact on Late Nineteenth-Century Domestic Design

It is impossible to deny that there has been a revival of an important eclectic kind in modern architecture, though it is difficult as yet to estimate its force and direction. Now it is a mixed production, remarkable for its lack of style (sic)... Here it becomes a modernised Gothic, in which some of the leading principles of each period are ill applied; now it rushes off to Queen Anne buildings, and probably the only conceivable advantage of that so-called style is that it admits of such amazing freaks and fancies being incorporated into its quaint incongruities.¹

Architects seem to have been trying their hands at so many styles of late, that nothing very original or very fresh is likely to be done. The best work of late has been done by the English revivalists of the 16th and 17th centuries, and it is almost patent to everyone that the Gothicists have lost ground. ... There is more than a mere sentimental reason why "Queen Anne" or seventeenth century ideas have obtained such a footing in London, and that is that a very large part of the Metropolis is already built in that age, and any attempt to Gothicise a street has led to failure. A very slight modification can easily transform the old brick fronts of many of the streets in London into respectable Queen Anne.²

Stylistic shifts in the late nineteenth-century were rampant and varied in England, the United States, and Canada. By the end of the nineteenth-century the most dominant style in domestic design in Ontario was the British Queen Anne revival. The development of the Queen Anne revival and what it meant for architecture were topics of great debate.

¹ J.W. Tonks, "Architectural Revivals", *The Building News* (May 11 1888): 621.

Because of the Queen Anne's eclectic characteristics and uncertain parentage, both critics and architects received it with mixed emotions. Architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright summed it up when she stated that the Queen Anne was a "hodgepodge of materials and details, which were to characterize a distinct historical style."³ Staunch purveyors of the Gothic revival decreed this 'style' to be vulgar and questioned its definition as a 'style' because of its eclectic mix of ornamentation.

The question of what can be considered 'style' is one that I will not attempt to define in the scope of this paper. While the word 'style' will be used in association with the Queen Anne revival characteristics, for the most part the Queen Anne will be thought of on a theoretical level, as a movement that encompassed comfort and the idea of the 'home.' The Queen Anne may be thought of as a concept of design and living, as much as a particular architectural vocabulary. The focus of this chapter will be on the impact of the Queen Anne revival style in relation to climate, materials, ornamentation, and planning in domestic design. It is therefore important to understand the origins and development of this movement, and how this was then translated in Canada, and specifically Ottawa. It is hoped that by the end of this chapter the Queen Anne revival will be better understood, both from its eclectic stylistic characteristics to its theoretical ramifications, providing a context in which to view Alexander's work.

² "Red Brick Architecture in London", *The Building News* (April 7, 1882): 407.

³ Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1863-1913* (Chicago & London, 1980), 63.

During the first half of the century Classicism dominated all aspects of Canadian architecture, from domestic to commercial. Its characteristics included symmetry in planning, and a vocabulary of Greco-Roman traits, such as columns, pediments, and decorative mouldings. But by the second half of the century the Gothic revival fought the Classic for leadership in what was known as the 'Battle of the Styles.' Occurring first in Britain, the Gothic revival continued in the U.S. and Canada.⁴ Most popularly used in religious architecture, the Gothic revival was used to a lesser degree in domestic architecture. Some of the Gothic revival's characteristics included asymmetrical planning and organization, pointed arch openings, high-pitched gables, decorative detailing such as intricate bargeboards (gingerbread trim), window tracery, and an 'honest' use of materials.⁵ These changes in preference of style affected design, materials, siting, and planning.⁶

By the last quarter of the century technological advances in construction techniques, heating, and plumbing, combined with new attitudes regarding the home and its overall use, made the Gothic revival style increasingly unfashionable. What resulted was the development of many historical revivals that were in part based on either the Gothic or the Classic, or in the case of the Queen Anne, a little of both. When discussing the concept of the Queen Anne, one architect at the Royal Academy in London stated,

⁴ Periodicals were plentiful in North America at this time, making ideas easily transferable.

⁵ In Ottawa, the use of the Gothic revival style on the Parliament Buildings influenced the surrounding governmental architecture well into the 1930s. As well, it formed the groundwork for what many perceived as a national style in architecture for governmental buildings, post offices, and hotels. For more information, see John Leaning and Lyette Fortin, *Our Architectural Ancestry* (Ottawa, 1981).

⁶ Leslie Maitland and Louis Taylor, *Historical Sketches of Ottawa*. (Peterborough, 1990), 13.

As far as we can define this manner of work, it may be termed an attempt to unite the picturesqueness of Gothic with details, not very pure, belonging to Classical architecture, - a Renaissance in fact, but less strict and refined than the style to which the term is usually applied.⁷

The Queen Anne was a concept of design that suited the needs and requirements of modern homeowners by combining stylistic elements from a number of different periods. Creating a comfortable aesthetic 'home.' These decorative red brick houses were, as architectural historian and architect J.J. Stevenson put it, "homely and yet dignified, built to live in, but yet pleasant to look on."⁸

Associated with architectural elements such as red brick, multiple rooflines, bay windows, delicate decorated forms, porches, steep hip roofs, towers, and tall decorated chimneys, the 'rebirth' or revival of the Queen Anne was difficult to define with any kind of certainty during its development in late nineteenth-century England. One uncertainty was the origin of its name. Historically, this architecture had nothing to do with its namesake, who had reigned England from 1702 to 1714. Even though it was termed a 'revival', the Queen Anne's heavy use of red brick was actually derived from English Medieval and Renaissance domestic architecture.⁹ Despite its confusing start in the world, the Queen Anne revival became very popular during the 1870s in England, and survived into the early years of the twentieth century in the United States and Canada.

⁷ Edward M. Barry "Lectures on Architecture at the Royal Academy", *The Builder* (March 21 1874): 235.

⁸ John J. Stevenson, *House Architecture: Vol. I Architecture* (London, 1880), 332.

⁹ Under Queen Anne's reign the British Empire expanded and flourished into the New World. Open trade in Europe and the Orient encouraged the exchange of ideas. Architecture as well as other art forms such as furniture began to return to baroque and classical influences with a sense of flow and movement between its parts. For more information on Queen Anne furniture see Norman Vandal, *Queen Anne Furniture: History, Design and Construction*. Connecticut: The Taunton Press, 1990.

Another uncertainty was with regard to the Queen Anne revival's ambiguous development as a style. As early as 1850 a small pocket of what historian Mark Girouard refers to as neo-Georgianism stuck out from the Classic, Gothic and Italianate styles being used at the time. This interest in French seventeenth and eighteenth-century architecture has been attributed to the red brick designs of Sir Christopher Wren and his associates. Wren's red brick work in designs such as Marlborough House and his design for Fountain Court at Hampton Court in 1689, provided the public with a foresight into what was to come.¹⁰

The term 'Queen Anne' and its popularity have been attributed to two British architects in the 1860s, the two friends and sometimes partners, Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) and William Eden Nesfield (1835-1888). Although both began with Gothic revival ideals they became influenced by the vernacular of the English countryside, and

¹⁰ Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The 'Queen Anne' Movement 1860-1900*, (New Haven, 1977), 10-11. Wren was commissioned to redesign Hampton Court for William II and Mary II. Queen Anne features have also been traced back to elements taken from Arts and Crafts Movement Architects, such as Philip Webb's (1831-1915) Red House of Bexley Heath (fig. 5). This house was designed for William Morris, and influenced J.J. Stevenson's (1831-1908) design for his own 'Red House' in Bayswater from 1871-73. Webb's design evoked a medieval feeling, combining red brick and eighteenth-century sash windows with Gothic elements such as corbelling brick work, clay tiling, rubbed brick arches and circular openings. Stevenson's design was also reminiscent of eighteenth-century buildings, as it was built of London red brick with Flemish gables, small sash windows, and tall chimneys. Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven and London, 1979), 10, 74; Deborah E.B. Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London* (Manchester, 1994), 74. Earlier elements of the style have been traced back to 1856 in the work of George Devey (1820-1886). For more information see: Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus, "Richard Norman Shaw" in *Victorian Architecture*, ed. Peter Ferriday, London, 1963, p.240. Contemporary historian, Robert MacLeod points out in *Style and Society*, that William Butterfield (1814-1900) used elements of the style (fig. 6), such as Georgian sash windows in square or segmental headed openings, in plain brick walls as early as 1854, MacLeod in *Style and Society*, 27. For more information on Shaw see Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (London, 1976).

began mixing Gothic with English vernacular, Elizabethan, and Japanese influences.¹¹ When this 'Old English Style' was combined with Shaw and Nesfield's interest in seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture, it developed into what became known as the Queen Anne revival. Its overwhelming popularity and complex influences resulted in it becoming more of a movement or a theory of eclecticism than an easily identifiable style.

Nesfield's association with the Queen Anne revival can be most clearly seen in his work from 1868, in his design for Kinnel Park in Denbighshire (fig. 3), or in his 1866 lodge at Kew Gardens (fig. 4). Kew Gardens was related to Kew Palace, a red brick house with Flemish gables built in the mid-seventeenth century. The lodge was the first building to use the Queen Anne characteristics of eclecticism with an exaggerated historical flair.¹²

Shaw, who was most notably associated with the Queen Anne, made the connective association of the style with middle class housing when he designed many of the houses at Bedford Park in 1875 (figs. 7-9). Known as the first garden suburb in England, houses built at Bedford Park were designed to be reminiscent of the English Country house. This reference made an impressive statement within society. With the growing wealth of the middle class, Bedford Park came to be seen as a model for the middle-class suburb

¹¹ In 1862 Japan exhibits at the International Exhibition in London, this probably aroused Shaw's and Nesfield's interest. Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900* (New Haven, 1984), 25.

¹² *Ibid*, 28.

throughout England and later the United States and Canada.¹³ Founder Jonathan Carr had a vision of a community of artists and architects living and working within the Park's boundaries. As well as imitating the well-to-do houses in London's more fashionable suburbs, its multitude of stylistic traits enabled one plan to be repeated with different variations to the overall design, producing an eclectic mix where each house appeared different.

Other examples of the Queen Anne revival by Shaw include a house design for Lowther Lodge on Kensington Gore of 1872-1875. Queen Anne elements used in this large house include the overwhelming use of red brick, an asymmetrical elevation, tall irregular roofline, gables, dormers, ribbed chimney stacks, Tudor-styled windows, and sculpted terracotta details.¹⁴ In reaction to Shaw's use of different stylistic elements in one design, one writer at the time claimed that after mastering the Gothic, it seemed Shaw wanted to carve a specific niche for himself through the Queen Anne.¹⁵ The popularity of Shaw and this new niche provided the catalyst this movement needed and resulted in its overwhelming popularity in both England and North America in the late nineteenth-century.

¹³ Although other architects were involved, Shaw was most associated with the designs. Carr first employed Queen Anne Architects, E. W. Godwin, and then Shaw in 1877. After a disagreement, E. J. May and Maurice B. Adams replaced Shaw. Deborah E.B. Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London* (Manchester, 1994), 74-75

¹⁴ His other work such as the New Zealand Chambers of 1872, Cheyne House of 1875-1876, and Swan House from 1876-1877 also emphasized the Queen Anne revival style. Other elements typical to Shaw's work and that of the Queen Anne revival include, a variety of window types – bay, oriel, and Venetian, accents of half-timbering and white stucco with dark wood, and red brick. Many of these were elements common to the work of Alexander.

Ironically, it was former followers of the Gothic revival such as John James Stevenson (1831-1908) who actually popularized the Queen Anne revival, resulting in its acceptance and eventual popularity. Architect and historian, J.J. Stevenson realized early on the importance of this movement and what it meant for British architecture and its architects. Feeling that the movement represented a fundamental shift in taste, he referred to it as an “awakening in the minds of some men, who formerly cared nothing for any style but Gothic, to the interest and merit in Queen Anne architecture.”¹⁶ Queen Anne for England, therefore, developed out of the social desire to live in comfort and the material needs and possibilities that were realized through technological advances in building methods and techniques, such as heating and plumbing. Stevenson regarded the Queen Anne revival as a new consciousness that arose in spite of academics who refused to see change as a positive attribute to architecture.¹⁷

Queen Anne’s essence was, therefore, a conglomeration of Gothic revival, along with Medieval and Classical ideas translated into free and asymmetrical planning, with details drawn from the whole range of English and Dutch red-brick architecture of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As well, French and Flemish touches were added from the sixteenth century.¹⁸ With all of the experimentation of historical styles, writers at the time found it difficult to say where one style began and another ended.¹⁹

¹⁵ Mr. R. S. Peabody “A Talk about “Queen Anne”, *The American Architect and Building News* (April 28, 1877): 134.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 539.

¹⁷ John J. Stevenson, *House Architecture*, V.1, (London: MacMillan and Co., 1880), 380.

¹⁸ Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven and London, 1979), 74.

¹⁹ This was one editor’s response to a reader’s request to differentiate between the different styles, “It is quite impossible to say nowadays where one style begins and another ends” in “Correspondence. Styles of

This in part explains the ambiguity associated with the Queen Anne revival and why it was also referred to as 'Free Classic' 'Re-Renaissance' or 'Anglo-Dutch', as well as why many intellectuals in architectural circles during the period refuted its relevance.

The Queen Anne's popularity in England resulted in its arrival in North America in the late 1870s, with its appearance at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in the form of cottages erected by the British government.²⁰ The continuation of this popularity throughout North America occurred through the dissemination of pattern books. Pattern books first appeared at the end of the eighteenth century and were aimed at the British estate owners in the hopes that they might create better housing for their workers.²¹ Their growth and popularity came with their ability to bring the fashions of the elite to the growing population. Based on British books such as J.C. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1833) and American books such as Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences* (1842), pattern books and mail-order plans were available in books and magazines, as well as later in building and home periodicals. Books such as Downings' and Loudons', as well as other pattern books contained details regarding every aspect of the dwelling and its landscape. These manuals would later prompt architectural theorist Robert Kerr to write *Gentleman's House* and John James

Architecture – Clapboards" *Carpentry and Building* 5, (February 1883): 36, in Sadayoshi Omoto, "The Queen Anne Style and Architectural Criticism", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23:1 (March 1964), 30. This was also true in the United States with the Richardsonian Romanesque.

²⁰ H. Hudson Holly "Modern Dwellings: Their Construction, Decoration, and Furniture", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 52, (May 1876): 856.

²¹ Peter Ennals and Deryck W. Holdsworth, *HomePlace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling over Three Centuries* (Toronto, 1998), 110.

Stevenson to write *House Architecture*, as well as others who published over sixty books on the subject in England between the years of 1790 and 1835.²²

Following the leading designs of architects in Britain, pattern books became advertisements for the latest fashionable styles and trends in architecture. Mail-order firms, usually run by either architects or builders, also accomplished this. Architects were then hired by these firms to design plans that were simple enough to be followed by builders at a lower price, yet elegant enough to be desired by the middle-class. The ability of architecture to penetrate all levels of society through pattern books and journals was something men like Stevenson wanted.²³ As Clarence Cook, author of *The House Beautiful* observed in 1878,

There never was a time when so many books and magazines written for the purpose of bringing the subject of architecture – its history, its theory, its practice – down to the level of popular understanding were produced as in this time of ours.²⁴

Those intending to become homeowners in the United States were able to pick up books, catalogues, and periodicals based on the English prototype. Some of these included Palliser's *Model Homes for the People* from 1876, *Palliser's Useful Details* from 1881, and *Shoppell's Building Plans for Modern Low-Cost Houses* from the Cooperative

²² Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 603.

²³ Stevenson states in the introduction of his book, *House Architecture* that he was writing it for the use of architects and laymen. Stevenson's desire to find an architecture that could penetrate all levels of society was perhaps an idealized view of architects to create an architectural Utopia. Stevenson, *House Architecture*, V.1, 1.

²⁴ Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful* (New York, 1878), 19.

Building Plan Association in 1884.²⁵ Each house design presented a sketch of the house and its floor plans. If desired, the homeowner could send away for the rest of the plans, elevations, and specifications, and with some companies, paint instructions and fence designs.²⁶

In the United States the Queen Anne revival took on a regional character, particularly in its use of materials. Instead of the red brick construction that was used in Great Britain and in Central Canada, the Eastern United States relied more on decorative wooden construction and a predominant use of shingles for roofing construction and decoration. The result of these British influenced styles, such as the Queen Anne, was the development of the 'Stick' and the 'Shingle' style.²⁷ Houses built in the Queen Anne revival, or 'Shingle' style, were lower and broader than in Britain and verandahs were much more popular. As well, the designs in the United States were lighter and more openly made reference to the classical style in its detailing.²⁸ Another Americanized

²⁵ James L. Garvin, "Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture", *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, (Winter 1981): 309-334.

²⁶ Paint instructions and fence designs were included in Shoppell's standard full set of plans by 1890. *Ibid*, 326.

²⁷ The "Stick Style" was what Scully referred to as the wooden domestic architecture built between 1840 and 1876, which developed from the English Gothic revival and was applied to the American wooden-framed structure. These homes were characterized by their use of thin wooden members and skeletal elements that emphasized their frames. Scully argues that the architecture of the Stick style broke with the grand styles of the past and became influenced by the wooden styles of Switzerland and Japan. Vincent J. Scully, Jr. *The Shingle Style and The Stick Style* (New Haven: 1971), 2-3. The development of the "Shingle Style" was through the influence of Norman Shaw's Queen Anne style. Shingles were used to emphasize the surface, as opposed to the skeletal references of the Stick style. *Ibid*, 10. Bricks were still used in the United States. However, in the eastern parts of the country, the 'Shingle Style' was more prevalent, using wooden shingles as a form of ornamentation as well as a connection and expression of nature. For more information on the Shingle and the Stick style, see Vincent Scully's *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

²⁸ Some American architects, such as Charles Follen McKim (1847-1901) picked up the Queen Anne revival in England and developed it in the United States. Another element that helped to shape the style in the United States was what became known as 'Eastlake' features. This included the use of heavily turned

feature was the open plan and the expansion and integration of the veranda, with half of it enclosed, forming part of the overall volume of the house.²⁹

For Canadians, Queen Anne came mainly from Britain, although some architects interested in changes in American architecture were influenced by their southerly neighbours. In Canada, as with the United States, pattern books were one of the most successful ways of disseminating the style. These pattern book designs were distributed through farm journals, family magazines, newspapers, and design volumes. Although there were no Canadian firms that specialized in pattern books, many architects, including Alexander, subscribed to British journals such as *Building News* which began publishing plans and drawings of leading architects such as Shaw as early as 1871.³⁰ Towards the end of the century popular house designs were made readily available to the public through Canadian journals such as *The Canadian Farmer*.³¹ With planning becoming more and more standardized, these plans were less expensive for homeowners and were less difficult for builders to follow. This increased the number of people able to buy homes, which, in turn fed the size of the already growing suburbs.

carved wood detailing on the exterior and interior, such as spindles, balusters, and vertical posts. Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 23-25.

²⁹ Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*, 54-55.

³⁰ Alexander subscribed to this journal in 1874, a subscription he would renew every year of his life. Scully makes reference to Shaw's designs for Leyes Wood in Sussex (1868) being published in *Building News* (March 1871). He found that this was the first work by Shaw published anywhere. Scully, 10. In 1875 Shaw's drawings for Lowther Lodge were published in *Building News* (June 1875): 25. For more information see Andrew Saint *Richard Norman Shaw* (London, 1976).

³¹ Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 604. Kalman states that this was the first magazine in Canada that was comparable to books such as Downings'.

The other major factor that encouraged dissemination of the movement in Canada was the work of English architects who brought the Queen Anne revival and its ideas with them upon their arrival. Others visited Britain, returning with new ideas from the mother country. Queen Anne's 'Britishness', and its noble history rooted in the English country house made it the popular and logical choice for many British-Canadian architects, as well as for their British-Canadian patrons. Due to the high level of immigrants from the British Empire, the Queen Anne revival flourished in Ontario cities such as Toronto, Ottawa, London, and Hamilton.³² Many residents, such as Alexander, were known as staunch Imperialists, applauding anything British.³³ This, combined with the need for new housing for the growing and an increasingly wealthy middle-class, resulted in the overwhelming success of the Queen Anne revival in Ottawa.

Also contributing to the success of the Queen Anne revival in Canada was the way in which it was adapted to take on the regional personalities of its surroundings, producing a house that was not only comfortable to live in, but interesting to look at. The impact of the Queen Anne and its development in Canada affected its design through consideration of climate, materials and ornamentation, landscape and siting, as well as planning. While the British elements that made up the characteristics of the style remained intact, contemporary historians such as Leslie Maitland argue that the attributes of the Queen

³² Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 43. While Maitland argues that the Queen Anne was most prominent in Toronto, its development and appeal in Ottawa were also important. The majority of the English speaking population in Ottawa were immigrants from Britain and its Empire. Harry J. Walker, *The Ottawa Story: Through 150 Years* (Reprinted from *The Ottawa Journal's* Coronation Souvenir Issue, (1 June, 1953)), 36.

³³ Rev. Wm Cochrane (ed.), *The Canadian Album: Men of Canada* (Brantford, 1891), 275.

