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**The Dominion Express Building:
a Cultural Investigation.**

Andrej Peter Kopac

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

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

March 1998.

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ABSTRACT:

The Dominion Express Building: a Cultural Investigation.

Andrej Peter Kopac

The Dominion Express Building, situated in the heart of Old Montreal's business district, was commissioned by the Dominion Express Company and designed by the architects Edward and William Sutherland Maxwell in 1912. The building was, in its conservative styling and modest size, a fine example of what has been called the Edwardian Commercial Style. Though traditional architectural history would minimize the importance of the Dominion Express Building, this study intends to reassert, through method developed by Cultural Studies, the building's significance in Canadian history. By extending the focus of architectural historical method to include a variety of cultural readings a rich understanding of the role that commercial architecture played in Canadian history during this period can be achieved. Additionally, this study broadens understanding of the culture of the "Square Mile" in the first decades of this century.

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List of Abbreviations:

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| A.I.A. | American Institute of Architects |
| D.E.B. | Dominion Express Building |
| C.A.C. | Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University |
| C.P.A. | Canadian Pacific Archives |
| C.P.L. | Canadian Pacific Limited |
| C.P.R. | Canadian Pacific Railway |
| R.A.I.C. | Royal Architectural Institute of Canada |
| R.I.B.A. | Royal Institute of British Architects |

Introduction.

The Dominion Express Building, designed by Edward and William S. Maxwell, was completed in 1912.¹ Located in Old Montreal at the corner of St. James St. and St. Francois Xavier St., the ten-storey commercial office building also housed Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) ticket offices, a restaurant and a private dining club. The building was commissioned by the Dominion Express Company, a significant branch of the C.P.R., and the presidents of both firms, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy and William S. Stout, played important roles as patrons throughout the project. The Maxwell brothers were a successful Canadian architectural team who worked closely with the C.P.R. during the later part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. The quality of the Maxwells' architecture generally is considered high, and their close relationship to the inner circles of Montreal's business elite (in fact, at the time, the inner circles of Canada's elite) guaranteed the firm prestigious commissions. However, from the historical perspective, their architecture is not always granted the high status it once held.

The Dominion Express Building suffers under this condition. In 1912, the building was the bastion of Montreal business, yet through time and later evaluation its importance has unduly waned. The depreciation of the building's value, brings to the fore the question of why? I propose that the immediate answer to this question lies in how the meanings of architecture

¹ The Dominion Express Building became the Canadian Express Building in 1926. In 1958 it was sold to Pro-Can Realities, as per an internal C.P.R. memo to Judith Nefsky, CPA. Shortly after it became the home of the Provincial Bank of Canada until it was purchased by the M.U.C. *ca.* 1981. Since then the building has been sold at least four times and has sustained somewhat disfiguring renovations. In the late 1980s it was going to be turned into a hotel and now is for rent as office space, see Figure 1. *The Gazette* (Montreal: 7 November 1986 and 18 June 1997).

are appraised. Traditionally, architecture is primarily evaluated in terms of the formal concerns of architectural design; however, this is not the only context within which edifices engage with meaning. By asking the question: what are the ways that architecture can be evaluated? an intriguing series of further questions arise. These questions revolve around the plethora of plausible contexts within which buildings could be evaluated: political, economic, sociological, etc.; and how architecture has meaning within each.

In simple terms, the Dominion Express Building has various meanings within each of these contexts. In particular, traditional architectural method tends to underestimate the impact of the broader cultural context, and in the case of this study, it can be shown to be effective in contributing meaning for the structure. The keystone in my method for evaluating architecture's cultural meanings is the early work of Raymond Williams. Although Williams's subject is limited to literature and printed media, in **The Long Revolution** he prefaces his method by stating that all art can be viewed as a cultural production.² In his system of analysis, understanding cultural meaning was not simply achieved by synthesizing different historical viewpoints. Culture's production of art could not be understood without thoroughly understanding the forms of culture and of societal organization: "Cultural history must be more than the sum of the particular histories, for it is with the relations between them, the particular forms of the whole organization, that it is especially concerned."³ It is essential to look at culture and its structure, especially when analyzing its interplay with architecture, because a building's physical form cannot be readily translated into a

² Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 46.

³ *Ibid.*, 46.

culturally identifiable language. Williams's method is also well suited to the analysis of the historic object, where the context of culture has to be reconstructed because the culture itself no longer exists.

Accepting Williams's theoretical stance provides the architectural historian a way of seeing, like Harold Kalman in his introduction to **A History of Canadian Architecture**, that "[a]rchitecture is both the design and the expression of a culture, and these two themes are interwoven from start to finish."⁴ However, as there are few correspondences between traditional architectural analysis and culture, Kalman's study fails to make any real connections between culture and architecture.⁵ Nowhere is this more evident than in his section on the Dominion Express Building; culturally, the building was the expression and workplace of some of the most influential businessmen in Canada, yet architecturally – or so Kalman's study would lead us to believe – the building was a pedestrian, though well executed, example of office building in 1910.

Robert Lemire's study of the Dominion Express Building in **The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell**⁶ is similarly flawed.⁷ In Kalman's and Lemire's studies the building was classified as a skillful application of the Edwardian Commercial, a style of architecture that paralleled Edwardian

⁴ Kalman, **A History of Canadian Architecture** (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), vol. 1, viii.

⁵ And this is the weakest point of Kalman's study. R. Windsor Liscombe comments on this lack of characterizing depth: Kalman's overabundance of information "without primary research ... yield[s] a surfeit of information in which the interpretive measuring of significant effects or voices becomes unclear." From his review, "A History of Canadian Architecture," **Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians** (June 1995), 242-44.

⁶ **The Architecture of Edward & William S. Maxwell** (Montreal: Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 81-3.

⁷ Although elsewhere in **The Architecture of ...**, the catalogue consists of a collection of articles on the firm, the cultural context of the Maxwell's architecture is discussed, such as in Robert

Classicism, popular for public buildings prior to World War One. This label sums up three ideas. First, the appearance of the building lies under a general heading of Neoclassical architecture produced after the Victorian age. Second, the Maxwells are not seen as initiators of this architectural concept, but as highly competent executors of the style. This kind of programmatic Neoclassical application, the manipulation of traditional forms to emphasize modern aesthetics of verticality and subtle structural divisions, was credited to the innovation of Louis Sullivan, particularly the tripartite division of the facade both replicating the division of the classical column, base, shaft and capital, and reflecting functional divisions within the building. Third, glazed terra-cotta was a common exterior finish of the Edwardian Commercial as the material saw a resurgence of popularity *ca.* 1910 because of its low cost, malleability, and fire resistance.⁸

In Lemire's study, the Dominion Express Building is shown to fit into the broader history of the Maxwells' entire body of work, and in Kalman's study, the building is made to show relevance to the broader history of Canadian architecture. The limits of both studies are different, yet both draw the same conclusion since they both depend on and refer to the structure of traditional architectural history. To be brief, this field is rooted in formal analysis, emphasizes new forms and centres history around the evolution of these forms and their creators. A study focusing on the Dominion Express Building using traditional analysis could be more in-depth than Kalman's and Lemire's studies. However, the further study of a building with the

Sweeny's "Building For Power; The Maxwell Practice and The Montreal Business Community," little effort is made in connecting culture and architecture.

⁸ Kalman, *A History*, vol. 2, 576 -77.

intention of repeating its designation as Edwardian Commercial seems relatively pointless.

Despite the above problems of traditional architectural history, the formal analysis provided by the discipline can be useful in evaluating the Dominion Express Building. The process of formal analysis is, in brief, the deconstruction of a building's visual surfaces and physical structure into isolated units. These units are described by a combination of physically descriptive words and architecturally descriptive words, and the parts are then thematically aligned and organized by concepts and constructs defined within architecture.

While this formal method is abundantly illustrated within the canon of architectural history by respected authors such as John Summerson and Nikolaus Pevsner, the cultural components of the building's meanings are not only important, but poorly described by the architectural field.⁹ There are many precedents in establishing a culture-based method of art analysis, and as mentioned above, Williams's work is a starting point. He further suggested specific tools for uncovering the structure of culture as reflected in art. In particular his concept of "close reading"¹⁰ can, I will argue, be applied to **The Man of Property**,¹¹ by John Galsworthy, to reveal patterns in culture that are reflected in the Dominion Express Building.

⁹ Traditional method is exemplified in: Summerson's **The Classical Language of Architecture** (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), and Pevsner's **A History of Building Types** (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

¹⁰ This is the term that Raymond Williams used to mean the cultural analysis of a text. From **The Long Revolution**, 35 -41.

¹¹ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. First published in 1906. The use of the Forsyte Saga, of which **The Man of Property** is the first novel, as a source for developing a cultural context for the Montreal elite was suggested to me by Professor Ellen James.

Beyond Williams's method, there are of interest to me three further precedents how art and culture can be linked and analyzed: feminist-derived inquiry into the function of gender roles and segregation, and professional differentiation; deconstructive examination of the practice of architecture as exemplified in the writing of Dana Cuff; and the revision of meaning through concepts of multiplicity, as suggested by the writing of Michel Foucault.

Feminism has provided many anti-essentialist concepts and deconstructive tools in the analysis of culture. Specifically and recently Beatriz Colomina in **Privacy and Publicity**¹² and Mark Wigley's essay "Untitled: The Housing of Gender" in **Sexuality and Space**¹³ have provided insightful tools and interpretations for a gendered reading of architecture. Feminist-derived method can be applied to uncover the tradition of architecture's usage as gender differentiation in Leone Battista Alberti's seminal **The Ten Books of Architecture**¹⁴ and his lesser known **I Libri Della Famiglia**,¹⁵ and the repetition of those divisions throughout Victorian culture and in the Dominion Express Building.

Gender was so one-sided in the elite culture in Montreal during the turn of the century as to be perceived as a non-issue by dominant discourses. Despite the emergence of the suffrage movement, the public realm continued to be populated largely by men. D. Suzanne Cross wrote that: "At the end of

¹² Cambridge: MIT. Press, 1994.

¹³ Beatriz Colomina, ed. (Princeton: Princeton Papers on Architecture, 1992).

¹⁴ New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986. First published in 1483.

¹⁵ René Neu Watkins, **The Family in Renaissance Florence; a translation of I Libri Della Famiglia by Leon Battista Alberti** (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969). Written *ca.* 1434-43.

the period [19th C.] they [working-class women] constituted an important but docile element in the labour force.”¹⁶ Although the “two spheres” ideology was never fully realized, men and the masculine were thought to dominate every aspect of public life. In the upper classes, the control left to women was somewhat limited.¹⁷ Further, masculine culture so powerfully subverted cultural aspects associated with the feminine that the clashes between the two has to be exposed in the interactions between men. Gender was associated with architectural spaces, forms and concepts, and it was in the treatment of these by architects and businessmen that the dominant understanding of “the feminine” can be exposed.

The Dominion Express Building was a product, reflection and proponent of a particular culture and in the traditional sense an architectural object. The impact that the practice of architecture had on the shape of buildings also has an influence on the meaning of the building – an uncommon view within ‘standard’ architectural analysis. Deconstructive analysis of the architectural field itself, like Dana Cuff’s **Architecture: the Story of Practice**,¹⁸ reveals important aspects of the professional relationships between the client and architect, and the architect and construction trades, that influence design. Certainly this kind of analysis would be impossible without some of the analytical tools provided by cultural studies.

Acknowledging that within the whole of culture, contexts have a

¹⁶ “The Negotiated Majority: the Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal,” in Gilbert A Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise eds., **The Canadian City** (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 325.

¹⁷ Although many significant aspects of culture remained, to a degree, under women’s control. For example: “The contours of social life were cemented around the home tea party.” David F. Ley, “Past Elites and Present Gentry: Neighbourhoods of Privilege in the Inner City,” in Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, **The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities** (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 272.

¹⁸ Dana Cuff, **Architecture: the Story of Practice** (Cambridge: MIT. Press, 1993).

certain degree of autonomy,¹⁹ the study of the Dominion Express Building could be expanded to include numerous other contexts and their corresponding viewpoints. A study of the Dominion Express Building with respect to French-Canadian culture, the suffrage movement, or perhaps the Montreal economy might also contain valid insight into meanings of the building. An interpretation of the building by theory derived from postcolonialism and the possibility of the building being an expression of Canadian architectural style are two issues, though they require further development, that are worthwhile mentioning.²⁰ Moreover, it is not merely the sum of these interpretations that answers the question of the Dominion Express Building's meanings. To counter homogenization and provide for multiplicity and cultural diversity one must admit that:

there exist[s] a whole series of levels of different types of events, which do not have the same range, nor the same chronological breadth, nor the same capacity to produce effects. The problem is to both distinguish the events, differentiate the networks and levels to which they belong, and to reconstitute the threads which make them and give rise to one another.²¹

This study of the Dominion Express Building relies on cultural interpretation to link “levels” and “events,” but the method of uncovering and identifying these is not suggested wholly by cultural analysis. In this case, the most applicable method for sorting out these factors and effects is

¹⁹ Although I may not use this term in the same way that Louis Althusser coined it, my usage of the term owes much to his description of it. From *Essays on Ideology* (London: Verso, 1984). Althusser used autonomy to refer to the isolation that certain ‘levels’ obtained by ideologically differentiating themselves, thus the particular semiotics of a group acted as a kind of insulation from other levels. I extend the concept of autonomy to sub-cultural, and professional, groups.

²⁰ These two issues are presented in Appendix I.

²¹ Michel Foucault in M. Morris and P. Patton eds., *Michel Foucault: Power, Truth, Strategy*

suggested by Michael Baxandall in **Patterns of Intention**.²² In Baxandall's first chapter he discusses the Forth Bridge of 1889, and breaks the analysis into the story of the bridge along a simple timeline: how competition between North-South railway routes required the crossing of the Forth and how an earlier bridge had been constructed, but had collapsed due to wind stress. The new bridge had to be carefully constructed to accommodate all of the natural conditions and required some innovative engineering, involving the adaptation of a Tibetan cantilever model. Once completed, the bridge, designed by Benjamin Baker, was seen as both a success and as an artless monster of modern engineering.

The second section consists of a set of twenty-four individual causal factors, events or influences. This list is created directly from the narrative in the order that each factor, event or influence is encountered. Baxandall then begins to sort the twenty-four into groupings. In sorting the factors, Baxandall demonstrates that certain factors could give rise to new ones and that the factors can be arranged in a variety of thematic groupings. Through the possible overarching themes of interrelation, Baxandall chooses to concentrate on one issue – “how the bridge came to take the form it does.”²³

In the final section of this analysis, Baxandall groups the factors and organizes them in a thematic relationship to answer his question. The key structure he derives for the information is a triangle where the three corners are formed by the Forth bridge itself, the objective task of designing and

(Sydney: Feral Publications, 1979), 33.

²² Michael Baxandall, **Patterns of Intention** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

Baxandall was suggested to me as a source of method for this study by Professor Brian Foss

²³ *Ibid.*, 29.

constructing the bridge and a range of culturally determined possibilities for the form of the bridge. He further problematizes this structure by placing Baker, the engineer, outside of this structure; since we cannot immerse ourselves in the actual process that Baker went through to “alloy” all of the factors. We can only play along the triangle and attempt to make determinations about Baker’s creative process through the circumstances surrounding the process and the bridge itself. Further, Baxandall isolates the actual bridge from the conceptual discussion of factors, its requirement, design and construction, by description. It is after all only through words that the bridge can be aligned with concepts, ideas and conditions.

Baxandall executed his analysis of the bridge to problematize the use of such a system to analyze painting and to demonstrate the reliance of critical practice on description.²⁴ While his model does not provide a ready-fit solution to the methodological issues of this study, it is useful because it provides four benefits. When dealing with structure as complex as the Dominion Express Building where a large number of causal factors, events and influences converge, Baxandall’s method presents the information in a non-restrictive way. A large number of factors were connected by a narrative, maintaining cohesion. The factors, when treated in isolation, were capable of being analyzed at length. Finally, isolated factors were free to be rearranged so that they could be associated and interrelated out of order, and by various themes.

²⁴ In the remainder of *Patterns of Intention* Baxandall analyzes painting, in part using his method from Chapter 1 and also further refining it in application to describe the painter’s milieu.

The structure of this study of the Dominion Express Building roughly follows the structure set out by Baxandall. The body of this study consists of three chapters. In Chapter 1, a brief narrative contains an overview of the issues to be discussed along a coherent timeline. The narrative also introduces the factual details of the Dominion Express Building and provides a detailed description of the key features of the structure. In Chapter 2, the causal factors, events and influences that shaped the building are presented in isolation and with greater depth than in the narrative. (These were chosen by an intuitive process where an understanding of the narrative of the building's development and final form was deconstructed into factors and events.²⁵ As many options as possible were formulated from various contextual viewpoints. The total number of items were researched and evaluated for significance in the development of building's meaning and shape, and then edited. The most significant were left for study and evaluation.) Each division is not equal and some are subdivisions of others. This further deconstruction and rearrangement of factors is required because some factors do not directly relate to the building; sometimes evidence must be linked, indirectly. In Chapter 3, the factors are evaluated and the analysis of social influences moves beyond a Baxandallian structure. The cultural context is divided into three thematic relationships: the function of architecture; order, decoration and purity in Neoclassical architecture; and the

²⁵ It should be noted that a thorough search of the C.A.C., home of the Maxwell's office collection and library, was made and many leads that turned out to be dead ends were followed and double-checked to eliminate the possible error of missing crucial bodies of evidence. (Apparently, the C.C.A. has no material pertaining to the building.) All of the drawings pertaining to the proposal and the project were catalogued and this information is presented in Appendix II. I also checked all of the folders marked as containing plans for the Dominion Express Company as well as personal projects for Stout and Shaughnessy and for the C.P.R. in

position of the architect. Through these themes the building is discussed in terms of the culturally produced object, reflective of culture's structure and in turn supporting the ideological constructs of culture. In the Conclusion, the result of this process provides an answer to the initial question as to the meanings of the Dominion Express Building; and it is not forced to cohere to one over-arching theme, but is left as a conglomerate of interrelated and separate contextual sub-meanings.

case the archive guide contained errors. Much that could have been helpful apparently no longer exists.

Chapter 1: Narrative.

The goal of this chapter is to create a narrative: the story of the Dominion Express Building. The relation of factual evidence along a timeline has the advantage of rooting the often complicated series of events that led to the construction of the building in a stable, if incomplete, foundation. This narrative is assembled around facts, directly supported by documentation, and will endeavour to avoid the construction of context, which will be the subject of the following chapter. However, one must acknowledge that these facts are not incontrovertible.

The Dominion Express Building (Figure 2) was the result of the patrons' desire, the architects' design and the contractors' execution, although the role of the contractors, as the actual builders, focused on executing the plans of the architect. This action, often considered entirely passive, had little direct influence on the shape of the building.¹ The major players in the Dominion Express project can be identified. Brothers, Edward and William Sutherland Maxwell were the architects. The Dominion Express Company² was a subsidiary of the C.P.R. and the immediate patrons of the building were the presidents of the two companies, William S. Stout and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, respectively. The impetus for the creation of the building lay with these two men. Correspondence, in the form of letters and telegrams between the Maxwells, Stout and Shaughnessy, exists in the Shaughnessy

¹ The influence of the construction trade on architecture is subtle and complicated and will be discussed in Chapter 2.

² According to **Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures** (Toronto: Canadian Pacific Foundation Library, 1977), the Dominion Express Company was incorporated in 1873 in Winnipeg as an express company. In 1882, when the C.P.R. was incorporated, it became the parent company of Dominion Express and William Van Horne as the C.P.R. general manager appointed W.S. Stout as superintendent. In 1884, the Dominion Express Company head office moved to Toronto where it remained until becoming Canadian Pacific Express on 1 September, 1926.

Letter Register (RG2) at the Canadian Pacific Archives (C.P.A.). Further, this documentation supports the claim that these men made most of the decisions in the project.

In late 1906, in a series of letters between Shaughnessy and Stout, the desire for new offices for the Dominion Express Company was put into words.³ Though documentation of the discussion is incomplete and the letters do not represent a full discussion of the project development, two key points regarding the appropriation of new property for the company can be discerned from the letters: the importance of strategic location with regard to the Canadian Express Company offices and the preparedness of Dominion Express to expand.

The Dominion Express Company already possessed offices on James Street. Shaughnessy and Stout, aware of the prominence of the new Canadian Express Building⁴ (Figure 3) on McGill Street, sought to counteract it with a new edifice of their own. However, according to letters dated 20 and 21 December 1906, a suitable location seemed unavailable, and Stout had doubts as to the quantity of money he would be able to raise for a new building.⁵

³ RG2, Letters 1 through 4, Appendix III.

⁴ According to *Les Hôtels, Les Immeubles de Bureaux* (Montréal: Communauté Urbaine de Montréal, 1983) the Canadian Express building was owned by the Canadian Express Company, an independent firm that in function paralleled the American Express Company – although it is apparent from articles dated March, June and November 1908 in *The Railway and Marine World* describing the newly completed building that the Canadian Express Company was allied with the Grand Trunk Railway (G.T.R.). The Dominion Express Company provided a similar range of services: money orders, express parcel delivery and later telegraphs and money wiring.

⁵ See Appendix III, Letters #3 & 4.

On 7 May, 1907, the C.P.R. acquired St. Lawrence Hall from the executors of the estate of Henry Hogan.⁶ What was to be the future location of the Dominion Express Building was located just steps from Place d'Armes, in the heart of Old Montreal. St. Lawrence Hall was an important hotel and had long been the stopping place for prominent business and government officials.⁷ In the Board of Trade **Illustrated Edition of Montreal** of 1909, the hotel is visible in a photograph of St. James Street looking west from Place d'Armes. The caption reads: "The Financial and commercial centre of Montreal."⁸ The hotel was auspiciously located, situated across St. François Xavier Street from the General Post Office which was adjacent to the original Bank of Montreal building.

When St. Lawrence Hall was acquired by the C.P.R., the company had a ticket office on the premises. The Dominion Express company maintained other offices down St. James St. from the hotel and the acquisition of the property appeared to serve the goal of enlarging the C.P.R.'s prestigious hotel operations. However, it would take some time before the idea of constructing on the site became a reality.

In the drawings for the Dominion Express Company in the Maxwell Archive (M.A.) there exists evidence of the company's increased need for expansion: proposals for three new buildings, two that were never constructed. In 1898, the Maxwell firm constructed a new stable for

⁶ From C.P.A. internal document concerning the purchase of the property at 201-215 St. James Street. Henry Hogan was the owner of St. Lawrence Hall.

⁷ From the **Illustrated Edition of Montreal** (Montreal: The Trade Review Publishing Co., 1909) of 1909; elsewhere it only appears in name.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

Dominion Express on Latour Street in the St. Antoine Ward.⁹ Though the building no longer exists, the presence of contractors' signatures on the drawings indicate that it was completed.¹⁰ The three-storey stone structure was soon outgrown and the Maxwells were commissioned to design a number of additions. In February 1908, the Maxwells designed a proposal for a six-storey office building and stables on the property adjacent to the 1898 edifice (Figure 4).¹¹ This structure almost certainly was not constructed.¹²

In letters dated 27 and 30 July 1908, Shaughnessy and Stout discussed repair work and leasing arrangements for the tenants at St. Lawrence Hall. The contents of the letters make it clear that the solution to these problems did not have to be long-term. Within less than one year, the Maxwells had prepared proposals for a new building at the location of St. Lawrence Hall. According to **The World**, March 1909, this building would at least contain space for the Dominion Express Company:

A press report from Montreal states that the C.P.R. contemplates the erection of a ten-storey office building to cover the whole site of St. Lawrence Hall, in which the city ticket office is now located. The building would provide accommodation for the C.P.R. city offices, the Dominion Express Co. and other interests allied with the C.P.R.¹³

Such plans for a "Dominion Express" building seem not to have been accepted immediately. **The World** reported in January 1910 that the C.P.R.

⁹ Located where Place Bonaventure is now.

¹⁰ I have no corroboration that this was the standard method of assigning or finalizing contracts at the time. However, the presence of architect, patron and contractor signatures on working drawings of buildings known to be completed compares with the lack of signatures on proposals and un-constructed buildings.

¹¹ See Appendix II, CAC drawing #s 122b019-023.

¹² The evidence that suggests that this building was never constructed is the lack of finished, signed drawings and plans for a different stable extension dated 9 March, 1911 that does not show an additional structure. See Figure 5, CAC, Folder 121g6, drawing # 121a040.

¹³ **The World** (March 1909), 181.

might in fact build a new hotel on the site.¹⁴ Proposal drawings for what was eventually to become the Dominion Express Building echo the articles in the magazine. It would appear that the Maxwells initially designed a ten-storey hotel on the site of St. Lawrence Hall. Though they are not dated, drawings (see Appendix II, drawing 121a013) show pencil markings over the ink, and in some cases blueprints, that present the equation bedrooms plus bathrooms equal offices, and imply that the hotel scheme pre-dates the office structure. The first proposals for an office building design are dated 6 December, 1909. Until 9 May 1910, the Maxwells produced no less than seven variations of an office building theme for the site (see Figure 6, for example).¹⁵

Although the property was not officially purchased by the Dominion Express Company from the C.P.R. until 19 July, 1910,¹⁶ **The World** was reporting news of the company's plans for the site in the "Among the Express Companies" section as early as March of that year.¹⁷ Two important items were explicitly mentioned in the article: the plans for future use of the site were still in the hands of the architect, and it was still not clear whether or not a hotel would be included.¹⁸ The article also contained the information

¹⁴ **The World** (January 1910), 37.

¹⁵ See also Appendix I.

¹⁶ As per an internal C.P.R. memo to Judith Nefsky, CPA. Cost not available.

¹⁷ **The World** (March 1910), 221. **The World** articles announcing developments for the new building referred to the Maxwells as "the company's architects." Yet, the March 1910 **Contract Record** stated that the Maxwells had won the commission for the Dominion Express Building through a competition with five other firms. Either **Contract Record** is incorrect or although the firm had completed the preparatory work for two abandoned projects, the offices on Latour and the proposed hotel, the patrons still required the firm to compete for the job.

¹⁸ At the time of publication, the Maxwells were working on the fifth in a series of office building proposals. The discrepancy between the facts of the Maxwells' work and the industrial relation statements of the C.P.R. could be interpreted three ways: i) the destruction and lack of replacement of a supposedly important hotel was sensitive; ii) the management was

that the project would commence in the spring and that St. Lawrence Hall would be pulled down.

Specific dates for events in the construction of the Dominion Express Building exist in the M.A. and RG2. The earliest extant construction drawing held in the M.A., number 49, "Footing and Basement Wall Details Showing Steel Re-enforcements," dated 2 June 1910, bears the signature of P. Lyall & Sons. It is probable that the 48 drawings¹⁹ missing from the records were produced some-time prior to 2 June and after 9 May, the date of the last proposal drawing. In July 1910, Stout stated that the plans for the building had not been completed and that demolition of the hotel was being held over.

²⁰ The demolition of St. Lawrence Hall began sometime between 15 August and 25 October,²¹ the dates of three drawings referring directly to the process. The St. Lawrence Hall continued to operate, in a much reduced capacity, at the corner of St. François Xavier and Craig Streets, across Fortification Lane from the Dominion Express Building. A covered bridge connected the two buildings at the level of St. James Street. The land slopes down from St. James St. to Craig St., enough so that the second floor of the remainder of St. Lawrence Hall was at the ground floor level of the Dominion Express Building. The Maxwells made some minor renovations to the remaining St. Lawrence Hall at approximately the same time they built the Dominion Express Building and the bridge joining the two structures. Thus the Dominion Express Building did not use the entire site of St. Lawrence Hall.

not certain what it wanted; or iii) upper management preferred to keep lower management in the dark as to the true plans of the company.

¹⁹ The Maxwell firm numbered the drawings for each project consecutively. Each project started with #1 in the projects I observed.

²⁰ "Among the Express Companies" *The World* (July 1910), 581.

²¹ Drawings #91, 92 & 10; 121a047, 121a048, 121a050, respectively; Appendix II.

The "Among the Express Companies" column of August 1910, relayed the news that the demolition of the hotel had commenced and that the contractor for the \$ 700,000 project would be P. Lyall and Sons. Also included in the article was the news that it was "expected that the structural steel work, and the granite construction of the first story will be completed this year."²² Demolition of the hotel must have been completed before 10 November, the date of a series of drawings delineating the subterranean structure of the site derived from a set of core samples.²³

The plans for the Dominion Express Building totaled more than 430 drawings, of which at least 320 were produced after the beginning of construction in the second week of December 1910. Most of these drawings were for interior finishing details; many of the offices were rented out to separate businesses, most businesses desired custom changes in their office plans. Each of these tenants became the patron of a secondary project, the Maxwell firm redesigning office and commercial spaces on every floor of the building. The final details of the building were thus under constant change while the building was being constructed. Under these conditions, floor plan revisions were not uncommon; some drawings show changes to exterior and interior finishing. The Montreal Club²⁴ and the basement restaurant each went through no less than three major design alterations during construction.

²² *The World* (August 1910), 675.

²³ Drawings # 108 & 109; 121a051 and 121a053, respectively; Appendix II.

²⁴ The Montreal Club was a private dining establishment, apparently accessible by the elite of the city. I have been unable to find any further information on the establishment. Julia Gersovitz author of "The Square Mile, Montreal 1860-1914," (Ph.D. Thesis, Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, Columbia University, 1980) fails to mention the Club despite the fact that many of the Maxwells' patrons and the building's tenants were members of the inner circles of the "Square Mile."

The construction process did not proceed entirely smoothly. Disputes and delays with contractors and design problems between the Maxwells and the patrons occurred frequently. It was commonplace for articles published in support of the project to be unrealistically optimistic. For example, in the February 1911 issue of **The World**,²⁵ it was noted, at the end of an extensive article describing the project, that the caissons were still being sunk, and that it was expected that the building should be ready for occupation by 1 April 1912. A sanguine statement considering that on 30 May 1911, H.W. Beauclerk from the Montreal Board of Trade reported to Shaughnessy²⁶ that the building was drastically behind schedule. Shaughnessy asked the Maxwells to investigate the delays. The Maxwells reported that Beauclerk had under-reported the progress of the construction; the building was behind schedule, but the fourth floor was completed and structural steel work had begun on the top floors. Disputes between P. Lyall & Sons, the Foundation Co. and the Structural Steel Co. were the reasons for the delay. The Maxwells assured Shaughnessy that things had been smoothed over and that by 31 May granite work could begin on the main floor.²⁷

Although the article in the February 1911 issue of **The World** proclaimed that the "entire structure [of the Dominion Express Building] will give the impression of dignity and refinement," Shaughnessy had quite the opposite reaction to the nearly finished product. On 19 July 1911, he wrote to the Maxwells that he "was very much disappointed, indeed disgusted"²⁸ with

²⁵ "Dominion Express Co's. Montreal Building," 157.

²⁶ RG2, letter # 17, see Appendix III.

²⁷ RG2, letter # 19, see Appendix III.

²⁸ In RG2, letter number 25, see Appendix III

the terra-cotta exterior of the Dominion Express Building.²⁹ Shaughnessy further criticized the exterior, stating that when completed, the figured terra-cotta would detract from the beauty and dignity of the building; he likened its appearance to that of a confectionery shop. It is notable, and will be discussed later in this thesis, that there is no evidence that significant changes were initiated by this rebuke.

The next obstacle in the completion of the Dominion Express Building occurred in early fall, 1911. In a series of six letters between 7 and 9 October, Stout, Shaughnessy and the Maxwells deliberated the virtues of the ventilation scheme the architects had designed. Shaughnessy and Stout found that the Maxwells' system allowed a minimum clearance of only eight feet three inches in the hallways; apparently this was too low. Despite the Maxwells' efforts to persuade the patrons otherwise by providing an explanatory sketch (Figure 8), seeking confirmation of the scheme by Nygren, Tenny and Ohmers (the best New York firm of ventilating engineers) and offering to "have a bay of the corridor furred for inspection,"³⁰ the patrons ordered the plan to be dropped. Shaughnessy thought it best to have the ventilation system omitted rather than "destroy" the building. Stout, having sought his own solution to the problem in Chicago, decided to demand elimination of the original scheme and "instructed" the architects to replace it with "a simple and inexpensive window device."³¹

Another dispute between the patrons and architects, this one apparently concerning the decoration of the facade, soon followed. In a series

²⁹ Shaughnessy had likely seen the building incomplete, with a portion of the terra-cotta in place (Figure 7) when he made this comment.

³⁰ RG2, Letter # 33, Appendix III.

³¹ RG2, Letter # 32, Appendix III.

of three telegrams dated 15 and 16 November 1911, Stout and Shaughnessy discussed the necessity of the architects' figurative cartouches. Shaughnessy first wrote to Stout:

Do not think that you should allow architect to put those two slabs^[32] on the front of your building as discussed between you and Mr. Ellingwood yesterday. They would certainly destroy two or possibly four rooms and I do not see the advantage from a practical stand-point. What do you think yourself?³³

Stout replied that the original design of the cartouches obstructed sixty percent of the light coming through the three windows on the second floor corner offices. He had told the architects that it was an unacceptable blockage and he should either reduce the cartouche so that it shut off only a sixth of the light or remove the carvings. Stout remarked that he "attached little importance" to the feature but out of regard for the architects' feelings, and: "in view of the amount of work and thought he has given the matter I concluded it would be but fair to let him finish the figure on the west side and if found objectionable to then take out both slabs."³⁴

Shaughnessy approved of Stout's method of handling the problem.³⁵ Evidence of the reduction of the cartouche size in the set of plans is poorly documented. The original drawing for Plan #127, "Cartouche over St. James St. Entrance," an undated blueprint, does not exist. Fit into the sequence of drawing production it should have been dated April or May 1911, some six months prior to the above dispute. However, the cartouche, perhaps as it was originally designed, can be observed in Plan # 61, "St. James St. Elevation"

³² I interpret the two slabs to be the decorative cartouches over the doorways on the St. James St. facade as seen in Figure 9.

³³ Letter # 34, RG2; Appendix III.

³⁴ Letter # 35, RG2; Appendix III.

³⁵ Shaughnessy's reply was simply "All right." Letter # 36, RG2; Appendix III.

(Figure 9). Comparison of Figure 9 with Figure 2 shows that the cartouche and figure assembly over the two corner bays may have in fact been reduced in size from the original plans.

By 9 March 1912, Stout, concerned that the building would not be completed by 1 May, wrote a letter to Shaughnessy.³⁶ Evidently P. Lyall & Sons had made promises to Stout regarding completion dates and the Maxwells had told Stout they doubted the contractor would be able to meet those dates. When Shaughnessy investigated the problem he found that relations between the Maxwells and P. Lyall & Sons had become strained. The two parties blamed each other for delays in a series of letters dated between 9 March and 16 March 1912.³⁷ The contractor blamed the architects for not furnishing plans and ordering materials on time, while the architects claimed that the delays had been caused by the contractor not having commenced work on time, and not applying enough men to the task. They also stated that they had had to make a large number of late changes to individual offices. Analysis of the drawings in the M.A. supports the latter part of the architects' claims; they were still designing office layouts in March of 1912.

According to Stout, Dominion Express agents had to be moved into their new premises by 1 May, also the date that many of the commercial tenants' leases began.³⁸ In a letter dated 25 March 1912, Stout began making

³⁶ Letter # 37, RG2: Appendix III.

³⁷ Letters # 38, 39 & 41, RG2: Appendix III.

³⁸ Advertisements for the Crown Trust Company and the Montreal Securities Corporation indicate that as of 1 May they would be in "new more commodious offices" in the Dominion Express Building. *The Gazette Montreal* (30 April 1912).

plans for temporarily housing Express offices elsewhere;³⁹ however, it is probable that the building was ready for occupation by 1 May as there is no indication of further delays or complaints. While the building was filling up, the Maxwells' job continued; no less than 30 plans were drawn up for last-minute changes, alterations and additions between May and November. In the November edition of **Construction**, the Dominion Express Building was the focus of a nine-page article.⁴⁰ By the time the article appeared, the building was substantially complete. Photographs show the edifice with apparently everything in place, although some work continued.⁴¹ The final plan for the Dominion Express Building in the M.A. is dated 30 June 1922. No less than fifteen alterations and additions were completed after the publication of the November 1912 article, but these were minor alterations and finishing details (e.g.: the alteration of the flagpole design).

The end result of this process was the Dominion Express Building, a ten-story office building. The skeleton of the building, fashioned from cement and masonry-encased steel girders, formed a basic lattice to which the various floor, room and corridor dividers were fixed. In 1912, this type of structure was considered to be the highest achievement of modern efficiency and safety. It offered flexibility of usage, a maximization of window surface, strength and fire resistance. The exterior of the building, too, in white-glazed terra-cotta and carved granite, was considered to be the height of fashion and practicality.

