# *BY FEDERAL DESIGN:*

## *The Chief Architect's Branch of the Department of Public Works, 1881-1914*

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Parks Canada Parcs Canada

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## PREFACE

This examination of the process of architectural design in the federal government between 1881 and 1914 concerns itself more with the organization and operation of a design agency than with architectural drawings and public buildings, its end products. The usefulness of a project of this kind was originally suggested by research for Parks Canada on federal buildings in Dawson, Yukon Territory. Examination of the design and construction of five federal buildings completed in Dawson between 1899 and 1902 revealed a well documented glimpse of the federal design process. Into focus came Thomas William Fuller, the architect of those buildings. He was, coincidentally, not only the son of the more famous Thomas Fuller, designer of the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa and chief architect for the Department of Public Works from 1881 to 1896, but became chief architect himself in 1927 and served until 1936. It was decided that a study of the designs accomplished by the younger Fuller for the Chief Architect's Branch would provide a useful national context for his works in Dawson, as well as greater insight into the whole federal design process.

In fact, the search for other examples of T.W. Fuller's branch work revealed that there were significant problems associated with attributing a body of specific works to an individual staff designer. While research was in progress these problems were raised in Research Bulletin No. 105 *Thomas William Fuller (1865-1951): A Preliminary Report.* It became obvious that T.W. Fuller's high profile as resident architect in Dawson provided an exception to the apparently prevailing circumstance of design anonymity within the branch. Nonetheless, the attempt (and failure) to compile a list of the complete public works of T.W. Fuller brought to light valuable information about the *modus operandi* of the Chief Architect's Branch: about relationships between chief and staff, division of labour among departmental designers, interaction between that design agency and its clients and between political and professional decision makers. If the architecture of T.W. Fuller could not always be identified, the outline of his 53-year branch career more easily could. In his 19th century branch apprenticeship, his 20th century specialization, and his abiding belief in departmental or in-house design, Fuller's career fairly accurately reflected half a century of branch policies and practices. As such it provided an initial focus for a wider study of branch operations.

From 1881 to 1914 Chief Architects Thomas Fuller and David Ewart made almost exclusive use of staff designs for public buildings. A closer study of that period has exposed the essential workings of the departmental design process and offers a more precise understanding of the heretofore amorphous term "departmental design" applied to most of Canada's federal architecture of the period.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CHIEF ARCHITECT'S BRANCH, 1867-81

This study will examine the Chief Architect's Branch of the federal Department of Public Works, the nature of its responsibilities, and the methods by which it carried out its mandate of design, construction, and maintenance of federal buildings. The single most significant development in the branch's history, and hence the central theme of this work, is the growth of a cohesive and self-sufficient architectural staff, responsible for preparing an increasing portion of the designs required for new public buildings. While fully recognizing that the earliest staff designs emerged under Thomas Seaton Scott, the department's first chief architect (1871-81), this investigation will focus on the work of the branch under Scott's successors Thomas Fuller (1881-96) and David Ewart (1897-1914). These four decades witnessed the fullest implementation of a policy for departmental design, in the sense that Fuller and Ewart developed and maintained an architectural staff capable of consistently and successfully preparing designs for the full range of public buildings constructed by the Department of Public Works.

Although departmental records of this period render exceedingly difficult the attribution of individual structures to individual architects, it has been possible to examine the workings of the branch, its methods of hiring, training, and commissioning architects, as well as its actual processes of plan preparation. The findings do much to pierce the anonymity typically associated with "branch staff." They help to present an architectural staff that was cohesive by virtue of its training and its long associations with the branch. At the same time the results reveal a variety of individual skills, specialities, and achievements. Above all they illustrate that the question of determining design responsibility for any single public building is often a complex one, and one that implies the examination of a number of individual working relationships within the branch and beyond it.

As had been the case in the United Canadas, the preparation of estimates and plans, the supervision of construction, and the maintenance and repair of public buildings continued after 1867 to be the responsibility of the government's chief engineer. Although none of the Canadian statutes relevant to the establishment and organization of the Board of Works (1841 and 1846)[1] or of the later Department of Public Works (1859 and 1867)[2] made specific provision for a corresponding position of chief architect, the first of these acts did empower the Board of Works to employ as many architects "as may be necessary."[3] On 15 December 1841 F.P. Rubidge was hired as a draughtsman under this provision. Rubidge was later known as assistant engineer and draughtsman, and, in the new federal Department of Public Works, as architect and assistant engineer.[4]

In 1871 a number of organizational changes were carried out within the Engineering Branch[5] of the Department of Public Works. These had the immediate effect of separating the position and duties of assistant engineer from those of senior architect, in effect creating both an architectural and an engineering office in the larger Engineering Branch. In acknowledging this division the department took the first step towards creating a wholly separate architectural branch. The new supervising architect would be called simply "Architect of the Department of Public Works." In possessing "special attainments" in his profession, he was expected "to oversee the several architectural works authorized by the Government of Canada and to control and regulate the progress and expenditure upon such works."[6] F.P. Rubidge, who had held the combined position of assistant chief engineer and architect for 30 years, was abruptly superannuated to make room for two new appointees:[7] C.F. Baillargé, already an architect on staff, was named assistant chief engineer and Thomas Seaton Scott was hired from private practice in Montreal to fill the position of senior architect.[8]

Within a year of his appointment Scott appealed for and was granted an official change in his title, from "Architect" to "Chief Architect."[9] The staff under his supervision was to be considered thereafter as the "Architect's Branch." In 1879 this separation of the chief architect's position - and by implication, his staff - from that of the chief engineer was confirmed in legislation reorganizing the Department of Public Works.[10] In actual usage the titles of both the chief architect and his office varied considerably:[11] Scott was refer-

red to both as "Chief Architect" and as "Dominion Architect"; and he and the staff he supervised were called the Architect's Branch, the Architectural Branch, and the Chief Architect's Office. Fuller seems to have been more consistently called "Chief Architect," but his office was referred to both as the Chief Architect's Branch and as the Chief Architect's Office, the latter being considered as part of the larger Technical Branch (which included as well the offices of the chief engineer, mechanical engineer, chief clerk, and telegraph services). Not until 1892 was the office consistently entitled the Chief Architect's Branch.[12] For the sake of simplicity and clarity, that usage will be followed here in all references to the branch.

The staff of the newly designated chief architect was to be organized, it would appear, along lines suggested by Mr. Scott himself in a memo of October 1871 to his deputy minister.[13] In that memo Scott laid out his staffing needs: a thoroughly competent head assistant, a thoroughly competent draughtsman able to "measure work, value same and take out quantities etc. etc.," a practical draughtsman, and a draughtsman for ordinary work and for tracing. By 1874 Scott had hired 20 architectural draughtsmen and an architect.[14] The Chief Architect's Branch, under whatever title, was a reality.

The scope of the chief architect's responsibility, as implied by the Public Works Act and clarified by the subsequent relevent Orders in Council of 1871 and 1872,[15] included a whole range of activities related to the acquisition, design, construction, alteration, maintenance, and repair of those public buildings controlled by the federal government. For the first few years after Confederation the architectural activities of the department were very much of a consolidating nature. The stock-taking of inherited public buildings employed the branch in the alteration, maintenance, and repair of existing structures, the inspection, assessment and acquisition of properties, and in some cases the transfer of buildings to appropriate provincial and municipal jurisdictions. Confederation left the Department of Public Works in possession of a number of public buildings, such as Houses of Parliament, Governors' and Lieutenant Governors' residences, court houses, jails, prisons, and normal schools, which had eventually to be transferred to the control of the appropriate provincial and municipal governments. Other acquisitions, such as observatories, hospitals and asylums, immigration stations, lighthouses, drill sheds, gun sheds, barracks, and general works of defence, were clearly deemed to be under federal control, but required specific relationships to be worked out with other federal departments.[16] Significant new construction did take place in locations where public buildings were required for the major federal revenue-collecting departments: the Post Office Department, the Customs Department, and the Department of Inland Revenue. In 1867 the Department of Public Works inherited only 6 post offices and 10 custom houses from the United Provinces.[17] In the next 15 years, however, 38 post offices, custom houses, and custom examination warehouses were constructed or acquired.[18] As the country expanded, penitentiaries, quarantine and immigration stations, marine hospitals, military buildings, and drill sheds were eventually required in new provinces and territories; but it was through a constantly and visibly expanding network of postal, custom, and inland revenue facilities, as well as by the erection of appropriate parliamentary buildings and departmental offices at Ottawa, that the new federal government made its physical presence most strongly felt.

By 1872 Scott's architectural and draughting staff was properly launched into the design and construction of new facilities. By that year a number of construction projects were underway and near completion: post offices in Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, and St. John, New Brunswick; custom houses in Quebec, London, and Toronto; immigration stations in Montreal, Kingston, and Lévis; quarantine stations at Grosse Isle, Quebec, and Partridge Island, New Brunswick; a savings bank in St. John, New Brunswick; and a building combining postal, custom, and inland revenue in Ottawa.[19] Although the chief architect was responsible for each project, the designs for these structures were prepared by architects working on commission, rather than by members of the chief architect's staff. A few small projects were undertaken in the same period (1870-72), however, and it was for these very modest buildings that the first staff designs from the Chief Architect's Branch originated: a canal superintendent's house in Cornwall, immigration stations in Toronto and in Sherbrooke, Quebec, and finishing and interior work on the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa appear to have been the first stirrings of design exclusively conceived in the new branch.

As Scott had the opportunity through the 1870s to build up a staff trained in the whole process of public design, he relied increasingly upon his own architectural staff in Ottawa rather than upon the private practice of various architects in centres where federal construction was taking place. At the same time, the economizing on public building of the Liberal government in power (1873-78) encouraged a policy of in-house design, for staff design was generally considered to be economical in the long run. Ironically, the Conservatives' return to power in 1878 confirmed rather than reversed the department's trend towards design self-sufficiency. A renewed policy of expansion and a high profile in public works dramatically increased the number of public buildings planned for construction, especially in small cities.[20] The consequent requirement for a large number of medium-sized, medium-priced, and stylistically related public buildings providing postal, customs, inland revenue, and other government facilities across the country stimulated a long-term program of departmental design. Ultimately it entrenched public design in the hands of the chief architect and his Ottawa staff.

## TOWARDS DESIGN SELF-SUFFICIENCY: THE BRANCH UNDER THOMAS FULLER (1881-96) AND DAVID EWART (1897-1914)

The 34 years during which first Thomas Fuller and then David Ewart held the position of chief architect can be seen as a vital period in the development of the Chief Architect's Branch. The staff hired by Scott after 1871 was expanded under Fuller and consolidated under Ewart; and the importance of in-house design identified by the first chief architect became a firm priority under his two successors. Under the direction of both Fuller and Ewart departmental designs became the rule rather than the exception. On his retirement as chief architect in 1914[1] Ewart left a cohesive and self-sufficient design staff which from the branch's origin in 1871 had grown considerably in size and matured into a trained and specialized unit.

In 1881-82, the fiscal year in which Thomas Fuller took office, the Chief Architect's Branch spent $544 032.73 on the construction of new buildings - about five times the annual amount expended on construction in the first years of Confederation.[2] The total expenditure on public buildings for that year (i.e. on construction, repairs, staff, and maintenance, all of which were administered by the chief architect) was $853 221.91 and represented about 45% of the department's total expenditure.[3] Branch expenditure increased throughout the decade, peaking in 1889 at $1 557 546.76, a sum which still represented about 44% of the department's yearly total.[4] Expansion of branch activity in the 1880s is further reflected in statistics recording the annual number of "buildings or works under contract or for which drawings were prepared" (1874-91).[5] Following a sharp decline in the number of projects recorded for the years 1876-80, during which time an average of only 15 buildings was designed each year, records for the mid-1880s show a steep rise in activity: 102 projects in 1885; 76 in 1886; and 79 in 1887. A subsequent decline in building projects opened the 1890s, paralleled by a gradual decline in both branch and departmental spending between 1890 and 1896.[6]

A proportionate growth in branch staff in the 1880s both reflected department expansion generally and indicated the branch's increasing involvement in active design rather than solely in administrative supervision of architects on commission. Although there is considerable evidence of staff growth, firm statistics are difficult to draw out, largely because the branch relied heavily on temporary staff. Briefly, these "temporary clerks" formed the rank-and-file core of the branch and were not really temporary at all. Their significant contribution to the branch will be discussed in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that the department's failure to record lists of these staff in any consistent way from one year to the next makes an absolute branch headcount virtually impossible. The best one can do is to say that references from the 1870s indicate a rough yearly average of 10 temporary draught-

ing staff members in the Chief Architect's Branch; from 1883 to 1889 there appear to have been around 14 such employees, and from 1890 to 1897 about 17.[7]

Branch spending renewed its steady increase in the 20th century. By 1912-13, branch spending had reached $7 420 885.32,[8] fully 10 times the amount expended in Fuller's first year there. Because the body of existing public buildings had of course grown considerably, increased demands were made on the Chief Architect's Branch in terms of alterations, additions, repairs, maintenance and rental payments. Although these activities were in part responsible for increases in branch expenditure, new construction itself continued to proceed apace. There were 101 projects under construction in 1913, and 94 the following year.[9] Ewart's almost exclusive reliance on his architectural staff for designs on projects involving new construction as well as alterations and repairs was reflected in the size of his draughting staff. In 1896-97 there were 18 architects and draughtsmen in the branch; that number steadily increased until it reached 41 in 1913.[10]

The First World War severely cut the department's budget for new construction, a reverse from which the branch was over a decade in recovering. As the department continued to rely on rented accommodations in the 1920s, the branch temporarily lost its high profile as an active design centre. Juxtaposed with this post-war decade of austerity, the flourishing of departmental design under Fuller and Ewart shows up all the more vividly as a peak in the development of the Chief Architect's Branch.

Despite statistical evidence of relatively steady departmental expansion after 1880 and of a corresponding growth in size and stature of the Chief Architect's Branch, it has been argued that the 1879 legislation creating a separate Department of Railways and Canals robbed the original Department of Public Works of its most significant mandate and of its previously historic role in the nation-building process. J.E. Hodgetts, biographer and analyst of various elements of Canada's federal public service, has further argued that:

> once Public Works had relinquished control of programmes concerned with transportation to the Department of Railways and Canals, this raised the prospect of confining its role to that of a glorified housekeeper for the Government itself.[11]

As it applied to the Chief Architect's Branch, which acted only on the instructions of its client departments within the federal government, Hodgett's notion of a service agency is inarguably appropriate. But although the duties of the Chief Architect's Branch can certainly be perceived in administrative terms as mere "housekeeping," the planning, financing, design, and construction of public buildings to serve the immediate needs of the client departments, and at the same time reflect well on the government of the day, involved the department in nation-building of a very real sort.

By their sheer numbers, the more than 300 public buildings built before 1914 earned for the federal government a significant profile on the Canadian urban landscape.[12] Those structures reflected both traditional concerns as well as newly emerged national interests. The construction of facilities for the branch's three major client departments - the Post Office, the Customs Department, and the Internal Revenue Department - indicated the understandable importance placed on accommodating high revenue producing departments. Facilities such as immigration stations for the Department of Agriculture, military buildings and drill sheds for the Department of Militia and Defence, penitentiaries for the Department of Justice, and schools for the Department of the Interior (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) reflected still other concerns essentially inherited from pre-Confederation governments. But the public buildings constructed under Fuller and Ewart included as well forms appropriate to newly recognized or newly emphasized federal functions: experimental farms, large urban drill halls, and barracks for the Northwest Mounted Police all demonstrated heightened federal interests and activities in specific areas of national life.

This real and recognizable government presence expanded with the Dominion. New provinces called for new federal buildings. The Northwest Territories, and after 1898 the Yukon Territory, required buildings to serve the administrations of the Departments of the Interior and Justice, the Post Office, and the Department of Public Works itself. In its expansion, federal construction was at the same time self-perpetuating. After the larger cities in Quebec and Ontario had been provided for, as was warranted by their large populations and returns of government rev-

enue, with public structures in keeping with the finest facades along their main streets, the smaller centres requested and received like treatment - albeit in structures reduced both in size and grandeur. And, once a dominion-wide framework was in place for any one federal department, rounds of additions, alterations, repairs, and ultimately replacement were set in motion. This aspect of the branch's mandate was truly one of a housekeeping nature; nonetheless, alterations required the same process of staff design and construction as did the preparation of a new structure.

In all its manifestations public architecture bespoke good government: responsiveness to particular national interests, concern for specific public needs, and above all faith in local enterprise and in the revenue that it would hopefully continue to generate. Quite clearly, the laying of a network of federal buildings as well as its expansion and maintenance served to encourage a growing and increasingly self-sufficient Chief Architect's Branch.

## STAFFING THE BRANCH

As civil servants, the branch staff operated under the terms of the Canada Civil Service Act 1882,[1] legislation that defined conditions of appointment, promotion, and pay. But in two respects the chief architect's staff was largely considered a special case under the Act. In the first place, as qualifications for design work were technical and professional, the resulting branch profile provided an anomaly within an administrative hierarchy classified basically in terms of clerkships. Furthermore, with few exceptions the professional and technical employees of this branch were hired on a "temporary" basis. Under "a temporary pressure of work" deputy ministers were able to requisition temporary employees and keep them on staff "so long as the Heads of the respective Departments may deem necessary."[2] It was an exceptionally useful clause to the purposes of the expanding Department of Public Works. Its nearly routine application in the Chief Architect's Branch before 1908 stamped that office with a unique character.

One significant departure from standard civil service procedure was evident in the branch's hiring process. The fact that the branch provided a "technical service requiring special qualifications"[3] meant that the qualifying civil service examination required by law could be waived, thereby allowing the Minister of Public Works to select directly those candidates "best fitted to fill the vacancy."[4] The implications of this provision were seemingly contradictory. On the one hand it means that the chief architect was able to recommend that the minister hire specific people with the specialized technical expertise his branch required. On the other, the potential for political appointments was greater than ever.

Unfortunately, as complete documentation surrounding specific cases of hiring is not available, patterns of branch employment are by no means clear. From what has come to light, however, it very much appears that technical or professional experience, contacts within the branch, and good political connections all played their part. It might even be that in some instances all three criteria were met in some measure. There is as yet insufficient evidence to suggest that political influence alone could secure a branch position.