Anne made it possible to adapt the style to the needs and requirements of nineteenth-century Canadian society.³⁴

With severe winters and scorching summers, the Canadian climate was a harsh reality for Canadian architects to consider. Climate greatly affected how the house was designed and constructed, altering the characteristics of the Queen Anne. The need to conserve heat in the winter meant that the Canadian house plan had to be compact in layout and simple in design. Many architects such as Alexander placed their designs irregularly on an axis in order to attain compactness and maximize use of space. While still adhering to the characteristics associated with the Queen Anne revival, the Canadian version of the style was more conservative in its allotment of space. Toronto architect, Edmund Burke, felt that the result of this irregularity provided a more comfortable atmosphere and was helpful when entertaining.³⁵ Winters also restricted the use of multiple rooflines, as these led to increased leaking. Burke raised these issues in his article "Some Notes on House-Planning",

Climactic conditions have also necessitated in the northern portions of this continent a more compact form of house for easier heating, while the roofing problem and the avoidance of snow-traps, has been the means of clipping the wings of many a flight of fancy planning.³⁶

While these roofing issues in some ways restricted the Canadian architect from using the Queen Anne to its full extent, it did not deter them from adding their own creative flair to

³⁴ Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 29

³⁵ Edmund Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", *The Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 55,56.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

the overall structure of the house through the use of gables and dormer windows. Vestibule's were used to keep out the snow and drafts. As well, climate restricted the abundant use of decorative details associated with the style in England. Maitland argues that this was compensated by placing more emphasis on broad mass than on delicate details.³⁷ The summer heat in Canada also required careful consideration by Canadian architects. Delicately detailed porches were the result, offering a cooler alternative to sitting indoors, and providing shade to those windows it covered.³⁸

Many Canadian architects at the time believed that some of the characteristics associated with the style such as terra cotta details and intricately carved designs were not suitable for Canada's climate. Ottawa architect G.F. Stalker (1841-1895) believed that architects using the Queen Anne were ignoring Canada's climactic considerations. In 1891 he wrote, "artistically, and on paper, the designs may be most creditable to their authors; but practically, and *in situ*, they are failures."³⁹ This article went on to suggest that while the fashion of such styles as Queen Anne were beautiful, they were not always suitable for Canada's climate. To emphasize this point, Stalker wrote,

We admire the beautiful conceptions of genius, and are sometimes tempted to imitate them, without giving a thought to the suitability of local surroundings and circumstances. Fashion is an absolutely despotic mistress, over all who swear allegiance to her.⁴⁰

³⁷ Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 30.

³⁸ This was also a popular element of the style in England. Hermann Muthesius, *The English House* (New York: 1979), 91.

³⁹ G.F. Stalker, "(sic) Climatic Influences upon Architecture", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (December 1891): 105.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 105.

While Stalker's concerns were valid, it is evident in the successful designs of architects such as Burke and Alexander, that both took the Canadian climate into account.⁴¹ This can be seen in their simplified roof designs and their well thought out and reserved use and placement of decorative details. For example, in Alexander's design for his own house, (fig. 41-43), he uses ornamentation around the dormer windows and gables, but he finishes them off in a linear way, such that very little ornamentation is projecting out off of the roof. The result is delicately carved bargeboard without the threat of pieces breaking off and cracking during the winter thaws.

Despite the concerns of architects such as Stalker, the Queen Anne revival remained the popular choice of patrons and architects during the last two decades of the nineteenth-century. One reason for this was the style's creative possibilities exploited through the use of materials and ornamentation, both of which were important factors in the adaptation of the Queen Anne revival in Canada. For example, on the West and East Coasts of Canada, wood siding rather than the traditional red brick was used. Like the decorative brick work associated with the movement, wood was used in a number of ways - vertically, horizontally and diagonally with fish-scale wood shingles, creatively expressing the character of the structure and its link to its natural surroundings. For central Canada the overwhelming choice of material was pressed brick. Although stone was used and recognized as one of the most prominent of all building materials, brick was preferred, as it was less expensive and more protective against the hazard of fire. It was

⁴¹ In the case of Edmund Burke, his writings advocate the importance of considering the Canadian climate.

also readily available in a multiplicity of colours, which produced very pleasing architectural effects.⁴²

By the end of the nineteenth-century it was possible to have any colour of brick required; however, for the most part the colour chosen was consistent with the region's own material resources. While the earth-coloured red brick, synonymous with the style's British roots, was preferred in most cities and towns, in other areas such as London Ontario, for example, there was an overwhelming use of yellow brick.⁴³ In all the cities where the Queen Anne was prevalent, brick was used in combination with other materials and lighter tones of brick and stone.

Because Ottawa had always been a lumber town, its housing tradition was largely wooden. However, the vulnerability of this material to fire caused officials to impose restrictions and introduce building codes on construction starting in 1858.⁴⁴ Fire-resistant bricks became the preferred choice and allowed the Queen Anne to take root in the city. Other aspects that made the Queen Anne's popularity possible in Ottawa, as well as elsewhere in Canada, included the ability to import and ship different materials by way of railroad or ship, as well as other technological advances. For example, machine-made

⁴² W.M. Brown, "The Adaptability of Materials", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (July 1907): 114; and H.B. Gordon, "Building Materials", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1891): 57-59.

⁴³ This was due to the fact that the dominant brick-making material in this area (south and west of Ottawa) was Erie clay, a clear clay often called 'white' which produced a yellowish brick. For more information on this and London architecture of this period, see Nancy Z. Tausky and Lynne D. Di Stefano, *Victorian Architecture in London and Southwestern Ontario* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986, p. 90.

⁴⁴ In 1858 the city of Ottawa passed a by-law forbidding the use of wood in construction of buildings within 90 feet of Wellington, Rideau, Sparks and Sussex Streets. John Leaning and Lyette Fortin, *Our Architectural Ancestry* (Ottawa, 1981), 13.

details and materials were now available because of industrialization, enabling more people to have access to the decorative details that characterized the Queen Anne revival.

In keeping with its English country house influences, the Queen Anne revival house was to be designed with nature in mind, taking into consideration its siting and surroundings. In turn, the house was to enhance the nature from which it derived its inspiration. For example, the sprawling English countryside produced a variation of the style that was much different to that of the suburban home. This was true in Canada, where the style was usually used in the suburban setting and was thereby restricted to fit that surrounding. In such cases, the traits that made up the style, such as its irregular plan, made it possible to turn the house on its axis, producing a design that was tall and narrow at the front and long at the sides, in order to fit into the small suburban lot. A Queen Anne house on the east coast however, was expected to stand on its own, making as strong a statement as its rocky surroundings.⁴⁵ This was similar to the United States, where designs on the east coast used shingles and wood to better relate to their surroundings, forming the 'Shingle' style.

Amongst all of these issues raised by the development of the Queen Anne revival in Canada, one of the most important was the style's impact on house planning. Queen Anne's adaptability made it extremely effective in adapting to fit English house planning principles. This issue is significant for this paper because, while one can only speculate on Alexander's thoughts and decisions with regard to climate, materials and

ornamentation, and landscape and siting, we have, through careful inspection of his plans, a direct connection to his planning techniques and methods. Also of significance is how he translated the theories associated with English house planning principles into the Canadian context. A study of these theories therefore provides insight into the daily social interactions within the home during the late nineteenth-century. This will then help us to understand Alexander's own designs and what they say about designing in Ottawa, as well as the people for whom he was designing.

The Queen Anne Revival and House Planning

A history of house-planning is therefore a history of civilization, one of the best means by which we can realise the social condition and family life of successive times.⁴⁶

While the popularity of Queen Anne in the late nineteenth-century was due to its British connection, as well as its adaptability with regard to climate, materials, and siting, the movement also offered a means for introducing innovations in planning. Planning during the late nineteenth-century was a priority as it reflected the people living within.⁴⁷ As emphasized by different writers of the time such as Robert Kerr, J.J. Stevenson, and

⁴⁵ Grant Helliwell, "Domestic Architecture", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (March 1896): 38.

⁴⁶ Stevenson, *House Architecture*, V.2, 1-2.

⁴⁷ Jill Franklin. *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan 1835-1914*. (London, 1981), 238-239.

Hermann Muthesius, planning becomes a clearly thought out process.⁴⁸ The development of these planning principles in Canada was then taken and adapted to fit the Canadian context by men such as Edmund Burke, and used by architects such as Alexander. This meant that the plan of the house was decided upon first, with the exterior evolving around it. This was an important innovation that was later picked up by architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright with his open planning, and forever changed the way architects design houses. As we trace the history of the house plan, it is evident in the nineteenth-century that a shift occurs whereby the plan becomes very much indicative of the daily interactions within the home.

Comfort and convenience, two words that we associate with the word 'home' today, were not always considered the most important attributes of the house. In fact, the idea of a 'home' did not really exist until the end of the eighteenth-century. The house has evolved over time from its use as simply a form of protection to a place of gathering and a domestic dwelling. In order to understand the importance of nineteenth-century house planning and the issues it raised, with regard to Alexander's designs, it is helpful to understand how it evolved.⁴⁹ Architect and theorist, J.J. Stevenson, traced the history of the house and its plan in his book entitled *House Architecture*:

The earliest house in this country [England] seems to have been a hole in the ground, roofed with wattles or covered in with earth; the entrance a tunnel, small and tortuous, so as to make the intrusion of wild beasts and enemies difficult.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The development of ideas regarding planning can be seen in the Picturesque from earlier in the century.

⁴⁹ This brief overview of the history of house planning is mainly based on the British system and J.J. Stevenson's findings.

⁵⁰ Stevenson, *House Architecture*, V.2, 2.

The hole in the ground eventually evolved in the Middle Ages, into a large room that became known as the great hall. Stevenson felt that the living hall was the main feature of the house plan and that everything else was subsidiary to it. This common hall had, since the Middle Ages served as a dining, sleeping, and gathering area for entire communities. In the fifteenth century, however, the break up of the feudal system resulted in the independence of the people. The common hall, therefore, began to lose its importance and was replaced by a number of private rooms.⁵¹ By the end of the fifteenth century, the growing desire for comfort brought about separate chambers with specific uses. For this reason, planning was beginning to become much more intricate and carefully thought out.

During Queen Elizabeth's reign great improvements to the planning of houses were introduced with the growing association of luxury. Houses were larger with spaces connected by corridors or galleries. As well, with the implementation of staircases, the second level or the 'double house' system came into being.⁵² With the idea of luxury and the introduction of privacy through the separation of spaces within the plan, the house had been transformed from a space of security and defense against the forces of nature, to a place of warmth, comfort, and social interaction. The house plan continued to evolve in this manner, resulting in the transformation of the house into a 'home' in the nineteenth-century.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 20.

⁵² *Ibid*, 34-36.

Symmetry in planning had been the most important aspect in the designing of a house since the seventeenth century.⁵³ In the 1840s, however, symmetry and consequently Classicism came under attack. A new Gothic view pushed for variety and irregularities in the planning of houses.

Comfort has been found to be absent from houses planned in the formal manner of the Classicist, while the irregular disposition of rooms and the want of balance have been found to have in them something of the very essence of homely comfort and retirement, and to be in harmony with the best aspirations of our nature.⁵⁴

British architectural theorist, Robert Kerr (1823-1904) believed that both Classic and Gothic had good characteristics, as long as their plan did not sacrifice the “quiet comfort for [one’s] family and guests, - through convenience.”⁵⁵ He felt that the style in which a house was designed could be decided by assessing the client’s needs and desires with regard to the house’s situation, scale, materials, cost, degree of ornamentation, and its overall degree of importance or stateliness.⁵⁶

Comfort, convenience, and practicality were considered the most important elements involved in nineteenth-century house planning. The consideration of these three elements transformed the house into a ‘home.’ For Kerr, the ideal ‘Gentleman’s House’ was attainable only by considering these key components, along with the elements that enhanced them. Under the heading of the “test of A GENTLEMAN’S HOUSE”, Kerr addressed these as: spaciousness, compactness, light and air, salubrity, aspect and prospect

⁵³ Geoffrey Beard, *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), 239.

⁵⁴ “Ideal and Practical Domestic Architecture”, *The Building News* (March 17 1882), v.42, p.319.

⁵⁵ Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman’s House* (New York, 1972), 66.

(or where the house and its windows are placed with regard to the view and best natural sunlight as it effects each particular room and its use respectively). As well, he discussed cheerfulness, elegance, importance, and ornamentation. These were all addressed with privacy, comfort and convenience in mind.⁵⁷ Kerr stated,

Every one will affirm, therefore, that a Gentleman's House ought to be not merely substantial, comfortable, convenient, and well furnished, but fairly adorned. It ought to exhibit a reasonable amount of intellectual liberty, faithfully keeping on the side of simplicity and moderation and clinging to the grace of elegance as the beauty which will not last the longest; but avoiding none the less that poverty of dress which is not self-denial, but inhospitality.⁵⁸

Twenty years later J.J. Stevenson's book *House Architecture V.II* added to Kerr's notes on house planning. Stevenson updated Kerr's work by addressing the debate on Classic versus Gothic. By reviewing the work of Ruskin, Fergusson, Sir Gilbert Scott, and Eastlake, Stevenson assessed their recommendations for the use of Gothic as a suitable style for domestic architecture. Although he acknowledged its influence on architecture, he felt that it was not always successful when adapted to modern uses in domestic architecture. Regardless of which style was chosen, Stevenson felt that it was important for architects to understand that while, "all Classic motive, is based on regularity, and all Gothic on irregularity (sic)... the Classic manner may pervade plan in spite of irregularity in detail, and the Gothic manner similarly in spite of symmetry."⁵⁹ In short, the modern plan of the nineteenth-century must consider features of different styles in one house. He gave an example of a Classic home without perfect symmetry,

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 344-345.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 90.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 45-46.

containing a Gothic dining room, an Italian-styled saloon and a double staircase.⁶⁰ He stressed that whatever the style or styles of a house and plan, comfort, and convenience must never be ignored.

Summing up the growing desire for convenience and practicality, Stevenson stated, "Convenience, not symmetry is now the universally acknowledged rule in house-planning".⁶¹ Convenience, comfort and practicality were to come before all other aspects of house planning. This was also true of Canadian architecture. Toronto architect, Edmund Burke (1850-1919), like Stevenson and others before him, felt that one of the first principles of planning was simplicity. As comfort was considered to come before all else, he believed that a poor or complex plan was "a continual source of discomfort to the occupants of the house."⁶² Burke felt that the house and its parts should be molded to fit the "inner life of the family, the tastes and even the peculiarities of each member of it."⁶³

With simplicity, comfort and convenience in mind, each of the principal rooms in the late nineteenth-century house were planned to open off the hall. Daily movement between each room was taken into consideration in their placement. German architectural historian, Herman Muthesius (1861-1927) was sent at the turn of the century to observe British architectural practices and relay these observations to his German homeland. His book, *The English House*, was therefore not unlike those of Kerr and Stevenson, but

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 46.

⁶¹ Stevenson, *House Architecture* V.2, 45.

⁶² Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning," *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 55.

⁶³ Burke quotes Professor Osborne's treatise on the Art of House-Planning, *Ibid*, 55.

provided an outsiders view of the English house plan.⁶⁴ When describing the importance of the hall, Muthesius wrote that “the nineteenth-century saw an attempt to restore the hall to its former glory after the Palladian period had reduced its significance to that of a banal vestibule.”⁶⁵ Some of the most common designs for halls were not necessarily based on the medieval or Elizabethan prototype, but were top-lit like a roofed-in courtyard. They continued to be used for entertaining, but began to be used at the end of the nineteenth-century and throughout the twentieth-century as living rooms.⁶⁶ Muthesius pointed out for his readers that where its purpose was to serve as a link between the rooms, the hall also projected the desire for privacy in the English plan, while at the same time creating a dramatic aesthetic impression.⁶⁷ When writing about the hall, Muthesius stated that,

In its capacity as a connecting room, the hall usually acts as the key to the whole plan of the house; it is the central room, off which all, or most, of the rooms open. ... Large country-houses always have a spacious, well-lit entrance hall or vestibule inside the front-door, off which there is a cloakroom, which in turn opens into a washing-place and lavatory. Another door leads into the large hall and through this into the house proper. Norman Shaw, for example, has always designed extremely attractive entrance-halls that introduce the visitor at once to the atmosphere of the house.⁶⁸

Burke agreed with Muthesius completely. As he felt that the hall should immediately impress its visitors. One way of doing this was by giving the entrance some measure of

⁶⁴ Muthesius found many of the English methods of designing different to that of German and European design. One main difference was the aspect of privacy within the home while at the same time allowing for communication with each of the rooms. In Europe and specifically in Germany each room was connected to the next without the use of a central hall, whereas in England each room had a specific purpose with a separate entrance off a main hall.

⁶⁵ Hermann Muthesius, *The English House* (New York, 1979), 90.

⁶⁶ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 290.

⁶⁷ Muthesius, *The English House*, 79,90.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 55.

prominence.⁶⁹ In Burke's own work, and that of architects such as Alexander, a grand staircase accomplished this. In the case of Alexander, the importance of the hall is evident in his design for Mrs. Gibb's entrance hall (fig. 35). The decorative detail used on the staircase creates the centrepiece of the hall, and immediately presents guests with an impression of wealth and good taste.

From the hall, the most important and the largest room in the house was the drawing room. This was where the "lady" withdrew to entertain throughout the day and where the family and guests assembled before dinner. After the meal was over the "ladies" withdrew and were joined later by the gentlemen. Kerr wrote that the drawing room must be ladylike in character and design. This was accomplished through the delicate decorative treatment of the mouldings and the fireplace mantle. The aspect, meaning where the windows were placed, was to be such that the room was provided with sunshine throughout the year; therefore Kerr and Stevenson suggested a southward position.⁷⁰ Kerr also mentioned the importance of the bay window, which allowed more light to enter and brought the sense of nature into the home.⁷¹ With this window he recommended window shades or possibly a verandah outside, depending on the direction the room faced, in order to protect the inhabitants from the glare of the sun.⁷² The prospect or view from the drawing room was thought to be most important when considering the planning of the

⁶⁹ Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 55.

⁷⁰ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, 107.

⁷¹ Nature was an important element in Queen Anne architecture. This is evident in the floral and leaf motifs used in the decorative and ornamental elements found throughout the exterior and interior of the Queen Anne house. The heavy use of large windows, such as the bay window also illustrate this desire to bring the outside in.

⁷² Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, 107-108.

house. It was therefore believed that the drawing room be placed so that it had the best view that the house commanded.⁷³ In considering the room's purpose, Stevenson wrote that the design of the drawing room be conceived with conversation in mind.⁷⁴ Muthesius concurred with Kerr and Stevenson, stating that the drawing room was the most important reception room and that it was the preserve of the lady of the house, it must have the sunniest aspect. Muthesius wrote, "the room is expected to be bright, to produce a light, pleasing impression and a general air of joie-de-vivre."⁷⁵ Muthesius went on to say that, "the ideal view from a drawing-room would therefore be one stretching away to the east, which could still be enjoyed from the ordinary windows in the afternoon, but would be seen to best advantage from a bay window on the front elevation."⁷⁶ The benefit of a bay window or inglenook was also realized by Burke in Canada. Burke also expressed the importance of the drawing room not being square in plan, and stated that it should have at least one wall facing the south side of the house to attain the most sunlight.⁷⁷

The next major room in the house was the dining room. It was used to serve luncheon, dinner and, if the house did not have a breakfast or morning room, breakfast.

Kerr described the proper dining room as,

a spacious and always comparatively stately apartment, of which the chief characteristics ought to be freedom from the heat and glare of sunshine at those

⁷³ *Ibid*, 109.

⁷⁴ Stevenson, *House Architecture V2*, 57.

⁷⁵ Muthesius, *The English House*, 83, 85. The difference in opinion between Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius is interesting. Muthesius may have suggested an eastern view because of the heat from the southern side. Canadian architects do not seem to assert a particular position, as long as the view was maintained and the use of space remained comfortable and convenient. This may have been due to restrictions of suburban lot sizes.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 83, 85.

⁷⁷ Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 56.

hours when it is in use, and a certain sort of seclusion as respects its situation, both internally and externally.⁷⁸

Kerr felt that the dining room's preferred aspect should be a north or northeast position. He also felt that bay windows would be most useful with respect to prospect, provided they did not affect the aspect.⁷⁹ Stevenson, in his chapter on the 'Characteristics of Modern Planning' wrote that the importance of planning the dining room was that it,

be capable of being shut off from the rest of the house communicating during dinner only with the kitchen. The dinner should not have to be carried past the drawing-room door, or through the hall and public passages, and the kitchens must be so placed that their smells and noise do not invade the house.⁸⁰

The common method of accomplishing this was by placing the kitchen area at the back of the house, with a serving pantry providing a back entrance to the dining room. The dining room was then open to the drawing room, usually through sliding communicating doors so that when entertaining, guests could move easily between the two. On this issue, Muthesius stated that the dining room, "should be further to one side than the drawing-room, as, indeed, it must be, since it has to adjoin the kitchen department on one side."⁸¹ It was considered advantageous if the drawing room and the dining room entrances faced one another, while still allowing for a separate entrance for the kitchen staff.