³⁹ RG2, Letter # 45, Appendix III.

⁴⁰ Nine pages was certainly longer than average for articles dedicated to new buildings in **Construction**, and thus indicated a certain degree of interest in the structure.

⁴¹ Careful scrutiny of a photograph of the building dated 1915 (Figure 2), shows that the balcony railings were still not in place on the roof.

The facade reflected the interior organization and structure of the building, a quality considered to be a modern development of the new architectural "truth." The St. James St. facade was seven bays wide, with the corner bays receiving emphasis. This was achieved by augmenting the pilasters that framed the corner bays with imitation channeled quoins. The basement, main and first floors were decorated with granite, symbolizing the different structural function of the "base" of the building and the different interior organization of those floors, designed around public access. A pair of elegant cartouches framed by dual *haut* relief life-size statues, and a frieze with the words "DOMINION EXPRESS COMPANY" in stone enhanced the division between the "base" and the upper floors. The middle seven floors, or "shaft," of the building, subtly decorated and oriented to emphasize verticality by running continuous pilasters and reducing the size and solidity of the lintels with decoration, housed private offices.⁴² Topping the building, on the ninth floor, mezzanine and roof pergola, the "capital," differentiated with delicate relief spandrels, foliated swags, balcony and large segment-head windows, was the Montreal Club, with its superb view of Montreal and the St. Lawrence.

On the exterior, decorative motifs were simplified versions of typical classical ornamentation, reduced to a limited variety; they were modulated in handling and size instead of type. Foliage surrounding a lozenge or roundel was most common, a motif which was varied over and over again. Often, the lozenge was nearly transformed into a cartouche or plaque. Only six pseudo-coats of arms were executed on the St. James St. facade, four of them being the stylized initials D. E. C. The other two, in the form of bronze

⁴² Above the second floor, the building had a slightly 'C' shaped plan.

shields between the four figures on the facade, sat over the west and east corner bays at the level of the second floor, the upper limit of the granite work. These shields had the amalgamated coats of arms of the provinces of Canada on their surface. The overall feeling of the decorative scheme was neoclassical; but closer inspection suggests Art Nouveau influenced styling with motifs derived from neoclassicism as well as rosettes, acanthus leaf, and festoons treated in a reduced, geometric manner.

The interior of the building followed more traditional lines. The restaurant in the basement had red tile floors and plenty of dark stained mahogany. Heavy, ornamented piers and a large carved plaster grill and mantle were clearly derived from the Romanesque revival style (Figure 10). The main-floor offices, clad in white and green marble, dark mahogany, and opalite glass, had bronze fixtures. This scheme was carried into the hallways and entrance hall, where large panels of figured marble ran to the ceiling (Figure 11). There was a degree of variation in the private offices where tenants could express their personal tastes.⁴³ The highest degree of opulence was saved for the Montreal Club on the ninth floor and for the Mezzanine: dark oak walls with old tapestry panels, Persian rugs, carved plaster ceilings with festoons, fruit and leaf motifs, and oak furniture upholstered in green leather (see Figures 12 & 13). Throughout the building a classical pattern is followed with the decoration: mitred bases, dados, columns, pilasters, cornices, dentils, fluting, swags, capitals and friezes.⁴⁴

⁴³ This is explicit in the plans. Drawings like # 218, 122a156, entitled "Det.s of the St. Lawrence Sugar Ref. Office N.E. end of Sixth Floor" demonstrate the extent of custom interior design.

⁴⁴ Some of this information was taken from the articles in **Construction** and **The World** that commemorated the completion of the building, that included lengthy descriptions of the interior.

The warm reception that the completed Dominion Express Building received from the press overshadowed the problems of the construction. It was viewed as a sign of the times: times in which older landmarks were being replaced by “gigantic” steel-framed office towers. These new structures were hailed for their modernity and safety. Simply stated, the building was seen to be “a dignified expression of the fundamental principles of sound and reasonable construction.”⁴⁵ Further testament to the success of the edifice was its use in advertising. Companies like J. & J. Taylor Safeworks and Otis Fensom Elevator Company (Figure 14) featured the building in their advertisements to ally their product with what was considered notable, modern and reliable architecture.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Construction* (November 1912), 54.

⁴⁶ The advertisements were placed in *Construction* (November 1912).

Chapter 2: The Breakdown of Causal Factors and Events.

In the previous chapter, the narrative of the Dominion Express Building's *naissance* was described without relating the events to their necessary circumstances. The focus of this chapter is the creation of immediate contexts for the events of the narrative. Certain factors highlight issues that require significant cultural investigation and will be expanded in the next chapter. The process of contextualization is achieved by dividing the narrative into simple events or facts, re-organizing these into broader categories and then describing each within its respective context.

The factors or events of influence, as I have selected them, are:

- 1) the role of the contractors.
- 2) the Dominion Express Company's need for more office space.
- 3) the competition between Dominion Express and the Canadian Express Company.
- 4) the financial capability of the company.
- 5) the C.P.R.'s policy of expansion.
- 6) the prestige of St. Lawrence Hall.
- 7) the decision to build on the site.
- 8) the ability of the design to evolve from hotel to office tower.
- 9) the delays in starting the construction.
- 10) the overlap of the design and construction process.
- 11) the large number of design changes.
- 12) the disputes between the Maxwells and Peter Lyall & Sons.
- 13) the disapproval, expressed by Shaughnessy, of the exterior.
- 14) the lack of plans that reflect changes.
- 15) the patrons' disapproval of the ventilation system.
- 16) the patrons' disapproval of the cartouches.
- 17) the second dispute between the architects and contractors.
- 18) the duration of the project.
- 19) the design of the building.
- 20) the difference between the exterior and interior decoration of the building.
- 21) the continued relationship between the Maxwells and the patrons.

These twenty-one factors can be re-organized under three general headings: A) economic, B) cultural and C) architectural. Grouping these

factors will aid in discussing them and in thematically connecting them in the next chapter. Arranged under these general divisions, factors 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 are economic, 6, 13, 15, 16 and 21 are cultural and 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19 and 20 are architectural. Under the general headings, the twenty-one individual factors will be arranged into eight subsections: A: The economic context of Canada and the Dominion Express Company, B1: The importance of the site, B2: The patrons' relationship with the architects, B3: the patron's vision of the building, C1: The architectural process, C2: The design of the building, C3: The large number of design changes and C4: The difference between the interior and exterior of the building.

A: The economic context of Canada and the Dominion Express Company.

The Dominion Express Company and the C.P.R. were part of the larger economic context of Canada. The competition between Dominion Express and the Canadian Express Company (factor 3), which motivated Stout to seek to visibly surpass his rival and the C.P.R.'s policy of expansion (factor 5), which was part of a broader movement of expansion within Canadian companies, were essential parts of the economic context that made the Dominion Express Building possible.

Canada experienced vast growth during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1881 and 1921, Canada's urban population soared from 1.1 million to 4.3 million people and whereas in 1881 only 25% of the population was urban by 1921, the proportion had escalated by 50%.¹ The infra-structures initiated by the federal government during the era of Sir John

¹ Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 435.

A. MacDonald (1867 -70 and 1875 -96) came to fruition during Sir Wilfrid Laurier's term as Prime Minister (1896 -1911). The expansion that Canada experienced after the world-wide economic recession of the early 1890s signaled the arrival of a period of great hope and anxiety. In 1903, Laurier urged the expansion of the Grand Trunk Pacific (G.T.P.):

We cannot wait, because time does not wait; we cannot wait because these days of wonderful development, time lost is doubly lost; we cannot wait, because at this moment there is a transformation going on in the conditions of our national life which it would be folly to ignore and a crime to overlook.²

The reasons for Canada's unprecedented growth were manifold. As the Western world was coming out of the recession, its population, economy and resource requirements grew. By default, Canada became the prime destination for European immigration – by 1896, American public land was closed to settlement – and the railroad, in combination with rising wheat prices and the perfection of dry farming techniques, opened Canada's prairies to farmers.³ The migration to the Canadian prairies was enhanced by Liberal policies. The Minister of Trade, Clifford Sifton, created the North Atlantic Trading Company, which advertised Canada's virtues as an emigration destination throughout Europe, as well as assisting in the transport of immigrants to their new homes.⁴ The rapid development of the prairies was made possible by the completion of the C.P.R.'s transcontinental line, achieved through government land grants and loans, and built on the

² From Marr and Patterson, *Canada an Economic History* (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1980), 326.

³ *Ibid.*, 173-5. Canada's West became "the last, best West." Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994), 138.

⁴ The N.A.T.C.'s enticement of emigration out of European countries was more often than not, illegal. See Donna MacDonald, *Lord Strathcona: A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996), 249-78

promise of future profits resulting from the increased demand for rail transport.⁵ The railway was also the fulfillment of the Confederation's promises made to Western Canada. With the railway in place, the Liberal government favoured maintaining the National Policy tariffs of previous conservative governments as a way of ensuring that the increased demand for manufactured goods was quenched by Eastern Canadian manufactures.

Many companies and cities grew exponentially during the first decades of Canada's nationhood. Transportation concerns like the C.P.R. Company and the Canadian Northern Railway Company (C.N.R.) benefited greatly from Canada's booming West and diversified early on, with respective express companies among a myriad of other services. Companies like the C.P.R. grew increasingly dominant. Shaughnessy pushed aggressively to solidify the Company's position as the premier transportation operation in the country. In 1909, in "A Great Purchasing Railway," Sir Thomas bragged to the reader of **Railway and Marine World** of the great advances made by the C.P.R.:

In the six years, 1902 to 1908, there was an increase in your equipment of 659 locomotives, 842 sleeping cars and day coaches, and 25,190 freight cars at an approximate cost of \$37,000,000. This is the equivalent to one locomotive every three working days, one passenger car every two days, and 14 freight cars each day during the entire six years, and yet the prospects are that within the next six weeks the demand will be in excess of the supply of freight cars.⁶

Shaughnessy persuaded the directors to allocate more funding for capital purchases for all kinds of expansion and services. More money was needed because, to use Shaughnessy's words, "in providing these [enlarged accommodations and greater facilities], large sums of money are quickly

⁵ McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 249-78.

⁶ "A Great Purchasing Railway," *The World* (March, 1909), 199.

absorbed.”⁷ This meant that new C.P.R. hotels and services were costly to develop, but by creating an umbrella of Company services more money could be collected. The economy of the C.P.R., like that of many of Montreal’s elite businesses, had shifted from new-found wealth based on manufacturing, to wealth increased through investment and financing other business endeavors. The structure of the Canadian elite culture assisted in this rapid development. The Square Mile in Montreal was populated by a group that could claim equivalency of income and heritage⁸, and membership in the community assured excellent business and political connections.⁹

Within the rapid growth of the Canadian economy at large, companies like Dominion Express fared well. Factors # 2, the Company’s need for more office space, # 4, the financial capability of the Company, and # 7, the decision to build on the site, relate directly to the economic context and financial direction of the Dominion Express Company. In 1873 the company was incorporated as a parcel forwarding service. In 1882, the Dominion Express came under the control of Shaughnessy’s predecessor, William Van Horne, who, during his first year as General Manager of the C.P.R. Company appointed W.S. Stout as superintendent. Under their direction, Dominion Express developed an efficient forwarding system that anticipated the multi-modal freight concept in use today, where parcels were grouped at

⁷ *The World* (1909), 199.

⁸ According to the 1901 Westmount census, 88% of the population claimed British descentance or birth. D.F. Ley, “Past Elites and Present Gentry: Neighbourhoods of Privilege in the Inner City,” in Bourne, Larry S. and Ley, David F, *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 214-33.

⁹ For example, H.B. Abbot, brother of Sir John Abbot, was a resident of the Square Mile. He started his career as a C.P.R. lawyer, went on to become the Dean of Law at McGill, Mayor of Montreal and Prime Minister of Canada (1891-92). McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 253-60.

distribution centres, sent *en masse* by rail and then distributed by wagon and cart.¹⁰ Following the steady expansion of the C.P.R. the express company grew in size. Stout's position rose accordingly. He received the title of vice president in 1899, and became President of the Dominion Express Company in 1903.¹¹

Under Van Horne and then Shaughnessy the explicit corporate policy of the C.P.R. was growth through diversification. The railway had succeeded in establishing its business in the late nineteenth century to such a degree that it could aggressively pursue new investments outside the industry. The express branch was one of these diversifying investments. Towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the Dominion Express Company, flourishing under the financial umbrella of the Bank of Montreal and the C.P.R., began to mimic its parent company and seek investments as well. The commercial skyscraper was an investment that served its needs.

By 1910, the Dominion Express Company was by far the largest parcel service in the country. That year the Company's gross earnings were approximately half of the \$ 9.9 million of revenue created in the parcel delivery service in Canada.¹² Half of those earnings were paid out in rail usage fees, reducing the company's budget to approximately \$ 2.5 million. At \$700,000, the financial reality of the construction project for the Dominion Express Building was that Stout probably could not have built it without some assistance. That Stout was willing to take such risks demonstrates the level of optimism and audacity felt by the Dominion Express Company. It

¹⁰ Lemire, in *The Architecture of ...*, 81-83.

¹¹ See *Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures*, 190-91.

¹² *The World*, 191.

also explains why the building was designed not as a hotel or a pure office building, but primarily as a rented building where the leases would generate steady and immediate revenue — the income from which during Montreal's rental boom, *ca.* 1910, was growing at an impressive rate.¹³ The lavishness of the Dominion Express Building served two purposes: inviting renters and demonstrating the ostentatious financial capabilities of the new success. Once constructed, the building was considered "one of the most modern office structures"¹⁴ of its day, its offices were rented before the structure was completed, and the company continued to flourish.¹⁵

B1: The importance of the site.

St. Lawrence Hall, by 1910 an *ad hoc* structure that had grown over decades, was significant for a number of reasons. A picture of the hotel is placed prominently in the Montreal Board of Trade's **Illustrated Edition of Montreal**, 1909, with the following caption:

The oldest important hotel in the City, for many generations the stopping-place of the most immanent [sic] people of Canada. Now the only large downtown hotel, containing 400 rooms, popular with commercial businessmen because of its convenient location. The cuisine is one of the best in the city.¹⁶

The Hotel was apparently an important part of the business community, and the demolition and replacement of the edifice must have

¹³ Marr and Patterson, **Canada** (Toronto: Gage, 1980), 239-64.

¹⁴ "The Dominion Express Building, Montreal, Que." **Construction** (November 1911),47.

¹⁵ It was eventually renamed Canadian Pacific Express on the first of September 1926. According to **Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures** (Toronto: Canadian Pacific Foundation Library, 1946), 203. Canadian Pacific Express continued to operate out of Toronto as a company owned by Canadian Pacific but under separate management.

¹⁶ **Illustrated Edition of Montreal**, 39.

been a startling change.¹⁷ Shaughnessy and Stout, perhaps initially sensitive to the importance of the hotel as a landmark, intended to keep the hotel operation in the new building. Thus, the first set proposals were for a hotel and the final office building plan did not cover the whole area of the St. Lawrence Hall. In the Dominion Express Building, the lease of the basement restaurant was held by the restaurant proprietor of the old Hotel.

The site of the old Hotel was important for its proximity to a number of key structures. Members of the board of the Bank of Montreal, the oldest bank in Canada and at the time the most dominant, sat on the board of the C.P.R. and on the Montreal Board of Trade. The first branch and head office of the Bank of Montreal consisted of two buildings east of St. Lawrence Hall, and the private dining club for the members of the Board of Trade was the Montreal Club, which the Dominion Express Building was designed to house.

B2: The patrons' relationship with the architects.

The Dominion Express project highlights a sequence of interesting facts regarding the relationship between the Maxwells and the patrons. While the patrons' view of the building and their relationship with the architects were interconnected, it can be argued that the latter was a separate issue. Edward and William S. Maxwell were partners in Montreal's premier architectural firm. The brothers were born insiders to the English-speaking upper-class and when established as architects, readily received contracts from their social

¹⁷ The importance of St. Lawrence Hall is emphasized by Lorenzo Prince, Charles Gordonsmith, Ben Deacon and Max Marcy eds., **Montreal Old and New** (Montreal: International Press Syndicate, ca. 1914) and is mentioned in places such as **The Gazette** and in E. Guillet **Pioneer Inns and Taverns** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958).

brethren. The architectural firm constructed no less than fifty mansions¹⁸ within the boundary of the "Square Mile" and it was not uncommon for the firm to receive commercial commissions from the patrons of their residential contracts and *vice versa*.

The Maxwells interaction with the C.P.R. and its directors (see C2, below), demonstrates that it was Edward's close association with the C.P.R. that eventually brought him into contact with the Dominion Express Company. The firm was repeatedly hired for numerous Dominion Express commissions in the same way that they had been hired by the C.P.R. An example of the closeness of Edward Maxwell and Shaughnessy is provided by a letter of 1907, in which Shaughnessy wrote to the Honorable L. B. Brodeur, Minister of Maritime Fisheries in Ottawa, that the Maxwells' proposals for a pair of government buildings had "been recognized as the best." As the Minister was considering the initiation of the project, Shaughnessy hoped that the Maxwells were indeed hired and recommended the firm as "most satisfactory from every standpoint."¹⁹ What makes this letter interesting, beyond urging tone of Shaughnessy's language, is that Edward requested the letter from Shaughnessy as a favour — to ensure that his firm got the job. In 1907, "Dear Sir Thomas" and "Dear Maxwell" were on very good terms.

However, the Dominion Express project itself brought the two closely-knit parties to confrontation on the three occasions (see B3 below). Stout

¹⁸ Murray, Irena, ed. **Edward and William S. Maxwell; A Guide to the Archives** (Montréal: McGill University, 1986), France Gagnon-Pratte's **Country Houses for Montrealers, 1892-1924: the architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell** (1987), Sweeny's article in **The Architecture**, and Lemire's unpublished **The Architecture of Edward and William S. Maxwell in Montreal's Square Mile** (Montreal: C.A.C., n.d.), all reinforce the importance that social relationships played in the Maxwells' practice, especially concerning their commissions for house and country house designs.

¹⁹ RG2, Letter # 5, Appendix III.

went as far as to write in a letter to Shaughnessy that the Maxwells had made “many mistakes” during the project, though he later crossed out “many” with a pen and replaced it with “some.”²⁰

These events problematize the relationship between the C.P.R. and the Maxwells.²¹ The Maxwell firm received important commissions from the company despite growing concern with the firm’s performance on the Dominion Express project. The Palliser Hotel in Calgary was awarded to the firm in 1912. During the construction of the Palliser Hotel, significant problems also delayed the completion of the project. In an extensive report to Shaughnessy, the Special Engineer for the C.P.R. concluded that the architects had made a number of serious errors and were behind schedule in supplying finished drawings.²² Apparently this did little harm to the Maxwells’ reputation and shortly after W.W.I, they were awarded the prestigious and extensive enlargement of the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City.

B3: The patrons’ vision of the building.

The patrons make three strongly worded judgments over the final form of the Dominion Express Building. These judgments are represented in three factors: # 13, the disapproval of the white terra-cotta exterior expressed by Shaughnessy; # 15, the patrons’ disapproval of ventilation system; and # 16, the patrons’ disapproval of the cartouches. In understanding these remarks some disassembly of the issues is necessary. Shaughnessy’s disgust with the exterior of the building must have come as a surprise because he was

²⁰ RG2, Letter # 41, Appendix III.

²¹ This relationship will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

²² RG2, Letters # 43 and # 44, Appendix III.

almost certainly aware of the structure's exterior finish and approved of it prior to the building's erection. In a letter dated 2 September 1910, from the Maxwells to Shaughnessy, the Maxwells discussed the letting of the contract for the glazed terra-cotta to Doulton Company in England.²³ As well, the design of the Dominion Express Building recalled the same symbols incorporated into other successful Maxwells designs. For example the Saskatchewan Legislative building, a project contemporary with the Dominion Express, was termed a "symbol of democracy and government" and the representation of "stability and durability."²⁴

Where exactly did Shaughnessy's disapproval lie? A second example of the C.P.R. president's architectural patronage was constructed. The Loft building, as titled on the plans, was a ten-storey office and commercial building located at 401 McGill Street (Figure 15) and designed for Shaughnessy by Hutchison, Wood and Miller in 1912. It served one of the same purposes as the Dominion Express Building: rental office space, and was finished in a similar manner, the ground floors with stone and the upper stories clad in glazed terra-cotta. If Shaughnessy disapproved of the material's appearance, why was it used on the Loft Building, a project over which he may have had more control as sole patron?²⁵

The answer to these disputes lies in the cultural tastes of the business elite, and will be discussed in Chapter 3. Shaughnessy preferred the Loft

²³ Letter # 12. See RG2, Appendix III.

²⁴ Walter Scott in "Symbol of Democracy and Government," (Regina: **The Leader-Post**, October 10, 1987), D1 & D3.

²⁵ Very little documentation exists on the Loft building. The title of the plans, the only documentation on the structure available at the C.P.A., states that Shaughnessy was the patron: "Loft Building Corner of Saint Paul and McGill Streets Montreal for Sir Thos Shaughnessy." The building was constructed and appears in **Les Hotels, Les Immuebles de Bureaux** on page 125, under the title Le Shaughnessy Building.

building because it was simpler and rougher than the Dominion Express Building. This desire for simplicity underlies the two other disputes between the Maxwells and the patrons over the Dominion Express project. Stout saw the ventilation system the architects had designed as superfluous to the functioning of the building, and both he and Shaughnessy viewed the cartouches as being equally useless. The patrons demanded that the architects remove these as they both physically impeded the window use in two offices due to their size and appeared as extravagances. In the former case, the Maxwells were unable to convince the patrons of the value of their ventilation scheme and removed it, and in the latter they redesigned the cartouches to comply with Stout's request that they only block one-sixth of the windows.

C1: The architectural process.

Although the narrative in Chapter 1 outlined the general process of the construction and design of the Dominion Express Building, the actual architectural process was not the focus. Describing this process will aid in understanding how certain factors – (1) the role of the contractors, 9) the delays in starting the construction; (12) & (17) the disputes between the architects and contractors; and (14) the lack of plans that show changes – affected the shape of the building.

A simple view of the Dominion Express Building as a project suggests that the clients gave the architect a charge – build us a building – which the architects then did. By 1910, the process was far more developed. One of the reasons that there is little evidence of changes made in the design of the building was that the entire architectural process was specifically arranged to

minimize the effects that the process itself could have on the edifice. A detailed explanation of the process reveals the inherent safeguards. Dana Cuff provides two models against which the building project can be measured.²⁶ In the first, there are five general phases of a project: schematics, where the program of a building is developed with the clients; design development, where the actual design of a building is created; construction documents, when the structural and finishing details of a building are designed; bid/negotiation, where the contractors are hired; and administration of construction. The amount of time and effort the architect was expected to spend on each of these phases is: 15%, 20%, 40%, 5% and 20%, respectively.

Cuff's second model describes the amount of time architects generally spend with others on various phases of a project. During the project the architect spends varying amounts of time consulting with four parties: clients, consultants, contractors and other in-house architects. The time the architect spends with the clients is concentrated in the first phase and steadily decreases as the project develops. With the consultants, usually engineers and inspectors, architects spend an increasing amount of time through phases one, two and three, and considerably less in the final two phases. Architects spend virtually no time with contractors until phase four, when most of the time is spent working with them. Architects spend a similar amount and pattern of time with other in-house architects, junior partners and draftsmen, with the bulk of interaction coinciding with the development of construction documents.

²⁶ Both models were suggested by the American Institute of Architects (A.I.A.) *Handbook* (1988) and Cuff's own research. From Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice*, 73 & 175.

These models compare, for the most part, favourably with what is known of the Dominion Express project. The role of phases one, two and three was to make the design as complete as possible to avoid making changes during phase five. The Maxwells likely spent a significant amount of the total time with the clients, discovering what they wanted and what could be built before final plans were developed. Unfortunately, the M.A. and C.P.A. provide no evidence of this initial interaction, probably because consultation with the clients took place in person. The proposal drawings provide a clue as to the amount of planning and deliberation which the Maxwells, Shaughnessy and Stout generated. As the number and variety of proposal plans – 32 proposal drawings of nine different schemes – suggest, there was a significant amount of pre-planning compared with the less frequent evidence of design changes made during construction, when only three design conflicts occurred.²⁷ This follows Cuff's model.

There is little direct evidence of consultation between the Maxwells, engineers and other building specialists during the construction document phase. The complexity of and the variety of materials used in the project would have required a great deal of fact-finding, and it is unlikely the architects did all of the work themselves. Evidence of consultation is obscure because the architects employed engineers and junior architects in-house.²⁸ The plans reveal some information; e.g., plan #84, "Detail Sheet of the Webster Modulation System of Steam Heating and Ventilation System" was

²⁷ See Chapter 1, 19-20.

²⁸ Work Ledgers in the M.A. show a varying number of employees working on projects. There was a core of about 8 employees, one of whom was an engineer. Following Diana Balmori's study of George Post's office, the remainder of the employees in a firm of eight people were junior architects, draftsmen and apprentices. From "George B. Post: The Process of Design and

signed by Wm. G. Snow Eng.²⁹ In correspondence, the Maxwells made explicit mention of at least one consulting firm, Nygren, Tenny and Ohmers, heating and ventilation engineers from New York.³⁰

While the architectural process is designed to anticipate changes during construction, it cannot account for everything. A specific problem of the Dominion Express project was the late start of the construction, due in part to the structure of the bed-rock. Before St. Lawrence Hall was demolished, core samples revealing the subterranean nature of the site could not be taken, and thus the foundations could not be designed with certainty. Further, the unexpected depth of the foundation prolonged excavation until March 1911.³¹

A conspicuous number of final drawings regarding changes to the exterior of the building are absent. The standard practice was to make the original plan with ink on a translucent vellum. The original was then blue-printed and the blueprints sent to the contractor to use on the site or at the shop. Few blueprints exist in the M.A.; however, of the ones that do exist some show signs of impromptu revisions made in pencil. Changes took other forms as well. Drawing # 129 is a free-hand sketch with finished dimensions, on a manila envelope. Thus, revisions did not always make their way back to the master set of drawings.

An almost-complete list of all the drawings for the building exists in the M.A. The following table presents the organization of these drawings and their relationship by type to match Cuff's five stages:

the New Architectural Office (1868-1913)" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (December 1987), 342-55.

²⁹ 122a010, see Appendix II.

³⁰ See Chapter I, page 19. Unfortunately, the bulk of the missing Dominion Express Building drawings from the M.A. concerned the structure of the building, and would bear the signatures of other engineers as proof of further consultation.

³¹ See Appendix II, Drawings #199 & #200.

| <u>Drawing Type:</u> | <u>Number:</u> | <u>Percent:</u> | <u>Cuff Stage:</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Proposal | 32 | 8.56% | Schematic |
| Design | 31 | 8.29% | Design Development |
| Structural | 33 | 8.82% | Construction Docs. |
| Systems | 37 | 9.89% | Construction Docs. |
| Internal Organization | 29 | 7.75% | Construction Docs. |
| Office | 78 | 20.86% | Construction |
| Finishing | 119 | 31.82% | Construction |
| Voided or Copies | 15 | 4.01% | |
| Supplementary | 8 | 2.14% | |
| Total | 374 | 100.00% | |
| Revised * | 40* | 10.70%* | |

* Revised drawings may belong to any category.

The table shows that an uncharacteristically large number of drawings was completed during the construction phase of the project. Under Cuff's model, most of the design should occur during the Construction Document phase. This imbalance is a specific condition of the Dominion Express project rather than a rebuttal of Cuff's breakdown of labour. The larger number of finishing details and office layout plans were for privately-leased offices; each one can be considered an individual project. These offices were leased while the building was being constructed and their design may not have been anticipated by the either patrons or architects. The Maxwells had designed the office spaces in the original plans. Normally, lessees would hire their own architects if they wished to change their offices; in this case, and for reasons not known at the time of writing, the Maxwell firm fulfilled that role. At an average of six offices per floor over seven storeys, the Maxwells completed at least 42 additional commissions.³² Removing the impact of this factor from

³² The Maxwells complained that the large number of design changes that they had to make during the project had contributed to delays. These office revisions were the probable culprits. See Chapter 1.

Table 1 shifts the percentages, so that the numbers more closely reflect Cuff's division of architectural labour over the duration of a project.

During the construction phase of the project, changes in the design of the Dominion Express Building directly caused by the trades are difficult to detect.³³ Fortunately, Shaughnessy ordered an analysis of a subsequent Maxwell project, the Palliser Hotel in Calgary, completed around 1914. The investigation demonstrated that numerous changes took place during every part of the project, including those in the construction phase caused by architect and sub-trade errors, and material changes.³⁴ Additionally, the trades also influenced the shape of the building indirectly, because the architect, as the chief overseer, attempted to anticipate changes in the plan that the process and materials will demand, and incorporate them into the design.

The process of architecture may not have changed much since 1910, but at the time the coordination of such a large variety of materials and so many technical specialists was relatively new. Until 1900, office towers as large and complex as the Dominion Express Building were rare in Canada. The architect was expected to control an increasingly complex and rapidly changing set of systems. The job of the architect as "an organizer & director of manifold and various industries and activities"³⁵ should not be underestimated. The breadth of organization and management exerted by the Maxwells on the Dominion Express project was all-encompassing. Issues as seemingly

³³ There is rich documentation of literature on the supervision of construction projects to eliminate errors and waste; for example Theodore J. Travner, **Managing the Construction Project** (New York, Wiley, 1993). However most of these are recent, within the past thirty years, and are dedicated to engineering issues.

³⁴ See Appendix III, Letter #43.

³⁵ W.S. Maxwell, **Canadian Architect** (May 1908), 21.

insignificant as the source of the granite used on the building were matters of discussion.³⁶ The patrons expected the Maxwells to juggle design decisions on the building while settling disputes among the contractors. It is a credit to the Maxwells' organization that the project was completed near its deadline; managing the long list of the various companies credited for supplying labour and materials for the project³⁷ while designing office renovations for forty tenants was no inconsiderable task.

C2: The design of the building.

The evolution of the building from hotel to office tower, and the overlap of the design and construction process (factors 8 and 10), can be explained by analyzing the design of the building, factor 19. When Stout and Shaughnessy asked the Maxwells to provide a proposal for a new building on the site of St. Lawrence Hall, the architects decided what it should look like by filtering the patrons' criteria through their architectural taste and knowledge. It is interesting that the building design was originally for a hotel and that the same structure could be used as an office building, but the fact that the same

³⁶ See RG2 Letters # 11 & 12.

³⁷ The sub-contractors and suppliers were: "The contractors and material firms who executed the work in connection with the Dominion Express Building are as follows: General contractors, Peter Lyall & Sons, Ltd., Montreal; hollow tile, Montreal Terra Cotta Co.; terra cotta, Doulton & Co.; refrigeration equipment, The Linde Canadian Refrigeration Co., Montreal; electric wiring, Philip Lahee & Co., Montreal; non-slipping tile, Greuby & Co.; elevators, Otis-Fensom Co.; cork tiling, D.E. Kennedy, Montreal; kitchen equipment, R. & W. Kerr Montreal; plumbing and heating, Jas. Ballantyne, Montreal; painting and glazing, W.P. Scott, Montreal; safes, J. & J. Taylor, Toronto; bronze grill work, H.W. Jackson & Co.; furniture in club, Bromsgrove Guild of Canada, Ltd., Montreal; curtains and rugs, Duncan Fraser; hall rugs, M. Hicks, Montreal; bar and cafe tables, Gallagher & Charbonneau, Montreal; roofing, Douglas Brothers, Montreal and Toronto; ornamental iron work, elevator enclosures and stairs, John Watson & Co., Montreal. Electric fixtures were installed by the following firms: Mc Donald & Wilson, Montreal and Toronto; Paul Beau & Co., Montreal; E. Cantello White & Co. and E.F. Caldwell & Co., Montreal." See "The Dominion Express Building, Montreal, Que." **Construction** (November 1912), 54.

structural skeleton could support either function and receive other superficial changes while under construction was due more to the agility of the design solutions available to the Maxwells than the patrons' demand for flexibility.

The first part of the equation, the patrons' criteria, is not easily discerned. There is no comprehensive statement written by either Shaughnessy or Stout regarding the demands that the building was to meet; nevertheless, these criteria can be gleaned from a number of sources. Perhaps most important of these is a piece from **The World** of 1911, designed to advertise the virtues of the soon-to-be-built structure to the patrons' colleagues: "In Montreal, large commercial and high office buildings are replacing the older structures on St. James St., and on the very sites where once stood small houses and shop buildings, handsome and gigantic steel framed structures are fast becoming evident."³⁸ The article emphasized a number of key points: the building would prove to be both "fine" and "imposing;" the superlative quality of the finishing of the building would ensure its success; the white-glazed terra-cotta would be decorated with ornament of "conventional character;" and the Montreal Club would be elaborately organized and decorated. The article took every opportunity to insert descriptions of the modern mechanical appointments of the structure³⁹ and heavily emphasized the fire safety offered by such elements as the interior fire-proof staircase.

Assuming that most of the aforementioned qualities were demands of the patrons, and not sold to the patron by the architects, it would appear

³⁸ "Dominion Express Co's. Montreal Building." **The World** (February 1911), 157. It seems that the article was written based on an interview with a C.P.R. public relations person.

³⁹ Items like air conditioning and built-in ice-water taps in every office.

Shaughnessy and Stout had asked the Maxwells to design an imposing office tower – one which was modern, decorated in a refined and conventional style, appointed with every convenience to attract tenants, and containing an appropriately elegant and noticeable Montreal Club.

Though the outcome of the process could have taken many forms, there were definite physical limitations constraining the project. The site of the Dominion Express Building, in the cramped downtown of old Montreal, was limiting to the design. The building could only be as big as the available site of the demolished portion of St. Lawrence Hall bounded by St. James St. to the South, St. Francois Xavier St. to the East, Fortification Lane to the North and the Royal Bank to the West, approximately 130 by 90 feet. Building codes, too, had an effect on what the building could look like. In 1910, ten storeys was the height restriction for buildings in Montreal, so the Dominion Express was as imposingly high as it could be. The budget was a minor constraint: \$ 700,000 was a considerable sum in 1911⁴⁰ and the size of the budget accounts for the fact that the building could be so lavishly appointed.

Beyond these definite restrictions, there was still much room for adaptation and variety. Barring the discovery of any aesthetic statement outlining their intention for the Dominion Express Building by the brother architects, the Maxwells' creative process is entirely veiled to us, and how exactly the architects combined design with patrons' criteria and physical restrictions can only be guessed. There are two bodies of evidence that can be used to form the boundaries of what designs were indeed plausible. The

⁴⁰ The cost of the Dominion Express Building was 27% of the company's annual revenue. In *The World* (April 1912), 191. Building costs are infrequently stated, however the Drummond Building in Montreal, designed by H.S. Stone, completed in 1914 and larger than the Dominion

Maxwells had an education and repertoire, C2.2, that provided evidence linking their personal tastes to particular styles and reflecting the architectural traditions in which they were educated. The Maxwells were of course aware of the latest technological and stylistic developments of the architectural field, C2.3. Neoclassicism formed the architectural background to both C2.2 and C2.3 and will be discussed in section C2.1.

The Maxwells was a firm with two principals. Edward was the older of the two brothers and had started a firm on his own before William joined. While it is widely accepted that the two brothers had generally different roles within the firm – Edward as the salesman and organizer, and William as the devoted designer – Edward was an accomplished architect in his own right. It is unlikely that Edward relinquished all creative input, just as it is unlikely that William had no input into business decisions. Any design of the firm cannot then be seen as the result of one brother's work, unless it was made before William joined, and the early career and repertoire of both individuals should be considered influential on the design process.

C2.1: Neoclassical and Classical architecture.

Neoclassical is a problematic term that must be carefully defined, and the body of architecture to which it refers, described. By the late seventeenth century, *classic* was used not only to refer to art of the highest quality, against which other art should be judged, but also to mean the entire antique

Express Building, cost \$600,000. From Madeleine Forget, *Les Grattes-Ciel de Montréal* (Montreal: Meridian, 1990), 103.

period.⁴¹ It is this tradition of usage that I acknowledge. It is predominantly a style of building in which the column, organized into the orders (Figure 16), forms the fundamental building block. The term *neoclassical* is more difficult to define because the coining of the term antecedes the architecture to which it now refers. *Neoclassicism* arose as a derogatory term at the end of the nineteenth century in literary criticism, and at the beginning of the twentieth century it was used to describe the more sober modern architecture. Rykwert uses the term to refer to architecture following the *classical* tradition, of the late seventeenth century and beyond. He places this division at the late 1600s because it is at that time that the homogeneity and authority of *classical* architecture began to be questioned, and the style re-evaluated.⁴² Both Vitruvius's and Alberti's texts continued to be re-published throughout the period when *neoclassical* architecture evolved.⁴³

The problem of Classical and Neoclassical is that neither refer to true movements, architects thus not being necessarily conscious of the terms, and the terms tend to homogenize two heterogeneous bodies of architecture. The headings are general at best. A preponderance of usage of common architectural vocabulary and decoration schemes derived from the monuments of ancient Greece and Rome, as opposed to those of medieval,

⁴¹ Rykwert, *The First Moderns* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1980), 1-22.

