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“A NOBLE HOUSE IN THE CITY”

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE AS ELITE SIGNIFICATION IN LATE 19TH C. HAMILTON

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

of

The University of Guelph

by

JEAN ROSENFELD

In partial fulfilment of requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

“A NOBLE HOUSE IN THE CITY” DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE AS ELITE SIGNIFICATION IN LATE 19TH C. HAMILTON

Jean Rosenfeld
University of Guelph, 2000

Advisor:
Dr. G. Stelter

This thesis is an investigation of a social elite in Hamilton, Ontario, at the end of the nineteenth-century and its use of architectural form to enforce the social order. The homes of this elite were physically connected by a linear grid of streets, and psychologically connected by a strong social network of women. The linear and temporal progression from public street to private inner space strengthened and enforced the structure of this elite and also helped to define the elite character and form of the neighbourhood. The development of this urban area has been studied through an analysis of the structure of the elite, the architectural form and symbolism of their houses, and the relationship of both to the form and character of the social structure that was in place at the end of the nineteenth century. Domestic architecture, social structure, and urban form are intimately connected. In Hamilton, a critical mass of similarly defined individuals occupying visually distinctive homes was necessary to maintain not only the social hierarchy but also the status of the neighbourhood as elite. An elite group also requires the presence of dominating personalities. The relationship of Adam Brown, William Hendrie, and W. E. Sanford, and their importance to the maintenance of the elite through the location and form of their residences has been shown. The importance of women for the maintenance of Hamilton's elite society through teas, calls, and philanthropy and the relationship of these social events to interior house form is discussed. Visual sources, such as Bird's-Eye Views,

contemporary maps, architectural plans, and contemporary photographs, used in conjunction with written material, such as diaries and other personal papers, have proven invaluable.

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Acknowledgment must also be made to Ann Gillespie and Nina Chapple of the Hamilton L.A.C.A.C. Office who shared both their files and their office; the Hamilton City Clerk's Office for access to Assessment Rolls, the staff in the Archives of Ontario and the Public Archives of Canada, and the Research and Special Collections Staff in McMaster University's Mills Library. Individuals to be thanked include Mrs. Olmstead who shared her memories of the Wood family and graciously allowed the author to reproduce family photographs; Mr. Andrew Mischinger of the Hamilton Club for access to the Club's records; Mr. Rod Paddon, secretary of the Royal Hamilton Military Institute, for permission to photograph the interior of the Club, formerly the Warren Burton house; and Vicky Evans for providing photographs of Edinburgh architecture. Special acknowledgment must also go to the members of my thesis committee who stuck by me through it all, Drs. Murray and Crowley, and especially my thesis adviser, Dr. Gil Stelter. Last, but certainly not least, thanks must go to my family, Jack, Dalia and Debra, who gave me support, encouragement, and patience.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AHR	American History Review
AO	Archives of Ontario
BHR	Business History Review
BJCS	British Journal of Canadian Studies
CAB	Canadian Architect and Builder
CHR	Canadian Historical Review
DHB	Dictionary of Hamilton Biography
DIN	Dominion Illustrated News
JCS	Journal of Canadian Studies
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JSH	Journal of Social History
JSSAC	Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada
LACAC	Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, Hamilton
LIN	London Illustrated News
NAC (PAC)	National Archives of Canada (Public Archives of Canada)
PC	Picture Collection, Hamilton Public Library
JRAIC	Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada
SC, HPL	Special Collections, Hamilton Public Library
UHR	Urban History Review

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INTRODUCTION

Situated upon the summit of the ridge of high land which runs diagonally across the west end of the city, commanding an extended view of the mountain to the south, of the busy city to the east, and the blue waters of the bay to the north, and surrounded by grounds that have been the admiration of our citizens for years, stands the palatial residence of the Hon. W. E. Sanford, Hamilton's representative in the Senate of Canada. (Hamilton Times, June 8, 1892)

In late nineteenth-century Hamilton, a small wholesaling, manufacturing and emerging industrial centre on the south-west shore of Lake Ontario, domestic architecture and its socio-spatial relationships were used by a social elite as signification of status and as social control. Over a period of fifty years, from about 1850 to 1901, historic and symbolic architectural forms were manipulated to control entry into, and membership in, a simple social pyramid dominated by the city's two wealthiest businessmen. Established spatial relationships in house planning were adopted as a means to enforce these social hierarchies. In this way, through the location and form of its houses, this elite influenced the physical form and cultural ambience of a small section of the city. (Figure 1)

The composition of this elite has been defined by the guest lists of two society functions occurring almost ten years apart.¹ (See Appendix A) On June 7, 1892, Canadian Senator William Eli Sanford, who had made his fortune in the manufacture of ready-made clothing and in judicial investment in western land, invited nearly a thousand people to a lavish reception at his newly renovated Hamilton mansion. Officially, the occasion was to celebrate the marriage of Sanford's only son; however, the local newspapers devoted a large part of their coverage to describing in great detail the interior of his "palatial home" which had just been extensively renovated. Another marriage, in June, 1901, provided another occasion for a lavish display of elite wealth

and status. The groom was the son of William Hendrie, a hard-nosed businessman who had built an empire out of the cartage business; the bride was the daughter of Adam Brown, Hamilton Postmaster, former M.P., and former wholesaler. The ceremony, performed by the Bishop of Niagara, was described by the Toronto Sunday World as “the most auspicious social event that has ever taken place in (Hamilton).”² This society wedding was particularly important to the Hamilton elite because both fathers had lived and worked in Hamilton for over forty years, and it was therefore seen by many of the elite as a dynastic alliance between two prestigious local families and a culmination of their efforts to create and maintain a socially distinct class. As the local newspaper commented, “It is easily safe to say that not for a long time has there been a more complete satisfactory, and generally brilliant wedding affair added to the records of the local Four Hundred”.³ The term “Four Hundred”, an allusion to New York Society, is in itself an elite reference. Vancouver’s “Four Hundred” resulted from an October, 1901 ball given by the Women’s Exchange, stressing the importance of women in the creation of social hierarchies in elite groups.⁴ For all three of these individuals, Sanford, Hendrie and Brown, the family home and its form and location, were important for the legitimization and maintenance of their status. In addition, the location of the estates of Hendrie and Sanford created foci for the clustering of others with similar social aspirations who, in order to maintain their status or seek entry into Hamilton society, felt compelled to build or lease homes that were visually rich and impressive.