Chief Architect Fuller was himself a political appointment, personally secured for the position by Sir Hector Langevin. Nonetheless he was unquestionably one of the foremost architects in the country in 1881, having earned considerable prominence by providing, with Chilion Jones, the winning design for the Parliament Building at Ottawa in 1859. Furthermore, Fuller maintained throughout his public career the high regard of the Canadian architectural community, even among those who were otherwise critical of his policy of encouraging departmental design rather than naming private commissions.[5] For his part, Fuller denied that political appointments played a major part in branch staffing during his term, or that "unwanted" staff had ever been foisted on him by either Liberal or Conservative ministers.[6]

It seems highly likely, for instance, that men like David Ewart were hired on grounds other than political ones. Formally trained in

1 Centre Block after 1880. Designed by Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones. Photo by W.J. Topley. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 8338.*)

architecture at the Edinburgh School of Arts and a recent immigrant to Canada,[7] Ewart was probably recommended by a departmental officer with specific knowledge and contacts in the field. If Ewart's appointment was made on the basis of his expertise, the hiring of D.A. Hewitt to the branch in 1900 clearly points out to what extent a chief architect could be influenced by political considerations in his hiring of staff. However Hewitt's qualifications and experience may have advanced his application, his political connections were by no means overlooked. He was recommended for the position by S.G. Curry,[8] a prominent Toronto architect and a Liberal, who spoke well of Hewitt both professionally and politically. Once in the branch, Hewitt advised one friend to follow a similar route:

> The Chief Architect's advice given last year was the usual way of approaching the position. Apply by personal letter to him and have your "member" see the minister for your appointment....I desired to personally introduce you to Mr. Ewart so that if your name came up for discussion, he would then have had an opinion of your ability from a conversation with you.[9]

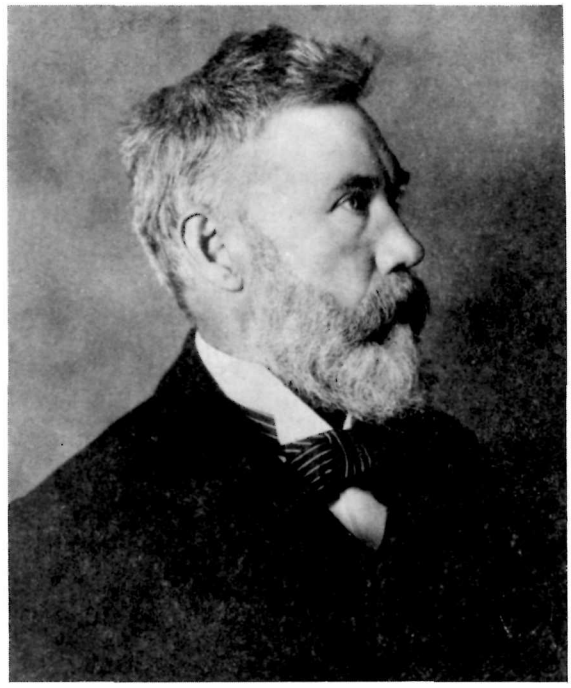
To another acquaintance:

> You may know a good Liberal member who would look after Earl's case and try to have him put on. This method is more rapid, when he comes well recommended he is not so likely to be turned away.[10]

T.W. Fuller was hired neither for his experience in the field nor for obvious political connections. He was taken on before his 20th birthday in 1885, having some years of unspecified apprenticeship under his architect father and limited practical experience in the construction industry, but no formal training.[11] What this young recruit did have was an impeccable contact in the branch, for the incumbent chief architect in 1885 was his father. Nor was the senior Fuller the last chief architect to find branch employment for his son: 14 years later David Ewart placed his son Henry in a clerk of works position in the Yukon Territory.[12] The evidence in both cases points to something less than a family compact; nonetheless the appointments of both T.W. Fuller and Henry E. Ewart did take place at a time when successive inquiries into the federal civil service were stirring up - among members of parliament at least - certain concerns about bureaucratic patronage and nepotism in the civil service.[13] "Nothing," declared one member in 1918, "is more repugnant to public sentiment than the filling of public offices with men connected by blood relationships or by marriage with some particular group of officials."[14]

Although the architectural training and experience that Ewart - and to a certain extent Hewitt - brought to the Chief Architect's Branch was by no means exceptional, the case of T.W. Fuller, whose training took place largely within that office, is likely more representative of its prevailing hiring and training practices. When questioned on the subject of hiring before the third Royal Commission on the Civil Service in 1892 and by the fourth in 1907, Deputy Minister Gobeil explained that although a few formally trained engineers and architects had been hired with degrees and diplomas from McGill University, the University of Toronto, the Royal Military College, and the Polytechnic School of Montreal, the majority of technical staff - especially in the Chief Architect's Branch - had been in the department for years, having entered as relatively young men and gained their specialized training there.[15] So strong indeed was the emphasis placed on in-house training under Thomas Fuller that it developed into something resembling the kind of apprenticeship found in contemporary architectural firms. The growth of this particular system of training is more thoroughly examined in the following chapter.

The manner of promotion within the branch



2 David Ewart, chief architect, 1897-1914. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 129119.*)

reflected both the technical orientation of the office and its interest in training. Before 1906 promotions, like appointments in the civil service, were generally left to the good will of the minister. Again, the Chief Architect's Branch did not follow the standard practice of using examinations for the purpose of recommending promotions, preferring instead to recommend advancement in individual cases either to reflect an increase in duties or to give reward for "past meritorious services."[16] As long as the branch experienced a general pattern of growth, recruits gained a varied experience and in many cases were trained to fill, eventually, newly specialized architectural positions.

As in hiring, however, political influence could play a part in promotions, and did, once again the case of D.A. Hewitt. Hewitt's correspondence reveals that although he recognized his future at Public Works to be in the hands of Chief Architect Ewart, he was not above drawing on his political contacts for their renewed support when promotion time came around. In 1908 Hewitt wrote once again to his patron Curry:

> Do you think that my friends at Toronto who named me for the position I fill could use their influence with the Minister to have my name put in the next class?[17]

Not in every promotion were party politics so obviously at work. The fact that David Ewart, for instance, was initially hired in 1871 under a Conservative government and promoted to the position of chief architect under a Liberal one reduces the probability that political friends intervened on his behalf. Nor in T.W. Fuller's case did the benefits of coming from a "good D.P.W. family" dramatically catapult him to a senior position in the branch. Like his co-workers Fuller underwent a long period of branch apprenticeship, spending 18 years as a draughtsman before being termed an architect and entrusted with the supervision of a draughting staff of his own.[18]

Until 1908, the technical personnel in the Chief Architect's Branch were classified and paid according to the standard civil service scale of clerkships. Wages in that branch in the mid-1880s ranged from a salary of $3000 paid to the chief architect and $1500 to his assistant, to between $1100 and $550 to various draughtsmen.[19] A decade later the chief architect's salary had reached $3200, that of his assistant $2500, and those of his draughting staff between $2200 and $800.[20] In general, it worked out that the temporary staff, who formed the core of the draughting office, were paid from $1.50 to $3.00 a day, a pay scale that was maintained, with some exceptions, until 1906.[21] Theoretically, temporary staff salaries were not to exceed the minimum paid to the lowest class of clerks, but once again exceptions were made to accommodate the special technical nature of the work performed.[22]

Although the deputy minister had cause to remark in 1907 that he knew of architects in private practice whose monthly fees exceeded the annual salary of the department's highest paid architect, he was also willing to add that only "some" of his men ever left the branch to take more lucrative positions elsewhere.[23] The continuity of branch personnel evident in staff lists from one year to the next confirms the deputy minister's remarks that branch staff tended, for whatever reasons, to stay put. Certainly too, the long public service careers of men like David Ewart and T.W. Fuller provide models of this pattern, for each retired from the chief architect's post after more than 40 years of branch service.

In seeming contradiction to their example of lifelong service was the fact that Ewart, Fuller, and most of their colleagues were deemed "temporary" employees through much of their careers. Of course, the classification was largely an administrative dodge. Freed of a number of restrictions imposed by the Civil Service Act, the chief architect was able to hire "temporary" staff as he required them and keep them on for as long as the workload justified.[24] What in fact emerged was a quasi-permanent body of technical employees who, once taken on, might benefit from varied training, gradual promotion, and for some, a lifelong architectural career in the civil service. David Ewart, for example, remained on the list of temporary employees for 25 years. It required his appointment as chief architect in 1897 to put an end to a quarter century of "temporary" service.

The phenomenon of a large number of temporary employees in the civil service was identified as early as 1868 to be a potential area of administrative abuse,[25] and by 1907 it was said that fully 50% of the federal civil service was temporary in status.[26] Whenever the subject was broached in the House of Commons, the technical branches of the Department of Public Works were cited as the greatest manipulators of the system.[27] In 1885 Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works, addressed to the House what he considered to be the advantages of the temporary staffing system, for by then it had become a traditional hiring tool in that department under both Liberal and Conservative ministers.[28] Langevin saw temporary staff as economical - certainly more economical than having extra work done by private architects on commission - and by maintaining temporary staff from one project to the next he solved the problems of discontinuity and re-training, again at a saving to the department. Furthermore, the department was obliged to pay no social benefits, such as superannuation, to its temporary staff. When the work was extremely heavy, temporary employees could be paid for as many hours as they had actually worked, and when the work load lightened they could simply be dispensed with. Perhaps this flexibility of hiring and firing was perceived as the greatest advantage to the department. The "civil list," i.e. the number of permanent civil servants controlled by statute, was not intended to reflect sudden growth spurts. The list of temporary employees clearly was, and did.

Langevin explained to the House of 1886 that "the number of clerks in the Department of Public Works has been increasing and must necessarily increase, as the work of the Department is growing every year."[29]

Although it was a relatively easy matter to get rid of a temporary employee, dismissal of those in technical and professional positions rarely occurred. Deputy Minister Gobeil admitted that the dismissal of temporary staff always presented a difficult prospect, especially in the face of a hard-luck story. He reported in 1892 that "many reasons are used, on the score of necessity, of poverty, of being thrown on the street if they are not kept in employment, etc."[30]

In 1891 the department took a new view, administratively speaking, of its temporary staff, whereby the salaries of that staff were estimated and voted each year as a single item, rather than carved out of individual project budgets.[31] Basically, the change took place in accounting methods, but it served to give the department's temporary employees a new legitimacy and render to them an additional measure of security. Only after 1891, for example, were accurate staff lists maintained. The first of these (1892) shows just how entrenched the chief architect's temporary staff had in fact become.[32] Of 23 employees, 11 had been employed in the department for over 10 years and 8 for more than 5 years. The remaining four had all been hired prior to 1890. Two staff members, E.A. Mara and John Bowes, had worked for the department before Confederation; both continued to work for the department almost until their deaths.

Whatever the benefits of temporary clerkship, the system was not without its shortcomings for staff so employed. Basically, these men laboured under most of the restrictions applicable to permanent civil servants and enjoyed few of the benefits.[33] Although promotion was possible, there was no regular increment built into the pay scale, which in itself was not to exceed $3.00 per day. Staff paid into no superannuation fund, nor were they entitled to sick leave or holidays. Only for those employees who were able to work every day to the very end could it be said that such employment offered anything approaching job security.

The 1896 election, returning the Liberals to power after 18 years, revealed a further weakness in the position of temporary staff. It was reported in the capital that Joseph Israel Tarte, the new Minister of Public Works, wielded a stiff new broom in sweeping away the mass of political appointments he had inherited. In deflecting criticism in the House, Tarte insisted that only day labourers and temporary staff were being released.[34] After the dust had settled it could be seen that four of these dismissals applied to the Chief Architect's Branch - two draughtsmen, one clerk, and one messenger.[35] It must well have brought home to all temporary employees in the branch the vulnerability of their position at election time.

That technical employees were among those who lost their positions in 1896 indicates that the Chief Architect's Branch was by no means immune to the patronage prevalent in the civil service. That only two draughtsmen were dismissed (and one of these subsequently rehired) in a staff of over 40,[36] many of whom had been hired under Conservative governments, emphasizes that party affiliation did not alone shape branch careers. On the whole the department's requirements for specialized skills and experience cushioned technical and professional employees from the most blatant uses of political patronage.

In 1907 the fourth Royal Commission set up to investigate the civil service focused again on the abuses of temporary employment in the system. And once again the commissioners identified the Department of Public Works as one of the greatest offenders:

> In looking over the system adopted in this department it will be found that with the exception of a very few instances all the officials both at Ottawa and in the outside are not under the Civil Service Act....Your Commissioners consider that some steps should be taken to organize the large army of employees in connection with this department, many of whom have served their entire lifetime in its employ, and bring them under the definite regulations so that their employment may be considered fixed and stable.[37]

In fact, the department did take the first step towards regulating its system of temporary employment in 1907 by classifying many of its temporary employees - including 37 in the Chief Architect's Branch - so that they would receive regular salaries rather than hourly wages.[38] An Amendment to the Civil Service Act was passed the following year; under its


3 Staff of the Chief Architect's Branch, 1907. All officers pictured, including Assistant Chief Architect Wright, were at this time classified "temporary." (*Courtesy: Department of Public Works.*) 1, R.C. Wright, Assistant Chief Architect; 2, S. Adams; 3, J.B. Lamb; 4, J.A. Thompson; 5, J. Kennedy; 6, J.G. Dionne; 7, C.H. Graham; 8, D.A. Hewitt; 9, H. Sweatman; 10, C.D. Sutherland; 11, J.A. Ferguson; 12, J.A. Bain; 13, J. Foulis; 14, W.A. Beaton; 15, P.A. Lefort; 16, A. Dubois; 17, C. Baudry; 18, R. Dawson; 19, T.W. Fuller; 20, A. Weeks.

terms those employees classified were finally recognized as permanent civil servants, and as such were introduced to the benefits of holidays, sick leave, superannuation, and regular promotions.[39]

With respect to many aspects of hiring, pay, and advancement, the technical and professional staff of the Chief Architect's Branch before 1908 occupied something of a special place in the federal civil service. In other respects, however, the day-to-day lot of these employees was very much that of the average contemporary civil servant. As federal employees, the branch's architects and draughtsmen were expected to work from 9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. 5 days a week, and 9:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on Saturdays - except during sessions of Parliament.[40] By the 1890s the principle of a longer day, with an hour allowed for lunch, seems to have emerged.[41] Prior to that employees were expected to eat at their desks or to request individually the privilege of going to lunch. Even under the system of allowing a general lunch hour, a sufficient number of employees ate at their desks that the office was never left unattended.[42]

Theoretically each deputy minister was responsible for the attendance of all employees in his department's Ottawa offices. In fact a system of attendance books was used whereby all employees were required to sign in one book on their arrival each morning and their departure each evening, and in another if they left the office at any time during the day.[43] In the case of temporary employees the branch chief signed a monthly certificate of attendance, an account generally considered difficult to render, for he was not necessarily in daily contact with each and every staff member.[44] Furthermore, the attendance book system had an acknowledged weakness in that a staff member could disappear for hours out of every day, as long as he signed in and out every morning and night. After 1879 a senior

architect was placed in charge of the draughting room. Among his other duties he was expected to catch major abuses of the attendance regulations as well as instances of misbehaviour, and pass them on to the chief architect.[45] Where the abuse warranted, the incident was reported to the deputy minister[46] or even to the minister, as happened in the case of one clerk in the Chief Architect's Branch whom the deputy minister happened to observe on the street during working hours "too drunk to walk alone."[47]

The Ottawa staffs of the first three chief architects, Scott, Fuller, and Ewart, were accommodated in the West Block of the Parliament Buildings.[48] Under the pressure of insufficient government office space in the city, the chief architect's office was located one floor below the draughting office, rather than next to it.[49] Under these less than ideal arrangements[50] the chief architect came to rely both on his architect in charge of the draughting office and on the telephone. As early as 1887 Fuller complained of great inconvenience caused to his operations by a telephone breakdown of several days' duration between his office and the draughting room.[51]

The character of the chief architect's office in the late 19th and early 20th century was a curious blend of the professional and the bureaucratic. On one hand, staff members observed in their daily rounds the minutiae of civil service rules and regulations. On the other, they were part of a large and active architectural office, organized and operated along the lines of private practice.

## TRAINING AND SUPERVISING THE BRANCH ARCHITECT

The development in this period of a training or apprenticeship program within the Chief Architect's Branch distinguished its operations from routine government workings in a very significant way. A steady growth in design work created the need for additional assistance in the first place. Although the chief architect in no way influenced the government's requirements for public buildings, he was sufficiently autonomous in terms of the technical operations of his branch to provide the kind of experienced professional guidance necessary to undertake and supervise the architectural training of junior staff. Both Scott and Fuller had come to the department with a measure of private experience behind them, and so brought a professional perspective to bear on matters of recruitment, training, and internal organization. Most important of all to the branch's formation was their determination to create, train, and supervise a semi-permanent body of professionals in Ottawa, rather than to continue to rely on the designs of private architects across the country.

Any discussion of staff training necessarily raises questions about the nature and workings of authority within the branch. There is a prevailing perception among some observers and cataloguers of public works plans and drawings that the work of the Chief Architect's Branch was for the most part an extension of the chief architect himself, and its staff, therefore, his personal assistants.[1] Although the title "Chief Architect's Branch" implies, quite appropriately, the primacy of the chief architect, in no way should it suggest that the chief single-handedly supervised an amorphous mass of rank-and-file draughtsmen. To the contrary, it appears that the branch operated as a stepped hierarchy wherein a number of officers played supervisory roles. The staff list of 1892, for instance, indicates that in addition to the chief architect and the assistant chief architect, one senior architect was placed in charge of the draughting room, at least five other architects bore specialized designations of some kind, and a further three subordinate technical staff members were named as assistants to one or another of these five.[2] The evidence then points to an organization where recruits would have been supervised and influenced by a number of senior staff.

Although the chief architect had the opportunity to delegate aspects of supervision and training, the real impact of his authority on design staff at various levels is difficult to ascertain. Quite obviously the degree of influence, involvement, or interference of any

one chief architect on his draughtsmen was as much a function of the man's personality as of the nature of the office. The designation in 1879 of a chief draughtsman, later called architect in charge of the draughting room, would certainly have freed Chief Architects Scott, Fuller, and Ewart of a certain amount of practical design responsibility if they so chose. In fact, all three chose to design and supervise at least one major project during their tenure, a decision that would have brought them into immediate contact with at least part of their draughting staffs over a certain period.

A recent chief architect E.A. Gardner (1952-63) discussed his 20th century predecessors in office with a similar view to their varying involvement in practical design problems.[3] One of these, T.W. Fuller (1927-36), despite the almost completely administrative orientation of his office in that period, maintained for himself a few specific design projects[4] as well as an abiding personal interest in day-to-day draughting details. On the other hand, C.G. Brault, one of Fuller's successors (1947-52), rarely involved himself in design details.

When testimony like Gardner's is not available, the difficulty in determining the chief's influence on the work of his staff is sometimes acute. Thomas Fuller did impose demonstrably careful supervision over the various local architects working for the department on commission,[5] but the corresponding lines of responsibility running between Fuller and his Ottawa staff architects are essentially undocumented. All traces of the verbal instructions, memoranda, rough sketches, and telephone calls which would have formed networks of internal communication have completely evaporated, and with them the information necessary to map out operations accurately in Ottawa under Fuller.

One potentially interesting and possibly unique relationship between chief architect and draughtsman is the case of the two Fullers, for the branch apprenticeship of Thomas W. Fuller furthered training already begun privately under his father. The uniqueness of Thomas W.'s position in the branch is purely speculative, however, for neither public documents nor private sources reveal details of the master-apprentice or the father-son relationship between the two during 11 years shared at the branch. Interesting in the light of this gap is the fact that there is evidence - both public and private - that a strong surrogate father-son relationship later developed between Chief Architect Ewart and the young Fuller.[6] Ewart may or may not have provided this kind of father figure to all of his up-and-coming young architects.

T.W. Fuller's formative years with the department provide an example of branch training which is representative in a number of ways. In the first place Fuller was part of a group of four draughtsmen (along with J.B. Lamb, F.-X. Paquet, and L.F. Taylor) who were identified as a distinct group in 1892. All had entered the department before 1886[7] and by 1892 the four were "engaged in preparation of Contract Plans etc. from sketches and instructions."[8] They progressed at different rates and at different salaries, but between 1900 and 1906 all gained the designation "architect."[9] Second, the outline of Fuller's apprenticeship is very readily followed. It peaked or at least enjoyed a marked upswing in his posting to the Yukon Territory in 1899, at which date he was clearly deemed capable of independently handling the supervision of a major design project. Third, Fuller's early draughting portfolio is traceable, thus providing an idea of the building types with which one draughtsman was associated.

Important to the development of a training program within the branch was the fact that a wide range of public works fell within the purview of the chief architect. For that reason an architect in training could be exposed to designs and specifications for buildings varying widely in function and in scale. A selection of drawings produced by T.W. Fuller between his appointment in 1885 and his departure for Dawson in 1899 illustrates this kind of eclectic training. Fuller's early work is relatively easy to identify, as his cipher "T.W.F." is unequivocable and can in fact be verified on later plans. From a perusal of plans found in the department's Main Estimates between 1885 and 1899, Fuller's initials appear on plans draughted for the following projects:[10]

St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, Que. (1888)
Post Office, Gananoque, Ont. (1889)
Inland Revenue, Customs, and Post Office, Brampton, Ont. (1890)
Inland Revenue, Customs, and Post Office, Goderich, Ont. (1890)
Lieutenant Governor's Residence, Regina, N.W.T. (1890)
Infantry Barracks, London, Ont. (1892)

Inland Revenue, Customs, and Post Office, Orillia, Ont. (1893)
Post Office, Farnham, Que. (1894)
Fort Osborne, Winnipeg, Man. (1894)
Court House and Northwest Mounted Police Quarters, Moosejaw, N.W.T. (1894)
Post Office, Smith's Falls, Ont. (1895)
Court House, Inland Revenue, Customs, and Post Office, Lethbridge, N.W.T. (1895)
Lazaretto, Tracadie, N.B. (1896)

It is worth reiterating that the preceding list is evidence of T.W. Fuller's involvement in, not responsibility for, the projects listed. One might suspect, however, that during the years immediately preceding his departure for the Yukon in 1899 Fuller's responsibility for any assigned project was greater than it had been at the beginning of his apprenticeship. Although by no means an inclusive inventory, the list does outline a useful cross section of T.W. Fuller's early draughting work. If Fuller's experience was in fact representative of branch training generally, one may conclude that branch apprenticeship exposed young architects to a wide variety of design projects.