⁴² I would like to push this date further back, about three hundred years, to the beginning of the Renaissance, *ca.* 1400, because there is a lack of continuity in classicism after antiquity. Since the Renaissance, the architects and artists of any particular period have considered themselves moderns.

⁴³ A brief history published versions of Alberti's treatise is contained in the Introduction to Rykwert, Leach and Travernor's translation. In brief, there were eighteen editions published in seven languages until 1912. Alberti, *On The Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1988), xxii-xxiii.

gothic, romantic and modern origin, are some of the few things that confidently define the two terms, and even these are not guaranteed.⁴⁴

There is a remarkable preoccupation with two broad themes – the definition of architectural beauty and formal concerns within the field – over the evolution of Neoclassical architecture from the Renaissance to the *École des Beaux-arts* at the turn of this century. Alberti had taken the available Classical teaching and combined it in a comprehensive and readable text. In doing so Alberti set the standard for later Neoclassical treatises and defined the key terms that later architects would question or evolve. In **The Ten Books of Architecture**⁴⁵ he emphasized simplicity and the harmony of proportions and parts, and made it clear that *beauty* would be achieved by visually representing purity. This last goal was to be accomplished by restrained ornament and the use of pure surfaces, smooth and white where possible.⁴⁶

By the time Claude Perrault (1613-88) published **Ordonnance de Cinq Espèces de Colonnes** (1683), the strict classical precedents that Alberti and other Renaissance architects had accepted at face value had come under systematic attack. Perrault found that the so-called harmonic proportions varied widely from their supposed measurements and concluded they were in fact arbitrary.⁴⁷ At approximately the same time in France the *l'Académie*

⁴⁴ Some architects who were clearly part of a classical tradition also assisted in developing architecture away from classicism. Charles-Étienne Boullée (1728-99) for example was one of the initiators of anti-ornamental architecture. Helen Roseneau, **Boullée's Treatise on Architecture** (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1953).

⁴⁵ First published in Florence in 1483.

⁴⁶ Alberti's words and thoughts on these topics will be covered in depth in Chapter 3.

⁴⁷ Perrault calculated averages for the proportions of the canonic examples of classicism and then produced the simplest ratio system for each order based on the averages. Rykwert, **The First Moderns**, 22-38. See also Wolfgang Herrmann, **The Theory of Claude Perrault** (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1973), Chapter IV, The Orders, 95-129. Perrault's architectural legacy would

Royale d'Architecture was founded, and a new architectural job as Director was created.⁴⁸ Heretofore architects had been responsible for constructing or at least acting as the contractor for their designs. The *Académie's* first Director, Jacques François Blondel, and his successor, Philippe La Hire, sought "to strip architecture of its vicious ornaments, to retrench the abuses which the presumption of workmen have introduced in it."⁴⁹

In the eighteenth century, the age of empiricism, the definition of architectural beauty and function would be further transformed. In 1704, Isaac Newton published his *Opticks*.⁵⁰ Newton succeeded in providing a mathematical relation between the colours of the rainbow and the notes of an octave, a significant step toward disseminating the idea that beauty could be empirically derived.⁵¹ In the quest for finding truth in architecture, ornament and imbalance were allegedly purged from the art of building; Blondel's and La Hire's simplification was amplified through Newtonian thinking. By 1753, the Italian theorist Carlo Lodoli stated, through Francesco Algarotti: "that nothing should appear in a building that was not a working part,"⁵² an idea originally popularized with Alberti's treatise. However, Algarotti maintained that since the basis for Classical architecture was a wooden structure, there

become this simplicity, and a calm stereometric vision of antiquity. He is also credited with the east facade of the Louvre, a commission originally awarded to Bernini. Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, 117.

⁴⁸ Founded on the death of the King's architect, Louis Le Vau, in 1671. See Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, 15.

⁴⁹ La Hire from *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁰ First published in London 1704. From H.G. Alexander, *The Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), 142.

⁵¹ Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, 148-57 and 161-2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 297.

was no reason for carrying the decorative motifs into stone.⁵³ Buildings should be designed based on empirically-derived principles of statics⁵⁴ and material study. Lodoli called for functionality in architecture in mathematical terms; “a combination of stereometric-arithmetical theories with rational norms.”⁵⁵ At the end of the century, Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-99) would put forward similar ideas from his more influential position as an educator at the Academy of Architecture and the *École Centrales*. Boullée, like Lodoli, sometimes did away with the orders altogether: he was concerned with the sensual impact of architecture. Since empiricist thought had shown that knowledge is constructed through perception, it was up to the architect to provide forms capable of garnering the correct moral response – and these were to be found in pure geometry.⁵⁶

Boullée’s more controversial ideas were not directly accepted, but their influence was felt through his pupil, Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand (1760-1834) as the architectural professor at the *École Polytechnique* (1795-1830).⁵⁷ Durand explicitly denied past theories of architecture and favoured the basic geometric elements, the sphere and circle; he still provided the orders,

⁵³ An idea that had come to light with the excavation and systematic study of Classical monuments.

⁵⁴ A subsection of physics and engineering, the study of the total forces acting on a body or system to keep it stable. This field relies on Newton’s three Laws of Motion first published in his *Principia* (London: 1713), from Alexander, *Leibniz*, 142-62.

⁵⁵ Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, 325.

⁵⁶ Boullée’s thinking is exemplified by his cenotaph for Newton (Figure 17). Martin Bressani, “Étienne-Louis Boullée. Empiricism and the Cenotaph for Newton”, *Architectura*, 37-57.

⁵⁷ In this office Durand as architecture professor he served as the liaison between the architects of the *École des Beaux-arts* and the engineering students of the *École Polytechnique*. The *École des Beaux-arts* evolved out of the *Académie Royale d’Architecture*, the institution was altered and its name changed to eliminate aristocratic connotation between 1793-5, after the revolution. The *École* was given official charter in 1819. Donald Drew Egbert, *The Beaux Arts Tradition in French Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 40.

though simplified and rationalized, as examples of good taste.⁵⁸ Julien Guadet (1834-1908), who became the *Chef d'École des Beaux-arts* in 1894, followed Durand's teachings explicitly. He too maintains usage of the orders, and confirms the Vitruvian male, Doric and female, Ionic dichotomy, but he refutes all historic origins of the orders of Vitruvius and Alberti. Beauty was created by composing the masses of the building following the *méthode à suivre*,⁵⁹ the masses of a building stereometrically placed on axes, often around a circle or spherical central mass, after which the appropriate columns were added. The remainder of an architect's education was left to developing taste, accomplished by studying, drawing and painting classical art, either antique artifacts or selected modern "masterpieces" in the classical tradition. This course, significantly, still included the study of the orders.⁶⁰

Neoclassical architectural design at the turn of this century was thus classicism less four and a half centuries of rational refinement. The *École* deployed a particular method based heavily on the axiometric and stereometric principles, guided by a mathematic functionality, as suggested by Lodoli, developed by Perrault, Blondel and Boullée and put into practice by Durand. Inasmuch as beauty in architecture was embodied by this type of design, rationalized and empiricised, it had also hardened into an inflexible

⁵⁸ By 1813, Durand, in his *Nouvelle Précis*, had the plate illustrating the orders redone. In the new plate, the orders and un-named, the ionic with replaced by a pre-Corinthian and all decoration was removed from the entablatures. Rykwert, from Robin Middleton *The Beaux-arts and Nineteenth Century French Architecture* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1982), 16.

⁵⁹ Guadet's system for teaching axial design, which had become so important at the *École*, entitled *méthode à suivre*, reproduced almost exactly Durand's exercise, *marché à suivre*. Rykwert writes that this system had become the most important part of the *École's* teaching, *The Beaux-arts*, 16.

⁶⁰ Annie Jacques has commented on this in "The Program of the Architectural Section of the *École des Beaux-arts*, 1819-1914," *The Beaux-arts*, 58-66; Rykwert, *The Dancing Column*, 11-14; and Egbert, *The Beaux-arts Tradition*, 39-42.

shell. Classical antiquity was still a guiding principle, and ornament and the columns with their corresponding orders were dutifully applied, but this was mostly done to express proper taste. The cultural myths that surrounded the original application of the orders that Alberti had tried to relate had been sterilized, and the Neoclassical, by the late-nineteenth century, had become stagnant and open to attack by the new moderns.⁶¹

2.2: Early career and repertoire.

The early career and repertoire of the Maxwell brothers provided a base of experiences and methods from which they designed. Edward Maxwell, born in Montreal in 1868, began as a youth to study in the city at the architectural office of A. F. Dunlop.⁶² After four years with Dunlop, Maxwell apprenticed with the Boston firm of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge — the firm that evolved from the atelier of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838 -86), whose architecture was clearly a reference point for Maxwell's early designs.

Edward's career as an architect started shortly after he supervised the Montreal Board of Trade building for Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge in 1891.⁶³

⁶¹ Egbert relates the many schisms and battles between government, students and professors at the École throughout the nineteenth century. Despite the numerous efforts to change and evolve the institution there was always sufficient momentum within the institution to keep it on its traditional course. After numerous unsuccessful attempts to change significantly the school was closed as a result of student revolt in 1968. In *The Beaux-arts Tradition*, 58-90.

⁶² *The Architecture of ...*, 23. For more information on Dunlop see Stephen Robinson, "An Architect Discovered: the Work of A.F. Dunlop," (Montreal: Master's Thesis, Concordia University, 1992).

⁶³ Edward's business and organizational skills were further honed when he supervised the Montreal Stock Exchange for George B. Post, one of the most highly organized architectural firms in North America. Post was known for his focus on structure and planning, and was partially responsible for the standardization of the modern American hotel. Diana Balmori's article "George B. Post: The Process of Design and the New American Architectural Office (1868-1913)," goes into some depth describing the organization and influence of Post's office. In *Society of Architectural Historians, Journal* (December 1987), 342-55.

This job put the young architect in contact with the most important of Montreal industrialists and financiers, many of whom would later hire him. By 1892, Maxwell had designed a house for Henry Vincent Meredith, who introduced Maxwell to two prominent groups within the Board of Trade. Meredith was married to a niece of Sir Hugh Allan, financier and owner of the Allen Steamship Co. (later the C.P. Steamship Co.), and Maxwell would design five more buildings for the Allan family by 1897. Meredith was also on the board of the Bank of Montreal, a company whose chief investment was the C.P.R.

From the early 1890s until 1906, when W.S. Painter was appointed Chief Architect of the C.P.R., Edward unofficially filled the position.⁶⁴ Prior to William joining the firm in 1902, he completed a number of small stations such as Arnprior (Figure 18) and Moose Jaw, as well as larger stations such as Vancouver (Figure 19). Through these buildings he played a significant role in establishing the use of the Romanesque Revival style for C.P.R. buildings, a style that eventually evolved into the Chateau style.⁶⁵ When buildings such as Maxwell's Vancouver station are compared to characteristic Richardson designs, such as his Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce building (Figure 20), the influence of Richardson's architecture on Maxwell is virtually self-evident.

William Sutherland Maxwell was born in Montreal in 1874, and at age 22 began attending the *École des Beaux-arts* in Paris. Around 1899, William produced a design for a *Salle des Fetes* (Figure 21) based on C. L. Garnier's

⁶⁴ As per an internal C.P.R. document, untitled station history, C.P.A.

⁶⁵ See above note. It should also be noted here that New York architect Bruce Price is considered the initiator of the Chateau Style's usage in Canada when he completed the original plans for Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City *ca.* 1884.

Paris Opera of 1875 (figure 22). William's decision to copy what some characterize as the quintessential *beaux-arts* building demonstrates the significant impression his experience at the school had on his architectural education.

It is generally considered that William's education at the *École* began immediately to influence the Maxwell practice, as is evidenced by the *beaux-arts* touches of the London and Lancashire Life Building (Figure 23, 1899) and in the Hosmer House (Figure 24, 1901-02).⁶⁶ However there is the real possibility that Edward had acquired his own interest in and knowledge of the Neoclassical style and the *beaux-arts* system prior to William's experience in France. Richardson, whose work Edward held in high regard, was one of the first American architects to have received his education at the *École* and he organized his atelier in Boston to create a similar atmosphere.⁶⁷ Additionally, Edward would have been exposed to the increasing popularity of the *beaux-arts* style through two other avenues: his excursions to Europe, during which he frequently sketched the Classical masterpieces of the Continent,⁶⁸ and the 1893 World's Colombian Exposition in Chicago. At the Exposition, the White City (Figure 25) whetted North American's taste for the *Beaux-arts* style, and it is likely that Edward would have been aware of the publicity the White City generated. ⁶⁹

⁶⁶ From *The Architecture of ...*, 20- 32.

⁶⁷ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: the Story of Practice*, 28-31.

⁶⁸ See *The Architecture of ...* , 20-8.

⁶⁹ The Maxwell brothers designed many buildings which were not exclusively *beaux-arts* derived. The Winnipeg train station and Royal Alebert Hotel (Figures 26 & 27) as well as the Palliser at Calgary (Figure 28) were representative of a hybrid style that was neither *beaux-arts* nor Romanesque revival.

A2.3: Contemporary influences.

Both skyscraper development in the United States and the evolution of terra-cotta as a construction material played significant roles in influencing the structure, style and finishing of the Dominion Express Building.⁷⁰ During the early 1900s, glazed terra-cotta became an important building material in North America.⁷¹ In her article reviewing the successful application of the material as used by Cass Gilbert on the 1913 Woolworth Tower in New York, Margaret F. Gaskie writes that it was as popular for “its durability, fire resistance, light weight, and low cost,” as it was for its ability to be molded in an “endless array of shapes and colours for a variety of ornamental effects.”⁷² Its increased use coincided with the need for fire safety in the dense urban centres of North America at the same time that building costs were becoming a concern. Darl Rastorfer states “the great Chicago fire clearly demonstrated that cast iron, steel and even stone could not resist such disasters so well as ‘burnt earth’.”⁷³ Terra-cotta also provided flexibility of decoration at a time when skilled stonemasonry, the traditional method of architectural decoration,

⁷⁰ To some limited degree, the Art Nouveau movement may have played a role in the ornamentation and interior design of the building. However, the limited number of photographs of the interior and the difficulty of reconstructing interiors from plans limits the depth of this line of conjecture. There is also some evidence that the Maxwells, at times, employed interior designers on their projects, and it is unclear at this time if the interior design program of the Dominion Express was solely the inspiration of the Maxwells.

⁷¹ The popularity of glazed, formed and coloured terra-cotta for usage on large commercial structures can be supported by the publishing of numerous articles on the material and its establishment as a signifying mark of the Edwardian Commercial. Between 1891 and 1912, approximately twenty entries for articles describing the usage and merits of terra-cotta appeared in the *Avery Architectural Index*. These articles were published in *The Architectural Record*, *The American Architect and Building News* and in *The Brickbuilder*, a trade magazine devoted to masonry. See also Susan M. Tindall, *American Architectural Terra Cotta: a Bibliography* (Monticello: Vance Bibliography, 1981).

⁷² “The Woolworth Tower: A Technology revisited, A material understood, a landmark restored,” *The Architectural Record* (November 1981),110.

⁷³ “Terra Cotta: Past to Present,” *The Architectural Record* (January 1987),110.

was becoming increasingly rare and expensive. With office towers being constructed for investment purposes, and with ornamental eclecticism on the rise, glazed terra-cotta was an obvious solution. In 1981, Rastorfer comments that the material became so prevalent that fully one-third of New York's extant office structures employ terra-cotta exteriors; and in Montreal terra-cotta is readily observable on many buildings.⁷⁴

The United States produced what many would argue was the most significant and influential architectural form of the twentieth century, the skyscraper, held to be a symbol of American business and engineering superiority.⁷⁵ During the late 1870s, the economic and social conditions in New York City and Chicago were such that skyscraper development was possible. With the invention of the elevator, tall office buildings, not skyscrapers, began to be built. In 1885, the total steel skeleton was used for the first time in Chicago in the Home Insurance Company Building.⁷⁶ This was to be an important step in skyscraper development because buildings of any height could not be considered safe from fire until the steel frame was perfected. Once the steel frame was considered reliable, buildings began to be constructed of even greater height and by the late 1880s were finally called skyscrapers.

⁷⁴ Rastorfer states that terra-cotta saw its heyday between 1880 and 1920. For example: The Shaughnessy building (1913) and the Royal Trust building (1914) have significant amounts of terra-cotta on the exterior.

⁷⁵ The evolution of the skyscraper has been well analyzed and carefully described in sources ranging from general surveys like Paul Goldberger's *The Skyscraper* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), to collections such as Mildred F. Smertz ed., *Office Buildings* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), to technical investigations like Thomas Tallmadge's "Was the Home Insurance Building in Chicago the First Skyscraper of Skeleton Construction?" *The Architectural Record* 76 (August 1934) 113-118, and Canadian studies such as Madeleine Forget's *Les Grattes-Ciel de Montreal*.

⁷⁶ William LeBaron Jenney, 1885.

The development of the skyscraper had a number of effects on the aesthetics of large urban structures. With the steel frame the structure of the building no longer had to be on its exterior: the skeleton could be covered by a variety of exterior surfaces and as the facade became a lattice of identical bays, uniform decoration could be applied to the building as a whole. This lattice was inherently flexible, creating a series of uniform empty spaces which could be converted for a variety of specific uses. In the 1890s, after perfecting the skyscraper's structure, the challenge to the architect was to provide a new aesthetic for these piles of duplicate rooms.

Louis Sullivan, another example of an *École* -educated American architect, is often credited with the most influential solution to this problem. His Wainwright Building (1890-1891, Figure 29) and the Carson Pirie Scott Building (1899-1904, Figure 30), are considered the two most important buildings of the last one hundred years of American architecture. In the Wainwright Building, Sullivan introduced his tripartite elevation scheme, a new way of organizing the facade of the tall building. Derived from the column's division into a base, shaft and capital, this scheme was used to express verticality and served to delineate the building's internal arrangement. The base, which contained shops and entrances, was treated differently from the shaft, where the offices were situated, and the capital, where the support services of the building were located.

C3: The large number of design changes.

The development of the skyscraper provided new flexibility in design; even after the steel reinforced skeleton of a modern building was erected, the function of the building could be easily changed. Among the number of

design changes on the Dominion Express project were no less than 28 office revisions to accommodate individual tenants. There were also changes to the layout of the three commercial spaces accessible to the general public: the Montreal Club, the basement restaurant and the Dominion Express and C.P.R. ticket offices. It was only through careful examination of the evolution of the changes to these three spaces that I noticed a curious phenomenon: women's spaces were systematically treated as being unnecessary. At one point in the design process, the only women's lavatory in the basement was removed in favor of a barber shop.⁷⁷ Although the lavatory was replaced in a later set of revisions,⁷⁸ it is telling that it was significantly smaller than the men's. There were small men's and women's lavatories on each of the business floors. In the private office renovations came the addition of mostly men's lavatories, almost never women's. The lady's dining room on the Club floor was a similarly marginalized space which also disappeared in a plan revision. Though it reappeared and was eventually enlarged, it was moved upstairs to the mezzanine so that the billiard room could be elongated. The lady's dining room remained relatively small and segregated in its new location on the mezzanine.⁷⁹ Although the it gained a window, having had none in the original plan, the window was very small, highly set and not designed to provide a view. Though the changes to the building had little direct

⁷⁷ The women's lavatory in drawing #145 is eliminated in #194, see Appendix II.

⁷⁸ The women's lavatory reappears in plan #299, see Appendix II.

⁷⁹ In drawing #177, the billiard room is extended to take over all the space previously used by the lady's dining room. In revision of the Mezzanine Floor Plan, drawing #232, the ladies dining area is eliminated although it appears again in an apparently final revision in drawing #266. See Appendix II.

influence on its shape, they are important because they revealed the degree of gender segregation that existed in this structure of commerce.⁸⁰

C4: The difference between the interior and exterior of the building.

There was a difference between the decoration of the interior of the Dominion Express Building and its exterior. The ornament of the exterior of the building, while well balanced and finely crafted, was spartan in comparison with the interior. The exterior of the building was intended to communicate a particular concept to the outsider.⁸¹ In simple terms, as expressed by the client in the criteria, the Dominion Express Building was to be imposing, modern and conventionally decorated. Further, the exterior was to be representative of stability and safety so that the idea that the building was a good investment was readily communicated to future tenants.

The description of the above eight sections provides some context for many of the fundamental events surrounding the construction of the Dominion Express Building. This part of the investigation answers many questions set out by the narrative, and uncovers some new ones. The patrons' vision of the building (section B2) and the patrons' relationship with the architects (section B3) have been left open-ended so that the full cultural contextualization of the topics can be examined in Chapter 3. Cultural interaction, behaviour and preferences are fundamental themes that have been alluded to throughout, and in Chapter 3 they will be given further critical analysis.

⁸⁰ This attitude toward gender segregation will be made more relevant to the shaping of the building in the following chapter.

⁸¹ See Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Cultural/Architectural Contexts.

Chapter 1, the narrative, and Chapter 2, the contextual development of factors described by the narrative, reveal some of the meanings the Dominion Express Building will be found to have in this study. Following the Baxandallian structure set out in the Introduction, two steps remain in the process of constructing meaning. First, this collection of separate contexts must be analyzed and the influence or force of each context will be measured in Section 3.1. Secondly, some important information has not been exposed by the structure. The evaluation of certain contexts, especially those which disclose cultural viewpoints, beg further questions instead of providing finite answers. These questions require deeper examination in Section 3.2.

3.1: Evaluation of the factors.

What role do each of the eight sections outlined in Chapter 2 play in shaping the Dominion Express Building? To preface this discussion, I would like to suggest that the factors represented by the sections have one of three general effects: primarily direct, secondarily direct, or indirect. Direct factors have the greatest influence on the form and therefore meanings of the building – they actively and intentionally shape the building. C2, the design of the building, and B2, the patrons' vision of the building, are sections representing direct factors. C2 has the most comprehensive effect of all. B2 does not play as far-reaching a role, although it represents equally important factors: the patrons did set the parameters for the design, provided the impetus for the building and made choices that actively altered the final shape of the building.

Secondary direct factors played a role in shaping the building or relating the significance and meanings of the building, but are clearly not as important as the primary direct factors in influencing or determining the form and the significance of the building. Factors represented in section C1, the influence of the construction process, C3, the constant design changes, B1 the importance of the site, and B3, the patron's relationship with the architects, are indirect factors. While C1 influenced the shape of the building, the architects attempted to minimize its impact. The flexibility of the plan, or C3, was a result of initial choices made by the architects in using an existing, though relatively new, structural technique. The interesting consequences of the system, exhibited through phenomena such as the gender segregation within the building, pertain to secondary meanings of the Dominion Express Building. B1, the site is important in the final evaluation of the building, enhancing its "aura." B3, the patrons' relationship with the architects, problematizes the appropriation and expression of style and taste by the cultural elite of Montreal, again, factors pertaining to the secondary meanings of the building. C4, the difference between the interior and exterior of the building, represents secondary direct factors of similar importance to those mentioned above. The Dominion Express Building reflected and supported cultural meanings of "exterior" and "interior," and this was the result of architecture and its broadly determined function within culture, and not a design prerogative or active condition.

The third type of influence is labeled indirect. These factors, represented by A, the economic context of Canada and the Dominion Express Company, played a small part in the design and in the cultural significance of the building, and indirectly allowed for the building's construction. Certain

monetary and political conditions were necessary so that a project of this kind was both possible and required. These economic conditions have some effect on the meanings and shape of the building as it was an expression of a new, successful and expanding business class, however the role they played was clearly a tertiary one. Of course, without a strong economy, competing companies with national interests and large construction budgets and a concentration of wealth in a relatively dense urban setting, buildings like the Dominion Express would not have been feasible.

While the sum of these various levels, sections and factors of influence can represent a meaning for the Dominion Express Building, the particular evaluation of the building within this study is not merely the sum of these, and the answer to our initial investigation into how architecture can be valued would still be incomplete. The narrative is an excellent tool for providing a coherent structure to the evolution of the project, and the contextual development is equally adept at covering a broad number of factors. However, the answers to the diverse cultural questions that have arisen needs to be sought.

3.2: Further cultural contextualization of the factors.

One way of looking at the issue of a cultural meaning is posited by a model arising from the question: what is the role of the architect and architecture within culture? This question can be broken down into two subsets of relationships: that between the architect and the client, and that between the architecture and the public. Architecture's immediate public is the client, and I propose that the client is a dichotomy of personal interest and interpreted public interests. Thus, the client and public can be compressed,

and we are left with a triangular set of relationships. The greater part of the relationship between the architect and architecture has been described in Chapter 2, by Section C2, the design of the building. The architect is intimately connected to and is the representative of his or her architecture. This pair cannot be separated easily, and for the purposes of this model, the two can be compressed so that the primary relationship in the creation of a building is represented by two groups: the client who in part stands for the public and the architect who represents architecture.¹

The architect and client relationship holds the key to some of the central questions of cultural meaning, yet the plans and the texts, letters and articles that document the interaction between the two on the Dominion Express project provide little information on the relationship. The approach to this problem must be made up by a second model. Broad research concerning the theorization of the general architect and client relationship will be applied and tested against what evidence is available. Throughout this section Alberti's **Libri De Re Aedificatoria Decem** and **I Libri Della Famiglia** will be an important reference points. Alberti is one of the first 'readable' architectural theorists, and had an influential role in pouring the foundations of Neoclassical architecture, which is the basic stylistic heading of the Dominion Express Building. As well, though Alberti's writing is far from contemporary with the Dominion Express Building, they explicitly represents the juncture of architecture and societal concerns in a way that late-nineteenth century texts do not. By the nineteenth century, broader cultural concerns, for example gender roles, were entrenched in institutions, like the

¹ The architect can be seen to represent architecture as a profession as the client represents public interest. This compression is artificial, and will be opened up later in the discussion.

educational system. Drawing a parallel between the institutionalization of gender roles and Alberti's writings helps delineate the reasoning behind and the functioning of gender roles in late-Victorian and Edwardian culture.²

This investigation is divided into three parts: (A) the function of architecture, the role of architecture as a cultural organizer, as prescribed by neoclassicism; (B) the function of order, decoration and purity in neoclassical architecture; and (C) the position of the architect in society as developed by a close reading³ of **The Man of Property** by John Galsworthy.

By developing these viewpoints, the cultural context of the Dominion Express project will be enriched. The development of these three topics will also try to answer questions posed in Chapters 1 and 2, such as: Why was there a difference between the exterior and interior of the building? Why were women's spaces marginalized within the building? Why were the Maxwells both a favored firm of the C.P.R. and yet treated badly by the top management? What are the cultural motives behind the appearance of the building?

A: The social function of architecture under Neoclassicism.

Architecture has always been required to do more than house. The first occurrence of the inscription of cultural values on architecture can never be established, but Alberti is a good starting point for this tradition.⁴ In Alberti's **Ten Books of Architecture**, the Italian makes a broad statement delineating the general guidelines for composition of the city and the house:

² See Chapter 2 for Neoclassical continuities from Alberti to the *École*.

³ I am borrowing Raymond Williams's term here to emphasize the point that the cultural location from which a person speaks is revealed by the choice and form of their words.

⁴ Wigley cites Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, fifth century, as a direct model for Alberti's treatise on the family. Vitruvius, too, provides architecture with a role in social structuring.

The whole force of the invention and all our skill and knowledge in the art of building, is required in the compartition: because the distinct parts of the entire building, and, to use such a word, the entireness of each of those parts, and the union and agreement of all the lines and angles in the work, duly ordered for *convenience*, *pleasure* and *beauty*, are disposed and measured out by the compartition alone: for if a city, according to the opinion of philosophers, be no more than a great house, and, on the other hand, a house be a little city; why may it not be said, that the members of the house are so many little houses; such as the courtyard, the hall, the parlour, the portico, and the like? And what is there in any of these, which, if omitted by carelessness or negligence, will not greatly take from the praise and dignity of the work? [italics, my emphasis]⁵

In the above passage Alberti aligns the arrangement of the microcosm, house, with the macrocosm, city. He also stresses that the components of both be carefully arranged and ordered to ensure beauty and harmony. He explains that “the principal ornament of the city will arise from the disposition of the [parts] ... and their being all laid out and contrived beautifully and conveniently, ... for without order there can be nothing handsome, convenient or pleasing.”⁶

There is also a link in Alberti’s metaphor of the city and house to human nature. Regarding types of buildings, Alberti wrote that “this great variety and difference among them, are owing principally to the variety there is among mankind. So that, if according to our method we would make a careful inquiry into their sorts and parts, it is here that we begin our disquisition, namely, from the nature of mankind.”⁷ If architecture provides

⁵ Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 13. Alberti finds the house as a small city and the city as a great house allusion compelling enough to repeat in Chapter XIV, Book 5, 100.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

for order in the city and in the house, it should take into account human nature; and for Alberti, human nature was essentially gendered.

The gendering of spaces within the city and house, based on the nature of the sexes, was rigorously and strictly set down by Alberti in the **Ten Books**. Additionally, the rules for behaviour within the spaces of the house not only take on patterns for the genders but for the different ages as well. In Book V, Chapter XVII he wrote:

[A]mong the Greeks it was never usual for the wife to appear at table, if any body was there besides relations; and that the apartments for the women, were parts of the house where no men ever set his foot except the nearest kindred. ... I am besides for having the rooms particularly designed for virgins and young ladies, fitted up in the neatest and most delicate manner, that their tender minds may pass the time in them with less regret and be as little weary of themselves as possible. ... The mistress of the family should have an apartment, in which she may easily hear every thing that is done in the house. ... The husband and the wife should each have a separate chamber. ... The wife's chamber should go into the wardrobe; the husband's into the library. ... Out of this chamber [of the ancient mother] let there be a passage to the place where you keep your treasure. Here place the boys; and by the wardrobe the girls, and near them the lodgings for the nurses. Strangers and guests should be lodged near the vestibule or foregate. ... The sons of fifteen or seventeen years old, should have apartments opposite the guests, or at least not far from them, that they may have an opportunity to converse and grow familiar with them.⁸

The house is not the only place that is governed by gendered principles. Implicitly Alberti segregates all social space, and explicitly he comments on

⁸ *The Ten Books*, 107. Portions of these rules are repeated elsewhere in Alberti's treatise e.g. "Bedchambers are for the matrons, virgins, guests, and are to be separate for each ... and the apartments should be kept distinct for the wife, for the husband, and for the servants ... The house for his spouse should be entirely separated from that of the prince her husband, except only in the last apartment or bed chamber, which should be in common between both" *Ibid.*, 85.

hospitals,⁹ the public bath,¹⁰ bridges, public squares, temples¹¹ and cloisters. While some of the prohibitions against mixing of the sexes are stated off-hand, others expose Alberti's reasoning behind the segregation itself — his determination of human nature. In keeping with the different natures of men and women, architecture provides different spaces for the genders. The house is described in the **Ten Books** as the primary place for women's work:¹²

houses of these [non-aristocrats] , therefore, should be contrived with less regard to their flocks and herds, than to their wives ... [and] ... should be built in such a manner, that the wife may like the abode, and look after her business in it with pleasure. ¹³

Though not nearly as widely read by architects nor as important as the **Ten Books, I Libri Della Famiglia** (written 1434-43)¹⁴ provides further evidence of Alberti's notions on proper social behaviour. It is worthwhile to survey his more explicit thoughts on gender relations at this point because they too were reflected in late-Victorian culture. In Book III, two of the main

⁹ "[T]hat the men and women, as well as the patients, as the persons that attend them, should have apartments separate from one another ." *The Ten Books*, 92.

¹⁰ "[N]either should it [public bath] be placed too far out of the way, because both the chief citizens and the women must resort thither to wash them selves ... one for the women, the other for the men." This implicitly demonstrates that women were not citizens. *Ibid.*, 184.

¹¹ In chapter III of Book VI, Alberti wrote at length of the restricted entry to certain sacred temples and sites of martyrdom, 117: "[T]he temples dedicated to Venus, Diana, the muses, the Nymphs and the more tender goddesses, ought in their structure to imitate that virgin's delicacy and smiling gaiety of youth, which is proper to them; but that Hercules, Mars, and the other greater deities should have temples which should rather fill the beholders with awe by their gravity, than with the pleasure of their beauty." *Ibid.*, 137.

¹² "No store rooms should be wanting for laying up of corn ... nor wardrobes for the women." Alberti builds the metaphor that the house is where you eat and where you keep your wife. *Ibid.*, 109.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹⁴ According to the introduction, the book remained in multiple copy manuscript form in various private libraries until 1734, when the third book was published, under the name of Agnolo Padolfini. Book III was not properly attributed and published until 1843, and in 1845 all three books were published in Florence. The first English translation appeared in 1960, by Cecil Grayson. Watkins, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, 3. *Della Famiglia* was circulated in

characters, Giannozzo and Lionardo, both related to Alberti, have a discussion on the successful running of the household. The first is a family relation in his sixties considered successful and publicly respected, a self-made man of the times. The second is an unwed uncle of twenty-nine who has endeavored to learn about life through the Classics.¹⁵ Giannozzo dominates the conversation, explaining the reasons of his success. Lionardo prompts Giannozzo with the appropriate questions and comments that the classics affirm what the elder has declared.

The central issue is the discussion generated by Lionardo when he inquires how Giannozzo achieved such prominent public success when it was essential to maintain absolute control over the home.¹⁶ Giannozzo responds by asserting the absolute importance of patriarchal dominance in the home, and uses the analogy of the spider to describe the means to this end:

The most industrious creature himself sits at that spot [the centre of his web] and has his residence there. He remains in that place once his work is spun and arranged, but keeps so alert and watchful that if there is a touch on the finest and most distant thread he feels it instantly, instantly appears, and instantly takes care of the situation. Let the father of a family do likewise.¹⁷

Lionardo accepts and commends this plan, based on order and organization of the household. However he still has his doubts if all can be executed.

Florence and apparently was often quoted in speeches in Alberti's time; perhaps by the time Alberti wrote the *The Ten Books*, he had felt that he had said enough on the matter.

¹⁵ Watkins comments that Giannozzo has been commented upon by Werner Sombart as the prototype for "the spirit of capitalism". *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, 9-12.

¹⁶ In retrospect, Giannozzo's theory is similar to the "two spheres." The "two spheres" ideology is well documented, for examples see Janet Guilford and Suzanne Morton eds. *Separate Spheres; Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983) or Annmarie Adams *Architecture in a Family Way; Doctors, Houses and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997).

¹⁷ Alberti in *The Family in Renaissance Florence*. 206.

Giannozzo states that the answer is simple: "Since I find it no easy matter to deal with the needs of the household when I must often be engaged with other men in arranging matters of wider consequence ... the smaller household affairs ... I leave to my wife's care."¹⁸ The elder further comments that the true role of men is in the public domain and that the place of women is in the house. At this point Lionardo adds that this segregation is represented in the teachings of the ancients.¹⁹ Giannozzo explains that it is mostly through his instruction that his wife has become so adept at handling the affairs of the house.²⁰ However, he did not reveal everything to her. A man must keep his private financial records secret and hidden from his wife in his study, where her entry is forbidden. In the remainder of Book III, Giannozzo relates episodes elucidating his method for training a wife. He also describes the faults that cause femininity in men and warns against them.²¹

Alberti's point of view concerning the genders was not universal during the Renaissance. It was, however, the dominant mode of thought throughout Europe, and was to prevail well into this century. Constance Jordan in **Renaissance Feminism** documents the relatively few texts that either attempted to mitigate the misogyny of mainstream Classically-derived thought, or attempted to describe the "equality in difference" between the

¹⁸ Alberti in **The Family in Renaissance Florence**, 207.

¹⁹ "The character of men is stronger than that of women and can bear the attacks of enemies better, can stand strain longer, is more constant under stress. Therefore men have the freedom to travel with honour in foreign lands, acquiring and gathering the goods of fortune. Women, on the other hand, are almost all timid by nature, soft, slow, and therefore more useful when they sit still and watch over our things." *Ibid.*, 207.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 208.