This study therefore approaches the larger topics of urban development and form through domestic architecture. Architectural form is an active rather than passive component of urban creation; it functions inter-connectively within the overall urban form. Our aim is to bring together the often individually studied “bricks” of urban development

that deal with historical, geographical, sociological, economic and political identities using domestic architecture as the “mortar”.⁵ For elite groups, architectural form functions on two levels. At one level, it is an expression of individual status; at another, it is an expression of group consciousness which is particularly strong within an elite. Although individual competition for position occurs, the principal driving force is solidarity. On lower social levels, the focus is less towards group solidarity and more towards upward mobility as individuals strive to join a higher level. This group consciousness is expressed through location within the urban environment, by physical closeness and social accessibility to others in the same group to form a distinct neighbourhood. A neighbourhood, in order to be self-sustaining, requires clearly defined boundaries, either natural or man-made, a distinctive self-image consisting of common characteristics of population and architectural forms, and central focus areas or nodes. The architectural forms within the neighbourhood display both overt and subliminal messages that portray status, but that also bear relationships conforming to the group identity and serve to locate the occupant within the hierarchy of the group. The first impression of the character of a neighbourhood is gleaned from these architectural forms, which include house and landscape.

Girouard has examined the interrelationship of buildings and urban form in Britain with its clearly defined aristocratic elite and their magnificent and impressive town and country houses.⁶ The importance of the house as a status symbol is given a lesser emphasis in American studies dealing with the wealthy elite of major American cities such as Philadelphia.⁷ In Canada, research has been done on the social and architectural histories of cities in the nineteenth century such as McDonald's work on Vancouver (1986) which best exemplifies the interconnection of social status and

architectural form and MacKay's study of the nineteenth-century Montreal elite. (1987).⁸ Holdsworth (1986) has presented a study of housing and urban form in Vancouver and emphasized the mixing of styles and sizes of house form in Vancouver's west end, - "cottages and castles" - a phenomenon mirrored in Hamilton's south-west elite area to some extent.⁹

In this study, the elite is defined as a group of individuals within the top level of the upper class who interact socially and effect a strictly controlled hierarchy designed to limit entrance to the group to only those socially desirable individuals. The late nineteenth-century houses and gardens of this Hamilton elite consisted of a series of spaces and paths leading from the public to the private, and in this way was comparable on a smaller scale to the spatial relationships developed in British society.¹⁰ These spaces enforced separateness and superiority and controlled access with distinctly physical and symbolic barriers. The original villa estates of Hamilton were located within the small south-central area, and later elite housing spread to the west from this original cluster.¹¹ Working within an existing spatial framework of intersecting streets and standardized lots, the second generation elite were able to impress their vision of "existential" space upon the urban environment by the construction of visually distinctive and stylish homes which formed vertical foci that not only defined the character of the area as elite, but also served to attract other like-minded individuals. In this way, they influenced the spatial organization of this section of the city.¹²

To maintain a vibrant social circle, given the limitations of travel by horse and carriage and the difficulties of travel over long distances, it was necessary to create a critical mass of elite family homes in close proximity to each other in order for the ladies

to reinforce the social structure and conveniently flit from drawing room to drawing room in the seemingly never-ending, but socially essential, ritual of teas and social calls. On another level, the space around and within the home was controlled through the organization of the landscape and approaches that defined the public space of the home. This public space ended at the front door of the house, to be followed by a series of increasingly private spaces organized in distinctive patterns that served to compartmentalize the hierarchy of the social group thus introducing the fourth dimension, time, into social control. The upper classes had no lack of advice on the correct alignment and decoration of their interior spaces in order to maintain and control their privileged status in innumerable architectural pattern books and books on style. The “*nouveau riche*” nineteenth-century merchants and industrialists were also informed that they too could acquire superior social, moral and cultural status to go along with their wealth through the form and organization of their homes.¹³ Thus, distinctive elite neighbourhoods with defining characteristics were more easily held together, enforcing the exclusivity of a neighbourhood and determining the physical characteristics of future urban development. The clustering of elite groups within specifically defined urban boundaries can also be seen in other major major cities, such as Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, and American cities such as Boston, New York, Detroit, Buffalo and Pittsburgh. In Winnipeg, the elite built huge multi-storied mansions in the South End of the City in the first decade of the twentieth century. The wealthy middle class had already located in the West End beginning in the 1890s. Detroit’s “upper crust” expanded along Woodward Avenue where the most expensive homes in the city were built on large lots. Buffalo’s elite were situated along Delaware Avenue.¹⁴

The establishment and maintenance of an elite group within a country or city

required it to determine and enforce certain rules. It was within these homes that spatial and temporal continuities were consciously manipulated to maintain and control the social hierarchy. Hillier and Hanson (1984) have set the foundation for the study of socio-architectural relationships with their development of fundamental theories using mathematical relationships thus creating analytical methods for spatial analysis of both exterior and interior architectural space. They suggested that the pattern of spatial order within territorial boundaries was indicative of social relationships. These boundaries resulted in social control that separated the occupant from the "stranger", but also created a system of inequality of access to certain spaces, thus enabling the valid inhabitant of the spaces to restrict the guest and maintain the existing hierarchy.¹⁵ This complicated but entirely logical spatial relationship is one of the most important aspects of architectural forms that impacts not only on the individual but on the community. Marcus (1993) has emphasized that "There is no other class of object which through the production of material forms purposely organizes space and people in space".¹⁶ The modern system of urban planning provides a means of activation and control of space through a direct relationship of architectural and urban form.

In the small town of Hamilton, a distinctly homogenous social elite emerged at mid-century that adopted the established and popularized credos of architectural form and symbolism to solidify their elevated social position. The last years of the nineteenth century were Hamilton's "Gilded Age", when the city was in transition from a commercial and manufacturing centre to one based on heavy industry, with a population of 52,665 in 1901. The elite employed architects to construct their homes in the most up-to-date and fashionable architectural styles. The houses analysed here range from early Georgian to Gothic Revival, popular through all of this period, to Italianate villa, to Neo-Romanesque,

Second Empire, and Queen Anne, as well as homes which, because of a succession of owners and renovations, appear to be a mixture of architectural forms and styles. The importance of house form to class distinction did not change throughout the years. It remained a monument to the owner's business and professional success, and both the physical form and the location were essential ingredients in the owner's journey towards social success.

