HAROLD D. KALMAN

THE RAILWAY HOTELS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHÂTEAU STYLE IN CANADA

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA MALTWOOD MUSEUM
STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY NUMBER ONE

THE
RAILWAY
HOTELS

and the Development of the Château Style in Canada

HAROLD D. KALMAN

The home of John and Katharine Maltwood on the Patricia Bay Highway at the intersection of Royal Oak Avenue just outside Victoria was bequeathed to the University of Victoria in 1964. In 1967 its board of directors officially adopted the policy of making it a museum centre for historical study of the Arts & Crafts Movement.

The Arts & Crafts Movement began in the middle of the nineteenth century as an attempt to get away from the practice of borrowing forms from historic styles for symbolic purposes, and to base design instead on intrinsic properties of materials and structure. Perhaps the most influential advocate of this "new art" was the Englishman, William Morris (1834-1896). He designed and made furniture, tapestry, stained glass, and books in accordance with these new principles, and his example was largely followed by designers in many other European and North American countries. Since traditions vary from country to country, however, no one set of forms characterizes the Arts & Crafts Movement; it is best described as a distinctive attitude to design in general.

The Maltwood Museum collections, as well as the building itself, typify the wide range of Arts & Crafts Movement — including a representative selection of Art Nouveau objects, six windows from an early house in Buffalo by Frank Lloyd Wright, and the extensive collection related to the Glastonbury Zodiac assembled by Katharine Maltwood, whose own sculpture (largely preserved at the Museum) and scholarly interests in the Arthurian legend were entirely typical of the Arts & Crafts Movement as a whole. Guides are available at the Museum (open during the summer months) to explain the collection in detail and point out features of particular interest.

Nowhere was the Arts & Crafts Movement more influential than in architecture, and particularly on the Canadian West Coast; it inspired the native architectural vernacular of British Columbia. It is particularly appropriate, then, for a series of papers on architectural history to be published under the aegis of the Maltwood Museum, and especially that the first should be Harold Kalman's on Railway Hotels. Not only did they first develop in British Columbia, but, as he points out, they represent to a large degree the first attempt to express Canadian nationalism through a national style of architecture. On this aspect of the Château Style, *The Shield of Achilles* (W. L. Morton, editor, Toronto, 1968) has a chapter by Alan Gowans on "The Canadian National Style" that will interest any wishing to read further in this area.

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS ARE well acquainted with the many stylistic revivals of the nineteenth century. Most have been chronicled, several deeply studied, and a few understood. Less familiar, however, are those historical styles which continued to be practiced actively into our own century. One such phenomenon has been the revival of the style of the medieval French châteaux in Canada. Rooted in the last years of the nineteenth century, the château style remained an active force in Canadian architecture until our own generation. It originated with a series of hotels erected for a railroad; its influence grew until it was advocated, and practiced, as a Canadian national style, the only mode acceptable for government architecture. To understand how this came about, a careful look must be cast at the history and nature of the railroad hotels.[1]

On November 7, 1885, the small mountain town of Craigellachie, British Columbia, reverberated with the sound of Donald A. Smith driving home the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway's transcontinental line. Thus was completed Canada's first track over the Rocky Mountains, and the only North American railroad to operate under one management from coast to coast. The company now faced an entirely new problem. It had to serve the basic needs of its travellers, as well as stimulate sufficient passenger traffic to make the line profitable. The trains passed through some of the most majestic mountain scenery in the continent, and nobody was more aware of this than William Van Horne,

then the company's vice-president and general manager.[2] "Since we can't export the scenery," said Van Horne, "we shall have to import the tourists."[3] He began construction on several mountain hotels, designed to attract tourist trade and to serve the more immediate need of replacing with restaurants the dining cars, too heavy to haul economically up the steep grades.

Three such structures were erected in 1886: the Mt. Stephen House at Field, the Fraser Canyon Hotel at North Bend, and the Glacier House at Glacier (Fig. 1), all in British Columbia.[4] The three were built from similar plans, although that of the Mt. Stephen House was reversed and given two dining rooms instead of one. The designs are asymmetrical, having three stories in the centre, with two on one side and a one-story wing extending in the other direction. The uppermost floor is shingled, the remainder covered with clapboard. Wooden brackets below the windows, the carving under the eaves, and the prominent shingles are intended to suggest a Swiss chalet, an appropriate style for the mountainous environment.

The hotels soon became popular as mountain resorts, particularly the Glacier House, which was built within sight and easy walking distance of the Illecillewaet glacier. A glacial stream was used to provide the fountains around the hotel. One visitor described the hotel as follows:

The Glacier House is a very artistic building of the Swiss chalet type, coloured, externally, chrome-yellow, relieved by dark brown beams and mouldings.... The view from the verandah and windows of the little hotel — which contains, by the way, fourteen bedrooms and a very large dining-room, panelled in stained wood — was one of fairy-like beauty....[5]

The Glacier House was frequently enlarged, four additional buildings of varying sizes being added in the next few years. However, when in 1916 the tracks were relocated into a new tunnel, business fell off sharply. Time also saw the glacier retreat out of sight, eliminating the prime lure of the resort. The buildings were demolished in 1930.

The Mt. Stephen House was also expanded considerably, with the main additions by F. M. Rattenbury in 1901-02 designed in a pseudo-half-timbered manner. Extensions were subsequently made to the Fraser Canyon Hotel as well, these by Edward Maxwell. The architect of all the original structures is unknown.[6]

William Van Horne's personal responsibility for the conception of the hotel system has been emphasized by his biographer.

It has been aptly said that Van Horne "capitalized the scenery." But sight-seers could not be attracted to the mountains and rivers of British Columbia unless suitable accommodation were provided for them. The company's charter permitted it to operate hotels, and Van Horne now began to realize a long-held dream by starting a system of picturesque hotels commanding the choicest views in the Rockies and Selkirks. He found recreation and delight in sketching, suggesting, or modifying the elevations and plans of these structures.[7]

The Canadian Pacific tended to the needs of transients in urban areas as well. In February 1886, Van Horne recommended that a hotel be built in the booming town of Vancouver, British Columbia.[8] Construction began in July, and the four-story structure opened its doors in May 1887. The Hotel Vancouver was a simple, straightforward building, brick over a stone ground floor and with steep tile roofs. Only a meager cornice was borrowed from past styles.

One journalist recalled the building this way in 1915, after its premature demolition:

The hotel was a solid, rather plain structure, a sort of glorified farmhouse, to which a number of extra storeys had been added. Its chief claims to notice were its solidity and its roominess. It was plain and utilitarian. It had rather a homely look. The citizens liked it, its bedrooms were comfortable and spacious, and its meals were good. A marked feature of it was its solid tiled roof, with dormer windows.[9]

In 1886 the C.P.R. made arrangements for securing a western access route to Montreal, and immediately began to plan a station and central office building for the city.[10] The building, although not a hotel, is pertinent to this study since it introduces Bruce Price of New York, the architect who was to become responsible for the introduction of the château style.[11] Price may have come to the attention of the company through his having designed parlour cars for the Pennsylvania and Boston

& Albany Railroads,[12] or else his earlier progress may have been followed by William Van Horne, an ardent architectural amateur. The first design for the new Windsor Station was presented in October 1886, but economic concerns necessitated its simplification. Second and third schemes met similar fates, and the fourth was not approved until early in 1888.[13] Construction began in the spring, and the massive structure was completed in less than a year, at a cost of about two million dollars. The first trains departed February 4, 1889. The speed of construction was due in part to a new six-derrick system devised by the builders, William Davis and Sons, of Ottawa,[14] but must also largely have resulted from the impatience of the client. When the building was completed, Van Horne shocked the city with a sign proudly proclaiming in six-foot-high letters: "Beats all Creation — the New C.P.R. Station!"[15]

Throughout the revisions, the fundamentals of Bruce Price's plan remained constant: the station was to be rectangular, with the waiting room at one end; the long train shed met this room with its axis perpendicular to that of the station. A large tower was to have risen above the entire area of the waiting room, but in the fourth scheme this had to be reduced to a small clock tower arbitrarily placed four bays from the end.[16]

The first scheme (Fig. 2) presented a building of brick and elaborately carved terra cotta, with windows treated as continuous vertical strips terminating in dormers. The second design retained the materials, but changed the fenestration to conform to an arch-and-spandrel system. This in turn was followed by a reversion to the first scheme, although now in cut stone, and the executed design (Fig. 3) returns to the arch and spandrel. One wonders whether the choice of this motive was due wholly to economy, or to the popularity of H. H. Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store in Chicago (1885-87). The influence of Richardson is obvious in the profuse use of Romanesque detail—notably the clustered piers of the façade, the polygonal turrets and pointed dormers, the cornice detail, and the column capitals in the waiting room — although these recall Richardson's work of the 1870's rather than his later style.

The emphasis on pattern and texture in the masonry work and also the rusticated bands are analogous to his Trinity Church, Boston (1873-77). Otherwise the station parallels contemporary developments of younger architects whose work stemmed from that of Richardson. Burnham and Root's now vanished Chicago Art Institute (1886-87), later the Chicago Club, bears many similarities in composition to Windsor Station, and Bruce Price's final tower resembles in form and location that of Adler and Sullivan's Auditorium Building (1887-89), just down the block from the Art Institute. The flat roof on the station tower, as well as the lowered main roof, resulted from changes which were made only after the building had reached the level of the cornice. Price blamed his clients for this, and apologized for what he felt to be the building's consequent lack of character.[17]

Earlier, in 1885, Canadian Pacific surveyors had discovered hot springs on the eastern slopes of the Rockies, near Banff. Ten square miles were set aside as a national park.[18] The company was quick to realize the potential advantages of a deluxe resort hotel on the site, an area combining spectacular scenery with the medicinal springs. Soon after Bruce Price was called in to work on Windsor Station, he was commissioned to prepare designs for the hotel.[19] Price undertook the job in 1886,[20] and in May or June of 1888 the Banff Springs Hotel opened its doors to vacationers and invalids. In March 1888, the *Canadian Architect and Builder* reported that work was "being rapidly pushed forward,"[21] while in July a photograph of the completed structure was published and the springs were said to be already "drawing a large number of visitors."[22]

The five-story frame structure (Fig. 4) is in the shape of an H, with an additional wing extending from the centre of a long side towards the scenic Bow River. A large central hall dominates the ground floor, which consists largely of public space. Tiered verandahs at the ends of the wings provide visual access to the mountains. The hotel originally accommodated 280 visitors, and the nearby bath house provided ten rooms and a swimming pool.[23]

An anecdote related by his biographer reveals the attention which William Van Horne gave to the construction of the Banff Springs Hotel. It also shows that Price did not personally supervise the job.

The builder turned the hotel the wrong side about, giving the kitchen the finest outlook. One day Van Horne arrived and saw the blunder. His wrath amply illustrated the description of a colleague: "Van Horne was one of the most considerate and even-tempered of men, but when an explosion came it was magnificent." However, by the time the cyclone had spent itself a remedy was forthcoming. He sketched a rotunda pavilion on the spot, and ordered it to be erected so as to secure the coveted view for the guests.[24]

The steep hipped roofs, pointed finialed dormers, corner turrets, and oriels seem to have been freely derived from a medieval castle, and it was as such a romantic structure that Price wished his hotel to be viewed. The stylistic sources were variously interpreted — one visitor called it "in the Schloss style of the Rhenish provinces,"[25] another said it was "half way between a Tudor Hall and a Swiss Chalet ... a Tudor Chalet in wood."[26] But despite these disagreements, nobody failed to appreciate the picturesqueness and exoticism of the building.

One wonders whether it was Price or Van Horne who selected the stylistic inspiration for the Banff hotel and what the motive was behind the choice. One writer has suggested that "as a gesture of recognition to the French-Canadian population and in tribute to the French explorers who had blazed the trail for the Canadian Pacific," a Loire château was made the prototype.[27] However, this may not have been diplomatically desirable in a western hotel, since most transcontinental tourists were English, many coming from Britain. A clue to the stylistic origins and intent may lie in the name "Banff." The townsite was named after the Scottish birthplace of C.P.R. president Sir George Stephen. The hotel's environment may have been viewed by Van Horne as a reincarnation of the Highlands, and it is likely that the building was intended not as a French château, but rather as a Scottish castle. This Scottish Baronial style of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was largely derived from that of the Loire châteaux, and in any event the Banff Springs Hotel was too free an adaptation to reveal with any certainty which was its source.[28]

The early hotels were financed through the sale of townsites, part of the twenty-five million acres of land granted the C.P.R. by the Canadian government in 1881. In its Annual Report for 1888, the company announced:

From the proceeds of the town-sites, large and handsome hotels have been built and equipped at Banff, in the Canadian Rocky Mountain Park, and at Vancouver, together with a number of other buildings at the latter point. These hotels have already had a marked effect in attracting through passengers and tourists, and they will soon be numbered among the available assets of the Company.[29]

Little work was achieved in the expansion of the hotel system in the next five years. Price designed a hotel for Sicamous, British Columbia, in 1888, but the plans were rejected.[30] In 1890, the C.P.R. erected its first hotel at Lake Louise, a small chalet which was burned in 1892 and rebuilt the following year. However, no substantial construction was undertaken at the mountain resort until 1900, when Tudor half-timbered wings were added.

The next step in the creation of a railroad hotel system, one with monumental consequences, occurred in the city of Quebec. It was initiated not by the Canadian Pacific, but with a group of private citizens who wished to stimulate that city's tourist trade by the erection of a large luxury hotel. As early as 1880 there had been plans to build a hotel, but not until 1892 was anything actually achieved.[31] In that year was formed the Château Frontenac Company, a group of gentlemen mostly connected with the C.P.R. and headed by president William Van Horne. They acquired a magnificent site on the heights of the town and quickly raised sufficient capital to begin construction. Bruce Price was selected as their architect. Ground was broken in May 1892, and the Château Frontenac opened its doors nineteen months later, on December 18, 1893.

Bruce Price's hotel is horseshoe-shaped in plan (Fig. 5), having four wings of unequal length connected at obtuse angles.[32] The bulk of the

space on the first two floors — a large proportion of the total area — is devoted to public rooms, and dining space occupies half the second floor, as part of the management's desire to pamper its guests. Price made imaginative use of his irregular plan. He placed the best bedrooms in the Main (now Riverside) Wing, facing the St. Lawrence River, and filled the circular and hexagonal towers with the choicest suites. Staircases and service rooms are located in the inner wedges at the angles. Carriages pass through the porte-cochere — announced by a large dormer and a cupola — into the great court, and from there one enters the lobby. This somewhat unusual arrangement provides a sense of exclusiveness, and serves the functions of keeping vehicles away from the front of the hotel while protecting the entrance from inclement weather.

Externally the composition is robust and compact (Fig. 6). Few archaeological details detract from the simple virile and plastic masses. The walls are orange-red Glenboig brick (brought from Scotland) with ashlar trim, and stone facing points out the deluxe rooms atop the Main Wing. Only the Gothic dormers, turrets, and machicolations explicitly recall past styles. Nevertheless, the building is unquestionably a paraphrase of a medieval Loire château. Contributing most to this effect is the large round tower, an element which Price used earlier with success, particularly at "The Craigs," a large cottage at Bar Harbor, Maine (1879).[33] At Quebec, Price has recreated by implication the French domestic architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Gothic in chronology but Romanesque in character, and not that of the sixteenth century, as is generally maintained.[34] His point of departure was an architecture wholly medieval in character, untouched by the Italianate detail so characteristic of the François I style, the transition from Gothic to Renaissance. It is the presence of this classic detail which is the hallmark of the sixteenth-century French architecture, and which is so conspicuously absent in the Château Frontenac.[35]

The medieval châteaux would have been well known to Price, both through his European travels and by the illustrations in contemporary books. One popular publication, Victor Petit's *Châteaux de la vallée de la Loire*, contained many illustrations of pre-Renaissance French buildings.[36] One of these, the Château de Jaligny (Fig. 7), rebuilt in the fifteenth century, is typical of the kind which provided inspiration for the Château Frontenac. Similar are the strong flat wall surfaces horizontally articulated and covered by steep, unbroken roofs; the robust towers with conical roofs and canted eaves; and the triangular dormers with three finials.