In addition to his technical work, every draughtsman gained experience in the range of administrative and supervisory duties that generally fell to the chief architect. The preparation of estimates[11] and the verification of estimates and accounts sent in from the field[12] were all part of the process of plan preparation - whether for a new structure or for additions and repairs. Consultation with the client department took place on an official level, but preparation of the numerous interim sketches and plans for this purpose seems to have fallen to junior staff.[13] There is evidence of a certain amount of unspecified business travel on the part of several draughtsmen,[14] probably for the purpose of consultation in person with the working officers of the client department, or for the on-site examination of estimates and accounts of works in progress.[15] Clearly on record also is the administration by at least some subordinate branch staff of accounts for fuel, lighting, water, and rent for all public buildings.[16]

Although apprenticeship in the Chief Architect's Branch exposed recruits to a variety of tasks, both technical and administrative, advancement in terms of status and salary was painfully slow. Fuller, Lamb, Paquet, and Taylor worked on an average 20 years as branch draughtsmen before they were classified as architects. By contrast, the Ontario Association of Architects recommended that applicants have spent 10 years in a private practice before being admitted as members of the association.[17] At the same time the Architectural Eighteen Club of Toronto proposed that the association recognize something closer to 15 years of combined coursework and practical experience as an adequate architectural training.[18]

How this training in public architecture compared in content with apprenticeship in private practice is difficult to judge, for little research has been done on late 19th century architectural training in Canada, whether by formal schooling or apprenticeship. Of certain interest then are Thomas Fuller's remarks to the Royal Commission on the civil service in 1892, wherein he attempted to compare the work of his branch with that undertaken in private practice.[19] Although Fuller did not discuss training *per se*, his brief comparison of public and private practice is instructive insofar as one supposes that general methods of operation reflected training opportunities in both cases. Fuller's testimony revealed variances in four specific areas of operation: preparation of drawings, consultation with clients, superintendence of works, and supervision of accounts. In each case the difference was merely one of emphasis rather than direction, suggesting that operations in the public and private sector were not completely dissimilar.

On the subject of draughting requirements Chief Architect Fuller claimed that the sheer number of drawings requested of his office for any given project was far greater than would be produced in private practice. The duplicate sets of drawings needed for the network of construction sites across the country were prepared and supervised in Ottawa. In addition to those drawings filed at headquarters, used on site, and sent to the client department itself, all departmental returns to the House of Commons on matters relating to public building required an additional set. Examination, purchase, or transfer of property, all of which were handled by the Chief Architect's Branch in its capacity as government realtor, necessitated the drawing up of plans too, as did the steadily increasing business of additions and repairs to existing government buildings.

Similarly, Fuller felt that it was in the very nature of public design that consultation took up a relatively large proportion of his

staff's time, for the need to deal with the client's departmental officials in Ottawa as well as with its on-site agents and officers who would be accommodated in the new or altered facility added considerably to that aspect of public works planning and design.

Responsibilities of the Department of Public Works included the maintenance and repair as well as construction of public buildings. The relative importance accorded to the supervision of construction and construction accounts in the branch was very much a function of this aspect of the Public Works mandate. No architectural firm would have found itself designer of a building and subsequently its concierge and property manager, but just such an anomaly marked the operation of this department.[20] Fuller observed as a consequence that his Ottawa architectural staff was expected to supervise the army of workmen required to maintain and repair the large number of government structures in the national capital. Outside the capital this function was normally performed by local architects hired on commission, but it was not out of the question that Ottawa staff be sent out to superintend works where no local architect was available. Furthermore, Fuller pointed out that the examination of hundreds of rent and utility accounts for the nation's public buildings fell to his staff.

Fuller's evidence on these points of comparison should be regarded in the context of his audience. The Royal Commission appointed in 1891 "to enquire into certain matters relating to the Civil Service of Canada" was known to be hunting out specific instances of inefficiency and abuse.[21] Neither the wording of the commissioners' questions to the chief architect nor Fuller's replies suggested that the Chief Architect's Branch was a selected target, but the spirit of Fuller's testimony was certainly that of an apologia. In that light, it is understandable that distinctions were drawn that would reveal a branch workload relatively more demanding than that found in private practice.

In concluding his testimony to the Royal Commission, Thomas Fuller made a statement that is especially interesting for what it revealed about staff commitment in the civil service. The commissioners had already been assured that the work of the department had tripled in the previous 10 years and that the department's technical work was well supervised and highly efficient.[22] Nevertheless, when they questioned Fuller on his methods of judging whether there was sufficient work to warrant keeping on the full complement of technical staff, the chief architect replied:

> "I do not think the number of staff is at all out of the way. You will not get persons, at least some persons, to work as hard for the Government as for a private individual."[23]

Fuller's qualifying phrase "or at least some persons" might well be taken in the context of earlier testimony wherein he admitted that his staff varied "very much in their ability. You find that in every office. The skilled work is done by a few."[24] Fuller may have based both remarks upon clear distinctions in technical status, i.e. upon differences between the attitudes of clerks and copy draughtsmen on the one hand, and draughtsmen and architects[25] on the other. Even so, his assumption - drawn, one would think, from his experience in both private practice and public works - about relative staff commitment in the two areas is worthy of notice.

As branch architects in training in the 1890s were exclusively classified as temporary employees, certain aspects of their lot as such are worth reviewing in the context of staff training. Both the chief architect and his deputy minister recognized, for instance, that the branch compared unfavourably with its private counterparts in the poor pay and painfully inadequate benefits that it offered its draughtsmen as temporary clerks.[26] Still the long apprenticeship did offer the relative security of continuous employment and the eventual achievement of professional status. Deputy Minister Gobeil admitted in 1907 that many of his branch-trained architects would have had great difficulty at that point in their careers in breaking away from the branch and facing a competitive business world full of younger men of formal training and strong professional connections. Confessed Gobeil: "Not one of these men would remain in the branch if this were not so."[27]

One can easily imagine, though, that talk of leaving the branch and setting up private practice was common among the staff. In 1888 J.W.H. Watts wrote to his friend Homer Watson that he hated the office and that he was seriously thinking of giving up his government job.[28] He further suggested that draughtsman Taylor was similarly unhappy. In fact it took Watts another 9 years, and Taylor 18, to make the move each talked of and to

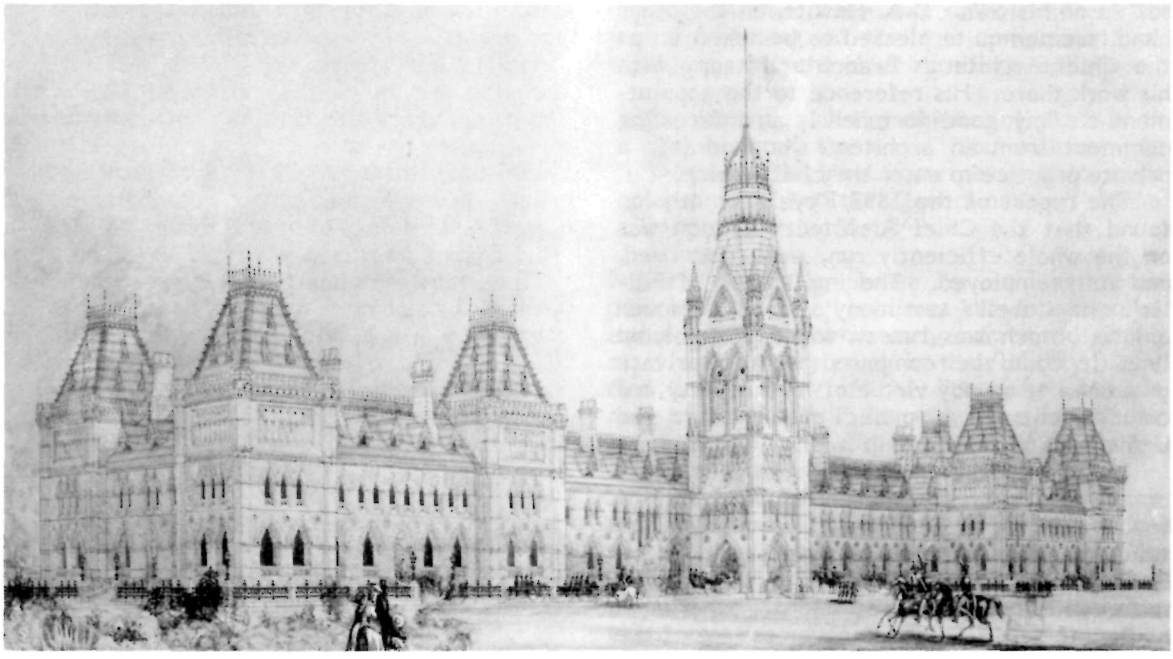
set up on his own. D.A. Hewitt, on the other hand, seemed quite pleased to be taken on at the Chief Architect's Branch and happy with his work there. His reference to the appointment as "my good fortune" is an interesting comment from an architect who had left a private practice to enter the civil service.[29]

The report of the 1892 Royal Commission found that the Chief Architect's Branch was on the whole efficiently run, well supervised, and fully employed. The implication of Fuller's and Gobeil's testimony is that inasmuch as the branch was run on sound professional lines it could be compared with a private practice. It was by virtue of its authority and commitments as a public agency that the branch was set apart.

It was hardly the case, however, that branch architects in this period were out of touch with the professional community. Certainly the first three chief architects, Scott, Fuller, and Ewart, had come to the department with previous professional experience and contacts. Theirs was never the lot of the next generation of government architects whose entire design output might be shrouded in departmental anonymity. Instead, each of these three architects was associated with the design of at least one specific government building of note, and was in this way open to the criticism and acclaim of the Canadian architectural community. Indeed, as charter members of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts both Scott and Fuller deposited as diploma drawings a design for a federal structure in Ottawa.[30]

A number of branch architects actively participated in various professional associations, locally, provincially, and nationally. In 1889 Chief Architect Fuller was elected the first president of the Ottawa Institute of Architects,[31] of which staff architects David Ewart, John Bowes, and J.W.H. Watts also became members. In the same year Ewart and Watts were among those responsible for the founding of the Ontario Association of Architects.[32] At the 1891 annual meeting of the O.A.A. Ewart and W.R. Billings, the branch's superintendent of plans for the heating of government buildings, prepared and gave a paper entitled "Water Heating in Dominion Public Buildings During the Past Ten Years," and at the following annual meeting Billings delivered a second paper, this time attributed to Thomas Fuller and entitled "Ventilation in Public Buildings."[33] Not until 1907 was a national association created. Of the architects involved in the founding and early activities of the Architectural Institute of Canada (later the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada) only Chief Architect Ewart

4 Thomas Seaton Scott's diploma work submitted to the Royal Canadian Academy ca. 1881: "Design for Tower, West Block, Departmental Building, Ottawa." (*National Gallery of Canada.*)



5 Thomas Fuller's diploma work submitted to the Royal Canadian Academy, 1883: "Parliament Buildings, Ottawa." (*National Gallery of Canada.*)

represented the Department of Public Works, although two other members, J.W.H. Watts and L.F. Taylor, had been formerly associated with the branch.[34] On the whole, it very much appears that professional associations attracted the attention of a relatively small number of branch architects, and that the same individuals were involved at every level.

The changing role of branch architects in the professional community bears further study. Especially worth pursuing is the question of to what extent, if at all, the relationship between government architects and their counterparts in private practice was a sympathetic one. Certainly the trade journal *Canadian Architect and Builder* was known to criticize the branch both for specific designs and for its exclusion of private architects from public design opportunities.[35] By the 20th century an active lobby of professional associations at the provincial level as well as the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada gained strength in their opposition to that monopoly. When the First World War heralded the beginning of hard times for the profession the issue gained new urgency, but the branch held firm in its preference for in-house design.[36]

One way in which architects and draughtsmen in the Chief Architect's Branch did keep abreast of developments in the architectural and building fields was through professional and trade periodicals. A glimpse into the department's reference library under Fuller and Ewart would have revealed the following titles in professional and trade journals:[37]

*American Architect* (1878)*
*The Architect* (1887)*
*Architectural Record* (1901)
*Architectural Review* (1901)
*Architecture of the Columbian Exhibition* (1895)
*Arts and Architecture, the Columbian Exhibition* (1894)
*Beautiful Britain* (1895)
*Boston American Architect and Building News* (1899)
*British Architect* (1884)*
*The Builder* (1874)*
*Building News* (1880)*
*Canadian Architect and Builder* (1890)*
*Canadian Engineer* (1888)*
*Chicago Cement and Engineering* (1900)
*Electrical World* (1899)
*Electrician* (1899)

6 A colonial residence pictured in the January 1900 issue of *Scientific American: Building Edition*. (*Scientific American: Building Edition.*)

*Engineer* (1899)
*Engineering* (1899)
*Engineering Magazine* (1899)
*Engineering News* (1899)*
*The Fair* (1895)
*Heating and Ventilating* (1900)
*London England and Engineering Magazine* (1900)
*New York Engineering Magazine* (1900)
*Scientific American* (1899)

As well as its subscriptions, the branch maintained collections of both trade catalogues and design books, assigning the necessary library duties to one of the staff architects.[38]

The influence of trade journals and design books on their readers is generally difficult to ascertain. What inspiration if any departmental architects drew from the publications available to them is a good question, worthy of pursuit on its own. One clear cut though somewhat insignificant case of periodical readership can be related. T.W. Fuller was despatched in 1899 from the relatively secure and tightly supervised surroundings of the West Block draughting room to the very real world of Dawson, an overnight hive of construction activity on a treacherous bed of permafrost. By the time Fuller arrived, Dawson regarded itself as a Canadian city with a promising future, and so harboured certain pretentions about the government buildings he was to design. As the federal resident architect, Fuller was given a great deal more design responsibility than he had ever experienced in his 14-year apprenticeship. In one of his earliest letters from Dawson to Chief Architect Ewart in Ottawa, he requested copies of both *Scientific American: Building Edition* and a work entitled *Up-to-date Architecture*. He assured Ewart that these contained "just the kind of stuff they want here."[39] It is actually possible to draw some interesting visual comparisons between the Commissioner's Residence, one of Fuller's Dawson buildings designed in 1901, and some of the grander frame residences for which plans and elevations were regularly published in *Scientific American: Building Edition* at the turn of the century. Any conclusions about particular stylistic derivatives in Fuller's Dawson work would be premature, for although Fuller was generally familiar with these periodicals, there is no evidence that any issues reached him in Dawson.

Although a number of branch architects maintained professional contacts, or at least

7 The newly completed Commissioner's Residence in Dawson, Yukon, designed by T.W. Fuller and constructed under his supervision in 1901. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 123451.*)

kept in touch with developments in the field, few had real occasion to practice once they were on departmental staff. There is only scant evidence of staff members taking on private commissions. John Bowes[40] in Ottawa and J.P.M. Lecourt[41] in Winnipeg did engage in some private design work during their lengthy D.P.W. careers. Private activity of this kind among the chief architect's staff had obviously reached certain proportions by 1891, for in that year local Ottawa architects lodged a formal complaint to the minister. Both the chief achitect and the chief engineer were ordered to instruct their staffs that in the future they were to take on no work in their professional capacity - even outside office hours - which would in any way bring them into competition with local architects and engineers.[42] Initially, the memo seems to have been obeyed to the letter, but by the turn of the century its effect was clearly wearing thin. Shortly after his appointment to the branch in 1900 D.A. Hewitt took on a private job in Ottawa supervising for a Toronto architect. He urged silence on the subject in both his partner and his client:

> From the departmental clerks I learn we are supposed not to do work upon the side. However be that as it may I have received no official notification and it does not interfere with my duties.[43]

Correspondence of a year later, however, reveals Hewitt to be toeing the party line on the subject and stating that "from professional courtesy, Departmental Architects do not enter into the realm of practicing architects."[44] It may simply be that he found himself too busy with other interests to risk taking on further private commissions; it is certainly the case that subsequent references to any work on the side dwindle considerably. At the same time Hewitt was involved in another, apparently legitimate, application of his professional services outside the office, as each week he instructed an evening mechanics' class in architectural drawing.[45]

T.W. Fuller also took on some private work after 1900. He accepted a commission with the Yukon Territorial Government while he was resident architect in Dawson,[46] and seems as well to have provided designs for St. Paul's Anglican Church in Dawson. It is hardly the case here, though, that such private practice in Dawson could be construed as a threat to an established professional community, as similar commissions in Ottawa had been. In any event, Fuller kept his hand in private practice for a short time after his return to Ottawa in 1902,[47] but within a few years a more attractive salary and, possibly, a heavier workload discouraged further moonlighting.

T.W. Fuller's 3 years' work in Dawson provides an interesting, if indirect, commentary on branch training. During his term as resident architect Fuller single-handedly managed the design and construction of five federal buildings, a project worth nearly a million dollars.[48] Working with a very small staff he handled the entire process of consultation with federal departments, design preparation, supervision of construction under day labour, subcontracting where necessary, and ordering and accounting for all building materials. The sudden responsibility for such a large project seems to have come at first as something of a shock, for Fuller initially reported from Dawson that "during the past 3 weeks I have never worked so hard in my life, doing the work of an ordinary carpenter as well as boss, from 7 in the morning till 6 at night and after supper till late into the night."[49] Although the completed project was a good deal more expensive than the department had originally forseen, and Fuller's inexperience with northern building conditions resulted in some costly errors in judgement, his Dawson work was on the whole a credit to his department and pleasing to his clients. One may conclude that his apprenticeship - 14 years of low pay and low status - had in fact adequately prepared him for this major undertaking.

On the whole, Fuller's career provides a representative example of branch experience. Neither his long apprenticeship - twice as long as his own father's had been in England[50] - nor his 53-year career with Public Works was exceptional: Paquet and Lamb, two of Fuller's contemporaries whose training paralleled his own, retired after 38 and 48 years of service respectively; Taylor, the fourth member of the draughting group identified in 1892, left the department for private practice after a relatively "brief" career of 26 years.[51] Likewise, Fuller's assignment at the end of his apprenticeship to a specialized area of design - he was placed in charge of D.P.W.'s military construction program in 1904 and held the position until 1918 - seems to have represented the normal course of branch training and career development. Of Fuller's draughting room contemporaries, Taylor was assigned supervision of the draughting room in 1897;[52]

Paquet became the branch's architect in charge of fittings, a specialization he held until his retirement in 1921; only Lamb appears not to have so specialized, but was superannuated as a junior architect in 1921. (Specialization within the branch is discussed at greater length in the following chapter.)

As Fuller's branch experience to 1918 was largely that of a rank-and-file draughtsman and a staff architect, it is difficult to know which aspects of his training groomed him for the position of chief architect. To some extent his personal star rose under Chief Architect David Ewart: certainly the Yukon assignment presented an opportunity out of the ordinary, as indeed his subsequent charge of military buildings during a pre-war period of military expansion may have done. In 1918 when the position of assistant chief architect was vacated, the deputy minister of Public Works considered T.W. Fuller as his "obvious" choice in filling it.[53] It is difficult to assess the relative impact of a design talent, proven administrative abilities, and a reputable family name in Fuller's appointment as assistant chief architect. Although he was not the most senior architect in the branch in 1918, his more than 30 years of branch training and practice suggest that experience played a significant part in his appointment. Once serving as assistant chief architect (1918-27), Fuller was more or less assured the position of chief, for the poor health of the incumbent, R.C. Wright, allowed him numerous opportunities to act on Wright's behalf.[54] Certainly the duties and qualifications drawn up to describe the chief architect's position in 1927 seem again to have been designed to fit a candidate of vast branch experience: specifically, the position required a total of 30 years experience as well as a "thorough knowledge of and extensive experience in departmental administration."[55] As senior architect and second in command, with over 40 years branch service, Fuller quite predictably won the position.

Fuller's appointment as chief architect in 1927 brought to full flower the policy initiated by T.S. Scott and carried out under both

**8** Thomas W. Fuller, chief architect, 1927-36. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 129120.*)

Thomas Fuller and David Ewart. These chief architects had invested in the training of a pool of government architects who in turn made public building design their lifelong careers. Under subsequent chief architects of the 20th century, branch training did not continue to play a formative role, for formal schooling had replaced apprenticeship as the approved method of professional training. For his part, however, T.W. Fuller did perpetuate one aspect of the in-house design policies of Scott, Fuller, and Ewart: until there were compelling reasons for doing otherwise[56] he eschewed both competition and commissioned work for public building designs. Instead, he relied on plans drawn up in his own branch. It was entirely appropriate that such confidence in the departmental design process was central to the policy of the first chief architect to have been trained exclusively in the Department of Public Works.