There are comparisons that can be made between Hamilton's elite landscape and those of other Canadian cities in this period. Montreal's geographical characteristics of water and "mountain" and the clustering of its elite on the slopes of the city reflect a historic equation of height with status can also be seen in Hamilton¹⁷. In fact, this similarity was pointed out by the Dominion Illustrated News in December, 1880 when it stated that ". . . The City of Hamilton, is in one particular, like Montreal. It has its mountain on one side and its water on the other. . . The streets, as in Montreal, were partly directed by choice, to run, for the most part, at right angles to each other."¹⁸ In Montreal, the separation of classes by height of land into the rich on the slopes of Mount Royal and the poor on the disease-ridden low ground below was first documented by Herbert Brown Ames in 1897.¹⁹ However, the concentration of wealth prevalent in Montreal surpassed any other city in Canada. This was "old money", made by early entrepreneurs in the fur trade and later in railroads. Olson and Hanna have shown how in late nineteenth-century Montreal, merchants dominated the social structure, followed by physicians and lawyers, although numerically they were much smaller groups in comparison to the rest of the population. They also controlled the sources of wealth. At mid-century, the homes of these merchants were clustered together into a concentrated mass in old Montreal by the river. During the last half of the century, the wealthy

neighbourhood flowed to the west until, by 1901, it controlled the eastern slopes of Mount Royal above Dorchester Street (30 m. elevation).²⁰ The characteristics of concentration of wealth and westward flow of elite density parallel Hamilton's experience. Similarly, the majority of Hamilton's elite located their residences on or above the 105 m. contour line.

In Toronto, the original eighteenth-century elite located their estates just outside the city limits and large land grants enabled them to emulate the English aristocracy. The land sloped gradually back from Lake Ontario and was broken by ravines and hills, used to the best advantage by builders; for example, Senator John Macdonald's "Oaklands" sat on 35 acres well out of the city and offered a view of the lake from both dining and drawing rooms. Hamilton's villa estates were small by comparison. In Hamilton, 10 acres was considered a large estate. Although the first governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, had hoped that a new aristocracy in Toronto would develop immediately, it was the next generation of merchants, entrepreneurs and professionals who built the great mansions of Victorian Toronto. These Toronto villas were designed in the latest styles by the leading architects of the day, such as Frederick Cumberland and William Hay.²¹ This is similar to the Hamilton experience, though, in Hamilton, there were proportionately less wealthy individuals and less favorable building land for the creation of elite areas. In addition, because of the larger number of Toronto elite, more exclusively wealthy neighbourhoods developed such as Rosedale. Similarly, in Montreal, Mount Royal housed only the rich and powerful. Hamilton, on the other hand, could not fill an entire area with wealthy individuals, so what developed was an neighbourhood of social elite whose homes created elite foci which were still in relatively close proximity to more modest homes.

The equation of height with superiority was constant in the ideology of all these groups. Montreal has been mentioned. Even in small towns such as Galt, to the north-west of Hamilton, the elite neighbourhood of Dickson's Hill was located on a plateau overlooking the river valley.²² In the United States, the 1878 New York City Real Estate Record and Guide referred to Fifth Avenue as the "*via maxima*" of the city, "the natural center of the island occupying an elevated and commanding position." A year later, the Vanderbilt family began building enormous mansions on ten blocks to the south of Central Park, setting off a building boom that attracted other members of New York society, giving the area the name "Billionaire District".²³ For the nineteenth-century British designer, J.C. Loudon, "the great advantage of elevation is that it gives a command of prospect, without which a villa may be beautiful, picturesque, or romantic; but it can never be dignified or grand, and scarcely even elegant or graceful."²⁴ Thus, although there were many more millionaires and palatial dwellings in Montreal, Toronto, and the major American cities than in Hamilton at the end of the nineteenth century, the use of architectural and geographical symbolism to project a superior status was the same.²⁵

There were two distinct realms for the functioning of the nineteenth-century urban elite; work and home. The first denoted a commonality of business success, was exclusively male, and was based in the boardroom and the exclusive men's club. The second was social, primarily female, and was based in the home. This work is concerned with the Hamilton *social* elite where the home, its location and its form were major factors in the establishment and maintenance of the group. Thus, although the male developed a social circle through business contacts and at his Club, it was his wife, with her screening system of teas and calls and involvement in philanthropic activities,

who exerted social control in the home. In order to become accepted into elite circles, both a husband and wife had to pass a social screening before being invited into the home's inner sanctum, the dining room. The interior spaces of the home functioned not only as social control but also acquired specific gender-related qualities related to use which were emphasized by interior design and details, such as woodwork, classical forms, decoration and colour. This segregation provided both male and female members of the family with specific spaces for the entertaining of members of the same sex though the boundaries were permeable enough to enable social mixing on appropriate occasions.²⁶

In nineteenth-century Canada, therefore, political power and influence over urban development was centred in the hands of dominant male business elites that exerted control through groups such as the Board of Trade, exclusive private clubs, and political activities in all levels of government.²⁷ These business hierarchies gradually led to social hierarchies within specific urban neighbourhoods which were strictly controlled by the wives of these businessmen. As a result, the larger concept of urban space was telescoped into a precise and rigorous spatial hierarchy within and without the home that paralleled the hierarchy developed in business relationships, though the two were not necessarily the same. When studying professional photographs taken of interiors of the homes of the wealthy, one is struck by the coldness and museum mentality of the scenes, reflected by the almost total lack of evidence of human activity.²⁸ The lack of inhabitants emphasized the barrier between the privileged insider and the outsider. A similar psychological barrier was created in a physical sense by the layout of the rooms within these houses.²⁹ The design of the homes of Hamilton's elite conformed to this established pattern helping to enforce the idea of a rigidly controlled social class.³⁰ Thus

the way in which the city presented itself visually was a statement of its character as defined by those who exerted control over its physical and social development.

As the form of a city is a reflection of its cultural, social, economic, and political makeup, the individual buildings are also document and visual expression, both of how the owners see themselves and how others see them. Within the city itself, house form can be attributed to a range of cultural and social factors in addition to the usual geographical ones, the most important social factor being the power relationship between populace and patron. As a result, there has developed a specific formal architectural language which can be understood by anyone regardless of status, such as columns and pediments signifying culture, towers and turrets signifying power. In the late nineteenth century, Chicago capitalist Potter Palmer put his own visions of success into the design of his "castle" (Architects: Cobb and Frost, 1884) on the shores of Lake Michigan.³¹ Visually, it spelled out the owner's aspirations and dreams and reflected a Romantic vision of medieval times; architecturally, it was widely criticized as "sumptuous and abominable".³² The Chicago Inter-Ocean sarcastically remarked, "The age of Pericles seems to be dawning".³³ In early twentieth century Toronto, wealthy broker, Henry Pellatt, hired E. J. Lennox, architect of Toronto's City Hall, to design a huge sprawling French-Renaissance-inspired mansion, "Casa Loma", one of the largest private homes in North America with ninety-eight rooms.³⁴ The symbolism of these houses was consistent and thus clearly understood by others within all classes of society.