All houses, no matter what the size, contained these principal rooms. As the size of the house increased, the design incorporated other rooms that were specific to the owner's lifestyle and tastes. In medium to large-sized houses the library was a common room that

⁷⁸ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, 91.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁸⁰ Stevenson, *House Architecture V2*, 48.

⁸¹ Muthesius, *The English House*, 86, 87.

was used for many other purposes than simply for reading. It was considered the male preserve and was used for writing, smoking, and business.⁸² Kerr referred to the library as a kind of morning room for gentlemen. The placement of the library was usually in a remote part of the house and faced an eastward position so that the sun was off the windows before noon. Intercommunication between this room and the drawing room was frequent, and was therefore placed accordingly.⁸³ After dinner, gentlemen retired to the library to smoke and discuss business, later they would rejoin the ladies in the drawing room.

A morning room and breakfast room existed in larger houses and were occupied mainly by the 'lady' of the house, in the same way as the drawing room was occupied in the afternoon. The sitting room or an ingle-nook were also popular and were used for more intimate conversations or quiet reading. The ingle-nook was revived in house plans during the last half of the nineteenth-century; its re-birth attributed to the architects William Nesfield and Richard Norman Shaw.⁸⁴ Often in the dining room or off the main hall, the ingle-nook provided comfortable seating around a fireplace for private contemplation or a small conversation area.

Other rooms in larger houses also had special functions such as the billiard-room and the conservatory. These were regarded as practical rather than eccentric. As well, there was a picture-gallery, which was common in larger English manor houses. If the house

⁸² *Ibid*, 87.

⁸³ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, 116-117.

was large and the Entrance Hall the same, there was often a cloakroom placed under the main staircase. During evening parties the men left their coats in the cloakroom, while the lady's cloaks were taken to the first floor, usually to the master bedroom where the hostess placed her dressing table at their disposal. This enabled women visitors to take a final glance at their appearance before joining the party.⁸⁵

The most secluded part of the house contained the kitchen that included the pantry, serving pantry, and food preparation areas. For Burke, the kitchen's position at the back of the house meant that it would receive less direct sun, and would therefore remain cooler for cooking and storage purposes.⁸⁶ In the Middle Ages the domestic quarters had placed the cooking quarters in a separate building. This prevented the risk of fire in the main house. However, it resulted in the food being cold by the time it got to the dining room. By the fifteenth century the kitchen was moved into the house, but it was situated in the basement where working and health conditions proved to be hazardous. English kitchens in the nineteenth-century were extended and spread out into a self-contained set of rooms on the ground level.⁸⁷ The kitchen's placement together with its communicating doors through the serving pantry allowed for easier accessibility of domestic staff to the dining and drawing rooms.

⁸⁴ Muthesius, *The English House*, 88.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁸⁶ Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 56.

⁸⁷ Muthesius, *The English House*, 95.

The pantry held the crockery and silverware, while the serving pantry acted as a buffer between the kitchen and the dining area. Its use as a buffer assisted in the reduction of smells while food was being prepared, as well as a means of separating the kitchen area from the more public areas of the house. While the serving pantry enabled communication between the two parts of the house, separation between the servants and the family and guests was stressed. Kerr emphasized this in his writings, stating that "the family constitute one community: the servants another. Whatever their mutual regard and confidence as dwellers under the same roof, each class is entitled to shut its door upon the other and be alone."⁸⁸

The first floor of the nineteenth-century home was the private domain of the family, emphasized by a closed off stairway. This floor held the bedrooms, possibly with a boudoir off the main bedroom, and usually a washroom. The boudoir was seen as a smaller version of the drawing room, however it was for the personal use of the "lady" of the house and was only open to others by invitation.⁸⁹ The main bedroom's placement was thought best in a southeasterly direction. In smaller houses the nursery was placed on this level; however, in larger houses it was often placed in the attic or in the most remote part of the house. It was believed that children should be seen but not heard. Guests visiting were not to be aware that children presided in the house.⁹⁰ This area was also where the servant's rooms were placed and usually had a back staircase connecting their

⁸⁸ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, 76.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 114.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 93.

bedrooms to the kitchen area.⁹¹ Kerr believed that everything in the house should have its proper place, this included the servants. The seclusion of the servant's quarters reinforced the separation of the family from the servants. Emphasized separation between the family and the servants also occurred in Canada, but as the century came to a close this became less of an issue.⁹²

In Canada, architects such as Burke used the principles laid out by Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius, and placed them into the Canadian context. The Queen Anne revival house in Canada was adapted to fit the requirements and needs of its surroundings, but it always retained its British connection, whether through design elements or through plan. Queen Anne revival houses allowed for innovations in planning that writers such as Kerr, Stevenson, Muthesius and Burke felt were required to produce the ideal home. The movement was found to embody the nineteenth-century domestic ideal of comfort, convenience and practicality, achieved through its irregularity, its use of fireplaces, inglenooks, and halls, as well as its placement of rooms in relation to others. Every aspect of comfort and convenience was considered. No longer were designs stuffy and dark as

⁹¹ Claudette Lacelle's research from 1871-1875 found only ten per cent of servant's rooms were located in the attic and the rest in the basement or beside the kitchen. Claudette Lacelle, *Urban Domestic Servants in 19th Century Canada* (Ottawa, 1987), 107. In the case of Alexander's work, the only houses with designated areas for servants include his designs for the MacCarthy Villa from 1874 (fig. 20), and his design for the Matthews' house (fig. 38). In both cases he places the servant's bedroom at the back of the house, but on the first floor with the rest of the family. His other designs have rooms in the attic, but do not specify whether or not they are for servants or family. This might indicate that these houses did not have live-in servants or that servants were not employed, or simply, that Alexander did not distinguish between family bedrooms and servants bedrooms.

⁹² While time has not allowed me to further investigate the issue of servants, Maitland bears mention of it in her book, stating that Edmund Burke noted in 1890 that there were fewer domestics in the country. This comment might therefore be an indication that fewer domestics were needed or that there was a shortage. Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 37. She makes reference here to Edmund Burke "Some Notes on House Planning", *Canadian Architect and Builder*, (March 1890): 55.

they had been in the past, with houses designed in the Gothic revival, nor were they completely symmetrical and ridged, offering little character or comfort as Classically designed houses. The ideal house plan was one that considered the lifestyle and comfort of those living within. Architects, therefore, had to take into account the significance and use of each room and its placement within the plan. This attentiveness to room uses and placement within the plan of the house presents interesting social implications and symbolic references that point to the social interactions within polite society at this period. The layout of the plan, its situation and its arrangement were to incorporate the particular use of each room and the time of day when each room was used. The plan of the house not only emphasized the daily life of the nineteenth-century homeowner, but also the etiquette that followed it.

The adaptation of the English house plan and its principles were easily carried through in the Queen Anne revival. Architects such as Alexander caught on to this early, producing beautiful homes that stood as monuments of English taste in planning, executed brilliantly through the Queen Anne revival; a method of designing that would become synonymous with domestic architecture of the late nineteenth-century. Canadian architects practising in the late nineteenth-century were searching for a style that would fit Canadian architectural needs and requirements. The Queen Anne revival was able to take on regional personalities, while at the same time retaining its inherent connection with Britain through its choice of materials and its methods. For architects such as Alexander and his clients, the Queen Anne revival embodied their way of life. The houses therefore became an expression of self-representation.

Chapter 3

The Development of an Architect: F.J. Alexander's Early Education and Training (1865-1877)

The education and training of nineteenth-century Canadian architects was deeply rooted in the British system. As such, an architect born and trained in Canada essentially received the same training as one in England. This consisted of an architect apprenticing under a master for a number of years, learning the basic skills of tracing, drawing, and drafting. Upon completion, the architect would then pursue an entry-level position such as a clerk or a draftsman, constantly taking on more responsibility until he went into partnership or began his own private practice. This system had one major disadvantage in both Britain and Canada; it was a system that lacked any kind of standardized education for its architects.¹ As a result the title of 'architect' was not associated with the professional status it is today and was used to describe architects as well as builders and engineers.² In Canada, many architects felt that a new system of training through regulated education was needed in order to bring the practice to a more professional level.

¹ The desire to provide standardization to the profession including a means of formal education began in France under Colbert's Academie de l'architecture in 1671. In England this was attempted with the creation of the Institute of British Architects in 1834. However, education, well into the nineteenth-century, depended upon articulated pupilage, lectures at the Royal Academy and travel abroad. Canada's system followed much the same evolution. John Wilton-Ely "The Rise of the Professional Architect in England", in Spiro Kostof (ed.), *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York, 1977), 191-197.

² According to Martin S. Briggs *The Architect in History* (England, 1927), 3, the origin of the word 'architect' is from the Greek word *αρχιτεκτων*, which meant "a chief artificer, master-builder, and c., director of works, architect, engineer." It then appears in Latin form as *architectus*, which was used until Medieval times and was modified slightly into the different tongues. However, even in the medieval definition the word architectus did not always mean architect but merely a man who has created or contrived something. It therefore became increasingly important for 'architects' in the purest sense to change the

The issue of stricter education and training levels became increasingly important with the Industrial Revolution's impact on structural techniques and new materials, as well as the complex ornamentation associated with the revival styles of the late nineteenth-century. Alexander's own experiences exemplify the method of training that Canadian architects went through during the late nineteenth-century. As well, his training provides a context and an insight into one of the many architects who's involvement with the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA), had a hand in bringing about the changes in education that resulted in altering the system in Canada to what we know it as today.

In England, the common desire for a higher level of professionalism and the complexities associated with the new movements in architectural styles prompted the formation in 1834 of the Institute of British Architects, later to become the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1866.³ However, the attempts of the RIBA in England only succeeded in regulating a fraction of the profession throughout the nineteenth-century. As a result, the liaison between architect and builder continued into the early part of the twentieth century.⁴ In 1847 many of the students excluded from the RIBA formed the Architectural Association (AA). The AA brought students together for discussion and criticism of their own designs, and pushed for reform through the voluntary testing of architects who desired entry into its membership.⁵ In 1887 the RIBA implemented similar reforms with the introduction of compulsory examinations. However by the end of the

associated semiotics of the word, to that of solely architect. One of the ways of achieving this was through the standardization of education.

³ Wilton-Ely in *The Architect*, 192-193.

⁴ *Ibid*, 194. Wilton-Ely states that this occurred until 1936.

⁵ *Ibid*, 198-199. This was initiated in 1863.

century only 10 per cent of the profession belonged to any organization.⁶ Regardless of the attempt at solidarity, the education of architects continued to rely heavily on the pupilage system in combination with lectures at the Royal Academy and travel abroad. In Europe, well-established organizations received a higher acclaim, and included such institutions as Colbert's Academie de l'architecture in France (1671) and J.F. Blondel's Ecole des Arts (1743).⁷ In 1795 technological training was established in France with the Ecole Polytechnique, which was countered by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts two years later.⁸ Many architects from both Britain and Canada trained at these institutions near the turn of the century. However, change to both the British and the Canadian systems came slowly.

While a small percentage supplemented their training with courses at the RIBA, all architects during this time received their training through the pupilage system. In the London office of famous nineteenth-century architect, Richard Norman Shaw, the pupil was taught how to measure buildings as well as how to draw plans and elevations in the fine style of their master. Although not a member himself, Shaw encouraged his pupils to attend the Royal Academy School as well as the AA Class of Design. Pupils were eventually given site responsibilities as well as the chance to design small works or collaborate on larger designs. The final stage of training was to be made Clerk of Works. Shaw then helped his pupils establish themselves by providing them with 'setting-up' commissions.⁹ Although the training of an architect varied from one firm to another, depending on the office, Shaw's methods offer some indication of the experiences

⁶ Those who refused membership with the RIBA included Philip Webb, William Butterfield, G.F. Bodley, Eden Nesfield, and Norman Shaw. Their objections were to the compulsory testing, as it prohibited artistic autonomy. *Ibid*, 202.

⁷ *Ibid*, 191.

Alexander would have had, as well as many other Canadian-trained architects, including Frederic William Cumberland, William George Storm, Henry Langley, and Edmund Burke.¹⁰

In the case of Alexander, early architectural training followed this pupilage system, beginning at the age of sixteen as an apprentice to London architect, J.W. Reed.¹¹ He remained under the tutelage of Reed for two years, during which time Alexander's father paid a pupilage fee.¹² This fee was quite common, with prominent and well-educated architects demanding the highest fees.¹³ Although Alexander's work with Reed is unknown it can be assumed that his experiences were consistent with those of other young apprentices working during this time.¹⁴ Young pupils in England began working under an established architect at the age of 15 or 16 and remained there for anywhere between three to seven years. During this time pupils were trained in architectural drawing, measuring, site work, and general office administration. This training was then often enhanced by

⁸ *Ibid*, 197. The Ecole des Beaux-Arts came into being in 1797 when it became obvious that the Ecole Polytechnique was not appropriate for architectural students. Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (London, 1961), 167.

⁹ *Ibid*, 48.

¹⁰ Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, 7.

¹¹ Reed's office was located in Hornsey Rise, North London. *Alexander Collection*, National Archives of Canada, Diary 31 December 1867. (From here on, for any mention of his diary it should be assumed that it is from this collection, unless otherwise stated).

¹² Alexander's work with Reed ended when the firm went into bankruptcy. Diary 15 May 1871.

¹³ Mary N. Woods found that such arrangements in the United States were much more casual and students did not usually have to pay a pupilage fee. Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, 1999), 60. According to *The Complete Book of Trades, or the Parent's Guide and Youth's Instructor* (1842), the premium required with a respectable master in England was from two to five hundred pounds. Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (London, 1961), 160. It can be assumed that Alexander's father, a farmer, could probably not afford such a sum. As well, Alexander's unhappy account of his experiences while under Reed suggest that he was probably not owing of the title 'respectable master.'

¹⁴ His experience with Reed was probably in the Gothic manner, however my attempt to locate any of Reed's work has been futile. Therefore, one can only assume he was following typical trends during the time.

classes taken at art schools alongside painters and sculptors, or at the Royal Academy.¹⁵ Established in 1768, the Academy offered classes such as sketching and instruction in measured drawings of European classical and modern buildings.¹⁶ Pupils often accentuated this education with travel, and moved on to become draftsmen or assistants.¹⁷ Although a few programs were offered along the lines of England's Royal Academy in Canada, they, like those in England, were not highly attended, as it was not a requirement to do so in order to be licensed as an architect.¹⁸

Upon completion of one's apprenticeship, young architects moved to the next stage of training, as a paid assistant. As Junior Assistant to the firm of Lander & Bedells, Alexander worked six days per week and earned L6.5d per quarter.¹⁹ Like many in his position, Alexander's main responsibilities included drafting, completing drawings, plans and tracings, as well as placing plans on skins. While under Lander & Bedells, Alexander was introduced to all facets of the profession and improved on his drawing and drafting techniques.²⁰ Alexander's artistic ability enabled him to excel in drawing, as he worked towards discovering his real talent and passion – the art of architecture. His experiences here would improve his knowledge and experience of the Gothic revival providing him

¹⁵ Mark Crinson & Jules Lubbock, *Architecture, art or profession? Three hundred years of architectural education in Britain* (New York, 1994), 45, 47; and Martin S. Briggs, *The Architect in History* (England, 1927), 352. Briggs also points out that while not perfect, the pupilage system usually worked well in the best offices.

¹⁶ Crinson, *Architecture, art or profession?*, 24.

¹⁷ It was suggested that if a young architect could afford it, a few months should be spent in Italy, to study the remaining works of the ancient and modern masters. *The Complete Book of Trades, or the Parent's Guide and Youth's Instructor* (1842) in Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (London, 1961), 160

¹⁸ Angela Carr, *A Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, 5. This was also an issue in England. However, this was one of the main issues that the OAA later fought to rectify with the development of an education system. Interestingly, the same issues were prevalent in England, with the attendance and membership of the RIBA. John Wilton-Ely in *The Architect*, 194.

¹⁹ Unfortunately I can find no indication as to whether this wage was average or not, indicating that future research is required in this area. The firm of Lander and Bedells was located at 6 John Street, Bedford Row, London.

²⁰ Diary, 1868-1870.

with a good base on which to grow. Although nothing of Alexander's experiences with the firm remain in existence, a few examples of the firm's work illustrate what Alexander would have been immersed in. Two church designs clearly portray Lander & Bedells use of the Gothic revival in the sharp gables, rose windows, and in the pointed arched windows and openings (figs. 10, 11). This use of the Gothic revival style in religious architecture was typical of the period in which the firm was working.

Throughout his early training Alexander expressed a thirst for knowledge, continually enrolling in courses to improve himself as a professional through the study of maths, sciences, languages, and art. This passion foretells his later work in helping to bring about standardization to the education system in Canada. While apprenticing in England, Alexander attended courses and lectures given at the Royal Academy and the London Architectural Association.²¹ Some of these lectures included one by S.J. Tower entitled, "Symmetry from a Gothic point of view", and one by Professor Kerr entitled, "Architecturesque".²² He also attended reports from the Architectural Alliance by R.N. Spiers.²³ Alexander's attendance at these lectures and others, including many on construction and building methods, broadened his understanding and knowledge-base of the field. They provided him with a strong background in Gothic principles of design and building methods that enabled him to succeed overseas.

Alexander's training occurred both England and Canada. His ability to make the transition smoothly illustrates the similarities between the two systems. Alexander's

²¹ Even though Alexander was never a member of the RIBA, he still attended these lectures, Diary 1868. This has been confirmed by Trevor Todd, RIBA Information Unit, The British Architectural Library.

²² Diary, 14 February 1868 and 28 February 1868 respectively.

²³ Diary, 27 November 1868.

move to Canada came as a result of the possibilities opening up in Canada.²⁴ Once in Toronto, Alexander advertised himself as, "by profession an architect's assistant".²⁵ At this level Alexander was looking to improve his skills as a draftsman.²⁶

Alexander's training continued when he was offered a position with the well-established Toronto architect, Henry Langley.²⁷ Langley was well known throughout Toronto for his designs for houses, churches, and commercial buildings.²⁸ Langley's own education had been entirely in Canada, but was based on the British pupilage system, beginning with his apprenticeship at an early age under the Scottish-born-and-trained architect, William Hay. Angela Carr has suggested in her book, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, that Hay followed a similar model of teaching to that of Richard Norman Shaw, where Hay was involved in all phases of the project, emphasizing both drafting and drawing skills.²⁹ Langley therefore, received a good education in the Gothic style and methods of architecture, as well as in the areas of drafting and designing.

Alexander's training while under Langley was not unlike Langley's own experiences while under Hay. As a draftsman Alexander's training emphasized the preparation of drawings, plans, and tracings. His first task with the firm was in the domestic realm, preparing drawings for a villa. During his employment with Langley,

²⁴ On Saturday, 24 September 1870 Alexander left for Canada; a nine-day voyage that would cost him £10. Diary 24 September 1870.

²⁵ *The Globe (and Mail)*, Toronto, Thursday, 13 October 1870.

²⁶ Alexander's determination to find work paid off when he began to receive commissions for a few drawings for houses. Mr. Watson commissioned a ground plan and an elevation for two houses, agreeing to pay Alexander \$5. Diary 18 October 1870.

²⁷ He was hired on 3 November 1870 at a rate of \$1/day. The firm would be known successively as Langley; Langley & Gundry; Langley & Burke; Edmund Burke; Burke & Horwood; and Burke, Horwood & White.

²⁸ Henry Langley's obituary in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* (January 1907): 14.

²⁹ Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, 7.

Alexander also worked on several successful projects, including drawings for St. Michael's Roman Catholic College³⁰, designs for new housing on Church Street, and drawings for the Eighth Post Office located at the head of Toronto Street (Figs. 12-14).³¹

Under Langley's tutelage, Alexander honed his artistic abilities through drawing, and continued his training in the methods of the Gothic revival. He was also introduced to the Second Empire style through his work on the Eighth Post Office. Outside work, Alexander became involved with the Toronto architectural community and began attending lectures in the evenings. In addition, he befriended Edmund Burke, Langley's nephew and future partner. Burke went on to become one of Canada's leading architects, being among the first to introduce Chicago-style "curtain wall" construction to Canada. Burke was also known for his advocacy of architecture suited to Canadian needs, responding to climate and setting.³² Alexander and Burke shared confidences about religion, women, life, and architecture, in that order.

Burke's own experiences with architecture probably began through his father who was a general contractor and a dealer in building supplies. This upbringing may also explain Burke's interest in building techniques. Burke's training entailed articling and training under his uncle, Henry Langley, at the age of 14. Eventually, he was made partner in 1873. Much of the design methodologies learned by both Burke and Alexander were rooted in the Gothic principles instilled in the firm, traced through Hay's training

³⁰ Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City* (Toronto, 1964), 87. After 1870 the Langley firm added the Gothic dormers to the Cathedral not the college.