The contrast between the medieval and Renaissance styles of France is seen in a pair of semi-detached Boston houses which Price may well have known: the F. L. Higginson house, by Richardson, and the C. A. Whittier house, by McKim, Mead, and White, on Beacon Street, both built 1881-83.[37] Richardson's house is essentially in the Romanesque style he popularized, although Hitchcock shows that it makes concessions to the François I of the Whittier residence.[38] Like the Château Frontenac, it displays brick with stone trim, a round tower, and a Gothic dormer, and it has none of the Italianate detail or elaborate stone carving seen in the Renaissance work of the McKim, Mead, and White building. The Whittier house, in turn, appears austere when compared to the florid François I work of Richard Morris Hunt, the architect who spread the fashion in America.[39]

The style of Bruce Price had developed in the same direction as that of Richardson, but at this point remained a full decade behind the late architect's innovations, as it had at Windsor Station. Richardson's N. L. Anderson House, in Washington (1881, Fig. 8), also had much the same feeling for mass as the Quebec hotel. A round and polygonal tower frame the central block, and horizontal bands articulate the brick walls.[40] Bruce Price acknowledged his dual respect for medieval and contemporary architecture when he described the motive of the Château Frontenac as "the early French chateau adapted to modern requirements."[41]

While the design for the Château Frontenac is unquestionably the work primarily of Bruce Price, William Van Horne was in part responsible for its character. In a letter to Lord Mount Stephen, his predecessor as president of the C.P.R., Van Horne expressed his ideas for the nature

of the as yet undesigned hotel. He wrote that he would not throw money away on "marble and frills," but would

... depend on broad effects, rather than ornamentation and detail.... I am planning to retain the old fortifications and to keep the old guns in place, setting the hotel well back from the face of the hill so as to afford ample room for a promenade, and I think it will be the most talked-about hotel on this continent.[42]

Van Horne apparently kept fully abreast of every aspect of the design, and it is conceivable that he even furnished the architect with rough preliminary sketches. Price admitted to Barr Ferree the influence some clients had on his work: " 'Clients,' he said, solemnly, 'have way back in their heads an idea of a house. Some can express it and some can't ...' "[43] Van Horne constantly sought reassurance that the design satisfied his demands. Gibbon relates that "Van Horne took particular pride in this hotel, and went out one day with Bruce Price on a little boat on the St. Lawrence River to convince himself that the elevation as seen from the river was sufficiently majestic."[44]

The lavish interiors were as impressive as the elevations. Each of the one hundred and seventy bedrooms displayed oak furniture in the sixteenth-century style. Three tower suites were filled with valuable antiques. The Habitant Suite, furnished in the style of early French Canada, paid tribute to the hotel's environment. The second, Chinese in character, announced that the Château Frontenac was the first stop after Europe in the Canadian Pacific's route to the Orient. The Dutch Suite ostensibly honoured the Amsterdam shareholders who supported the company in its early stages, but here one suspects the egoism of William Van Horne, a man proud of his Dutch descent.

William Van Horne became so infatuated with the design of the Château Frontenac that he was prepared to build copies of it all across Canada. In the spring of 1894 he told a group of citizens in St. John, New Brunswick, that

he was led to consider the advisability of erecting a summer hotel here.... He thought an hotel, *if erected on very much the same plan as the C.P.R. hotel at*

Quebec, would not only prove a valuable acquisition to St. John, but that it would be a paying investment to all who should take stock in it.[45]

The hotel was to cost $500,000 and accommodate one hundred guests. However, nothing came of the project.

A year later Van Horne had the opportunity to try his own hand at architectural design. In November 1895, he sent sketches to Lord Aberdeen, then Governor-General of Canada, for a proposed new house in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. Van Horne designed a wood and shingle structure, dominated by a tower about thirty-two feet in diameter, and in composition and siting very clearly inspired by the Château Frontenac (Fig. 9). He admitted he was "afraid that the tower would sacrifice convenience to distant effect," but by submitting the design he apparently felt the effect to be the more important. As was suggested above, it is conceivable that Van Horne may have presented Bruce Price with a sketch such as this upon commissioning him to design the Quebec hotel.[46]

The C.P.R. had long considered erecting a large East End terminal in Montreal to replace the old Dalhousie Station. As early as 1882 the Railway and the city of Montreal came to a tentative agreement over the acquisition of land and the grant of a cash subsidy for a two-million-dollar building, but nothing came of this.[47] Negotiations were again underway in 1895, and the city finally agreed to transfer to the C.P.R. properties which it had acquired.[48] Bruce Price was immediately asked to prepare plans for a combined station and hotel, similar in concept to the railroad hotels found in so many European cities.[49] Ground was broken in May 1896, and the Place Viger Hotel and Station were opened to the public in August 1898.[50]

The ground story performs the functions of the station, while the hotel's dining room and ballroom are on the first floor, and the eighty-eight bedrooms above. The exterior (Fig. 10) developed directly from the Château Frontenac. The walls are faced with the same orange brick and horizontal stone bands, and the main architectural features are again a round tower, turrets, steep roofs, and dormers. The total effect, however,

is very different. Many more elements break up the surfaces: the wall advances and recedes across the façade, and the tower produces only a timid bulge at the centre. The roofs are broken into many separate units, and numerous projections picturesquely punctuate the skyline. The very solidity of the walls is denied by the open loggia on the ground floor. Gone is the vigorous solidity of the Château Frontenac; instead we are presented with a lighter, more overtly romantic fairy-tale castle.

Russell Sturgis immediately criticized the exterior as "overcrowded with dormer-windows and corner turrets" and the roofs for being "overburdened with breaks in their plain surfaces."[51] This proved consistent with Price's later development, which witnessed "a gradual disintegration of his bold sense of design."[52] It also paved the way for the later development of the château style. In subsequent works, emphasis was placed on individual decorative motives at the expense of a single unified whole.

President Van Horne made much of the Frenchness of the design, dedicating the monument "à la gloire de la race canadienne-française."[53] This, too, anticipated an aspect of the later château hotels, the imposition of symbolic significance upon their design.

The Place Viger Hotel enjoyed brisk business and great social prestige in the years immediately after its opening, but with the subsequent movement of the cultural centre of Montreal to the northwest patronage dropped off badly. It was forced to close its doors in 1933, and in 1951 the city of Montreal bought the building to use as office space, thereby returning the property to its original owner. Extensive alterations were carried out, and the interior is today completely transformed.

The stylistic development observed at Place Viger was continued in Bruce Price's next work for the Canadian Pacific, the Citadel Wing and Pavilion at the Château Frontenac, which joined the open ends of the original horseshoe plan. Price prepared his designs in 1897, and the new bedrooms were ready two years later at a cost of $150,000.[54]

A comparison of the old and new portions (Figs. 6, 11, and 12) imme-

diately reveals significant differences. The Citadel Wing is thinner and lighter, distinctly vertical in composition. Its large upward-pointing dormers defy the earth-hugging mass of the original building. The horizontal bands of stone contrast less with the brick than do those of the earlier portion, thereby negating a potential source of horizontality. Considerably more attenuated is the new round tower. Greater attention has been spent on detailing the patterned stone work, a quality which further emphasizes the apparent thinness of the walls.

This addition, Bruce Price's last work for the C.P.R. (he died in 1903), led directly to the mature château style as it was practiced in the early years of this century. Exteriors are characterized by thin walls not suggestive of volume, and the fragmented parts deny a unified whole. Detail is concentrated above the roof line, with broken skylines emphasizing picturesque qualities. These characteristics are seen in the later additions to the Château Frontenac (Figs. 11 and 12). The Mont Carmel Wing, built by W. S. Painter in 1908-09, adds a horizontal note in the line of machicolations, but this is more than offset by the continuous vertical rows of windows and the elongated dormers. Between 1920 and 1924, massive extensions which more than doubled the hotel's capacity were designed by Edward and W. S. Maxwell (Fig. 13). These include the St. Louis Wing, Service Wing, and Tower Block, the latter reaching up seventeen stories and culminating the tendency towards verticality. Three larger dormers and five tiers of tiny onces grace the front of the steep tower roof. This contrasts with the smooth wall surfaces, broken only by a line of machicolations and four corner turrets. The new construction brought the total number of guest rooms to 658, compared to 170 in the original building.[55]

But this discussion has progressed far ahead of important early developments, and we must return again to the turn of the century. In 1903, two citizens of Victoria, British Columbia, realized the potential benefits of a large tourist hotel in their city and interested the C.P.R. in their project. By convincing the city council to grant the railroad land

and tax exemptions, they succeeded in their venture.[56] Plans were drawn up by F. M. Rattenbury in 1904, and the building opened as the Empress Hotel on January 20, 1908.[57]

The Empress Hotel (Fig. 14) is the first separate example of the mature château style. It displays all those elements discussed with reference to the Château Frontenac additions: flat unornamented wall surfaces not expressive of volume, steep broken roofs which create a picturesque skyline, a concentration of detail in the upper parts, a variety of late Gothic dormers, and an emphasis on verticality, here stressed by the stone trim on the pavilions. The ground floor loggia is probably a quotation from Bruce Price's Royal Victoria College, Montreal (1895-99), itself a variation on the porch of his Place Viger Station.[58] Rattenbury's choice of detail was decidedly eclectic. The quatrefoils along the cornice have been borrowed from Gothic ornament, the porch features stylized low Tudor arches, the main roof is in the Second Empire spirit with its flat top and iron railing, and the domed polygonal turrets at the interior angles are adapted from Rattenbury's own British Columbia Legislative Buildings, Victoria (1894-97). The selection of these elements was deliberate. They symbolize respectively the hotel's medieval character, its heritage in the cultures of English and French Canada, and its location in the capital of British Columbia.

A most significant change has occurred since the design of the original Château Frontenac. That building was a forward-looking, relatively creative work of architecture, only slightly behind the late developments of H. H. Richardson. It was conceived not so eclectically, but more as a living organism rooted in the present. That it deliberately reminded everybody of a Loire château is not denied, but this was largely the result of general massing, rather than of detail. So great was its popularity that it became a national symbol for luxurious hostelry. Van Horne rightly predicted that the Quebec building would be "the most talked-about hotel on this continent."[59] The C.P.R. capitalized on this by assuring that the Empress would bring to mind visions of the Château Frontenac. Such indeed was the case, for the press hailed it as a hotel which would

"make the Western gateway of the great transcontinental system a fitting companion to the historic pile on the heights of Quebec."[60] The Empress Hotel is a French château twice removed: it recalls through symbols another monument which only itself directly suggests the prototype. The steep roofs and dormers are the most essential elements for this process, and hence they became the immutable characteristics of the style.

The Empress Hotel soon catered to overflow crowds, and large extensions were added in 1911, by W. S. Painter, and 1928, by J. W. Orrock, the Engineer of Buildings of the C.P.R.

Such was the success of the early railway hotels that other railroads felt they too had to erect château hotels to compete with the C.P.R. Around 1907, the Ottawa Terminals Railway commissioned Bradford Lee Gilbert of New York to design a hotel and station in the city of Ottawa.[61] Gilbert's project for the Château Laurier was based on the precedent of the Empress Hotel, but exhibited purer Gothic detail. Perhaps his archaeological correctness showed too much individuality for his new clients, the Grand Trunk Railway, which had absorbed the smaller line. In early 1908 Gilbert was dismissed and the Montreal firm of Ross and MacFarlane took over. The resulting design, for which the new firm took complete credit, was very similar to that by Gilbert.[62]

The plan (Fig. 15) is L-shaped with the two wings connected at an obtuse angle. The façade, on the shorter of the wings, displays the now familiar symmetrical pattern of two pavilions flanking an entrance loggia and recessed central block. The emphasis is again on luxurious service, as the basement, ground floor, mezzanine, and much of the first floor contain public rooms. In their treatment of the elevation, Ross and MacFarlane made the wall surfaces smoother than had Gilbert, they broke up the roofs, and simplified the dormer detail. The larger dormers still remained Gothic rather than Romanesque. The executed building (Fig. 16), completed in 1912, has an even more chaste body than their first design, perhaps reflecting the new movement towards the International Style. Austere walls are broken only by timid advances and recessions, and all the ornament is located above the machicolations. The

carved tympana and crockets are more elaborate than anything yet achieved in the château style.

The needs of the Château Laurier soon outgrew its facilities, and between 1927 and 1929 a large extension was added.[63] This time the client was the Canadian National Railways, which had taken over the Grand Trunk in 1921. The architects were John S. Archibald and John Schofield. The new wing made the plan U-shaped, except on the ground floor, where the central portion was filled in by a large dining room and ballroom. The exterior treatment was much the same as that of the original building. A closer balance was achieved between the treatment of the walls and roof, as the former were enlivened with several oriels and the latter broken by fewer dormers. An elaborate tower graces the right side of the façade.

The Château Laurier promised to be so profitable that even before its completion the Grand Trunk Railway determined to build château hotels in more Canadian cities. Ross and MacFarlane were engaged to design two more: the Fort Garry Hotel, in Winnipeg, Manitoba (1911-13), and the Macdonald Hotel, in Edmonton, Alberta (1913-15).[64] Both followed the Château Laurier in their essentially unornamented wall surfaces. The Fort Garry (Fig. 17), rectangular in plan, has slightly projecting end pavilions on the long façade, each with two five-story oriels and two steep, ornate dormers above the roof line. The steep copper roofs are themselves broken with many small dormers. The Macdonald is composed of two asymmetrical wings facing adjacent streets and is entered from the corner into a recessed diagonally splayed façade. Its dormered roofs are lower, and the chief ornamental features are large gables and a conical roof at one end. Classical details are admitted around three façade windows, and an order is combined with pointed arches in the rear loggia.

Fifteen years later the company, now absorbed into the Canadian National Railway system, erected the Bessborough Hotel at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (Archibald and Schofield, 1930-32).[65] This building (Fig. 18) is decidedly more explicit in its references to the château prototypes.

The façade and receding wings are loaded with oriels and turrets, and quoins, string courses, and machicolations adorn the wall surfaces. Gothic dormers with carved tympana line the roofs, and a large François I dormer is placed over the entrance. Above the central roof rises a high chimney tower, its features borrowed directly from the tower on the same architects' recently completed Château Laurier extension.

This trend to increased use of medieval details is symptomatic of a new attitude towards the château style. During the twenties and thirties the style came to be appreciated as something uniquely Canadian. This view was set forth by government agencies, of which the C.N.R. was one. By exaggerating the château characteristics one aspired to greater nationalism; hence the profuse detail on the Bessborough Hotel. The causes of this new conviction will be discussed shortly.