For nineteenth-century elites, historical symbolism served to legitimize their claims to political, economic and social dominance. One of the most used symbolic

associations in the last half of the century was that of the Renaissance.³⁵ The symbolism implicit in the use of Renaissance forms in architecture and Renaissance thought in everyday life was eagerly adopted by late-nineteenth century entrepreneurs.³⁶ Hamilton's elite was no exception, and the term, "merchant prince", originally applied to fifteenth-century Florence's wealthy merchants and bankers, was used extensively by the Hamilton media and others to describe the early elite of Hamilton, bringing with it the attendant association with culture, wealth, power, and glory.³⁷ This was more than a label since Hamilton's "merchant princes" had also made their fortunes from mercantilism and banking.

Many Renaissance-inspired mansions houses of late nineteenth-century millionaires such as the Vanderbilts on Fifth Avenue in New York City, and Hamilton's Senator William Sanford can be favourably compared with the urban palazzi of the great Florentine families that reflected power and wealth in their size, and cultural superiority in their use of classical forms. The 1892 renovations to Sanford's palatial home cost over \$250,000 and the house was described at the time as the "residence of a merchant prince" and "the most beautiful home in the Dominion. . . . In the construction of "Wesanford", is seen the same genius as built up in a short time the most successful commercial enterprise of its kind in Canada".³⁸ This connection of architecture and business success was made blatantly by the nineteenth-century media.³⁹ It was also obvious to the observer that the house reflected not the genius of the architect but that of its owner.⁴⁰ This ideology was expressed by a Toronto reporter after his 1892 visit to Hamilton's "Wesanford" when he wrote, "The ideas of a man are seen in his dwelling house."⁴¹ The concept of business or professional success was thus instilled permanently in the physical form of the home.

Since the majority of the early Hamilton elite achieved their success through wholesaling, the symbolic association of their homes and elite lifestyle with those of the merchant princes of fifteenth-century Florence, as that society was perceived in the nineteenth century, was used to legitimize status, even after the interests of the elite diverged into manufacturing and heavy industry. This historically symbolic association was also transferred from occupational similarities to cultural ideas. By the end of the nineteenth century, the architectural language of the houses and surrounding landscape of the Hamilton elite projected not only an aura of power and wealth but also refinement. The use of Renaissance ideas and associations by these wealthy nineteenth-century Hamilton entrepreneurs and industrialists was thus a conscious and deliberate effort on their part to associate themselves ideologically and formally with what they believed was a society similar to their own, where individuals with business and political acumen had risen to great heights of influence and cultural superiority without the aid of aristocratic origins.⁴²

In England, lavish country houses were built for the purpose of expressing their owner's power and position in society. This modern "villa" did not have to be a country house in opposition to a city house. It could be, and was, the primary residence of the wealthy upper middle class and was often located at the edge of the city, far enough out of the urban setting to be country-like and yet still retain its associations with historical upper class villas, and close enough to the downtown commercial district so that the distance could be traversed easily on a daily basis.⁴³ In industrial Manchester in England, Victorian capitalists were always flattered when compared to Renaissance merchants and, by the mid-nineteenth century, it was the form and symbolism of the Italian villa that attracted this Victorian elite to build Renaissance-inspired country villas

on the outskirts of the city.⁴⁴ In the same period in Hamilton, the first elite villas were built on large areas of land at the city's southern periphery.

The nineteenth century saw the development of a large middle class that desired to emulate the aristocracy. One way was through architecture and the villa was put forward by numerous authors as the ideal form.⁴⁵ Of course it was the *idea* that was the defining factor because architectural forms were manipulated to present associations defining character - of both the house and its owner. These ideas were transported to the Americas and publicized in books by such authors as Andrew Jackson Downing who defined his concept of the American villa as "the country house of a person of competence or wealth sufficient to build and maintain it with some taste and elegance. . . . a country house of larger accommodation, requiring the care of at least three or more servants".⁴⁶

In the early urban development of Hamilton, the wealthy elite located their villa residences on large tracts of land within easy access to the centre of the city, on a gradually increasing slope which necessitated the possession of a horse and carriage. In American cities, the negative result of this trend was the creation of a class-divided city where the upper and middle-class moved out of the city and into the suburbs, leaving the poor in possession of the downtown.⁴⁷ In Hamilton's case, the downtown at the end of the nineteenth century was still thriving. Her merchants located their establishments in the downtown core, the population flocked to the "Gore" park with its impressive fountain in the evenings, and the Grand Opera House and other establishments provided entertainment. The working classes located their homes in the north and east of the city close to the factories which provided employment, while the wealthy retained control of

the old elite areas to the south.

For the major part of any population in any historical period, a house provides basic shelter. In the nineteenth century, the vast majority could not afford the luxury of choice; the style and location of their home was predetermined by their income. The wealthy, on the other hand, could choose. Their choices were based not only on the amount of their disposable wealth, but perhaps more importantly, on how they wished others to see them. The results were what Ennals and Holdsworth refer to as the “self-conscious house”.⁴⁸ The question of why someone chooses to spend far more than is necessary for basic shelter on the physical form and contents of their house has some very simple answers. They are that the image displayed on the public face of one's home serves as a visual statement of the position that one holds, or wishes to hold, within society and it transmits a message to those less fortunate that “here dwells a important person”, someone to be looked up to. To one's peers, it says that the house's owner is worthy of being included within their intimate spaces. The interior decoration of, and the objects, displayed in, that home give a sense of satisfaction and pleasure to the owner, but also symbolize success, a success that is emphasized to those of the owner's social circle who are given privileged access to those restricted areas within the home. The message is that only someone who is successful can afford to spend money on objects that have no practical use other than to impress or on a home far too large for the size of the family.⁴⁹

In addition to wealth, power and privilege, architecture during the nineteenth century came to acquire a moral value. This same sense of spiritual redemption through architecture (and art) had encouraged the fifteenth-century Florentine merchant princes

to build churches and chapels and is also shown in the many philanthropic causes espoused by nineteenth-century elites.⁵⁰ The nineteenth-century English architect, Augustus Welby Pugin, stressed that it was only in medieval Gothic architecture that one could find true morality and good taste, a concept reflected in the proliferation of Gothic Revival villas in Britain and Canada, including Hamilton.⁵¹ This concept of equating architectural forms and moral values was exported to North America primarily through the influence of English art critic and writer John Ruskin and these ideas in turn were taken up by the American Andrew Jackson Downing who stated that the three reasons for good houses were civilization, social values, and moral values.⁵² In the nineteenth century, morality for the elite became associated with status and they saw themselves as having a responsibility to set an example for the lower classes. Thus a strong work ethic, a close family life, regular attendance at church, charitable works, and for some, temperance, lent the elite a moral superiority over what they saw as the more sinful habits of the working class. These ideas were connected with the dominant Protestantism of North American elite groups and were transferred to the forms of domestic architecture.⁵³ The nineteenth-century English writer, Shirley Hibberd wrote that "A Home of Taste is a tasteful home, wherein everything is a reflection of refined thoughts and chaste desires. . . ." and also suggested that the moral value of the house could be translated into political success.⁵⁴