## SPECIALIZATION WITHIN THE BRANCH

The issue of design responsibility is central to a study of the Chief Architect's Branch. Although it can be argued that some chief architects exerted considerable stylistic control over the body of public architecture designed during their terms, it does not follow that the designs for all public buildings were the products of the chief architect of the day.

The model of the chief architect as "designer-in-chief," individually responsible for the design of every public building constructed during his term, has already been raised and discussed briefly in the light of staff training and supervision. This model is commonly accepted for a number of reasons. In the first place, the legislative description of the position clearly places ultimate design responsibility in one set of hands: "The Chief Engineer or the Chief Architect shall prepare maps, plans and estimates for all public works which are about to be constructed, altered or repaired."[1] Second, the vast majority of plans on file for public buildings do carry as identification only the name of the chief architect, a convention that superficially confirms the designer-in-chief theory. Third, it is not unreasonable to assume that the chief architect was in a position to determine - directly and indirectly - the kinds of designs produced in his branch.

This final approach to the role of the chief architect has been pursued in a scholarly piece of research by architectural historian Christopher Thomas. Thomas' thesis attributes to Chief Architect Thomas Fuller a singularly powerful influence on federal building designs - specifically those for post offices and customs houses - achieved during his term. Thomas has traced distinct continuity in the style of federal architecture executed between 1882 and 1896, and has concluded that "even though all of the designs cannot have come from Fuller's own hand, they followed spatial and structural pattens and style motifs that must have been set by him."[2]

Firm stylistic control maintained by one individual over the design of the nation's public architecture is an attractive hypothesis, and a difficult one to disprove. Departmental files, however, bring to the issue a particularly useful body of evidence from which one can identify individual architectural personalities working in a number of specialized design capacities. The presence of these individuals - hitherto unrecognized - weakens considerably the likelihood that the branch operated as a design autocracy.

Anonymity surrounding departmental architects is difficult to crack. For instance, all specifications and all correspondence appeared in the name of the chief architect. Plans were equally anonymous, their actual design sources a considerable mystery. Annual reports of the Department of Public Works referred to project architects by name only in cases of private commissions; all other designs were identified simply as "departmental." Only in some periods do files or correspondence make it realistically possible to associate a specific branch with a given project;[3] and then the problem remains of ascertaining the precise nature of that association.

In the face of this seemingly impermeable curtain of "departmental design" one begins to see how the relatively simple assumption might be made that the chief architect designed everything himself, or alternatively, that a local supervising architect was responsible for each of the works erected in his city, for these are often the only two names ever publicly associated with public works projects.

Nonetheless, the seemingly monolithic body of departmental designers can in fact be broken down and examined. In the last quarter of the 19th century the Chief Architect's Branch grew in size, experience, and design self-sufficiency. During the terms of Scott and Fuller a stable core of professionals was hired and trained in Ottawa, so that by 1890 nearly all public design emerged from the branch's own draughting room. These developments brought about a marked increase in specialization within the staff, as individuals were channelled into specific design duties, or the design of specific kinds of structures. An examination of these areas of specialization should shed some light on instances of individual achievement under the very general umbrella of "departmental design."

As early as 1871 when Scott undertook to organize the office that was to become the Chief Architect's Branch, there were already distinct signs of specialization within the ranks of his staff. In setting out his requirements to the deputy minister, Scott requested the following:[4]

(a) a thoroughly competent head assistant

(b) a thoroughly competent draughtsman capable of measuring and "valuing" work, and of "taking out quantities"
(c) a practical draughtsman
(d) a draughtsman for ordinary work and for tracing.

In that memo, Scott indicated that he had David Ewart in mind as his "practical draughtsman." A subsequent list of temporary staff (ca. 1874) identified John Bowes, a branch architect of many years' experience, as the staff "architect and measurer." This particular list indicated a staff much expanded from Scott's original outline, but set out no other specialized architectural functions.

Several of the specialized architectural positions identifiable by the latter part of Scott's term can be traced with some variation through branch organization under Chief Architect Fuller as well. By the 1880s a fairly clear branch hierarchy had emerged. Working under the chief architect were a number of senior professionals. Commonly labelled "assistant architects," these men, almost without exception, had worked their way to this rank through long public service. Their areas of specialization were either of an operational nature, like that of the architect in charge of drawings and the draughting room, or directly related to an area of design. John Bowes, as an example of the latter, became and remained for years the architect in charge of designs for penitentiaries.

An 1879 staff list identified several specialized architectural positions.[5] The first of these was David Ewart's as assistant chief architect. Although he was not officially designated as such, Ewart clearly acted and was treated as second in command under both Scott and Fuller.[6] Files and correspondence of those chief architects give some hint of the range of duties performed by the *de facto* assistant chief. The most obvious is that Ewart acted on behalf of the chief architect during his absence.[7] Even under routine circumstances, however, there is considerable evidence of Ewart's handling a great deal of the chief architect's work.

The auditor general's accounts of branch work under Fuller showed Ewart to have travelled extensively, more so than most branch staff. On at least some of these travels Ewart was sent by the chief architect to talk over with local commissioned architects those modifications and improvements to plans suggested by the chief architect's office. In 1887 Fuller wrote to the London architectural firm of Durand and Moore on the subject of their designs for the custom house in that city:

> I also enclose elevation of Custom House showing proposed new tower. Please make another sketch or two, I think it might be improved upon. Mr. Ewart will explain any ideas when he visits London next week.[8]

In this instance, Ewart seems to have acted upon explicit instructions of the chief architect, and as his trusted envoy to the provinces.

A significant amount of correspondence addressed to the chief architect's office in the early 1890s was passed on to Ewart. In his capacity as assistant he acted on instructions from the deputy minister and the departmental secretary, examined reports and plans submitted from various sites, filed comments and reports on this material, gave estimates when requested, and answered general queries.[9]

In addition to his duties as assistant chief architect, Ewart managed the auditing of accounts for all public buildings. Up until his appointment as chief architect he was assisted in this work by staff draughtsman J.W. Jordan. Concurrently with these various administrative tasks, Ewart was assigned, or took on, individual projects designing Canadian pavilions for international expositions. The Canadian Agricultural Hall at the Paris Universal

**9** Canadian Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, designed by Assistant Chief Architect Ewart. (*The Magic City*, Historical Publishing Company, Philadelphia.)

Exhibition of 1878 was his,[10] as was the Canadian building at the World's Columbia Exposition of 1893[11] - although the latter was also attributed to Chief Architect Fuller.[12] Whatever his official designation, Ewart emerged as an active individual branch staff member long before his appointment as chief. The deputy minister singled him out in 1892 as "a man of great ability.... He is the mainstay of the chief architect's office. I never knew a man to work so much. He works day and night."[13]

A second specialized position outlined in 1879 and maintained over the years was that of chief draughtsman or, as he was later called, "architect in charge of the draughting office" or "architect in charge of drawings." The position's first incumbent was Henry James, an architect who left the branch in 1884 to become the staff architect of the new Engineer Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence.[14] James' successor to the post was an English architect and designer, J.W.H. Watts, who had entered the department some 10 years earlier.[15] It was Watts' responsibility to pass the chief architect's instructions on to the draughtsmen and to maintain branch standards in the draughting room, both in operational terms and in the production of plans and specifications.[16]

Watts appears to have been particularly suited to the duties of architect in charge of drawings. In 1881 he was elected to the new Royal Canadian Academy of Arts as a designer.[17] His diploma work, "Interior Decorations-Staircase," was a design piece, but he subsequently exhibited "architecture, furniture, decoration, stained glass, etching and landscapes in both water colour and oil."[18] "Interior Decorations-Staircase," along with the diploma pieces of the other academicians, made up the core of the first exhibit of the National Gallery of Canada, held in Ottawa on 6 March 1880.[19] Later that month the gallery's entire collection, such as it was, was passed on to the Department of Public Works for safekeeping.[20] So too was the responsibility for running the gallery: until 1910 its curators were drawn from the design staff of the Chief Architect's Branch.[21] In 1882 the gallery's first curatorial post fell to Watts, who held the position along with his draughting room duties until his dismissal from the branch in 1897.[22] At that time his duties in the draughting room as well as at the gallery[23] were passed on to his colleague L.F. Taylor, as "able and artistic architect,"[24] although not a member of the R.C.A. Taylor held both positions until he too left the branch in 1906. He was succeeded in his curatorial duties by W.R. Billings who, as the last of the gallery's curators to be appointed from the chief architect's staff, was otherwise known for his work in the heating and ventilation of public buildings.

John Bowes was identified in 1879 as the branch's superintendent of penitentiaries, a position he continued to hold until, as a "very old officer," he retired in 1892.[25] Bowes' case is an interesting one, for in carrying out his duties as architect of federal penitentiaries he seems to have been granted considerable independence. One can say with confidence that the penitentiary buildings constructed in Kingston and at St. Vincent de Paul in the 1870s and 1880s were not simply "departmental designs"; nor were they either "Scott" buildings or "Fuller" buildings. These plans were prepared, and the construction usually supervised by John Bowes himself. Files relating specifically to construction carried out at St. Vincent de Paul penitentiary, in the 1870s and 1880s for instance, show Bowes as the active architect in all phases of design preparation.[26] His example provides clear evidence of design autonomy within the branch. Late 19th century penitentiary design in Canada can be associated unequivocably with John Bowes.

The requirement expressed by Scott in 1871 for a "thoroughly competent Draughtsman capable to [sic] measure work - value same - and take out quantities etc. etc." seems to have been filled initially by Bowes and then by W.R. Billings, who was described in 1879 as "measurer, draughtsman and superintendent of outside work." By 1892 this position was occupied by John Shearer, described as an "inspector of work" and a "clerk of works engaged in the preparation of estimates and the general inspection of buildings."[27] This work was not of a design nature; rather, these architects and draughtsmen seem to have been the department's watchdogs of sites in progress, verifying accounts rendered and measuring buildings at or near completion to evaluate the building materials and methods actually used.

Even from the earliest years of branch staffing then, there were unmistakable signs of specialization, enough to challenge the impression that branch architects in this period were by and large indistinguishable. These areas of design specialty were created by the branch as needed, and closed when no longer

required. Having single-handedly brought the St. Vincent de Paul and Kingston Penitentiary design projects to near completion, John Bowes retired in 1892. When he did, the position of penitentiary designer was retired with him.[28] By the same token a new position of architect in charge of militia buildings seems to have been created for T.W. Fuller after his return to Ottawa from Dawson in 1902. D.P.W. had long been involved in the design and construction of drill halls and armouries with the Department of Militia and Defence, but the renewed interest in military matters at the turn of the century and the two subsequent decades of growth and reform in the Canadian militia[29] required of D.P.W. its own military architect and draughtsmen. At the end of the First World War Fuller's attention was transferred, naturally enough, from militia buildings to the design and construction work of the Military Hospitals Commission, taken over by the Department of Public Works in 1918.[30] In the same year Fuller was promoted to the position of assistant chief architect, and although he maintained an interest in military architecture, the specialty *per se* was not revived in the branch.

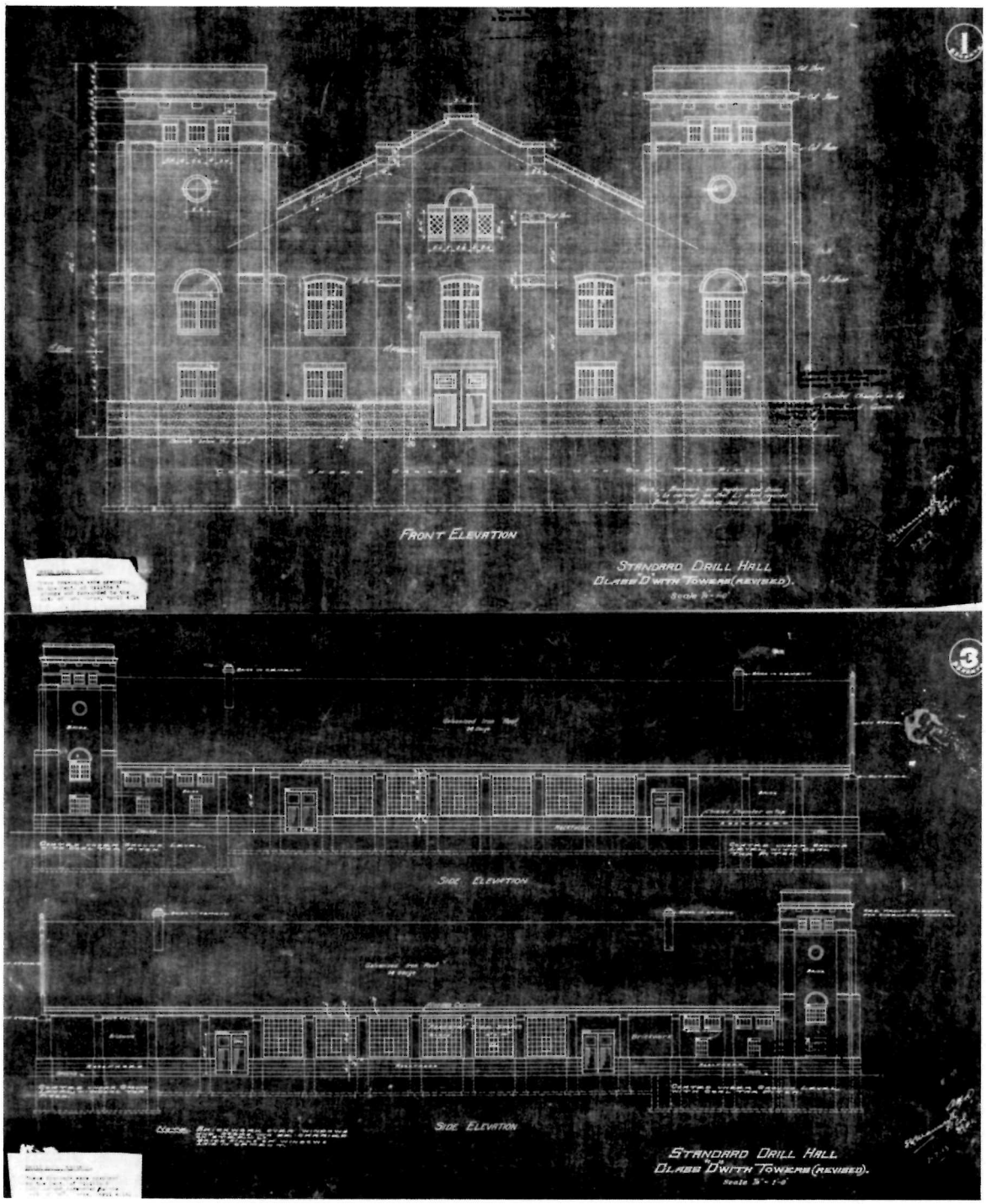
On the surface T.W. Fuller's name can be associated with military architecture in the early 20th century just as John Bowes' has been identified with penitentiaries in the late 19th. For a number of reasons, however, the two were not specialists of the same kind. Of the two, Bowes appears to have exercised greater autonomy in his design role and have overseen fewer projects. Fuller was placed in charge of a large construction program: fully twice as many drill halls and armouries were constructed by the department between 1904 and 1918, the years of Fuller's control, as were in the corresponding period before his appointment.[31] In no way was Fuller, as D.P.W.'s design representative, given anything resembling a "free hand" in military design. The client Department of Militia and Defence had its own Engineer Branch which maintained an architect on staff after 1884.[32] Major construction was left in the hands of D.P.W., but Militia and Defence was intimately involved in the design process. Furthermore, drill halls and armouries were among the first federal public buildings to undergo standardized planning. The Department of Militia and Defence made use of standard patterns for its many small rural armouries constructed after Confederation,[33] and by 1911 that department's Engineer Branch had streamlined the system down to four standard drill hall designs.[34] Although Fuller was not obliged to make use of these plans and on occasion rejected them completely, he certainly had access to them and often modified them only slightly for contract plans.

More than any other factor distinguishing the design role of T.W. Fuller from that of Bowes was the size and organization of the branch itself, for the staff on the whole was specialized to a degree in 1904 that it had not been in Bowes' day. By the 1890s there were clear signs of branch organization and plan preparation based on systems specialization. There is a very real chance that more hands were involved in any one original drill hall plan associated with Fuller than would have been the case in penitentiary design under Bowes.

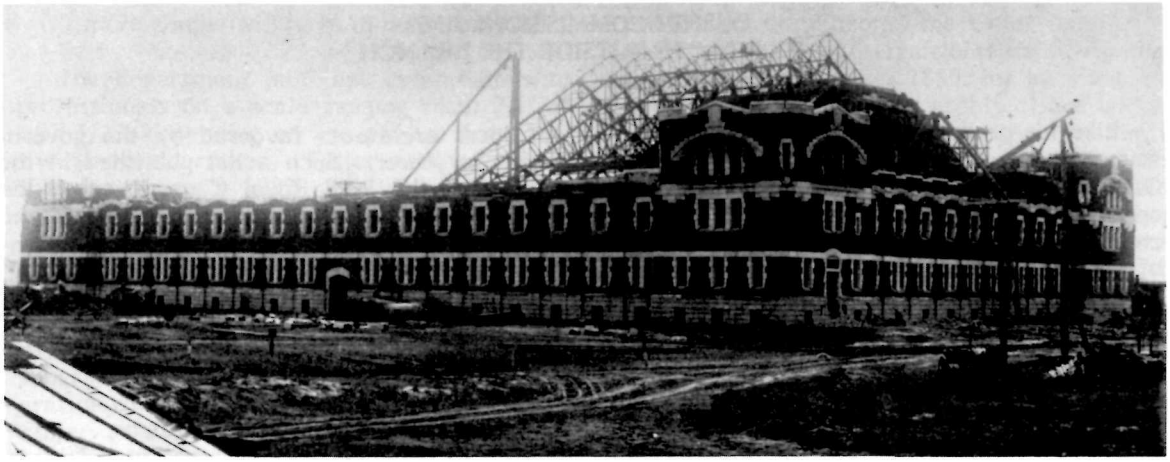
The first systems specialist to be associated with the design office appears to have been the department's mechanical engineer, J.R. Arnoldi, who under Scott was responsible for gas, water, and bell services in public buildings. Arnoldi's position *vis à vis* the chief architect and the chief engineer was never entirely clear, but by 1887 he directed his own "Mechanical Engineer's Office" under the umbrella of the Technical Branch.[35] By this arrangement his staff provided engineering assistance to the chief engineer in matters of dredging and to the chief architect in matters of heating.[36] Arnoldi's successor as heating specialist was architect W.R. Billings, who had entered the department as a draughtsman in 1872, then held the position of measurer, superintendent, and later "office assistant." This label notwithstanding, Billings was not channelled into purely administrative functions. In 1892 he was identified as an active designer, an "architect...and superintendent in the preparation of plans for heating public buildings," and was assisted in this position by one of the branch's draughtsmen in training. Gobeil acknowledged the role of Billings' speciality in the overall design process:

> There have to be plans for the disposition of the piping so as to suit the building. When a building is constructed and it is decided to heat it as we heat our buildings, by hot water, the disposition of the coils and pipes is looked after by Mr. Billings.[37]

On the same occasion the deputy minister gave revealing testimony about specialization in the branch's draughting staff.




**10** Standard Drill Hall, Class D, with tower, revised. Prepared by the Department of Militia and Defence for D.P.W. construction at Napanee, Ontario, 1913. (*Public Archives Canada, National Map Collection.*)



11 Winning Drill Hall under construction, 18 September 1914. As architect in charge of military buildings T.W. Fuller supervised a design team within the branch. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 60929.*)

> Are the 8 draughtsmen of the Chief Architect's Branch doing pretty much the same work? No; the work is sub-divided between them. One man would have the details of the construction of a building, and the finishing would be in the hands of another. One who was more accustomed to ornamental designs would have that work, and one who was more versed in the practical solid portion of the work would look after the walls and frame of the building. It is sub-divided according to the knowledge and talent of each man.
>
> There is some work of a higher order than others? Certainly; in architect's work it could not be otherwise.[38]

The branch's draughtsmen were evidently specialized, and their work assigned to some extent on the basis of particular skills, in a way that has not been suggested by T.W. Fuller's varied training. Clearly then, plans for some buildings were the product of more than one pair of hands; specialists in framing, finishing, and heating all played their part.