³¹ In November of 1870 Langley was hired to prepare the plans for the Eighth Post Office. He was given instructions that his design was to conform to plans provided by the department. See Janet Wright's *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867-1967* (Toronto, 1997), 11. The resulting building, now demolished, would epitomize the Second Empire style in North America.

with Gilbert Scott.³³ The result was that both succeeded to a high artistic level in drafting and design that would forever be associated with the Langley firm.

While Alexander's diary indicates that he worked on drawings and prepared designs, his initials do not appear on any of the drawings in the Horwood Collection at the Archives of Ontario. This is important because Angela Carr found that many of Langley's students assumed large roles in the design work within the firm. This indicates that while Alexander's experiences were important under Langley, they constituted that of an entry-level position.³⁴

Alexander left Langley's firm on good terms at the end of January 1872, and began working for the Department of Public Works (DPW) for \$12 per week. This would be the final stage of Alexander's training and early education. His experiences with the DPW provided him with a deeper understanding of architecture - stylistically, technically, and theoretically. The DPW was where many of Canada's architects were initially trained. The impact of the Department produced some of Canada's most important architecture.

The DPW was formed in 1867 as the government of Canada's principal construction agency.³⁵ During its first few years of existence, most government construction was under the control of chief engineer John Page. His assistant, F.P.

³² For more information on Burke, see Angela Carr, *A Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

³³ Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke*, 5-7.

³⁴ Another reason may have been due to the fact that Alexander did not remain long enough with the firm to attain a position that would provide him with such responsibilities.

³⁵ Prior to this the preparation of plans and supervision of construction were the responsibility of the government's chief engineer, under the organization of the Board of Works (1841 and 1846). Margaret Archibald, *By Federal Design: the Chief Architect's Branch of the Department of Public Works, 1881-1914* (Ottawa, 1983), 3.

Rubidge handled all public buildings.³⁶ The new department took over a large portfolio of various buildings located in Montreal, Toronto, and Kingston, including six Post Offices, ten Customs Houses, as well as other buildings such as Marine Hospitals.³⁷ In addition, they were responsible for the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. The hiring of Hector-Louis Langevin (1826-1906) as minister of the Department resulted in many significant changes. Specifically, he ensured that public buildings were given more architectural prestige than they had been given in previous years. Important to the development of Canadian architects of this period was the formation of the Architect's Branch, separate to that of the Engineering Branch.³⁸ To lead this Architect's Branch, Langevin hired Thomas Seaton Scott as Chief Architect in 1871.³⁹ Scott was responsible for the training of many prominent young Canadian architects, including Alexander, David Ewart, and John W.H. Watts.

Scott's organization of the department included the hiring of a head assistant, a draftsman who was able to "measure work, value same and take out quantities etc. etc.", a practical draftsman, and a draftsman for ordinary work and training. By 1874 Scott had 20 architectural draftsmen under his leadership, including Alexander.⁴⁰ The voting in of Liberal Alexander MacKenzie in 1873 resulted in a shift of policy.⁴¹ Mackenzie, a stone mason himself, criticized the early DPW for its extravagance and waste. Under his leadership, outside commissions and competitions were few and the Chief Architect's

³⁶ Janet Wright, *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867-1967* (Toronto, 1997), 7.

³⁷ In keeping with public buildings throughout the British Commonwealth at the time, these were mainly designed in classical or Italian Renaissance style. *Ibid*, 7.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 8.

³⁹ Within Scott's first year he had convinced senior officials to endow him with the prestigious title of Chief Architect. John Leaning and Lyette Fortin, *Our Architectural Ancestry* (Ottawa, 1981), 10.

⁴⁰ Archibald, *By Federal Design*, 4.

⁴¹ MacKenzie defeated John A. MacDonald and the conservatives.

Branch took on the majority of the work.⁴² This was important, as the decision to place more designing in the hands of the DPW meant that the organization was able to produce a large amount of architecture, thereby having a greater affect on Canada's architectural heritage. Architectural historian, Janet Wright described the impact of the DPW, stating that, "no other part of government, institution, or corporation has had such a powerful impact on the character of the built environment in Canada".⁴³

Under Scott's direction the young architects were immersed in the entire process of public design.⁴⁴ Scott, and later Thomas Fuller, brought their private experience as architects to the Department. This provided a professional perspective that not only resulted in a direct impact on the training of the young architects, but also the organization of the office itself. A hierarchy was maintained, like that of private offices, where a number of men were placed in supervisory roles teaching those under them.⁴⁵ The result was that the DPW was an office that trained a number of architects, not unlike the pupilage system in England. One difference might be that the DPW was responsible for the construction of buildings across Canada. This may have impacted the method of training from that of England, as materials and methods might vary depending on climatic concerns.⁴⁶

Alexander began work as a draftsman with the DPW on 2 February 1872, working along side men such as David Ewart and John W.H. Watts. These men would not only

⁴² Prior to this some commissions had been given to outside practising architects. Wright, *Crown Assets*, 15.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 1.

⁴⁴ Archibald, *By Federal Design*, 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 13. This was true of Alexander's experiences, as he was made "Lead" of the office in 1873.

⁴⁶ While this was Edmund Burke's concern, it is not certain if this concerned Scott's methods of teaching, indicating that Scott and his method of training could be investigated in future research.

become some of Alexander's closest friends, but also some of Ottawa's most influential and prominent architects.⁴⁷ While working with the Branch, Alexander and others were exposed to the many different types of buildings, ranging from commercial to institutional, and including warehouses, post offices, hospitals, and schools. Stylistically there was also a large range, depending on the building type. As it became increasingly important during the late nineteenth-century to be well versed in all of the historical styles, Alexander and others were taught to design a wide variety of styles from the Gothic revival to the Second Empire. Style associated with building type continued to affect architecture well into the early twentieth century. For example, following the guidance of theorists and promoters, such as A.W.N. Pugin, the Gothic revival was especially popular for public and ecclesiastical works of architecture and was considered the national architecture of Great Britain for much of the nineteenth-century. Because of Canada's nationalistic ties to its mother country the Gothic revival was seen as suitable for Canada's Parliament Buildings.⁴⁸ With its large masses and detailed stone masonry, many British Canadians felt that the Gothic revival style personified governmental power and order. Another example of building type that dictated the style of the building was commercial architecture. Romanesque revival became a popular style for commercial buildings,

⁴⁷ David Ewart (1841-1921) was assistant to Mr. Rubidge in 1871, later becoming first assistant to Thomas Fuller. Upon Fuller's retirement in 1897, Ewart succeeded him as chief architect and held this position until 1914. Ewart was known as a true supporter of the Gothic style but realized it was not suited to modern needs. Instead he used both Tudor and Elizabethan details and was heavily influenced by the Romanesque style. Ewart was best known for his work on the Parliament Buildings' main tower (1873), as well as his designs for many of Canada's armories, such as those in London, Woodstock, Guelph, Belleville, Niagara Falls, Port Arthur and Galt. John William Hurrell Watts (1850-1917) worked for the DPW until 1897 when he retired to private practice. He was known for his schools and large comfortable residences such as the turreted stone house at 500 Wilbrod Street, Ottawa and the John R. Booth Residence (now the Laurentian Club) in Ottawa. For more information see, Ontario Association of Architects, *Honour Roll listing for John W.H. Watts and David Ewart*.

⁴⁸ Although not identical, the style chosen for Canada's Parliament Buildings was influenced by Sir Charles Barry's design for the Houses of Parliament in London England, which were designed and built from 1835 to 1852.

which in the United States came to be known through architect H.H. Richardson as the Richardsonian Romanesque.

Alexander's experiences with the DPW began with his design for a new entrance gateway to the Parliament Buildings (figs. 15, 16).⁴⁹ Each of the three gateways, central, east, and west, portrayed a slightly different arrangement of a common organic pattern, which related not only to the landscaped grounds, but also echoed the Gothic revival style of the Parliament Buildings in the stone piers.⁵⁰ The choice of the Gothic revival for Parliament Hill was perceived by many as both practical and symbolic. There was an associationism that can be equated with the emerging nation's connection with its mother country. Historian Carolyn Young makes a similar parallel with America's interest in the democratic and republican virtues of ancient Greece and Rome as portrayed through the Classical revival.⁵¹

As his skills increased Alexander went on to create impressive designs for the Reporter's Gallery in the House of Commons in 1872 as well as the Government Workshops that were located on the corner of Wellington and Bank in 1873 (fig. 17).⁵²

⁴⁹ This gate was apparently displayed at the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, commemorating the centenary of the United States of America. This was stated in Chris Lund's *Stones of History: Canada's Houses of Parliament* (The National Film Board of Canada and The Queen's Printer, 1967), 13. I was unable to find further mention of the gate's appearance at the Exposition elsewhere, and Chris Lund did not footnote his findings.

⁵⁰ Alexander's drawings are of the gates and fence. This suggests someone else may have been responsible for the stone masonry. The design for the grounds was by Dominion Chief Architect, Thomas Fuller and the American landscape architect, Calvert Vaux.

⁵¹ Carolyn Young, *The Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings* (Montreal & Kingston, 1995), 6.

⁵² Sometime between 1880 and 1882 the government decided to convert the workshops designed by Alexander into a Supreme Court and a gallery for the reception of pictures that had been presented by the Royal Canadian Academy. *Documents relevant to the construction of the Parliament buildings extracted from the annual reports of the Department of Public Works*, Ottawa, Library of Parliament, 1985, 2v. (NA 4415 C3 A355), taken from *Historical Chronology of the Parliament Buildings N 171*, Library of Parliament Information and Reference Branch, (Ottawa, 1985), compiled by Audrey Dube, v.2, 12.

From 1874 to 1877, Alexander worked on his designs for the interior fittings for the Library of Parliament (figs. 18, 19).⁵³ This design was the one he was most recognized for during his own time.⁵⁴ Alexander used the existing 12th and 13th century Gothic styled interior as a point of reference for his own design.⁵⁵ His design for the interior fittings involved the intricate carvings along each of the three-story bookshelves which wrap around the wall of the circular building, as well as all the woodwork, including the mouldings, panels, cornices, and carvings that make up the Library. These were completed in a combination of ash, white pine, white oak, and cherry. Alexander was also responsible for the cast and wrought iron work, including the ornately designed railings that wrap around each balcony.⁵⁶ As well, he designed the Library's doors, which were originally to include 17 doors made out of iron. However, this was changed to 16 completed in oak, with the main door constructed of iron.⁵⁷

⁵³ The library was constructed between 1859 and 1876. *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁴ This is known because of his correspondence with his fellow architects in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* (specifically the article he wrote in to correct an article about the Library entitled "to the Editor of the Canadian Architect and Builder" (April 26 1899)). His diary entries also describe his own discussions and personal tours of the Library with his friends and colleagues.

⁵⁵ "Parliament Library Building, Ottawa," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, (March 1899), 12:55; Fred. J. Alexander, "To the Editor of the Canadian Architect and Builder:", *Canadian Architect and Builder*, (April 1899), 100; Mark Bourrie, *Canada's Parliament Buildings* (Toronto, 1996), 80-81.

⁵⁶ Although there are no drawings, he was known to have been fully responsible for all of the interior fittings. The information attained here has come from the Department of Public Works, *Specification of artificer's works and materials required in and for the erection and completion of book shelves, etc., and herein designated as "fittings" for the new library building of the Parliament of Canada*, (Ottawa, 1875).

⁵⁷ Alexander's diary indicates that he was asked to submit drawings for 17 iron doors and then later asked to change that to 16 done in oak with one in iron. Diary, 3 February 1875. During the midst of World War I the Parliament Building's centre Block was mysteriously destroyed on 3 February 1916, by a fire that started in the reading room and spread throughout the building. The new northwest wing that was added in 1906-09 and the Library were saved. The librarian at the time of the fire was quick enough to close off the iron door, designed by Alexander, between the reading room and the library, sparing the Library from the flames. However this did not protect the Library from the damage that was done by water and smoke. The reconstruction of the Centre Block began on 17 February 1916 by the architects John A. Pearson and J.O. Marchand. Another fire would threaten to destroy the Library on 4 August 1952 in the dome, damaging the roof and floor. *Documents relevant to the construction of the Parliament buildings*, v.2, p. 126-7, 132, 141, taken from *Historical Chronology of the Parliament Buildings N 171*, Library of Parliament Information and Reference Branch, (Ottawa 1985), compiled by Audrey Dube, 13.

Alexander's drawing skills were developing rapidly into an art form and his designs were becoming more elaborate and decorative. His promotion to "Lead" in the office exemplified the rapid advancement of his architectural career.⁵⁸ In addition to being responsible for designing, drawing, and colouring detailed plans, elevations and sections, and writing the specifications for all Government Buildings, Alexander was also in charge of overseeing all other men who worked within the office. This not only gave him more confidence as an architect, but also positioned him as a more prominent figure in Ottawa's social circles. This position probably assisted in the development of his reputation, resulting in a few private commissions in the domestic realm.⁵⁹

Over these years Alexander's relationship with Thomas Scott grew and developed from mentor to that of friend and, in a way, father figure. Scott took Alexander under his wing, training him to become an 'architect' in the purest sense. Soon after Alexander began working, Scott began giving him lessons in perspective and other drawing skills. He offered to help Alexander improve himself and paid him increasingly more salary as his skills developed. Alexander spent many evenings dining with Scott and his family discussing architecture and society. The friendship and respect he gained from the Scotts won him many commissions, including a few domestic designs and a design for an Art School in Ottawa.⁶⁰

Alexander's position with the DPW provided him with the experience and understanding of the fundamentals of architecture and design necessary for a successful

⁵⁸ Diary, 8 March 1873.

⁵⁹ These commissions were mainly from close friends and co-workers. No plans exist, however Alexander does mention working on these designs throughout his diaries.

career, as well as the confidence to search for new opportunities. During the depression of 1877 the Department of Public Works was forced to downsize. Alexander took this as an opportunity to search for new horizons, and began to plan a move to Natal, South Africa.

Canada's Education System at the Turn of the Century

It was another eight years before Alexander would return to Canada. What he brought back with him was confidence, architectural expertise and a desire to bring about change to a system that had not altered since he left. As a young architect, Alexander continuously pursued the chance to better educate himself. In this regard he represented only a small fraction of the population of men referring to themselves as 'architects'. When he returned the pupilage system was still in effect and virtually anyone could refer to himself as an 'architect'. The same was true of England, where it was not until 1887 that the RIBA systematized its examinations into three different parts, preliminary, intermediate, and final. The first two were voluntary; however, in order to receive membership, the third was obligatory. The AA introduced a form of architectural education that gradually replaced the historical system of articulated pupilage, and by the 1880s there was a full-time 3-year course offered in architecture at King's College in

⁶⁰ Diary, 26 August 1886. While there are no plans to indicate what Alexander was responsible for in the case of the Art School, he does speak of his plans being accepted in his Diaries.

London.⁶¹ These changes in England in part influenced many Canadian architects to band together in the hopes of implementing their own form of standardized education.⁶²

By the later part of the century the pupilage or apprenticeship system of training was considered inadequate due to the new advances in building programs and materials. Kelly Crossman argues that by the 1890s, Canadian architects came to realize that their method of training was a major cause of the problems they faced. Architects were unable to receive the training available to those studying in Europe and the United States, and were therefore leaving Canada in order to receive it. This was combined with the threat of patrons looking to the United States for capable designers to hire.⁶³ The result was the desire for an organized architectural association.⁶⁴ The want of an association was evident throughout Canada's leading architectural periodical, the *Canadian Architect and Builder (CAB)*. Throughout these pages, architects were able to vocalize their thoughts on who was qualified to be given the title of 'architect' and how 'architects' should come together in order to bring standardization to the profession. It also served as Canada's only journal that addressed the issues that were relevant to Canada, such as climate and building methods. In the Ottawa Section of the *CAB*, one architect wrote, "the want of an architectural association is seriously felt here [in Ottawa]. An effort has been made at

⁶¹ Wilton-Ely in *The Architect*, 203-204.

⁶² Many were also influenced by the Beaux-Arts system in France, and with the turn of the century many Canadian and American architects obtained their education there, returning with new ideas and methods.

⁶³ Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 51.

⁶⁴ Out of the desire to come together to discuss architecture, architects Frank Darling, D.B. Dick, and Edmund Burke, along with W. George Storm and S.G. Curry met in Storms office and agreed to form the Architectural Guild of Toronto on the third of October 1887. The result was that the guild had a real influence on improving the building standards and conditions of architectural practice in Toronto. For more information see Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 30.

different times to form an architects' guild in this city, but the trouble appears to be to define who are qualified to become members."⁶⁵

The impact of these changes in technology and building methods coupled with new stylistic issues and ideas with regard to house planning prompted the development of architectural organizations. In 1890 the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) was formed in Toronto for the purpose of organizing better professional training, greater public recognition of architects, effective professional protection.⁶⁶ With the OAA based in Toronto, however, very little attention was given to the concerns of provincial cities. Alexander realized the importance of having a united front in Ottawa and began a crusade to bring about the formation of an Ottawa Chapter. This would help bring Ottawa architects together so that they might voice their own specific concerns that were relevant to Ottawa and remain abreast of the architectural movements within the city. It also provided them with a local support system that consisted of other professional architects living within the city. Alexander, a member of the Toronto OAA (elected in 1895) pushed for the recognition of architecture in Ottawa. The result was that he became one of the founding members of the Ottawa Chapter of the OAA on the 15th of November 1906.⁶⁷ The Ottawa Chapter was the second chapter formed as part of the OAA and was headed by John W.H. Watts as the first President and Alexander as the first secretary. Other founding members included E.L. Horwood, W.E. Noffke, and David Ewart.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ottawa Section, *Canadian Architect and Builder* (August 1888): 7.

⁶⁶ Raymond Card, *The Ontario Association of Architects, 1890-1950* (Toronto, 1950), 3.

⁶⁷ Ontario Association of Architects, *Honour Roll File, Alexander, Frederick John*.

⁶⁸ Geoffrey Simmins, *Ontario Association of Architects: a Centennial History, 1889-1989*. (Toronto, 1989), 195-197.

A year later Alexander continued to raise awareness and bring recognition to Ottawa architects and architecture by suggesting to moving the annual OAA meeting from Toronto to Ottawa. Alexander wrote several letters to William Rufus Gregg (1851-1930), in Toronto indicating his interest in the 1907 annual OAA meeting being held in Ottawa.⁶⁹ His plea was successful, with Ottawa catering to the first meeting held outside of Toronto.⁷⁰ During this meeting Alexander read to then President, Edmund Burke and the other members of the Association his 'Report of the Ottawa Chapter'. In this he outlined that the Ottawa Chapter had adopted a draft of by-laws that would govern the Chapter. He also addressed the positive impact of having an architectural organization in the city of Ottawa. He believed that solidarity meant "a step forward towards the attainment ultimately of the highest ideals [hoped] for in artistic ability in structural designs and uniform recognition of the highest honor in the ethics of our professional practice."⁷¹

The concern for improved training through education shared by the members of the OAA extended to learning building methods and stylistic issues that were relevant to Canada. Architects such as Edmund Burke and R.W. Gambier-Bousfield published articles in the *CAB*, in the hopes that young architects would learn more about these important issues. Without standardized education the use of publications and discourse among the members of the OAA and later the Eighteen Club were the only outlets that could reach the majority of architects.⁷² This succeeded in disseminating knowledge, but

⁶⁹ W.R. Gregg was one of the founding members of the OAA and was a long time registrar of the OAA, and later its chronicler. Card, *The Ontario Association of Architects, 1890-1950*, 9, 12.

⁷⁰ This was first suggested in a letter to W.R. Gregg, from Alexander in the "Ontario Association of Architects Proceeding of the Annual Convention" *Canadian Architect and Builder* (February 1904): 33.

⁷¹ Fred J. Alexander, "Report of the Ottawa Chapter" *Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects* Sixth Annual Volume (June 1907), 26-27.

⁷² The Eighteen Club was formed in 1899 by a group of young architects who broke from the OAA. They shared a dissatisfaction with the OAA's policies but continued in the desire to improve the standard of

also reiterated the point that young architects, more than ever before, needed proper training through education.

Burke's contribution to this cause came through both his work as President of the OAA and through his many publications. In his article entitled, "Some Notes on House-Planning", Burke raised many of the issues relevant to the Canadian climate, such as heat conservation and leaking roofs. He believed that many of the issues surrounding climate could be solved through simplicity in planning. His more technical papers on irrigation drainage and fireproofing materials provided practising architects and architects in training with informative advice on technical issues as well as new building materials.⁷³

For Gambier-Bousfield the issue of style was to come before construction methods. While the periodicals of the period provided young architects-in-training with a valuable source guide, he argued that they were not properly educated in the manner of style.⁷⁴ Gambier-Bousfield believed that they just left the style of the building to take care of itself. This suggests that their lack of education resulted in their lack of understanding and knowledge of styles, thereby affecting their use of that style. It also might suggest that Gambier-Bousfield wished young architects had an understanding of the history of the styles in order to produce new ones that might be deemed 'Canadian'. His suggestion was that until standardized education was readily available it was up to the student to take advantage of the opportunities that arose while apprenticing if they wanted to learn the

education in Toronto. Crossman *Architecture in Transition*, 86. For more information on the Eighteen Club, see this source.