Socio-architectural studies of house form have thus taken the study of architecture beyond aesthetics to explain social relationships and moral values through architectural design. However, what is the direction of this influence? Does the arrangement of interior and exterior domestic spaces determine morality and the organization of social interaction, or does society impose its predetermined sense of

what morality and class relationships should be on the design of the home? The argument seems to go both ways. Nineteenth-century social reformers and architects certainly felt that by providing the lower classes with “moral” homes, social values could be improved.⁵⁵

Andrew Jackson Downing's Architecture of Country Houses (1850) was essentially a pattern book, but Downing also talked about truth in architecture with regard to beauty and usefulness. A beautiful house was a symbol of social and domestic virtues wherein the character of the owner could be read. Downing admitted that it was seldom possible for a home owner to design his own house, much less to be so in tune with his architect that the design expressed him truthfully, but he meant to help the process by offering the reader a number of designs and hoped that the builder could satisfactorily complete the rest. That these ideas were taken up by Hamilton architects can be supported by an article published in the Canadian Architect and Builder in January, 1888, written by Hamilton architect James Balfour who built many houses for the elite from the late 1870s to the 1890s.⁵⁶ In this essay, Balfour discussed truth and beauty in architecture and put forth the notion that Canadian architects should be striving for an architecture that reflected Canadian values, though he did not define what he thought these were. Montreal architect W.E. Doran agreed, stating that “from a historical point of view, it (architecture) reveals with a veracity not to be found in written records, the state of civilization, the manners, customs, and intellectual life of peoples. . . .”⁵⁷, showing that Canadian architects of the late nineteenth century were thinking along these lines and were conscious of this ideological association in the design of homes.

Pattern books, such as those by Downing, were very important in the spread of

ideas since they emphasized the high moral tone of designs symbolizing family values and democracy. Fences indicated privacy, and these can be seen in the villa residences of the early Hamilton elite which were surrounded with stone walls and iron fences. Also popular was the verandah, another architectural element associated with good morals and found on many of the houses in this study. The verandah was important in directing the flow of space between interior and exterior as well as sheltering guests and family members from the elements. According to Pugin, Ruskin, Downing and other adherents to the moral qualities of architecture, these positive values would be transmitted to their owners and occupants.⁵⁸ The surrounding landscape was also important. Hibberd emphasized the tranquillizing and uplifting social effects of gardens and house plants when he stated that "our pleasures take a tone from our improving moral sentiments, and acquire a poetic grace that reflects again upon both head and heart",⁵⁹ an association reflected by the gardens and conservatories of many of Hamilton's elite. Yale University's president, Timothy Dwight, is credited with the statement that "the dwelling has not a little influence on the mode of living. It affects taste, manners, and morals."⁶⁰ In an article on interior decoration, nineteenth-century architect Andrew Wells pointed out that a man should not regret money spent on the ornamentation of one's home since the results had a "refining influence" on his wife and children.⁶¹

It is impossible to determine whether the members of Hamilton's elite were truly influenced by the perceived moral qualities of their homes but there were certainly many charitable works undertaken by them, and towards the end of the century, many became avid supporters of the temperance movement.⁶² The ideals of morality expressed in the home also reflected the emphasis that was placed on religion at this time.⁶³ Hamilton's

elite was actively involved in all kinds of church activities and many donated money to the churches for such things as memorial windows and organs.⁶⁴ Senator Sanford was an avid financial supporter of the Methodist missions in the Far East and his home contained many works of oriental art obtained through these connections.

It can be established, therefore, that there was, for Hamilton's elite, a perceived relationship between morals and architectural form and this is also reflected in the proliferation of Gothic Revival villas built in Hamilton at mid-century. On the other hand, an inordinate amount of money was spent on material possessions; hardly a characteristic of a simple, moral man. Historically, this obsession can also be related to the relationship between display, wealth and power. The ideas and aims of the new gentry of the Americas were reflected in the same kinds of display that grew up in Britain and were also seen in the architecture and cultural aspirations of the ruling class in the Canadian provinces. Gentility was the aim of the new American middle class and they sought to attain this through adoption of the forms of the old European aristocracy, a path already taken by members of the new English mercantile class in the eighteenth century. The idea of the "gentleman" who did not have to work with his hands signified a higher aristocratic order. In Hamilton, only two of the elite gave themselves this title. One was retired; the other inherited his father's money and lived off his investments. This quest for gentility translated into a life that emphasized culture, and houses and their contents were outward signs of an inward refinement and a cultured life.⁶⁵ The nineteenth-century British architect, George Gilbert Scott, expressed this idea succinctly when he commented that since the Victorian landowner "had been placed by providence in a position of authority and dignity; no false modesty should deter him from expressing this, quietly and gravely, in the character of his house."⁶⁶

For the elite, both exterior and interior appointments of the home were integral parts of the social system and were used in conjunction with established "rites of passage" to maintain control over who could join the group. In Britain and its colonies, an important element necessary for social dominance was presentation at Court. In Canada, the purely symbolic and non-political Governor-General, appointed by the British monarchy and filled from the ranks of the British aristocracy, established the colonial equivalent of the royal court in Ottawa, holding lavish receptions and fancy dress balls for Ottawa society to warm up the long Canadian winter.⁶⁷ Toronto had its Lieutenant-Governor to elevate the social scene. In other cities and towns, only those elite with suitably "aristocratic" homes could hope to compete for vice-regal visits, thus vice-regal approval played an important role in the shuffling for social dominance. In Vancouver, the arrival of former Federal cabinet minister Sir Charles H. Tupper and his wife created a focus for West End society when they build a home beside Stanley Park.⁶⁸

The value of buildings and other forms of art as historical documents has been emphasized by other researchers. The use of visual material such as architectural plans, contemporary photographs, urban maps, and Birds'-Eye Views in socio-urban analysis provides an expanded and, in many ways, more accurate recreation of building form than written descriptions. Drawings and plans, in addition to presenting architectural style and layout, can also give an insight into the minds of architects and their clients.⁶⁹

Domestic architecture emerges as the most important visual document of social status in the Society calendar of elite entertainments such as masques, fetes, teas, weddings, and receptions, in the way in which it defines the aspirations of its owner. In

the late nineteenth century, in the small city of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, domestic architecture was used by its elite to perpetuate its social control, and as a result was a dominant element in the creation of a distinctive neighbourhood, defining it visually, spatially, and historically.⁷⁰