Even before the château style had been adopted at Ottawa by their rival railroad, the privately owned C.P.R. had ceased to use it for its city hotels. The company's Royal Alexandra Hotel, Winnipeg (by Edward and William S. Maxwell, 1904-06), is a simple block with classical detail and a flat roof. The Palliser Hotel, in Calgary, Alberta (E. and W. S. Maxwell, 1911-14), and the Saskatchewan Hotel, at Regina, Saskatchewan (Ross and MacDonald — successors to Ross and MacFarlane — 1926-27), are composed of separate cubic masses and are almost without historical ornamental features. What little detail they do have is classically inspired. The "old" Hotel Vancouver (W. S. Painter and Francis S. Swales, 1912-16), which replaced the 1887 building, defies stylistic classification, but has no château quotations.[66] Vaguely Renaissance in detail, its tiled roofs give it the same Italian villa appearance as Painter's contemporary work at Château Lake Louise (see below). Only the enormous Royal York Hotel at Toronto, Ontario (Ross and MacDonald, 1927-29), makes any concessions to the château style, with a row of pointed arches on the third story (of more than twenty stories), and a small peaked roof with tiny dormers at the top of its pyramidal mass. The "new" Hotel Vancouver, built jointly by the C.N.R. and C.P.R. (Archibald and Schofield, 1929-39, with Peter Henderson

as associate in the last two years) is similar to the Royal York, but with more prominent pitched roofs and dormers. Its more pronounced châteauesque character is attributable to the fact that the architects were the chosen designers of the national railway and not the C.P.R.

The Canadian Pacific's mountain resort hotels did not abandon the château style so readily. The company still fully believed in the exploitation of the mode for picturesque locations next to bodies of water, but not in the heart of landlocked cities. The Banff Springs Hotel began to be replaced by a fireproof structure in 1912-13 with the erection of the present centre wing, designed by W. S. Painter. The same architect added the fourteen-story central tower in 1914. In 1925 the company considered replacing the old wooden wings, and this project became all too necessary when one was destroyed by fire the following year. Reconstruction began immediately. By 1928 the last of the wood building had been demolished and the hotel stood as it does today. The designer of these wings was J. W. Orrock of the C.P.R.

The large brown limestone structure (Fig. 19) appears homogeneous despite its different building periods. The design is a Scottish Baronial derivation of the château style.[67] There are no typical French medieval features at all — not even the familiar pointed dormers, but rather those of the flat type. All arches are circular. Painter's central portion has round-headed windows, and the north wing has a Renaissance arcade before the large first floor lounge. This deviation from the château style is permissible because of the desired symbolic connections with Scotland, and since the C.P.R. had no "need" to recreate a French château.

The later work on the Château Lake Louise presents an even greater abstraction away from the château style. The half-timbered structure of 1900 was extended by the erection in 1912-13 of a concrete wing designed by W. S. Painter (Fig. 20, seen to the left). The new wing had a flat roof and no dormers. It only vaguely recalls the Empress Hotel with its flat-arched "loggia" — actually the dining room windows — between two towers, one of which seems inspired by an Italian villa; and by the slight projection of the upper story.

On July 3, 1924, the wooden building was destroyed by fire, and the very next day a conference was held to discuss a replacement. The Montreal architectural firm of Barott and Blackader was selected to prepare plans, but the first design was rejected by National Parks Commissioner J. B. Harkin. He complained that "I have never admired the newer portion of the Chateau [by Painter] and it seems to me that the proposed extension will be even less attractive."[68] Only six days later a slightly modified design was accepted by Mr. Harkin. One can only guess what these changes were, but it is likely that they are seen in the low pitched roof and row of dormers which crown the otherwise plain block (Fig. 20, to the right). Commissioner Harkin probably disapproved of the very tenuous connections the older wing held with the orthodox château style — he had only to look out his office window to see the "good" example of the Château Laurier — and desired a closer return to this manner. By this time the style had achived symbolic value over and above that of a simple hotel. It had come to signify things Canadian, and Mr. Harkin presumably believed that any building in a National Park, hotel or not, must be in the château style.

This attitude grew out of a series of developments that occurred in the capital city of Ottawa during the previous decade. In 1912 the federal government acquired a large tract of land between Wellington Street and the Ottawa River, extending westward from the Parliament Buildings, with the intention of using it for additional departmental and courts buildings. A competition for their design was held in the following year, but none of the sixty-one entries was accepted.[69] Accordingly, a Federal Plan Commission was appointed to recommend a master plan for the cities of Ottawa and Hull, and to make suggestions for the design of these government buildings.[70] In the latter respect the Commission was influenced by veneration for the neo-Gothic Parliament Buildings.[71] So that the new structures might harmonize with them, the ensuing report insisted that the chosen style display:

... an architectural character with vigorous silhouettes, steep roofs, pavilions and towers, never competing with, but always recalling the present group. At the same

time, it is assumed that certain architectural defects in detail will not be repeated in the proposed buildings. In the design of these, inspiration may be derived from the close and sympathetic study of the beautiful buildings of Northern France of the 17th [*sic*] century.

Generally speaking, *the external architecture of the Chateau Laurier,* though it may require refining in detail, *may be regarded in general outline and character as a worthy suggestion* for an architecture of vertical composition, such as is suggested for the new group.[72]

One of the drawings published with the Report (Fig. 21) shows a projected view of the city of Ottawa, the streets lined with scores of new government buildings, all featuring steep roofs and dormer windows.[73]

Although nothing concrete came of this proposal, it represented the first of many advocacies of the château style for Ottawa's federal architecture. In 1920, the government appointed a new committee of three men to study the earlier proposals and make further recommendations.[74] Although they submitted two different schemes, the committee was unanimous in "agreeing on the style of architecture to be adopted, viz: Northern French Gothic (French Chateau)."[75]

The two schemes continued to be studied for several years, until in 1927 the one which had been submitted by Messrs. Wright and Adams was approved. The official report summarized the opinions:

That as the Federal Plan Commission [of 1915] and Messrs. Wright, Adams and Ewart [the 1920 Committee] all agree that the building should be Gothic in character and suggest Norman French Gothic Type; furthermore, as it is the general consensus of opinion that Gothic should be adopted to harmonize with the Parliament Buildings, being the type of architecture most suitable to our Northern climate, the Deputy Minister further recommends [in 1927] the adoption of the French Chateau style of architecture, of which the Chateau Laurier is a modernized type.[76]

The Department of Public Works began at once on plans for departmental offices at the corner of Wellington and Bank Streets, and this structure, the Confederation Building, was built between 1928 and 1931. The Confederation Building (Fig. 22) is composed like the Macdonald Hotel. It offers similar façades towards the two streets, and is entered diagonally at the corner. All the feature of the château style are present:

steep roofs, numerous dormers, a central tower, oriels at the ends furthest from the entrance, and a round turret and flat pavilion flanking the door. Fully in keeping with the later hotels, the walls are flat and crisp in effect, not even the rough stonework giving any real feeling of plastic solidity. The prominent verticality of the building imparts a character which indeed might be called Gothic, just as the government desired.

The development of government land was accelerated in the next decade. In 1935, the Justice Building rose beside the Confederation Building, very similar to it in external treatment.

Three years later, work was begun on the Central Post Office, designed by W. E. Noffke (Fig. 23). The building has its seven stories treated as three distinct parts: rusticated arcuated basement, extended flat piers, and steep roof with dormers. Despite this classicistic division, the roof imparts a character distinctly of the château style. The effect is heightened by an asymmetrical tower peeking above the roof, and by a corner turret.

The Supreme Court Building (Fig. 24), designed in 1938 by Ernest Cormier, presents an even greater stylistic dichotomy. Below the roofline the building is severely classical. A row of piers and a flat attic suggest a colonnade and entablature. Yet again the roofs are very steep — they are almost as high as the walls — and are broken by dormers. The roofs were dictated by the Department of Public Works.[77] They enclose entirely unused space; even the area behind the façade attic was intended to be left vacant, but during construction it was decided to place the library there. The château manner is accentuated by four towers which rise from the central courts.

The architects of the Post Office and Supreme Court were apparently engaged in a struggle which found no satisfactory resolution. Their natural impulses to design in a classical mode were countered by the requirement that the buildings display steep roofs, purportedly to harmonize with the existing skyline, but implicitly to suggest French châteaux.[78] By the thirties, the style had acquired such strong nationalistic symbolism that it was insensitively imposed upon all new public building.

The château style found its influential proponents. While in Paris in 1936, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King met the French town planner Jacques Gréber, then Chief Architect of the 1937 Paris Exhibition.[79] King was so impressed by Gréber that he invited him to the Canadian capital for consultation. Around 1939 Gréber prepared a model of the Wellington Street area, displaying two projected structures in the château style to match the Confederation Building and the Justice Building.[80] These edifices were never executed, nor did Gréber design any others, since his later work was confined to the broader aspects of city planning. His monumental report, published in 1950 as *Plan for the National Capital*, insisted that "no style should be recommended as compulsory for any development, least of all for monumental architecture."[81] However, the report conceded that "this rule does not preclude the use of certain elements which have been more particularly favoured by a given style," adding that "among the elements which become important factors in the aesthetic merits of a building are primarily, the relationship of masses to silhouettes, [and] the unity of roof angles and materials."[82]

This oblique endorsement of steep roofs was apparently enforced more stringently by Prime Minister King.[83] King's intervention may be seen in the last two government buildings which display extraneous pitched roofs: the offices of the Departments of Veterans' Affairs (1949-56) and Trade and Commerce (1954-58), designed towards the end of King's term of office by the firm of Allward and Gowlinlock. Only in the present decade have the government's developers abandoned the château-derived roof as a mandatory symbolic accessory.

The château style found applications beyond hotels and government buildings. The C.P.R. used it for a series of stations designed by Edward Maxwell, notably the Vancouver Station (1897-98) and the Broad Street Station, Ottawa (c. 1900). The station at Vancouver (Fig. 25), is dominated by a central block of brick, its recessed façade inserted between a round and a polygonal tower, as in the Château Frontenac, and having a steep roof, large pointed dormer (containing a Palladian window!), and many smaller dormers. This block is set upon a rusticated

stone base with a very wide and low arched entrance. The lower wings on either side also have steep roofs and dormers.

The Ottawa station is composed of a high block between symmetrical wings, the central portion having a gambrel roof and dormer above round corner turrets and machicolations. Its effect is not unlike that of the keep of a medieval castle.

The association of the château style with deluxe accommodations led to its being used also for many apartment houses. Perhaps the most famous are the Château Apartments, Montreal (Fig. 26), designed by Ross and MacDonald, with H. L. Featherstonhaugh as associate, completed about 1925.[84] The twelve-story building offers its tenants a variety of spacious suites. Most of the 138 apartments have from five to eight rooms, and some as many as fifteen. Corridors are eliminated by the use of six elevator halls, and each set of rooms has access to a service staircase. The plan is U-shaped with a large planted central court. Facing Sherbrooke Street are three turreted towers, free variations on the recently completed tower of the Château Frontenac. At this late stage the château style deals completely with flat surfaces and sharp corners — only the turrets soften this — and there is no hint of the robust plasticity of Bruce Price's original Quebec hotel, designed only three decades earlier.

One can easily recognize the symbolic link connecting these building types to their hotel prototypes: the château manner was appropriate for government architecture because it was regarded as Canadian, for stations because it was the property of the railroads, and for apartments because it signified luxurious accommodation. The motivation was in each case associative rather than aesthetic, and in that of the late Ottawa buildings it clearly was imposed insensitively upon basically incompatible designs.

The château style was an active force in Canadian architecture from 1893 to 1939 — between the completion of the Château Frontenac and that of the Central Post Office and Supreme Court Building. The hotels

of the 1880's were harbingers of the Quebec monument, although the 1886 mountain hotels displayed a different style and the first Banff Spring Hotel, never well known, was only a tentative version of a château. But the Château Frontenac created a sensation and became the progenitor of a national movement.

The choice of the Loire château as the prototype had several motives. Bruce Price told Barr Ferree that the reason was aesthetic; he maintained that the picturesque location simply demanded such a building.

In the Chateau Frontenac . . . the design could never have been anything else than it is. One did not have to bother as to whether it would look so and so or not. The result came of itself.[85]

He insisted that "a truly picturesque effect can never be produced deliberately," but "whatever may be picturesque in the design is a natural result of the natural conditions."[86]

Throughout his discussion of the hotel, Price emphasized the "naturalness" of the design and the close relationship between building and site.

The site was an inspiration. . . . It was practically at the apex of the picturesque old city, and if ever there was the natural place and a natural reason for a picturesque building it was here — that, and the variations in the site levels that made it perfectly logical to add part to part, and in which, as a matter of fact, part was added to part, led to the development of a picturesque design without direct effort and in a natural way.[87]

In many respects this attitude anticipates the twentieth-century version of the philosophy of organicism, expressed most eloquently by Frank Lloyd Wright. Price's belief in the intimate relationship between design and site is paralleled by such statements of Wright as: "The house began to associate with the ground and become natural to its prairie site,"[88] or "Architecture which is really architecture proceeds from the ground and somehow the terrain [and other factors] . . . must inevitably determine the form and character of any good building."[89]

The Château Frontenac is, in this regard, a relatively progressive building, providing a link between the forms of H. H. Richardson and

the theory of F. L. Wright. Bruce Price's philosophy of design, like that of many other architects of the time, always avoided the literal recreation of a past style and used historical precedent only for general inspiration towards the creation of modern architecture. He emphasized this in discussing his W. H. Howard house at San Mateo, California:

No style has been followed, for no style could be attempted in its purity. It [the house] would answer equally the assertion, that "it is French in feeling," "Romanesque in its handling," or "Dutch in its mass," still it is an American house, planned for American uses, and built of American materials.[90]

Detail in his buildings was usually imaginative and personal (see, for example, the first design for Windsor Station, Fig. 2), and direct archaeological quotations were used with great restraint. Such was the case in the Château Frontenac, and Price boasted about his Place Viger Hotel that:

There is no detail on this building, which depends for its effect wholly upon the general masses of the design, the breadth of wall, and the sequence of windows.[91]

The lack of ornament implies structural as well as aesthetic rationalism, again placing Price in the mainstream of modern architectural thought.

There is, however, a second critical approach which places the Château Frontenac in a different, and decidedly less modern, light. Bruce Price and his clients were heavily influenced by the medieval atmosphere of Quebec, the oldest permanent settlement in North America. Many of the seventeenth-century fortifications still stood, and the architectural character of the city was, and is today, very largely of an earlier period. Late nineteenth-century sensibilities felt strongly about preserving this character. In 1875, when Governor-General Lord Dufferin proposed a series of improvements for Quebec, his insistence upon their being built "without interfering unduly with the ancient fortifications" implied a fear of aesthetic as well as physical interference. The resulting work, primarily a series of new city gates designed by W. H. Lynn, is rather convincingly medieval in character.[92]

It was with this same sympathy that the forerunners of the Château Frontenac Company decided to make their building a "fortress" hotel. William Van Horne revealed his veneration for the local antiquities when he resolved "to retain the old fortifications and to keep the old guns in place."[93] This attitude determined that the style should be medieval. Similarly, the French character of the city led to a search for inspiration in the architecture of France. Bruce Price declared to Barr Ferree that the early French château was "a style certainly in keeping with the traditions of the old French city."[94] Thus in this respect the style of the Château Frontenac was pre-determined by romantic and symbolic associations, a retrogressive attitude rooted in the High Victorian age and to which Canadian architecture tenaciously clung well into the twentieth century.[95]

Only this latter aspect fostered the use of the château style in the twentieth-century railroad hotels. With the death of Bruce Price, the style ceased to be a vital, progressive architectural force; the Empress Hotel and its successors were built in this manner only for its symbolic significance.