⁷³ Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (May 1890): 55-57. Other papers include, "Iron Work", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (March 1892): 28-29.

⁷⁴ Gambier-Bousfield, "Architectural Education in Canada", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (April 1891): 46.

methodologies of style along with all of the other elements associated with building. While this was his desire, Gambier-Bousfield pointed out that in many cases young architects were too anxious to earn a salary than to learn the profession properly.⁷⁵

Out of frustration with the existing system, Gambier-Bousfield outlined what he felt students should be taught. Outside of an understanding and knowledge of stylistic issues, he felt that students should be able to plan well. This meant that they must understand the class of the client, have knowledge of materials, sanitation and ventilation, and an understanding of where to use iron, wood, stone, and brick constructively. Both freehand and mechanical drawing must be mastered and should include knowledge of ornamentation and an understanding of colour. The student should also be able to write specifications, reports, and statements of costs. Gambier-Bousfield believed that without a required education, these elements should all be tested in a series of increasingly difficult exams. This, he argued would help to raise the standards of the profession and place it in the same high regard it enjoyed in France and Germany.⁷⁶

While Burke and Gambier-Bousfield had different ideas with regard to teaching priorities, their common goal was the education of young architects. Modernization and technological changes brought about the reason for higher expertise. Architects such as Alexander recognized the need for change and realized that architects needed to achieve strength in unity through associations such as the OAA. Through the OAA and the CAB, as well as through his own desire inspired by life-long learning, Alexander was able to

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 47.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 47.

voice his opinion, putting the pieces in place that would help to bring about change to the system.

The title of “architect” and what it meant became increasingly important to the members of the OAA as their organization grew in strength. Their goal was to make it possible that only those trained and tested by the OAA could be given the prestigious title of ‘architect’. It was then expected that students would have to take courses and obtain an education in order to pass these tests. This resulted in the formation of an architecture program in 1890 within the School of Practical Science at the University of Toronto, as well as a program at McGill University that was combined with the Engineering department. Although recommended, it was not required of an architect to attend these courses. This fact prompted Professor S. Henbest Capper (1859-1925), the Chair of Architecture at McGill University to suggest that employers should refuse to hire these young people until they had received a thorough education.⁷⁷ A University education in architecture, he felt should be the foundation for the student. It should provide him with the ability to acquire more knowledge during his experiences while working under an established architect, thereby being able to produce well-balanced and harmonious designs.⁷⁸

Under the guidance of Professor Capper, McGill’s program covered the entire field of architecture. Following that of courses offered in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and those in the United States, the course at McGill spanned four years. The first few years were

⁷⁷ Capper was chosen to head the new department in 1896. He brought to the school a Scottish-based academic background and an education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts under Pascal. Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 59.

devoted to mathematics, physical science, drawing, and practical instruction in the workshop, with an introduction to some of the materials of construction. Students worked in the different departments of architecture and engineering, and were introduced to the history of architecture from ancient Egypt to modern times. They were also able to take a course on the Elements of Architecture, which looked at the two great divisions of architectural style, the classic and the gothic. In the final years of the program they took a history course which focused on a detailed study of domestic, ecclesiastical and public architecture of the Renaissance until modern times. They were also given a general art history course, providing them with a greater understanding of decorative details and the different branches of art. Upon graduation the students were still expected to go through practical training within an office.⁷⁹

Toronto's program was not as comprehensive as McGill's program, mainly because at this time it was still an extension of the engineering department. This meant that students did not receive the wide encompassing education that included all the facets of architecture that McGill students were offered. As with schools in the United States, such as Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Columbia College, McGill's program was based on the Beaux-Arts system that students not only acquired knowledge and experience in drawing and construction, but also in the history of art and the actual professional practice.⁸⁰ This method represented an interesting shift at the end of the nineteenth-century in ideas of education as well as in ideas of architecture and building; that from a system deeply rooted in British and European traditions to that of French or

⁷⁸ S.H. Capper, "University Training in Architecture", *Canadian Architect and Builder* 15 (January 1902): 13.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 13.

American influence.⁸¹ Where the OAA had started, the growing fashion for classicism and the ideas of the Beaux-Arts school would finish, by changing the way architects were educated in Canada.⁸²

Changes in education and training came with the realization that with stylistic shifts in architecture and building methods becoming more complicated, the need for a higher level of education was necessary. By the turn of the century the education system in Canada had helped to bring about a level of professionalism and standardization to the title of 'architect' that Alexander and others had worked towards. To look back at Alexander's early education and training is to follow the typical pupilage system that was in place, both in England and in Canada. It was a system that did Alexander well, but his continued search for knowledge indicates that even then, he knew the importance of education. Alexander's involvement with the OAA represents that of many of the concerned architects at the turn of the century. The unification of these architects into associations such as the OAA helped to bring about the realization of the importance of education, resulting in the development of institutions catering to the professional architect.

⁸⁰ Stewart H. Capper, "Architecture in the University", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (November 1896): 179.

⁸¹ Although the American system of education was based on that of the French it was altered to become something distinctly its own. Gambier-Bousfield stated that the United States system was based on the European system only without its faults. Gambier-Bousfield, "Architectural Education in Canada", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (April 1891): 46

⁸² Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 62. By the end of the century both the OAA and the course at the School for Practical Science were close to collapse. When Percy Nobbs (1875-1964) took over Capper's position at McGill in 1903 he brought an Arts and Crafts methodology with him. The Arts and Crafts movement, on which the Queen Anne revival was partially derived, began to spread to Canada through the work and ideas of Eden Smith and the Eighteen Club. Nobbs' appointment as head of the architecture department, provided Canada with the connection to the Scottish born movement of the Arts and Crafts. Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 125.

Chapter 4

Alexander's Early Work and Development as an Architect (1874-1886)

Alexander's life-long work spans a thirty-year period and includes a large number of various works. While the focus of this thesis is on his domestic designs in the Queen Anne revival style, it is important to trace the early development of Alexander in order to understand his designs and the techniques he used and developed during his private practice. This chapter will therefore, briefly look at some of Alexander's work during the transitional years of his life where we see his training in the Gothic revival develop, providing foresight into his later work in the Queen Anne revival. These early years represent a time in which he began to use his skills acquired from his early training and begin to develop as an architect. While his experiences were individual, the stages of his own development, and that of the stylistic trends in architecture accurately reflect those of a Canadian architect working and practising during the end of the nineteenth-century.

When Alexander first arrived in Ottawa in 1872, it was only five years after Confederation and Sir John A. Macdonald presided as Canada's first Prime Minister.

The population was overwhelmingly made up of immigrants from the British Empire.¹ Economically, the city had its share of ups and downs. Its lumber and its other industries had long sustained the city and this, combined with government jobs which since 1864 had been moved from Quebec to Ottawa, greatly contributed to a steady growth in population.² As well, railways introduced in the 1860s were expected to promote an increase in industrial growth.³ The result was an increase in building and construction within the city, governmentally, commercially, and domestically.

As previously mentioned, Alexander's early training and development was deeply rooted in the Gothic revival. Because the revival styles that followed all traced their roots to either the Gothic or the Classic, or both, Alexander was capable of branching out into any direction. His work with Reed, Lander & Bedells, and Langley provided him with a solid foundation in the Gothic revival, while his work with the DPW broadened his scope, introducing him to the Second Empire style. This movement away from the Gothic instilled in him a desire to move outside of the box. This desire to experiment with stylistic forms was not uncommon during this period, and later led to the popularity behind the Queen Anne revival. While his work during this period of his life was still deeply rooted in the Gothic principles of design, his growing interest in aestheticism and design becomes evident.

¹ Three years after his arrival the census records tolled a population of 23,741; of whom, 8021 were Irish, 7214 were French, 4721 were English, and 3785 were Scottish. Harry J. Walker, *The Ottawa Story: Through 150 Years* (Reprinted from *The Ottawa Journal's* Coronation Souvenir Issue, June 1, 1953), 36.

² *Ibid*, 29.

While Alexander's experiences in Ottawa during his time with the DPW mainly concerned the governmental realm, he began to receive some of his first domestic commissions. One of his works that clearly illustrates his understanding of the Gothic principles translated through to the domestic was his design for the MacCarthy residence. Alexander's work for the MacCarthy family provided him with patronage for life. When Alexander first came to Ottawa in 1872 he befriended Mr. MacCarthy. This family came to replace the one that he had left behind in England. In 1874 when the MacCarthy family was ready for a new house, they commissioned Alexander to design it for them (fig. 20).⁴ The Picturesque, an interpretation of the Gothic revival, is used here as evident in the designs use of decorative trim and steeply pitched gables.⁵ The MacCarthy design consists of a small dwelling spread three bays wide with a straight eave and one gable projecting up from the centre of the façade with a pointed finial at the apex of the gable.⁶ The bargeboard trim of the gable, constructed in wood, had a terra cotta entablature underneath in an organic pattern of flowers and shapes.⁷ The villa is crowned with a small pediment on a galvanized iron roof, with matching chimneys flanking either

³ John H. Taylor, *Ottawa, An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1986), 75.

⁴ NMC 29875. The house was to be constructed at 2 Austin Terrace, Sally Street, Ottawa. Sally Street became Lyon St. by the cliff of the Parliament Buildings. There used to be many houses there before the Supreme Court and archives were constructed.

⁵ The terms 'villa' and 'cottage' were often interchanged, but the villa was generally defined as a larger more elaborate version of a cottage, the latter being a small rustic dwelling based on vernacular residences of the working class with a picturesque quality. Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 603, 604, 606.

⁶ While similar to the classical cottage, the Gothic cottage characteristics include: pointed windows, hood mouldings, pointed finials and decorative bargeboard. *Ibid*, 106.

⁷ It is difficult to ascertain from Alexander's drawings whether or not the carved entablature was brick or terra cotta. It is known however, that terra cotta was considered highly adaptable in decorative design and was very popular in high-class buildings in Canada. For more information see W.M. Brown, "The Adaptability of Materials", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (July 1907): 114. Companies such as Hynes Terra Cotta and Brick Co. Ltd. produced terra cotta in Canada. For advertisement see *Canadian Architect and Builder* (January 1889): 17.

side, all in keeping with the overall symmetry of the house. In this design Alexander moves away slightly from the Gothic revival, implementing the use of billeted brickwork for decoration. Billeted brickwork was a Romanesque revival feature that consisted of several bands of raised short square or cylindrical pieces placed at regular intervals. Alexander's use of this is important, as it shows his growing interest in the free styled movement later known as the Queen Anne revival.

The interior layout of the McCarthy villa was truly a gentleman's house, with the drawing room, dining room, and library each running off the main hall.⁸ Alexander's layout of these rooms illustrates his early understanding and knowledge of English house planning principles, as discussed in the writings of men such as Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius.⁹ The dining room and the drawing room formed the two bays on either side of a main central hall. Alexander's design makes the library accessible through both the drawing room and the hall. This made it easier for the gentlemen to retire after they had joined the ladies in the drawing room after dinner. The entrance to the library through the hall is set back in order to emphasize its privacy. The kitchens and pantries are located at the back of the house with a separate lobby space in between the hall and the kitchen. On the first floor Alexander placed five bedrooms and a bathroom. As well, he placed the servant's bedroom at the back of the house, connecting it with the kitchen by a

⁸ The addition of a library indicates that it was designed for a gentleman. From the writings of men such as Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius, the gentleman of the house used the library, and its incorporation into the design suggested that the occupant of the house was a gentleman in every sense of the word.

⁹ Alexander may have attained this knowledge from his attendance at lectures given by RIBA or at the AA, or with his training under Langley, as the firm's knowledge of these principles can be seen throughout their work during this time.

separate staircase. This kept the interaction between family and servant to a minimum, which was expected during the time.

While Alexander's skills were continuing to grow under the tutelage of Scott at the DPW, the depression that hit Ottawa in 1877 prompted him to take his new skills and understanding of architecture in the search for new opportunities and new lands. The result was a move to explore Natal South Africa. At the end of the nineteenth-century, Britain had ruled Natal for 50 years. Prior to British colonization, the Dutch East Indian Company had ruled Natal since 1652.¹⁰ The Dutch East Indian Company was established in 1602 for the sole purpose of amalgamating and reducing competition between the different enterprises in world trade. Natal's geographical position between India and the Netherlands made it vulnerable to incursion by European countries. This resulted in a series of wars between the Dutch and the French, and the Dutch and the English for possession of the country throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ The British colonization in 1842 increased British immigration, attracting British architects, and with them, British architectural styles. The diamond and gold rush also added to the colonization. Along with the advent of the railway this increase in population brought about an increase in construction. Alexander was clearly aware of this boom and believed he would have a good chance of employment.

¹⁰ Desiree Picton-Seymour, *Victorian Buildings in South Africa: Including Edwardian & Transvaal Republican Styles 1850-1910* (Cape Town, 1977), p 252.

¹¹ Doreen Greig, *The Reluctant Colonists: Netherlands Abroad in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Netherlands, 1987), 7.

Because the Dutch and then the British had ruled South Africa, the architecture was highly influenced by both. While under Dutch control, South Africa's architecture picked up on many Dutch traits, such as steep roofs, multiple-paned sash windows, and shutters. Many of the plans used by builders were based on Dutch canal houses, which were not unlike a simplified version of the British townhouse. These were raised on a platform above street level. On the first level was a long entrance hall with a room flanking each side. The houses were often in a u-shape with a courtyard in the centre to provide fresh air and natural light. The main living area was on the ground floor with the kitchen at the rear of the house. The decoration of the house was usually white stucco with wood beams.¹² When the British took over in 1842, the architecture began to show characteristics of the Gothic revival and then later other revival styles.

Alexander settled in Pietermaritzburg, which was the capital city of Natal, and one of the two most Victorian towns in South Africa.¹³ Also attractive to immigrating British-born architects, and probably Alexander, was the fact that Pietermaritzburg housed the Public Works Department for the colony.¹⁴ This meant that all the public architecture done in the city was to come out of this office. Alexander was hired as a Second Clerk Assistant and Short Hand writer to the Council for the Speaker and the Colonial Engineer.¹⁵ His prior experiences working on public architecture with the DPW probably helped him with his work in South Africa. His designs in Natal included plans

¹² *Ibid*, 280.

¹³ The other most Victorian town in South Africa was Matjiesfontein. Picton-Seymour, *Victorian Buildings in South Africa*, 252.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 252.

for a YMCA, an Evangelist Protestant School, and alterations to the canopy in the Legislative Council Chamber.

Similar to the importation of stylistic trends from Britain to North America, British-born styles required some adaptation in order to suit the needs and requirements of South Africa's environmental conditions. These conditions included the climate and the availability of local and imported building materials. For example, because of the violent climate, South Africa's main roofing material was corrugated iron, which was seldom used in Britain.¹⁶ Another adaptation of British building techniques was the addition of verandahs or stoops to keep out the harsh sunlight while allowing air currents to cool and pass throughout the houses and other buildings.¹⁷ These changes in building and construction altered the conventions of the Gothic revival and other historical styles, as they were understood in Britain.¹⁸

By 1880 Alexander began to receive a large number of commissions outside of his office work. On the 24th of February 1880, Alexander advertised himself as a professional architect for the first time. This increase in architectural commissions prompted Alexander to resign from his governmental position and open up his first

¹⁵ Diary, 28 November 1877

¹⁶ Invented in Britain and used for dockyard buildings, corrugated iron and cast iron were heavily used in South Africa. Picton-Seymour, Desiree. *Victorian Buildings in South Africa: Including Edwardian & Transvaal Republican Styles 1850-1910*. (Cape Town, 1977), 30-32.

¹⁷ While the porch or verandah was used in Britain, in South Africa, the climate made it a permanent fixture of the design.

private practice on the 3rd of April 1880. His office was located in a galvanized iron building on Priuburg Office Street in Pietermaritzberg. Alexander's work received general acceptance and approval from the community, so much so that he began to receive more work than he could manage on his own. As a result, he hired A.J. Hughes, who was responsible for the tracing and copying of Alexander's designs. His increase in commissions came from a variety of building types, including domestic designs, churches, and schools. As well, he continued to receive commissions from the Natal Government for the design of prisons and Magistrate's residences.

Like his work with the DPW in Ottawa, his private practice work shows his strong affiliations with the Gothic revival. This is especially true in the case of his drawings for the Dutch Reformed Church. While the members of the Dutch Reformed Church sought Alexander out on four different occasions, it is unknown if all four were constructed, but the commonality of the faith was kept up in the similarities between their designs. His first design was for the Dutch Reformed Church at Greytown (fig. 21). The Church at Greytown was constructed with brick and stone, and illustrates its Gothic revival connections through elements such as pinnacles, tracery windows, and a front portico enclosed by a pointed arch and stained glass windows.

¹⁸ For more information on late nineteenth-century architecture in South Africa see, Picton-Seymour, Desiree. *Victorian Buildings in South Africa: Including Edwardian & Transvaal Republican Styles 1850-1910*. (Cape Town, 1977).

In keeping with this design was his proposed drawing for the Dutch Reformed Church in Harrismith (fig. 22). This design is essentially a larger version of the one at Greytown. While this design is Gothic in style, it does suggest the freedom of design of other historical styles, such as in its Romanesque dimensions. The front elevation of the Church at Harrismith is similar in that it presents a symmetrical design throughout the main body of the church, but flanks this with two different sized towers. The main body of the church includes Gothic revival characteristics, such as a large rose window, tracery windows, and the use of heavy flagstones as its main material. Alexander's other design techniques for the Dutch Reformed Church remained constant throughout all his commissions.

While his churches exhibited traditional Gothic characteristics, his work in the domestic realm towards the end of his stay in South Africa illustrate his flair for the creative. The freedom of having his own private practice enabled him to begin to discover and experiment with new materials and ornamentation, as well as meaning in architecture. One of the ways in which Alexander expressed meaning was through symbolism and decorative themes in his South Africa work. This is not as apparent in his designs in Ottawa, where his designs are, for the most part, more representative of social status. In his design for the Archdeacon Usherwood's house in South Africa (fig. 23), however, Alexander uses decorative recessed brick in the shape of crosses. Symbolism is

used here in the representation of Christianity through the cross.¹⁹ The placement of recessed crosses along the entablature of the wing suggests the location of the patron's office.²⁰ Alexander also used simple horizontal billeted brickwork around the house. This was a typical pattern used later on with Queen Anne designs, as it emphasized the house and its connection with the natural surroundings. Alexander's overall design for the house is symmetrical, with broadly angled pointed arches around the windows. This suggests the movement towards the Romanesque characteristics later picked up in the eclecticism of the Queen Anne revival movement.

Another design that expresses this movement towards the Queen Anne was for an unidentified residence (fig. 24).²¹ Although no floor plans exist, it is possible to see the transition in the front elevation. Alexander's use of the early Gothic plate tracery in the gable above the main entrance and stained glass are in keeping with his Gothic revival training, as is the high-pitched roof and gable. In this design Alexander is beginning to break away from the Gothic tradition. This is evident in his free-flowing use of ornamentation in the bargeboard around the gable and along the front porch. Although decorative work was also characteristic of the Gothic revival, Alexander's use of more delicate forms of ornamentation illustrates his movement towards the Queen Anne revival. Another indication of his transformation is in his use of the billeted brickwork that divides the house into horizontal sections. This emphasizes the landscape

¹⁹ Symbolism, as defined by James Stevens Curl's *Dictionary of Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 653, is the representation of acts, persons, ideas, or anything by means of familiar objects. In this case Christianity is represented by the cross.

²⁰ Usherwood, T.E. Archdeacon, Natal South Africa, April 1880, NMC 30180.

surrounding the house, a connection that was heavily associated with the Queen Anne revival.

It is in this design that we see the development of Alexander's use of decorative themes. These themes begin in South Africa and later form the basis of his work in Ottawa through the Queen Anne revival. Here, a floral theme is used throughout the bargeboard and in the decorative ironwork on the gallery above the front entrance. In keeping with his use of symbols in his South African work, Alexander integrates his floral theme with flanking crests that mirror one another in the shape of books on either side of the entrance porch. While it is unknown for whom the house was designed, these symbols suggest that the patron might be a scholar or an academic.

Alexander's work in South Africa can be considered a transitional period when he experimented with a variety of styles and building types. This helped him to mature and to allow his work to come into its own. His experiences there ignited in him a desire to pursue a private practice. During his time working as a Second Clerk Assistant and Short Hand writer to the Council for the Speaker and the Colonial Engineer, Alexander began working as an architect on the side. While he was working on drawing plans and designing domestic, commercial and institutional buildings, Alexander was making a name for himself and was gaining recognition as a promising new architect in Natal.

²¹ Unidentified Residence, Natal, South Africa, no date, NMC 30183.