Sources and Research Path

The research path for this thesis began with a determination of a social elite at the end of the nineteenth century using guest lists from two major society functions that were identified as such in the newspapers; the Brown-Hendrie wedding of 1901 and Senator Sanford's reception of 1892. Tyrrell's Society Blue Book, published in Toronto in 1900, and the membership lists of the Hamilton Club, an exclusive businessmen's club, were also consulted. Primarily because of the starting point, the study identified a social elite which left out successful businessmen who were not included in the group's major social functions. The study does include a few people whose financial status was considerably reduced at the time and widows who would not have been part of the business elite but whose husbands had been at an earlier date. This gave what the author believes to be a more accurate listing of the social elite than business relationships would have produced. Many of the techniques established in other sociological studies of urban elite have been adopted here to help define the study group. One of the most comprehensive early studies of urban population characteristics used Hamilton as a model. Through an analysis of data from the manuscript censuses of 1851 and 1861, Michael Katz (1975) helped to lay the groundwork for later demographic and class studies of Hamilton.⁷¹

Hamilton City Directories were consulted to determine the home location for the

study group. The results of this were most encouraging, since it was found that over 85% lived within the south-central study area in 1901 giving a precise area for analysis. Using geological surveys with contour lines, heights of land were determined and the location of elite housing in relation to these analysed. It was found that all three individuals who had sponsored the elite social gatherings of 1892 and 1901, (Sanford, Brown, and Hendrie), had located their homes on the ridge of high land that cut diagonally across the south-central area. Other elite homes were located on or in close proximity to either this ridge or on the highest levels of land along the base of the escarpment.⁷² Demographic characteristics for this group were gleaned from the 1891 and 1901 Dominion Censuses and the Assessment Rolls of the City of Hamilton.

Contemporary publications, such as Hamilton. The Birmingham of Canada (1892), provided photographs of a variety of buildings and were, of course, indispensable for the study of those which had been demolished.⁷³ The writer consulted the excellent collection of photographs of historical buildings, mostly exteriors, in the Hamilton Public Library's Archives and Special Collections department. The Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa) and the Ontario Archives were also sources for photographs and architectural plans which helped to reconstruct the layout of the homes. Architectural plans were obtained from the Fisher Rare Book Archives of the University of Toronto, as well as from the Canadian Architect and Builder which began publication in the late 1880s, the latter source providing valuable insight into the ideas of contemporary architects. Nineteenth-century city maps and Bird's-Eye Views have also been useful in reconstructing the urban landscape of the time. For those buildings still in existence, contemporary photographs and plans, if they existed, were compared with photographs taken by the writer during many peregrinations around the city.

Reconstructing the interiors of houses was more problematic, even in the case of those still standing, since it is extremely rare to find the interior of a home in the same state as it was one hundred years ago. In many cases, larger homes have survived by being converted to other uses. In Hamilton, there have been some conversions to condominiums and, in a few cases, some of the original details have been preserved. The most usual result is that walls are torn down, or put up, their integrity broken by the insertion of extra doors, ceilings are plastered over or false ceilings are installed, woodwork is painted over, stained glass is removed and sold. Unfortunately, photographs and descriptions of the interiors of these homes are rare.

All of the area was traversed on foot (during the course of the study, many times). In this way, houses still standing and those which had been demolished could be identified. Photographs were taken of the homes and, where possible, interiors. This depended to a large degree on whether the interior retained any of its original form and decoration and also on the hospitality of the owners. Research was continued in the Special Collections of the Hamilton Public Library which contains papers, letters, diaries and other documents from the time, the L.A.C.A.C. files at Hamilton City Hall,⁷⁴ the Public Archives of Canada, the Archives of Ontario, and the Metro Toronto Reference Library, as well as other areas where serendipity led and which are listed in the Bibliography of this work.

A number of articles and books have been published on specific aspects of Hamilton's development, coming, for the most part, from the History and Geography Departments of McMaster University in Hamilton.⁷⁵ Doucet and Weaver's study of land

and real estate development from the mid-nineteenth century to the present using Hamilton as a specific case study was of particular interest to this thesis for its analysis of the involvement of the Hamilton elite in land speculation during the last half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Another study by the same authors examined the continuity of urban form in Hamilton in the 1830s as well as presenting a picture of the elite in that early period.⁷⁷ Of those early elite, only the McLaren name remained within the elite at the end of the century, but the site of Peter Hunter Hamilton's house was taken by William Hendrie, and the lands on which the house of Richard Juson stood were later subdivided to provide home lots for six of the end-of-the-century elite. Doucet in his study of land development in Hamilton to 1881 examined working class housing and used the distribution of elite housing, as represented by merchants and lawyers, as a means of comparison, providing a solid basis for later studies such as this one. He concluded that the social distances between upper and lower classes had increased considerably in the period between 1851 and 1881.⁷⁸

The Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society and the Wentworth Historical Society have, over the years, been responsible for investigations into Hamilton's historical past, both visual and written. There have also been a number of popular history books published showing photographs from Hamilton's past. The latter two sources, aimed for public consumption, give factual reports with no in-depth analysis and are particularly lacking in references. In addition, the City of Hamilton has endorsed books and pamphlets aimed at bolstering the city's image. Publications celebrating milestones in the city's history, such as the 1946 centennial and the 1996 sequi-centennial, have resulted in a number of lavish photographic books. In the last half of the nineteenth

century, the Hamilton newspapers regularly published "reminiscences" and descriptions of Hamilton's industries and biographies of local entrepreneurs, such as the special Carnival editions of the Hamilton Spectator in 1889 and 1903. Biographies of Hamilton's foremost citizens over the years have been compiled in the four volumes of the Dictionary of Hamilton Biography.⁷⁹ Another of the early boosters of Hamilton's architectural heritage was newspaper editor and columnist Herbert Gardiner whose address to the Wentworth Historical Society in 1922 on "Hamilton's Stone Age" is an indispensable source to early buildings in the city and whose regular "Musings" provided much interesting, albeit non-referenced, material on nineteenth-century Hamilton.⁸⁰ Gardiner had access to the elite through his writings and was a invited guest to the 1901 Brown-Hendrie society wedding, the defining endpoint for this study.

Organization

The organization of the thesis reflects this research path. The Introduction thus far has discussed the major foci of the thesis in general terms providing a historiographical background with an emphasis on the major sources. Chapter 1 provides a short historical background of the City of Hamilton to the end of the nineteenth century. Included are its geography, economy, and its social character, with an emphasis on the elite's involvement in city development. The makeup of the elite, its common characteristics, and the analytical methods used to define it are discussed. The results of this statistical analysis show that there were a number of characteristics shared by the members of Hamilton's elite which were common to elite groups in other areas, thus confirming universal elite signifiers.

Chapter 2 focuses on the relationships of Hamilton architects and their elite.

clients, and discusses the influence of the patron on the architectural form of the house. Also discussed is the rise of the professional landscaper in nineteenth-century Hamilton, which coincides with the building of the early villa estates. Landscape assumed the same symbolic associations as architecture, becoming an integral part of a total, unified, continuity of space.