It might be argued that Bowes' single-handed, almost independent activity in penitentiary design made him a specialist of the old school. Subsequent advances in building technology demanded specialists of another sort and a systems approach to branch design. Hot-water heating has been mentioned as one of the first modern specialities to be recognized by the department. The Langevin Block, completed in 1889, was the first large federal building heated by that method.[39] Construction in concrete and steel and electrical servicing would all eventually require specialists of their own. In 1913 and 1914, for example, work on plans for drill halls in Winnipeg and Kamloops was carried out by four branch specialists and their staffs. T.W. Fuller directed the architects and draughtsmen on those projects, W.R. Billings the heating engineers, J. Johnson the electrical engineers, and D.A. Williamson the structural steel engineers.[40] By the 1920s staff lists indicated architects and engineers involved in public buildings design in the following capacities: architects in charge of construction, maintenance, fittings, appraisals, and supervision; and engineers specializing in sanitation, heating, and ventilation, as well as structural, electrical, quantity, and general mechanical work.[41]

The existence of certain specialized officers sheds considerable light on the dynamics of the Chief Architect's Branch. The information offers no final solution to the problem of accurately attributing design responsibility, but it does raise new possibilities: some buildings are clearly attributable to a single staff architect; others are the product of a number of design specialists working under a project architect; still others are one of a series constructed from a single standard design, itself attributable to a staff architect.[42] In all cases, the findings offer a welcome middle ground to the inadequate model of staff anonymity within a one-man design autocracy.

## DESIGN COMMISSIONS AND CONTACTS OUTSIDE THE BRANCH

Like his predecessor Scott, Thomas Fuller was a strong supporter of a highly developed Ottawa design staff, both for reasons of economy and because the required method of choosing a local architect - by the machinery of political patronage - significantly reduced the chief's control over a project.[1] As part of his argument in support of branch self-sufficiency Fuller set out figures to show that between 1885 and 1890 the department had saved $88 050 (on a total expenditure for public buildings of $965 307) by maintaining in-house almost two-thirds of its design work.[2] The continued maintenance of a large proportion of design in the Chief Architect's Branch itself perpetuated branch self-sufficiency. The success of branch training depended on a large volume of departmental design opportunities; that training in turn made possible the development of a highly qualified and widely experienced staff, and ultimately ensured the concentration in Ottawa of effective design control.

Although the vast majority of the public buildings of the era were designed in Ottawa, the branch under Thomas Fuller maintained commissions with a number of architectural firms. Even from a strong draughting headquarters, certain jobs were more readily and more economically handled by local architects. Such was certainly the case with superintending works in progress - both new construction and subsequent repairs and alterations.[3] As well, the branch did on occasion turn to private practitioners to provide designs for new buildings. While the branch staff was still in a formative stage, as it was under Scott, designs for larger buildings seem generally to have been entrusted to private architects. Conversely, the branch designs executed in that period were on the whole fairly modest efforts. Even during Fuller's term, however, the department chose to go outside for some complete designs. Although it is likely that Fuller turned to private architects when his own staff was particularly burdened with a heavy workload, it is also possible that the minister himself requested that certain design projects be contracted locally to pay off particular political debts.

For as long as political patronage remained the prevailing mechanism for hiring outside architects, the department maintained a list of local architects favoured by the government in power. Such a list published in the report of the 1892 Royal Commission on the Civil Service represented those architects who generally enjoyed the patronage of the Conservative governments of the day:[4]

| | |
|---|---|
| J.C. Dumaresq | Halifax |
| J.F. Peachy | Quebec |
| James Nelson | Montreal |
| A. Raza | Montreal |
| Power and Son | Kingston |
| R.C. Windeyer | Toronto |
| Denison and King | Toronto |
| John M. Moore | London |
| W.C. Harris | Charlottetown |
| J.C. Pothiers | Three Rivers |
| W.R. Marshall | Brandon |
| C.O. Wickenden | Vancouver |
| Kennedy, Gaviller and Holland | Barrie |

Despite - or perhaps because of - the political nature of their appointments, commissioned architects were tightly controlled in their work by the chief architect. The close supervisory role played by both Scott and Fuller is clearly evidenced in their correspondence. The following excerpts are typical of the questions, annotations, suggested modifications, and required redraughts imposed by Chief Architect Fuller on commissioned designs in progress:

> By comparing the accompanying trace sketch with your plans for the proposed Hospital at the Royal Military College, Kingston you will observe that I have taken the liberty of suggesting certain slight modifications in the elevation which would probably be more effective.
>
> The upper part of tower appears to me to oversail or project too far. If you have no objection please carry it out according to tracing... The quoins should not be of uniform dimensions, and should have no cutting further than draft margins of 2 or three inches in width....
>
> I shall be glad if you will let me have the modifications as soon as you possibly can...[5]
>
> I do not at all approve of the fence as per dwngs you sent. Something much

more simple will have to be adopted...[6]

The department paid out commissions to professionals on a scale ranging from 2 1/2% to 7 1/2% depending on the precise nature of the work undertaken. Fuller outlined briefly the department's 1892 schedule of commissions which, he said, had been in force since Alexander Mackenzie's days as Minister of Public Works (1873-78). Architects were paid 2 1/2% or 3% to superintend the construction of a new work (which included the preparation of "estimates, reports, etc.") and 7 1/2% to superintend repairs (which included the preparation of "plans, specifications, estimates").[7] Fuller explained the discrepancy in rates in terms of the extra work involved in repairs: "A man will not superintend repairs, where there is a great deal of trouble, at less than 7 1/2 per cent - that is, a man of any note."[8] The schedule as presented does not appear to make allowance for design, the kind of work that Fuller insisted was more properly and economically handled in Ottawa.

In 1907 Gobeil set out the department's scale slightly more systematically:[9]

2% the architect only prepares plans
3% the architect prepares plans and sketches
5% the architect prepares all the detailed plans and follows the work right to the end
7% the architect takes charge of the work from beginning to end; prepares plans and details; supervises construction right to the building's completion

Although the wording of this outline does seem to suggest that design work was expected on 2% and 3% commissions, an 1891 statement of the acting minister of Public Works in the House of Commons indicates otherwise: "He [the local architect who in this case was paid 3 1/2% commission] prepared the detailed plans; he is the supervising architect. The department itself prepared the plans."[10] Branch correspondence under both Scott and Fuller bears out this division of labour, i.e. that superintending architects were expected to prepare their own detailed working drawings and tracings from outline sketches or plans furnished them by the chief achitect's office.[11]

In some locations where a considerable number of D.P.W. projects were underway or where there was no active architectural community to draw from, the Chief Architect's Branch worked out arrangements other than local commissions. In 1880, for instance, the department hired Quebec architect and builder J.P.M. Lecourt and set up an office for him in Winnipeg from which he superintended the branch's Manitoba works.[12] Immediately after British Columbia and Prince Edward Island joined Confederation the department placed engineers in charge of public works in each of those provinces. It was their duty to oversee and report upon matters concerning railways, public buildings, and navigation.[13] During the 1880s the Conservative retainer for this purpose in British Columbia, Joseph W. Trutch, included among his duties the direction of plan preparation and the superintendence of public building construction.[14]

By 1892 the Chief Engineer's Branch had set up a network of regional staff called district or regional engineers. Although the chief architect did not at that time maintain a parallel organization of district architects, he could, and did, call upon the services of one of the district engineers for plans and supervision of specific building projects.[15]

There were occasions when the branch required local supervision on a short-term basis in localities where there was neither a corps of professionals from which to appoint a superintendent nor an existing D.P.W. staff member. In such instances the chief architect might send out a staff superintendent from Ottawa. J.P.M. Lecourt, previously based in Winnipeg, was by 1892 on staff in Ottawa for this very purpose.[16] And although the design and construction of Dawson's public buildings took an unexpected 3 years to complete, the arrangements by which T.W. Fuller was named resident architect there and recalled to Ottawa at the project's completion made similar use of headquarters staff.

Not until the first decade of the 20th century did a system of regional supervising architects begin to take shape within the Chief Architect's Branch.[17] Sometimes posting an Ottawa staff member to a city,[18] and sometimes retaining a local architect, Ewart set up a network that eventually developed into eight offices of district residential architects.[19]

There was, besides the various private architects who worked for the department on commission, another federal design agency with whom the Chief Architect's Branch had regular contact. In 1884 the management, maintenance, and repair of fortifications and

12 A portion of the Hamilton Drill Hall and Armouries, designed in 1887 by H. James, a staff architect with the Department of Militia and Defence. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 60929.*)

military buildings were transferred from the Department of Public Works to the Department of Militia and Defence.[20] By the terms of this legislation the Department of Militia and Defence was to concern itself only with the repairs and maintenance of military works. Particularly large projects of this kind and any new construction of military buildings were to be left entirely to the Department of Public Works.[21] To accommodate the new function, the Department of Militia and Defence set up an Engineer Branch and hired its first architect, H. James,[22] whom they lured from D.P.W. where he had supervised the draughting office in the Chief Architect's Branch.

The Engineer Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence was not the only satellite design and construction agency operating within the federal government in this period. The Northwest Mounted Police put up most of its own barracks, the Department of Marine and Fisheries did a small amount of building on its own, and the Military Hospitals Commission,[23] established in 1915, had its own design and construction staff. In 1918 the design and construction work previously performed by these latter two agencies was centralized under the Chief Architect's Branch.[24]

In all transactions between D.P.W. and its client departments, the client's wishes in matters of size, style, and configuration were taken into account. Final plans draughted by D.P.W. architects required the approval of both client and designing department. Under this arrangement, consultation was a consistently large part of the branch architect's duties. The transfer of James, and his inside knowledge of D.P.W. operations, to the Department of Militia and Defence had a significant and not altogether unexpected effect on the working relationship between the branches of the two departments. In 1892 the Department of Militia and Defence acknowledged "draughting of sketches for new buildings"[25] as one of James' duties. In fact, within a few years of establishing the Engineer Branch, the Department of Militia and Defence abandoned the passive aspect of its role as client. Through the efforts of its own small architectural staff (James, one assistant architect, and one draughtsman)[26] that department began to provide its own complete designs for new works. In 1887 James signed his name to the plans and specifications for a major new building, the Hamilton Drill Hall.[27] For as long as he held the architect's post in the Engineer Branch he maintained an active design hand in the construction of a number of major new military projects.[28] Nonetheless, the official mandate for military design and new construction still rested with the Department of Public Works, so each of James' plans required the final approval of that department.

In 1904 the Chief Architect's Branch consolidated its design position *vis à vis* the Engineer Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence by naming T.W. Fuller as architect in charge of military buildings. In 1907 the deputy minister of Public Works gave the following testimony on the subject:

> Q. You build drill halls and armouries for use of militia?
> A. Yes.
> Q. Who prepares the plans of these? Are they prepared in the Militia Department?
> A. No. The Militia Department simply says: We require accommodation for 100 or 200 men, infantry or artillery. The Militia Department gives us the details and we prepare the plans and send them to the department. If they concur in the plans they send the plans back to us and we call for tenders, put up the building, and hand it over to the Militia Department.[29]

Initially, a desire both for economy and for

design control fostered a program of in-house design within the Chief Architect's Branch. As the design staff hired by Scott was developed under Thomas Fuller, an increasing volume of projects was entrusted to departmental hands. In a very real sense the design policy consolidated under Fuller determined the role of the branch for years to come. Not only did Fuller and Ewart build up a full design staff in Ottawa, they maintained the locus of design control in that branch even when plans originated outside it - either from local architects or other federal agencies. In the face of continuous opposition from professional associations federal design remained secure in the hands of subsequent chief architects and their staffs until well into the 20th century. Not until 1934 did the Public Works Construction Act wrench free a significant proportion of federal design work for private practitioners.

## THE PROCESS OF PUBLIC BUILDING

The Chief Architect's Branch was never an initiator of public building projects. A design agency operating in a service department, the branch responded only to specific requests carried through regular and approved channels. A brief outline of the processes by which new public structures were initiated, financed, designed, constructed, and ultimately accounted for offers something of a map of these channels, and helps to delineate clearly the realm of shared responsibility for any one federal structure.

The official client in any building project was the department to be accommodated, represented by its minister. Nonetheless, in the process of initiating federal construction the citizens of the community in question could apply significant pressure through their member of Parliament on the minister or ministers involved. Such pressure usually took the form of a petition from the town's inhabitants or more precisely, from an interested segment of the town's business community. Petitions might be directed to the Governor in Council, to the minister of Public Works, or to the minister of the appropriate department, such as the postmaster general.[1] Traditionally, the local member of Parliament was entrusted to bear the petition to Ottawa, and presumably to add his hearty support to it there.

Petitions to Ottawa for a new public building followed a standard format, and the argument put forward by the memorialists tended to be something of a set piece: existing facilities were inadequate given the town's present population and the heavy volume of trade currently passing through its gates.[2] This approach was especially worth taking in justifying new or enlarged postal, inland revenue, and customs facilities, for of course it implied healthy revenue returns accruing to the federal government. In some cases the petition argued the need to relocate an existing facility in a more suitable business location or to centralize a number of small scattered facilities.

The political reality of this system is easily grasped. Although valid economic statistics were brought to bear in each case, and were in fact parroted by the Department of Public Works in its final estimates to Parliament,[3] the decision to undertake construction in one town rather than in another was clearly based on established principles of partisan politics. Ministers of Public Works in both Liberal and Conservative governments argued consistently that they were guided only by the highest considerations of "public interest" as manifest in hard evidence of the town's population, volume of business transacted, revenues collected, and the number of officials to be accommodated.[4] In actual fact, the wrangling and carping that accompanied the presentation of each year's estimates for public buildings to the House of Commons' Committee of Supply suggested that for every town deemed worthy of a new public building, there were several others for which a comparable case could be mounted. And despite the assurance of each minister of Public Works that the public interest and not party favouritism controlled his selection in every case, it was clear to the members of each successive opposition that new buildings were concentrated in constituencies represented by the party in power.

William White, the deputy postmaster general, explained in 1892 how his department dealt with requests for new post offices. Pub-

lic applications for new or improved facilities were submitted to the local postal inspector who transferred the request to the postmaster general in Ottawa. It was then incumbent upon the postmaster general to decide on the comparative merits of each case before passing on his department's official requests to the Department of Public Works.[5] This method, he claimed, minimized the role of political pressure in the planning of public construction. What in fact appears to have been the case is that the departmental selection process was itself partisan in nature, and served as a political filter for locally applied pressure.

Once an official request was received by the Department of Public Works, that department decided whether or not to include it in its annual set of Main Estimates for Public Buildings, to be voted upon by Parliament. Whether or not a particular building was included as an item in these estimates depended to a certain extent on the advice and influence of the minister and deputy minister of the department in question.[6] Nevertheless, spokesmen of both the Post Office[7] and the Department of Militia and Defence complained of their powerlessness in initiating new construction, claiming they were completely at the mercy of the minister of Public Works. In some considerable frustration the minister of Militia and Defence reported to the House in 1898:

> My hon. friend the Minister of Public Works, who has charge of that particular matter, will, I am sure, bear me out in saying that I have used my best influence with him. In the present year it has been unavailing, but that in the near future we shall be able to do something towards a drill shed for St. Catharines.[8]

There were, too, some cases where the Department of Public Works, on the strong advice of local interested groups, chose to undertake a certain public work that was not deemed a particular priority by officials of the federal department in question.[9] Although the deputy postmaster general admitted to being occasionally embarrassed by this kind of political circumvention,[10] D.P.W. files suggest that inter-departmental consultation and cooperation were more often the rule.

Having made the decision to include a certain project as an item in the upcoming estimates, the Department of Public Works, or more precisely, the Chief Architect's Branch, depended on the client department to provide such fundamental information about the building as the number of staff to be accommodated and the nature of the accommodation required.[11] Both style and scale were discussed and preliminary sketches changed hands. Although it was most common for D.P.W. architects to prepare sketches based on clients' descriptions, it was not unknown for client departments to furnish their own sketches[12] or, as in the case of the Department of Militia and Defence, full plans for the guidance of the designers. With this information at hand, the branch architects prepared sketch plans. These in turn were submitted for approval to both the minister of Public Works and the minister of the client department. Based on these approved sketch plans estimates were prepared to be placed before Parliament.

In preparing its estimates the department broke down the general design and construction costs of each proposed project and submitted them, along with the appropriate preliminary drawings, to the Committee of Supply of the House of Commons. In the case of a large work, the expected total cost was estimated,[13] but only one year's expenditure was voted on at a time. In some instances the minister approved a project in principle and included it in the estimates before the Chief Architect's Branch had received sufficient information on which to prepare plans. In such cases an initial or tentative estimate was voted on, which, once more specific requirements were made known and sketches prepared and approved, was replaced by a subsequent and more accurate estimate.

In the actual costs generated by its final contract plans and specifications, the department was of course expected to keep within the originally estimated target figure. In theory, subsequent estimates could be adjusted to reflect changes and increases in projected costs. As well, the minister could resort to the mechanism known as supplementary estimates; but in fact this latter route was treated as an access to emergency funds to cover items of an unexpected nature in works already under construction.[14] Although there were certainly cases of final costs far outstripping original appropriations, the department was not always willing to go back to Parliament with subsequent estimates which had clearly inflated in the design stage. When a single lump-sum vote for a small building

failed to meet the expectations of the client department, the minister of Public Works was often more inclined to renegotiate with that department than with the Committee of Supply. Chief Architect Thomas Fuller raised just such a case with his deputy minister:

> In the preparation of the plans for the proposed school at Long Lake District of Assinniboia; which are being prepared in accordance with the sketches and instructions accompanying the requisition of the Department of Indian Affairs, it is found that the cost of such building in wood would amount to between $30,000 and $35,000, whereas the appropriation appears to be only $10,000. Under the circumstances I consider that the Department of Indian Affairs should be asked if the plans are to be completed on the scale desired or modified to suit the appropriation.[15]

After the estimates for a given project had been voted by the Committee of Supply, all subsequent expenditures for the goods and services required by that project were charged against that authorizing vote of Parliament. The department was then able to undertake the preparation of detailed working drawings and specifications.

It was at this point that the minister officially decided whether to appoint an outside architect to prepare final plans, or to have the work done in Ottawa. Final details of accommodation, layout, fittings, and finishing were worked out between the architect and the client department. Drawings were discussed with the client, modifications were solicited, and approvals obtained before the branch embarked upon the preparation and printing of final contract plans and specifications.[16]

After contract plans and specifications had been provided by the branch and duly approved by the client department, the contract was advertised, tenders received, and the contract awarded, usually, but not always, to the lowest bidder. Fuller wholeheartedly disapproved of the lowest bidder tradition, distrusting the tendancy in contractors to bid purposefully below cost in the hopes of making up the balance in "extras."[17] If the lowest bid were deemed truly unreasonable (i.e. significantly below the department's own estimate for the work), the chief architect could report the matter through the deputy minister to the Governor in Council. An Order in Council might then be passed authorizing the minister to accept another higher tender.[18] For their efforts in "conserving and defending the Government's interest against unreasonable demands of contractors" the Chief Architect's Branch was singled out and commended by the Royal Commissioners in their report of 1892.[19]

To ensure adequate oversight of the whole construction process, the chief architect was authorized by the minister to hire locally both a supervising architect and a clerk of works. That these were both traditionally acknowledged political appointments did not disturb Fuller, who declared that the local member of Parliament would have a much sounder knowledge than he as to the skills available in the locality.[20]

Once appointed, the local architect had overall supervision of the construction project. He was the official representative of the Chief Architect's Branch, indeed of the department, on site. The clerk of works reported to him, as did any day labourers the department might hire.[21] All instructions to the contractor were passed on in writing through the supervising architect.[22] All deviations - intended and unexpected - from the contract were reported by him to the department. If the changes involved new work of any kind, the architect's report on the matter included plans of the new work and an estimate of the costs. Last minute alterations suggested by the client were dealt with in a similar way. Indeed, the architect might even pass along suggested plan modifications of his own.[23] Each month the supervising architect was required to send to Ottawa a "progress estimate" of the work actually completed by the contractor. Once this estimate was examined and verified by a member of the Chief Architect's Branch it was sent off to the Accountant's Branch for payment.