The style gained national recognition because its steep roofs and large wall surfaces seemed to be appropriate for a northern climate. Bruce Price said that his Canadian buildings differed from those he designed in the United States because "Canadian conditions are distinct from American conditions."[96] He elaborated further:

If your convictions are strong they will bring to you a certainty of belief in the adaptability of a particular thing in a particular style to a particular site. I have felt this very keenly, the adaptability of the special style used in these Canadian buildings to the special sites and conditions.[97]

This theme was taken up wholeheartedly by those who advocated the château style for government architecture. The Federal Plan Commission appreciated the nature of the old Parliament Buildings because they were "seemingly in character with a northern country," and sought a new style which would perpetuate this aspect.[98] Again the Minister of Public Works said in 1927 that Gothic, including the style of the French

châteaux, was "the type of architecture most suitable to our Northern climate."[99]

The earnest desire to find a style which could be identified as Canadian was apparently stimulated by competition with the United States. The Americans had found a "national style" in the classical architecture of Washington, D.C.; Canadians, therefore, had to agree upon a mode which would contrast with this and be their own. This reiterated the eighteenth-century belief that Gothic was indigenous to northern countries while classically-derived forms belonged to the South.[100]

The modern movement reached Canadian architecture belatedly in the 1930's,[101] and only since the Second World War have the old philosophies of design been truly superseded. With the acceptance of the new attitudes and forms of building, the motivation of the château style — symbolic association — was swept away. In the half century it flourished, the château style left a deep impact upon Canadian architecture and provided a uniquely Canadian contribution to general architectural history.

Appendix

THE HISTORY OF THE CHÂTEAU FRONTENAC

In August 1880, the *American Architect* disclosed a project to erect a hotel in Quebec's upper city. It announced that "a hotel is to be built on the spot where Montgomery fell when leading the charge on the cita-del, in 1775."[1] Two years later, the press revealed that "a company has lately been formed for the purpose of building a magnificent hotel on the vacant spot near the Terrace."[2] The "vacant spot" was the site of the historic Château St. Louis, which had been begun by Count Frontenac, governor of Quebec, in 1694, and was destroyed by fire in 1834.[3] The Terrace was built by Lord Durham in 1838 over the ruins of the Château, and exists today in extended form as Dufferin Terrace.[4] On April 18, 1883, the Quebec newspaper *L'Evénement* shed more light upon the project:

> The Hon. Messrs. Mousseau, Jean Blanchet and Lynch, visited yesterday morning the site of the projected grand hotel on the terrace. They were accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Garneau, one of the directors of the company, and Messrs. Willis Russell, John J. Foote, and others. The site was measured and the plans laid out, and it was decided that the border of eighteen feet of land which they wish to obtain from the government, will not affect the general appearance of the surroundings. It is believed that the Prime Minister has promised that the government will give every attention to the request of the Company.[5]

Little was accomplished, however, in the next five years, and in 1888 the *Canadian Architect and Builder* could report only that "a syndicate is said to have acquired ground near Dufferin terrace on which to erect a large hotel."[6]

The company must have been unable to gain title to all the land it desired, for the location was soon changed to the Montmorency-Laval
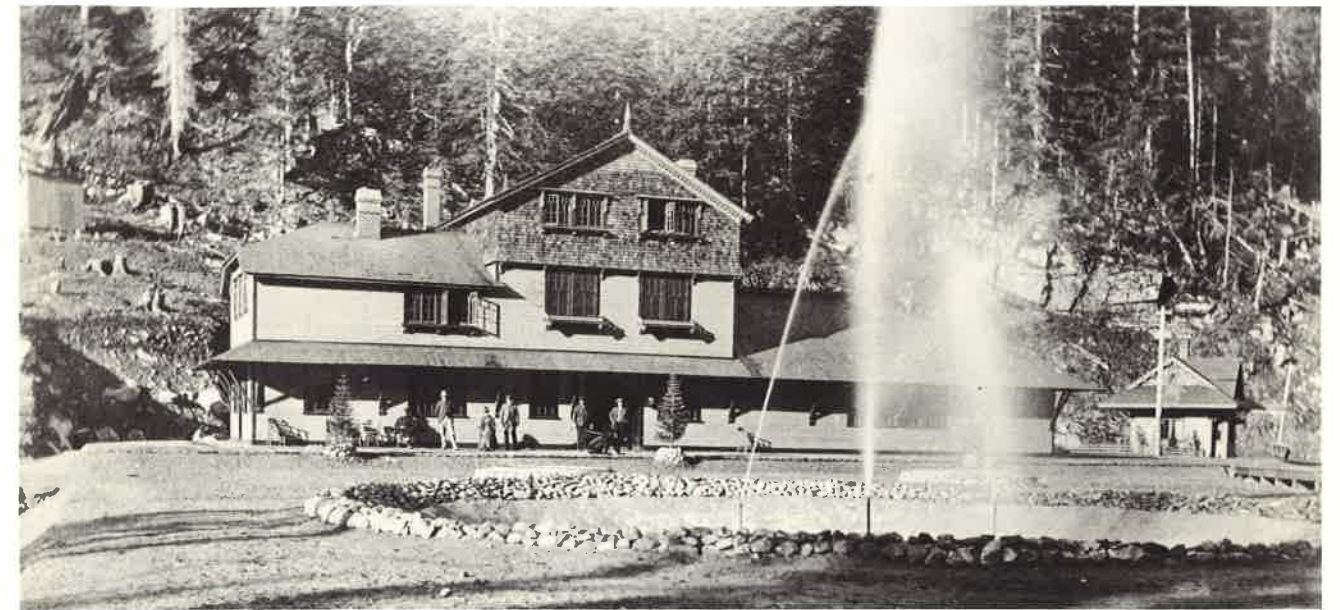
FIG. 1 — Glacier House, Glacier, B.C., 1886. Demolished 1930. (*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*)
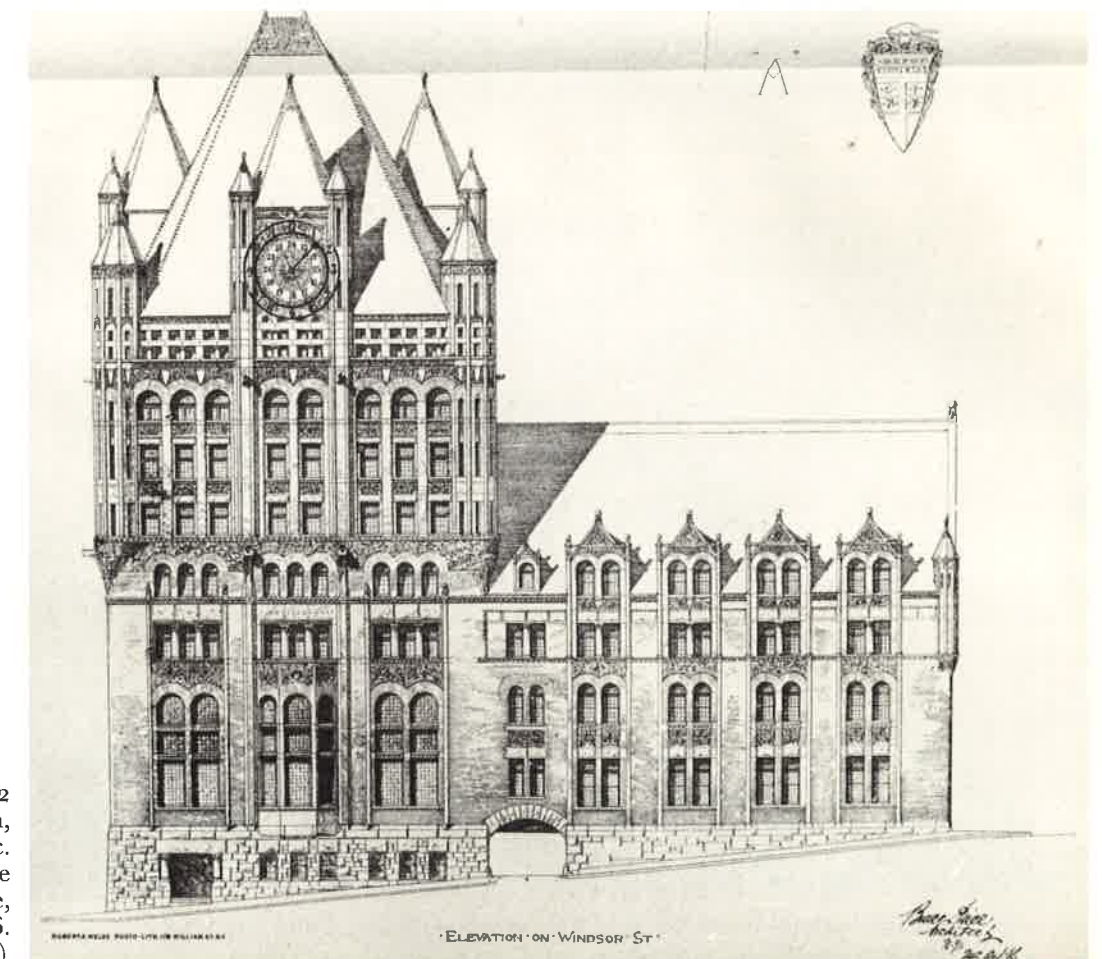

FIG. 2
Windsor Station,
Montreal, Quebec.
Unexecuted scheme
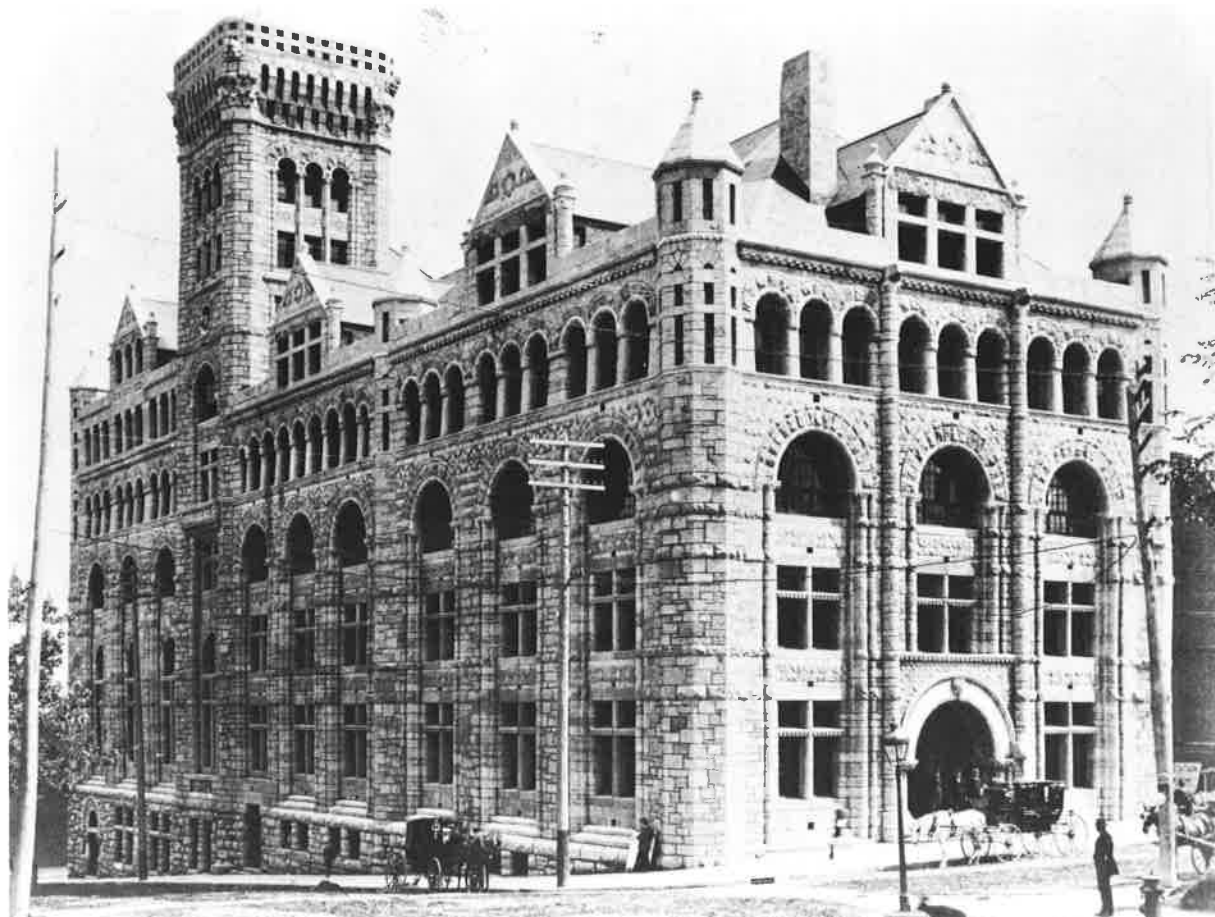A. Bruce Price,
1886.
(From *Building*)

FIG. 3 — Windsor Station, Montreal, Quebec. Bruce Price, 1888-89. (*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*)

FIG. 4 — Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta. Bruce Price, 1886-88. Destroyed 1925. (*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*)

FIG. 5
Château Frontenac,
Quebec, Quebec.
Bruce Price, 1892-93.
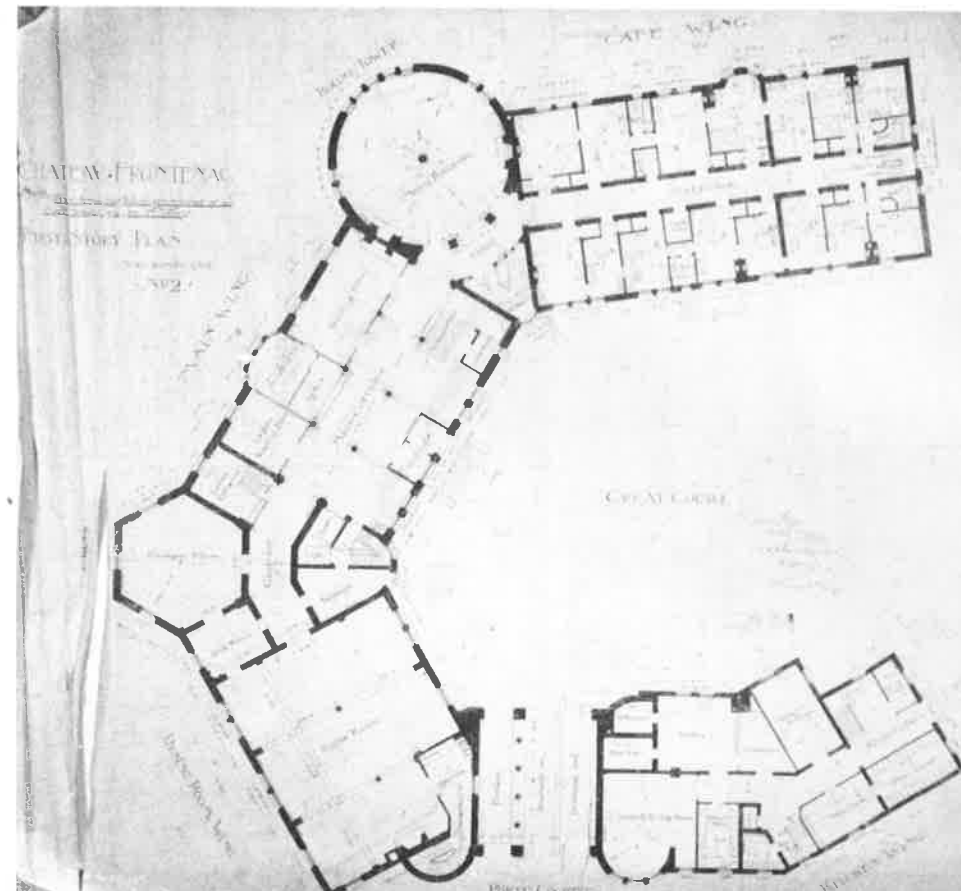Ground floor plan.
(*Courtesy Canadian
Pacific Railway*)