In Chapter 3, a detailed analysis is made of the three leading members of the elite whose homes provide the foci for urban development to the west of the old south-central elite area and who provide a startling contrast in manner and leadership: Senator William Sanford, whose "housewarming" was *the* society function of 1892; William Hendrie, grand patriarch of a large clan, whose son's marriage to the daughter of Adam Brown took place in 1901, the endpoint of this work; and Adam Brown, businessman, Member of Parliament, and Postmaster who was greatly respected by all social classes. The study of Senator Sanford's quest for aristocratic status is particularly illuminating and illustrates the strong relationship between status and architectural form.

In Chapter 4, the early villa homes in the oldest elite area of Hamilton are discussed with regard to style, location, and symbolic value. All but three of the houses in this area, have been demolished so heavy reliance is made on contemporary photographic material and written sources. The south-central area of the city can be considered as the first elite core with most of the major homes in place by the end of the 1850s and it provided an eastern boundary from which the later development to the west extended. A number of these homes, built by the first generation of wealthy Hamilton businessmen, were purchased by the next generation of wholesalers, manufacturers and professionals, ensuring a continuance of this solid elite base. The later expansion and

in-filling of the area to the west created urban foci, clusters of elite homes designed by architects in the latest styles. The summer home phenomenon is briefly discussed to show how the symbolic values present in urban architecture and their relationship to the maintenance of elite society were extended to the vacation homes of the elite.

In Chapter 5, the interiors of many of the elite homes are analysed in relation to contemporary ideas of design and social sifting. The cultural values of the elite are shown in the art which hung on their walls, the artifacts which graced their cabinets, and the books which filled their libraries. This chapter also discusses how architectural form mirrored society's ideas concerning the public and the private by examining the physical layout of the houses. The home during the day was a female domain and it was in the home that the basic structure of the elite was developed.

The social elite that formed in Hamilton during the last half of the nineteenth century provides an ideal study group for an architectural analysis of both gender and class-related spatial divisions, their effect on the form and character of urban space, and the use of historically-based ideological associations as functions of class determination. The elite played an integral role in the growth of the city from wholesale distributing centre in the early part of the century to a city whose economy was based in heavy industry. This metamorphosis and the involvement and composition of the late nineteenth-century elite is discussed in Chapter 1.

ENDNOTES to INTRODUCTION

1. Hamilton Spectator, June 5, 1892; Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1901.
2. Toronto Sunday World, June 9, 1901.
3. Hamilton Spectator, June 5, 1901. The term "Four Hundred" was first used to describe the elite group around nineteenth-century New York City society hostess, Mrs. Astor, and the use of the term to describe other urban elite soon spread quickly.
4. Robert McDonald, "Vancouver's Four Hundred. The Quest for Wealth and Status in Canada's Urban West, 1886-1914", J.C.S. 25:1(Fall, 1990), 265.
5. "Those social historians and critics . . . who see an intimate connection between art and society, have left architecture out in the cold. Those architectural historians and critics who treat buildings as art objects, have left society out in the cold." (Thomas Markus, Buildings and Power (London, 1993), p. 27). For an earlier study advocating an interdisciplinary approach to the study of architecture, see, Paul Frankl, Principles of Architectural History (Boston, 1968). Originally published Stuttgart, 1914.
6. See Mark Girouard, Cities and People (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1985), and also Mark Girouard, The English Town. A History of Urban Life (New Haven/London, 1990), especially Chapter 6: "Houses and People" and also Girouard's detailed analysis of the evolution of the English country house from the medieval period to the twentieth century, Life in the English Country House (New Haven, 1980). The English Country House. A Grand Tour by Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin (London, 1984), provides a room by room analysis of the major country houses in England from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.
7. For a statistical analysis of the composition of the American elite, see John Ingham, The Iron Barons (Westport, Ct., 1978) and E. Digby Baltzell, An American Business Aristocracy (Illinois, 1958). Baltzell's study of Philadelphia, and Ingham's analysis of the iron barons of Pennsylvania are important for the comprehensive measurement methods of elite signifiers. The importance of the house as a status symbol is given a lesser emphasis in American studies dealing with the wealthy elite of major American cities such as Philadelphia.
8. For Montreal, see Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal in Evolution (Montreal/Kingston, 1981) and Donald MacKay, The Square Mile. Merchant Princes of Montreal (Vancouver/Toronto, 1987). For Vancouver, see Robert McDonald Making Vancouver. Class, Status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913 (Vancouver, 1996), and McDonald (1990), 264-285.
 In Eric Arthur, Toronto. No Mean City, Third Ed., Rev. by Stephen Otto (Toronto, 1986), the author discusses urban development and the various architectural forms within that environment. Peter G. Goheen in Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900 (Chicago, 1970), which covers the same period as this work, also discusses urban form.
 In addition, several studies have taken the traditional approach to architectural history and discussed only the architecture. Lucy Booth Martyn, Aristocratic Toronto: 19th Century Grandeur (Toronto, 1990) and Liz Lundell, The Estates of Old Toronto (Erin, Ont., 1997) discuss the domestic architecture of Toronto's elite; Martyn in the 19th

century, Lundell until 1945. See also Jennifer McKendry, Kingston. With Our Path Before Us (Toronto, 1995), and Marion Macrae, The Ancestral Roof. Domestic Architecture in Upper Canada (Toronto, 1963).

For an analysis of the housing market in Hamilton, see Michael Doucet and John Weaver, Housing the North American City (Montreal/Kingston, 1991).

Nancy Tausky and Lynne DiStefano, Victorian Architecture in London and South-Western Ontario (Toronto, 1986) discuss London's architecture in relation to one architectural firm.

9. Deryck Holdsworth, "Cottages and Castles for Vancouver Home-Seekers", Vancouver Past: Essays in Social History, Robert A.J. MacDonald and Jean Barman, Eds., (Vancouver, 1986), 11-32.

10. Jill Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan 1835-1914 (London, 1981). Girouard (1980).

11. For our purposes and for simplification, the term "south-central" will be used to describe the larger area of this study, defined by the area enclosed by the escarpment to the south, John Street to the east, Main Street to the north, and Queen Street to the west. In 1900, this included the city divisions of Ward 2 and part of Ward 3.

12. "Architecture is human history made manifest". Alan Gowans, "The Evolution of Architectural Styles in Toronto", The Canadian City. Essays in Urban and Social History, Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan A. J. Artibise, Eds., (Ottawa, 1984), 210-219. A definition of "existential space" is given by Norberg-Schulz as man's "spatial image of his environment". He defines architectural space as "a concretization of existential space". (Christian Norberg-Schulz, Baroque Architecture (New York, 1986), 18).