Working under the instructions of the supervising architect, the clerk of works oversaw construction at a more detailed and practical level.[24] It was his duty, for instance, to ensure that bricks, mortar, and stonework were all laid to satisfaction. As well, he was in charge of the purchase of all extra fittings and furniture required in new or repaired work.[25] Based on the client's requisition, the clerk of works made an estimate of the expenditure and submitted it to the branch. Once authorized to do so, he made the appropriate purchase from a specified merchant on the

department's patronage list for that area.

Not every project involved the appointment of both a supervising architect and a clerk of works. In some cases, instead of hiring a supervising architect, the department periodically sent out a staff member from the Chief Architect's Branch.[26] In such instances a large portion of the supervising architect's duties and responsibilities, such as consultation with the client, the preparation of progress estimates, and the drawing up of plans to indicate deviations from the contract, might be entrusted to the clerk of works.[27]

Between the supervising architect and the clerk of works, monthly reports were filed on the contractor's progress until the work was completed. All of these were properly examined and verified at the branch, then sent to the Accountant's Branch where payments were made against the appropriate parliamentary vote. All such public expenditure was reported annually to the auditor general. Thus audited, these accounts were tabled before Parliament.

On its completion the new public building was handed over to the client department or departments which in most cases took over subsequent responsibilities for the building's operation and maintenance. As soon as that structure required major repairs, alterations, or additions, however, D.P.W. was again responsible, and the cycle of consultations, estimates, designs, contracts, and supervision began once again.

## PUBLIC BUILDING POLICIES AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE BRANCH

The decision to establish a Chief Architect's Branch in the first place, the principles on which it was organized, and its methods of operation all suggest that the branch was a somewhat isolated unit of technical expertise, a self-sufficient design office run with a fair degree of autonomy by the chief architect and his professional assistants. The chiefs of technical branches and their staffs certainly enjoyed something approaching special status under certain 19th century ministers. Alexander Mackenzie, for instance, declared in 1879 that:

> the technical work of the Public Works Department must, after all, be left to engineers. No ordinary minister could venture to undertake to supervise the technical work of the Department, that must be done, in any case, by engineers responsible to the political head.[1]

On closer observation, the branch in its proper administrative and political context appears considerably less isolated and less autonomous. The foregoing investigation of the administrative process by which public buildings were initiated and executed has revealed that local political pressure as well as the interests of client departments held considerable influence over the minister of Public Works, not just in his decision to take on certain public works projects in the first place, but in determining the exact location of the structure, its style, scale, and functional layout. Within the Department of Public Works itself, it is worth examining the approaches to public buildings taken under specific ministers of Public Works, for the policies espoused by successive ministers clearly shaped the role of the branch and determined the nature of its survival in the 20th century.

The evolution of a recognizable policy on public buildings is not readily detected in departmental records. Questions raised in the House of Commons on the subject and ministerial responses to them do reveal some trends in policy - if only to ascertain that both Liberal and Conservative governments before 1900 attempted resolutely *not* to be tied to a rational policy in matters of location, style, and expenditure pertaining to public architecture. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace clear departmental directions taken over this period and to make some general distinctions in prevailing government attitudes to the construction of public buildings.

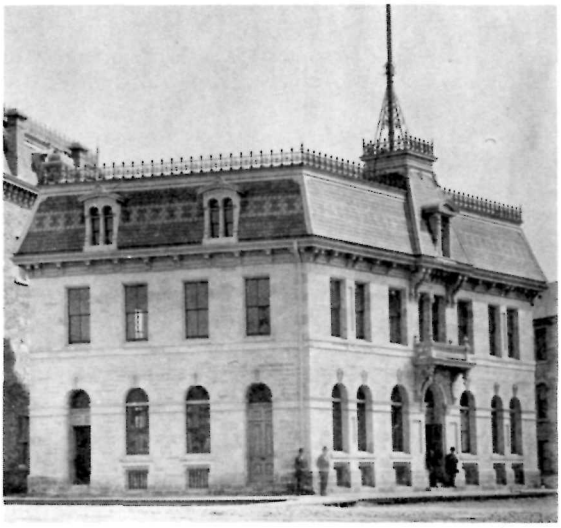
Although Confederation itself stimulated an important and ongoing public buildings program which was reflected in a steady escalation in construction through to the late 1880s,

the Liberals' brief term in power in the mid-1870s was marked by a distinct move to economy in public building.[2] Traditional criteria for selecting locations for new works (i.e. the number of officials to be accommodated, and the current local revenue returns) were strictly applied, so that only those localities deemed "most in need" were considered. Furthermore, under Mackenzie's government a policy of in-house design gained a footing. This was itself an economical move, and by it the minister was able to tighten his control over the scope and expense of public design.

In the designs for the Guelph Post Office, for example, Mackenzie was pressured to erect something considerably more elaborate than what was finally built.[3] In fact, the final designs for public buildings in both Brantford and Guelph (which were among the first undertaken entirely by branch staff) were for years criticized to the point of ridicule by Conservative members of Parliament. The Guelph Post Office, only two stories high, was deemed barely in keeping with the existing architecture that surrounded it. From the midst of a later period of Conservative expansion in public construction, government members criticized the previous Liberal administration for its "gaudy and cheap style of architecture of which the country would be ashamed,"[4] and in particular for the "dwarf and squatty" buildings foisted upon the unsuspecting citizenry of Guelph and Brantford.[5]

Conservative statements made in the House of Commons between 1880 and 1890 provide a clear sense of official intentions in public architecture. In many ways, ministerial comments differed sharply from those heard in Mackenzie's day. There was the inevitable talk of the need to economize and of the practical concern of seeing through the commitments of predecessors in office;[6] but on the whole the statements of Tupper and Langevin described an optimistic and expanding program of public building, an insistence upon high standards of public design, and an overriding belief in making use of public architecture to create an imposing government presence across the country.

Not unlike Mackenzie, Langevin acknowledged a variety of criteria used to justify one worthy public building project over another: local population, trade volume, government revenue collected, and public convenience (in terms of the need to erect one centralized facility rather than maintain several small offices). In addition to these criteria Langevin



13 One of the earliest departmental designs (1876), the Guelph Post Office was later considered "dwarf and squatty." (*Public Archives Canada, PA 46462.*)

was greatly concerned with the potential physical impact of any new building: $350 000 was not too much to spend on a public building in a large centre like Hamilton, Ontario, for there it would be judged not only by inhabitants, but by a large number of newcomers to the city;[7] the Post Office in Montreal was designed to compete favourably with the imposing architecture of the Bank of Montreal on the same street;[8] and a seemingly large expenditure for the public building in Clinton, Ontario, was defended because the building would be situated "in sight of the Americans," and hence required a more elaborate design than if it were placed in the interior.[9]

Wherever a building was constructed, Langevin insisted that its design be appropriate to the best architectural facades in the immediate vicinity. Therein lay the success, it was said, of the Montreal Post Office and the failure of the Liberals' public building in Guelph. In one sense Langevin was consistent in applying his policy of "appropriate reflection," for he was willing to make compromises in both style and expenditure in towns like Cornwall, Ontario, whose general architectural character he judged to be, on the whole, unremarkable.[10] In the capital city itself, Langevin applied his policy to the new departmental building (later called the Langevin Building) constructed on Wellington Street.

**14** The Post Office in Newcastle, New Brunswick, ostensibly set a high architectural standard in that town. (*Public Archives Canada, C 70488.*)

When questioned as to the intended similarity in style between the new structure and the existing parliamentary and departmental buildings on Parliament Hill, Langevin replied that the design of the new building would reflect the finest commercial architecture along Wellington Street, rather than necessarily echo the Gothic skyline on the Hill.[11]

By the end of the decade, however, the department was no longer content simply to reflect the style or scale of architecture it encountered in various localities. In 1889, Langevin spoke in terms of actively setting high standards; if the new public buildings in Dalhousie and Newcastle, New Brunswick, seemed too extravagant for the towns in question, then let it be said that the Department of Public Works hoped to set an example by them and thereby induce the citizens to build something more substantial themselves.[12]

The Liberals predictably decried the Conservative government's extravagance at every turn, both in terms of the style in which it built and in terms of the increased number of public buildings it undertook. By the 1880s departmental construction was dominated by a program to erect a large number of post offices and customs houses in small Canadian towns. This program was constantly criticized by the Liberals for the capital outlay it would entail, the round of expensive repairs it would ultimately unleash on the country, and the expectations of similar treatment it would raise in other small towns across the land.[13] At the same time the Opposition continued its attempts - without any particular success - to pin down the government on the precise set of criteria it used in making its decisions on public buildings.[14] By 1890 the Conservative government's enthusiasm for public building seems finally to have been curbed. In its last years in office that government considered only indisputable cases of acknowledged need.[15]

On the Liberals' return to power in 1896, many of the economizing intentions of Mackenzie's government and of the latter years of Conservative rule were echoed in the speeches of Joseph Israel Tarte, the new minister of Public Works. He too refused to set out any clear public works policy by which firm criteria in selection, scale, or style in public buildings would be identified.[16] But after 28 years in opposition the national Liberal party machine required considerable oiling. As one of the party's major political benefactors, the minister of Public Works would turn down few opportunities to show government appreciation for recent support, and thereby help rebuild the party network. Not surprisingly, then, Tarte followed his predecessors in office in refusing to be any more precise than to say that "the policy of the Government is to erect buildings where it is found in the public interest to do so."[17]

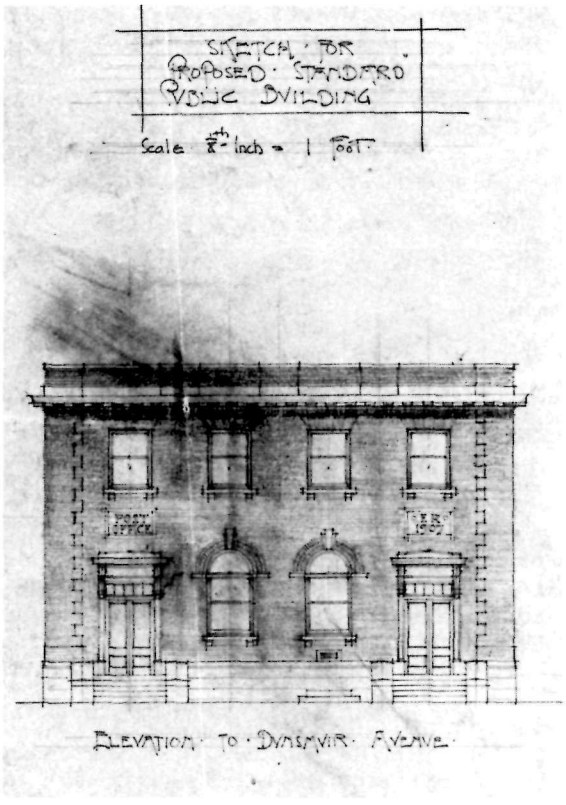
In terms of style and scale, the Liberals once again set a trend of "moderate and economical public buildings."[18] In an obvious reference to the Conservative administration's policy of actively setting an architectural example, a spokesman for the Department of Public Works assured the House in 1897 that it was not the department's intention to construct buildings that would "overshadow every other building in the town."[19]

Liberal and Conservative administrations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries can be clearly distinguished in some of their basic attitudes to public building. The Liberals on the whole took a more functional and econom-

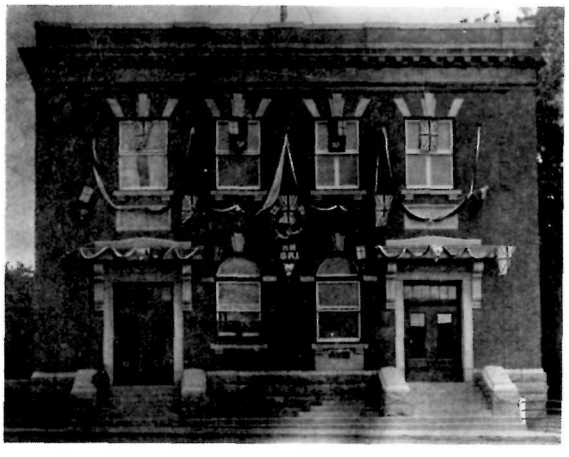
ical approach; the Conservatives were more expansionist in their thinking and more concerned with the public image implicit in all public architecture. In some respects, however, the two exhibited similarities in approach. Neither party was willing to sacrifice political flexibility for a hard and fast public buildings policy. Even though both operated within a system of active political patronage, Liberal and Conservative ministers of Public Works ultimately preferred to retain some control in Ottawa by maintaining a departmental design staff rather than leaving public design to a wide variety of local practitioners and party supporters.

By 1914, the design self-sufficiency of the Chief Architect's Branch had become an accomplished fact. Two decades of Canadian growth had ensured continuing activity in federal construction: expansion and settlement of the Canadian West had called for a whole new network of public buildings, land offices, and experimental farms; increased immigration had required a number of immigration buildings and hospitals; the growth of urban populations had resulted in some new construction in the cities as well as the upgrading and expansion of existing facilities; and a renewed interest in the organization and training of the Canadian militia had stimulated a new wave of armouries, drill halls, and military instruction facilities across the nation.

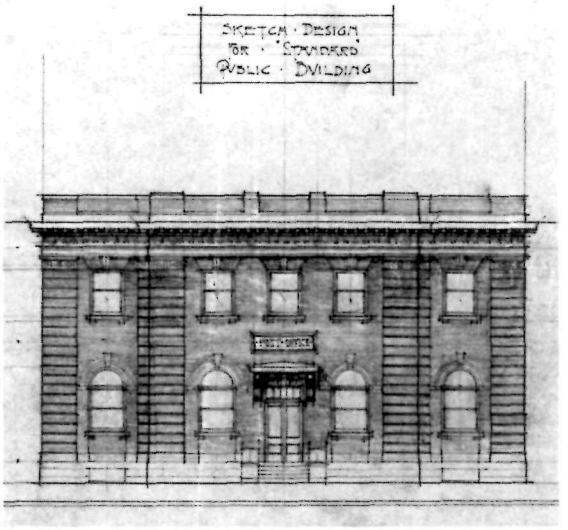
In many ways this continued expansion of federal construction in the early 20th century marked the zenith of the Chief Architect's Branch as an active and self-sufficient design component of the Department of Public Works. On the surface, successive administrations continued to support in-house design, but after the First World War that policy served to ensure administrative efficiency and tighter administrative control rather than to stimulate and maintain a full-scale design headquarters. In 1916 Robert Rogers, minister of Public Works under Borden, informed the House of Commons that due to the wartime slump in federal construction, demands on the department's once-active draughting office had considerably slackened.[20] The department was taking advantage of that situation to initiate a design program by which the Chief Architect's Branch would prepare a series of standard plans suitable for rural public buildings costing between $4500 and $15 000. The standardization of design for small-scale public buildings was to become a distinctive and increasingly visible feature of Public Works




**15** Proposed front elevation, Standard Public Building design "A." (*Public Archives Canada, RG 11, Vol. 2711, file 1556-20-A.*)



**16** Standard Public Building design "A," as constructed in Lachute, Quebec, 1908. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 46770.*)




17 Proposed front elevation, Standard Public Building design "B," ca. 1907. (*Public Archives Canada, RG 11, Vol. 2711, file 1556-20-A.*)

18 Standard Public Building design "B," executed in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, 1908. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 46547.*)

19 Standard Public Building design "B," executed in Westville, Nova Scotia, 1908. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 46728.*)

policy in the 20th century.

The initial preparation of standard plans undoubtedly provided a design challenge for the department's architects working under Chief Architect E.L. Horwood (1914-18): as well as standardized in plan, the buildings had to be attractive, not identical in their elevations, and of a style "well in advance of the architecture usually obtained in places of the size where such would be erected."[21] Representatives of the client departments were to be consulted on the most economical and functional configuration of interior space. In many ways the exercise simply formalized the design process as it had been followed since Confederation, for over the years the branch had worked out some obviously predictable patterns as solutions to repeated design problems. The Department of Public Works was not the first department to adopt a policy of standardized plans. The Department of Militia and Defence had preceded and undoubtedly influenced the Chief Architect's Branch by formally standardizing the process of small drill hall design in 1911.[22] The Chief Architect's Branch itself took an increased interest in standardization under Ewart. Encouraged by the Post Office Department, it worked out at least two sets of standard plans which in 1907 were applied to public buildings in Lachute, Quebec, Westville, Nova Scotia, Ladysmith, British Columbia, and Maple Creek, Saskatchewan.[23]

The evolution of standard plan preparation from a design experiment to departmental policy had serious implications for the future of the Chief Architect's Branch. Certainly the process offered some immediate solutions to pressing problems associated with a flagging wartime construction industry, in that its implementation brought immediate work to a becalmed design staff. But standardization would bring with it long-term consequences as well. Once approved in advance by client departments, standard plans would streamline the whole consultation phase of the design

process. The actual design time necessary for preparing both sketches and final working drawings would be similarly reduced. As a result the department could significantly economize in its outlay for design on any given new project. Both the economy implicit in standard plans and the simplicity of their administration made them an attractive option to the chief architect and his superiors.[24] Clients, especially in the Post Office Department, were equally enthusiastic. In 1916 the assistant secretary of the Post Office urged the chief architect to press on with the program:

> Of course, some day, when standard buildings are adopted all such questions [about the nature of existing accommodations] will be unnecessary as we shall know at once not only what each building looks like but what it contains. May that happy day soon arrive![25]

Chief Architect Horwood was himself a major proponent of the system.[26] It is perhaps significant that Horwood was not a career civil servant; rather he was parachuted from his private Ottawa practice into the chief architect's post for the relatively brief wartime period of 4 years. Although Horwood's enthusiasm for standard plans was unequivocable, it is difficult to say to what extent he intended the ultimate consequence of his policy: any move towards standardization necessarily decreased the department's need for an active design component.


**20** An in-house competition in 1963 for a standard small post office design resulted in SP. 8, the submission of L.G. Sincennes. Over 100 post offices based on the SP. 8 design were constructed in the next 5 years. *(Courtesy: L.G. Sincennes.)*

Indeed, the department's first post-war decade was one of severe economy. The budget for new construction, halved during the war, was not revived in the years that followed. New public buildings, completed at a rate of nearly 20 per year in the 5 years preceding the war, appeared on the average of only 8 per year in the decade after 1918.[27] Fifty years of fairly steady growth in federal construction had to a certain extent caught up with the country's requirements for public buildings. Almost 80% of the budget for the Chief Architect's Branch in 1927 went to repairs and upkeep of existing buildings, as opposed to less than 10% in 1907. For whatever new facilities were absolutely required in the 1920, the branch was increasingly forced to consider leasing space rather than designing and constructing new buildings.

Conditions during the war and post-war years, and the building policies implemented by the department in response to them, did much to hasten the decline of the Chief Architect's Branch as an active design centre. Al-


**21** and **22** Two SP. 8 post offices: Embrun and Sombra, Ontario. (21, *Courtesy: L.G. Sincennes;* and 22, *Public Archives Canada, PA 125751.*)

**23** The Confederation Building in Ottawa. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 49843.*)

though ministers continued to defend the principle of in-house design against considerable opposition from private architects, the protected status of the Chief Architect's Branch was gradually eroded as both leasing and the use of standard plans gained footholds in departmental policies and operations.

The idea of standard plans was revised in 1936, when Chief Architect T.W. Fuller was instructed to prepare a new series of plans for

**24** The Justice Building in Ottawa. The name of staff architect T.D. Rankin can be closely associated with the design of both the Confederation Building and the Justice Building. (*Public Archives Canada, C 26570.*)

small public buildings costing in the $6000-$7000 range.[28] The fullest flowering of the concept, however, did not come until the 1960s. Once again at the behest of the Post Office Department, the Building Construction Branch (as the Chief Architect's Branch was called after 1955) prepared sets of standard plans for small post offices. Under a series of Winter Works Programs between 1959 and 1967 over 750 such post offices were constructed in small communities across the country.[29] In the same period, although on a much smaller scale, the department turned to standardized plans for R.C.M.P. detachment buildings and for medium security penitentiaries. The recurrence and ultimate success of these programs of standardized planning significantly diminished the Chief Architect's Branch as a rich source of varied federal design.