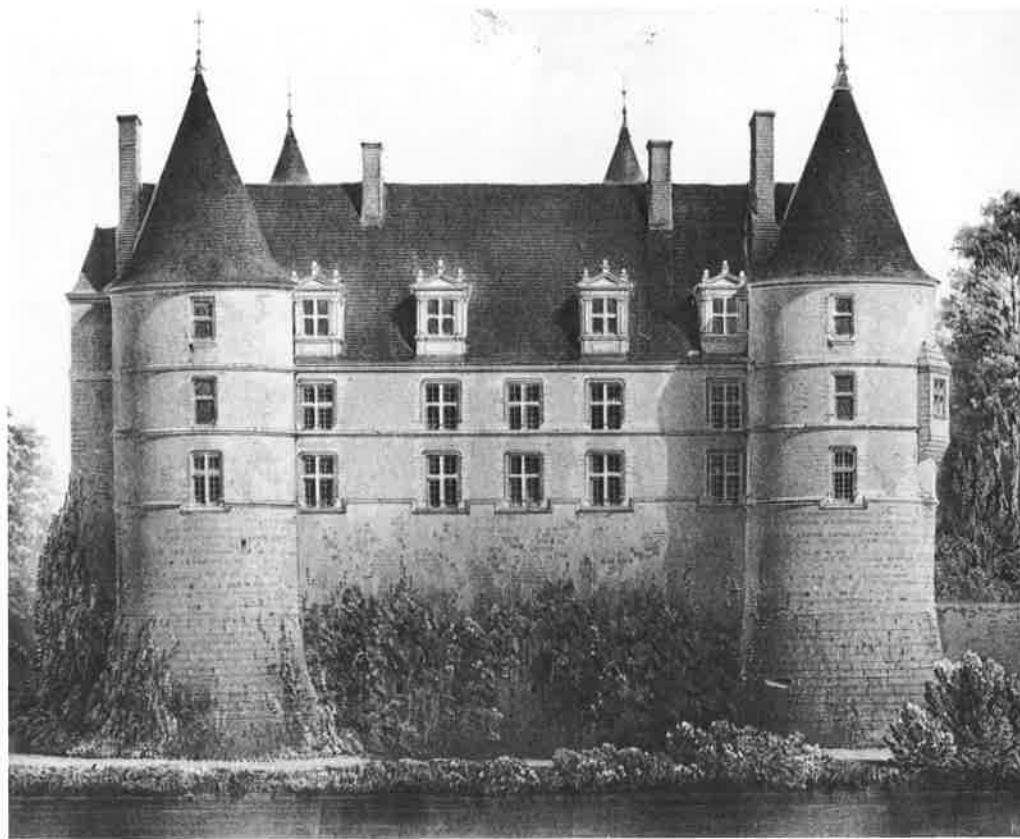FIG. 6 — Château Frontenac, Quebec, Quebec. Bruce Price, 1892-93. (*Photo:* Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University)

FIG. 7
Château de Jaligny,
France.
(From V. Petit,
*Château de la vallée
de la Loire*)

FIG. 9 — Proposed house for Lord Aberdeen, near Coldstream Ranch, B.C. William Van Horne, 1895.
(*Photo:* Public Archives of Canada)
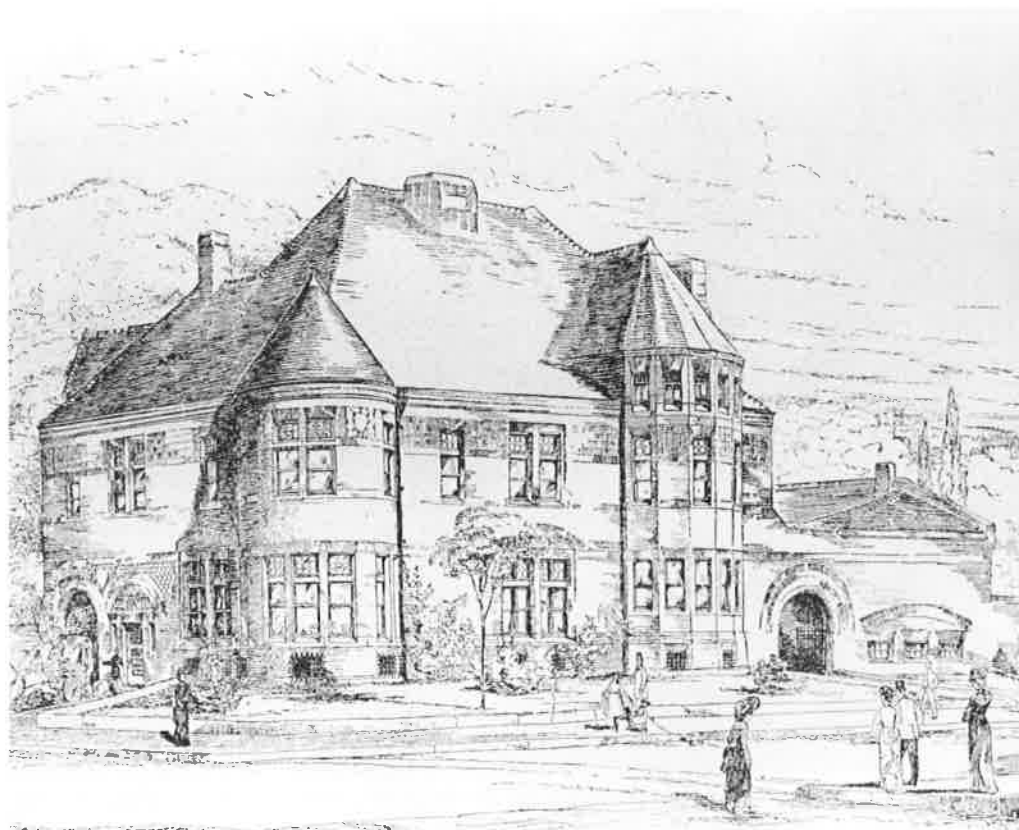
FIG. 8
N. L. Anderson house,
Washington, D.C.
H. H. Richardson, 1881.
Demolished.
(From S. Van Rennselaer,
H. H. Richardson)

FIG. 10 — Place Viger Hotel and Station, Montreal, Quebec. Bruce Price, 1896-98.
(*Photo:* Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University)

FIG. 11 — Château Frontenac, Quebec, Quebec. Bruce Price and successors, 1892-1924. (*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*)
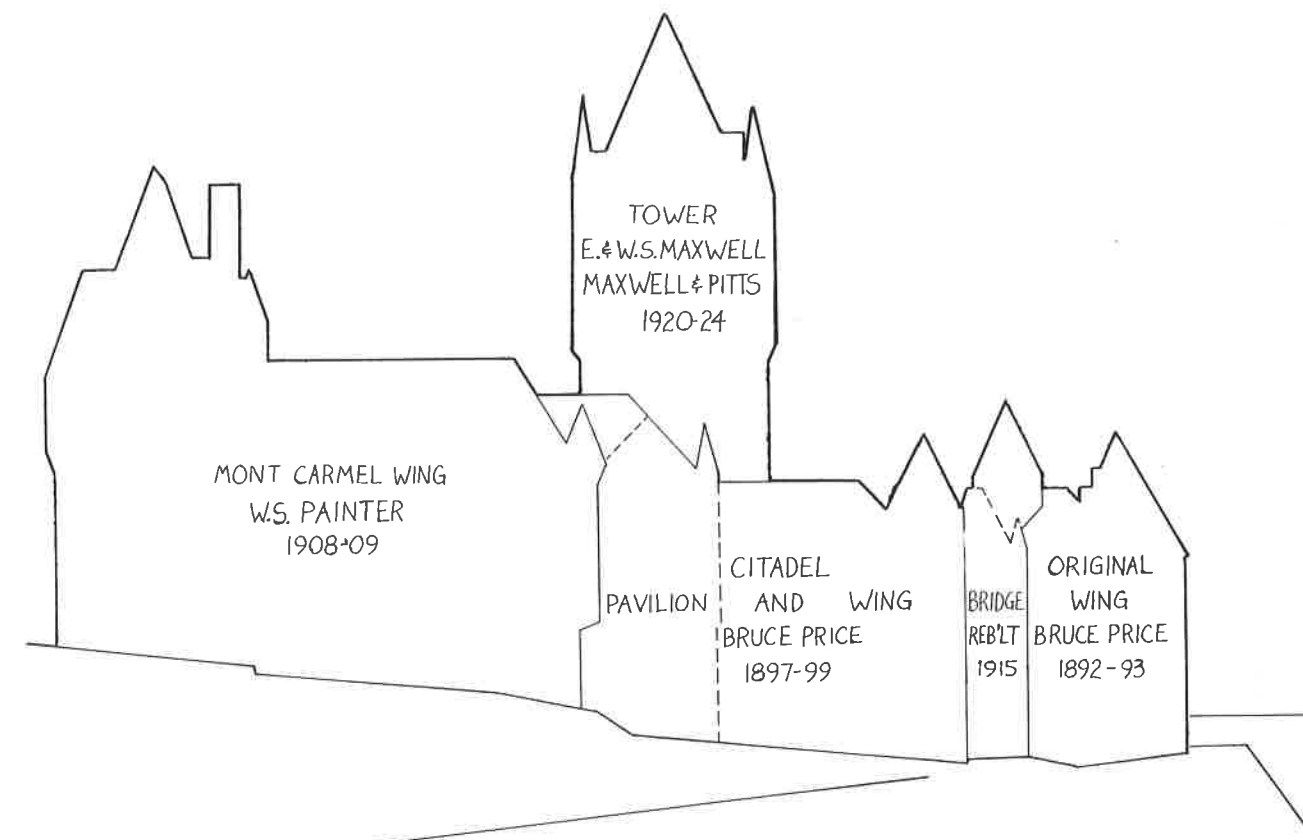
FIG. 12 — Château Frontenac, Quebec, Quebec. Schematic diagram showing sequence of additions illustrated in Fig. 11.
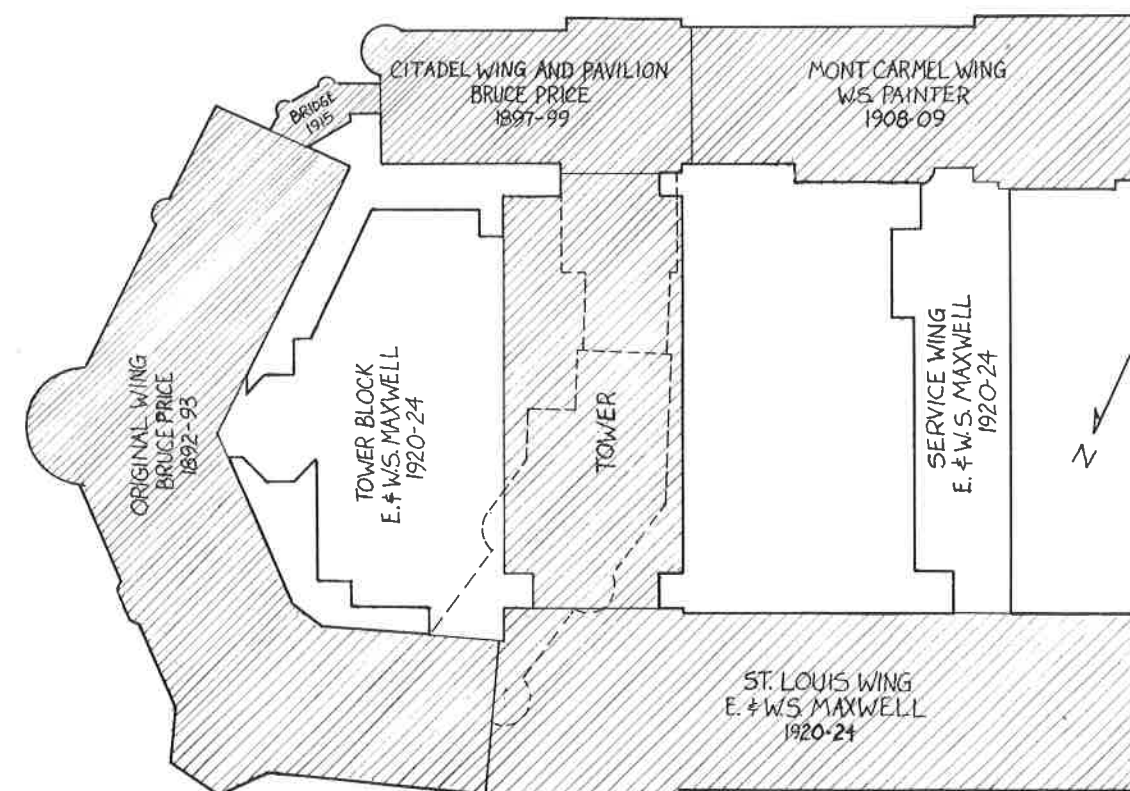

FIG. 13 — Château Frontenac, Quebec, Quebec. Schematic plan showing successive additions. Broken lines indicate earlier construction destroyed to make room for the tower block. The shaded portion rises above the second story.