²¹ Both Alberti's texts warn explicitly against certain effeminate behaviour: laziness – See **The Ten Books**, 67; overindulgence – See *ibid.*, 67; excess trifling over home matters – See **The Family in Renaissance Florence**, 208; and letting your wife play a public role – See *Ibid.*, 207.

genders.²² Though these texts existed, they attempted to assert the masculine capabilities and skills of a particular woman, not the virtuous characteristics of womankind.²³ In Judith C. Brown's article "A Woman's Place was in the Home: Women's Work in Renaissance Tuscany," she demonstrated that the near absence of women in public was due, in part, to economic conditions.²⁴ Florence was highly industrialized when compared with the average Renaissance city; industrialization brought on new wealth and specialization. Women could afford to enter the market of marriage, where they "were seen, not merely as the caretakers of the material welfare of their home, but also the guardians of its religious and moral values."²⁵

Mark Wigley observes that the explicit gender segregation based on an implicit derivation of human nature in the **Ten Books** and **Della Famiglia** resulted in the gendering of space.²⁶ The public domain became masculine and masculinizing, and the home was feminine and feminizing. In Alberti's writing, this can be interpreted from his cloister and public square examples above. The public gaze on the square may inculcate positive moral behaviour. Positive moral behaviour, or virtue, was normally, in the Albertian models, attributed to the male and, as Giannozzo's example demonstrates, must be taught to women.

²² **Renaissance Feminism** (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1990), 4-9.

²³ For example Sir Thomas Elyot's **Defense of Good Women** (1540) was dedicated to Anne of Cleves because of her masculine capabilities. From Jordan, **Renaissance Feminism**. 119-22.

²⁴ in Margaret W Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers, eds. **Rewriting the Renaissance; The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 206-26.

²⁵ **Sexuality and Space**, 215.

²⁶ In *Ibid.*, 332-60. Anne Bergen describes the genesis of gendered space in Plato's **Timaeus**. In John Whiteman, Jeffrey Kipnis and Richard Burdett, eds. **Strategies in Architectural Thinking** (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1991), 8-47.

The cultural tradition of associating spaces with genders and behaviours, was explicit in Victorian England.²⁷ As Deborah E.B. Weiner demonstrates in **Architecture and Social Reform in Late Victorian London** the working-class education system was remodeled in the late-nineteenth century so that children were taught behaviour patterns that emulated the ideals of the upper classes.²⁸ This ideal was a gender divided society, or the “two spheres” ideology. This orientation of the educational system was part of broader social view of the late-Victorian era. Britain’s imperialist self-view combined within the contexts of social Darwinism and the utilitarian ethic to form the idea that society must be organized for the greater good. Why educate women with the fundamentals of math and science when their primary role was to be child bearer and guardian of the home’s culture? A Mrs. Grey, while running for the 1870 London schoolboard election, provided the following example of the kind of lesson education had to learn:

“Strange, indeed!” her teachers would say, “she was a good grammarian, and could repeat long pieces of poetry, and could scramble through the needle work that had been cut out for her, ... and she was in Fractions in her sums.” And she was for a short – all too short – a time in service, and then she was married; and then very soon she was called upon to become purveyor and cook and laundress and dressmaker and needlewoman and nurse and family doctor in one; and she had not the smallest training in any one of these important offices! Then she failed in health for want of ordinary knowledge of the rules of hygiene; and then her looks went, and her temper suffered, and love flew out of a very dirty window.²⁹

²⁷ As Penny A. Weiss points out so was it active in Rousseau’s post revolutionary view of society. See **Gendered Community: Rousseau, Sex and Politics** (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 54-74. Further evidence of this gendered attitude in early-twentieth century Europe is provide by the fact that **Della Famiglia** was edited and published 1908, became a canonic text in Italian schools, and was republished many times. Watkins, **The Family in Renaissance Florence**, 3.

²⁸ Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994, 133-47.

²⁹ From Weiner, **Architectural and Social Reform**, 135.

The model provided by the homes of the aristocracy represented the aspirations of a broader British culture and were a direct if unconscious reflection of Alberti's gendered architecture. These homes were organized by the "two spheres" ideology; the male-oriented rooms contained private bath and cloak rooms, and served as a self-contained gentlemen's suite.³⁰ This was as much to separate the men's noise and smoke from the rest of the house as it was to provide men with comfortable masculine territory in which they conducted their business and discussed politics, which was considered rough and scandalous, without affronting the virtue of women.³¹

Within the "two sphere," numerous specialty male-designated spaces evolved away from home, of which the private club and the office building are two. These formed the public domain of the male, and the home or private sphere was given to women to maintain. The home was a place for the raising of children and of women's work, and a receptacle for fragile culture. Walter Holton was to write of the home in 1857 as "a place apart, a walled garden in which certain virtues too easily crushed by modern life could be preserved and certain desires of the heart too much thwarted to be fulfilled."³²

The evolution of spaces for business transactions from the gentlemen's rooms in homes, to clubs and finally to office buildings, has been discussed by

³⁰ Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 112-4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

³² Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in a Family Way*, 5.

John Summerson in **Georgian London**.³³ The Travelers' Club was one of the first male oriented clubs to serve this function and was founded in 1814, because of the Napoleonic Wars, to "encourage the exchange of ideas between Englishmen and foreigners at a time when the Continent had been closed to civilians for twenty years."³⁴ Likewise the United Services Club was founded in 1815 for Army and Militia Officers. These clubs were the first to become an architectural type in their own right (see Figure 31, United Services Club). Previously, clubs had been merely proprietary coffee-houses, "designed very much like private houses."³⁵

In London, in the mid-nineteenth century, the evolution of masculine spaces would be continued in the first office buildings constructed specifically for business. One of the earliest was the Sun Life Insurance Office, designed by C. R. Cockerell and constructed in 1849 (Figure 32). The building was not distinct from upper-class urban homes at the time; both types of buildings sought architectural models in the Italian Renaissance palazzo.³⁶ The model of the urban home was appropriate because businesses were often organized like households, due in part to their size. At the time, clerical skills were precious, and even wealthy, relatively large businesses such as Sun Life were

³³ Chapter XVII, "Private Wealth and Public Architecture," **Georgian London** (London: Pleiades Books Ltd., 1948), 217 -37. Very little has been written on the architecture of men's clubs.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 227.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

³⁶ Both urban building types sought this association because the palazzo was the neoclassical model that most exuded stability, a desired quality at the time. Francis Duffy, in King, Anthony D. ed., **Buildings and Society; Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment** (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1980), 261.

small by today's standards. For example, Sun Life's entire staff in 1880 numbered eighty.³⁷

Though not as common, another type of office building became apparent at the middle of the nineteenth century. It consisted of an assemblage of a number of smaller units, and was intended for businesses consisting of one to three people. The outward appearance of these structures was more of an apartment house than a palazzo. Oriel Chambers, Liverpool, designed by Peter Ellis in 1864 (Figure 33), was an example of this kind of building. Its modular exterior was an exception to the typical office apartment found in London at the time and it is important to note that it foreshadowed the direction that office construction would take thirty years later in the United States, exemplified by the Wainwright Building (Figure 29).³⁸ However, its interior design was more closely allied with the Sun Life Building than its modern descendants. The interiors of these offices, represented here by a photograph of a suite in the Sun Life Insurance building (Figure 34), had the appearance of gentlemen's rooms in aristocratic homes. This image clearly states the origins of the place of business transaction.

Thus, Alberti's conception of private chamber for men's business was over time transformed into a private suite in the Industrial Revolution-era home. By the nineteenth century, men's business was housed in the private clubs which were more or less small male-oriented houses in public parts of the city. By the middle of the century, specially designed buildings strictly for business evolved, and provided a precursor to the American skyscraper. Consistently these spaces were exclusively for men. The Dominion Express

³⁷ Duffy, *Buildings*, 260.

³⁸ A pile of identical rooms, on a grand scale. Duffy, *Buildings*, 263.

Building inherited this tradition of male-oriented suites for business. As the building contained offices and a private dining club, it was preconceived as almost an entirely masculine and male-dominated space. Business architecture was specifically designed to support masculine roles. Hence, there was a distinct lack of women's spaces, and the ones that were included were marginalized.³⁹

The Dominion Express Building also supported the function of the surveying gaze of the patriarch by being placed at the centre of activity.⁴⁰ Its site provided a conspicuous positioning at the financial heart of Montreal. The businessmen who worked in the space would be seen under Alberti's dictates as the patriarchs of the city. If these business men wished, they could dine in private in the Montreal Club and conduct business; being situated on the ninth floor they overlooked a city which, in many ways, they owned and controlled.

The power of vision and gaze are worth elaborating at this point. There is a continuity of a sight-knowledge-power dynamic in Western culture.⁴¹ In the eighteenth century, visual perception was privileged in new terms. Light and sight were the direct linkages to nature, the direct contact from the outer world to man's mind, and the path, through imagination, of

³⁹ Cross, in *The Canadian City*, maintains that the most women workers in late-nineteenth-century Montreal were employed in manufacturing. 322-47. Until the automation of the office, which occurred in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and later in Canada, office documentation and accounting was done by hand, required more skill and was relatively well-paid, hence remaining under the control of men. Spain, *Gendered*, 183-200.

⁴⁰ In *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, Alberti evoked the allegory that the patriarch's position should be that of a spider — seated in the centre of his business activities, able to sense any disturbance or displacement and clearly viewed as the foundation and director of his affairs.

⁴¹ Surveillance assisted in the "real and effective incorporation of power, in the sense that power had to be able to gain access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and

knowledge. "The sense of sight alone can provide images, ... its unbounded scope enriches the imagination more than all others [senses] together."⁴² This privileging of light and sight gave way, as has been investigated by Foucault, to mechanisms and manifestations of their importance: the Panopticon and the panorama. In Jeremy Bentham's **Panopticon** (1787), the prison was modeled so that the visual perception of the guards dominated the entire prison.⁴³ In 1794, Buford's Panorama opened in London (Figure 35); the three-storey circular building was constructed with a single goal: the depiction of a 360-degree view for public display. The picture shown in the panorama, ca. 1850, was the "The Fall Delhi, City of Lucknow," the imperial triumph of the British over India – vision as power.⁴⁴

In summation, the Dominion Express Building served the purpose, within this context, of supporting the male role of businessman. The "Square Mile" saw British culture as the model for their culture. There the "two spheres" ideology was institutionalized as an explicit part of education and public life. The building was almost exclusively male because public or business life was meant to be the exclusive realm of men. The skyscraper-like form and location of the site also aided in supporting the idealized role of the patriarch. The building was a landmark, prominently placed in the

modes of everyday behaviour." Foucault, **Power/Knowledge; Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977** (1980), 125.

⁴² *Encyclopédie-Un Dictionnaire Raisonné des Science, des Art et des Métiers, par une Société des Gens de Lettres* (1765) from Bressani, *Architectura*, 44.

⁴³ The Panopticon was not just a model for prisons; Bentham envisioned it as housing any institution where discipline and control was paramount. Foucault dedicated a chapter to what he terms Panopticism in **Discipline and Punish** (London: Allen Lane, 1977), Trans. A. Sheridan, 195-228.

⁴⁴ Panoramas were also popular in Paris in the 19th century. Bressani characterizes Jacques-Ignace Hittorff's *Panorama des Champs Elsée* (1840) as the classic example, although he does not place importance on the panorama as a cultural manifestation. *Architectura*, 37-57.

downtown core. The large windows of the Club, conspicuously observable, but impenetrable from the exterior, supported the gaze of ownership.

B: Order, decoration and purity in Neoclassical architecture.

The decoration and style of the Dominion Express Building caused the patrons to be disappointed. Shaughnessy particularly disliked the white-glazed terra-cotta exterior as a whole, and Stout regarded the decoration and some features of the building as extravagances that impaired the efficient functioning of the building. Shaughnessy went as far as to liken the exterior of the building to a confectionery shop — a clear slight against the design, associating the feminine or childish domain of the latter with the anticipated masculinity of the former. The Maxwells followed a proven model by using a white exterior, Neoclassical ornament and program on a financial structure, yet their design had yielded a culturally ambiguous result. It is worthwhile to explore, at this point, Alberti's commentary on ornament and decoration and the repetition of parallel doctrine within Neoclassical styling.

In **The Ten Books**, Alberti outlined the definition of beauty and ornament, emphasized simplicity and purity, and warned against visual and literal contamination. For Alberti beauty and ornament have particular meaning: ⁴⁵ "I shall define beauty to be a harmony of all the parts, in whatsoever subject it appears, fixed together with such proportion and connection, that nothing could be added, or diminished or altered, but for the worse."⁴⁶ Later in the same section, Alberti differentiated ornament from

⁴⁵ Rykwert, Leach and Tavernor provide a glossary that defines beauty and order in the same way I am, directly from Book VI, **On the Art of Building in Ten Books** (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1988), 420.

⁴⁶ Alberti, **The Ten Books**, 113.

beauty: "So that then beauty is somewhat lovely which is proper and innate, and diffused over the whole body, and ornament somewhat added or fastened on, rather than proper or innate."⁴⁷

Beauty meant balance and composition of parts in accordance with and in harmony with nature. For a building to be beautiful it had to be in harmony, or in order, because "without order there can be nothing handsome, convenient or pleasing."⁴⁸ Harmonic beauty, innate to the structure and not dependent on ornament, had a geometric and mathematical derivation:

The whole force and rule of design, consists in a right and exact adapting and joining together the lines and angles which compose and form the face of the building ... and we can in our thought and imagination contrive perfect forms of buildings entirely separate from matter, by settling and regulating in a certain order, the disposition and conjunction of the lines and angles.⁴⁹

Beauty was, apart from the harmony of parts, derived from the observable true geometry of the building, the idealized regular shape suggested by, or beneath, the ornament. Alberti further theorized on the process of discerning and defining beauty:

But the judgment which you make that a thing is beautiful, does not proceed from mere opinion, but from a secret argument and discourse implanted in the mind itself ...we immediately perceive this congruity: for by nature we desire things perfect, and adhere to them with pleasure when they are offered to us⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 113.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 134. Lefavre and Tzonis comment on the inexact boundary, in Alberti's text, between the terms: harmony, order, convenient, pleasing and beauty. "The Question of Autonomy in Architecture," *Harvard Architectural Review*, vol. 3 (Winter 1984), 29.

⁴⁹ Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 194-5.

For Alberti a portion of beauty was also derived from perceived congruity or *concinnitas*.⁵¹ In terms of the classical relationships of resemblance, *concinnitas* can be roughly equaled to Foucault's definition of *aemulatio*.⁵² In these terms, architecture was beautiful if certain idealized forms provided by nature were discernible in the building.⁵³

Ornament was also further defined and refined in the **Ten Books**.

Initially, Alberti set no explicit boundaries as to what kind of ornament could be used, but he did define the word to mean the outward surface of the building:

[T]he principal ornament both of the wall and covering, and especially of all vaulted roofs (always excepted columns) is the outward coat: and this may be of several sorts; either all white, or adorned with figures and stuc-work, or with painting, or pictures set in panels, or with mosaic work, or else a mixture of all these together.⁵⁴

In other places in the text, ornament was more restricted. Alberti wrote that ornament should not be mixed⁵⁵ and that the "chief and first ornament of anything is to be free from all improprieties."⁵⁶

Alberti developed the concepts of purity and simplicity as applied to architecture. In Alberti's writing ornamental control and ordered beauty were

⁵¹ *Concinnitas* is commented upon by Robert Tavernor in his Ph.D. Thesis, *Concinnitas in the Architectural Theory and Practice of Leon Battista Alberti* (University of Cambridge, 1985.)

⁵² *Aemulatio* is defined in *The Order of Things* (New York: Random House Inc., 1973), 19. "it is means whereby things scattered through the universe can answer one another." If the copy is perfect there is a twin-ship between the two representations, and it is no longer important which is the copy, they are united through resemblance.

⁵³ The source of these idealized forms are never clearly stated by Alberti, I think that geometry and the finest examples of ancient architecture could serve as the divine ideal to be emulated.

⁵⁴ Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 119.

⁵⁵ "and here [in fixing the ornaments] he [the architect] should be careful not to mix" and "always be sure to never make a confusion of the orders." *Ibid.*, 204.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

reflections of virtuous appearance. These purifications and simplifications were not just to be exercised on the hidden geometric form of the building; there are places in the text where ornamental control was paramount: “nothing requires our attention so much as the covering.”⁵⁷ It was important that the outer coat, the ornament, the surface, of architecture be pure. Alberti’s derivation of the *pure* is related to the reader in a section describing the ancients’ method of purifying the boundaries of a new city: “the ancients used to mark out the foundation of their walls by throwing all the way a dust made of white earth, which they called *pure*” (italics, my emphasis).⁵⁸ In this act, the boundaries or shape of civilization became purified.

Purity and virtue were also directly linked to a colour: white.⁵⁹

Together with simplicity, purity of surface could assist in developing reverent and proper behaviour: “Purity and simplicity of colour, as of life, must be most pleasing to the divine being ... it is not proper to have any thing in a church that may be likely to draw off men’s thoughts from devotion and fix them upon the pleasure and delight of the senses.”⁶⁰ For Alberti, white was repeatedly touted as the superlative colour choice, perhaps because of its *concinntas* with purity.⁶¹ The prohibitions against impurity set out in the

⁵⁷ Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁹ It is worth noting that Alberti’s interpretation of the architecture of classical Greece as colourless or white was incorrect, and probably due to a millennium of weathering. This misrepresentation was willfully perpetuated despite the discoveries made by James Stuart and Nicholas Revette, remarking on the discovery of colour and published in *Antiques of Athens* (1762), and the further work of A.C. Quattremare de Quincy (1755-1834) and J.I. Hittorff (1792-1867) to excavate and publish fully coloured drawings of what Greek temples would have looked like. From R. D. Middleton “Hittorff’s Polychrome Campaign” in *The Beaux-arts*, 174-95.

⁶⁰ Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 149.

⁶¹ “I should choose brass, if the lovely purity of fine white marble did not oblige me to give that preference.” *Ibid.*, 161. see also pages 126, 128.

Ten Books were not restricted to religious sites, but were a general rule as to the virtuous masculine role in society: “In a word, all the wisest men are agreed in this, that the greatest care and precaution ought to be used to keep the city from being corrupted.”⁶² In Alberti’s treatise, virtue also meant shunning any form of extravagance:

We find that among the ancients the men of the greatest prudence and modesty were always best pleased with temperance and parsimony in all things, both public and private, and in particular the affair of building, judging it necessary to prevent and restrain all extravagance and profusion in their citizens in these point, which they did to the utmost of their power both by admonitions and laws.⁶³

Ornament and beauty were in effect united by Alberti’s virtuous architecture with prohibitions against corruption, extravagance, un-harmonic proportion and irregular form. It would seem natural for Alberti to apply *concinntas* , here, toward virtue as well. The architect enters into society because of his knowledge of *concinntas* — because he has knowledge of idealized societal rules, not accessible by society in general.⁶⁴ The architect was then able to set down a moralizing structure that infused and reflected the higher, divine ideal.

It is also worthwhile to investigate why architecture had to conform to values of virtue by shunning extravagance and being pure. Alberti inherited, from the ancient Greeks, an architecture, as practice and object, that had been gendered feminine. While the Leoni edition of the **Ten Books** removed

⁶² Alberti, *The Ten Books*, 134.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 187. Albert also states: “the world never commends a moderation, so much as it blames an extravagant intemperance in a building,” *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁴ In the glossary entry for *virtu* , Rykwert, Leach and Travernor, *On the Art of Building* , 426. See also Carroll William Westfall, “Society, Beauty and The Humanist Architect in Alberti’s *De Re Aedificatoria*,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969), 66.

many of the gendered pronouns in translation, the more recent Rykwert, Leach and Tavernor translation re-inserts them. In the Prologue, Alberti wrote: "[Architecture] gives comfort and the greatest pleasure to mankind, to individual and community alike; nor does *she* rank last among the most honorable arts"⁶⁵ (italics, mine). Wigley and Anne Bergren point out the specifically female gendered nature of architecture, as a discipline and as building in their articles.⁶⁶ It is not surprising then that Giannozzo's lessons to his wife concerning make-up and the importance of appearance parallel Alberti's architectural treatise. For example: "[V]ain and foolish are women who imagine that when they appear in make-up and look far from virtuous they will be praised by those who see them."⁶⁷ It seems that for the Renaissance man, architecture's ornament and form must be regulated to represent virtuous appearance, because buildings were inherently feminine and lacked natural virtue.

Alberti can be seen to have initiated a reform of architecture designed to purge it of impurities and to ensure that buildings were a beautiful

⁶⁵ *On the Art of Building*, 3.

⁶⁶ Wigley, *Sexuality*, 360-1. Bergren in *Strategies in Architectural Thinking*, 13-9. Bergren's article highlights a portion of Plato's *Timaeus* that outlines the necessity of purity for the mother. In this case, the mother is a metaphysical construction, a pre-cosmic ideal. Plato wrote: "Wherefore the mother and receptacle of all created and visible and in any way sensible ... is an invisible and formless being which receives all things and in some mysterious way partakes in the intelligible, and is most incomprehensible." 50a, 1178. The necessity of purity, in this case a lack of form, for the mother is because "Nothing can be beautiful which is like some imperfect thing." *Ibid.*, 30c, 1163. Also, if the mother should leave any impression on the matter it was contributing the copy would "take the impression badly." See Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, *Plato, the Collected Dialogues* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 50e, 1177.

⁶⁷ *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, 213. Also "[the mother's] purity has always far out weighed her beauty ... a beautiful face is praised, but unchaste eyes make it ugly. ... Use every means to appear to all people as a highly respectable woman ... avoid giving any sign that your spirit lacks perfect balance and chastity." *Ibid.*, 213. And also "You'll not poison yourself or whiten your face to make yourself seem more beautiful for me. You are white and bright

contribution to society; this meant that buildings had to be capable of provoking the proper virtuous response. Throughout the preceding centuries, Neoclassical architects and theorists, to varying degrees, re-initiated Alberti's project. Reviewing the body of Neoclassical architecture as presented in Chapter 2, section C2.1, elaborates this point. Perrault, Blondel, Lodoli, Boullée, J.N.L. Durand and Guadet all sought to make architecture conform to a more fully realized set of ideal principles. Their goals were not identical, but whether they were conscious of it or not, they had embraced Alberti's demand for systematic design based on mathematical principles and geometry and refined it, until the only vestige of Classicism that remained were the orders. Perrault and finally Durand had refined the orders too, their usage was considered a matter of good taste, and this could be taught to the architect at the *École*.

Architecture functioned as a tool for social control and cultural expression, although the values of these were not necessarily or uniformly maintained. In the eighteenth century, architecture as control was explicit among theorists Carlo Lodoli and the Jesuit father Laugier. They viewed architecture as a paradigm of society. Lodoli and Laugier purified aspects of architecture that Alberti set out: composition, geometry and proportion. However, they would use a mathematics and a concept of function that the Renaissance man could not have predicted. In the end though, Lodoli and Laugier shared Alberti's implicit aim: "a better, a more consequent, a purer architecture: and society."⁶⁸

complexioned for me as you are ... you will just wash and keep clean with water alone." Ibid., 215.

⁶⁸ Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, 299.

Later in the eighteenth century, architecture would again reassess its power to instill social morality. Boullée would be highly influenced by the writings of Rousseau.⁶⁹ Rousseau had written that after man had, like a spider, spread his web of perception into the world he must withdraw into his hole and seek in his imagination to re-make the world in ideal terms. Only in this imaginary reconstruction can “the self gain a new space for expansion,”⁷⁰ and escape the constricting real world. In the infinite the contemplator “loses himself with a delicious intoxication of the beautiful system in which he feels himself identified ... he sees and feels nothing except the whole of things.”⁷¹ In his *Essai*, in his descriptions of his Cenotaph for Newton (Figure 17), Boullée envisages the monument serving a parallel function to Rousseau’s imaginary construction. From the exterior the cenotaph was the figure of the earth, the world of immediate sensations. Once inside, the viewer emerged into an idealized universe where, by the visual perfection of the sphere “which has neither beginning nor end,”⁷² he remains in place and is instilled with a happy and calm sense of awe. Having perceived the infinite universe, the viewer acquires knowledge of it.

By the nineteenth century, the economic spirit espoused by Giannozzo had come to dominate every aspect of culture, including religion. Man was at his most masculine when he was economically active, and besides, virtue, like taste, could be taught. One of the ways that business culture demonstrated that it had learned proper taste and virtue was by preferring

⁶⁹ Bressani, *Architectura*, 50.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷¹ Rousseau from *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 52.

Neoclassical architecture. Neoclassical architecture was chosen because of the values it connoted: stability, through the association with Antiquity and the Renaissance; taste, because the *École* taught that the orders represented it; and order, because of the explicit geometric harmony of the style.⁷³ For Alberti, the most important social structure was the church or temple. In the nineteenth century, the values Alberti ascribed to the temple were transferred onto the structures of capital: the bank and the office building. Nicholas Taylor outlines this particular use of the style in **Monuments of Commerce**. During the mid-nineteenth century when London's population exceeded one million and British urban culture began to change, architects and engineers imposed the traditional Neoclassical format in an effort to bring order to what was seen as a decaying city life.⁷⁴

By re-evaluating the patrons' dislikes of the exterior of the Dominion Express Building within this context, they appear to be based on entrenched cultural values. Shaughnessy's dislike of the exterior directly reflects Alberti's predilection for the design of a temple to a major deity. The building was too light and playful; the ornament was too distracting. Shaughnessy's exact words were that he thought the exterior would "distract a great deal from the *beauty* and *dignity* of the building"⁷⁵ (emphasis mine), words that could have come from the Renaissance architect himself. Stout

⁷³ It is noteworthy that at the beginning of the industrial revolution, when religion was still the primary source for Britain's moral examples, Neoclassical styles were popular for church architecture. By the mid-nineteenth century, when the church initiated reform in attempting to reestablish its waning prominence – the church was no longer the clearly dominant source of values – church architecture embraced the Gothic Revival style.

⁷⁴ Nicholas Taylor, *Monuments of Commerce* (London: Country Life Books, n.d.), 1-5. Maxine Copeland notes that the same occurred in Paris. Early urban *immeubles* were ornamented with a thin Classical veneer to denote opulence and the proper aura. From "Building Classicism; Speculative Development in 18th Century Paris," Iain Borden and David Dunster eds. *Architecture and the Sites of History* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1995), 163-75.

⁷⁵ Letter 25, RG2, see Appendix III.

also, had an opinion remarkably parallel to Alberti's, when he condemned some of the decorative elements and the ventilation system as extravagances that impaired the efficient functioning of the building.

Alberti emphasized the surface and the facade of buildings as the site of the communication of concepts; throughout Neoclassical history, this function of the exterior was maintained. This in part explains why the outside of the building is treated differently from the interior. The exterior communicated the building's particular function to the public.

This contextualization makes the comparison of the Dominion Express Building with the Loft building, from Chapter 2, more understandable. The President of the C.P.R. wanted a business structure that looked like it was ready for business; pared down, simplified, and free from distraction.

When Stout and Shaughnessy made comments degrading the Dominion Express Building, their comments were not directly informed by architectural discourse. The patrons were first and foremost men of business. Drawing the above association demonstrates that the clients' understanding of how architecture was to function paralleled some of the architect's tradition of inscribing architecture with values. The patrons knew what they wanted to express, their values were well defined, and the Maxwells had not fulfilled all of the patrons' requirements. The reason why the Maxwells had not provided the correct exterior was partially due to their role as architects, and the priorities of that role within architecture as opposed to the priorities of business. It will become apparent in the next section why these were or were perceived as being different.

C: The position of the architect.

One of the more curious aspects of the Dominion Express project was the problematic relationship between the Maxwells and the patrons. What function was the architect expected to have in society, and specifically in the business culture of Montreal?

In establishing a model for Montreal's business culture at the turn of the century it is important to acknowledge the influence of late Victorian British aristocratic values. Joshua Wolfe, translator of **Mansions of the Golden Square Mile**, stated that these Montrealers considered themselves primarily as British or Scottish, not Canadian, and that they sought at every opportunity to re-create Great Britain in Canada. Their cultural expression was part of their construction of their identity as British subjects and an expression of their heritage.⁷⁶

The pre-eminent literary representation of this sub-cultural group's British prototype is **The Man of Property** (first published in 1906) by John Galsworthy. In the novel, the key characterization of this class was that it prized ownership and property to such an extent that nothing else mattered; this and the idea of accumulation by bequeath governed its every decision. This characterization was not made for the sake of drama. In his 1949 introduction to the novel, Lionel Stevenson points to the socially aware motives of the author. Galsworthy was one of the privileged upper-middle class and became concerned by the lack of real values amongst his relatives and their friends. The purpose of the novel was to attack the foundations of

⁷⁶ Sweeny, **The Architecture of ...**, 36.

the bourgeoisie, the class that Matthew Arnold had labeled “Philistines” and Galsworthy was to call “Forsytes.” The British bourgeoisie had replaced God with money. All values that fell outside the boundary of accumulation and possession were considered superfluous, and the same set of values governed all aspects of life: art, personal relationships and marriage.

One of the central conflicts in the novel occurs between Philip Bosinney, a young architect, and Soames Forsyte, lawyer and the most voracious of accumulators. Bosinney is a Bohemian; he cares for aesthetic and sensual pleasures, and for his craft. He is not the only architect in the novel (others are mentioned and described as being more conservative minded); he is more the representative artist and the foil to Soames’s character. Soames, like any Forsyte, wants to fill his life with beautiful possessions, but only for the sake of owning them. He is an avid painting collector, but to quote Stevenson, his collecting “is entirely devoid of aesthetic pleasure, and considers only how much was paid for the article, whether it was a good bargain, and if it will eventually bring more than it cost.”⁷⁷ This can be extended to describe Soames’s attitude to both architecture and wives.⁷⁸

Though Soames’s actions are sometimes different from his sentiments, as Bosinney makes numerous successful appeals to the lawyer’s ego and competitive nature, he cares little for architecture beyond the status and ownership it affords. Soames implicitly despises the young architect because he has a completely different set of values than his own; Bosinney cares little for his appearance, for where he lives or for finances. Soames desires a new,

⁷⁷ Lionel Stevenson, Introduction to *The Man of Property*, xvi.

⁷⁸ Soames’s wife, Irene, is a beautiful woman who falls in love with Bosinney. Soames can never understand why she could never love him, and cannot understand why she would have an

architect-designed home in the fashionable countryside surrounding London – “the value of the land was certain to go up”⁷⁹ – and decides, after preliminary inquiries which tell him that Bosinney has some talent, to hire the relatively untested architect. He counts on Bosinney’s inexperience to allow him to set the terms of the contract. The two parties begin in conflict, the pattern of which is to be repeated through the novel. Soames sets a budget for the house with an ultimatum: build it for £ 8000 or it will not be built. Bosinney makes a design that costs more and then delivers his own ultimatum: nothing can be changed or I quit. Soames complies, recognizing the status the house will bring him.

While the characters in **The Man of Property** are by no means representative of those in the Dominion Express project, they do provide a model for the architect and client relationship at the same time. Soames represents the typical Forsyte: thoroughly business-minded, a man of public image, an anti-aesthete.⁸⁰ In some ways, Bosinney is the typical architect: devoted to his art, impractical, without method. The two parties distrust one another and fail to understand each other’s point of view. Bosinney feels threatened by compromise caused by having a budget and by the imposition of conventional taste; and Soames is threatened by the architects’ untamed,

affair. He cannot understand the emotional component of relationships and sees her as another one of his possessions.

⁷⁹ Galsworthy, **The Man of Property**, 52.

⁸⁰ In many respects Soames’s character duplicates that of Alberti’s Giannozzo from **The Family in Renaissance Florence**. Their belief in masculine public image, the right of property, the dominance of economic concerns, some of the wives role and the importance of gleaming outward appearance – good tailoring. In as much as architecture can be considered a discursive formation, in Foucault’s terms, a table of differentiation of women’s role, as set out by architecture, shifts slightly from Alberti’s era to the bourgeoisie of England in the nineteenth century. In the Nineteenth century, women no longer directly contribute to the economy of the home, their primary function became cultural guardian and child bearer. In the Renaissance, the home was a source of real economic production.

uncontrolled creativity that disregards value and efficiency. This lack of trust and understanding dogs every interaction between the two, and if Soames had not convinced himself that he was getting a good deal, he would have broken off the project.

Culturally, the reasoning that underlies this mutual distrust can be traced back to Alberti and beyond. Architects as artisans suffered under the taint of femininity.⁸¹ Alberti had tried, like Vitruvius before him and others after,⁸² to align architecture with the broader societal goals of the dominant class not only because the function of supporting those discourses was inherent to architecture, nor only in attempt to provide a degree of autonomy for the field, but to also present himself as a “man” of rigor, of letters and of specialized knowledge. If architecture had suffered under the fundamental crisis of being subordinate to the dominant class because of its inherent femininity, it would only seem natural for the architect to try and overcome this deficit. The rigorous moral assertions of Alberti in the **Ten Books** and in **Della Famiglia** demonstrated that good architects understood the rules of order in society and could apply them. These assertions also demonstrated that despite Alberti’s marginalized status as an artisan, he was one of the “boys.”⁸³ Further, by presenting the body of architectural knowledge as being

⁸¹ Wigley also asserts that: “[t]he discipline of architecture, organized by man for man, is feminine.” **Sexuality and Space**, 361. The characterization of the artist as effeminate or not fully masculine is also made by Gaye Tuchman in “Women and the Creation of Culture” in M. Millman and R.M. Kanter eds., **Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science** (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1975).

⁸² Kenneth Clarke comments on Palladio’s ambition with his ten books on architecture of which only four were completed, and published as **The Four Books of Architecture** (first published 1570). In “Humanism and Architecture,” **Architectural Review** (April 1953), 65-9. Rykwert comments on Leoni’s goal with his translation of Alberti. In **The First Moderns**.

⁸³ Leone Battista was an illegitimate son. His father recognized him; however, his immediate family was exiled from Florentine society until Battista reached early adulthood. He was an ordained priest and never married.

a necessity to social function and a complex field requiring scientific knowledge, he demonstrated that the architect was not trifling with little feminine concerns; well-respected masculine men produce architecture.⁸⁴

Like the orders though, gender segregation and the belief system that provided a basis for it were still a matter of proper moral expression and good taste in the nineteenth century. As much as Soames is the embodiment of Giannozzo's spirit of capitalism, Bosinney participates in all of the faults of the effeminate man. The view of the architect as an uncontrolled, unordered and creative artist, continued to stigmatize the profession of architecture, and has sometimes contributed to disallowing the field full status among dominant business subcultures – as exemplified by the treatment of the Maxwell's by Shaughnessy and Stout.

In the late-nineteenth century, as the business class began to realize the values of Alberti's men of the "greatest prudence and modesty" – temperance, parsimony and the restraint of extravagance and profusion, the same values embodied by the Forsytes – it began to insist upon the same qualities in architecture. In North America, with the rise of engineering, architecture of a conventional nature became an increasingly hard sell; patrons were unwilling to put up with the "art" component of architecture.⁸⁵ The patron's suspicion that the architect was tainted by extravagance, and ultimately by femininity, aggravated the relationship between the two parties.

⁸⁴ Giannozzo makes a clear statement in deference to men of learning despite his righteous domination of the entire conversation through the first two-thirds of book III: "How can I, by my words, win the approbation of educated persons like yourselves, who read and converse every day with divine intellects?" *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, 231.

⁸⁵ Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice*, 31.

Given the above cultural context, Shaughnessy and Stout, regardless of Edward Maxwell's business savvy, could never fully trust a Maxwell design. The patrons had misgivings about such an architectural design, finely-crafted, subtle and delicate.⁸⁶ Stout was especially concerned about efficient function: he demanded the reduction of the exterior decoration and he removed the elaborate ventilation system the Maxwells had planned. Shaughnessy condemned the glossy white exterior of the Dominion Express Building while evoking Alberti's terminology of beauty and dignity. It is within this context too, that the patrons' general badgering of the architects makes sense.⁸⁷ The Maxwells were a respected and highly successful firm and the patrons knew they were getting the best. However they were architects: architects tended to extravagance and were caught up in their art – tainted by the feminine – like women, they had to be controlled, watched over, kept in line. The patrons kept the architects on for further commissions because they knew they were good, but like Soames, it did not mean that they had to like or understand them.

⁸⁶ The Maxwells had, in part, built their reputation on their beautiful and elaborate house designs. See Chapter 2.

⁸⁷ Shaughnessy had treated Bruce Price shabbily in 1887 when he held back payment to the architect. Price had to write two letters pleading for the money. See Appendix III, Letters 45 & 46.

Conclusion.

What does the Dominion Express Building mean in this study? The answer is neither simple nor unified. The building is the result of a variety of influences that have neither the same effect nor the same depth. The narrative of the building and the breakdown of the factors revealed by it, Chapters 1 and 2, demonstrate the large number of factors involved in creating its final shape. Sometimes these influences were in conflict with each other, such as certain aspects of the patrons' and architects' views; and sometimes these influences were almost imperceptible, such as the influence of the construction process. The contexts that we can use to evaluate meanings are as various and variably relevant as the influences that created the edifice. While the building itself is a solid structure, its meaning within this analysis is not.