The branch was finally toppled from its exclusive design position by the Public Works Construction Act of 1934,[30] legislation that in a single blow reversed 60 years of in-house

25 Temporary Buildings Numbers 2 and 3, Ottawa, 1940. A firm believer that the Gothic theme should be maintained along the north side of Ottawa's Wellington Street (note Justice Building at far right of photo), T.D. Rankin resented the necessary construction of wartime temporary buildings, a design project he supervised for the branch. (*Public Archives Canada, PA 129121.*)

design policies. In terms of stimulating federal construction, the Act was by far the most extensive of the relief programs passed by R.B. Bennett's government. Under its terms some 76 public building projects were scheduled for construction or improvement. The Chief Architect's Branch had kept up with the design requirements for works stimulated by the preceding relief programs, the Unemployment and Farm Relief Act of 1931, and the Unemployment and Farm Relief Continuance Act of 1932,[31] but both the spirit of the P.W.C.A. and the sudden volume of design work and supervision it entailed forced the chief architect to turn to the private sector. When the Act was passed there were 47 professional and technical employees on staff in the Chief Architect's Branch in Ottawa. Within 5 months of its passage a further 46 architects and architectural firms in private practice were invited to share in the design and supervision of the nation's public architecture.[32] Forty years of lobbying against the exclusivity of the department's design policies had finally paid off, to a profession especially hard hit by the depression's devastating effects on the construction industry. The intent of the P.W.C.A. was not to replace departmental staff with private architects working on commission. Indeed, individuals in the Chief Architect's Branch did, on the whole, weather the depression while many of their counterparts in private practice went without work. Nevertheless, the P.W.C.A. established a precedent of turning to outside architects, and in so doing created a significant shift in departmental priorities. After 1934 the Chief Architect's Branch never regained its monopoly of federal design.

The mid-20th century found the Chief Architect's Branch playing a role that was curiously similar to its earliest position under T.S. Scott: the Second World War depleted the staff of the Architectural Branch and, as a result, large and pressing design commissions once again went to private architects, leaving much of the routine work and the design associated with alterations and repairs to the staff architects.[33] T.D. Rankin, a senior construction architect in the branch, devoted the latter years of his lengthy career (1910-46) to a project that all too appropriately reflected the kinds of design opportunities then available to staff architects. Rankin had been with the branch for 30 years, during which time his design associations with the Confederation Building (1927-30), the Justice Building (1935-39), and interior details of the new Centre Block (1916-27)[34] in Ottawa had earned him a wide reputation for his work in the neo-Gothic idiom.[35] Near the end of his career Rankin was assigned a disheartening project: it fell to him to oversee the preparation of standard plans for the temporary office buildings intended for wartime construction in Ottawa,[36] literally in the shadow of his own earlier contributions to the capital's Gothic skyline.

## ACHIEVEMENT AND FAILURE OF DEPARTMENTAL DESIGN

The development of the Chief Architect's Branch between 1881 and 1914 has proven especially worthy of examination. The years during which first Thomas Fuller and then David Ewart directed the branch were exceptionally formative ones, and the issues resolved during that time were central to the branch's development in the 20th century.

Set up by Chief Architect Thomas Seaton Scott after his appointment in 1871, the small technical and professional staff provided the first modest departmental designs for post offices, customs examination warehouses, inland revenue offices, penitentiaries, quarantine stations, immigration depots, and marine hospitals: the kinds of public buildings that would eventually link the new dominion. The expansion of that dominion, both geographically and in terms of population, occasioned corresponding growth in the Chief Architect's Branch and in its capability to provide the full range of designs necessary for the nation's public architecture. Rarely did either Fuller or Ewart turn to private architects to design public buildings.

Fuller and Ewart were influential chief architects not only in terms of the obvious design achievements with which each was associated, but in terms of the strength and stability of the design staff each was responsible for building up. By 1914 the branch housed a permanent body of architects and engineers, trained and specialized in the diverse range of design problems with which the Chief Architect's Branch had become familiar. By taking advantage of the "temporary pressure of work" clause in the Civil Service Act both Fuller and Ewart were able to hire and train relatively inexpensively their own hand-picked technical staff. Although hiring and promotions were by no means completely apolitical, the chief architect's departmental staff was comparatively sheltered from political influence; such was never the case with the department's commissioned architects, who were political choices each and every one. The apprenticeship of architects within the branch and the subsequent development of their expertise brought to the work of the branch a continuity it would not otherwise have had. Despite the long apprenticeship, low pay, and uncertain future associated with temporary status, Fuller and Ewart managed, on the whole, to hang on to the staff they trained and developed. A generation of federal architects came to maturity in the branch's Ottawa draughting room; indeed, all four chief architects hired from 1918 to 1952 gained some measure of their architectural experience under either Fuller or Ewart.

A number of the design policies and practices initiated by Scott and implemented by Fuller and Ewart helped set the course of branch operations in the 20th century. The nearly exclusive use of in-house design and the tight control exerted over all design work originating outside the branch proper - whether from architects in other departments, architects on commission, or branch architects in the field - gained for the branch recognition of its expertise and ultimately a pre-eminent position in federal design. At the same time the training of specialists, and in particular of systems specialists, ensured that the branch kept abreast of advances in construction technology.

It should also be apparent that some of these same design policies bore bitter fruit for the branch. Policies of in-house design, for example, although necessary for the creation of a self-sufficient design staff, were applied so inflexibly as to alienate unduly the professional community and incur its public criticism of branch design standards.[1] The federal works programs of the 1930s served to redress the balance, but also to set an unshakeable precedent for commissioned design. As successive chief architects moved progressively away from departmental design, the branch lost the pre-eminence it had gained early in the century.

The precedent of staffing the branch with temporary technical employees was in the end self-defeating in a similar way. Intended to allow the branch maximum flexibility in accommodating successive cycles of growth and decline the temporary staff hired under Fuller and Ewart formed instead a solid core, permanent in all but name. After the Second World War the Department of Public Works was faced with gradually rebuilding its design capacity in a way that would respond to peaks and troughs in federal construction activity. The option of a flexible temporary design staff was again considered but the branch's record in that regard was discouraging.

Rather than follow in the footsteps of Scott, Fuller, and Ewart and take on a temporary staff which would too easily become a permanent one, Chief Architect Gardner chose instead to commission outside architects for the bulk of the department's design work.[2]

Responsiveness to the specific needs of client departments had always been a vital part of the departmental design process, and yet it too had some serious implications for the survival of an active design centre. The whole experiment with standardized plans, from the first modest attempts under Ewart in 1907 to the crowning success of the project, in the form of nearly 1000 replicated post offices erected in the 1960s, can be attributed to consistent pressure from the Post Office Department,[3] one of the branch's major clients. That standardized planning was subsequently applied to much of the branch's work for other client departments in the 1960s[4] is an indication of the routine nature of design work left in branch hands at that time. By effectively eliminating the need for consultation on basic design questions, standardized plans immensely facilitated the planning of new accommodation for any client department; by the same token their application removed the *raison d'être* for a full scale office of federal design.

The regionalization of the Department of Public Works in 1968[5] completed the fragmentation of the department's design office, a process that had been set in motion by branch policies commissioning outside architects for the most important designs and standardizing much of the rest. Having waged battles with two generations of chief architects, private practitioners had won access to all but the most routine federal design projects. The departmental staff, meanwhile, played increasingly the roles of project managers and administrators. The decline of the branch's design function ran counter to the goals set by the first three chief architects, and yet their own actions had in many ways been responsible for directions later taken.

One certain effect of the shift away from departmental design was the infusion of new talent and the pursuit of new directions in public design. The eclecticism of works commissioned by chief architects after the Second World War is especially apparent in the national capital. There it stands in counterpoint to the Gothic theme so consistently carried out along the north side of Wellington Street by their predecessors in office. If works recently commissioned by the Department of Public Works provide a varied heritage of public architecture, the products of in-house design in this recent period do not. By contrast, the wealth of designs produced during the full flowering of departmental design in the Chief Architect's Branch under Fuller and Ewart brought to many of the main streets of Canadian towns and cities a significant piece of Canadian architecture, designed and located to provide that town with its most imposing structure.[6] There was a reassuring continuity in the style and layout of each generation of public buildings, and yet in many cases predictable rhythms were broken by a visible sense of individual achievement. That lack of complete comformity in departmental design was possible at a time when, for the most part, individual architects applied appropriate solutions to each project or design problem as it arose. It is a quality not encountered in the nation's public buildings constructed half a century later, when, in one year, a single "improved design" could be used to turn out nearly 200 identical post offices.[7]

## ENDNOTES

**The Development of a Chief Architect's Branch, 1867-81**

1 Canada. Laws, statutes etc. Statutes of Canada. 4-5 Vic. Cap. 38; 9 Vic. Cap. 37.
2 22 Vic. Cap. 3; 31 Vic. Cap. 12.
3 4-5 Vic. Cap. 38, Sec. 16.
4 Canada (Province). Legislative Assembly, Appendix YY, in Appendix to the Fifth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada (Montreal: Queen's Printer, 1846); Appendix FFFF, in Appendix to the Eleventh Volume of the Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada (Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1853); Canada. Department of Public Works, General Report of the Minister of Public Works 1867-1882 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1883) (hereafter cited as General Report 1867-1882), Appendix 47, p. 1131.
5 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG 11, Department of Public Works, Vol. 446, Subject 1103, p. 785; and Canada. Auditor General, Public Accounts for the year 1868 (hereafter cited Auditor General and the year of the report) both make use of the term "Engineer Branch." PAC, RG 2, Orders in Council, PC 1169, 30 June 1871, refers to the "Engineering Branch."
6 PAC, RG 2, Orders in Council, PC 1020, 24 May 1871.
7 Ibid., PC 1165, 29 June 1871.
8 Ibid., PC 1185, 5 July 1871; PC 1020, 24 May 1871.
9 Ibid., PC 131, 17 February 1872.
10 42 Vic. Cap. 7, Sec. 10.
11 Variance in usage has been determined from references to branch staff in departmental correspondence, as well as in annual staff lists in both estimates and accounts.
12 Auditor General, 1893. The five offices which previously made up the Technical Branch each became a separate branch.
13 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 445, Subject 1103, p. 589. T.S. Scott to T. Trudeau, 4 October 1871.
14 Ibid., Vol. 590, Subject 134, File 47595, p. 6.
15 PAC, RG 2, PC 1020, 24 May 1871; PC 131, 17 February 1872.
16 General Report of the Department of Public Works, 1868 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1869) (hereafter cited as Department of Public Works and the year of the report), pp. 44-46 and Appendix 24, p. 196; Department of Public Works, 1869, Appendix 19, pp. 90-93; and Department of Public Works, 1871, Appendix 22, pp. 135-37.
17 Ibid., 1868, p. 47.
18 General Report 1867-1882, Appendix 1, pp. 14-21 and pp. 84-93.
19 Department of Public Works, 1872, pp. 139-46.
20 Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, House of Commons Debates (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1880) (hereafter cited as House of Commons Debates and the year of the session) 1880, p. 1369; ibid., 1884, pp. 1190-91.

**Towards Design Self-sufficiency: the Branch under Thomas Fuller (1881-96) and David Ewart (1897-1914)**

1 Auditor General, 1915 p. V-7. When E.L. Horwood took over as chief architect in October 1914, Ewart stayed on in a consulting role.
2 General Report 1867-1882, pp. 70 and 141.
3 Ibid., p. 141.
4 Public Works, 1882-89.
5 PAC, RG 11, Vols. 3015, 3024, 3039, 3045, 3060, 3063, 3067, 3070, Main Estimates for the years 1882-97, Civil Government, "Buildings or works under contract, or for which drawings were prepared." 1891 was the last fiscal year for which these statistics were compiled.
6 Public Works, 1890-97.
7 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 435, Subject 1088, File 31143, p. 553; Vol. 590, Subject 134, File 47595, p. 6; Vol. 3847, pp. 399-400; Main Estimates for the years 1882-97, Civil Government; Canada. Parliament, "Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into certain matters relating to the Civil Service of Canada," in Sessional Papers, 1892 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1893) (hereafter cited as "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892), No. 16c, p. 654. So-called "permanent" or "statutory" employees, i.e. those holding positions specifically provided for by

statute, have not been included in branch staff calculations for two reasons: first, their numbers are small relative to the number of temporary employees who made up the rank-and-file staff of the Chief Architect's Branch (only 9% of branch staff were permanent in 1893-94); second, because civil service lists compiled before 1893-94 give only general departmental totals rather than specific figures for each branch, the growth of permanent staff in a given branch is difficult to calculate.

8 Department of Public Works, 1913, p. 3.
9 Ibid., 1914, p. 5.
10 Auditor General, 1897, p. Q8; 1913, p. V 22-4.
11 J.E. Hodgetts, The Canadian Public Service: A Physiology of Government 1867-1970, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 92.
12 Department of Public Works, 1914, p. 4.

**Staffing the Branch**

1 45 Vic. Cap. 4.
2 Ibid., Sec. 45.
3 PAC, RG2, PC 1651 A, 28 July 1882.
4 45 Vic. Cap. 4, Sec. 34.
5 Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 7 (1894), p. 64; Vol. 14, No. 7 (January 1901), p. 2.
6 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 611.
7 "Mr. David Ewart Public Servant is Dead, Aged 80," Ottawa Journal, 7 June 1921, p. 1.
8 Canada. Department of the Environment. Parks Canada. Engineering and Architecture Branch. Restoration Services Division (hereafter cited as RSD), D.A. Hewitt Letterbooks, Vol. 1, p. 85, D.A. Hewitt to D. Ewart, 12 February 1901.
9 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 98, D.A. Hewitt to W.C. Tilley, 13 March 1905.
10 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 481, D.A. Hewitt to J.C. Atkinson, 5 July 1904.
11 Interview with Thomas G. Fuller, Ottawa, 8 June 1978. T.W. Fuller received no formal schooling while the Fuller family lived outside Albany, New York (1867-81). Until he was 16, Thomas W. was educated by tutors and received architectural and building training under his father. After the family's return to Ottawa in 1881, the young Fuller worked for a local millwork firm which, during his employment, faced business failure. To ward off the firm's collapse its creditors offered T.W. Fuller financial backing to take over the company's management. The senior Fuller was highly skeptical of what he saw to be a very risky business venture, and refused to co-sign for his son. Under these circumstances he may very well have encouraged the young Fuller to take on more secure employment of his skills in the Chief Architect's Branch.
12 Auditor General, 1900-1902, 1900, p. V-54; 1901, p. V-55; 1902, p. V-66. Henry E. Ewart's connections in D.P.W. served him well. In 1906 he was hired as an extra draughtsman working on plans for the new Royal Mint, a position of only 6 months duration, but one that required that he travel to England to consult with Royal Mint authorities there. When the new Royal Mint opened in 1908 young Ewart was on staff; he eventually became master of the mint.
13 J.E. Hodgetts et al., The Biography of an Institution: The Civil Service of Canada 1908-1967 (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972), pp. 11-12.
14 House of Commons Debates, 1918, p. 1739.
15 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, pp. 487 and 497; Canada. "Report of the Civil Service - Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1907-08 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1908) (hereafter cited as Civil Sevice Commission, 1908), No. 29a, p. 1104.
16 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, pp. 465-66.
17 RSD, D.A. Hewitt Letterbooks, Vol. 2, p. 289, D.A. Hewitt to S.G. Curry, 26 February 1908.
18 PAC, RG 32, C2, Public Service Commission, Historical Personnel Files, Volume 542, File 3715-1, T.W. Fuller. Finance file No. 4643.
19 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3024, Main Estimates for the year 1886-87, Civil Government.
20 Ibid., Vol. 3070, 1896-97, Civil Government.
21 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1095.
22 45 Vic., Cap. 4, Sec. 45.
23 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1094.
24 45 Vic., Cap. 4, Sec. 45.
25 Canada. Parliament, "First Report of the Civil Service Commission," in Ses-

sional Papers, 1869 (Ottawa: Hunter Rose and Co., 1869), No. 19, p. 8.

26 J.L. Payne, "The Civil Servant," University Magazine, Vol. 6, No. 4 (December, 1907), p. 510.

27 House of Commons Debates, 1885, p. 912; 1886, p. 883; 1900, p. 7932.

28 Ibid., 1885, p. 912.

29 Ibid., 1886, p. 883.

30 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 481.

31 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3055, Main Estimates for the year 1892-93, Civil Government, p. 21.

32 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 654.

33 Ibid., p. 467.

34 House of Commons Debates, 1896, Second Session, p. 964.

35 Ibid., p. 1430.

36 Auditor General, 1897, Department of Public Works, Salaries at Ottawa, Chief Architect's Branch, pp. Q8-9.

37 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 42.

38 Auditor General, 1909, pp. V29-34.

39 7-8 Edw. VII, Cap. 15.

40 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2995, Main Estimates for the year 1880-81, Civil Government, p. 96.

41 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 469.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 469.

45 Ibid., p. 475. J.W.H. Watts was the assistant architect in charge of drawings and the draughting office. In his own evidence to the Commission, Fuller stated (p. 611), that "I give all my instructions to him."

46 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1091.

47 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 173. Thomas Fuller to William Curran, 20 April 1887.

48 General Report 1867-1882, p. 178; Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1092.

49 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 611.

50 An investigation into civil service efficiency ordered in 1920 uncovered a number of instances of just such inconvenient and inefficient use of office space. The consultant's report blamed the problem on "these Gothic buildings with the small rooms" which "resulted in the division of staffs into unnecessary units and the placing of someone in charge of each one of these room units." The branch's move into the modern Hunter Building in 1919 allowed the chief readier access to draughting room. PAC, MG 26 H, R.L. Borden papers, Vol. 265, p. 148990. Griffenhagen and Associates Ltd., "Report in Re Opportunities for Effecting Economies and Bettering Service in the Dominion Government Administration," 28 April 1920, pp. 19-20.

51 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 552. Thomas Fuller to Bell Telephone Company, 16 June 1887. The introduction of telephone communication has serious implications for any study of branch operations based on the evidence of written records.

**Training and Supervising the Branch Architect**

1 The question of the impact of an individual chief architect on branch designs has been the subject of serious study as well: Christopher Thomas, "Dominion Architecture: Fuller's Canadian Post Offices, 1881-96," M.A. thesis, Graduate Department of the History of Art, University of Toronto, 1978; Janet Wright, "Thomas Seaton Scott: Designer and Administrator," presented at the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, May 1978. Christopher Thomas has argued from considerable architectural evidence that plans for post offices prepared between 1881 and 1896 bear a strong imprint of Fuller's own style. In her study of the work of T.S. Scott, Janet Wright has concluded that as branch chief Scott provided "supervision and direction" but that the Second Empire style so widely used in public architecture during Scott's term did not reflect the individual stylistic preferences of the chief architect.

2 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 654.

3 Telephone interview with E.A. Gardner, Ottawa, 7 April 1978.

4 Margaret Archibald, "Thomas W. Fuller (1865-1951): A Preliminary Report," Research Bulletin, No. 105 (July 1979), p. 8. As chief architect Fuller was the project designer for the mess building at the Royal Military College, Kingston, and the restoration of the Governor General's quarters at Quebec.

5 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 91, Fuller to Messrs. Power and Son, 4 April 1887; and p. 503, Fuller to Messrs. Stirling and

Harris, 6 June 1887.

6 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 1294, File 205265, T.W. Fuller to D. Ewart, July, 1899; interview with Caroline Belford Fuller, Toronto, 7 March 1978; interview with Thomas G. Fuller, Ottawa, 8 June 1978.

7 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 654; Fuller came on staff in 1885, Paquet in 1883, Taylor in 1880, and Lamb in 1873.

8 Ibid., p. 721.

9 Auditor General, 1900-1906.

10 PAC, RG 11, Main Estimates for the years 1885-99, Public Buildings. Tracing the work of a particular draughtsman requires a familiarity with one aspect of the branch convention; namely, that the initials, name, or cipher appearing at the bottom right-hand corner of drawings served to identify the draughtsman of the plans rather than the architect. Plans bound with estimates and identified "T.W.F." by no means present an exhaustive account of Fuller's draughting work in this period: first, the collection of plans bound with estimates does not represent the branch's entire output; second, as not all ciphers are visible and legible, the number which can be inarguably attributed to Fuller is further reduced. Each parenthetical date in the list represents the year for which estimates were prepared, therefore not necessarily a draughting or a construction date.