FIG. 14
Empress Hotel,
Victoria, B.C.
F. M. Rattenbury, 1904-08.
(*Photo: Notman Archives,
McCord Museum, McGill
University*)

FIG. 16 — Château Laurier, Ottawa, Ontario. Ross and MacFarlane, 1908-12;
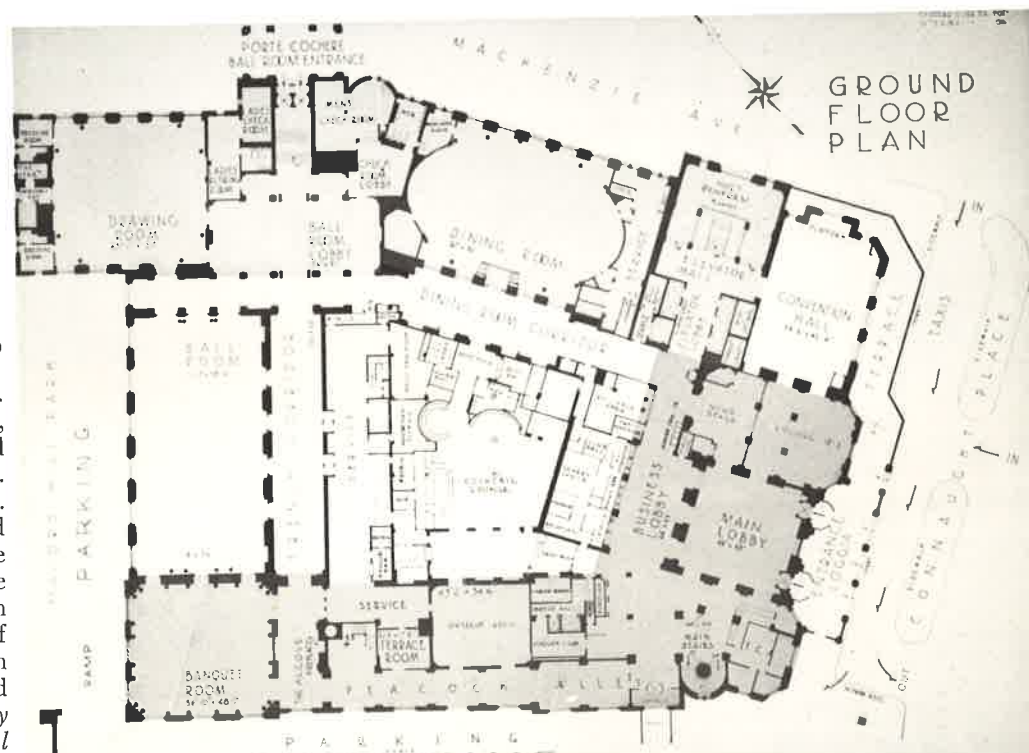Archibald and Schofield, 1927-29. (*Courtesy Canadian National Railways*)

FIG. 15
Château Laurier,
Ottawa, Ontario.
Ross and MacFarlane,
1908-12; Archibald
and Schofield, 1927-29.
Ground floor plan.
The darker shaded
portion indicates the
original building. The
lighter shaded portion
indicates that part of
the later construction
rising above the second
story. (*Courtesy
Canadian National
Railways*)

FIG. 17
Fort Garry Hotel, Winnipeg,
Manitoba. Ross and Mac-
Farlane, 1911-13. (*Courtesy
Canadian National
Railways*)

FIG. 18 — Bessborough Hotel, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Archibald and Schofield, 1930-32. (*Courtesy Canadian National Railways*)

FIG. 19 — Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta. W. S. Painter, 1912-13; J. W. Orrock, 1926-28. (*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*)

FIG. 20 — Château Lake Louise, Lake Louise, Alberta. W. S. Painter, 1912-13; Barott and Blackader, 1924-25. (*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*)
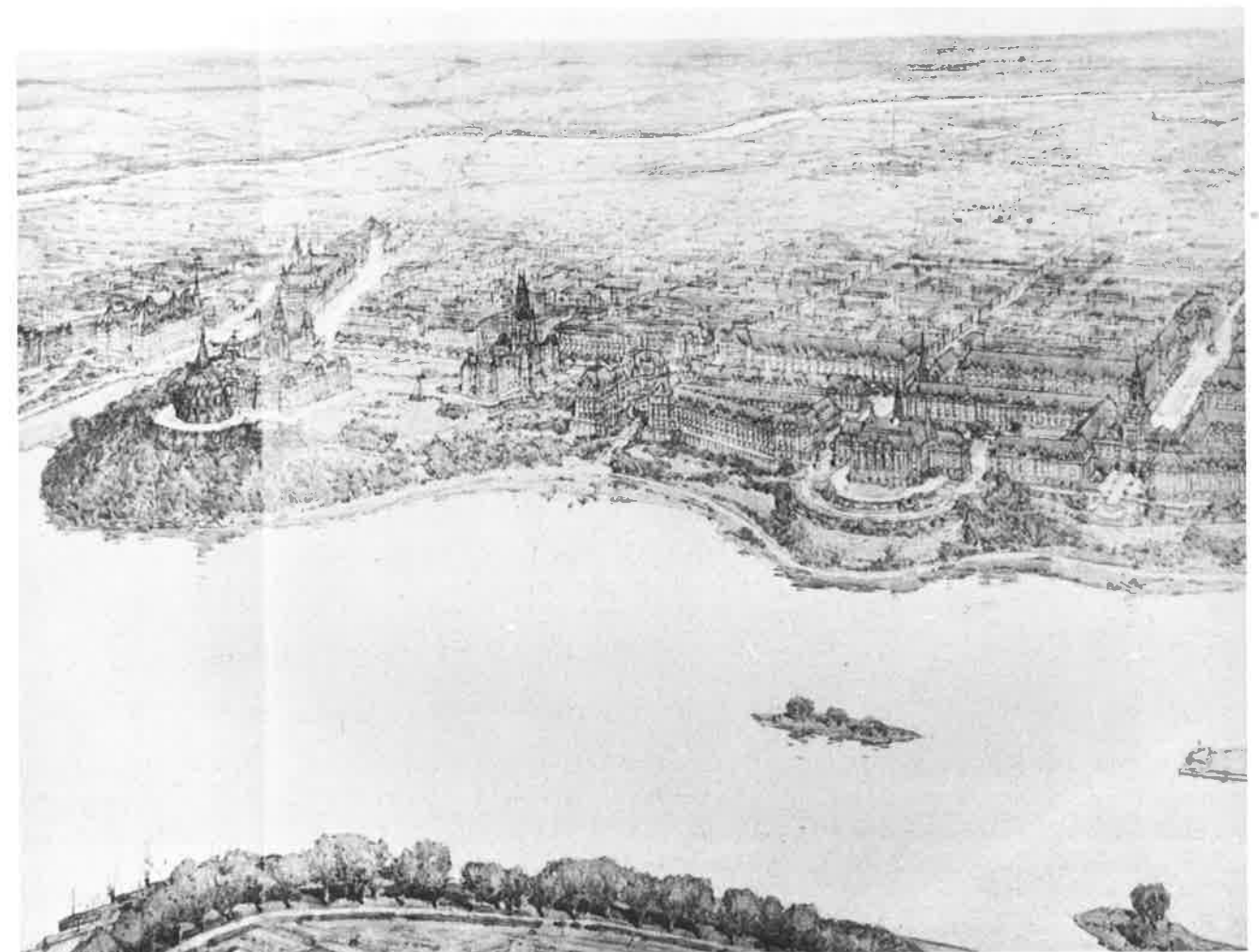

FIG. 21 — Scheme for the development of Ottawa, Ontario, 1915. (From *Report of the Federal Plan Commission*)

FIG. 22 — Confederation Building, Ottawa, Ontario. Department of Public Works, 1928-31.
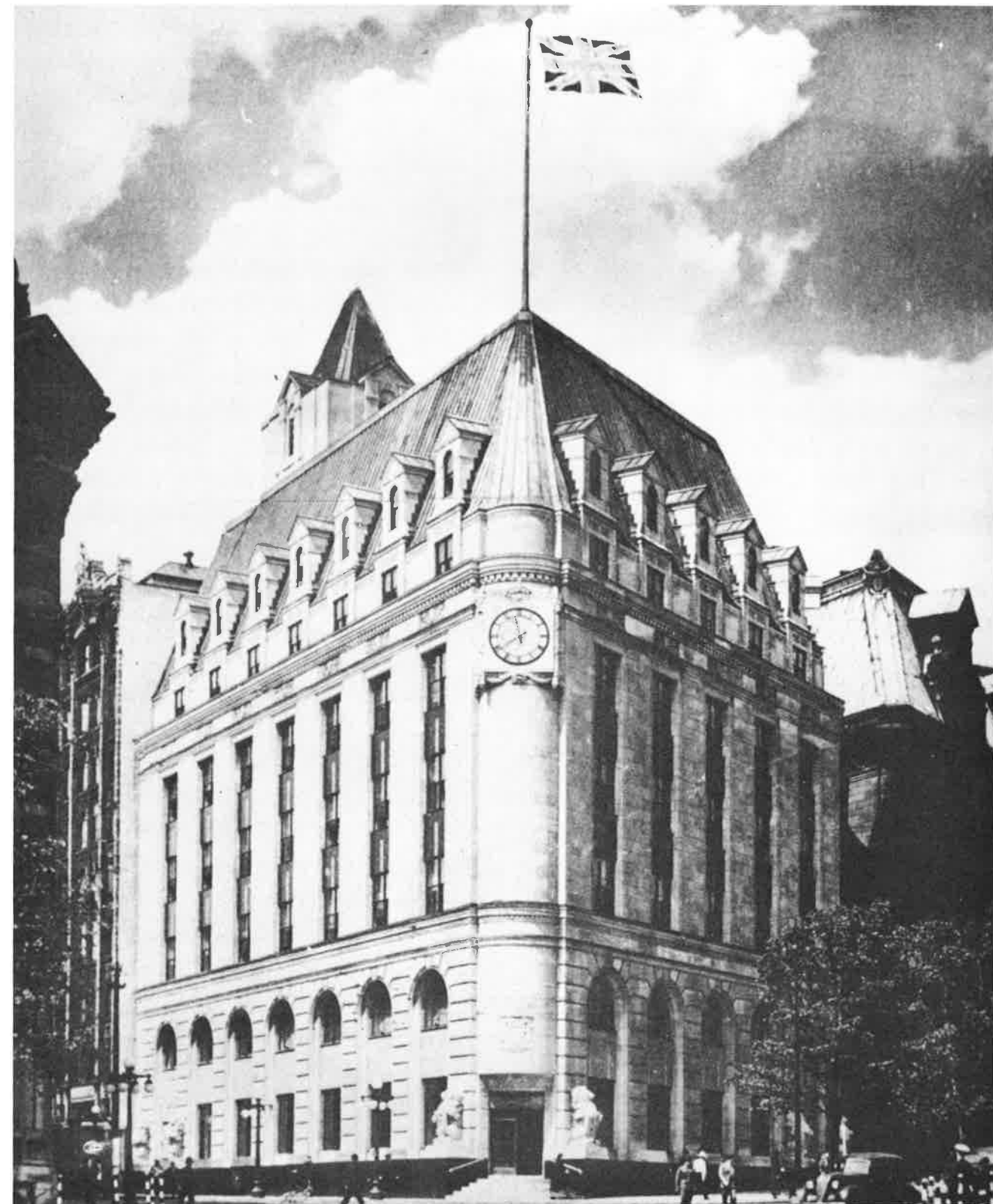(*Photo:* National Film Board)

FIG. 23 — Central Post Office, Ottawa, Ontario. W. E. Noffke, 1938-39. (From C. C. J. Bond, *City on the Ottawa*, Ottawa: Minister of Public Works, 1965. Reproduced with permission of the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.)

FIG. 24 — Supreme Court Building, Ottawa, Ontario. Ernest Cormier, 1938-39. (From Bond, *City on the Ottawa*. Reproduced with permission of the Queen's Printer.)

FIG. 25 — C.P.R. Station, Vancouver, B.C. Edward Maxwell, 1897-98. (*Photo:* Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University)

FIG. 26 — Château Apartments, Montreal, Quebec. Ross and MacDonald, with H. L. Featherstonhaugh, c. 1925. (*Courtesy Ross, Fish, Duschenes, and Barott*)
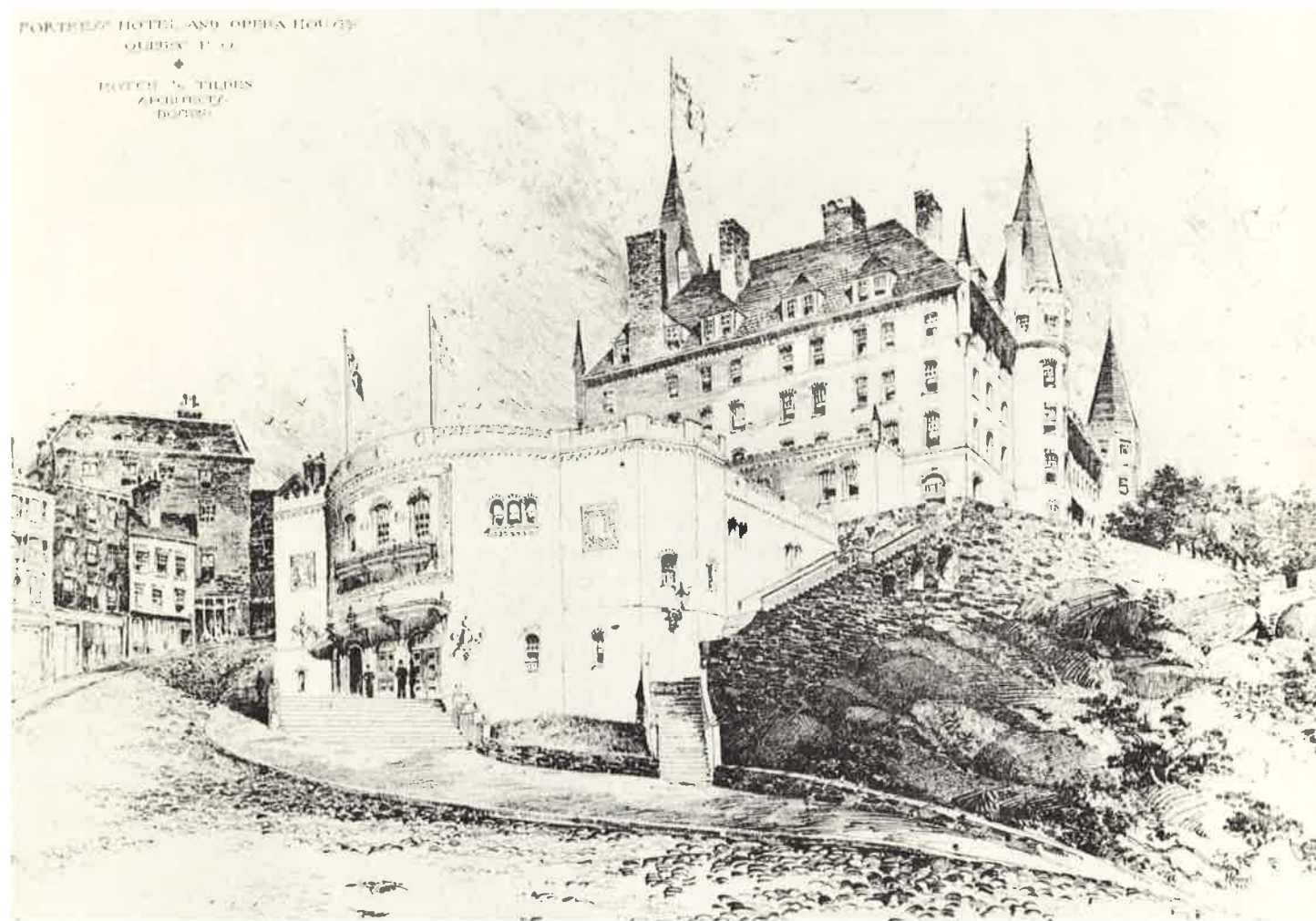
FIG. 27 — Fortress Hotel and Opera House, Quebec, Quebec. Unexecuted scheme. Rotch and Tilden, 1891. (From *American Architect and Building News*)

Park on Mountain Hill, formerly the site of the Legislative Buildings. In January of 1889 it was announced that "plans have been submitted for a new hotel with 250 bedrooms, to be erected on the site of the old Parliament buildings, at a cost of $200,000."[7] The following month the *Canadian Architect and Builder* carried a longer report:

> Another long-talked-of project — the new hotel — is again on the *tapis*. A magnificent site has been secured from the Federal Government on very reasonable terms, viz., $1500 per annum. A meeting has been held, stock lists opened and canvassers to work. Your correspondent has not heard the exact amount subscribed, but prospects are considered good. Hopes are expressed that an early commencement will be made. The site above alluded to it that formerly occupied by the old Parliament Buildings at the head of Mountain Hill. It commands a splendid view of the Harbour, and Lewis [Lévis] Heights, with the Island of Orleans and Cote Beaupre in the distance, with a glimpse of the famous Montmorenci Falls; and is in close proximity to the Post Office, Cardinal's Palace, &c.[8]

A year later the magazine had no more to add,[9] but on February 20, 1890, *The Canadian Gazette* announced:

> The necessary money having been subscribed, a meeting of the new hotel projectors has been held when it was decided to call the building the 'Fortress Hotel.' The following gentlemen were named the Provisional Directors, R. R. Dobell, Hon. Thos. McGreevy, G. R. Renfrew, John Breakey, T. H. Dunn, Hon G. Breese, E. J. Hale.[10]

The directors were all private businessmen of Quebec, and a different group from those identified in 1883. The next day the *Quebec Daily Telegraph* mentioned that "Mr. R. R. Dobell, accompanied by a leading architect, is visiting the principal cities of the United States in quest of the most suitable plan for the new Quebec hotel."[11] On February 24, it was disclosed that the directors were seeking Letters Patent to incorporate as "The Fortress Hotel Company."[12]

Notice was given in April 1890 that "plans for the new hotel proposed to be built on the site of the old Parliament buildings are now being prepared," and work on the $200,000 building was to begin about the end of May.[13] By June, plans had been submitted by H. Stavely of Quebec and G. F. Stalker of Ottawa (jointly), and by Rotch and Tilden of Bos-

ton.[14] The company accepted neither design, and decided instead to open the project to a competition — deemed an unfair one by the architectural profession — with the deadline for entries being September 15, 1890.[15] The building was to have at least two hundred bedrooms and not to exceed $175,000 in cost. Only four competitors — unnamed by the journal — entered, representing both Canada and the United States.[16]

Meanwhile, the company had been soliciting capital with which to finance the building. In January 1891, *The Canadian Gazette* announced: "The capital subscribed so far for the Fortress Hotel amounts to 205,000 dollars, and the first call of ten percent has been met by all shareholders. Work will be commenced early in the spring."[17] *The Canadian Architect and Builder* carried the following note in its March issue:

The "Fortress Hotel" Co. received tenders for their proposed new building on 19th ult. [February]. The lowest tenderers are Quebecers. Several Montreal and one Brockville contractor also made bids. The plans upon which tenders were called were those made by Messrs. Rotch & Tilden, Boston. The cost of building, when entirely completed will probably reach $220,000. No tender has so far been accepted.[18]

The Rotch and Tilden plans (Fig. 27) were dated 1891,[19] and may have been a revision of their 1890 design. The scheme included both a hotel and an opera house. The hotel is a four-story flat, rectangular mass, picturesquely located on the hillside with towers on one side. The roofs are steep and broken up by dormers and chimneys. The low, battlemented opera house, connected to the hotel, offers a trefoil end towards the street. The medieval features of the castellated buildings were dictated by the very name "Fortress Hotel," a title probably chosen because of the proximity of the site to the old city walls. When the *American Architect* published the scheme in March 1892, it said that the project was in a state of suspension,[20] an understatement, since by then a wholly new design commissioned by a new company for a new site was about to be implemented.

For the Fortress Hotel Company never built anything, probably because of financial difficulties. Quebec, however, was not to be deprived of so important an asset. A resolution of the City Council, dated January 29, 1892, granted tax exemptions for ten years to any concern which would build within the walls of the Upper Town a hotel costing not less than $150,000 and containing at least one hundred and fifty guest rooms. This enticement brought about the formation of a new group, known as the Château Frontenac Company, with capital stock of $300,000, incorporated on July 16, 1892. The Company was headed by William Van Horne, and of the eight other members five were or had been connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway: directors Sir Donald A. Smith, Richard B. Angus, and Thomas G. Shaughnessy; James Ross, a former manager, for whom Bruce Price had built a large Montreal house in 1890; and Sandford Fleming, an early surveyor for the railway. The other gentlemen in the company were Edmund B. Osler, Wilmot D. Matthews, and William Hendrie.[21]

On February 4, 1892, *The Canadian Gazette* carried the following item:

President Van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway, accompanied by R. B. Angus and E. B. Osler, have been here in connection with the scheme for the construction of a mammoth hotel in Quebec, which is to be ready for European travel *en route* to the World's Fair at Chicago, by 1st of May, 1893. Two architects accompanied the party, which visited the site of the old Parliament House, at the head of Mountain Hill, where the Fortress Hotel Company propose erecting a house, and also the property lately acquired on the cape by Lord Mount-Stephen, where the Canadian Pacific Railway at first thought of building. The visitors have decided the most favorable site would be on Government property adjoining Dufferin Terrace where the Normal School now stands. Subsequently at a meeting of shareholders of the Fortress Hotel Company held for the purpose of winding up the affairs of the Company, providing the Canadian Pacific Railway took hold of the scheme, Mr. Van Horne invited the shareholders to take stock in the new scheme, which was not a scheme of the C.P.R. but of several individual gentlemen, most of whom were connected with the Road. The local men undertook negotiations with the Government for the site. If obtained, work will commence in about six weeks.[22]

The company decided upon the site adjoining Dufferin Terrace — the very location which had been abandoned in 1888 — and by March 1892 the lease was signed. Demolition began at once on the venerable Château Haldimand, a residence built by the governor of that name in 1784, and which had been used most recently as government offices and by the

Ecole Normale Laval.[23] Excavation began in May 1892, and the Château Frontenac opened on December 18, 1893.[24]

Despite public opinion to the contrary, the Château Frontenac Company had not at this time been absorbed by the C.P.R., for reasons known only to the directors and their auditors. The identity of the members, however, makes it clear in whose interests the Company acted. Van Horne wrote in a letter of July 3, 1893, that "the Hotel at Quebec is not being built by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, as is popularly supposed, but by individuals some of whom are connected with the Company and some are not."[25] But the inevitable occurred. In 1894, the C.P.R. obtained $200,000 of the Château Frontenac Company's stock "in the general interest of the Company [the C.P.R.] in connection with the acquisition of the North Shore Railway [between Montreal and Quebec, owned since 1885]."[26] Three years later the railway bought the remaining $80,000 of the stock, thereby gaining full ownership of the hotel.[27]

The Château Frontenac was conceived from the start as a stimulant to traffic on the C.P.R. line, a purpose deemed more important than the hotel's making a profit in its own right. While it was completed too late to serve Europeans visiting the Chicago World's Fair, the Château soon became popular as the gateway to the transcontinental route. On August 28, 1894, eight months after the opening, Van Horne sent former C.P.R. president Lord Mount Stephen the following report:

> The Château Frontenac is doing very well indeed, it has already more than made up its losses of its first six or seven months operation — losses that all new hotels have to bear. And as near as we can figure it, it has increased our railway earnings during the summer months over $750.00 a day. It has been found quite inadequate to take care of all of the summer business that has come to it, and large numbers have had to be turned away. We hope soon to make arrangements so that the advances of the Company over and above its stock subscription will be recouped to the Treasury, and whereby the amount required to build the necessary addition to the hotel next year may be provided. At present the number of rooms for guests are not sufficient to balance the working parts of the hotel, and the new addition will be devoted entirely to sleeping rooms. I am very confident that we will soon be able to turn this entire property into money, if it should be deemed best.[28]

In 1898, when the C.P.R. acquired all the holdings of the Château Frontenac Company, it told its shareholders that this was "a property which is not alone profitable in itself, but brings a large amount of passenger traffic to the railway."[29] However, a year later the situation had changed:

> Your Company's Hotel at Quebec — the Chateau Frontenac — has been most successful, and a large addition was made to it last year to meet the requirements of the travel it had so largely stimulated. It has not only become profitable in itself, but has from its beginning added materially to your passenger earnings.[30]

The reference was to the addition designed by Bruce Price, the first of the many discussed in the main text.

The history of the Château Frontenac after the completion of the tower may be related briefly. On January 16, 1926, fire destroyed the upper floors of Price's old Riverside Wing. In only 127 working days the wing was completely rebuilt and modernized with few alternations to the exterior.[31] In 1930, the Canadian Pacific announced that, despite the Depression, it would extend the hotel further at a cost of about one million dollars, but nothing was done, probably because the economic conditions were indeed too bad.[32] Thus the Château Frontenac as it appears today is essentially the same as it was in 1926: after some thirty years of frenzied building activity it has attained a state of stable equilibrium.

Notes

[1] I am grateful to the many members of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian National Railways who were so very helpful and co-operative in assisting me in the research for this paper. I wish to thank Prof. Donald Egbert for having read the manuscript and for making many valuable suggestions for its amendment.

This paper was presented in modified form at the Frick Symposium in New York, April 15, 1967.

For an informative treatment of the railway hotels, see Abraham Rogatnik, "Canadian Castles: Phenomenon of the Railway Hotel," *Architectural Review*, CXLI (May 1967), pp. 364-372.

[2] Sir William C. Van Horne (1943-1915) was born in Will County, Illinois, and filled various positions on several U.S. railroads between 1857 and 1881. He was chosen to be general manager of the C.P.R. in 1881, became vice-president in 1884, served as president from 1888 to 1899, and remained chairman of the board until 1911. He was knighted in 1894. Van Horne's chief outside interests were painting — several of his pictures hang in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts — and collecting Japanese porcelain, and he was a member of the Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal. He died in Montreal in 1915. See Walter Vaughan, *The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne*, New York, 1920.

[3] John M. Gibbon, *Steel of Empire: The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific . . .*, Indianapolis, 1935, p. 304.

[4] A C.P.R. source says that a fourth hotel was built in that year at Revelstoke, B.C. (*Canadian Pacific Facts and Figures*, Montreal, 1936, p. 87) However, an advertisement run by the company in 1888 made no mention of the building while naming the others. (*Dominion Illustrated*, I, July 7, 1888, p. 16. Hereafter cited as *DI*.)

[5] Mrs. Arthur Spragge, "Our Wild Westland," part X, *DI*, III (Sept. 7, 1889), p. 155.

Another source says that the Glacier House originally contained only "some half-dozen bedrooms and an exceedingly spacious dining room," and that this soon became so inadequate that overflow guests had to stay in a sleeping car left on a siding. A. O. Wheeler, *The Selkirk Range, British Columbia*, Ottawa, 1905. I, pp. 210-211. Quoted from a typescript in the C.P.R. public relations files.

[6] Information from C.P.R. architectural files. More will be said of Rattenbury and Maxwell below.

[7] Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[8] Memorandum from R. A. Mackie, General Manager of Hotels, C.P.R., Nov. 17, 1958.

Van Horne fixed upon the site of Vancouver as the western terminus of the railroad in 1884. In April 1886, the town was incorporated, and by June it had two thousand people. That month the settlement was completely destroyed by fire, but it rebuilt itself quickly. Only two years later, Vancouver was a city of eight thousand inhabitants. F. W. Howay, *British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present*, Vancouver, 1914, II, pp. 431-436.

[9] *Vancouver Province*, Aug. 28, 1915. The building was extended in 1892-93, 1902-03 (by F. M. Rattenbury), and 1910-12, but was demolished by 1916 to make way for the new hotel discussed below. (Sources of this and other uncredited information as to dates and architects of C.P.R. hotels: C.P.R. architectural files.) See below, note 66.

[10] *Canadian Pacific Railway. Annual Report for the Year 1886*, Montreal, 1887, p. 17.

[11] Bruce Price (1845-1903) was born in Cumberland, Md., and worked in Baltimore and Wilkes-Barre, Pa., before moving to New York in 1877. He is best known for his domestic work at Tuxedo Park, N.Y. (1885ff.), and for the American Surety Company Building, New York (1894), at its time the highest structure in the city. He was self-educated in architecture, but increased his knowledge of architectural history through travels to Europe in 1868, 1871, and several times thereafter. Price has gained posthumous social fame as the father of Emily Post. See Samuel H. Graybill, Jr., "Bruce Price, American Architect, 1845-1903" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1957); "A Review of the Works of Bruce Price," *Architectural Record*, Great American Architects Series, No. 5, June 1889.

[12] Graybill, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[13] The four schemes were published in *Building*, VIII (March 10, 1888), p. 81 and plates. The first design, the only one dated, is inscribed 24 October 1886. Construction had not yet begun in Jan. 1888, nor probably by February. However, by April the builders had erected the derrick, and stonecutters were to begin work April 12. *Canadian Architect and Builder*, I, 1 (Jan. 1888), p. 6; 2 (Feb. 1888), p. 5; 4 (April 1888), p. 5. (Hereafter cited as *CAB*.)

[14] *American Architect and Building News*, XXIV (July 7, 1888), p. 7; *ibid.*, (Sept. 1, 1888), p. 27. (Hereafter cited as *AABN*.)

[15] Omar Lavallée, "Windsor Station 1889-1964," *Canadian Rail*, 152 (Feb. 1964), p. 27.

[16] To add insult to injury, the clock was never installed. In the nineteenth century a station was not considered complete without a tower. See C. L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station*, New Haven, 1956, p. 94.

[17] Barr Ferree, "A Talk with Bruce Price," *Architectural Record*, Great American Architects Series, No. 5, June 1899, p. 81.

Windsor Station has undergone so many later extensions and alterations that Price's building today comprises only a small fraction of the total area. His ground floor has been completely defaced and is now occupied only by commercial establishments. The major additions were along Osborne (now Lagauchetière) Street, beside the façade, in 1900, 1906, 1922, and 1952; the present main building, continuing below the original structure, seven floors with a fourteen-story tower, 1910-15; and an office wing on St. Antoine Street in 1954.

[18] C. W. Mowers, "Banff — A Canadian Synonym for Vacation," *Western Business and Industry*, XX, 7 (July 1946), p. 43. The park now encompasses over 2,500 square miles.

[19] Price had done several earlier hotels, including an annex to the West End Hotel, Bar Harbor, Maine (1879), and a large complex at Long Beach, N.Y. (1880). See Graybill, *passim*.

20 The design was published in *Building*, VI (Feb. 26, 1887), as a "Sketch for a Hotel," and bore the date Sept. 23, 1886. While it is possible that Price made the design without any specific commission in mind, the mountainous background and many chimneys (for a cold climate) imply that this was indeed intended for Banff from the start. The only significant difference between the published sketch and the executed building was the central pyramidal roof omitted in the latter.

Proof that the Banff hotel was commissioned later than Windsor Station, despite the contrary evidence offered by the dated plans (see note 13), is Price's own statement that the station "was the first of the series" of buildings he designed for the C.P.R. Ferree, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

21 *CAB*, I, 3 (March 1888), p. 7.

22 *DI*, I (July 7, 1888), pp. 6, 12. C.P.R. records name Edward and William S. Maxwell as associates, but the date of the hotel makes this impossible. See below, note 32. However, one or both brothers was probably responsible for the second frame building added around 1900-05.

23 For a detailed description of the hotel see *DI*, I. (July 21, 1888), p. 38.

24 Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

25 *DI, loc. cit.*

26 *DI*, VII. (Sept. 19, 1891), p. 276.

27 Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

28 C.P.R. promotional literature on the Banff Springs Hotel explicitly expresses this theory, although with reference to the present building (1913ff.) and not the original structure. The opening paragraph of the pamphlet "Banff Springs Hotel in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies" demonstrates this clearly:

The baronial style of Banff Springs Hotel was no accident of design. It was chosen after much thought and research. The townsite was named by former Hudson Bay Factor, early Canadian Pacific director Lord Strathcona [Donald Smith], after Banff, Scotland. In many ways the valleys of the Bow and Spray Rivers remind you of the uplands of Scotland. Purple shadows bring thoughts of heather-covered moors. Tumbling trout streams sing the same song as highland burns. Elk and caribou have the grace and proud carriage of northern Scotland's stags.