The building was and is not merely the arithmetic sum of all contextual influences and conceivable factors that shaped it. There is a parallel here in this investigation that can be drawn between the span of relations that contribute to architecture's meaning and those found in a discursive formation:

Relations between statements (even if the author is unaware of them; even if the statements do not have the same author; even if the authors were unaware of each other's existence): relations between groups of statements thus established (even if they do not possess the same formal level; even if they are not the locus of assignable exchanges); relations between statements and groups of

statements and events of a quite different kind (technical, economic, social, political).¹

In this complex of factors, events and statements, all play a part. Even factors that appear to play a tertiary role in directly shaping the building are worth describing; for example, the economic context of Canada was a necessary precondition of the large urban skyscraper, and provided an environment where architecture could express certain values of wealth and economic achievement.

Reviewing the evidence and relations set out in this essay, two areas of meaning appear most significant in the evaluation of the Dominion Express Building: the cultural and the architectural. Indeed, the two are interwoven. The patrons selected the Maxwells because they were the top architectural firm in Canada, and because they were insiders to the elite culture of the "Square Mile." While the brothers were "the" architects of the "Square Mile," it seems unlikely that they had as much difficulty getting the patrons to sign off on their house designs as they received from Shaughnessy and Stout on the Dominion Express project. The height of their vocation appeared to be in private architecture and in a handful of public buildings where the fineness and intricacy of their designs were appropriate and appreciated. They received high praise for their design of the Saskatchewan Legislative Building and it was no surprise that they were chosen to design the Museum of Fine Arts – the eventual home for the "Square Mile's" art collection.

Commercial culture decreed, in a similar way to Alberti's prescriptions in his **Ten Books**, that architecture should represent its cultural structure. To this end, commercial architecture should be expressive of the qualities of

¹ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1972), 29.

public space, the masculine realm: simple, efficient and turned outward. At the same time the building should reflect the patriarchy's position of prominence, located at the centre, in command of and watching over a domain. The building's crown – the Montreal Club, an exclusive dining room where businessmen of status could meet and conduct commerce – emphasized the role of the patriarch. Almost like the central tower of the Panopticon the skyscraper stands, a windowed beacon where the dominant and dominating masculine gaze ever watches and inculcates proper social behaviour.

The Dominion Express Building literally wore its controversies on its skin. The largest issue of contention between the patrons and architects was the ornamentation of the building. The heating and cooling system designed by the Maxwells is included in this category because the patrons clearly viewed the system as an ornament that impaired the efficient functioning of the building. More explicitly, the exterior decoration of the building was too extravagant for the patrons. The convention against extravagance can be traced back to Alberti as well. The Renaissance architect stated that sacred architecture should not distract or misrepresent itself by being extravagantly adorned. Extravagance expresses a lack of control, and is linked to sensuality and to the feminine, and men who indulge in sensual pleasure become effeminate. Shaughnessy saw that the ornament of the building transgressed the boundary of masculine austerity.

The patrons' criticism did not mean that the building was unsuccessful or not current enough. The ornamentation of the edifice is considerably reduced and modernized compared with the London and Lancashire Life building or the Loft building (Figures 23 & 15, respectively). Although the

decoration is more refined and delicate than on these two buildings, it is not as stripped down and efficient-looking as on the Carson Pirie Scott Building (Figure 30). The dominant culture in Montreal, following the traditions of British capital, had its cultural roots in an Alberti-like morality; but it was shifting toward even more extreme purification. The symbol for this new cultural system was the American skyscraper, the distilled essence of simplicity, control and anti-extravagance.

The Dominion Express Building expressed the following compromise: it employed the latest building techniques of steel and glazed terra-cotta, on a rationalized form of repetitive floor plans and maximized volume, to which the architects added a low relief version of the traditional Neoclassical design, interpreted and modulated to reflect, in the manner of Sullivan, the different functioning of parts of the building.

The patrons of the Dominion Express Building greeted the it with mixed emotions. The audience for such a structure consisted of the capital-based financiers of the "Square Mile" who owned and controlled the most powerful businesses in Canada. While these men cherished their English heritage and sought to reproduce it here in Canada, they also eyed the brute force of American business jealously. Increasingly business began to scrutinize the workings and products of architecture. Like Forsytes, they wondered where the value was in architecture when buildings were finished behind schedule and over budget, and when the architects were too proud of their clever gadgetry and fancy designs. To answer these issues Shaughnessy appointed a Superintendent of Building Construction and a special investigator. In late 1911, he hired F.L. Ellingwood, an American architect, to

supervise large construction projects.² His name appears twice in documents concerning the Dominion Express project and he may have figured in the C.P.R. President's decision to eliminate the heating and air conditioning system the Maxwells initially devised.³ However, Ellingwood's role was directed toward the completion of the Palliser Hotel, also designed by the Maxwells. In addition to Ellingwood, a special investigator filed a lengthy report on the delays and cost overruns on the Palliser Hotel project, in 1913. The responsibility for the delays was shared amongst the hotel department of the C. P. R., the contractors and, in no small part, the architects.⁴

Without deconstructing the cultural structure that surrounded the project, the purely architectural meaning of the Dominion Express Building would be interesting, but not very significant. To return to an earlier question, why study a highly competent example of the Edwardian Commercial? What becomes clear is that the building was the product, reflection and structure for the cultural expression of a particular class, one that held the financially dominant position in the country. The culture it associated with and sought to emulate is best exemplified by Galsworthy's Forsytes. The members of this class were essentially business-minded,

² According to John A. Eagle Shaughnessy hired Ellingwood to supervise the Palliser and later projects because he greatly respected his abilities. **The Canadian Pacific Railway and the Development of Western Canada; 1896-1914** (1989), 169.

³ F.L. Ellingwood makes such a late and small presence in the Dominion Express project that his role has not been considered. See Letters #28 & 29, RG2, Appendix III. Further, Shaughnessy did not delegate any responsibility to him until the Palliser project following the Dominion Express Building. Shaughnessy wrote to Maxwell at the end of August, 1911, that the construction plans for Palliser would be distributed to the contractors by Ellingwood. See RG2, Appendix III, Letter #27.

⁴ Architects eventually tried to answer these concerns. In the late 1920's, European modernist architects developed an architectural style that symbolized the machine age; modernism attempted to both express and answer the call for greater efficiency. With a tinge of irony, North American businessmen balked at the new style, and it was not until the 1940's that the International style appeared in significant numbers.

defined by proprietorship and possession. They were also anti-aesthetes and misogynist. Such patrons sought a building that reflected these mores and for the most part the architects were willing to provide such a structure. The point of conflict in this transaction was also due to further cultural differentiation among the “Square Milers” – that of profession. Architects had a different view of architecture’s function than clients did because they worked within an autonomous profession. Beyond this difference lies the perceived taint of femininity; businessmen generally disallowed architects equal status because of the perception that the profession lacked rigor and was wrapped up in art. This lowering of the architect’s status also provides the patron with a firm upper hand on the negotiation process allowing the business class to control architecture.

Again, it is not the combination of the above contexts that finally combine and provide meanings for the Dominion Express Building. One can still walk down to the corner of St. James and St. Francois Xavier Streets and point to it, but are you certain of what your looking at? The building is now just a facade; the meanings which the interior of the building once held have been removed like the interiors themselves. What was once the top storey has been surpassed by an addition of two more, and what was once a pillar of Canadian business is now talked about as the old Provincial Bank of Canada building. There is a parallel in the physical condition of the building today and the work of this examination thus far: what we have is an operating but incomplete and time-altered view. A postcolonial theory based interpretation and the investigation of the development of Canadian expression in

architecture might also add meanings to the building.⁵ While these may help provide an even richer view of the Dominion Express Building and the role it played in Montreal, the monument it was, is gone.

⁵ See Appendix I.

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Appendix I; contextual interpretations for further study.

This Appendix contains two topics which I have investigated in a preliminary fashion, and may yet prove important to the study of the Dominion Express Building.

A: The problem of direction in Canadian architecture *ca.* 1910.

By the nineteenth century, the role of architecture as societal organizer, as prescribed by architectural theorists, had decreased. Political and social science, among other fields, had come into being, and each – architecture, politics, sociology etc. – took over specialized responsibility for the study and implementation of cultural organization. However, this did not mean that architects were ignorant of or unwilling to accept the duties of effecting social change. Architecture would bear some of the moral burden of Canadians concerned with controlling growth in the country. In this respect, the Maxwells' design for the Dominion Express Building had a culturally influenced component that was generated within a community of architects and thinkers whose goal it was to improve the conditions in the city. Further this issue was tied to the direction Canadian architecture was developing in and some architects strove to create a Canadian expression in architecture.

Urban growth had been extremely rapid for Canada between 1900 and 1914.¹ Whereas Canada's growth was behind most European countries in the 1890s, it was one of the top of the Western world after the turn of the century. The most visible signs of change were in the cities: skyscrapers were intermingled with slums, overcrowded tenements and increases in crime and drug use. The rugged, healthy "norm" of rural life was altered as hundreds of thousands moved into the city.²

On a broader scale, the increasing population of Canada's urban centres initiated an "urban reform movement whose goal was to save the cities with a 'utopian vision of tomorrow's metropolis.'"³ In 1911, J.S. Woodsworth, founder of the C.C.F., published **My Neighbour**; expressing a common sentiment among the socially aware of the day, the book was an "impassioned plea for the reform of the cities."⁴ Woodsworth was not alone and **La Metropole de Demain**, focusing on the idea of beautifying the island of Montreal, and written by prominent Montrealer G.A. Nantel, was posthumously published by his friends in 1910.

The concept of the large office building produced to accommodate Shaughnessy's idea for increased growth through investment and

¹ John C. Weaver devoted a chapter of **Shaping the Canadian City** (Ottawa: Institute of Public Administration, 1977) to urban growth in this period. Marr and Patterson, **Canada: an Economic History** point out that rapid urbanization was a more severe problem in central Canada. 428-9.

² Woodsworth was motivated to write **My Neighbour** on the evils of the city and city reform was at the center of the City Beautiful movement. A popular Methodist tune described the evils that awaited the country boy in the city:

You'll meet a thousand temptations
Each city with evil is rife
The world is a stage of excitement
There's danger wherever you go.

In Weaver, **Shaping the Canadian City**, 6.

³ Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revised: A critical assessment of Urban reform in Canada, 1890-1920." in *Ibid.*, 456.

⁴ Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," **Shaping the Canadian City**, 436.

development appears to contradict the increasing cry against urban development. Economic concerns remained the dominant forces guiding urban political issues, despite the sincerity of urban reformers warning against the evils of the city. Not only was reform balked at because of its cost and the difficulty of implementation, but the thrust of a significant portion of the reform was aimed at benefiting the “better” classes. The debate was nullified in 1913, with the collapse of the urban boom and reduced urban construction, and “most of the features of beautification schemes were shelved.”⁵

In the United States, the skyscraper was the solution to increasing land values and population densities as well as the symbol of a new, aggressive and powerful business community. The skyscraper was a monumental testimony to the triumph of engineering over nature: great height against gravity. It was also a means to generate wealth – urban growth increased land prices, skyscrapers created more rental space per lot space and land became even more valuable. This created a rental boom in New York and Chicago, and here in Montreal.

Some Canadian architects openly disapproved of adopting the skyscraper as a solution to its urban problems and saw the “less wholesome conditions of the apartment [building]” as merely exacerbating the problem.⁶ In 1912, an essay presented at the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada convention reproduced this sentiment. Dr. Charles A. Hodgetts, in the “Condemnation of the Skyscraper,” characterized the uncontrolled growth of the American city as “the work of lunatics.” He condemned the unsanitary

⁵ Weaver, “‘Tomorrow’s Metropolis’ Revised,” 474.

⁶ G. Wray Lemon in *Construction* (November 1912), 44.

and unhealthy skyscrapers as “freaks” and the men who deemed them necessary as “paranoiac.”⁷ At the end of the article he wrote: “We should not follow blindly in the footsteps of our American confreres who deliberately do a thing wrongly and then endeavor to convince themselves and the democracy that it is right.”⁸ Apparently Hodgetts was not alone. In Montreal, buildings were restricted in height to ten stories until well after World War One.⁹

Stylistically, the Canadian urban building was to reflect a traditional, understated taste. In the face of rapid growth the Canadian architect and patron sought established solutions. The source of this attitude is debatable, but Canadian businesses’ strong link to England and the popularity of Neoclassical styles appears to parallel events that occurred in British urban architecture of fifty years earlier.¹⁰

During the first decade of this century, the crowded centres of Montreal and Toronto were being compared to those of Boston and New York in terms of inefficiency and unsanitary conditions.¹¹ Thus, the newer buildings in Canadian cities, like the Dominion Express Building, reflected stability and tradition. This usage of time-honoured styling was as much a symbolic association with the stability of the British empire, as it was a device to impose order in the face of rapid change. The relatively conservative appearance and small scale of Canadian skyscrapers was an intentional contrast to the American skyscraper.

⁷ **Construction** (November 1912), 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁹ **Contract Record** 24 (2 March 1910), 26.

¹⁰ As outlined in Section C of Chapter 3.

¹¹ **Construction** (November 1912), 44.

The style of American and Canadian urban buildings was further differentiated within the Neoclassical style.¹² American Neoclassicism was aligned with the French tradition in Neoclassicism. American and French versions were seen, in opposition to the British, as being more loudly nationalistic, more flamboyant and Baroque. The most influential and vocal of the pro-British Neoclassicists was Percy Erskine Nobbs, but William Maxwell also played an active role in the advancement of the style.¹³

During the first three decades of this century, while Nobbs was a professor at McGill's school of architecture, he was asked to advise on and judge a number of prominent architectural competitions. Twice he helped the Maxwells win: for the never built justice buildings block in Ottawa and the Saskatchewan Legislative Building (1908-12). Nobbs was an advocate for an adaptation of the best of *École des Beaux-arts* planning, systematic design and education system, combined with the refined taste and flexibility of

¹² Percy Nobb's statements of the differences between English and French neoclassicism and the slightly different progressions of the styles in those two countries, a differentiation can be detected. The English preferred a Palladian and Greek interpretation of classicism, exhibited by a calmer less ornamented style. The French were seen, at least in Nobbs interpretation as being more baroque inspired and more loudly nationalistic. From Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* (Kingston: McGill Queens Press, 1987), 136-51.

¹³ From *Ibid.*, 144. Concerning the competition for the Alberta Legislative buildings in 1907, Nobbs had stated that the design submitted in the Academic Style (Beaux-arts) "is a style carried to its perfection in France and it has two drawbacks to lay against its grandeur. (1) It is thoroughly non-British in feeling, the English tradition of classical architecture being far more sincere, freer and bolder and consequently more elastic in treatment. The design prepared is precisely the class of work to be found in every state in the Union and every republic in South America and experiences (sic) truly cosmopolitanism and the Latin civilization. (2) The French Academic style is essentially an expensive one in which to design the relation between actual utility space as against passages, halls, stairs, walls etc., being (sic) better than two to one.

The Modern Free Classic evolved for English Public Buildings and sometimes called the Anglo-Classic or Imperial Style has this to recommend it that it has distinctive national character while the planning can be far freer and closer than in the Academic work, the proportion of used to non-used space being rarely less than three to one, a very decided advantage where economy to be considered. I would suggest that your architects devote some attention to English models of public buildings with which they are I believe quite unfamiliar." *Ibid.*, 145-6.

British Neoclassicism. Maxwell described the Saskatchewan Legislative Building as “a free adaptation of English renaissance work that marks it unmistakably representative of the British sovereignty under which the province is governed.”¹⁴ As well, the British influence in designing *Beaux-arts* Neoclassicism helped differentiate Canadian buildings from American.

By negotiating between American brutality and logic, and British refinement and abstract beauty,¹⁵ the Maxwells were setting contemporary architectural taste in Canada in their design of the Dominion Express Building. With the building they had affirmatively answered the question fermenting in A. H. Chapman’s mind: “Will we in following the American System of work add to it the elements that prevail in the English work?”¹⁶ This was the cultural position that Canada found itself in during the first decade of this century: mediating between the influences of America, essentially that of a new aggressive business mentality and technology, and England, that of tradition, high culture and stability.

Beneath the surface of the Dominion Express Building the structure was the most up-to-date available; the Maxwells consistently used the newest technologies, these changing at such a rapid pace that the architects had sometimes to revise designs during construction to accommodate the latest specifications.¹⁷ Comparing the building with Sullivan’s pre-eminent skyscraper of two decades earlier, the Wainwright Building (Figure 32),

¹⁴ From Kalman, *A History*, vol. 2, 558.

¹⁵ Chapman, “Architectural Development in Canada,” *The Yearbook of Canadian Art 1913* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1913), 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁷ RG2, Letters 43 & 44, describing delays to Palliser hotel. Some of the delays were attributed to changes required by new specifications for machinery.

demonstrates that the Maxwells were following contemporary developments. Sullivan's building, though stripped down in comparison to the Dominion Express, shows its age. The heavy cornice, pronounced pilasters and the hard repetition of deeply set windows creating a grate effect, are part of historic referencing and older building techniques. The direction that skyscraper architecture was moving during the first decades of this century was set by Sullivan's Carson Pirie Scott Building of 1899 (Figure 33). In this evolution the Dominion Express Building demonstrates its blending of American reductionism and Neoclassicism well. As with the Carson Pirie Scott Building, the Maxwell structure has moved toward a flatness of surface and more window space. The cornice has almost disappeared and the decoration, although everywhere, is in low relief.

Flatness of the exterior surface was an important design direction for urban commercial architecture during this period. The smoothing of the surface of the building demonstrates that a certain level of building expertise had been achieved. The advancement of steel reinforced concrete technology and surface materials, such as terra-cotta, paved the way for flatter facades. This quality had three desired effects: the reduction of surface area which increased the efficiency of heating and cooling the building, the maximization of window space providing increased natural light, and if desired, fresh air, and the sleekness of the form. This last effect was a pre-cursor to the modern aesthetic of the 1920s and 30s. The flatter the surface of a building the more the building represented an idealized geometric form, a symbolic meaning that became attractive to both architecture, in terms of the theory of architects

like Boullée and Durand, and to business, by being more rationalized and hence masculine.

B: Analysis based on postcolonial theory.

There may be a place for postcolonial interpretation in this study. In terms of the postcolonial approach it is important to clearly define my understanding of the term and my usage of it. By using postcolonial, I am referring to a term generated by authors¹⁸ whose usage of postcolonial denotes both the state of colonies after gaining independence, and a body of theory developed to deconstruct the power structures of imperial establishments and their lasting effects. The goals and targets of postcolonial writing seems at odds when applied to Canada.¹⁹ I use the term not so much to describe Canada and its culture but to acknowledge the insight provided by using postcolonial theory and method.²⁰

¹⁸ Hommi K. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), Robert Hodge and Vijay Mishra in *Dark Side of the Dream* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990) and Edward Said in *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979).

¹⁹ Some, though few, articles on postcolonial approaches to Canadian issues are appearing, but the whole force of methodology and political agency generally dissuades this kind of analysis. Two articles in Vlada Blundell, John Shepherd and Ian Taylor eds., *Relocating Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1993) began my musing on the idea of using postcolonial theory on a Canadian topic: John Shepherd's "Value and Power in Music," 171-206, and Jody Berland's "Weathering the North," 207-25.

²⁰ The evolution of usage of the postcolonial theory has created a limited precedence of usage outside of its original politicized project. The work of Australian literary theorists, Robert Hodge and Vijay Mishra, is informative in this area. In the introduction to *The Dark Side of the Dream*, Hodge and Mishra state that postcolonial theory could be used to analyze "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day ... because there is a continuity of preoccupation's throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression." (*Dream*, XI) In a manner similar to Jean-François Lyotard's definition of postmodernism (*The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, 1978), Hodge and Mishra maintain that postcolonialism does not only refer to a supercedence of colonialism – it is the other side of colonialism. Bhabha echos this point in his introduction to *The Location of Culture*. He uses the analogy that these two viewpoints exist as "the *recto* and *verso* of a single page." *Culture*, 43. Hodge and Mishra further state that postcolonial culture is not always subversive of imperialism and that after achieving independence, it may emulate traits of its imperial parent.

However, the question of whether Canada, around 1900, was an independent country and had matured past the colonial stage or was a dependent colony was contentious. There were powerful forces in the country that saw Canada as one or the other, and tension existed between the two.²¹ Further, the Dominion Express Building was created by a limited sub-culture within the country: upper-class English speaking Montrealers. They differentiated themselves by exuberantly emphasizing their British and Scottish heritage even though the country was increasingly populated by emigrants and supported a significant French speaking population espousing French Canadian culture. The elite saw to it that they had more in common with their imperial cointre parts than their fellow Canadians. They followed the fashions of England²², sought British honours and titles²³, and participated in imperial activities throughout the Commonwealth²⁴. Postcolonial theory assists in challenging the perceived homogeneity and nationalism of the country and helps to delineate the actions of power in Canada.²⁵

²¹ Canada was formed as a country in 1867. However, Canada was part of the British Empire and was considered by England as an independent colony, as was Australia. As such, many symbolic aspects of government, such as the positions of the Governor General and Lieutenant Governors, remained under the control of the British Empire. As early as 1896, with the election of Wilfrid Laurier (1861-1919) and the Boer War in 1900, Canada demonstrated increasing independence. See Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 429-43, and Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power, Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 12-48.

²² George Stephen and Donald Smith sought a British architect, Henry Saxon Snell, to build Royal Victoria Hospital because they felt there were no suitable Canadian architects. From McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 366-68.

²³ George Stephen, elevated to the peerage as Lord Mount Stephen, urged for Donald Smith's honouring. Smith became Lord Strathcona. Many other directors of the C.P.R. and Bank of Montreal were knighted, for example William Van Horne and Thomas Shaughnessy, as were many early Canadian Prime Ministers: John A. MacDonald and Wilfrid Laurier.

²⁴ Donald Smith became one of the primary financiers of British Petroleum, whose oil fields were in what was then called British Persia, now Iran. McDonald, *Lord Strathcona*, 466-468.

²⁵ Two other studies identify the continuation of colony and empire relationship between Canada and Great Britain. Janis Zubalik, "Advancing the Material Interests of the Redeemer's

There are two subjects that outline the imperialist attitude and behaviour amongst the dominant culture of Montreal: the absorption of the *Beaux-arts* style by English-speaking architects and the location of the building. The *École des Beaux-arts* played a pivotal role in reasserting the status of Neoclassicism, establishing formal design method and providing a model for architectural education and practice.²⁶ At the end of the nineteenth century, while the skyscraper was being developed in the United States, traditional architecture became subject to attack. Clients became less willing to buy into the art portion of architecture and engineers, as members of a more established and regulated profession, began competing with architects. The *École* became “the” model for architectural education, and the rigorous symmetry and formalism of the *Beaux-arts* style were seen as an antidote to the more picturesque Gothic revival. English architects too became influenced by the increasing popularity of the Academic style. However, the French cultural component of the *Beaux-arts* style would be explicitly rejected by Canadian architects.²⁷ Canadian architects, adopted what they required from the style and replaced the French aspects with English cultural meaning based on British Neoclassical precedent. Thus, the style was cleansed of its nationalistic connotations to “revolutionary” France and America and was meshed with the same values that Georgian Classicism held a century earlier.

In Quebec, this can be interpreted as an imperialist attitude considering the political nature of the English and French cultural division; a division

Kingdom,” (Montreal: Concordia MA Thesis, 1996) and Julie Beth Korman, “Corporate Collecting in Canada,” (Montreal: Concordia MA Thesis, 1985).

²⁶ As outlined by Dana Cuff, *Architecture: the Story of Practice*, 24 -35.

²⁷ As shown above in this Appendix.

where French Canadians were a conquered majority, where the language of business was English, and where the wealthiest and most powerful generally sought cultural influence and affirmation from England. Canadians of English heritage sought to recreate their cultural background here. Their self-identification as Britons played an important part in developing a cultural identity for the inhabitants of the “Square Mile.” The fact they used the *Beaux-arts* style and made it their own had little political meaning for them, and as they were the dominant force, they saw no consequences for the appropriation of the style.

The location of the Dominion Express Building too, could have had political consequences. The back of the building was bordered by Fortification lane, the site of the walls of old Montreal. Although other important buildings of English Canadian culture had been built on *Place d’Armes*, none were as yet as large and as physically prominent as the Maxwells’ office building. The Dominion Express Building rivaled the height of Notre Dame and symbolized English dominance at the very heart of Montreal. This was apparently not an issue for those involved in the project, and its absence testifies to the dominance that the British had in the city. The patrons of the building apparently chose the site because it was the best location available; even though, actively placing a symbol of English culture at the centre of the city subverted and displaced the French cultural presence. Within an analysis of the building using postcolonial method some questions – e.g.: Was the Dominion Express Building viewed differently by French Montrealers? – appear likely to contribute further important meanings within the cultural context of the building.

Appendix II; Maxwell Catalogue:

A catalogue of drawings related to the Dominion Express project at the C.A.C.:

A: C.A.C. Drawing Number.

B: Maxwell Numbering System, or if letter, progression number.

C: Date, yyyyymmdd.

D: C.A.C. Drawing Folder Location.

E: Description, quotations signify wording of drawing title.

| A: | B: | C: | D: | E: |
|---------|------|----------|--------|--|
| 122a056 | 49 | 19100602 | 121 d1 | "Footing and basement wall details showing steel reinforcement's" |
| 122a057 | 50 | | 121 d1 | "Footings" |
| 122a055 | 51 | | 121 d1 | "Boiler Flue" |
| 122a058 | 52.1 | | 121 d1 | "Sub-Basement" |
| 122a059 | 53 | | 121 d1 | "Basement Plan" |
| 122a060 | 54 | | 121 d1 | "Main floor Plan" |
| 122a061 | 55 | | 121 d1 | "First Floor Plan" |
| 122a062 | 56 | 19100615 | 121 d1 | "Typical floor Plan" |
| 122a063 | 57 | | 121 d1 | "Club Floor Plan" |
| 122a064 | 58 | 19100615 | 121 d1 | "Mezzanine Floor Plan" |
| 122a065 | 59 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "Pergola Floor Plan" |
| 122a066 | 60 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "Transverse Cross section" |
| 122a067 | 61 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "St. James St. Elevation" |
| 122a068 | 62 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "St. Francois Xavier St. Elevation" |
| 122a069 | 63 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "Elevation to Fortification Lane" |
| 122a070 | 64 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "West Side of Open section" |
| 122a071 | 65 | 19100615 | 135 g9 | "Elevation of East Side" |
| 122a048 | 66 | | 121 d1 | "Main floor finishing" |
| 122a049 | 67.2 | 19100615 | 121 d1 | "Finishing details on Roof Pergola" no. added |
| 122a050 | 68 | 19100615 | 121 d1 | "Loads on support columns" |
| 122a072 | 69 | | 121 d1 | "Basement plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a073 | 70 | | 121 d1 | "Main floor plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a074 | 71 | | 121 d1 | "First floor plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a075 | 72 | | 121 d1 | "Typical floor plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a076 | 73 | | 121 d1 | "Mezzanine floor plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a077 | 74 | | 121 d1 | "Club floor plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a078 | 75 | | 121 d1 | "Roof plan , Floor Construction showing steel" |
| 122a039 | 76 | | 121 d2 | "Sub Basement" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a004 | 77 | | 121 d2 | "Basement" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a005 | 78 | | 121 d2 | "Ground Floor" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a003 | 79 | | 121 d2 | "First Floor" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a006 | 80 | | 121 d2 | "2nd. to 8th Floor" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a007 | 81 | | 121 d2 | "Club Floor" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a008 | 82 | | 121 d2 | "Mezzanine Floor" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a009 | 83 | | 121 d2 | "Pergola Floor" of WMSSHVS* |
| 122a010 | 84 | | 121 d2 | "Detail Sheet" of WMSSHVS * by Wm. G. Snow Engineer. |
| 122b009 | 85 | 19101007 | 121 g3 | "New Vestibule for offices on Craig Street" signed by Robertson Bros. contractor |
| 122a002 | 85 | | 121 d2 | "The Webster Modulation System of Steam Heating and Ventilation System."* |
| 121a042 | 86 | 19100800 | 121 d3 | "Details of Granite and Terra-cotta" |
| 121a043 | 87 | 19100800 | 121 d3 | "Details of Granite on St. Francois Xavier" |
| 121a044 | 88 | 19100615 | 121 d3 | "Fortification Lane, Details and Elevations" |
| 121a045 | 89 | 19100815 | 121 d3 | "Details of Terra-cotta on Top Floors" |
| 121a046 | 90 | 19100800 | 121 d3 | "Details of balcony's ironwork" |
| 121a047 | 91 | | 121 d3 | "Plan showing demolition of old sidewalk" |
| 121a048 | 92 | 19100930 | 121 d3 | "Sidewalk Plan St. James" |
| 121a049 | 103 | 19101010 | 121 e5 | "Proposed Ice tank in Sub-Basement" |
| 121a050 | 104 | | 121 d3 | "Mitoyen Line with Royal Bank" |
| 122a051 | 105 | 19101025 | 121 d3 | "Cross section of Sub-basement" |
| 122b144 | 106 | 19101101 | 121 g1 | "First Floor Plan" |
| 122b145 | 107 | 19111218 | 121 g1 | "Typical Floor Plan" |

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|----------|-------|----------|--------|--|
| 121a051 | 108 | 19101110 | 121 d3 | "Section through borings 1 & 2" |
| 121a052 | 109 | 19101110 | 121 d3 | "Cross section of foundation with borings" |
| 121a054 | 110 | 19101100 | 121 d3 | "Plan of Caissons" |
| 121a053 | 113 | 19101207 | 121 d3 | "Plan of lot before sinking Caissons" signed by E. Maxwell, dec. 14th 1910. |
| 121a055 | 114 | 19101207 | 121 d3 | "Elevations of Grade Previous to Foundation Co. Starting work" 2 of 2 |
| 121a056 | 115 | 19101207 | 121 d3 | "Elevations of Grade Previous to Foundation Co. Starting work" 1 of 2 |
| 121a057 | 116 | | 121 d3 | "Details of Girder Bearing Columns" |
| 121a058 | 117 | 19110104 | 121 d3 | "Layout of elevators" |
| 121a059 | 118 | 19110104 | 121 d3 | "Proposed Layout of offices for White and Buchanan, Eighth floor" also by S.H. Gass. |
| 121a060 | 119 | 19110104 | 121 d3 | "Proposed partitions for White and Buchanan by S.H. Gass" received on date. |
| 121a061 | 120 | 19110105 | 121 d3 | "Detail of bridge" |
| 121a062 | 121 | | 121 d3 | "Detail showing bearing of bridge beams" |
| 121a038 | 122 | 19110523 | 121 d3 | "Detail of main entrance on St. James St." |
| 121a063 | 123 | 19110216 | 121 d3 | "Details of Ground floor Kitchen windows" |
| 121a064 | 124 | 19110222 | 121 d3 | "Details of Hoists and Stacks in Sub-basement" 2 of 2 |
| 121a065 | 125 | 19110222 | 121 d3 | "Details of Hoists and Stacks in Sub-basement" 1 of 2 |
| 121a066 | 126 | 19110404 | 121 d3 | "Revised details of footings at Mitoyen Wall" |
| 121a067 | 127 | | 121 e5 | blueprint "Cartouche over St. James At. Entrance" |
| 121a068 | 128 | 19110523 | 121 d3 | "Detail of minor entrance on St. James St." |
| 121a041 | 129 | | 121 e5 | pencil sketch on manila envelope |
| 121a069 | 130 | 19110501 | 121 d4 | "Details of Staircases above First floor" |
| 121a070 | 131 | 19110505 | 121 d4 | "Plans of Staircases above First Floor" |
| 121a071 | 132 | | 121 d4 | "Detail of fire escape staircase on St. Francois Xavier." |
| 121a072 | 133 | 19110323 | 121 d4 | "Detail of Cable Standards on St. James St." |
| 121a073 | 134 | 19110325 | 121 d4 | "Details of hall treatment West end of floors One to Eight" |
| 121a076 | 135 | 19110327 | 121 d4 | "Detail of hoist and smoke shafts" |
| 121a074 | 136 | 19110000 | 121 d4 | "Details of entrance to Express storage" |
| 121a075 | 137 | 19110308 | 121 d4 | "Details of stairs between ticket office and restaurant in basement" |
| 121a077 | 138 | 19110621 | 121 d4 | "Plan of entrance corridor from main entrance to bridge" |
| 121a078 | 139 | 19110403 | 121 d4 | "Details of entrance corridor from main entrance to bridge" 2 of 2 |
| 121a079 | 140 | 19110403 | 121 d4 | "Details of entrance corridor from main entrance to bridge" 1 of 2 |
| 121a080 | 142 | 19110621 | 121 d4 | "Details of Main stairs from sub-basement to first floor" 3 of 3 |
| 121a081 | 143 | 19110621 | 121 d4 | "Details of Main stairs from sub-basement to first floor" 2 of 3 |
| 121a082 | 144 | 19110621 | 121 d4 | "Details of Main stairs from sub-basement to first floor" 1 of 3 |
| 121a083 | 145 | 19110421 | 121 d4 | "Details of Restaurant in Basement" includes Women's lavatory. |
| 121a084 | 146 | 19110324 | 121 d4 | "Details in Main Corridors, Second to Eighth Floor" |
| 121a085 | 147 | 19110501 | 121 d4 | "Footing Elevations" includes derisive note |
| 121a086 | 148 | 19110501 | 121 d4 | "Revised Plan of footings" |
| 121a087 | 149 | 19110500 | 121 d4 | "Re-enforcement to Bays" |
| 122a041a | 151 | 19110517 | 121 d5 | "Footings of Mitoyen Wall." revised |
| 122a041b | 152 | 19110803 | 121 d5 | "Details of Entrance to 3rd. Class Ticket Office." |
| 122a042a | 153 | | 121 d5 | "Details of Elevator Doors." |
| 122a012 | 154 | 19110711 | 135 g9 | "Section through Pergola" and Details. |
| 122a013 | 155 | 19110711 | 135 g9 | "Plans of Pergola and Pergola Hall" |
| 122a011 | 156 | | 135 g9 | "Plan of Dining Room" Club Floor. |
| 122a014 | 157 | | 135 g9 | "Details of Club Dining Room" |
| 122a015 | 158 | | 135 g9 | "Details of Club Dining Room" |
| 122a043a | 159 | 19110619 | 121 d5 | "Re-enforcement to Concrete Slab at Spiral Stairs to Basement." |
| 121a001 | 159.1 | | 121 e5 | blueprint of drawing #159 |
| 122a016 | 160 | | 121 d5 | "Mezzanine Floor, Details of." superseded. |
| 122a017 | 161 | | 135 g9 | "Elevations of Reception Hall, Private Dining Rooms and Service Room" |
| 122a018 | 166 | 19110721 | 121 d5 | "Details of Columns & Skylights in Ticket Offices." Main Floor. revised. |
| 122a019 | 167 | 19110721 | 121 d5 | "Layout of Lavatories on Club, Mezzanine and Pergola Floors." revised. |
| 122a020 | 168 | 19110718 | 135 g9 | "Lavatories below Club Floors" |
| 122a021 | 169 | 19110722 | 121 d5 | "Layout of Offices for Crown Trust Co." revised. |