Alexander's success in South Africa continued for four years. Unfortunately, the Zulu and Boer wars left a strain in economy that resulted in a depression that led to the demise of Alexander's practice in 1885. This left him bankrupt without sufficient funds to pay the mortgage on his house.²² At about this time Alexander received a letter from his friend, Ottawa architect, John W.H. Watts, indicating that the economic climate in Ottawa was improving and that there were employment possibilities.²³ After a few months in England, a time that spanned the height of the Queen Anne revival in Britain, Alexander set off for Ottawa. By the time Alexander returned in 1886 the population had grown by 50% to over 32,857 and was still booming.²⁴ It was a prosperous time in Ottawa, one that brought new influences, new developments in style and materials, and new clients. The result for Alexander was that the private practice he had left behind in Natal was renewed and able to flourish in Ottawa. Although he received many commercial and industrial commissions, his real passion was domestic design.

Alexander's experiences during this period of his life can be looked on as those of a developing architect. His early training and education provided him with the skills and methodology that enabled him to excel in different building types as well as different stylistic trends. It was because of his knowledge and understanding of Gothic principles of architecture that he was able to experiment with different ideas with regard to design. South Africa provided him with the canvas, and while his designs were still deeply rooted

²² Money was being sent from home. However, it did not get there in time and the bank was forced to close on their mortgage. Interview with Mrs. Seaman, 24 April 1999. Alexander was forced to take on a position as Clerk of Works for the Royal Engineers at Fort Napier in May of 1885

²³ Diary, 17 September 1885.

in the Gothic revival style, we see through his interest in materials and design, the beginning of a movement towards what will later develop in Ottawa into the Queen Anne revival style.

²⁴ Walker, *The Ottawa Story*, (1885 Census), 41.

Chapter 5

F.J. Alexander, Architect: Domestic Designs from his Private Practice (1886-1906)

With the doubling of Ottawa's population during the last three decades of the century, the need for housing resulted in the growth of the suburbs surrounding the downtown core.¹ By 1889 the Ottawa section of the *Canadian Architect and Builder* noted the growing construction of domestic dwellings, stating that, "building operations are well under way, a large number of buildings have been commenced, principally dwellings."² Alexander, therefore, returned in 1886 during a very promising time. Ottawa was not, however, the same city that he had left almost ten years prior. Changes in technology had brought about the use of new materials, such as iron and steel, as well as new building techniques; this coupled with the wealth and growth of the middle class, had a great effect upon the architectural vocabulary of the city.

Britain's impact on style in Canada, and specifically Ottawa was great, both in its development of the Gothic revival style, and with its development of the revival styles

¹ This increase made up for the decline that occurred with the 1870s depression. John H. Taylor, *Ottawa, An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1986), 81.

that followed. When Alexander first set foot on Canadian soil in 1870 he brought with him the training and methodologies of the Gothic revival. His knowledge and understanding of architecture further developed through his apprenticeship and training with Langley, and later with Scott through the DPW. Upon his return to Ottawa in 1886 he again brought with him new ideas with regard to architecture. These new ideas, in part, can be attributed to his own development as an architect in South Africa, as well as his time spent in England upon leaving Natal.³ While his awareness of new movements in design can be seen in his domestic work while in South Africa, he was no doubt aware of the changes in architecture through his subscription to the British architectural journal, *Building News*. What he found when he arrived in England was a growing movement and freedom of design, expressed through the Queen Anne revival style. His time spent in England coincided with the period when the style was in its most flamboyant stage. While England's most extreme version of the style was probably too much for Alexander's conservative yet artistic tastes, his return to Ottawa, and the beginning of his private practice, was marked with far more dramatic designs than he had ever done. His attention to detail had always been strong, but his work now showed a real freedom of design and a flair for the creative.

The Queen Anne revival movement took Ottawa by storm, while at the same time offering some interesting challenges to architects. The challenges associated with an imported British style were not unfamiliar to Canadian architects, as many of the styles

² The quote continues by saying, "Very few business blocks and Public buildings are as yet spoken of"

associated with the late nineteenth century usually required some adaptation. From the time Alexander had left Ottawa in 1877, many different stylistic trends had grown out of the Gothic revival. In Ottawa, as in other parts of Canada, revival styles such as Second Empire and Romanesque had followed the Gothic revival style. Alexander had been exposed to the Second Empire style before he left, as many designs for government buildings included some of the characteristics associated with the style, such as the mansard roofs of the Parliament Buildings. As well, from his apprenticeship under Langley (1870-1872), he would have known of Gundry and Langley's design for the Government House in Toronto from 1868-1870, which was one of the first examples of the style in Canada.⁴ The Second Empire was also used in the domestic designs of fine residences, and included characteristics such as mansard roofs, often with projecting central towers, as well as one-and-two-story bay windows. A simpler version of the style presented a red brick house with limestone detailing, a picturesque central tower and a mansard roof with bonnet-topped dormer windows and a large balustraded porch.⁵

Another revival style that became quite popular before the turn of the century was what came to be known as the Richardsonian Romanesque, after H. H. Richardson, the architect responsible for its overall acceptance and popularity in the United States. Although more commonly used for commercial buildings, the Romanesque revival was also popular for domestic designs and included characteristics such as round towers,

Canadian Architect and Builder v.2, n. 5 Ottawa section (May 1889): 56.

³ Alexander spent two months in England before returning to Ottawa.

⁴ Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 600.

⁵ *Ibid*, 600.

widely arched windows and door openings, and heavy masonry. The Queen Anne revival progressed naturally amongst these other revival styles, and while it was used for other building types, it was most heavily associated with domestic design.

Alexander's use of the Queen Anne revival style was by no means the first in Canada. However, what he was able to offer his clients was a first-hand knowledge of the style's British characteristics. Although other revival styles continued to be used by many, the Queen Anne was the main proponent for freedom in domestic design. Its popularity in England since the 1870s had grown and it had become the most desirable of the revival styles for domestic architecture. The Queen Anne's popularity in England instigated its transportation to Canada through its illustration in architectural periodicals, and by architects such as Alexander, who traveled between Canada and Britain, bringing these new ideas in architecture and design with them.⁶

The characteristics and issues raised by the Queen Anne revival style can be most clearly seen in Alexander's domestic designs from his private practice; a period that lasted from 1886 to 1906. While his public and commercial designs from this period typically depict the use of the Italianate and the Romanesque respectively, his greater than 45 domestic designs reflect the rise and fall of the Queen Anne revival. Most clearly illustrate in his domestic designs, Alexander's work follows the movement of the style from its most flamboyant stage in the 1880s to its subtle and subdued stage at the turn of

the century. By selecting a number of his houses that best represent his work in the Queen Anne revival, this chapter will discuss for whom Alexander was designing and why. In looking at how Alexander's designs dealt with the development of the style, and the issues it raised such as climate, materials, siting and landscaping, and planing, it is possible to gain a greater understanding of the Queen Anne revival style in Canada, and specifically, Ottawa.

The choice of the Queen Anne revival style among Ottawa citizens was partly due to the fact that its association with the social prestige and wealth of the English Country house made it a fashionable and popular style among the middle class. As well, the high number of British-Canadians living in Ottawa, many of whom considered themselves staunch imperialists, and therefore intimately connected with the mother country, heavily supported the style and adding to its popularity.⁷ This was true of many of Alexander's clients, who were either recent immigrants, or those who wished to retain their connection to Britain through their environment.⁸ For Alexander, this was also the case, as he was a known supporter of all things British.⁹ Alexander's own affiliations to

⁶ As previously discussed, designs for homes were illustrated in professional periodicals of the time such as *The Builder* published in England, and the *American Architect and Building News* (1876), as well as Canada's first architectural periodical *Canadian Architect and Builder* (1888).

⁷ This theory is supported by both Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture* (Toronto, 1994), 613, and by Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 29.

⁸ Some of his patrons were born in Canada, but were probably descendents of British parents. While not all origins could be discerned, *The Dominion Illustrated* provided mention of a few of the more prominent businessmen. Of those mentioned, the Kenny Brothers, who were merchant tailors, emigrated from Dublin Ireland in 1874 and the Orme family emigrated from Scotland. Of those born in Canada, the source mentioned W.J. Topely, the photographer, C. Ross, Dry Goods Manufacturers, and J.G. Bourinot, the Clerk of the House of Commons. *The Dominion Illustrated: Devoted to Ottawa and the Parliament of Canada* (Montreal, 1891) 85, 92, 110, 125, 133.

⁹ Rev. Wm. Cochrane (ed.), *The Canadian Album: Men of Canada* (Brantford, 1891), 275.

England were well known by his clients and may have played a part in their choice of him as their architect.

From Alexander's drawings, stored at the National Archives of Canada, it is obvious that the Queen Anne revival was his preferred choice when considering a design that would best suit the domestic needs of his clientele. In 1876 H. Hudson Holly wrote about the importance of meeting these needs, stating that, "it is the duty of the architect, studying the desires and needs of his client, carefully to manage the design in all its parts, so as to fit into and harmonize with the lives to be spent under its roof."¹⁰ The success of Alexander's designs are obvious in their execution, but to judge whether or not they "fit into and harmonized with the lives to be spent under their roofs," is the true test of their achievement. His meetings with clients, recorded in his diaries, provide evidence that Alexander made every effort to meet the needs of his patrons. Alexander went through each stage of the planning process with each client, going over every aspect of his design, taking their desires, suggestions, and needs into account.¹¹ As seen in his designs his well-thought-out planning process embodied English house planning principles, as discussed in books by architectural historians such as Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius.

Another method of assessing Alexander's success as an architect is through his repeat business. Many of his clients returned to him when they required a commercial building, or if their family had grown out of their existing home. Such was the case with

¹⁰ H. Hudson Holly "Modern Dwellings: Their Construction, Decoration, and Furniture", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* v.52, (May 1876): 859.

the MacCarthy family. In 1874 Henry MacCarthy commissioned Alexander to design a house for him (fig. 20), later, in 1888 with the growth of his family, he returned to Alexander for his second home (figs. 25-28). Subsequently, in 1894, MacCarthy asked Alexander to work on some designs for his drug stores. Similarly, Mr. Kavanagh, a local grocer, commissioned Alexander to design a house for him in 1874, and then later, another one in 1887 after Alexander had returned to Ottawa.

In some instances he was recognized for his work with the DPW and was later sought out for domestic commissions. One example of this was with John George Bourinot, the Clerk for the House of Commons. While working for the DPW, Alexander designed a Clerk's Chair in 1873 to be used by Bourinot (fig. 29).¹² Sixteen years after the completion of this design, Bourinot required a detailed design for his fireplace and requested Alexander to design one for him (fig. 30).¹³ The repeat business of many of

¹¹ This is evident throughout his diaries.

¹² The son of the late Senator Bourinot and grandson of Judge Marshall of Nova Scotia, John was born in Sydney, N.B., October 24, 1837, and educated under Rev. W.T. Porter and at Trinity College in Toronto. He founded the *Halifax Reporter* in 1860 and from 1861 till Confederation was chief official reporter of the Nova Scotia Assembly. In 1868 he was appointed to the staff of the Senate, and in 1873 to that of the House. He was appointed second clerk assistant, first clerk assistant and then in 1888 clerk of the House. He was an author, and lectured on historical and political subjects, and had a reputation that went outside of the continent. *The Dominion Illustrated: Devoted to Ottawa and the Parliament of Canada* (Montreal, 1891), 85.

¹³ Bourinot, John G. Esq., 141 Cooper St., Ottawa, 1886, item 17 (demolished), NMC 23414. The plans for the rest of the house no longer exist. However, Alexander's writing of the words on the plan for the mantle: "Residence for J. Bourinot" suggests that he was also responsible for the rest of the house design. Alexander's design of the chair and the mantle also serve to illustrate the movement from the Gothic revival style to that of the Queen Anne revival style. The chair is ecclesiastical looking with Gothic revival elements such as, heavy decorative carvings. However the mantle is medieval, symmetrical, and highly Queen Anne in flavour with its delicate flower designs and intricate carved patterns within patterns. While stylistically different, we see the common themes of oak leaves and Tudor roses. What is also common throughout these two pieces, as well as many of his houses is the divisioning or sectioning off of decorative areas. These geometric sections have within them organic forms in intricate detail. In this way the movement of the parts emphasizes the whole. Through carved form and decorative work movement is emphasized in the chair. Even from the side profile, the play of curves and lines imitate one another. In

Alexander's customers therefore suggests the success of his work in meeting the needs of his clients, as well, it indicates their happiness with his method of designing.

While these clients chose the Queen Anne for many different reasons, it was because of the style's adaptable characteristics that it was able to develop and become so popular in Canada. The style's adaptability made it the premier choice for domestic designs during the latter part of the nineteenth century. One of the reasons the style required adaptation was due to Canada's bi-polar climate and its effect on the characteristics that made up the style. Multiple rooflines and poor planning were not options, as they resulted in roof leaks and a lack of heat retention.¹⁴ In order to retain some of the traits associated with the style, Alexander approached this issue by using less ornate decorative details than the British version along gables and placing dormer windows into the design to retain an interesting roofline. This meant that the number of protruding details and multiple rooflines were kept to a more appropriate level for Canadian conditions. The MacCarthy house and the house he designed for himself (figs. 25, 41) demonstrate this. Alexander also used decoratively ornate chimneys in order to bring some movement and character to the roof. While these elements reduced the number of rooflines, they offered some visual interest to the roof without a high risk of creating snow traps that would later result in leaks.

the mantle too, movement is emphasized through the interaction of organically shaped wooden forms and multi-directional paneling. Alexander's use of the oak leaf and the rose in these two works are interesting statements regarding his nationalistic ties to England, as both are English symbols of strength and valour.

¹⁴ This, as previously discussed, was some of the main issues raised by Edmund Burke in his article entitled "Some Notes on House-Planning", *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, (May 1890): 55-57.

The summer months presented different challenges to Alexander and Canadian architects alike. To protect the occupants of the house from the harsh rays of the sun, it was popular to design houses with verandahs or porches. Porches were best placed over the main rooms of the house, such as the drawing room, where much of the afternoon was to be spent. For the most part, over the drawing room was where Alexander's designs placed the porch or verandah. However, with his design for the Mathews' residence (fig. 36), the verandah was situated towards the back of the house, covering the dining room windows and connecting with the conservatory. As the drawing room faced north, Alexander placed the porch where it would better shade the occupants from the sun, on the southeast side. His reason for this layout may have been due to the long and narrow lot. Alexander would have therefore had to place the rooms in a manner that best suited the site, while at the same time retained the element of comfort associated with the Queen Anne revival and English house planning principles.

By reducing the number of rooflines and ornamentation, Alexander was able to design houses that fit the Canadian context, while at the same time retaining the elements associated with the British style. The ease in which he was able to do this was due to the Queen Anne revival's eclectic mix of characteristics and freedom of design associated with the style. The style had so many eclectic elements, it was possible for an architect to pick and choose the details that best suited each situation. This meant that for architects in Canada, they were able to retain the British elements of the style, while placing more

emphasize on those details that worked well in Canada. For example, houses in England also used porches or verandahs, however, in Canada, and as we have seen in South Africa, porches were the rule rather than the exception

Of all the Queen Anne characteristics, Alexander's use of materials best demonstrates to the movement's influences, characteristics, and stages. As the Queen Anne revival style in Canada reached a high point during the late 1880s and the early 1890s, Alexander's designs and materials for houses, furniture, and decorative mouldings became more ornate than they had ever been. This is especially true when comparing Alexander's earlier, less ornate design for the MacCarthy residence from 1874 (fig. 20), to his more decorative design for C.L. Gibbs from 1887 (figs. 31-35).¹⁵ Only one year after returning from his two months in England, Alexander's design for the Gibbs' house exhibits a heavy use of characteristic materials such as dark red brick with decorative details carved out of inlaid terra cotta.¹⁶ Also typical of the Queen Anne revival style was Alexander's use of contrasting materials, such as with the use of red brick with a lighter stone base.¹⁷

¹⁵ C.L., N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St., Ottawa, 1887, item 18-20 (demolished), NMC 19042, 29868, 29876. (Mrs. Carrie L. Gibbs)

¹⁶ According to Maitland red brick was the most common. Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 32. One also does not have to spend much time in Ottawa even today to notice how much red brick was used in the domestic designs from this period and well into the 1930s. We can also make this assumption due to his use of red brick in the few remaining houses and through inspection of some of his watercolour paintings of his designs.

¹⁷ Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 32.

Characteristic to the style in Canada was Alexander's reserved use of terra cotta. In England terra cotta was used extensively throughout the design in Canada however, terra cotta was usually limited to small decorative details on the exterior.¹⁸ Other interesting attributes regarding the design of the Gibbs' house include the employment of the bay window. A new and popular window, the bay window was made possible by advances in glass manufacturing techniques.¹⁹ Its popularity stemmed from the fact that it enabled more light to enter the house, while providing those inside with a more encompassing view, bringing nature inside. Men such as Kerr suggested that the bay window be topped by a verandah, ensuring that the glare from the sun would not disturb those within the house.²⁰

Also popular at the time was the use of stained glass. Alexander's use of delicately designed floral stained glass placed at the top of the windows in the Gibbs' house are juxtaposed by the elegant designs carved into the heavy stone flanking the windows. This floral theme is continued throughout the house's facade on the bargeboard under the gable and in the entablature below the roofline. Alexander's use of billeted brick emphasizes the horizontal lines of the landscape.²¹ In this design, Alexander interweaves a terra cotta organic pattern into the billeted work. Slate was

¹⁸ Maitland states that it was typically reserved from smaller accents such as mouldings and panels. *Ibid*, 33.

¹⁹ Advertisements for bay windows can be seen throughout the pages of periodicals such as the *Canadian Architect and Builder*.

²⁰ Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House* (New York, 1972), 107-108.

²¹ The use of bands around houses was a mid-century Gothic revival phenomenon. Richard Norman Shaw helped to revive the use of bands in the Queen Anne revival with his use of them in his commercial design for the New Scotland Yard (1887-90). Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 41, 113.

chosen to cover the roof, with shingles along the overhang on the gable. The variety of materials used in the sheathing was a common element in the Queen Anne revival.

The materials and the decorative details in his design for the MacCarthy's second house from 1888 (fig. 25) demonstrate Alexander's use of the style at the height of the Queen Anne revival, as expressed through its materials.²² From what is known of the British Queen Anne, Alexander's influences are obvious and can be seen in the designs ribbed chimneystack, shingling, irregular massing, and contrasting use of materials including brick, terra cotta, and carved woodwork. His choice of materials for this design as well as his use of large round Romanesque arches over the windows, a bandcourse of quatrefoils detailed in terra cotta, and a heavy use of decorative shingles reflects the style's characteristic use of eclecticism during the height of the movement. As was typical of his work from this period, Alexander used materials to lace together decorative thematic elements throughout the house. In this design he uses a floral pattern in the form of quatrefoils in the bargeboards around the porch, gable, and dormer window. The Queen Anne's eclecticism is emphasized through multiplicity and the use of colour. Each material's colour accentuates the play of light and dark, as does Alexander's placement of recessed and projecting carved brickwork and terra cotta.

Another house that illustrates the height of the Queen Anne revival style through the use of materials is the house Alexander designed for William E. Mathews, the Vice-

²² H.F. MacCarthy, 37 Kent Street, Ottawa, 1988, NMC 30039, 3004.

President & Manager of the George Mathews Co. Ltd., Pork Packers, Ham & Bacon Curers (figs. 36-38).²³ This large house is extensively decorated with a predominant use of shingles, combined with multiple chimneys, brick, and stone. With its irregular massing, asymmetrical layout, broad verandah, multiple sheathing and several different patterns of ornamentation, leaning towards the excessive, it is probable that the date of this house is in the height of the Queen Anne revival style, either in the late 1880s or early 1890s.²⁴ Its heavy use of shingles also suggests an influence from the United States, as this characteristic was a common element in the Shavian version of the Queen Anne. Another prominent element in the Queen Anne revival style is its incorporation of different stylistic elements. In the Mathews' design, Alexander combines Queen Anne revival details with Romanesque wide rounded-arch openings over the central bay window and main entrance.

Characteristic of the Queen Anne revival style at its height was multiplicity. As illustrated in Alexander's design for the Mathews' house, multiplicity in window shapes and sizes not only add interest, but also act as a form of decoration. Stained glass was used in this way to add interest to the exterior of the house, but also to the interior space. As the view from the staircase was not always scenic, aspect and prospect did not play a part. This made the landing of a staircase a popular place to use stained glass. In this

²³ Mathews, William .E., Esq., Daly Ave., Ottawa, item 7-9, NMC 29856, 29857, 29862

²⁴ The design and layout has certain parallels to the Langley & Burke design for the Daniel E. Thomson Residence build in 1889 in Toronto (demolished) (figs. 39, 40). The common interest in the eclectic forms of the Queen Anne revival can be seen in the use of Romanesque arches covering the entranceways, the use of shingles, brick work, and stone, the irregular massing, and the layout of the design, as well as the floor

way, stained glass allows light to enter into the house, while at the same time provides a colourful and tasteful view. Windows also added to the eclecticism associated with the Queen Anne revival style, as seen in Alexander's use of an oval window above the front entrance, reminiscent of a Gothic cathedral's rose window.