11 House of Commons Debates, 1898, p. 5464.

12 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 478.

13 PAC, RG 11, Subject 64, Vol. 549, p. 107. A letter of 1896 from the secretary of the Post Office to the secretary of D.P.W. enclosed a rough plan of fittings intended for the Guelph Post Office. The draughtsman's cipher, "J.B.L.," is probably that of J.B. Lamb. A second cipher is more difficult to make out. A likely explanation is that "Exd H.J." means that the plan was examined by Henry James, the branch's chief draughtsman at the time.

14 Auditor General, 1885-1899. Varying with the year, the Auditor General's accounts of staff travel may or may not specify traveller's name, destination, and building project.

15 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 478.

16 Ibid., p. 611. Branch and departmental files give no indication as to how administrative tasks were delegated. Specific administrative duties are identified for only one draughtsman in the 1890s: J.W. Jordan is shown as Ewart's assistant in the examination of accounts or as the draughtsman in charge of accounts. PAC, RG 11, Main Estimates for the year 1892-93, Vol. 3055, Civil Government; Main Estimates for the year 1899-1900, Vol. 3080, Civil Government; Auditor General, 1894-99.

17 Raymond Card, The Ontario Association of Architects 1890-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 17.

18 Ibid.

19 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 611.

20 J.E. Hodgetts, Canadian Public Service, p. 121.

21 R.M. Dawson, The Civil Service of Canada (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 62.

22 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. lxxxiv.

23 Ibid., p. 611.

24 Ibid.

25 Staff lists indicate that the terms "draughtsman" and "architect" may have been used interchangeably, especially in the years immediately preceding an officer's upgrading from one class to another. On the other hand, the term "copy draughtsman" is never confused with "architect," and upgrading from one to the other seems not to have taken place.

26 This discrepancy between professionals' salaries in the public and the private sector was still an issue in 1930, when it was the subject of a Royal Commission. The commission found that engineers, for example, were paid anywhere from $500 to $4000 more in industry than in government, and that on the average high school teachers in Toronto were paid more than professionals in the civil service. Canada. Parliament, Report of the Royal Commission on Technical and Professional Services (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1930), pp. 50, 51, and 56.

27 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1089.

28 Canada. National Gallery of Canada. Homer Watson papers, J.W.H. Watts to Watson, 24 July 1888.

29 RSD, D.A. Hewitt Letterbooks, Vol. 1, p.

6, D.A. Hewitt to Mr. Hennessey, 25 June 1900; p. 51, 25 October 1900.

30 National Gallery of Canada, Catalogue 1915 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915), No. 235 Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Thomas Fuller and No. 240 Tower of West Block, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Thomas Seaton Scott.

31 Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1889), p. 32.

32 Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 4 (April 1889), p. 40.

33 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 36, Vol. 5, pp. 15, 50.

34 Construction, Vol. 1, No. 12 (October 1908), p. 51; Vol. 1, No. 10 (August 1908).

35 Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 7 (1894), p. 31; ibid., Vol. 14, No. 157 (January 1901), p. 2.

36 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2711, File 2556-20-A, F.B. Reilly, Secretary-Treasurer, Saskatchewan Association of Architects to Hon. F.B. Carvell, Minister of Public Works, 9 May 1919; ibid., J.P. Hynes, President of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada to Hon. J.C. Elliott, Minister of Public Works, 6 January 1928; ibid., J.C. Elliott to J.P. Hynes, 16 April 1928.

37 Auditor General, 1885-1900: PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 86; Vol. 3864, p. 366; RSD, D.A. Hewitt Letterbooks, Vol. 1, p. 82. Dates in parentheses indicate the first year a title was observed in departmental files or accounts; or, where it provides an earlier date, the date of the oldest issue of the periodical held in the DPW departmental library in 1979. Those periodicals bound for the chief architect's library (or in the case of Canadian Engineer, the chief engineer's library) and still held in the departmental library are marked with an askterisk. Not all of the titles drawn from the Auditor General's accounts relating to departmental subscriptions are in fact periodicals. Nor did these accounts necessarily print complete and accurate titles of the periodicals purchased.

38 RSD, D.A. Hewitt Letterbooks, Vol. 1, p. 102, D.A. Hewitt to J.E. Olmstead, 14 March 1901.

39 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 4268, File 2144-6, T.W. Fuller to David Ewart, 30 September 1899.

40 Canadian Architect and Builder, 1889, Vol. 2, pp. 32, 57, 63.

41 Randy Rostecki, "Early History of the Cauchon Block, Later the Empire Hotel," Manitoba Pageant, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring 1976), p. 10.

42 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 871, File 116930, 2 April 1891.

43 RSD, D.A. Hewitt Letterbooks, Vol. 1, p. 15, D.A. Hewitt to Walter Davidson, 18 July 1900.

44 Ibid., p. 205, D.A. Hewitt to H.C. Brittain, 3 September 1901.

45 Ibid., D.A. Hewitt to Dennis Wire and Iron Co., 23 November 1905; and to Bates and Guild Co., 11 December 1905.

46 T.W. Fuller's assistant in Dawson, Henry E. Ewart, took on private jobs there after the D.P.W. construction project was completed. He stayed on for a season and went into practice for himself, designing and supervising the construction of the Dawson Amateur Athletic Association building and "several other fine buildings" ("City News in Brief," Dawson Daily News, 13 December 1902, p. 4).

47 Interview with Thomas G. Fuller, Ottawa, 8 June 1978. According to Thomas G. Fuller, his father had been involved in the design of buildings for Macdonald College in Ste Anne de Bellevue, Quebec. Fuller would have worked for Hutchison and Wood, the Montreal firm of architects whose designs were used for the first campus buildings constructed in 1905. J.F. Snell, Macdonald College of McGill University: A History from 1904-1955 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1963), p. 56.

48 For a detailed account of Fuller's work on one of these buildings, the Administration Building, see Margaret E. Archibald, A Structural History of the Administration Building, Dawson, Yukon Territory, Manuscript Report Series No. 217 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977).

49 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 1294, File 205265, T.W. Fuller to D. Ewart, July 1899.

50 Christopher Thomas, "Dominion Architecture," p. 139.

51 Auditor General, 1921, p. V-7; 1907, p. V-16.

52 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 1283, File 202862, L.F. Taylor to A. Gobeil, 19 June 1899.

53 PAC, RG 32, C2, Vol. 542, File 3715-1, J.B. Hunter to the secretary of the Civil Service Commission, 25 November 1918.

54 C.B. Fuller interview, 7 March 1978 and T.G. Fuller interview, 8 June 1978; PAC, RG 32, C2, Vol. 542, File 3715-1, J.B.

Hunter to W. Foran, 21 December 1927.

55 PAC, RG 32, C2, Vol. 542, File 3715-1, "Government of Canada Requisition for Permanent Appointment," J.B. Hunter, 15 April 1927.

56 T.W. Fuller was compelled to do otherwise under the Public Works Construction Act of 1934. The impact of that legislation on the branch is discussed below in "Public Building Policies and the Survival of the Branch."

**Specialization within the Branch**

1 42 Vic. Cap. 7, Sec. 10.

2 Christopher Thomas, "Dominion Architecture," p. 152.

3 Whether or not the name of one architect can be readily identified with plans for a given departmental project very much depends on the organization of Public Works records for the period in question, i.e. the task of associating an architect with certain plans is much simpler in the years before 1879 and after 1910 than it is for the period in between. The pre-1879 and post-1910 files are indexed by subject, so that all official correspondence relating to a given building project is filed in one docket. In the period 1879-1910, however, official correspondence is filed numerically. In this way, letters on the subject of a given public building - in Ontario for example - are scattered throughout close to 1000 volumes. Even the registers of this material, subject indexed only as "Public Buildings Ontario" are themselves 10 volumes in size. Clearly then, the task of collecting and analysing enough data to determine the architect of a single federal building constructed between 1879 and 1910 is considerably more difficult than the same task conducted for either the earlier or later period.

4 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 435, Subject 1103, File 18701, T.S. Scott to T. Trudeau, 4 October 1871.

5 Ibid., Vol. 3847, pp. 399-400, Sir Charles Tupper to T.S. Scott, 20 March 1879.

6 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 487. To the question "He is the assistant chief architect?" Gobail replied: "I always call him so. He is de facto assistant chief architect." Not until 1906 was the term assistant chief architect used officially.

7 Op. Cit., Vol. 3846, p. 444, T.S. Scott per David Ewart to William Scott, 2 September 1878.

8 Ibid., Vol. 3862, T. Fuller to George Durand, 12 March 1887.

9 Ibid., Vols. 917, 926, 927, 944, passim.

10 Op. cit., Vol. 3846, p. 58, T.S. Scott to F. Braun, 3 June 1878.

11 A Cyclopoedia of Canadian Biography, ed. Hector Charlesworth (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1919), p. 174.

12 "Ontario Association of Architects," The Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 7 (1894), p. 31.

13 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 487. The deputy minister also pointed out that Ewart was known as an inventor. Indeed, in 1876 Ewart took out patents on both a "composite woodblock pavement" and a "combined asphalt and wood pavement." Canada. Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Patents Branch, Patent Nos. 6398 and 6655.

14 House of Commons Debates, 1885, p. 898.

15 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 654.

16 Ibid., pp. 487 and 611.

17 Hugh G. Jones and Edmund Dyonnet, History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (N.p.: n.p., 1934), p. 12.10.

18 Ibid., p. 6.4.

19 Jean Sutherland Boggs, The National Gallery of Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 1.

20 PAC, RG 2, PC 315E, 30 March 1880.

21 Department of Public Works, 1882-1910.

22 Circumstances surrounding Watts' dismissal are something of a mystery. His correspondence to Homer Watson indicates that he had been dissatisfied for years with the branch and with a group within it whom he identified only as "the French crowd." (Canada. National Gallery of Canada. Homer Watson papers, J.W.H. Watts to Watson, 24 July 1888). The fact that Watt's departure came shortly after the general election of 1896 may suggest that political currents had an effect. The author wishes to thank Charles Hill, curator of Canadian art at the National Gallery, for his assistance in making available information on the subject of the gallery's first three curators.

23 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 1283, File 202862, L.F.

Taylor to A. Gobeil, 19 June 1899.

24 PAC, RG 32, C2, Vol. 542, File 3715-1, David Ewart to Minister of Public Works, 19 May 1904.

25 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 489.

26 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 560, File 61624.

27 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, pp. 654, 721.

28 Auditor General, 1894, pp. 8-9.

29 C.P. Stacey, The Military Problems of Canada: A Survey of Defence Policies and Strategic Conditions Past and Present (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940), p. 66; and George F.G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers. The Military History of an Unmilitary People (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada Ltd., 1974), 3rd ed., p. 290.

30 PAC, RG 2, PC 433, 1 April 1918.

31 Department of Public Works, 1884-1918. D.P.W. was responsible for 24 new drill halls and armouries between 1883 and 1903, and 52 between 1904 and 1918. In the corresponding periods the Department of Militia and Defence designed 23 and 60 such structures. The distinction between the two programs is far from clear, although it would be safe to say that D.M.D. was generally responsible for less expensive structures, while D.P.W. took on the design of large militia projects.

32 House of Commons Debates, 1884, p. 965; 1885, p. 898.

33 Canada. Department of Militia and Defence, Report of the Department of Militia and Defence, 1888 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889), p. 55.

34 Canada. Parliament, "Report of the Militia Council for the Dominion of Canada for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1912," in Sessional Papers, 1913 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913), Sections 133-34.

35 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3029, Main Estimates for the year 1887-88, Civil Government, p. 191.

36 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 489.

37 Ibid., p. 487.

38 Ibid., p. 488.

39 Ibid., p. 487.

40 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2711, File 2556-20-A, undated and unsigned memo.

41 Auditor General, 1921 29, "Public Works: Salaries at Ottawa."

42 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2711, File 2556-20-A, Assistant Secretary of the Post Office Department to E.L. Horwood. The architect of the standard post office plans proposed in 1915 was James Foulis of the Chief Architect's Branch.

**Design Commissions and Contracts outside the Branch**

1 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, pp. 494-610.

2 Ibid., p. 610. The total outlay for the salaries of architects and draughtsmen was compared with what would have been spent if branch architects were paid at a going professional rate, i.e. at 5% of the total expenditure on a given project.

3 Ibid., p. 608.

4 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 721.

5 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 91, T. Fuller to Messrs. Power and Son, 4 April 1887.

6 Ibid., p. 508, T. Fuller to Messrs. Stirling and Harris, 6 June 1887.

7 Ibid., pp. 608, 721.

8 Ibid., p. 608.

9 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1102.

10 House of Commons Debates, 1891, p. 6242.

11 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 561, Subject 73, File 74912, p. 21, John Turner to F. Braun, 8 July 1878; Vol. 3863, p. 66, T. Fuller to Sir Hector Langevin, 29 March 1887.

12 Public Works, 1883, p. xliii.

13 Ibid., 1874, Apendices 25 and 26.

14 Ibid., 1885, Appendix 2, p. 38.

15 Ibid., 1896, Appendix 2, p. 46.

16 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 720.

17 Auditor General, 1910, p. V-299.

18 D.A. Hewitt was posted to Halifax from 1908 to 1911.

19 Auditor General, 1932, p. V-86.

20 47 Victoria, Cap. 17.

21 As was pointed out in the previous chapter the division of responsibility after 1884 between the design agencies of the two departments was never cut and dried. Not until 1910 was a policy developed whereby D.M.D. was responsible for the design and construction of armouries worth less than $15 000, D.P.W. for those costing more than that amount. "Report of the Militia Council for the Dominion of Canada for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1912," in Sessional papers, 1913, Section 97.

22 House of Commons Debates, 1886, pp.

523-24.

23 PAC, RG 2, PC 1852, 30 June 1915; PC 2412, 14 October 1915 changed the name from Hospital Commission to Military Hospitals Commission.

24 House of Commons Debates, 1919, pp. 1263-64.

25 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 297.

26 House of Commons Debates, 1885, p. 899.

27 Public Works, 1887, Appendix 2, p. 32.

28 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3035, Main Estimates for the year 1888-89, Public Buildings, p. 125; Vol. 3068, Main Estimates for the year 1895-96, Public Buildings, p. 108; Report of the Department of Militia and Defence 1889 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1890) (hereafter cited as Militia and Defence and the year of the report), Appendix 13, p. 239. The Hamilton Drill Hall, the London Infantry School, the Brantford Drill Hall, and an addition to the Victoria B.C. Drill Hall can all be attributed to H. James.

29 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 1104.

**The Process of Public Building**

1 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 561, Subject 73, File 65644, George Foster et al. to the Minister of Public Works, 13 March 1877; ibid., File 42042, Mayor of Brantford to the Governor in Council, 14 January 1878; Canada. Parliament, "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 220.

2 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3060, Main Estimates for the year 1893-94, Public Buildings, p. 10.

3 Ibid.

4 House of Commons Debates, 1877, p. 1482; ibid., 1884, p. 1196.

5 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 220.

6 House of Commons Debates, 1899, p. 7629.

7 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 220.

8 House of Commons Debates, 1898, p. 6575.

9 Civil Service Commission, 1908, p. 43.

10 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 221.

11 House of Commons Debates, 1895, p. 2299.

12 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 532, T. Fuller to A. Gobeil, 13 June 1887.

13 Ibid., 1893, p. 2182.

14 Ibid., 1898, pp. 5463-64.

15 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, p. 532, T. Fuller to A. Gobeil, 13 June 1887.

16 Ibid., Vol. 3863, T. Fuller to Hon. E. Dewdney, Lt. Governor Northwest Territories, 16 March 1887; ibid., Vol. 3864, T. Fuller to A. Gobeil, 10 November 1887.

17 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 606.

18 Ibid., p. 478.

19 Ibid., p. lxxxiv.

20 Ibid., p. 608.

21 House of Commons Debates, 1877, pp. 1503-4; ibid., 1898, pp. 5577-78: As a construction procedure "day labour" was an alternative to letting contract by public tender. By this method the department constructed its own buildings, ordering material and hiring day labourers as required. This method, used in Dawson, Y.T., for example, was reserved for emergency situations, but seems to have been favoured by Liberal governments under both Mackenzie and Tarte.

22 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2998, Main Estimates for the year 1881-82, Civil Government, p. 31.

23 Ibid., Vol. 3863, p. 590, T. Fuller to C.W. Mulligan, 24 June 1887.

24 House of Commons Debates, 1886, p. 1161.

25 "Report of the Royal Commissioners," in Sessional Papers, 1892, p. 608.

26 House of Commons Debates, 1891, p. 267.

27 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 3863, T. Fuller to C.P. Moffat, 18 April 1887; ibid., T. Fuller to H.J. Peters, 15 May 1887; ibid., T. Fuller to H. White, June 1887.

**Public Building Policies and the Survival of the Branch**

1 House of Commons Debates, 1879, p. 1243.

2 Ibid., 1887, p. 1482.

3 Ibid., 1886, p. 1164.

4 Ibid., 1884, p. 803.

5 Ibid., 1881, p. 1434.

6 Ibid., 1879, p. 1662.

7 Ibid., 1886, p. 1163.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., 1884, p. 1197.

10 Ibid., 1881, p. 1212.

11 Ibid., 1883, p. 907.

12 Ibid., 1889, p. 806.

13 Ibid., 1880, p. 1369; ibid., 1884, pp. 1190-91.
14 Ibid., 1884, p. 1196; ibid., 1889, p. 1525.
15 Ibid., 1893, p. 2169.
16 Ibid., 1896, p. 1264.
17 Ibid., 1897, p. 4901.
18 Ibid., p. 5434.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 1916, p. 2814.
21 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2711, File 2556-20-A, E.L. Horwood to J.B. Hunter, 11 January 1916.
22 "Report of the Militia Council for the Dominion of Canada for the fiscal year ending March 31 1912," in Sessional Papers, 1913, Sections 133-34.
23 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2711, File 2556-20-A, E.L. Horwood to Robert Rogers, 23 March 1915.
24 Ibid., E.L. Horwood to J.B. Hunter, 11 January 1916; and marginal note, J.B. Hunter to E.L. Horwood, 18 January 1916.
25 Ibid., Graham Moon to E.L. Horwood, 12 August 1916.
26 Ibid., E.L. Horwood to Robert Rogers, 23 March 1915.
27 Department of Public Works, 1911-1928. The statistics which follow in this paragraph are also drawn from the Annual Report of the Department of Public Works for the fiscal years in question.
28 Ibid., Vol. 2712, File 2556-20-C, T.W. Fuller to J.B. Hunter, 21 March 1936.
29 Department of Public Works, 1960-67.
30 24-25 Geo. V. Cap. 59.
31 21-22 Geo. V. Cap. 58 and 22-23 Geo. V. Cap. 13.
32 PAC, RG 11, Vol. 2711, File 2556-20-B, "Public Works Construction Act 1934, Outside Architects and Clerks of Works," 29 November 1934. Of the 46, 7 were hired specifically as clerks of works.
33 Telephone interview with E.A. Gardner, 20 November 1979.
34 PAC, MG 30, B115, T.D. Rankin Papers, autobiography, January 1951; telephone interview with Keith Rankin, 26 September 1979.
35 T.G. Fuller interview, 8 June 1978. As an employee of Campbell and Sheppard, the Toronto firm hired as clerks of works for the Confederation Building, T.G. Fuller worked closely with T.D. Rankin, the building's supervising architect.
36 Department of Public Works, 1940-1947; Keith Rankin, telephone interview, 26 September 1979.

**Achievement and Failure of Departmental Design**

1 "Departmental Architecture," Citizen (Ottawa), 16 February 1928.
2 Telephone interview with E.A. Gardner, 20 November 1979.
3 Ibid.
4 Department of Public Works, 1965-67.
5 Ibid., 1968.
6 Christopher Thomas, "Dominion Architecture," pp. 104-6.
7 Department of Public Works, 1965, p. 44.

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Canada

This examination of the process of architectural design in the federal government concerns itself more with the organization and operation of a design agency than with architectural drawings and public buildings, its end products. From 1881 to 1914 Chief Architects Thomas Fuller and David Ewart made almost exclusive use of staff designs for public buildings. A closer study of that period has exposed the essential workings of the departmental design process and offers a more precise understanding of the heretofore amorphous term "departmental design" applied to most of Canada's federal architecture of the period.