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|----------|-----|----------|--------|--|
| 122a022 | 170 | 19110913 | 121 d5 | "Layout of Offices for Mssrs White & Buchanan; 8th Floor." revised. |
| 122a024 | 171 | 19110918 | 121 d5 | "Layout of the Offices for the St. Lawrence Sugar Refinery Company; 6th Floor." revised. |
| 122a024 | 172 | 19110728 | 121 d5 | "Details, First Floor Corridors" |
| 122a026 | 173 | 19110918 | 121 d5 | "Layout of Offices for Col. Carson; 6th Floor." revised. |
| 122a025 | 174 | 19110918 | 121 d5 | "Layout of Offices for Brown, Montgomery and McMichael; 7th Floor." revised |
| 122a144 | 175 | 19110810 | 121 e5 | "Void" |
| 122a032 | 176 | 19110818 | 121 d5 | "Mezzanine Floor Plan." revised w/ ladies area. revised. |
| 122a052 | 177 | 19110814 | 121 d5 | "Club Floor Plan." revised. |
| 122a027 | 178 | 19110811 | 121 d5 | "Detail of Fire Escapes" |
| 122a028 | 179 | | 135 g9 | "Elevations of Billiard Room and Reading Room on Club Floor" |
| 122a029 | 180 | 19110901 | 135 g9 | "Elevations of Ladies Dining Room and Billiard Room" |
| 122a030 | 181 | 19110901 | 135 g9 | "Plans of Reading Room, Billiard Room and Ladies Dining Room" |
| 122a031 | 182 | 19110830 | 121 d5 | "Details of Reception Hall." amended. |
| 122a033c | 184 | 19110908 | 121 d5 | "Col. Carson's Office, supersedes #173" |
| 122a033a | 185 | 19110925 | 121 d5 | "Entrance to Express Storage Room, supersedes #136" |
| 122a033b | 186 | 19110912 | 121 d5 | "Details of Stewards Office." Club Floor. |
| 122a034 | 187 | 19110916 | 121 d5 | "Layout of Montreal Securities Corporation Ltd., Eighth floor" |
| 122a035 | 188 | 19110913 | 121 d5 | "Revision of forced air to First Floor Offices" WMSHVS. |
| 122a036 | 189 | 19110914 | 121 d5 | "Alteration to steel frame for Crown Trust Co., First floor" |
| 122a037 | 190 | 19110919 | 121 d5 | "Details of the Offices for the Crown Trust Co. First floor" |
| 122a038 | 191 | 19110925 | 121 d5 | "Alterations for the Caledonian Insurance Co. Fourth floor" |
| 122a039 | 192 | 19110921 | 121 d5 | "Details of Secretaries office, Club floor" |
| 122a040 | 193 | 19110922 | 121 d5 | "Details of Dumbwaiter and stairs, Club Floor" |
| 122a041 | 194 | 19120106 | 121 d5 | "Revised Basement Plan" no women's lave! |
| 122a042 | 195 | 19110930 | 121 d5 | "Fireproof Vaults for Crown Trust Co." |
| 122a043 | 196 | 19110930 | 121 d5 | "Details of Fireproof Vaults for the Crown Trust Co." |
| 122a044 | 197 | 19111002 | 121 d5 | "Details of ceiling Light over main stairs, second floor" |
| 122a045 | 198 | 19111002 | 121 d5 | "Revised opening to Billiard Room" |
| 122a046 | 199 | 19110930 | 121 d5 | "Materials excavated during Caisson sinking, March 1911" |
| 122a047 | 200 | 19110930 | 121 d5 | "Materials excavated during Caisson sinking, March 1911" |
| 122a140 | 201 | 19111018 | 121 e1 | "Offices, First Floor for the Crown Trust Co., Manager's office and Boardroom" |
| 122b031 | 203 | | 121 e6 | "Club Floor" billiard area |
| 121a020 | 205 | 19111000 | 121 e1 | "Borings as shown on #108" |
| 122a140a | 207 | 19111025 | 121 e1 | "Layout of counter Showcases in Col. Carson's office" |
| 122a142 | 208 | 19111009 | 121 e1 | "Finishing Detail of Col. Carson's office" |
| 122a143 | 209 | 19111006 | 121 e1 | "Detail of Private corridor on eighth Floor for Mssrs White and Buchanan." |
| 122a146 | 210 | 19111006 | 121 e1 | "Detail of fireplace in presidents room, Montreal securities Corp." Eighth floor |
| 122a147 | 211 | 19111009 | 121 e1 | "Boardroom in Col. Carson's office" |
| 122a148 | 212 | 19111016 | 121 e1 | "D.L. McGibbon Esq. & Canadian Consolidated Rubber Co., Fifth Floor" |
| 122a149 | 215 | 19111013 | 121 e1 | "Detail of Fire Doors at end of Bridge" |
| 122a150 | 216 | 19111106 | 121 e1 | "7th floor detail Messrs Brown Montgomery & McMichael" |
| 122a145 | 217 | 19111014 | 121 e5 | "Revised Detail of Elevator Door" |
| 122a156 | 218 | 19111020 | 121 e1 | "Dets of St. Lawrence Sugar Ref. Office N.E. end of 6th floor" |
| 122a157 | 219 | 19111000 | 121 e1 | "Det'l of Marble in typical elevator halls" |
| 122a158 | 220 | 19111017 | 121 e1 | "Detail of offices on 4th floor S FXW for Caledonian Ins. Co." |
| 122a159 | 222 | 19111023 | 121 e1 | "Offices on 1st flr. for Crown Trust Co. Mailroom & Stenographer" |
| 122a160 | 223 | 19111028 | 121 e1 | "Leonard Fuller Esq. 1st floor" |
| 122a161 | 225 | 19111114 | 121 e1 | "Offices for Col. Smart 8th floor" |
| 122a162 | 226 | 19111026 | 121 e1 | "Offices for the Pres. of the Montreal Securities Corp. Ltd. 8th floor" |
| 122a163 | 227 | 19111027 | 121 e1 | "Details for D.L. McGibbon Esq. Canadian Consolidated Rubber, 5th floor" |

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|----------|-----|----------|--------|--|
| 122a164 | 228 | 19111028 | 121 e1 | "Detail of Iron Grills" |
| 122a165 | 230 | 19111031 | 121 e1 | "Details of Office for Leonard Fuller Esq., 1st floor" |
| 122a166 | 231 | 19111101 | 121 e1 | "Details Montreal Securities Corp., 8th floor" |
| 122a167 | 232 | 19111101 | 121 e1 | "Revised Layout for Club Mezzanine" No Ladies Area Incl. |
| 122a168 | 234 | 19111102 | 121 e1 | "Details of Lavatories on Club & Mezzanine Floors" |
| 122a169 | 235 | 19111106 | 121 e1 | "Details of fittings on Club & Mezz. Floors" Kitchen & Servery |
| 122a170 | 236 | | 121 e2 | "Details of Elevators" |
| 122a171 | 237 | | 121 e2 | "Details of Elevators" |
| 121a171a | 238 | | 121 e2 | "Details of Elevators" |
| 122a172 | 239 | 19111214 | 121 e2 | "Details of Offices on 8th Floor for Col. Smart" |
| 122a173 | 240 | 19111109 | 121 e2 | "Detail of Door between Billiard Rm. & Elevator Hall, Club Floor" |
| 122a174 | 240 | 19111209 | 121 e2 | "Offices for Mess'rs White & Buchanan" |
| 122a175 | 243 | 19111115 | 121 e2 | "Details of counter in Railway Ticket Office, Ground Floor" |
| 122a176 | 244 | 19111230 | 121 e2 | "Lavatory & Wardrobe for W.S. Stout, 7th floor" |
| 122a177 | 245 | 19111115 | 121 e2 | "Addition to Mr. Brown's room, 7th floor" |
| 122a178 | 246 | 19111117 | 121 e2 | "Alteration to Staircase, Main floor" |
| 122a179 | 247 | 19111219 | 121 e2 | "Crown Trust Co. 1st floor revised" |
| 122a180 | 248 | 19111122 | 121 e5 | "Plan of Ceiling on Ground Floor" |
| 122a181 | 250 | 19111121 | 121 e2 | "Detail of partitions on Club Floor Servery" |
| 122a182 | 251 | 19111128 | 121 e2 | "Office for Mr. E. Fabre Surveyor, 6th floor" |
| 122a183 | 253 | 19111029 | 121 e2 | "Layout for Messrs Redpath & Co., 4th floor" |
| 122a184 | 254 | 19111129 | 121 e2 | "Layout for Richilieu Lumber Co. 4th floor" |
| 122a185 | 255 | 19110103 | 121 e2 | "Layout of Ground Floor Offices" |
| 122a186 | 258 | 19120131 | 121 e2 | "Telephone Exchange for Express Co" |
| 122a187 | 259 | 19111201 | 121 e2 | "Details of Chef's Room & Kitchen Corridor, Club floor" |
| 122a188 | 260 | 19111204 | 121 e2 | "Layout for Dominion Bridge Co. Offices, 5th floor" |
| 122a189 | 261 | | 121 e2 | "Detail of Offices on 4th floor for Messrs Redpath & Co." |
| 122a190 | 262 | 19111105 | 121 e2 | "Layout & Details of Mr. E. Fabre, Surveyor, Offices 6th floor" |
| 122a191 | 263 | 19111208 | 121 e2 | "Details of offices for Dominion Bridge Co. Ltd., 5th floor" |
| 122a192 | 264 | 19120104 | 121 e2 | "Revised Layout of Transformer Room" |
| 122a053 | 266 | 19111213 | 121 e2 | "Revised Layout of Mezzanine Floor Plan" new enlarged ladies area. |
| 122a054 | 267 | 19111213 | 121 e2 | "Serving Dept., Club floor" |
| 122a194 | 268 | 19111215 | 121 e2 | "Details of finishing in Ground Floor Offices" |
| 122a195 | 269 | 19111215 | 121 e2 | "Details of finishing in Ground Floor Offices" |
| 122a196 | 270 | 19111215 | 121 e2 | "Details of finishing in Ground Floor Offices" |
| 122a197 | 271 | 19111215 | 121 e2 | "Details of finishing in Ground Floor Offices" |
| 122a198 | 272 | 19111215 | 121 e2 | "Details of Mantles on Club Floor" |
| 122a199 | 273 | 19111215 | 121 e2 | "Details of Mantles on Club Floor" |
| 122a151 | 274 | 19111221 | 121 e3 | "Layout of offices for Mr. W.P. Obrien, Fifth Floor" |
| 122a155 | 275 | 19120208 | 121 e3 | "Detail of track in Basement for Coal" |
| 122a079 | 276 | 19111222 | 121 e3 | "Layout of offices for Norton Griffith & Co., Third floor" |
| 122a079a | 277 | 19111222 | 121 e3 | "Layout of offices for Dominion Mercantile Protective Association, Fourth Floor" |
| 122a080a | 278 | 19111227 | 121 e3 | "Alterations in Sub-Basement near hoist cold storage" |
| 122a081 | 279 | 19111228 | 121 e3 | "Office of Baron G. Von Polenz, Fourth Floor" |
| 122a082 | 280 | 19111228 | 121 e3 | "Details of offices of Caledonian Insurance Co." |
| 122a083 | 282 | 19120110 | 121 e3 | "Office 701 for W.S. Stout" |
| 122a084 | 284 | 19120116 | 121 e3 | "Additional Offices for W. P. Obrien, First floor" |
| 122a085 | 285 | 19120207 | 121 e3 | "Detail of Cages, Ground Floor" |
| 122a086 | 286 | 19110105 | 121 e3 | "Third Class Ticket Office" |
| 122a087 | 287 | 19120105 | 121 e3 | "Detail of Counter in Col. Carson's Office" |
| 122a088 | 288 | 19120105 | 121 e3 | "Layout of Irrigation and Telegraph Offices, Ground floor" |
| 122a089 | 289 | 19120105 | 121 e3 | "Stair Detail Ground Floor" |
| 122a090 | 290 | 19120112 | 121 e3 | "Detail Ground Floor Offices" |
| 122a091 | 291 | 19120307 | 121 e3 | "Detail of Cage in Room 31, Ground Floor" |
| 122a092 | 294 | 19120111 | 121 e3 | "Revised Layout of Offices for Montreal Securities Corp. Ltd, 8th floor" |
| 122a093 | 295 | 19120112 | 121 e3 | "Basement Kitchen Layout" |
| 122a094 | 296 | 19120113 | 121 e3 | "Vault Location, 5th & 6th floors" |
| 122a095 | 297 | 19120113 | 121 e3 | "Detail of office for W.P. O'Brien, 5th floor" |
| 122a096 | 299 | 19120115 | 121 e3 | "Layout of Basement Lavatories" |
| 122a097 | 300 | 19120117 | 121 e3 | "Extension to Steel Boiler Stack at St. Lawrence Hall" |
| 122a098 | 302 | 19120118 | 121 e3 | "Amended Stairs on Ground Floor Entrance on St. F of X St. |

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|---------|-----|----------|--------|---|
| 122a101 | 303 | 19120119 | 121 e4 | "Revised detail of door between hall & Express Co. offices" |
| 122a099 | 304 | 19120119 | 121 e4 | "Layout of offices for Montreal Locomotive Works, 7th floor" |
| 122a100 | 305 | 19120120 | 135 g9 | "Layout of Bar in Basement" |
| 122a102 | 308 | 19120123 | 121 e4 | "Offices for the Dominion Park Co., 3rd floor" |
| 122a103 | 309 | 19120123 | 121 e4 | "Layout of Offices for MR. L.H. Timmins, 3rd floor" |
| 122a104 | 310 | 19120124 | 121 e5 | "Mantle in Reading Room" |
| 122a105 | 311 | 19120125 | 121 e4 | "Revised layout for Restaurant in Basement" |
| 122a106 | 312 | 19120206 | 121 e4 | Details of Grill & Counter in Basement Restaurant" |
| 122a107 | 313 | 19120129 | 121 e4 | "Light moved on 1st floor" |
| 122a108 | 314 | 19120304 | 121 e4 | "Counters at Info desk, ground floor" |
| 122a109 | 315 | 19120203 | 121 e4 | "Detail of Coal conveyer in sub-basement" |
| 122a110 | 316 | 19120130 | 121 e4 | "Details of Metal Cages in Basement" |
| 122a111 | 317 | 19120130 | 121 e4 | "Details of Partitions in Basement" |
| 122a112 | 318 | 19120131 | 121 e4 | "Club Floor furniture arrangement" Incl. Ladies Dining Room, seating for 18 |
| 122a113 | 320 | 19120131 | 121 e4 | "1st floor windows, elevation" |
| 122a114 | 321 | 19120202 | 121 e4 | "Detail Ground Floor Cages" |
| 122a115 | 322 | 19120202 | 121 e4 | "Layout of offices for Ronzo M. Clerk, 3rd floor" |
| 122a116 | 324 | 19120202 | 121 e4 | "Layout of Offices for Mr. J. Stevenson Brown, 7th floor" |
| 122a117 | 325 | 19120206 | 121 e4 | "Typical mechanical plan" |
| 122a118 | 326 | 19120208 | 121 e4 | "Billiard Room wall" void |
| 122a119 | 327 | 19120208 | 121 e4 | "Block plan of basement" |
| 121a023 | 328 | 19120209 | 121 e4 | "Layout of Offices for Messrs J.A. Davis & Co. Ltd., 1st floor" |
| 121a024 | 329 | 19120209 | 121 e4 | "Layout of offices for the Roffey Bond Co., 1st floor" |
| 121a035 | 330 | 19120209 | 121 e4 | "Details of bar room in basement" |
| 121a014 | 331 | 19120215 | 121 e5 | "Layout of First Floor" |
| 121a015 | 332 | 19120214 | 121 e5 | "Layout of Second Floor" |
| 121a016 | 333 | 19120213 | 121 e5 | "Layout of Third Floor" |
| 121a017 | 334 | 19120215 | 121 e5 | "Layout of Fourth Floor" |
| 121a018 | 335 | 19120214 | 121 e5 | "Layout of Fifth Floor" |
| 121a019 | 336 | | 121 e5 | "Layout of Sixth Floor" |
| 121a036 | 337 | 19120214 | 121 e4 | "Layout of 7th floor showing light fixtures" |
| 121a037 | 338 | 19120215 | 121 e4 | "Layout of 8th floor showing light fixtures" |
| 121a026 | 339 | 19120200 | 121 e4 | "Detail of suspended track for coal" |
| 121a022 | 340 | 19120219 | 121 e4 | "Layout of offices for Wood Brothers, 3rd floor" |
| 121a033 | 341 | 19120308 | 121 e4 | "Layout of Beer Storage Room for Mr. A. J. Higgins in sub-basement" |
| 122b011 | 342 | 19120221 | 121 e6 | "Electric fixtures for ground floor main office" |
| 121a034 | 342 | 19120221 | 121 e4 | "Electric fixtures for Main Office" |
| 121a032 | 343 | 19120219 | 121 e4 | "Layout of offices for Canada Securities Corp. Ltd., 2nd floor" |
| 121a031 | 344 | 19120401 | 121 e4 | "Layout of Offices for Charles A. Barnard Esq., 2nd floor" |
| 121a029 | 345 | 19120227 | 121 e4 | "Details of borrowed lights in lunch room in basement" |
| 121a030 | 346 | 19120227 | 121 e4 | "Electric fixtures, ground floor" |
| 121a028 | 347 | 19120227 | 121 e4 | "Electric fixtures, ground floor" |
| 121a027 | 348 | 19120227 | 121 e4 | "Electric fixtures, ground floor" |
| 121a025 | 349 | 19120227 | 121 e4 | "Electric fixtures, ground floor" |
| 121a021 | 350 | 19120227 | 121 e4 | "Electric fixtures, ground floor" |
| 122b038 | 351 | 19120226 | 121 g1 | "Changes to Connection to St. Lawrence Hall" |
| 122b099 | 352 | 19120228 | 121 g1 | "Layout of offices for Mssrs Robertson and Rathje, Sixth Floor" |
| 122b100 | 353 | 19120328 | 121 g1 | "Layout of offices for The Dominion Bond Co., Second Floor" |
| 122b101 | 354 | 19120314 | 121 g1 | "Lavatory and Wardrobe, Seventh Floor, for W.S. Stout" |
| 122b102 | 355 | 19120307 | 121 g1 | "Layout of offices for Lemon, Kennedy and Coon, First Floor" |
| 122b103 | 356 | 19120307 | 121 g1 | "Layout of offices for Messrs Lazzard Bros. Second Floor" |
| 122b105 | 358 | 19120322 | 121 g2 | "Layout of offices for the St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Co., revised" |
| 122b106 | 359 | 19120327 | 121 g2 | "Layout of offices for Mr. Frank E. McKenna on Fifth Floor" |
| 122b107 | 360 | 19120330 | 121 g2 | "Details, furniture for Mr. Higgins Restaurant" |
| 122b108 | 361 | 19120402 | 121 g2 | "Dumbwaiter in Basement" |
| 122b109 | 362 | 19120410 | 121 g2 | "Counters for F.E. McKenna, office of Hon. Narcisse Perodeau, former D.S. McGibbon Suite" |
| 122b110 | 363 | 19120423 | 121 g2 | "Layout of Office 13, Sixth Floor, for H.D. De Pencier" |
| 122b111 | 364 | 19120424 | 121 g2 | "Detail of Bar on Club Floor" |

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|----------|-------|----------|--------|---|
| 122b112 | 365 | 19120426 | 121 g2 | "Shower in sub-Basement Toilet" |
| 122b113 | 366 | 19120426 | 121 g2 | "Change in Coatroom door" |
| 122b114 | 367 | 19120507 | 121 g2 | "Bostwick Gates at Revolving doors at entrance" |
| 122b115 | 368 | 19120507 | 121 g2 | "Layout of storage rooms in front of sub-Basement" |
| 122b116 | 373 | 19120510 | 121 g2 | "Details of telephone booth for Montreal Club" |
| 122b117 | 374 | 19120512 | 121 g2 | "Changes in the connection to St. Lawrence hall" |
| 122b118 | 375 | 19120514 | 121 g2 | "Revised layout for Wood Bros., third floor" |
| 122b119 | 378 | 19120608 | 121 g2 | "Detail of Cupboard for the Dominion Bond Co." |
| 122b120 | 379 | 19120614 | 121 g2 | "Mezzanine platform in sub-Basement" |
| 122b121 | 380 | 19120618 | 121 g3 | "New Partition for Col. Smart" |
| 122b122 | 381 | 19120625 | 121 g3 | "Detail of Stationary Racks" |
| 122b123 | 382 | 19120625 | 121 g3 | "Col. Carson's Office" |
| 122b124 | 384 | 19120702 | 121 g3 | "Plan of Roof" |
| 122b125 | 385 | 19120703 | 121 g3 | "Telegraph Office Furniture" |
| 122b126 | 386 | 19120708 | 121 g3 | "Cupboard Detail in Room #4" |
| 122b127 | 387 | 19120712 | 121 e6 | "Alteration to wire screens in Cage no. 15, Ground floor offices" |
| 122b128 | 388 | 19120718 | 121 g3 | "Detail of Radiators over revolving doors" |
| 122b130 | 389 | 19120722 | 121 g3 | "Details of steel flag pole" |
| 122b129 | 392 | 19120823 | 121 g3 | "Detail of door casting to Chute" |
| 122b131 | 393 | 19120904 | 121 g3 | "Detail of Bar entrance on St. Francois Xavier St." |
| 122b133 | 394 | 19121111 | 121 g3 | "Marble Table and Bench Details" |
| 122b133 | 395 | 19121115 | 121 g3 | "Detail of covering to boilers" |
| 122b152 | 396 | 19121120 | 121 g3 | "Detail of covering to boilers" |
| 122b152b | 397 | 19121120 | 121 g3 | "Detail of Double ceiling over Boiler Room" |
| 122b007 | 399 | 19130206 | 121 e6 | "Partition around elevator in Sub-Basement" |
| 122b096 | 400 | 19130228 | 121 g3 | "Partition around elevator pumps in Basement" |
| 122b033 | 402 | | 121 e6 | "Proposed method for ventilating kitchen in Montreal Club" |
| 122b092 | 405 | 19131111 | 121 g2 | "Alterations to balcony" |
| 122b090 | 406 | 19131210 | 121 e6 | VOID |
| 122a153 | 408 | 19220623 | 121 e7 | "Balcony alterations" |
| 122a154 | 408.1 | 19220623 | 121 e7 | Blueprint of 122a154, stamped issued. |
| 122b091 | 409 | 19220630 | 121 e7 | "Balcony alterations" |
| 122a152 | 409.1 | 19220630 | 121 e7 | "Balcony alterations" Canceled Scheme |
| 122b023 | a | 19080200 | 121 e8 | "Dominion Express Coy. Proposed new Residences on Latour St." precursor to D.E.B.? |
| 122b022 | a | 19080200 | 121 e8 | "Basement, Proposed new residences on Latour St." precursor to D.E.B.? |
| 122b021 | a | 19080200 | 121 e8 | "First Floor, Proposed new residences on Latour St." precursor to D.E.B.? |
| 122b020 | a | 19080200 | 121 e8 | "Elevation, Proposed new residences on Latour St." precursor to D.E.B.? |
| 122b019 | a | 19080200 | 121 e8 | "Ground Floor, Proposed new residences on Latour St." precursor to D.E.B.? |
| 121a003 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | "Prop. Hotel, coin de St. J. & St. F.X.; Ground Floor" |
| 121a004 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | "Prop. Hotel, coin de St. J. & St. F.X.; First Floor" |
| 121a013 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | "Prop. Hotel, coin de St. J. & St. F.X.; Bedroom Floor" incl. alt in pencil, beds+baths= offs. |
| 121a005 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | "Prop. Hotel, coin de St. J. & St. F.X.; Craig St. Elevation" |
| 121a007 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | "Prop. Hotel, coin de St. J. & St. F.X.; St. F.X. Elevation" |
| 121a002 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | "Prop. Hotel, coin de St. J. & St. F.X.; St. James St. Elevation" |
| 121a011 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | blueprint of 121a003 |
| 121a012 | b | 19091200 | 121 e7 | blueprint of 121a013 |
| 122b005 | c | 19091215 | 121 e8 | "Prop. Block of offs, coin de St. James and St. F X" conn. to Craig St. Bld; Basement Plan. |
| 122b003 | c | 19091215 | 121 e8 | "Prop. Block of offs, coin de St. James and St. F X" conn. to Craig St. Bld; First Floor. |
| 122b002 | c | 19091215 | 121 e8 | "Prop. Block of offs, coin de St. James and St. F X" conn. to Craig St. Bld; Typ. Office Floor. |
| 122b001 | c | 19091215 | 121 e8 | "Prop. Block of offs, coin de St. J. and St. F X" conn. to Craig St. Bld; St. J. Elevation. |
| 121a006 | d | 19091206 | 121 e5 | blueprint, proposed, main floor block of offices Craig to St. James St. |
| 121a007 | d | 19091206 | 121 e5 | blue print, proposed, plan on Craig Street |
| 121a010 | d | 19091206 | 121 e5 | proposed, basement plan of offices and club on location, Craig to St. James St. |
| 121a009 | e | 19091206 | 121 e5 | blue print, proposed, proposed offices "72576 square feet" |
| 121a013 | e | 19091206 | 121 e5 | proposed, block of offices, linked to hotel on Craig St. |

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|----------|--------|----------|--------|---|
| 122b041 | f | 19100000 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co." floor plan sketch, 6,468 letting space 9 floors 58,212. |
| 122b006 | f | 19100000 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; 8,043 feet per floor" earlier proposal. |
| 122b004 | f | 19100000 | 121 e8 | "Prop. Block of Offices for D. E. Co.; 8,010 feet per floor, 72,090 total" earlier proposal. |
| 122b146 | g e | 19111200 | 121 g1 | "Club Floor plan" |
| 122b147 | | 19111200 | 121 g1 | "Mezzanine Floor plan" |
| 122b025 | | 19100228 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme II, less 3G' of St. James; Club Floor Plan " |
| 122b027 | | 19100228 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme II, Typical Floor plan " |
| 122b029 | | 19100228 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme II, Elevation to St. James St." |
| 122b028 | | 19100228 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme II, Elevation to St. James St." |
| 122b026 | | 19100301 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme III, Typical Floor plan " |
| 122b035 | | 19100319 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V, St. James St. Plan" |
| 122b036 | | 19100321 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V" |
| 122b037 | | 19100321 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V, Basement Plan" |
| 122b040 | | 19100401 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V, Mezzanine Floor plan" |
| 122b039 | | 19100401 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V, Roof plan showing Pergola." |
| 122b038 | | 19100509 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V, Club Floor plan, with altered overlay" |
| 122b039a | | 19100509 | 121 e8 | "Prop. office building for D. E. Co.; Scheme V, Mezzanine Floor plan, with altered overlay" |
| 122b008 | | 19110120 | 121 e6 | "detail of doorways for Bostwick Gates" |
| 122a139 | | 19111103 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E. Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture W |
| 122a138 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E. Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture X |
| 122a120 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E. Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture K |
| 122a121 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E. Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture J |
| 122a122 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E. Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture P |
| 122a123 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture N |
| 122a124 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture H |
| 122a125 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture V |
| 122a126 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture R |
| 122a127 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture Q |
| 122a128 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture M |
| 122a129 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture S & T |
| 122a130 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture L |
| 122a131 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, fixture I |
| 122a132 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, Typical large office |
| 122a133 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, typical office |
| 122a134 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, pencil for 135 |
| 122a135 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, typical office corridor |
| 122a136 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild. |
| 122a137 | | 19111104 | 121 e6 | "Electric Fixtures for the D.E.Co." stamped by Bromsgrove Guild, not used. |

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| 122b142 | 19111218 | 121 g1 | "Basement Floor plan" |
| 122b143 | 19111218 | 121 g1 | "Ground floor plan" |
| 122b104 | 19120401 | 121 g1 | "Former McGibbon Suite, Layout of offices for Frank E. McKenna" |
| 122b130 | | 121 e8 | "Details of Exterior Fire Escape Between Eighth and Club Floors" |
| 122b097 | | 121 g1 | "Detail" unidentified precisely |
| 122b034 | | 121 e6 | "Layout showing changes to the kitchen in the Montreal Club" |
| 122b093 | | 121 e6 | "Proposed doors to St. Lawrence Hall on bridges" |

Appendix III: Catalogue of Lord Shaughnessy Correspondence;

Catalogue of Letters from C.P.R. Archives Lord Shaughnessy Letter Register RG2 AA, pertaining to this study. This Appendix serves as a location and organization device for primary documents that cannot be included in the Bibliography. Important content has been included in the text of this examination. Included at the end are two letters to Shaughnessy from Bruce Price in 1887 and one to F. Ellingwood in 1912.

- A:** Letter Number.²⁸
B: Letter Register Number.
C: Date dd-mmmm-yy.
D: Sender.
E: Addressee.
F: Brief description.

| A: | B: | C: | D: | E: | F: |
|----|--------|------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| 1 | 82198 | 20-octo-06 | Stout | Shaughnessy | New office at Montreal. |
| 2 | 90055 | 10-dece-06 | Shaughnessy | Stout | New property in Montreal. |
| 3 | 82639 | 20-dece-06 | Stout | Shaughnessy | New property in Montreal. |
| 4 | 82639 | 21-dece-06 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Copy of letter of the twentieth. |
| 5 | 91652 | 19-sept-07 | Shaughnessy | Brodeur | Recommending Maxwells. |
| 6 | 84924 | 20-sept-07 | Maxwells | Shaughnessy | Thank you for letter of nineteenth. |
| 7 | 87335 | 20-july-08 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Letting of contract for stables at Ottawa. |
| 8 | 87381 | 27-july-08 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Lease at St. Lawrence Hall. |
| 9 | 87381 | 30-july-08 | Shaughnessy | Stout | Lease at St. Lawrence Hall. |
| 10 | 95759 | 19-july-09 | Shaughnessy | Hayter Reed | Problems at Hotels in Vancouver. |
| 11 | 93900 | 1-sept-10 | Shaughnessy | Evans | Granite, D.E.B. |
| 12 | 93900 | 2-sept-10 | Maxwells | Shaughnessy | Granite, D.E.B. |
| 13 | 94533 | 2-may-11 | Shaughnessy | Whyte | Palliser plans. |
| 14 | 94533 | 2-may-11 | Shaughnessy | Whyte | Palliser plans. |
| 15 | 94533 | 19-may-11 | Shaughnessy | Whyte | Palliser plans. |
| 16 | 95924 | 30-may-11 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Mr. Holland, smooth character. |
| 17 | 95979 | 30-may-11 | Beauclerk | Shaughnessy | Slow work on D.E.B. |
| 18 | 95924 | 30-may-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Slow work on D.E.B. |
| 19 | 95979 | 31-may-11 | Maxwells | Shaughnessy | Progress D.E.B. |
| 20 | 94533 | 11-july-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Delays, Palliser Hotel. |
| 21 | 95979 | 11-july-11 | Maxwells | Shaughnessy | Reply, delays Palliser Hotel plans. |
| 22 | 96288 | 13-july-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Stukely Marble. |
| 23 | 96288 | 13-july-11 | Shaughnessy | Painter | Stukely Marble. |
| 24 | 96288 | 14-july-11 | Maxwells | Shaughnessy | Marble for Palliser. |
| 25 | 99906 | 19-july-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Disapproval of exterior, D.E.B. |
| 26 | 99979 | 7-augu-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Palliser, elevators. |
| 27 | 100100 | 23-augu-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Protocol changes for plans. |
| 28 | 95979 | 7-octo-11 | Stout | Maxwells | CC. Shaughnessy: Changes ventilation, D.E.B. |
| 29 | 95979 | 7-octo-11 | Shaughnessy | Stout | Changes ventilation, D.E.B. |
| 30 | 95979 | 7-octo-11 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Changes ventilation, D.E.B. |
| 31 | 95979 | 9-octo-11 | Shaughnessy | Maxwells | Changes ventilation, D.E.B. |
| 32 | 95979 | 9-octo-11 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Changes ventilation, D.E.B. |
| 33 | 95979 | 9-octo-11 | Maxwells | Shaughnessy | Changes ventilation, D.E.B. |
| 34 | 95979 | 15-nove-11 | Shaughnessy | Stout | Initiate Changes to exterior, D.E.B. |
| 35 | 95979 | 16-nove-11 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Changes to exterior, D.E.B. |
| 36 | 95979 | 16-nove-11 | Shaughnessy | Stout | Reply, D.E.B. |
| 37 | 95979 | 9-marc-12 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Delays, contractor, D.E.B. |

²⁸ These entries are called letters because they are from Shaughnessy's letter register, some are notes or telegrams.

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|----|-------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| 38 | 95979 | 12-marc-12 | Shaughnessy | Stout | Delays, Maxwells, D.E.B. dispute between Maxwells and contractor |
| 39 | 95979 | 15-marc-12 | Maxwells | Stout | |
| 40 | 95979 | 15-marc-12 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Colour Samples, D.E.B. |
| 41 | 95979 | 16-marc-12 | Stout | Shaughnessy | Delays to D.E.B. |
| 42 | 95979 | 18-marc-12 | Shaughnessy | Stout | Colour Samples, D.E.B. |
| 43 | 94533 | 2-july-13 | S. Engineer | Shaughnessy | summary, delays to Palliser Hotel, Calgary. |
| 44 | 94533 | 10-july-13 | S. Engineer | Shaughnessy | delays to Palliser Hotel, Calgary. |
| 45 | | 25-march-12 | Shaughnessy | Ellingwood | Moving in to D.E.B. on May 1 |
| 46 | | 25-Sept-1887 | Price | Shaughnessy | Demand for Payment. |
| 47 | | 5-Nov-1887 | Price | Shaughnessy | Demand for Payment. |

Illustrations:

Figure 1: Dominion Express building ca. 1998. Photograph by the author.



Figure 2: Maxwells, Dominion Express Building. From CPL A8361. Ca. 1915.

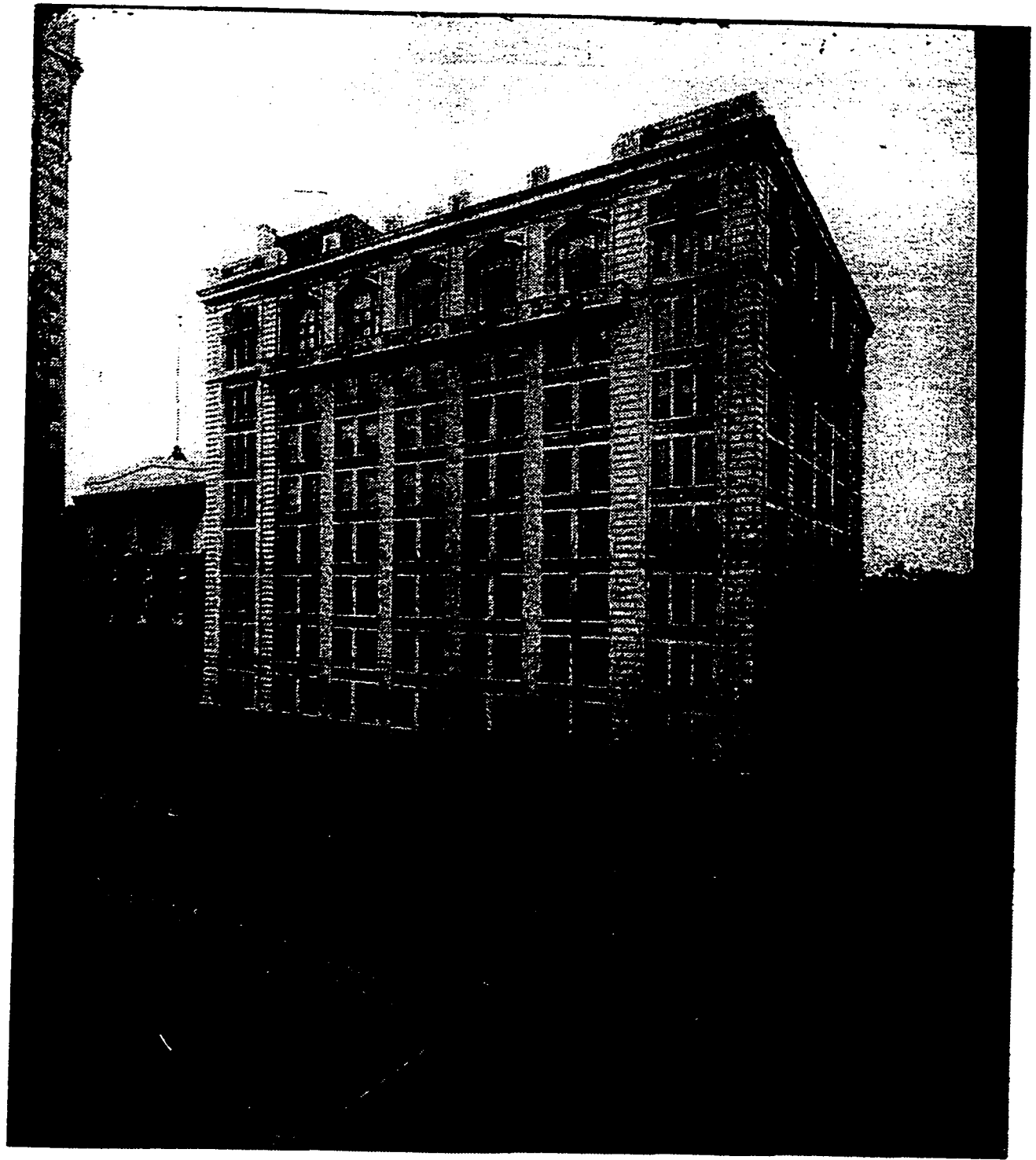


Figure 3: Hutchison & Wood, Canadian Express Building, c. 1906. From Forget, *Les Gratte-ciel de Montréal*, 95.