Alexander's expression of multiplicity is also evident in his decorative themes that run throughout his designs. The success of his designs lie in Alexander's ability to combine these themes in an organized fashion. For example, Alexander's design for the Mathews' house consists of an organic spiral motif that runs throughout the stained glass, chimneys, gables, and rooflines. This organic form is contrasted with the geometric Greek symbol for 'eternity' that forms a band around the mid-section of the house. While the two contrast with one another, Alexander has placed them in such a way that they work together to form an interesting and eclectic design that is full of movement and interesting to look at.

While the Queen Anne revival was known for its eclectic use of materials, by the end of the 1890s we see in Alexander's work the second phase of the style, which included less emphasis on decorative details. Alexander's designs of the 1890s still retain similar elements and decoration from the previous decade. However, it is evident in work such as the house he designed for his own family, that we see Alexander's tastes

plan. This proves that both Alexander and Langley & Burke both followed the English house planning principles set out by men such as Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius.

subtly changing.²⁵ Although Alexander was never able to move into this beautiful house, it none the less speaks of Alexander's own personal ideals about domesticity and his personal tastes when it came to style.²⁶

Alexander's house was constructed in 1891 (figs. 41-46).²⁷ The asymmetry of the design, typical of the Queen Anne revival style, works with the length-wise placement of the house on the lot. A multiple roofline with projecting gables and shingles also typifies the style. In this design, however, the transformation of the next stage of the Queen Anne revival is evident, whereby the style becomes subtler and less ornate. Queen Anne characteristics such as ornately carved chimneys, decorative work on the entrance doors, and iron rail around the upper gallery, as well as the fan pattern in the bargeboard of the gable, all common in Alexander's work, become more simple and elegant.²⁸ This can be seen in Alexander's use of shingles. While still used in the design, they were kept to a minimum and were used only on the gables. This simplicity is important because it illustrates the beginning of the decline of the Queen Anne revival, where the style moves towards simpler, more classically oriented elements.

²⁵ Alexander, F.J., 161 Argyle Street, Ottawa, item 1-3 (demolished) NMC 29859

²⁶ Alexander's family never moved into this house. His granddaughter, Mrs. Seaman, believes that money ran out and Alexander was forced to sell the house upon its construction. Interview with Mrs. Betty (Lucretia) Seaman, Alexander's granddaughter, April 24, 1999, Toronto Ontario.

²⁷ While no date was recorded by either the National Archives or in Alexander's own diaries I was able to magnify the plan and find the date carved into a brick on the side of the house.

²⁸ Ornately carved and paneled chimneys can trace their popularity back to Norman Shaw. For more information, see Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (London, 1976).

While materials clearly illustrate the characteristics of the rise and fall of the Queen Anne revival style, other elements such as landscape played a large role in the development of the style in Canada. It was important that the overall formation of a Queen Anne revival house be integrated into the landscape, so that it naturally and symbiotically existed in its surroundings. In suburban designs such as the Mathews design (fig. 36, 37) and his own house (fig. 41-45), Alexander used high roof lines, asymmetry, and a combination of materials such as shingles, red brick and stone to reflect the varied surroundings of a suburban lot. The choice of materials and the shape of the houses related to their organic surroundings as well as to the built environment around them.

The importance of relating the built environment with that of the natural is one that was, and still is, highly discussed amongst architects and academics alike. When addressing the Architectural Guild of Toronto in 1896, architect Grant Helliwell had this to say about landscape:

Here not only does the unlimited ground area admit of landscape architecture in perfection, but the natural and topographical characteristics of the site, will, in the hands of a skillful and judicious artist, furnish the key note of the design for the dwelling, and form the basis of a combination, beautiful and satisfying because of the perfect concord of all its parts.²⁹

The eclectic characteristics of the Queen Anne made it possible for an architect to design a house to naturally fit in with its landscape. Alexander's design for Professor

²⁹ Grant Helliwell, "Domestic Architecture," *Canadian Architect and Builder* (March 1896): 38.

S.W. Hunton in Sackville, New Brunswick, (figs. 46-49) is illustrative of this connection with its east coast surroundings.³⁰ Typical of the architecture on the east coast, and for the most part on the west coast, was a heavier use of wood and shingles, similar to the Shingle Style used on the East Coast of the United States. Because of Canada's east coast historic ties to the eastern coast of the United States, it was not unusual that the architectural styles of one would be similar to the other.³¹ Wood is a characteristic building material of this region. The Hunton house is no exception, as there is a predominant use of wood and shingles. Shingles cover the roof, the walls of the projecting bay window and the porch. The wood frame of the house is covered with clapboard and shingles. This, along with the structure's underlying symmetry, typifies the style as it took root in the Maritimes.³² On the upper level of the house is Tudoresque plastered stucco with multiple divisions that mimic the shape of the windows. The kitchen area at the back of the house has a slightly recessed roofline, with the more important rooms, such as the drawing and dining rooms emphasized by the amount of detail, decoration, and height of the roofline. Historian Leslie Maitland argues that the Queen Anne was able to take root easily in the wooden form. According to Maitland's findings, the Queen Anne revival in the Atlantic Region was characterized by an underlying irregularity, high multiple rooflines, deep, often classical cornices, porches,

³⁰ March 30, 1894, item 53-56, NMC 30077, 30070. Alexander had, in the early part of his career with Public Works, worked on a design for a Marine Hospital in Nova Scotia, this might have been how his work was known on the east coast.

³¹ Angela Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture* (Montreal & Kingston), 69.

³² Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 46

balconies, and a variety of different window sizes.³³ In the case of Alexander's design, much of this accurately reflected the design, as seen through his use of a multiple roofline and porch. However, his window sizes remain constant throughout. This may have been due to the fact that the house was designed in 1894 and was already picking up on the growing interest and popularity of classical traits. An interest that continued to grow in architecture into the twentieth-century into the Beaux-Arts style.

Another design that emphasizes the importance placed on site and landscape was the house Alexander designed in 1894 for a very prominent man in society, Major Hayter Reed, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (figs. 50-53).³⁴ Because of its important owners, this house has received more press than any of Alexander's other work. Major Reed was closely identified with the Volunteer Militia service and served as an adjutant of the "Provl. Batt. Of Rifles" in Manitoba in the early 1870s. In 1882 he became a member of the Northwest Council and in 1884 first became Assistant Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the North West Territories, and then later that year Administrator of the Government of the North West Territories. In 1893 he was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.³⁵ Upon this appointment he moved to Ottawa, retiring in 1897.

³³ *Ibid*, 46.

³⁴ Reed, Hayter, 201 Wurtemburg St. Ottawa, 1894 (demolished) (also known as Robert L. Borden Residence, Prime Minister) N.A. PA 27454, also see Maitland, *Queen Anne Revival* p. 132. As there are no plans available for this house, my analysis can only be from photographs.

³⁵ H. J. Morgan *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto, 1898), 931.

The importance associated with the commission of Major Reed's house made the local news. The *Ottawa Free Press*, wrote:

Contracts (sic) for the erection of the Hayter Reed (sic) house on the newly acquired property on Heney Street are being handed in to Mr. Fred. J. Alexander, architect, and there is said to be considerable competition among the city men to secure work. Every contractor in the city of any note has visited the site with a view to tendering.³⁶

Sir Robert Laird Borden, Prime Minister of Canada (1911 to 1920) made this house even more famous when he purchased it in 1906. Borden lived in this house until his death in 1937, bestowing upon it the name of "Glensmere" after the small glen at the back of the house where he gardened.³⁷ The house's historical affiliations extended into the twentieth century, when the Nationalist Chinese Government purchased it in 1942.³⁸

As the house was situated on a large piece of land that sloped off towards the river, it was not surprising that Alexander's design was more sprawling than his other compact suburban designs. The natural surroundings were expressed through the use of texture and colour in the house's materials, which included wood and stone, offered a variety typical of the Queen Anne revival. Also his use of a variety of shaped sections, including projecting gables, a semi-circular garden wing and the verandah, which surrounded much of the house, were also typical of the style. These organic building shapes communicate with the surrounding garden, expressing the house's connection

³⁶ "Local News", *Ottawa Free Press* July 25, 1894. In 1894 Heney Street ran from Cobourg to Wurtemberg; it is believed that the entrance to this large house was on Wurtemberg, as the house number was 201 Wurtemberg. "Glensmere", Sir Robert Borden House, 201 Wurtemberg St., Ottawa, Ontario, Agenda Paper, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (1962-12), 3.

³⁷ Helen Turcotte, *The Journal*, Home Section, H-2, Saturday, May 23, 1964

with nature.³⁹ The merging of the geometric with the organic is balanced by the combination of the natural wood and the rectangular cut stones. Tudor and classical Greek combinations also call attention to the freedom and variations in the Queen Anne revival style, while at the same time the overall symmetry and the design's use of Classical elements such as the fluted columns holding up the porch suggest a new movement arising in his work, towards that of the classical.

Landscape played a large role in achieving a true expression of comfort through the Queen Anne revival in more suburban areas. The challenge of making the style work outside of the city limits was one that had to be met with careful consideration of landscape. This was especially true when the site was located in the very French, Quebec. As the Queen Anne was essentially British in its style and origins, it was not one that gained much popularity in French Quebec. What there was of the style was limited to Quebec's English speaking communities.⁴⁰ Alexander's experiences with the style in Quebec extended to one single cottage design for Philadelphia mining tycoon, Moses Brown. In 1893 Brown commissioned Alexander to design an eight-room log cottage on Lake Temiscamingue, in Quebec (figs. 54-57), to be used as a summer home, and a scouting base for mines.⁴¹ In this design Alexander combines a variety of different materials that give the simple design an interesting textured effect whose picturesque

³⁸ Courtney C.J. Bond, *City on the Ottawa: A detailed historical guide to Ottawa, the Capital of Canada*. (Ottawa, 1961), 51.

³⁹ This connection with nature is also evident in Alexander's choice of large stones around the base of the house.

⁴⁰ Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa, 1990), 54.

appeal fit into the lakeside's natural surroundings. In keeping with this connection to land and water, the broad verandah and general horizontality of the house evoke a restfulness compatible with its surroundings.⁴²

While the majority of Alexander's work depict the affect of landscape on the suburban home, the designs for Hunton, Reed, and Brown represent the Queen Anne revival style's use of landscape in non-suburban settings. Each setting is unique, and in each design Alexander has carefully considered the house's surroundings and location, as well as its regional personalities.⁴³ Alexander's designs are characteristic of the style in each area and location, his work therefore stands as representative of the Queen Anne revival as it pertains to the issue of landscape.

The final issue relating to the Queen Anne revival style in Canada, and the theories it placed on domestic design, is planning. Planning during the late nineteenth century introduced issues of comfort, practicality, and convenience. As discussed previously, these issues were laid out in the principles and guidelines set out by men such as Kerr, Stevenson, Muthesius, and Burke. Others such as Grant Helliwell also stressed the importance of good planning stating that, "among the almost innumerable acquirements

⁴¹ Moses Brown, Lake Temiscamingue, Quebec, 1893, NMC 019558. Mary Jukes, "Owner Claims Tourists Give Museum Status to Old Log House", *The Globe and Mail* (May 2, 1963): 12

⁴² This kind of environment was suggested by Grant Helliwell in, "Domestic Architecture", *Canadian Architect and Builder* (March 1896): 38.

⁴³ While not all of Alexander's designs provide information on their surroundings, I can assume from Alexander's typical approach to the Queen Anne revival that his designs very much reflected the landscape.

of the capable architect none are more important than skill in the art of house-planning.”⁴⁴

In the case of the Gibbs' house, the plan emphasizes the prominence of the person living within (figs. 32, 33). One enters the house through the lobby and into a large hall. The hall itself evokes a sense of the English Country house, both in its incorporation of the fireplace as the focal point of the room, and through its size, as it was large enough to be used as a separate room. Geoffrey Beard pointed out in his book *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior*, that it was Norman Shaw who revived the importance of a good hall in the Queen Anne revival house.⁴⁵ Directly off the hall is a reception room with a connecting door to a very large drawing room. This room was likely used as a sitting room, where people might gather before moving into the drawing room. Backing onto the drawing room is the conservatory. Alexander placed the drawing room across from the dining room with the serving pantry and then the kitchens behind it. It was important in the comfortable home that the connection between these two rooms was convenient and that the kitchen area was separated from that of the family living areas. In this design, as many other houses from this period, the serving pantry acted as a buffer, ensuring that guests did not have to see into the kitchen. The staircase to the upper level would have made for a dramatic impact on guests, as it was intricately carved into similar floral motifs to the brick carvings and stained glass work on the exterior of the building (fig. 31, 35). Set within the staircase is a small alcove that might

⁴⁴ Grant Helliwell, “Suggestions on House Planning”, *Canadian Architect and Builder* (June 1898): 106.

have been for the presentation of art or a place to sit. The grand staircase is enclosed, emphasizing the fact that it leads to more private space. Towards the end of the nineteenth century staircases had become intricately designed and took the form of the open newel and the quarter landing.⁴⁶ By 1900 one staircase was sufficient, as it was difficult to plan a house with two, and the decline in the use of servants meant that a back staircase was no longer necessary.⁴⁷ The staircase in this plan leads to the upper level, which contains five bedrooms, a bathroom and a boudoir. The boudoir was the private room for the lady of the house, and was accessible by appointment only. The separation of rooms for specific uses and gender was very much an issue in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was typical that rooms such as the library, study, smoking room, and billiard room were reserved for the gentlemen, while the drawing room and the boudoir were designed to be used predominantly by the “lady” of the house.⁴⁸ By the turn of the century, this gender separation issue was not emphasized so heavily.⁴⁹

In the Matthew's house plan (fig. 38), sections within the plan created distinct areas for living. The asymmetry that characterized the style also emphasized the house's connection to nature through its organic layout of the plan. Asymmetry also evokes a sense of warmth and comfort associated with the English house plan. A sense of warmth and comfort was also accomplished through the use of fireplaces in each of the main

⁴⁵ Geoffery Beard, *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), 247,248.

⁴⁶ Beard, *The National Trust Book of The English House Interior* (London, 1990), 269.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁴⁸ This as well as direction into the placement of furniture and decoration was plainly laid out in Kerr's *The Gentleman's House*, (New York, 1972).

⁴⁹ Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 118.

rooms. Improvements to central heating meant that fireplaces were not as necessary by the end of the nineteenth century, however, they remained in house designs as they were seen to symbolize the warmth and comfort associated with the 'home.'⁵⁰ Muthesius stated that the fireplace was to be the main focal point of the room, with the door opening towards it. This, he believed, would mean that the person entering would not be able to take the whole room in at first glance, allowing the person seated in the room time to prepare himself for the guest's entry.⁵¹

The first room off of the main hall is the parlour, which faces north, capturing natural light and a beautiful full view of nature through its bay window. Slightly recessed from the parlour is the library, this allowed it to receive natural light from the north and west. Alexander's placement of the dining room behind the library ensured that both rooms received light from the setting sun. As stressed by theorists such as Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius, this arrangement would coincide with the time of day both rooms were used. Access to the dining room is through a connecting door to the pantry and then the kitchen area. The conservatory backs off the dining room and receives the southern exposure of the sun. On the first floor there is a main bedroom with an attached dressing room.⁵² Two other bedrooms, a sewing room, a bathroom and a servant's room make up the rest of the first level. A back staircase runs between the kitchen area and the servant's quarters. As it was stressed that the paths of the servant's and family and

⁵⁰ Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 21.

⁵¹ Muthesius, *The English House*, (New York, 1979), 79.

visitors should never cross, separate staircases were necessary.⁵³ The attic in this house contains another two bedrooms with an additional room, possibly for storage or expansion. Alexander's following of the English house planning principles meant that his designs were well thought out and well planned, taking into consideration the social interactions that occurred within polite society.

In designing his own house (figs. 44, 45), Alexander's planning was not like anything he had ever designed before. This was probably because he had a keen understanding of how he wanted to live. His layout was very organized and structured into defined sections for living. This can be seen in his use of both a dining and a breakfast room. Each room was placed so that accessibility was optimized between each room, as well as from the kitchens. This very symmetrical layout revolves around the family's daily functions of living. With the English house planning principles in mind, one can discern that Alexander placed the breakfast room facing the eastern side, in order to have the morning sun, and the dining room on the west side in order to have the light from the setting sun. The drawing room would therefore receive sunlight from both the north and the west, as would the main bedroom on the upper floor. The back of the house is sectioned off with a door to the serving pantry and kitchens, as well as a back staircase.

⁵² Kerr stated that the principal bedroom needed a dressing room that was not less than 24 feet by 18 feet, however, because this is a scaled down suburban version of the English Country house, this room is much smaller. Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, (New York, 1972), 76.

⁵³ Herman Muthesius, *The English House* (New York, 1979), 94.

The upper level holds a study, a large master bedroom, three other bedrooms, and a bathroom, as well as more bedrooms in the attic.⁵⁴

Alexander's designs from the late 1890s and early 1900s illustrate a change in the vocabulary of the Queen Anne revival style. With the style in decline, we see a movement towards the classical, including a deeper concern for symmetry and clean decorative details. While the principal layout of the English house plan remained, this change can be seen in his own house through its symmetrical layout, as well as in his designs from the early 1900s.

It is in his design for the Blake house from 1906 (figs. 58-61), that we clearly see the decline of the Queen Anne revival in house planning.⁵⁵ With the entrance moving closer to the centre of the structure in this design, we also see the implementation of symmetry through the placement of the hall. The hall, larger than in most of his previous designs, thins out and continues down the centre of the design, with all principal rooms running off of it. The hall has within it an inglenook that is placed to one side of a large fireplace. Inglenooks or window seats, as they were also known, were very popular during this time.⁵⁶ The placement of the inglenook in the hall allowed it to provide a quiet space for

⁵⁴ The bedroom at the back of the house might have been for the servants that Alexander brought back to Canada with him from Natal. Their discontent in Canada resulted in Alexander paying for their return to Natal.

⁵⁵ Blake, R.P. Esq., McLeod St, Ottawa, May 1906, NMC 30059, 30066.

⁵⁶ While the inglenook was used prior to this, it isn't until the turn of the century that we see Alexander using it in his domestic designs. Inglenooks were initially designed for the purpose of enclosing one in the heat from a fireplace, but with improvements to central heating, they were built more for enjoyment and a feeling that evoked warmth and comfort associated with its earlier purpose. Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, 60.

privacy to read, sit or have quiet conversations. The drawing room opens onto the dining room, with both rooms receiving extensive natural light through bay windows. Like his design for the Gibb residence, Alexander incorporates a feeling of comfort and warmth through the use of fireplaces in each of the three principal rooms. At the end of the hall is a passage that leads to the kitchens and the pantry. A communicating door connects the pantry to the dining room. Underlying symmetry is continued on the upper floor, with each of the bedrooms coming off the large square-shaped hall. The placement of one bedroom at the back of the house with a back staircase to the kitchen suggests its use as a servant's quarters.

Another house built in the same year, which was similar in its use of the Queen Anne revival at the end of its height, is the design for Ormond Higman, the Chief Dominion Electrician Standards for the Department of Inland Revenue (figs. 62,63).⁵⁷ The decline of the Queen Anne revival is most obvious in the use of a classical pediment over the entrance. This suggests the general move in architecture towards the classical Beaux-Arts. The classical characteristics of this design are continued in the relative symmetry of the plan. While symmetry alone does not place the design of this house at the end of the Queen Anne revival period, its combination with classical elements and its simple use of decorative details. In this design it is possible to see the clear development and importance of the hall in the Queen Anne revival house. The hall's historical roots was revived by Richard Norman Shaw and his development of the Queen Anne revival style.

⁵⁷ Higman, Ormond Esq., 231 McLeod (Stewarton), Ottawa, 1906, item 80-87, NMC 30084, 30079.

Through the incorporation of an inglenook and a fireplace, Alexander is able to create a feeling of warmth and nostalgia associated and brought to life through the Queen Anne revival. While the Queen Anne still exists in its details, the classical elements of symmetry are apparent in the placement of the drawing room, dining room, and library. Through a passage one may enter the kitchen and pantry, with another connecting door from the pantry to the dining room. The upper level affords five bedrooms and a bathroom, with a back staircase connecting with the kitchen.

As most architects followed the guidelines set out by Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius, Alexander's plans are typical of designs from this period. While typical, they are none the less important, as they offer valuable insight into how English house planning principles were interpreted and how they were adapted to fit the needs of Canada, as well as Alexander's clients. Through each plan, it is possible to trace the daily social interactions of those living within, as well as the stylistic developments of the Queen Anne revival style in planning.

The Queen Anne revival style meant many things to many people during the late nineteenth century. For Alexander, it was a movement that embodied his thoughts and feelings on designs, aesthetics, and planning. His connection to England and all things British made his interest in this style even more intensive. For his clients, it was a way of retaining the ties to the motherland, expressing their wealth and importance through the impressive ornateness, and living in a 'home' that was comfortable to live in and

interesting to look at; all aspects associated with the Queen Anne revival. While the style itself raised many issues involving its adaptation in Canada, architects such as Alexander were able to retain its British essence, while at the same time meeting the specific needs of building in Canada, and the needs of his clients. Of Alexander's over 45 domestic designs from his private practice, the designs chosen in this chapter accurately illustrate the rise and fall of the Queen Anne revival, as well as Alexander's methods of designing when confronted with the issues of climate, materials, siting and landscape, and planning.