The problem of French influence on the Scottish buildings is a matter of debate, but a simple visual comparison of the castle architecture of the two countries reveals close parallels. John Summerson concludes that "of the indebtedness of the [Scotch Baronial] style to French masons from the Loire or Sarthe districts there can be no shadow of doubt." (*Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830*, 4th ed., Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 326.) Those who oppose this opinion are divided between beliefs in Scottish autonomy and in dependence upon other sources. Stewart Cruden claims that "Scottish work remains fundamentally unaffected [by French inspiration]," but he has to devote several subsequent pages to a refutation of contrary visual evidence. (*The Scottish Castle*, Edinburgh, 1960, pp. 191ff.) MacGibbon and Ross admit that "there is a general similarity amongst all the buildings of Europe of this class about the time we are treating of," but believe that "the prototype of the mixed Scotch style of the Fourth Period [i.e. 1542-1700] is rather to be found in Germany and the Low Countries than in France." (*The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1887, II, pp. 12-13.)

29 C.P.R. Annual Report, 1888, p. 13.

30 C.P.R. architectural files. There is no indication of the nature of the design nor why it was rejected. A small hotel was built at Sicamous in 1900, with Edward Maxwell as architect.

31 For the history of the several projects for the Château Frontenac see the Appendix.

32 Although unsupported by contemporary documents, C.P.R. records repeatedly state that Price was responsible only for the plans, elevations, and structure, and that Edward and William S. Maxwell of Montreal were associates in charge of interior finishing and decoration. (See, for example, Joan Elson Morgan, *Castle of Quebec*, Toronto, 1949, p. 158.) This is highly unlikely, since Edward Maxwell (1867-1923) only returned to Montreal from work with Richardson's successors, Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, in 1892, and he did not go into partnership with his younger brother William until 1903. (*Montreal Gazette*, Nov. 15, 1925.) The source of this confusion probably lies in the Maxwell's later significant work on the Château Frontenac (see below).

Prof. John Bland of McGill University kindly informed me of this obituary.

33 *AABN*, VI (December 27, 1879). The house is discussed and illustrated in Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style*, New Haven, 1955, p. 78 and Fig. 40.

34 This opinion occurs throughout the literature on the Château Frontenac. See, for example, Russell Sturgis, "A Critique of the Architecture of Bruce Price," *Architectural Record*, Great American Architects Series, No. 5, June 1889, p. 31; Graybill, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Alan Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, Toronto, 1966, p. 138.

35 This authority of the day, James Fergusson, insisted upon this characteristic: "All the French architects aimed at, in the early stages of the art [of their Renaissance], was to adapt the details of the Classical styles to their Gothic forms." *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, 2nd ed., London, 1873, p. 181.

36 Victor Petit, *Châteaux de la vallée de la Loire des XVᵉ, XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles*, 2 vols., Paris, 1861.

37 *AABN*, XIV (Nov. 24, 1883). Discussed and illustrated in Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and his Times*, 3rd ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1966, pp. 218ff. and Fig. 69.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

39 Hunt's W. K. Vanderbilt House, New York (1878-81) introduced the François I style to New York society, and in the following decade most new mansions in that city imitated the style. Hunt's pupil and Price's friend George B. Post followed the fashion with a house in red brick and limestone trim for Cornelius Vanderbilt II (1880-82). The *ne plus ultra* of the movement was "Biltmore," Hunt's château at Asheville, N.C., for the brother of W. K. and Cornelius, G. W. Vanderbilt (1895). For the many New York mansions in the style, see Jacob Landy, "The Domestic Architecture of the 'Robber Barons' in New York City," *Marsyas*, V (1947-49), pp. 63-85, with bibliography. Bruce Price made occasional ventures into the style, but always with a very personal interpretation which transformed the building into something quite different. Two examples are his Thomas house, Madison Avenue, New York (*AABN*, XIX, March 13, 1886), and his unsuccessful competition design for the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce (*AABN*, XVIII, July 4, 1885).

40 Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 221ff. and Figs. 71-73.

41 Ferree, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[42] *Vaughan*, op. cit., p. 199. (Italics mine.)

[43] Ferree, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[44] Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 336. The story is also told in the *Montreal Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1943.

[45] *CAB*, VII (1894), p. 66. (Italics mine.)

[46] Six sketches accompanied the letter from Van Horne to Lady Aberdeen, dated Nov. 13, 1895, in the Public Archives of Canada. I am indebted to Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, for having called the sketches to my attention, and for having made the latter suggestion, corroborating my belief in Van Horne's participation in the Château Frontenac design.
Price's and Van Horne's relationship may not have been solely professional. Both were members of the St. James Club in Montreal and the Century Club in New York.

[47] *AABN*, XII (Nov. 18, 1882), p. 248.

[48] *CAB*, VIII (1895), p. 131.

[49] See Meeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 92. Price's design was published in March 1896, although credit was erroneously given to George B. Post, his New York rival, and his daughter Emily's future father-in-law. This mistake was corrected the following month. *CAB*, IX, 3 (March 1896); 4 (April 1896), p. 57. Price's final working drawings are dated April 12, 1896.

[50] *CAB*, IX (1896), p. 64.

[51] Sturgis, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[52] Graybill, *op. cit.*, p. 148. Quoted with the permission of the author.

[53] Henry E. Golba, "Place Viger" (unpublished Architecture 5 paper, McGill University, 1959).

[54] The working drawings are dated Oct. 16, 1897. The cost is cited in *CAB*, XII (1899), p. 4.

[55] Edward Maxwell died in 1923, and the work was completed by the firm of W. S. Maxwell and N. M. Pitts. For these later additions see *The Contractor*, May 1924, pp. 2-13, and *Construction*, XVIII (1925), pp. 245-268; also Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 164ff.
Mention should be made of extant anonymous plans in the C.P.R. files, dated December 1900, for proposed additions along Dufferin Terrace and Rue St. Louis. Neither was executed.

[56] The men were Capt. J. W. Troup and Harry G. Barnard. *Vancouver Province, B.C. Magazine*, April 6, 1957.

[57] Francis Mawson Rattenbury (1867-1935) was the architect of the Legislative Buildings, Victoria, B.C. (1894-97), a competition which he won when only twenty-six years old. He did other work for the C.P.R., including additions to the Hotel Vancouver and the Mt. Stephen House.

[58] Royal Victoria College, McGill University's institution for the education of women (now only a dormitory), grew out of an 1884 endowment by Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona) of the C.P.R. The students were originally called "Donaldas" in recognition of their benefactor. The new building was made possible by an increased grant from Smith, who was probably responsible for having commissioned Price. (Cyrus Macmillan, *McGill and its Story 1821-1921*, London, 1921, pp. 252-254.)
The recessed central portion of the Royal Victoria College is enclosed by two gabled end pavilions, and a seven-arched loggia with a crenellated balustrade connects these. Although the building has oriels and the now familiar Gothic dormers, it is not of the château style and might, if anything, be hesitantly classified as Romanesque on the strength of its round arches.

[59] See above, note 42.

[60] *Victoria Colonist*, Jan. 21, 1908; quoted in *The Hotel News*, Jan. 1933, p. 14.

[61] Bradford Lee Gilbert (1853-1911) is best known for his Tower Building, New York (1888-89), a ten-story structure which introduced the new "skyscraper construction" to New York. See Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 244.

[62] Both designs are published in C. P. Meredith, "Remarkable Similarity in Plans," *Construction*, I, 10 (August 1908), pp. 32-36. The publicized reason for the switch in architects was the desire to give the job to a Canadian firm, but the magazine's editor insisted that this did not excuse such unethical behaviour.
The deliberately eclectic choice of a medieval style for the Château Laurier is seen in the fact that both Gilbert's and Ross and MacFarlane's schemes included a Roman-inspired Union Station across the street.

[63] *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, V (1928), p. 207; *ibid.*, VII (1930), pp. 393-411.

[64] Correspondence from F. MacDowell, Chief Architect, C.N.R. The client was the Grand Trunk Pacific Development Company.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] See Francis S. Swales, "The New Hotel Vancouver," *American Architect*, CX (1916), pp. 153-158.

[67] See above, note 28.

[68] Letter to A. O. Seymour, dated Aug. 23, 1924, in the C.P.R. Hotel Department records. The Parks Commissioner had to approve all buildings erected in the national parks, and by this date Lake Louise was a part of Banff National Park.

[69] I wish to thank Mr. J. A. Langford, Assistant Deputy Minister of Public Works, Ottawa, for having related this and many of the subsequent events in correspondence. The material is summarized in a "Report to Council" of April 27, 1927, submitted by J. C. Elliot, Minister of Public Works, and sent to me by Mr. Langford.

[70] Hull, Quebec, is situated across the Ottawa River from the capital city. The committee was made up of the mayors of Ottawa and Hull, and Sir Alexandre Lacoste, Hubert S. Holt, Frank Darling, and R. Home Smith. Its findings were published as *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull, 1915*, Ottawa, 1916, with drawings by E. H. Bennett and Jules Guerin. Major C. C. J. Bond of the National Capital Commission, Ottawa, kindly informed me of this publication.

[71] The Main Block of the Parliament Buildings was designed by Thomas Fuller and Herbert Chillion Jones, the East and West Blocks by F. W. Stent and Augustus Laver, all 1859-67. Fuller (1822-98) was the first architect of the New York

State Capitol, with Laver (1868ff.). He later returned to Ottawa and was chief architect of Canada from 1881 to 1896.

The Main Block was destroyed by fire in 1916 and rebuilt by John A. Pearson and J. Omer Marchand.

72 *Report of the Federal Plan Commission*, pp. 110-111. (Italics mine.)

73 *Ibid.*, Drawing no. 15.

74 The members of the committee were David Ewart, Dominion Consulting Architect; R. C. Wright, chief architect of the Department of Public Works; and Thomas Adams, town planner.

75 "Report to Council," April 27, 1927, p. 2.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

77 Related to the author in conversation by Mr. Ernest Cormier.

78 Most Canadian monumental architecture of the first third of our century was classical in mode. A few examples are illustrated in Gowans, *Building Canada*, Plates 189-190 and 196-199. This was part of a broad international trend which was aggravated in Canada by the belated introduction of "modern" influences. For an outline of the movement, including a discussion of whether it should be regarded as survival or revival, see Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, chapter 24.

79 Wilfrid Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice*, Ottawa, 1961, p. 183.

80 The model has been preserved by the National Capital Commission, Ottawa. It was kindly shown me by Major C. C. J. Bond.

81 Jacques Gréber, John M. Kitchen, and Edouard Fiset, *Plan for the National Capital: General Report Submitted to the National Capital Planning Committee*, Ottawa ,1950, p. 279. The publication has always been known as the "Gréber Report."

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

83 Learned by the author in conversations with Mr. J. A. Langford and his predecessor as Chief Architect, Mr. E. A. Gardner.

84 *Construction*, XIX (1926), pp. 271-278.

85 Ferree, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

86 *Ibid.*

87 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

88 F. L. Wright, *An Autobiography*, New York, 1943, p. 142.

89 Wright, *An Organic Arichtecture*, 1939; quoted in Edgar Kaufmann and Ben Raeburn, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Writings and Buildings*, Cleveland, 1960, p. 280.

90 Bruce Price, "A Large Country House," *Modern Architectural Practice*, I, New York, 1887, preface, n.p.

91 Ferree, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

92 For the Quebec improvements, see *AABN*, II (April 14, 1877) p. 116; *ibid.*, V (March 8, 1879), p. 77. Among the unexecuted proposals was a new Château St. Louis on what was to become the site of the Château Frontenac.

93 See above, note 42.

94 Ferree, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

95 See Gowans, *op. cit.*, pp. 132ff.

96 Ferree, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 83. Price did not entirely practice what he preached. In 1901 he designed Hendrik Hudson Hotel, Yonkers, N.Y., a very close adaptation of the Château Frontenac. The site was admittedly similar to that of the Quebec hotel, but the location was very much American. (*AABN*, LXXXI, Aug. 1, 1903.) The hotel burned while under construction and was never rebuilt. (Graybill, *op. cit.*, p. 213.)

98 *Report of the Federal Plan Commission*, p. 110.

99 "Report to Council," p. 3.

100 In the late eighteenth century, Romantic patriotism led each country of Northern Europe to claim Gothic as its own. Goethe proclaimed that Gothic architecture was of German origin in *Von Deutscher Baukunst* of 1772 (see W. D. Robson-Scott, *The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany*, Oxford, 1965, p. 84); in England the Society of Antiquaries preached that Gothic had been developed in the British Isles (see Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, new ed., Harmondsworth, 1964, p. 63); while many French historians believed (correctly) that the style was their own (see R. D. Middleton, "The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI (1963), p. 104, n. 187). In any case, all agreed that Gothic was appropriate to the northern climate, while the classical styles were native to Southern Europe (see Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture*, Montreal, 1965, pp. 100-101).

101 Gowans, *op. cit.*, pp. 145ff.

Appendix — Notes

[1] *AABN*, VIII (Aug. 21, 1880), p. 96.

[2] Thomas J. Oliver, *Guide to Quebec* (1882). Quoted in Joan Elson Morgan, *Castle of Quebec*, Toronto, 1949, p. 150. This and the following quotations from *Castle of Quebec* are cited with the permission of the publishers, J. M. Dent and Sons.

[3] The earliest Château St. Louis on the site was built in 1647 and demolished in 1694. For the colourful history of the buildings, see Ernest Gangnon, *Le Fort et le château Saint-Louis* (many editions) and Morgan, *op. cit., passim*.

[4] The extension of the terrace was a part of Lord Dufferin's 1875 scheme for Quebec improvements, and the terrace therefore bears his name. See above, text note 87.

[5] Quoted in Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[6] *CAB*, I, 10 (Oct. 1888), p. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, II (1889), p. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, II (1889), p. 20.

[9] *Ibid.*, III (1890), p. 24.

[10] Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *CAB*, III (1890), p. 45. This was corroborated by a notice in the *Quebec Daily Telegraph* for April 17, 1890, announcing that the plans were "now nearly ready." Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[14] *CAB*, III (1890), p. 68. The Stavely-Stalker scheme survives only in a second-floor plan in the Public Archives of Canada (No. 516 of the Stavely plans). The building is rectangular with a central light well, and the layout of bedrooms displays little imagination. The plan shows a square tower at each end of the façade and a small turret at one rear angle, apparently indicating a medieval treatment of the elevations. The Rotch and Tilden scheme — or a slightly later one by the same firm — was published in *AABN*, XXXV (March 19, 1892) (Fig. 27). I wish to thank Mr. A. J. H. Richardson of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, for having located the former; and Mr. G. E. Pettengill of the American Institute of Architects for having called my attention to the latter.

[15] *CAB*, III (1890), p. 89.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[17] *Morgan*, op. cit., p. 152.

[18] *CAB*, IV (1891), p. 31.

[19] C.P.R. architectural files. The plans themselves are no longer there.

[20] See above, appendix note 14.

[21] Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-154.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[23] Gagnon, *op. cit., passim*.

[24] The initial working drawings are dated May 13, 1892, although the final set was issued Dec. 29, and revisions were made still later. The name "Château Frontenac" was undoubtedly chosen because the old Château St. Louis had been built by the great Quebec governor, Louis de Buade, comte de Palluau et de Frontenanc (1620-1698).

[25] Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[26] C.P.R. Annual Report, 1894, p. 23.

[27] C.P.R. Annual Report, 1897, p. 10.

[28] Letter in the Public Archives of Canada.

[29] C.P.R. Annual Report, 1897, p. 10.

[30] C.P.R. Annual Report, 1898, p. 7.

[31] Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 172; *Construction*, XIX (1926), pp. 217-224.

[32] *Montreal Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1930.