Canadian Express Building, McGill Street, Montreal



Figure 4: Maxwells, New Building for Dominion Express on Latour St. February 1908. CAC Drawing # 122b020.

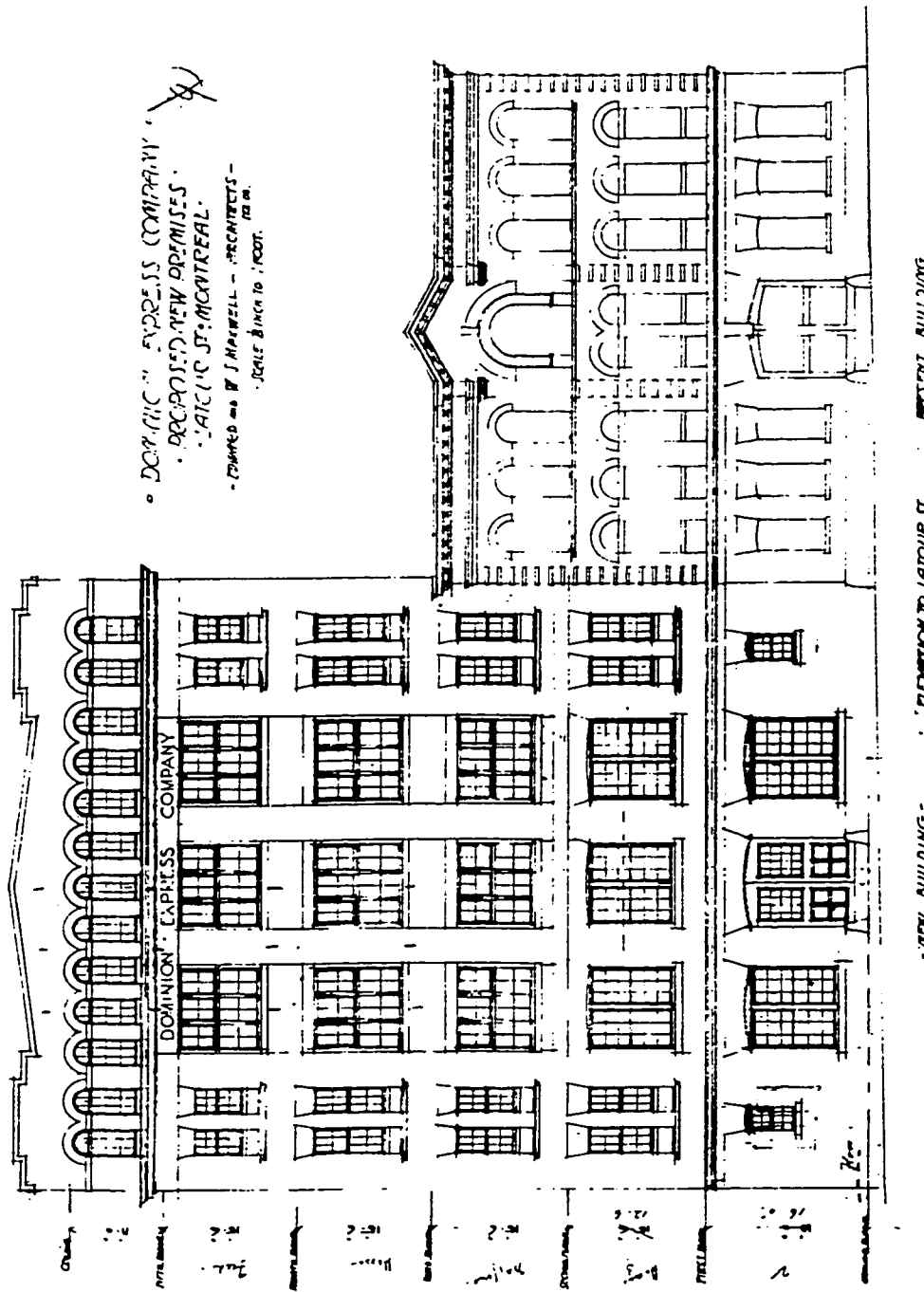


Figure 5: Maxwells, Dominion Express Stables at Latour St. excavation and removal of buildings at rear, March 9th 1911. CAC Drawing # 121a040.



Figure 6: Maxwells, Elevation, Proposed Block of Offices at the corner of St. James and St. Francis Xavier Sts. CAC Drawing # 122b001.

• PROPOSED BLOCK OF OFFICES •
• AT CORNER ST. JAMES & ST. FRANCIS XAVIER •
• FOR THE DOMINION EXPRESS COMPANY •



. ELEVATION ON ST JAMES STREET.

Figure 7: Maxwells, DEB, Photograph of Construction. From CAC Project 96.0 Folder A.4.9.

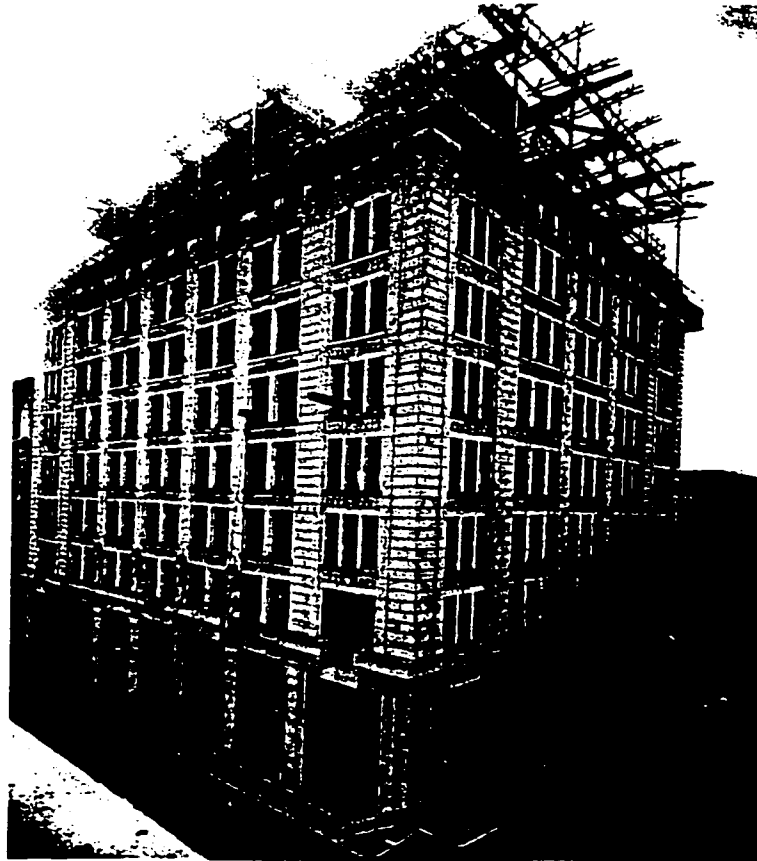


Figure 9: Maxwells, Elevation to St. James St. DEB, June 15, 1910. CAC Drawing # 122a067.

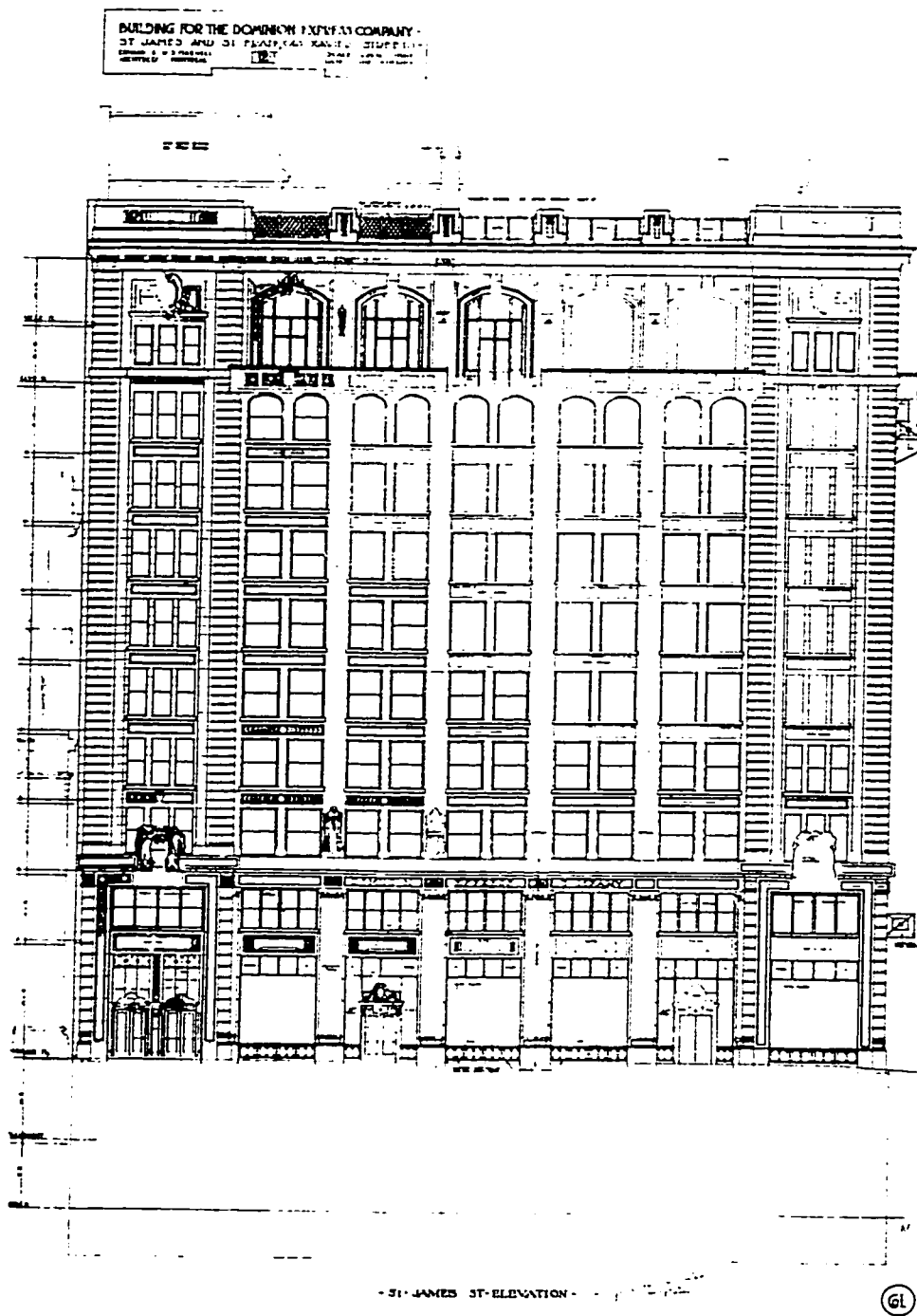


Figure 10: Maxwells, Photo of Basement Restaurant from **Construction** (November 1912) 50.



Figure 11: Maxwells, Photo of Entrance Hall from **Construction** (November 1912) 53.



Figure 12: Maxwells, Photograph of interior of the Montreal Club, D.E.B., 1912.
From *The Architecture*, 82.

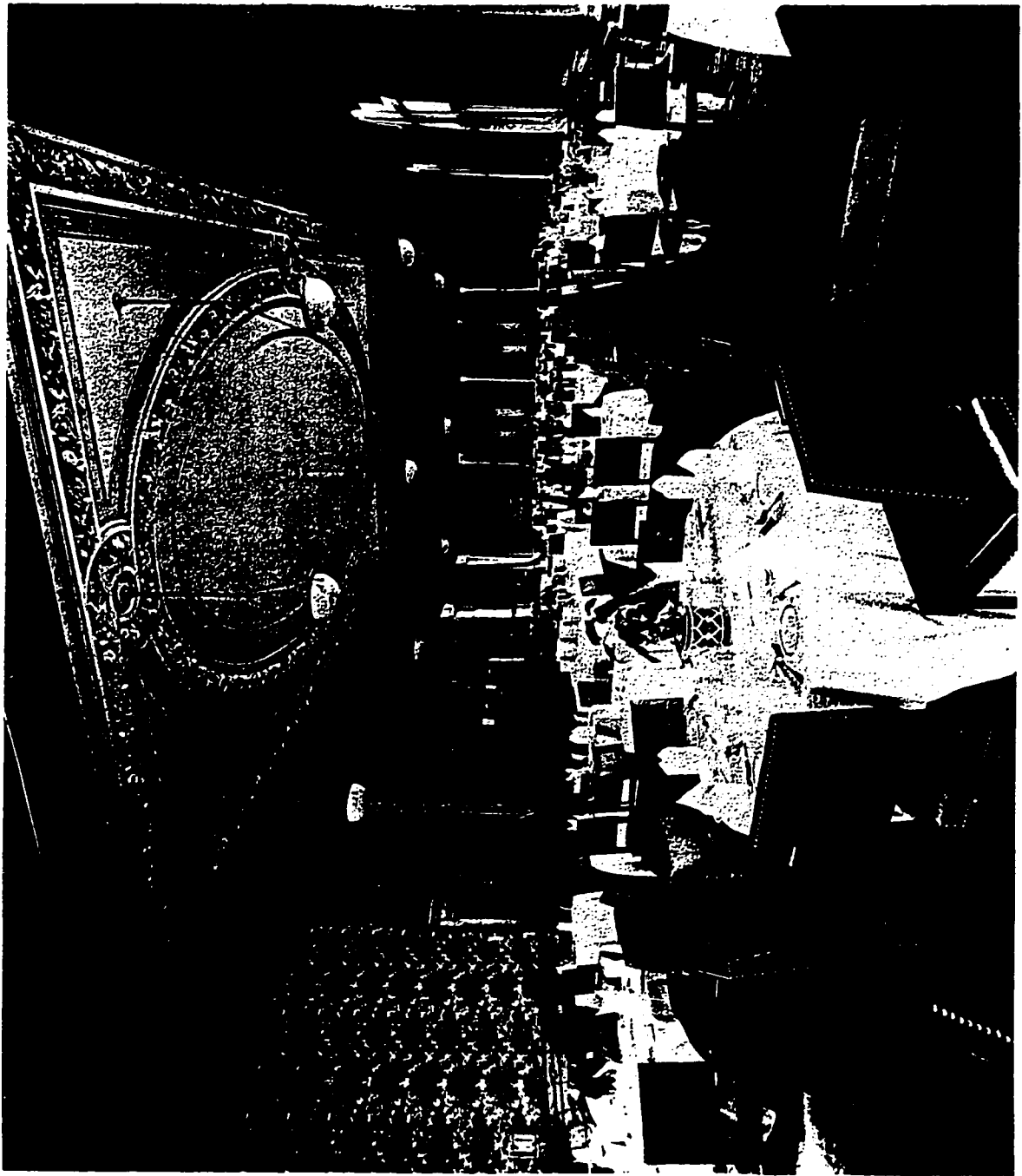


Figure 13: Maxwells, Photograph of interior of the Montreal Club, DEB, 1912.
From CAC Project 96.0 Folder A.4.9.

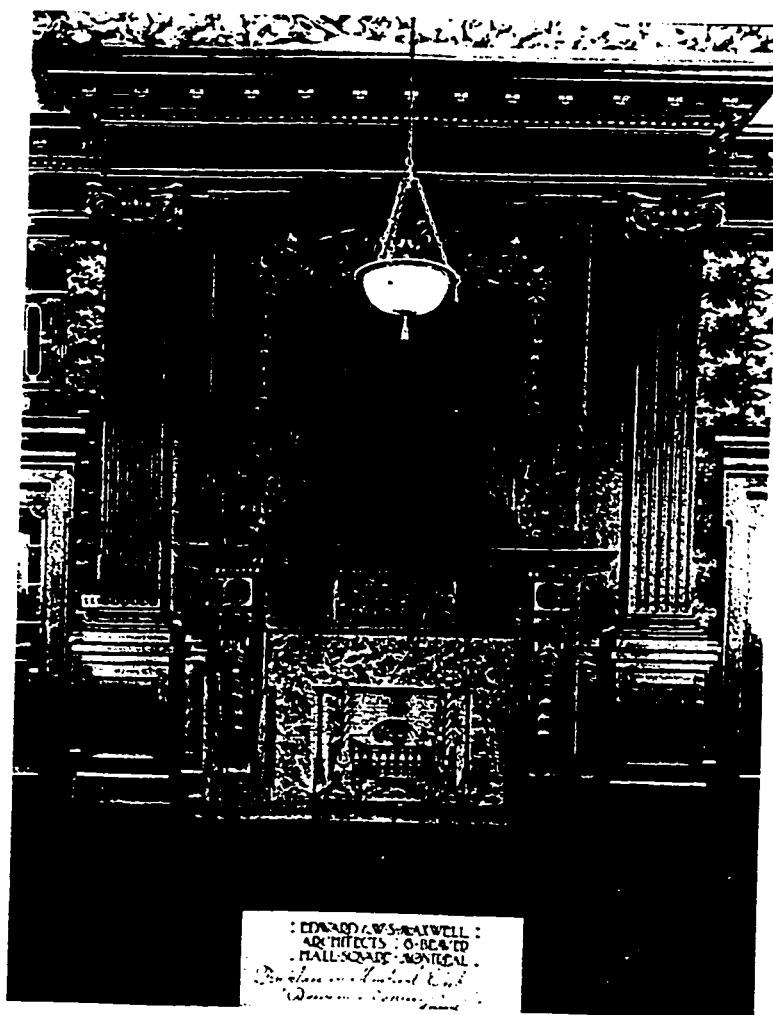


Figure 14: Otis Fensom Advertisement from *Construction* (November 1912) 36.



Dominion Express Building, Montreal. E. & W. S. Maxwell, Architects.
OTIS-FENSOM Elevator Service Installed.

Another Recent Otis-Fensom Installation

The Dominion Express Building, Montreal, is one more added to the list of notable buildings in which Otis-Fensom Elevator Service has been installed.

In buildings of this class, which are, for many hours each day, miniature cities in themselves, the elevator service is the highway which must always be at the highest point of efficiency, in order that business may progress without delays or interruptions.

Otis-Fensom Elevators have kept pace with the country's forward stride in building construction. They provide the efficient transportation that makes the modern office building possible.

Otis-Fensom Elevator Company, Limited

Head Office, Toronto.

Works, Hamilton, Ont.

Figure 15: Hutchison, Wood and Miller, Shaughnessy Building (1912) from CPA.

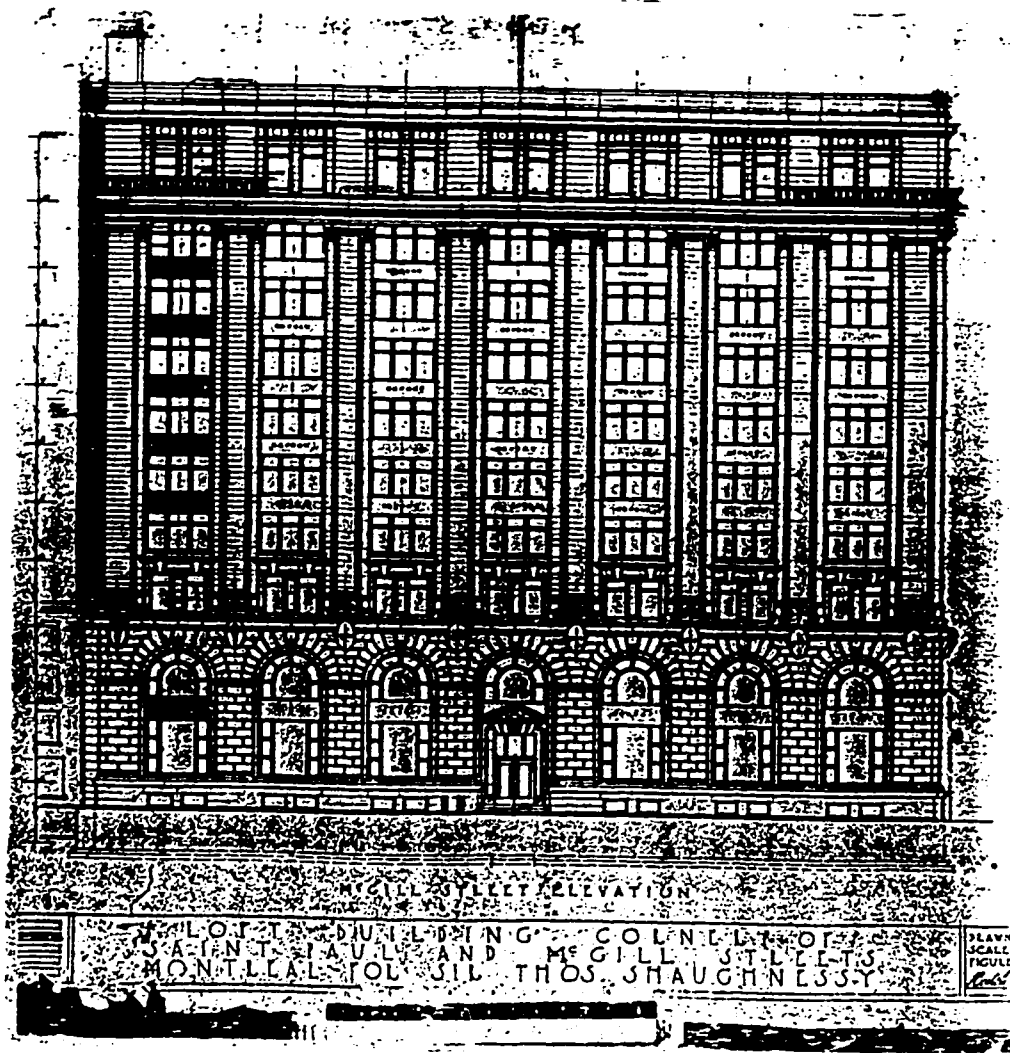


Figure 16: Claude Perrault, the orders, from Herrmann Claude Perrault 98..

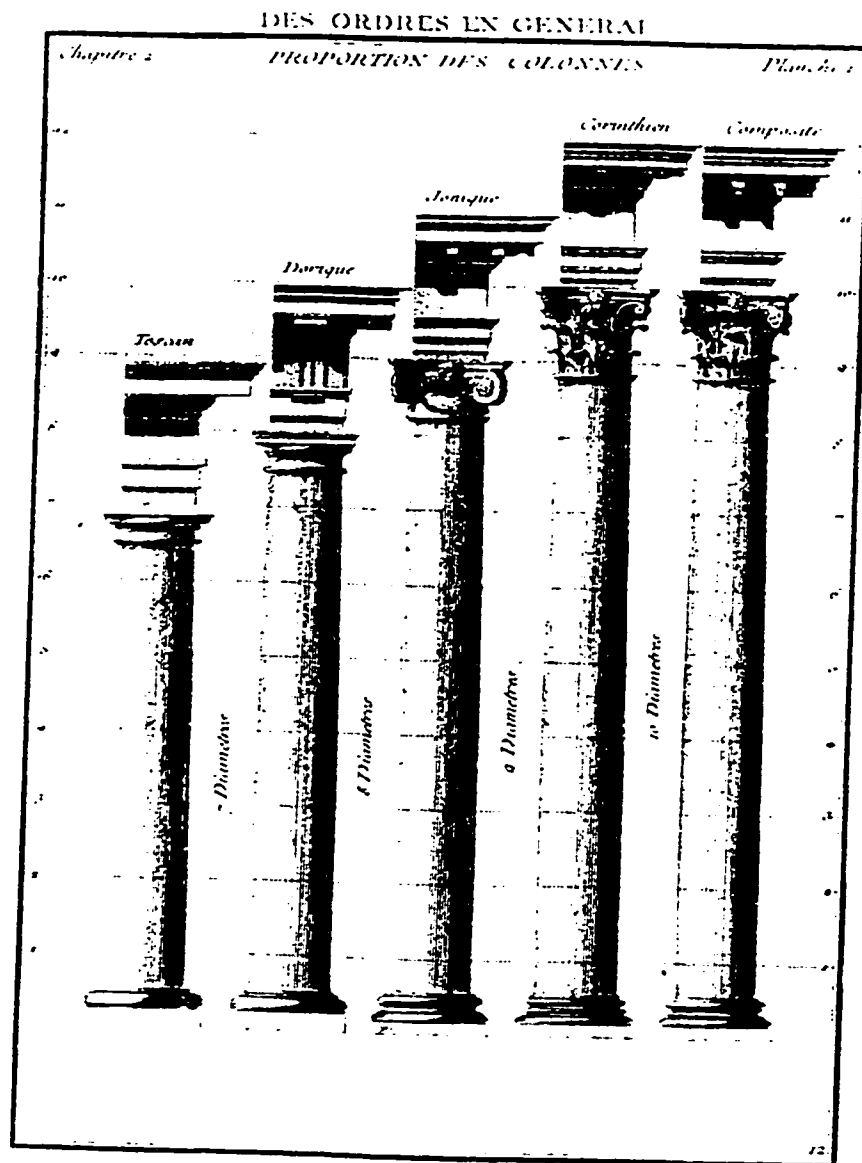


Figure 17: Boullée, Cenotaph for Newton, from Lemagny, *Visionary Architects* 8.

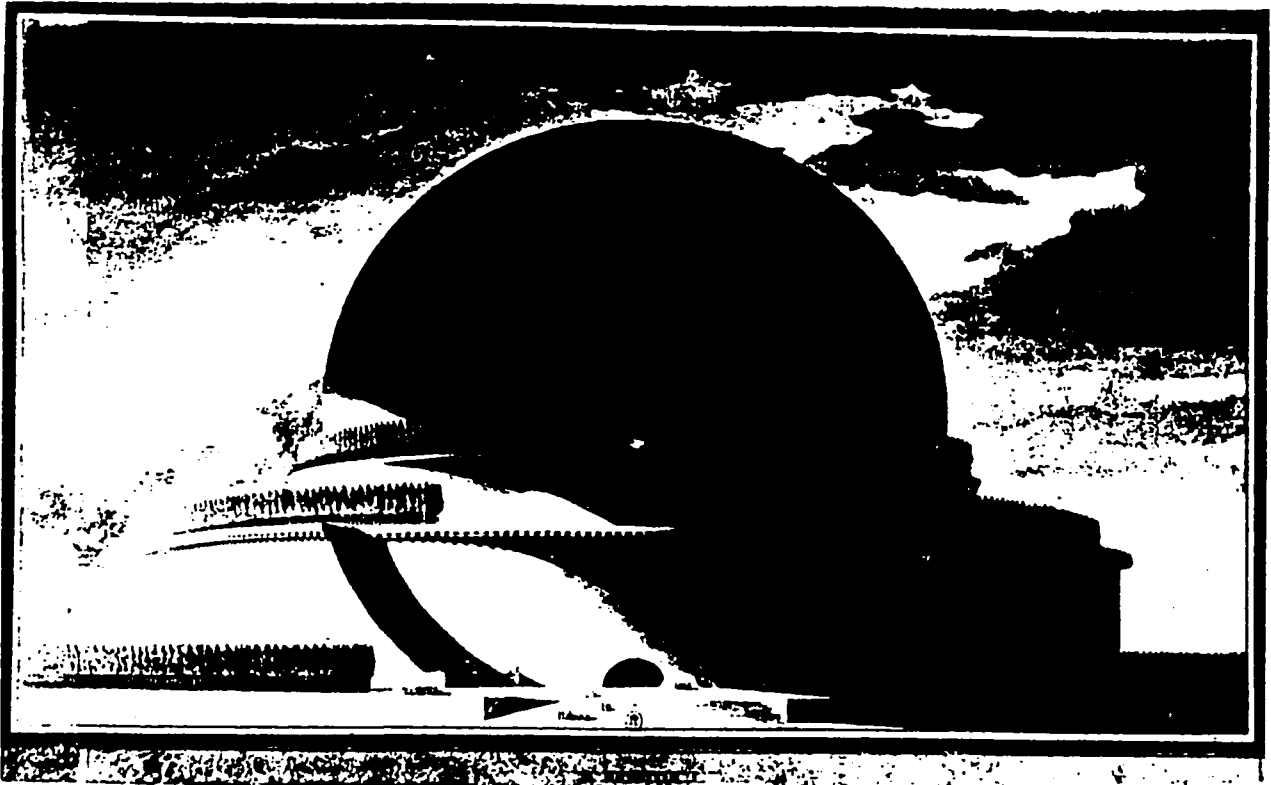


Figure 18: E. Maxwell, Arnprior Station, c. 1897. From C.P.L. A-2008.

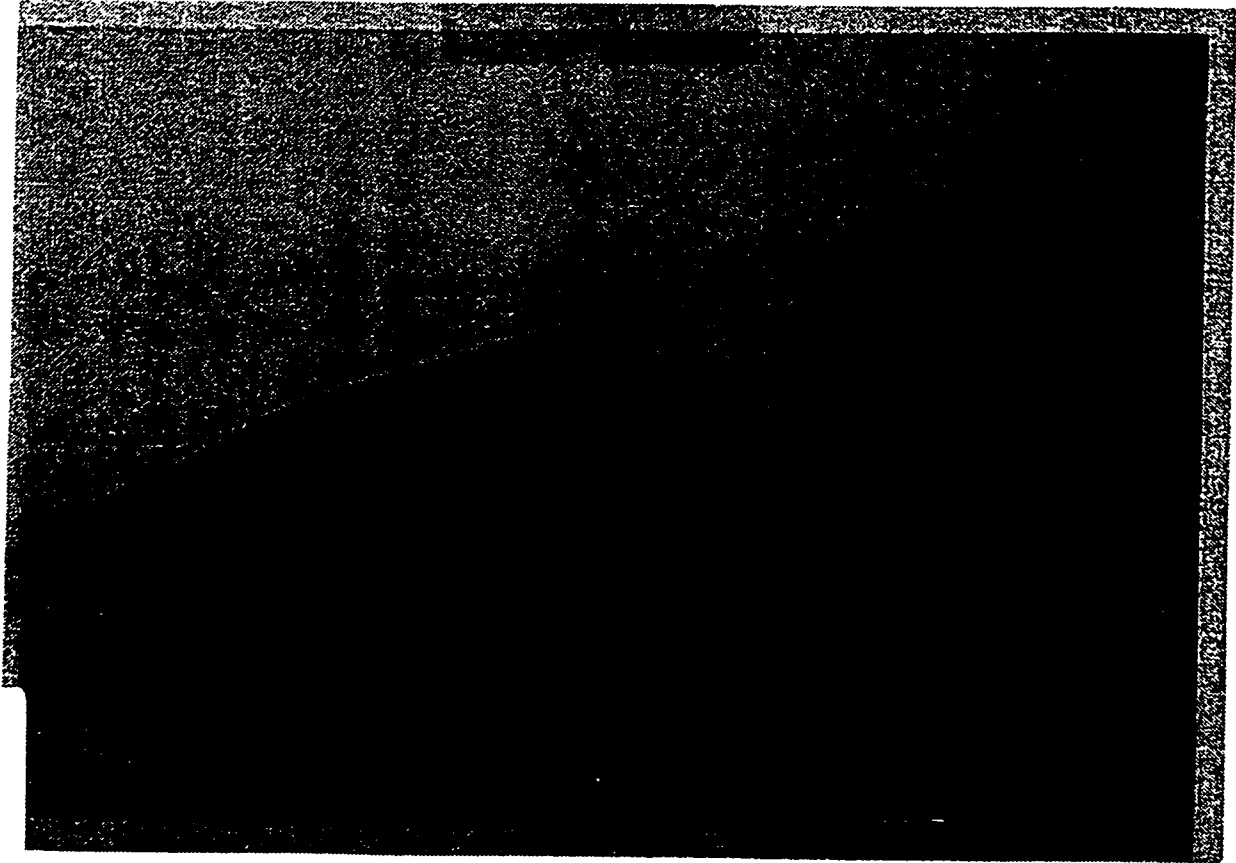


Figure 19: E. Maxwell, Vancouver Station, 1897. From C.P.L. A-12594.

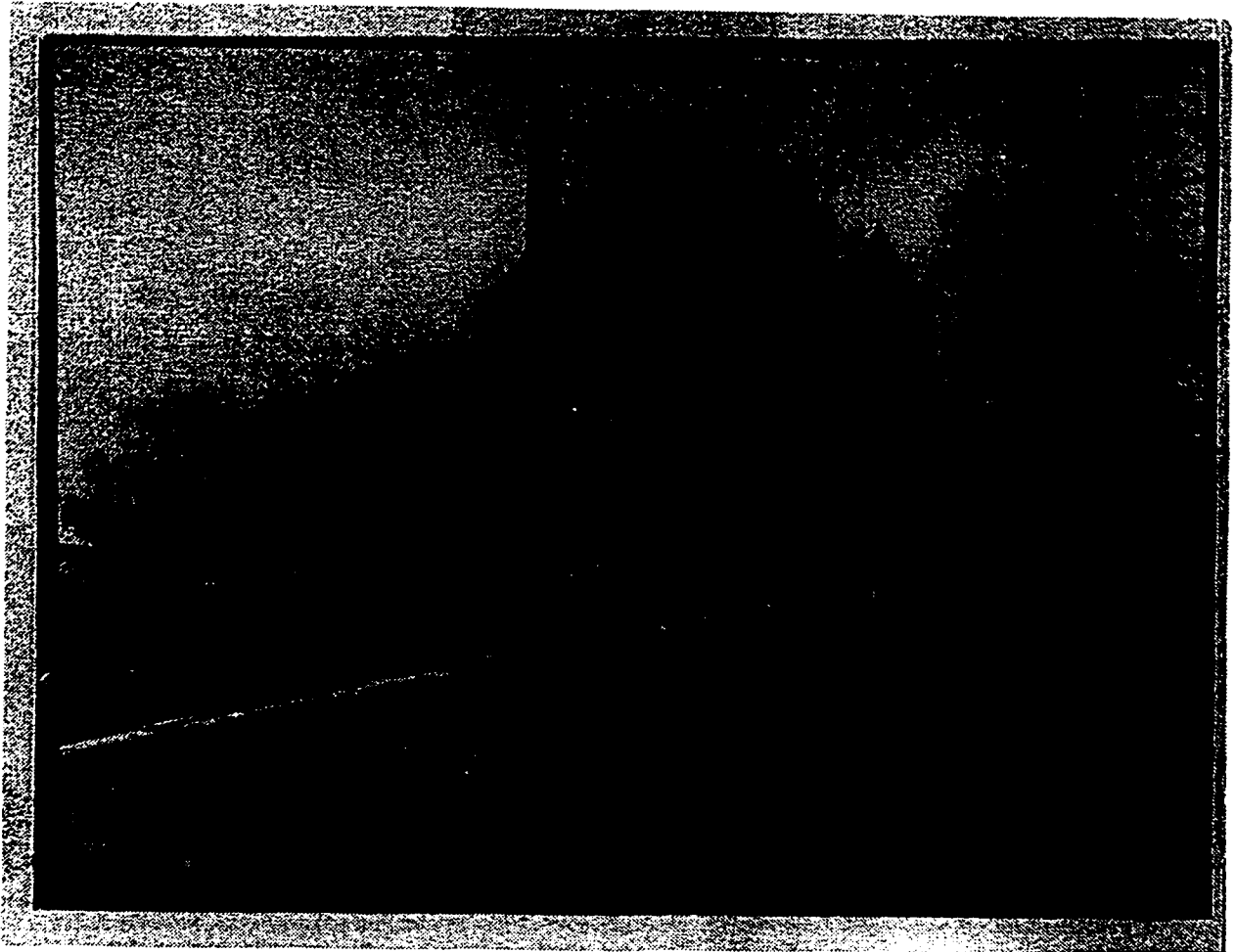


Figure 20: H.H. Richardson, Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati, 1885-8. From Ochsner, *H.H. Richardson Complete Architectural Works*, 213.