Conclusion

Frederick John Alexander died in his home on the 9th of May 1930, leaving behind a legacy that would go virtually unknown for almost a century. Alexander's contributions to Ottawa's architectural heritage have, for the most part, been destroyed. What remains, hopefully through this thesis, is a new understanding and knowledge of one of Canada's architects. Alexander's work did not push any architectural boundaries. However, his early experiences in training, his development as an architect, and the issues he confronted with regard to stylistic shifts and the development of the Queen Anne revival, represent that of Canadian architects practising during the end of the nineteenth-century.

Alexander's talent as an architect should no longer go unmentioned. His drawings and designs portray the work of an architect of fine training and artistry. This is evident both in his technical skill as a draftsman and in his creative use of the Queen Anne revival style. With the advent of pattern books in Canada by the end of the nineteenth-century, patterns for houses were easily accessible to architects and patrons alike. Alexander refrained from copying any of these design prototypes. While he took his influences from the British version of the style, his designs were creatively done in his own hand. The attributes of the Queen Anne revival style enabled him the freedom to create works of art, carefully and meticulously drawn and detailed.

Alexander's early training and development illustrate that of the typical Canadian architect during the end of the nineteenth-century. While he received his earliest training in England, the bulk of his education and development was in Canada. Alexander's training and education provided him with the understanding and knowledge of architectural theories and methods that enabled him to mature as an architect. With a firm base in Gothic revival principles, Alexander was able to meet the needs and challenges of a changing world. Since the Queen Anne revival was a style based in part on Gothic revival principles, Alexander's training provided him with the skills he needed to develop the style in Canada.

As well as being representative of the training, education and early development of the Canadian architect, Alexander's designs exemplify the Queen Anne revival style in Canada. By placing his work to the test of the theories and issues raised by contemporary historians and historical theorists with regard to climate, materials, siting and landscape, and planning, it is clear that Alexander's work can be seen as representative of the period. Alexander's designs provide insight into the style's development, its stages, and its characteristics. As well, he serves as a case study on how the issues surrounding the style's development in Canada were dealt with by Canadian architects.

Guidelines set out by Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius, provided architects with valuable information on design and planning. Architects in Canada such as Burke picked up on these, writing about them in the Canadian context. By following these guidelines

along with his own understanding of architecture, Alexander was able to design homes that met the needs of the Canadian climate through simplicity in planning and ornamentation, while retaining the eclectic characteristics associated with the style.

Through his use of materials it is possible to trace the development of the style, from its most flamboyant to its most subdued. While not as ornate as some houses done in the Queen Anne revival style in England, his work none the less accurately reflects the characteristics of the style. Alexander's use of materials illustrated the regional personalities of the style. His designs reflected the characteristic traits of the style through materials, from its red brick associations with the style in the Ontario suburban home, to its heavy use of shingles and symmetry on the east coast.

Alexander also took into consideration the Queen Anne revival's relationship to its surroundings. Using lines and texture, Alexander emphasized the connection of each house to its natural surroundings. Whether it was a house in suburban Ottawa, a cottage on the lakeside in Quebec, or a house on the East Coast, Alexander related the design to the landscape through its materials and layout.

Finally, with regard to planning, Alexander clearly followed the theories of English house planning principles set out by Kerr, Stevenson, and Muthesius. English house planning principles instilled the importance of comfort and practicality in the home. For Alexander, the Queen Anne was the ideal choice for domestic design, as its

characteristics created a comfortable home that followed the English house planning principles. English house planning principles were meant to be seen as a theory of comfort and convenience, as the Queen Anne revival was. While Alexander followed them closely, the underlying importance with both the Queen Anne revival and house planning principles was comfort. What this meant for Alexander and others was that comfort and convenience was not to be sacrificed and should be considered above all.

Others writing about this period have provided valuable research regarding the period's historical context, education, the Queen Anne's development and characteristics, and information on other architects working during the late nineteenth-century. These works have served as a departure point for my own research. As so few of Canada's architects have yet to be recognized, this paper serves as an addition to those already written, but more importantly, helps to uncover the architectural history of Canada.

Alexander's development as an architect spanned a period of time of great change for Canadian architects. His life and work therefore serves as an important source into this period, its changes, and its challenges. At the turn of the century Alexander was not only working on plans to help bring about changes to the education system, but he was also making a name for himself as one of Ottawa's most prominent architects. By 1896 Alexander was listed among a small handful of men responsible for the majority of building in Ottawa.¹ This included domestic, as well as commercial and institutional. In

¹ "Building in Canada in 1895, Ottawa Section," *Canadian Architect and Builder* (January 1896): 10-11.

keeping with the period, Alexander's work in the commercial realm was in the Romanesque revival. This can be seen in his design for the C. Ross company department store (fig. 64). It is also possible to see his use of other historical revival styles in his design for the Union Bank from 1888 (fig. 65, 66). Here we see him combining the Italianate with the Romanesque. This in itself speaks of his success as an architect, as well as the impact he must have had on the city of Ottawa.

Alexander's documentation of his experiences during the end of the nineteenth-century provides an invaluable resource. His diaries help to uncover the daily life of a Canadian architect during the end of the nineteenth-century, from his early training and development, to the establishment of his private practice. This source, combined with his drawings, provide an inside view of the history of Canadian architecture during this period. By combining these resources with research on the period itself, and the issues that arose during it, it has been possible to take a closer look at the life and work one of Ottawa's prominent architects.

The study of Alexander's life and work is important because he provides incredible insight into the typical experiences of the Canadian architect working in Canada during the second half of the nineteenth-century. The focus of this thesis presents the two main elements I believe Alexander's life and work most accurately represent what other Canadian architects would have experienced. While he was known for many other buildings in the commercial and institutional realm, his life and work

discussed here accurately reflects the education, and training of the Canadian architect, during the late nineteenth-century, and the origins and development of the Queen Anne revival style in Canada and specifically, Ottawa.

Appendix:

Chronological List of Works

Apprenticeship under J.W. Reed Architect, London England 1865-1868

His work with Reed is unknown.

Junior Assistant to Lander and Bedells (1831(2)-1897) London England, 1868-1870

Worked on drawings for a villa, Hornsey Lane, 1868.

Schooled in the methods of measuring and surveying. Continued his training in drafting and drawing techniques.

Draftsman to Langley Archt., Toronto Canada, 1870-1872

Worked on drawings for a villa, prepared designs for a house on the corner of University and Church St. and worked on drawings for the Eighth Post Office at the head of Toronto St.

Continued his studies in dimension and drawing. As well, he worked on other projects that were ongoing within Langley's office.

Assistant and then Lead (1873) to the Chief Architect's Branch of the Department of Public Works, 1872-1877

Parliamentary Gate, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1872

New Reporter's Gallery, House of Commons, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1872

Drawings for the New Ottawa Water Works, Ottawa, 1873

Government Workshops, 1873 (became Supreme Court in 1881, now demolished)

Dormer Windows for the West Block, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1873

Drawings for work on Rideau Hall, Ottawa, 1873

Clerk's Chair, House of Commons, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1873

Drawings for the Public Buildings and Penitentiary for British Columbia, 1873

Specifications and tracings of Lockmaster's house, Cornwall, 1873

Drawings for Manitoba Prison, 1873

Marine Hospital, near Sydney, Nova Scotia, 1873

Custom's Examining Warehouse, Montreal, 1873

Chrome work for the dormer windows for the interior of the House of Commons, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1874

Dormer windows for Public Buildings in Manitoba, 1874

Iron fittings in the attic of the West Block, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1874

Interior Fittings for the Library of Parliament, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1874 – 1877

Toronto Custom's Warehouse, Toronto, 1874¹

Iron doors for the Library of Parliament, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1875 (This would later be changed from 17 iron doors to 16 oak doors and 1 iron door; this one iron door would be the one that saved the Library in the 1916 fire.)

Interior Fittings for the Library of Parliament, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1875 (This was a new set to be made in wood rather than wrought iron as originally discussed.)

Gas burners for the Reading Room, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, date unknown

Miscellaneous Designs outside of work with the Department of Public Works

MacCarthy, H.F., Esq., design for a house at 2 Austin Terrace, Sally St., Ottawa, 1874, (demolished)

Mr. Kavanagh, drawings for a house, 1874 (the grocer)

Mr. Ned Dunn, design for a doorway, 1874

Mr. Andy, design for a house, 1875

Brother Loveday, design for a house, 1875

South Africa, 1877- 1886

Residential Buildings

Archdeacon T.E. Usherwood, 1880

Mr. Lamond, 1880

¹ Janet Wright lists this building as being designed by R.C. Windeyer in *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867-1967*. (Toronto, 1997). However, Alexander states in his diaries that he is working on the designs. He therefore might have been working on one aspect of the building. Further research at the National Archives failed to turn up any drawings with Alexander's initials; this, however was not uncommon.

Mr. Jas. Topham, a residence and cottages, 1880

Mr. A.R. Button, 1880

Dr. W.J. Scott, Esq., two designs, Pietermaritzburg, 1880

Mr. H. Bale, Pietermaritzburg, 1880

Mrs. Pearce, Berg St., Pietermaritzburg, 1881

Mr. F.H. Field, 1881

Mr. A. Dunton, cottage, 1883

Mr. Grix, alterations and additions to his dwelling-house, 1883-5

Mr. J.M. Egner, cottage on Commercial Rd., 1883

Mr. J. Raw, 1884

Mr. Jas. English, cottages, 1884

Mr. Fell, 1885

H. Bale (W.E. Bale's son), 1885

A number of other unidentified residences

Commercial and Governmental Buildings

Design for an alteration to the canopy of the Legislative Council Chamber, 1878

Young Men's Christian Association Hall (YMCA), 1879

Three warehouses for Mr. CC Griffin, 1880

Offices for H. Bale, Esq., 1880

Warehouse, Harrismith, for Mr. Hugh Parker, 1880

Two Stores for A. Grix, Stores, Maritzburg, 1883

Competition designs for the Legislative Council Buildings, 1883 (His design was chosen as one of the three finalists; however, it did not win the competition)

Mr. Posnot, shop on Berg St., 1884

Edendale Rd. Bridge, for the City's Inspector of Works, 1884

G. A. Tomlinson, three stores, 1884

Umsimdusi Bridge, Town Councilor Flemming, 1885

Stores for Mr. Caskey, Ladysmith, 1885

Market House, Pietermaritzburg, date unknown

Unidentified office building, date unknown

Churches

Dutch Reformed Church, Greytown, 1880

Dutch Reformed Church, Brandfort, 1882

Dutch Reformed Church, Eastcourt, 1882, proposed design

Dutch Reformed Church, Harrismith, 1885 proposed design

Miscellaneous

Evangelical Protestant School for Women, 1879

Designs for Mr. Singleton of the Government for prisons and Magistrate's residences, 1880

Sheds, Stables, White Man's Residence and Coolie Huts, J.H. Wilkenson, 1880

Additions to the City Gaol, commissioned by the Colonial Engineer, 1881

Street wooden pavement, 1883

Additions and alterations to the Padded Room in an Asylum, 1886

Additions and alterations to the New (Camp) Hospitals, 1886

City Hall, Proposed Design, date unknown

Private Practice, Ottawa 1886-1903[06]²

Residential

Mr. Trudeau, proposed design 1886

² In 1903 Alexander accepted an appointment in the Government service at Ottawa. *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, (January 1903): xi.

Bourinot, J.G. Esq., detail of mantle piece at 141 Cooper St., Ottawa, 1886, (demolished) (House of Commons Clerk)

Proposed design for a dwelling house for the Ottawa Bank Manager, 1886

Kenny, Esq, proposed design, never executed, 1886 (Kenny Merchant Tailors)

Mr. Mothersill, proposed drawings, July, 1886

Lesueur, Charles P., Billings Bridge, Ottawa, July 1887 (C.P., Chief Clerk Insp. Office)

Kavanagh, Esq., Villa, 1887 (Grocer, Kavanagh Bros., 83 Sparks)

Dennis, Mrs., 295 Cooper St., Ottawa, 1887, \$5,500

Gibbs, Mrs. Carrie L., N.W. Corner of Cartier & McLaren St., Ottawa, 1887 (demolished)

Goodeve, W.M. Esq., 243 McLaren St., Ottawa, 1887 (demolished) (Chief Clerk Patent Branch Dept. of Interior)

Henry, K.J. Esq., 245 McLaren St., Ottawa, 1887 (demolished) (Clerk Secretary Dept. of Interior)

Uglow, Richard, 86 Gloucester, Ottawa 1887-88 (demolished) (Books and Stationary on 80 Sparks St.)

Borbridge, H., Gilmour St., Ottawa, 1888 (Henry J. (S&H Borbridge) Leather & Saddlery Hardware 88-90 Rideau & 186 Sparks)

Brockbridge, S.H., corner of Metcalfe and Lewis, June 19, 1888

Two brick dwelling houses, fronting to Gilmour St., 1888

MacCarthy, H.F., 37 Kent St., Ottawa, 1888 (demolished) (Druggist)

Wyld, W., 21 Cliff St., Ottawa, Mar. 22, 1889, \$6,000 (demolished)

Allan, W.A. Esq., 117 Victoria St., two residences, Ottawa, 1889 (demolished) (Allen & Fleming)

Moore, Rev. Wm., 278 O'Connor, Mar.9, 1889, \$5,000

Hodgins, J., 94 Nepean, 1889 (demolished)

Stackhouse, Dr. C.G., 226 O'Connor, June 14, 1889, \$5,000

Alderman Stroud, brick residence, \$7,000

Two dwelling houses on the S.E. corner of Metcalfe and Lewis Streets, Ottawa, 1889

Ross, Crawford, two residences, one on 293 Metcalfe St., Ottawa, 1889, each \$6,000 (demolished) (Dry Goods)

Anderson, Mrs. M., Cooper Street, Ottawa, 1890

Patterson, Christopher Salmon, 84 Argyle Ave., Ottawa, 1890/91 (demolished) (Judge Supreme Court)

- Alexander, F.J., 161 Argyle Street, Ottawa, 1891 (demolished)
- Starmer, Thomas, 267 Besserer St., Ottawa, 1891/2 (Dept. Indian Affairs)
- Clark, G.H., detail of stairway, 1892
- Clarke, R., decorative mouldings at 41 Cooper St., Ottawa, 1892 (demolished)
- Lewis, Mrs., detail of cornice for drawing room, Cooper St., Ottawa, [1892/3]
- Baskerville, Patrick, 236 Stewart St., two residences, Ottawa, 1893 (P. Baskerville & Bros. Wholesale Grocers (43 George St.) and Wholesale Liquors (58 George))
- Brown, Moses, Cottage on Lake Temiscamingue, Quebec, 1893 (Mining Magnate from Philadelphia)
- Edwards, W.C. Esq., M.P., additions and alterations, Rockland, Ontario, 1893 (W.C. Edwards & Co., Capital Planing Mill Co.)
- Hunton, S.W., Sackville, N.B. March 30, 1894 (Professor)
- McDonald, K., Esq., alterations and additions, 330 Wilbrod St., Ottawa, 1894 (Kenneth agricultural Implements & Seeds, 44-46 By Ward market)
- Reed, Major Hayter, 201 Wurtemberg St. Ottawa, 1894 (demolished) (Commissioner of Indian Affairs) (also know as Robert L. Borden Residence, Prime Minister)
- Fitzpatrick, Mr., alternative plans for a dwelling house, August 20, 1896
- Horsey, A.J. Esq. M.D., 251 Wellington St., Ottawa, March 3, 1897 (demolished) (Shop with Dr. Horsey's residence above. Dr. Horsey was an Eye, Ear & Throat Specialist)
- McDonald, K. Esq., two identical detached houses, MacLaren St., Ottawa, 1898
- Blake, R.P. Esq., McLeod St., Ottawa, May 1906 (Richard P. Grain dealer and Manufacturer of Malt Products, Canadian Agent of Red Star Compressed Yeast, 484 Sussex)
- Higman, Ormond Esq., 231 McLeod (corner of McLeod & Metcalfe St.) (Stewarton), Ottawa, 1906 (Prop. Sanitary Plumbing Co., Chief Opr. G N W Tel Co., (was the Chief Dominion Electrician Standards Dep. Inland Revenue)
- Matthews, William .E., Esq., Daly Ave., Ottawa, date unknown (Geo Matthews Co., Vice-President & Manager of the George Matthews Co. Ltd., Pork Packers, Ham & Bacon Curers)
- Patterson, J.[P.] (Hon.), possibly only revisions done, Corner of Cartier & Lisgar Sts., Ottawa, date unknown (J.C. Patterson Minister of Militia and Defense)
- Topley, Horace Esq., Argyle St., Ottawa, date unknown (Photographer)
- Davis, William H., Wilbrod St., Ottawa, date unknown (Contractor)

Public and Commercial Buildings

- YMCA, proposed design for competition, 1886
- Art School, proposed alterations and additions, Sparks St., 1886
- Union Bank, 126 Wellington, 1888, \$20,000
- Gymnasium & c., Ottawa Amateur Athletic Association, corner of Elgin and Maria St., Ottawa, 1889
- Police Court and Station, Ottawa, 1889
- Foundation for Passenger Elevator for Mr. G.L. Orme, Wellington St., Ottawa, 1891
- Victoria Chambers, Wellington Street, Ottawa, 1891
- Store Fronts for T. Birkett, Esq., Rideau St., Ottawa, 1892
- Alteration and addition to Stores for Mr. T. Lindsay & Co., Wellington St., Ottawa, 1893
- Henry J. MacCarthy's Stores, Ottawa, 1894 (Druggist)
- Alterations and Additions to two stores for the C. Ross Co., corner of Sparks and Metcalfe St., Ottawa, 1895
- Warehouse for Mr. McDonald and Mr. Faith, York St., Ottawa, 1896
- Six unidentified stores or commercial buildings, an office, a possible hospital, and a private club [1896]
- Warehouse for Mr. K. McDonald, George St., Ottawa, 1898
- J.L. Orme and Son, Music Hall, Orme Hall, Wellington St., Ottawa, 1900 (Importers of Pianofortes, Organs and Band Instruments)
- Convalescent Home, Ottawa, date unknown
- Children's Hospital, Wurtemberg St., Ottawa, date unknown
- Carruthers Science Hall, Ottawa, date unknown
- Bryson Graham & Co., Ottawa, date unknown
- J. Leslie Esq., grill-work to arch at entrance to Show Room, date unknown
- Millinery Dry Goods, The C. Ross Co., Ottawa, date unknown
- New Premises for the C. Ross Co., Ottawa, date unknown

Schools

- Public School, Hintonburgh, June 2, 1888

Proposed Additions to Public School, Hintonburg, Ottawa, 1888, \$4,500

Design for Public School, by T-Square, Ottawa, date unknown

Design for Public School, Elgin St. Ottawa, date unknown

Mission School [Hall], Stewarton, corner of McLeod and Bank Streets, Ottawa, 1888, \$1,000

Competitive Design for Wellington Ward School, Ottawa, date unknown

Fire Stations

No.9 Fire Station, James St., Ottawa, 1897

No.5 Fire Station, King St., Ottawa, 1897

No.3 Fire Station, Theodore St., Ottawa, 1898

No.4 Fire Station, York St., Ottawa, 1898

Miscellaneous

Mission Hall, Dominion Church, McLeod and Bank, Jul. 17, 1888

Ottawa Club, the Senate Club, Gibbs, C.T. accountant, [1888/9]

Hull and Gatineau Point Bridge, Que., date unknown

No.V. St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, date unknown (John Bowes, Archt.)

Molson's Bank Chambers, Molson's Bank, 14 Metcalfe, date unknown

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 9

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, LLANELLY, SOUTH WALES.
LONDON & BEDELL ARCHT^{TS}

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 25

ROOF - PLAN

BASEMENT PLAN

Figure 26

SECTION - TWO CABLES

SECTION - TWO DECKS

GROUND PLAN

Figure 27

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

Figure 33

Figure 34

Figure 35

RESIDENCE DALY AVE OTTAWA.
 W.E. MATTHEWS ESQ.
 SCALE 8 FT TO 1 IN.

FRONT ELEVATION.

EAST SIDE.

Figure 36

RESIDENCE DALY AVE OTTAWA.
 W.E. MATTHEWS ESQ.
 SCALE 8 FT TO 1 IN.

WEST SIDE.

SECTION.

Figure 37

RESIDENCE DALY AVE OTTAWA
 - W. MATTHEWS ESQ.
 Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"

Figure 38

Figure 39

Figure 40

Figure 41

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 46

Figure 47

Figure 48

Figure 49

Figure 50

Figure 51

Figure 52

Figure 53

Figure 54

Figure 55

Figure 56

Figure 57

Figure 58

Figure 59

Figure 60

Figure 61

Figure 62

Figure 63

Figure 64

Figure 65

Figure 66

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