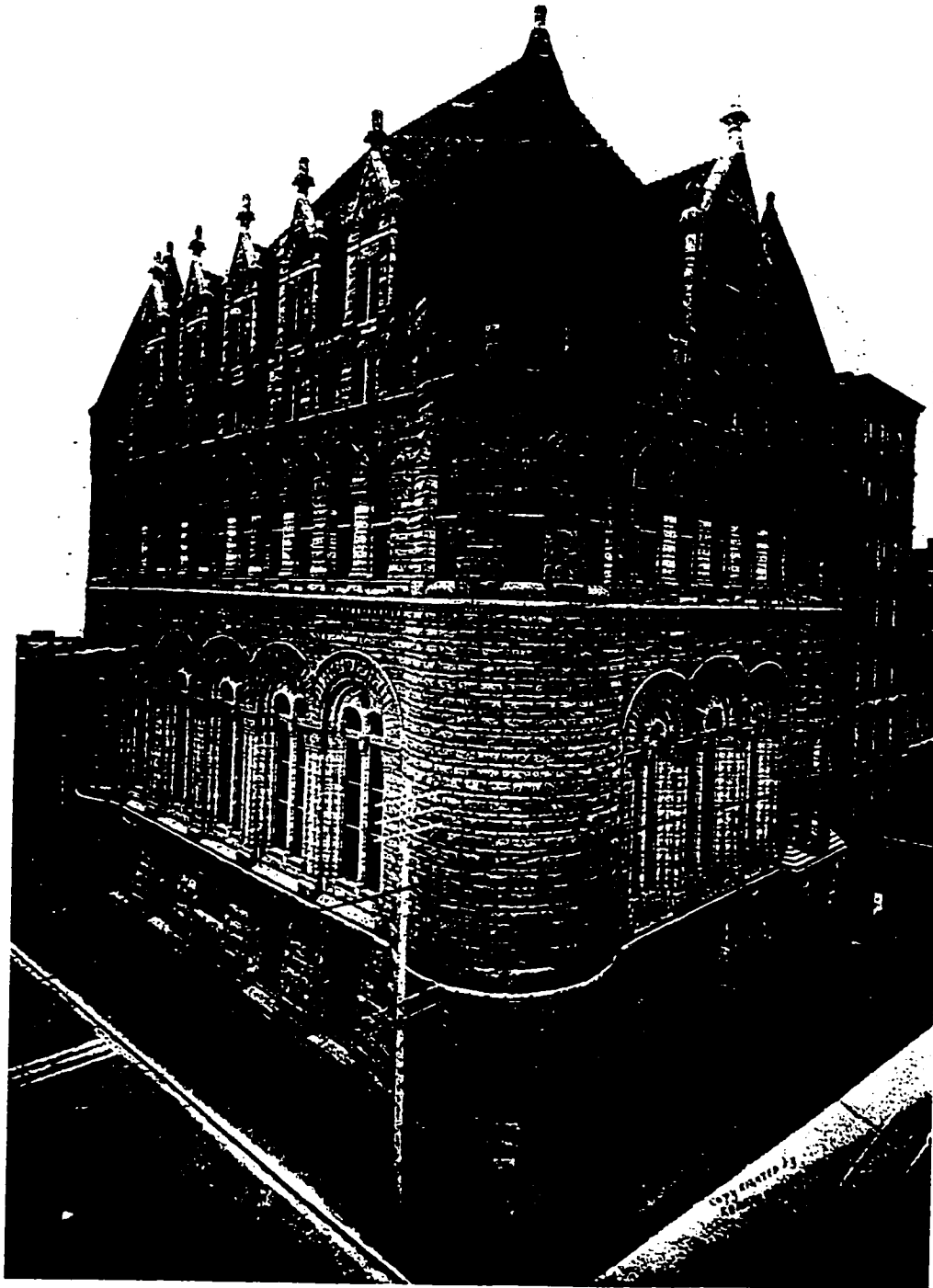
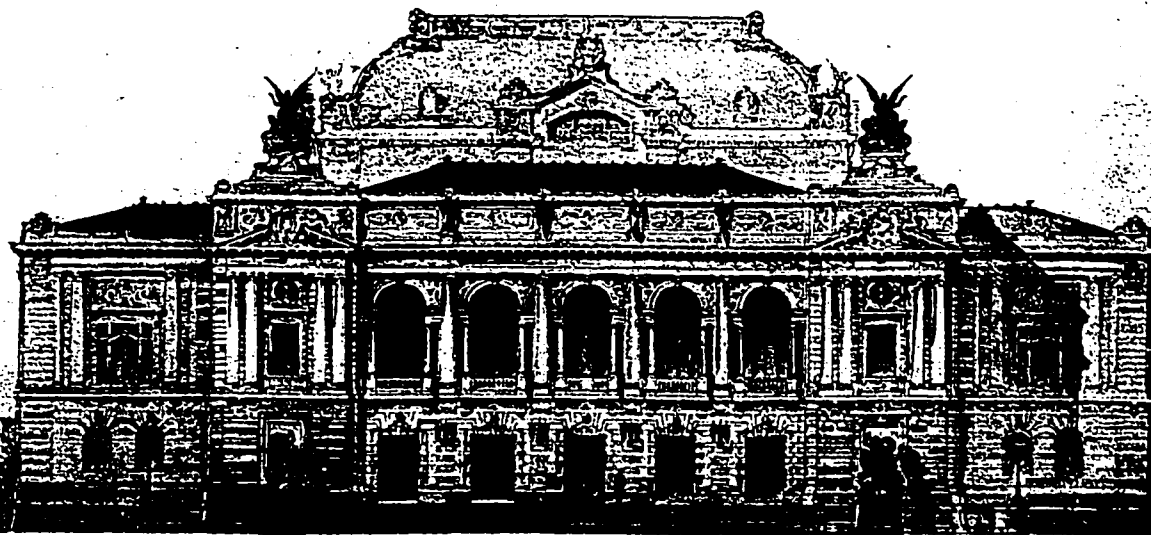


Figure 21: W.S. Maxwell, Drawing for a Salle de Fetes, c 1900. From *The Architecture*, 32.



PROPOSED • SALLE • DES • FETES • W.S. MAXWELL • ARCHITECT • MONTREAL •



• FRONT • ELEVATION •

Figure 22: C.L. Garnier, Paris Opera, 1867. From *Photographing Architecture*, 87.

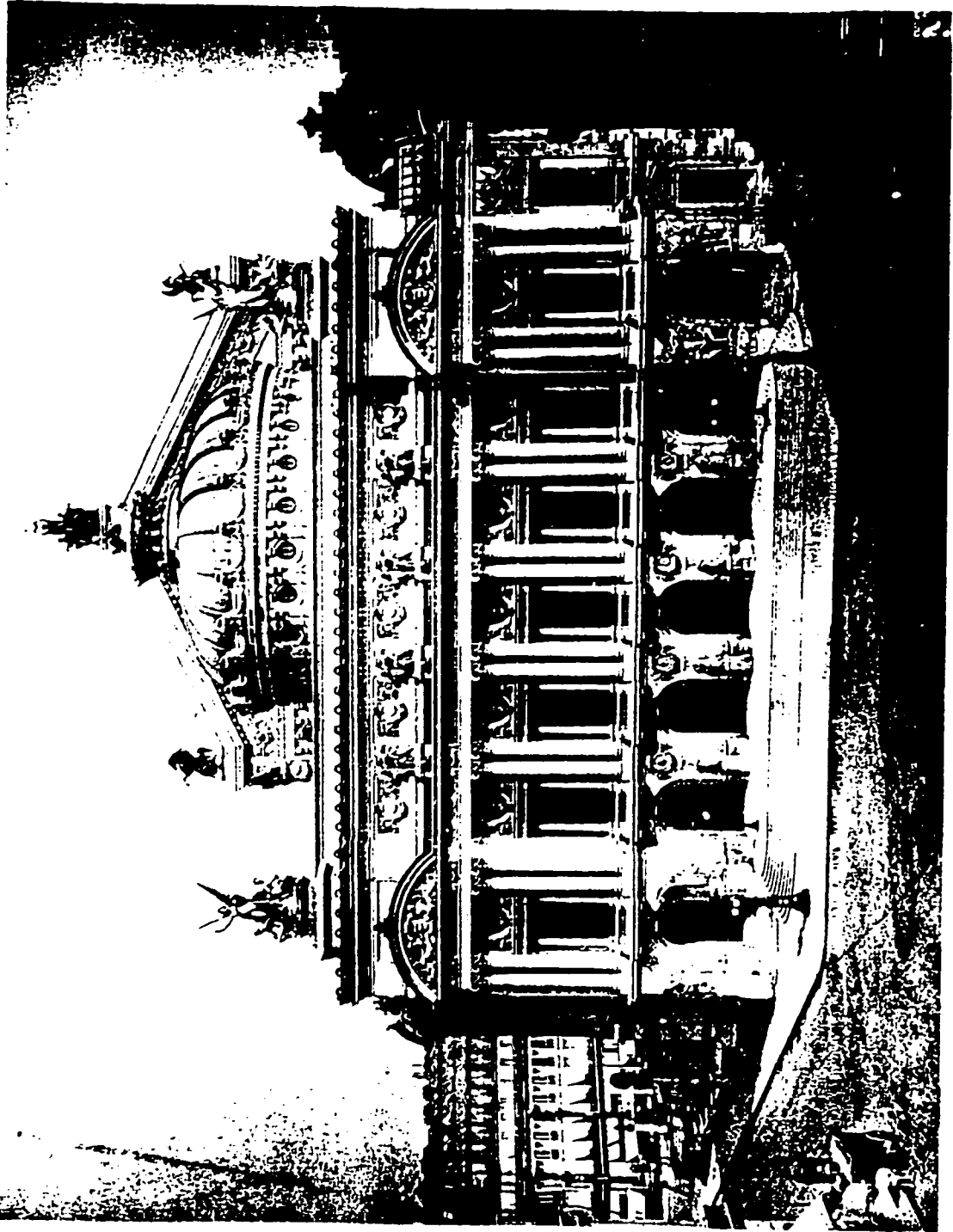


Figure 23: E. Maxwell, London & Lancashire Life Building, Montreal, 1899.
From *The Architecture*, 74.

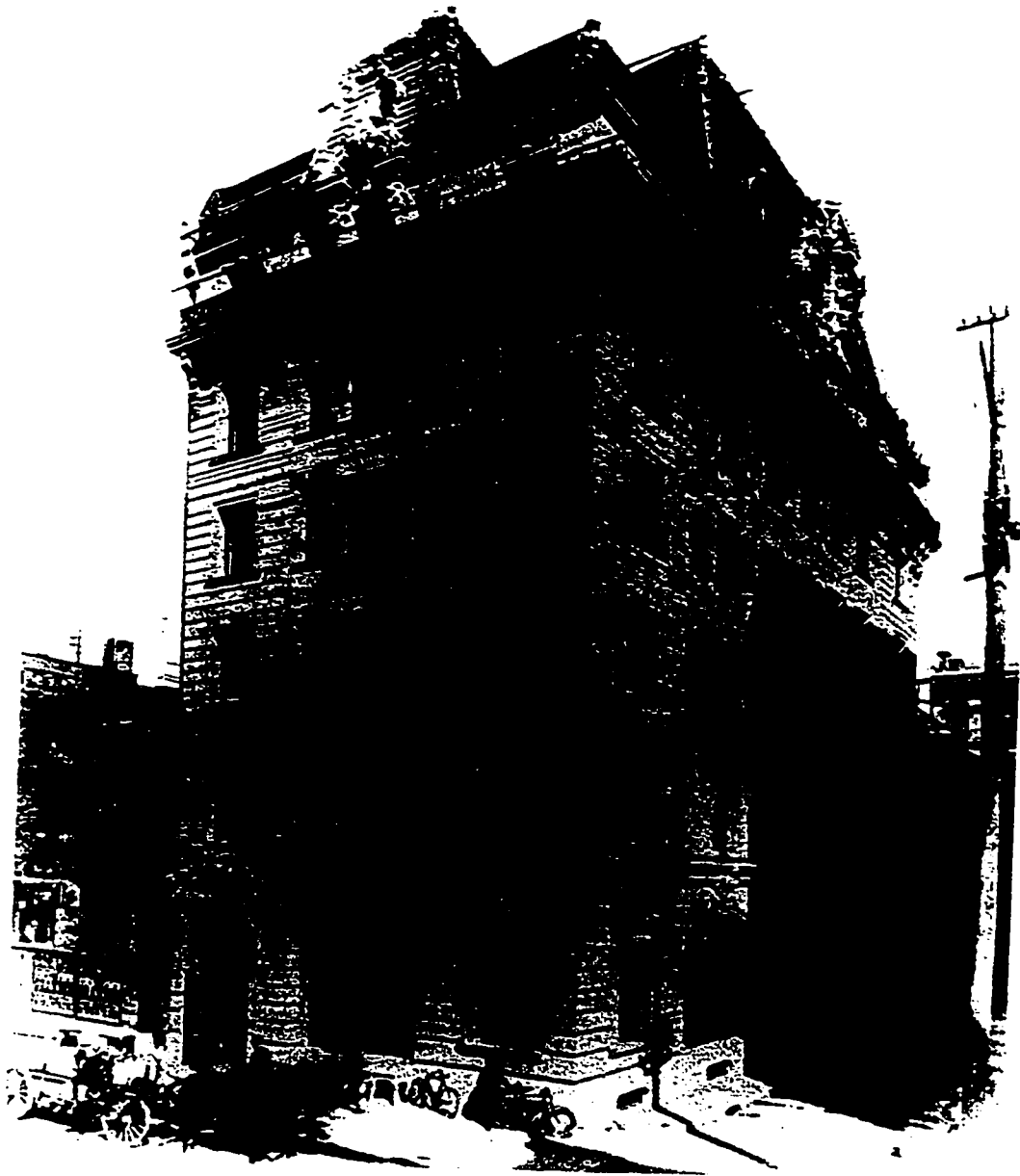


Figure 24: E. Maxwell, Hosmer House, Montreal, 1901-2. From *The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell*, 102.



Figure 25: L.E. Hickmont, *The White City, Worlds Colombian Exhibition*.
From Zukowsky, *Chicago Architecture*. 174.

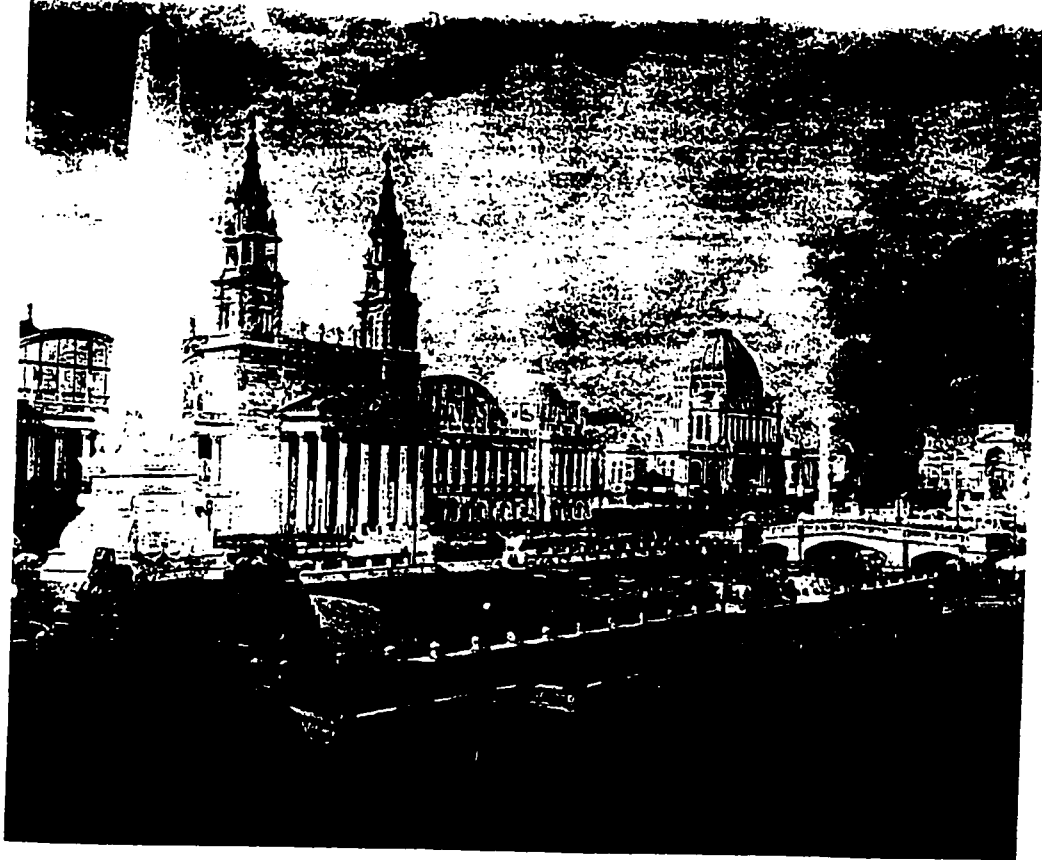


Figure 26: E. Maxwell, C.P.R. Station, Winnipeg, 1899. From C.P.L. 16293.

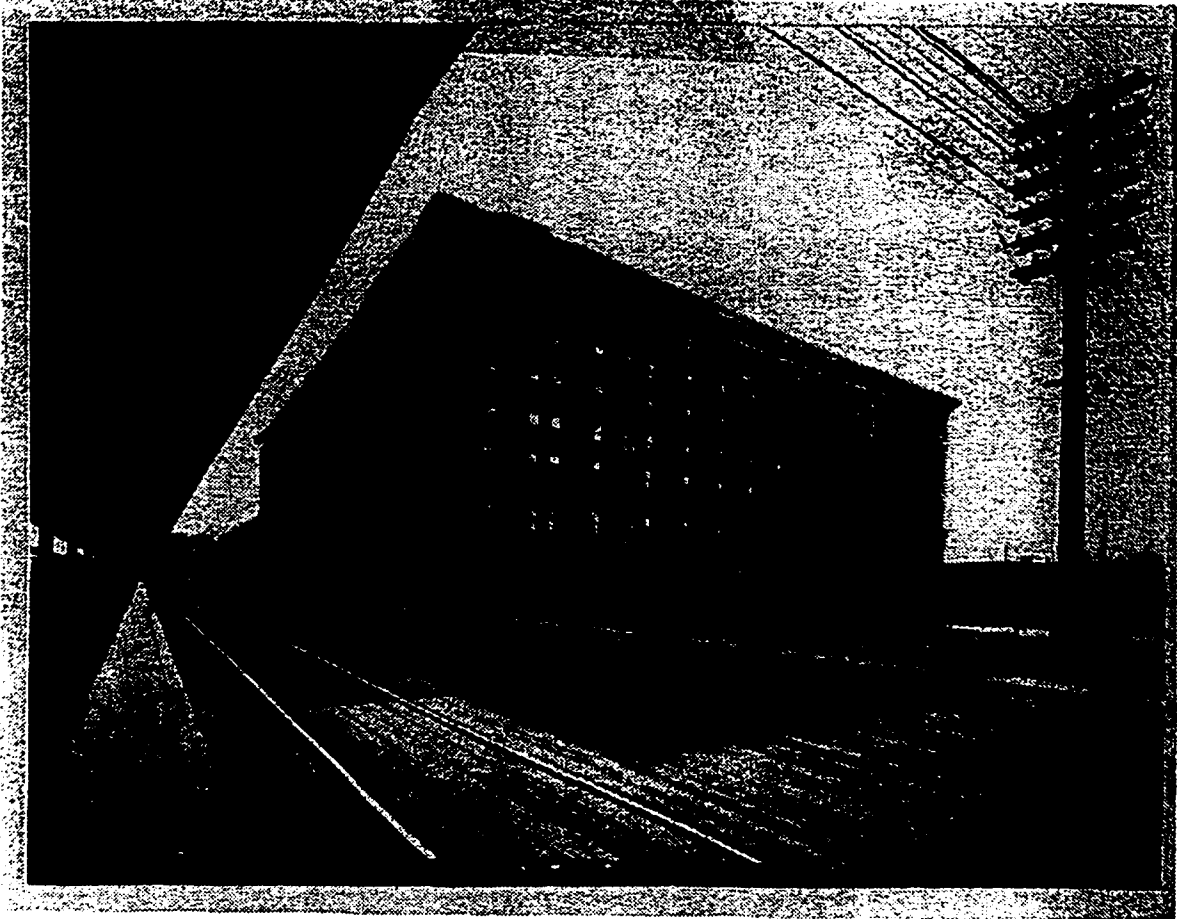


Figure 27: E. Maxwell, C.P.R. Hotel, Winnipeg (Royal Albert), 1906. From C.P.L. A-17284.

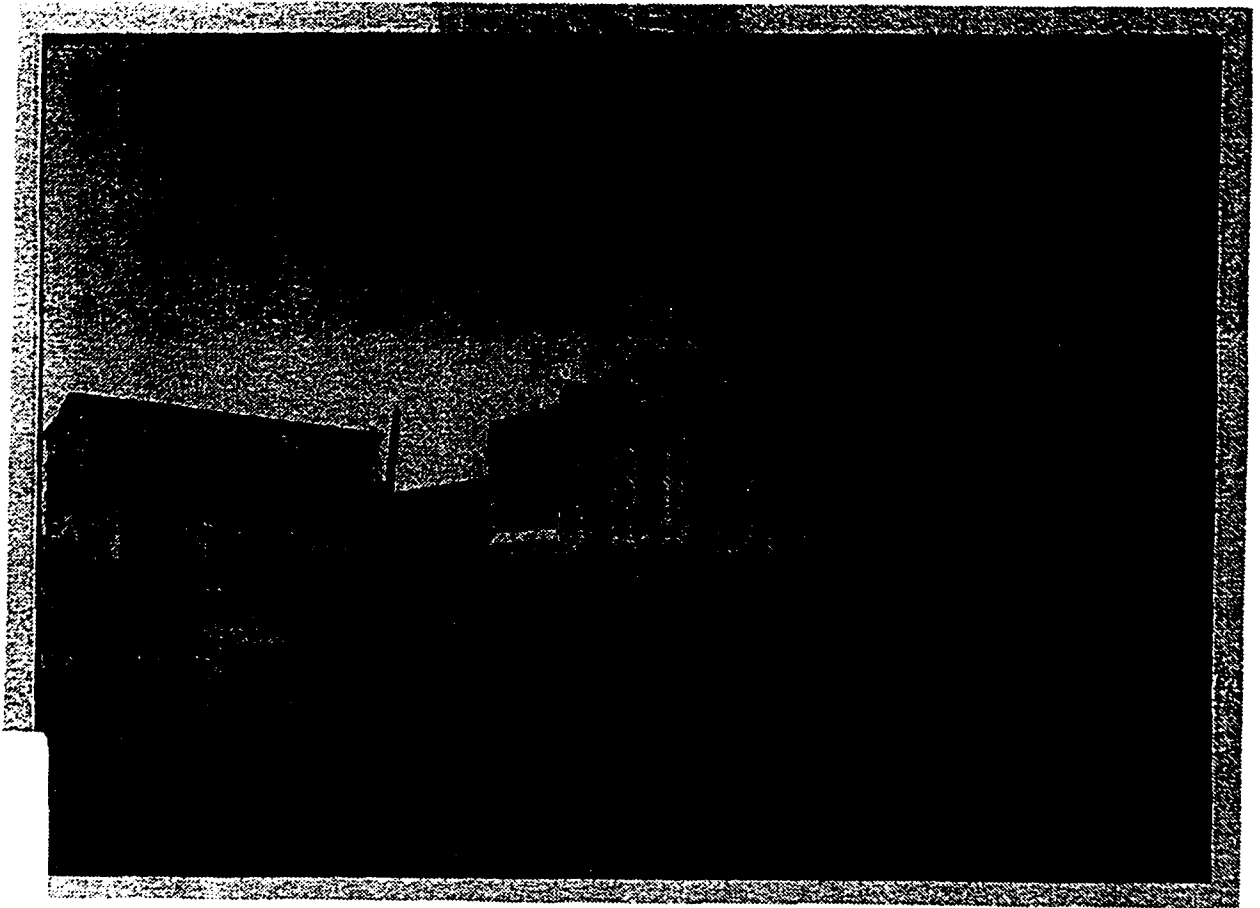


Figure 28: E. Maxwell, C.P.R. Hotel, Calgary (Palliser), 1912. From C.P.L. 2691.

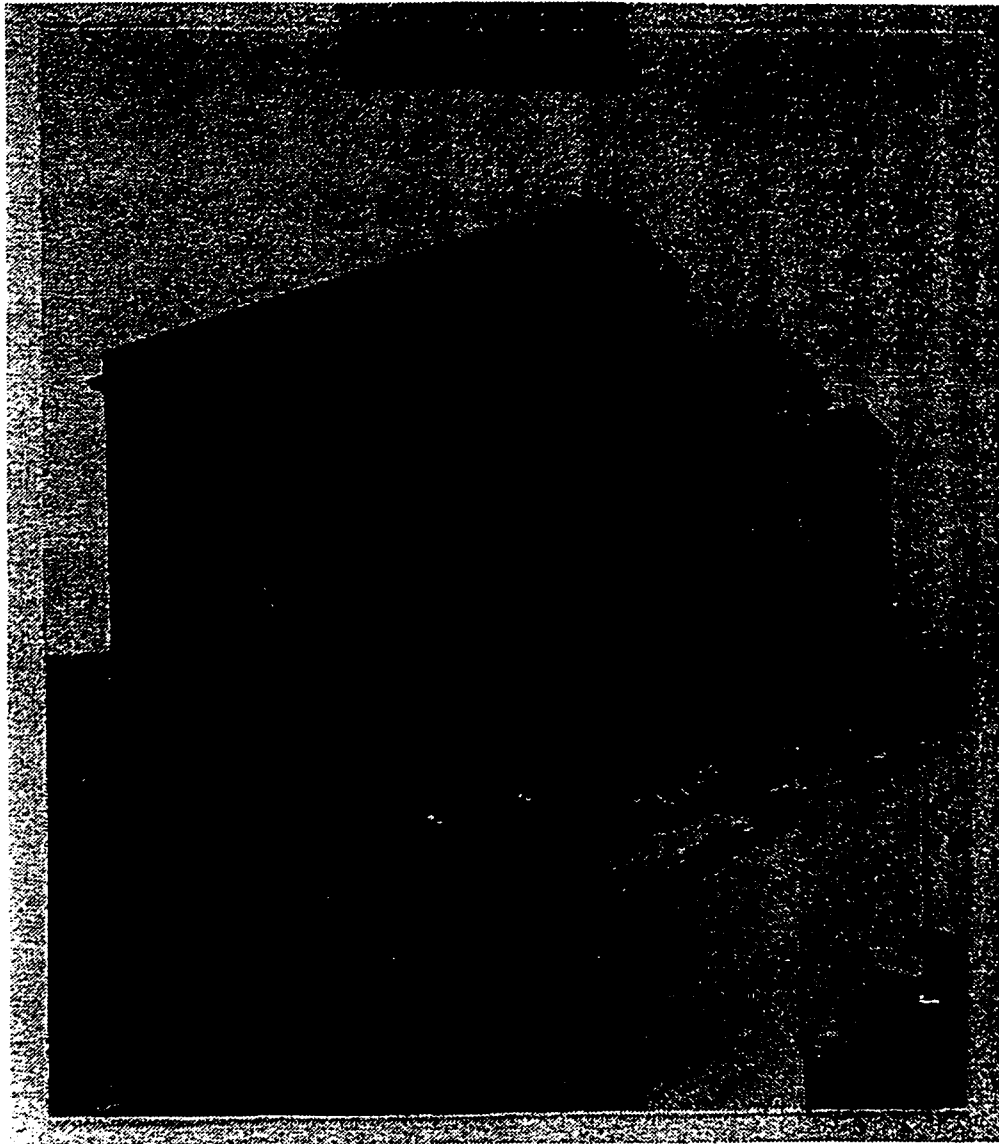


Figure 29: Adler & L. Sullivan, Wainwright Building, St. Louis 1890. From Condit 86.



Figure 30: Adler & L. Sullivan, Carson Pirie Scott Building, 1899. From Condit 124.



Figure 31: Robert Smirke, United Service Club, London, 1816. From Summerson, **Georgian London**, Plate LXXII.

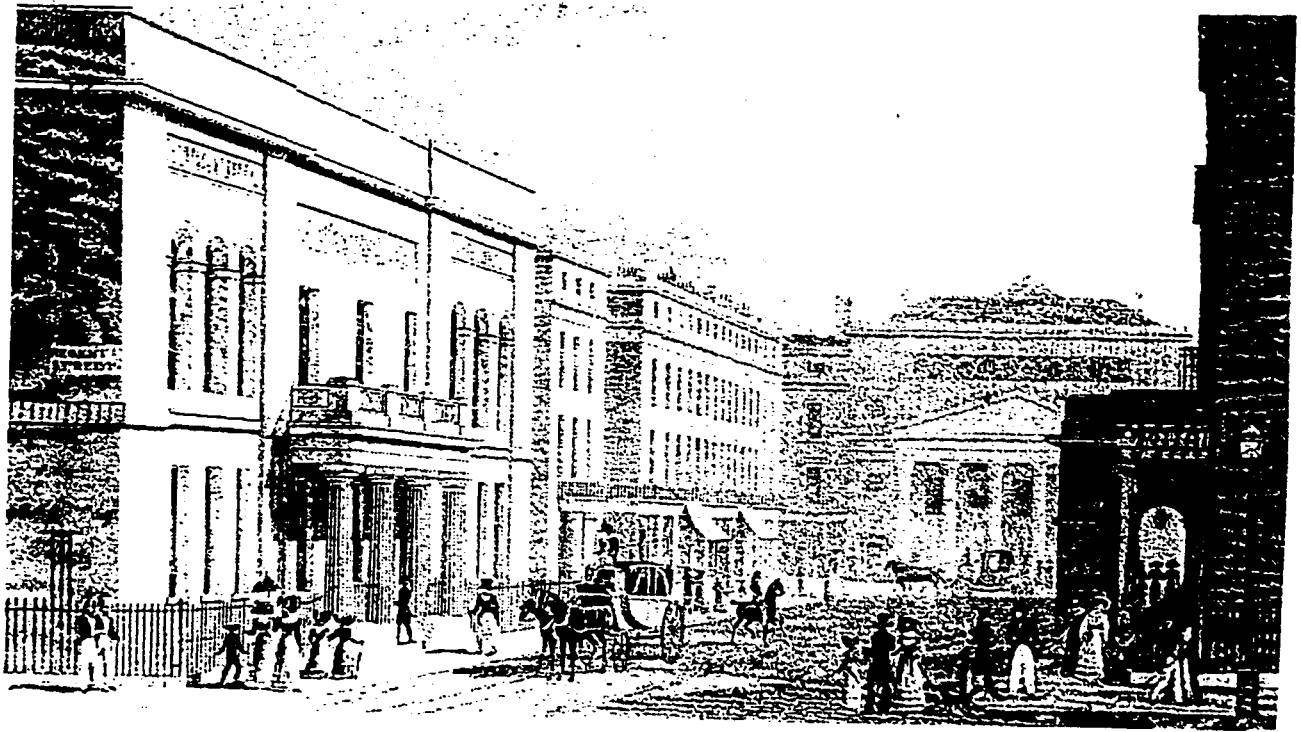


Figure 32: C.R. Cockerell, Sun Life Building, London, 1849. From King, Buildings and Society, 261.

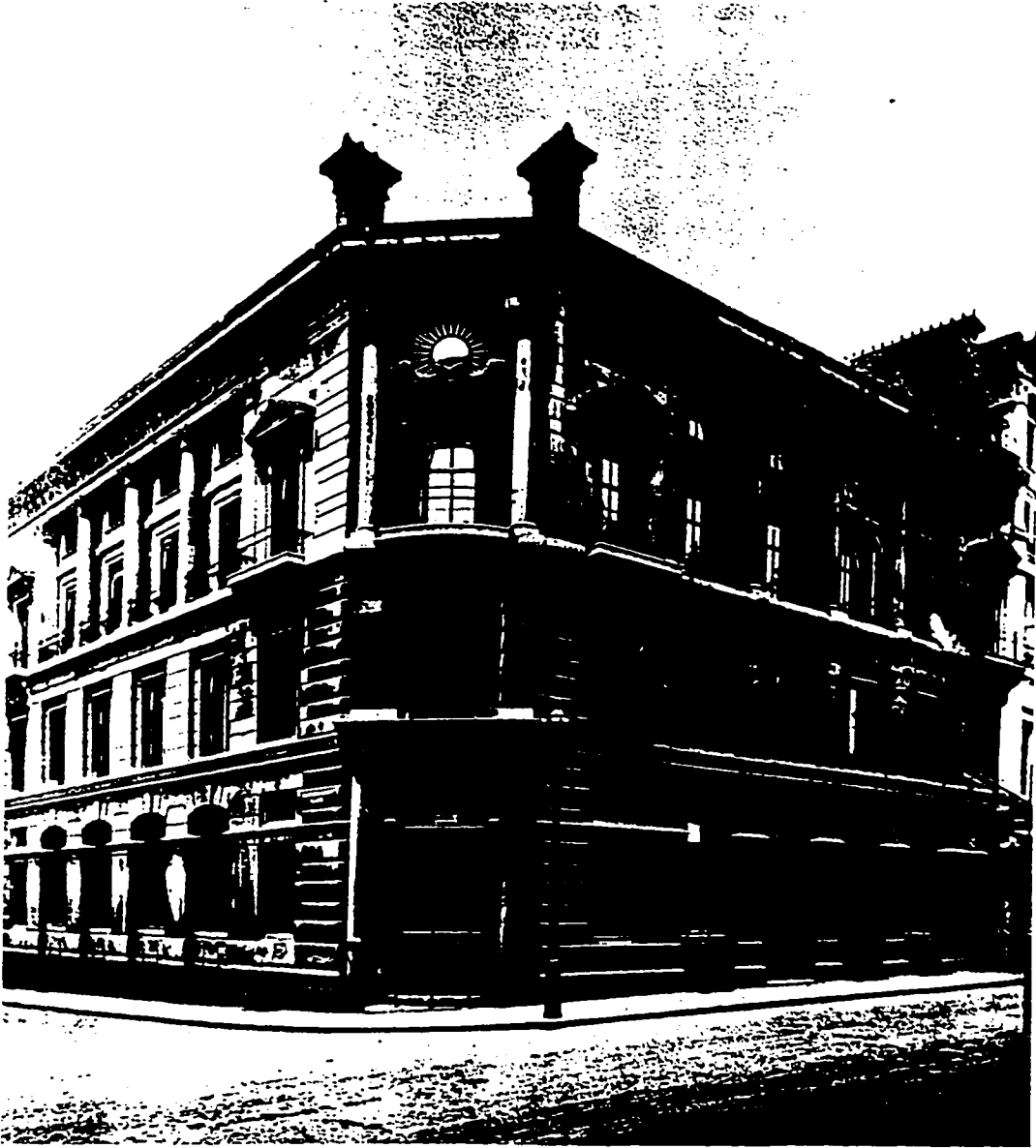


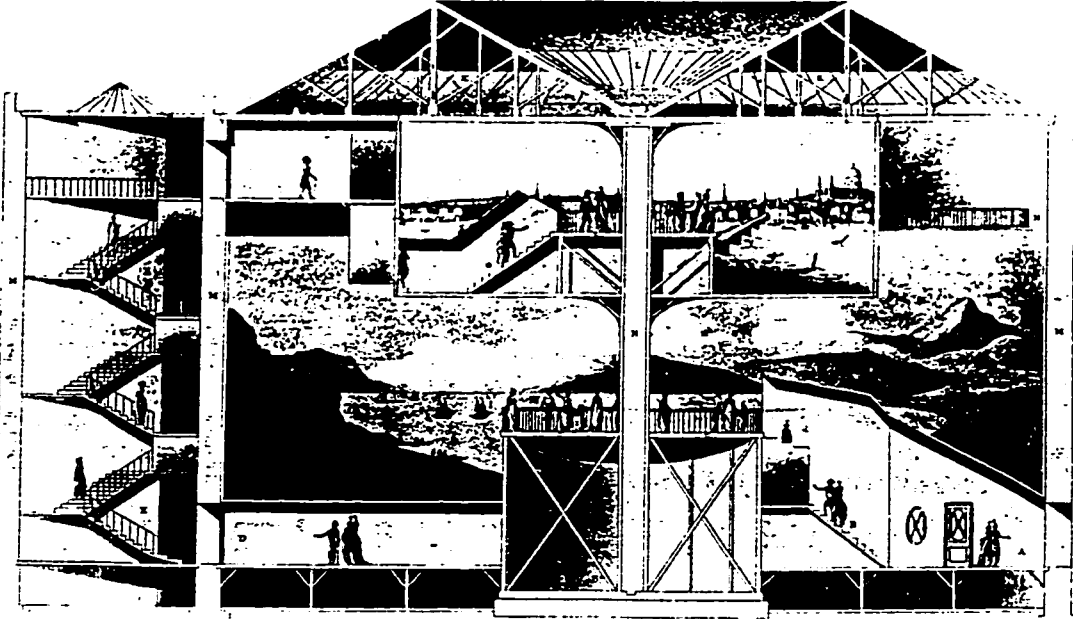
Figure 33: Peter Ellis, Oriel Chambers, London, 1864. From King, 264.



Figure 34: C.R. Cockerell, Sun Life Building, Interior, London, 1849. From King, 262.



Figure 35: Buford's Panorama, 1794, from Bressani, *Perspecta*, 50.



*Sezione di un Panorama, Situato a Spazio, in una città di PASORASSA
L'opera è di Buford, e fu inventata nel PASORASSA, Situato a Spazio*

Ed. Buford, 1794