13. Andrew Jackson Downing, Architecture of Country Houses (New York, 1968). Reprint of 1850 Ed.

Robert Kerr, The Gentleman's House, Intro. Mordaunt Crook (New York/London: Johnson Reprint Co., 1972). Reprint of 3rd Ed. (London, 1871).

Clarence Cook, The House Beautiful (New York, 1995). Reprint of 1881 Ed.

14. See MacKay (1987), Goheen (1970), McDonald (1996) and (1990), Ingham (1978). Alan Artibise, Winnipeg. An Illustrated History (Ottawa, 1977).

Oliver Zunz, The Changing Face of Inequality. Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1830-1920 (Chicago, 1982).

Richard C. Brown & Bob Watson, Buffalo (Woodland Hills, Ca., 1982).

15. Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, The Social Logic of Space (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Markus (1993) quotes Hillier and Hanson and relates both exterior and interior space to social organization. (pp. 11-18).

16. Marcus (1993), 27.

17. Marsan (1981). David B. Hanna, "Creation of an Early Victorian Suburb in Montreal", U.H.R. IX:2 (Oct., 1980), 38-64.

18. D.I.N. 28 Dec., 1889.

19. Herbert Brown Ames, The City Below the Hill (Toronto, 1972), originally published in 1897.
20. Sherry Olson and David Hanna, "Social Change in Montreal, 1842-1901", R. L. Gentilcore, D. Mesner, R. Walder, G. Matthews, B. Moldofsky, Eds. Historical Atlas of Canada. Vol. II: The Land Transformed, 1800-1891 (Toronto, 1993) Plate 49.
21. Lundell, 78.
22. John S. Hagopian, "Galt's 'Dickson's Hill'. The Evolution of a Late Victorian Neighbourhood in an Ontario Town", U.H.R. XXVII:2 (Mar., 1999), 41.
23. For a discussion of the development of this area, see Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and John Montague Massengale, New York 1900. Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism, 1890-1915 (New York, 1983), pp. 306-436.
24. J. C. Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (London, 1869).
25. For a history of the homes in Montreal's original elite area, Mount Royal, see MacKay (1987), Hanna (1980), and Marsan (1981).
26. Daphne Spain, Gendered Spaces (Chapel Hill, 1992) pp. 111-140. Girouard (1980). Leonore Davidoff, The Best Circles (Totowa, N.J., 1973) examines the influence of women and the home environment on the social interaction of the elite.
27. This relationship has been examined by a number of urban historians. See Elizabeth Bloomfield's study of Berlin (now Kitchener) and Waterloo in "Community Leadership and Decision-Making: Entrepreneurial Elites in Two Ontario Towns, 1870-1930", in Power and Place, Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, Eds. (Vancouver, 1986), 82-104. On Hamilton at the middle of the nineteenth century, see Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West (Cambridge, 1975). The business and social relationships of a group of eighteenth-century merchants in London, England, is discussed in David Hancock, Citizens of the World (Cambridge, 1995).
28. See Arnold Lewis, James Turner, and Steven McQuillin, The Opulent Interiors of a Gilded Age (New York, 1987). Reprint of Artistic Houses (1883-84).
29. Girouard (1980) pp. 268-298.
30. The establishment of the elite and its rituals in nineteenth-century England has been discussed in detail by Davidoff (1973) and Girouard (1980), and a number of American authors have applied these same criteria to the homes of the American elites. For example, see Andrews (1947), Baltzell (1962). In addition, see Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment. Aristocracy and Caste in America (New York, 1964). See also Richard Bushman, The Refinement of America (New York, 1992), and Frederic Jaher, The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful (Urbana, 1973). In Canada, Holdsworth (1986) has pointed out the importance of both exterior and interior appointments for formal entertaining by Vancouver's social elite.

31. An architectural drawing was reproduced in The Inland Architect and Builder IV:4 (November, 1884).

32. Boni de Castellane, quoted in Wayne Andrews, Architecture, Ambition and Americans. A Social History of American Architecture (London, 1947) 157.

33. Andrews (1947) 157. Beauty, however, is in the eye of the beholder. The Countess of Aberdeen, wife of Canada's Governor-General in the 1890s, who visited the Palmers and included them in the whirl of Ottawa society, wrote in her diary, "At Chicago, we were most kindly met at the station by Mrs. Potter Palmer and her brother, . . . Mrs. Palmer drove us off to her gorgeous mansion, where we were most hospitably entertained during our stay." Journal of Lady Aberdeen, J.T. Saywell, Ed. (Champlain Society, 1960) Entry of Feb. 27, 1897.

34. Begun in 1910, and never fully completed, "Casa Loma" is Spanish for "house on the hill". The style was deliberately grand with turrets and towers, chimneys and gables. The stables alone cost \$200,000. (See Lundell, pp. 91-93).

35. Jacob Burckhardt, The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance, Transl. James Palmes, edited with an introduction by Peter Murray (Chicago, 1987). The writings of Burckhardt, a nineteenth-century cultural historian, were influential in the spread of the Renaissance style. For Burckhardt, the Renaissance was the height of human cultural endeavours, and his writings on this subject were important in determining the cultural prejudices of late nineteenth-century society as well as our own.

36. For example, the Henry Villard houses on Madison Avenue in New York City. (Architects: McKim, Mead and White, 1882-85). See illustration in Stern *et al.*, p.311. For a description of the W.H. Vanderbilt house at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fortieth Street, see Wayne Andrews, The Vanderbilt Legend (New York, 1941) 221, and Edwin P. Hoyt, The Vanderbilts and their Fortunes (New York, 1961) 239-242.

37. This term was used quite widely at this time and its use in Hamilton's case is a reflection of the way in which many North American mercantilists saw themselves. It is one of the remnants of the Romantic ideology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with its habit of looking back to earlier periods for cultural references. We see this in literature, poetry and art. It is most obvious in the many architectural revivals of the nineteenth-century such as Neo-Gothic, Neo-Romanesque, Renaissance Revival, and Queen Anne, though the latter style's only relationship with that English queen is in the name.

38. The Empire (Toronto), June 13, 1892. Also quoted in Hamilton. The Birmingham of Canada (Hamilton, 1892) 70.

39. This connection between business success and domestic architecture was shown in the 1893 local publication, Hamilton. The Birmingham of Canada, which described the various businesses in the city accompanied by photographs of the business establishments and the owners' homes, the implication being that lavish homes were the result of business success which could be achieved in Hamilton. A contemporary publication for the City of Toronto, Toronto Illustrated 1893, dealt only with commercial, manufacturing, educational and financial institutions. (The edition used here is a

facsimile reprint, published in 1992 by the Ontario Genealogical Society, Toronto Branch. The original was published in 1893 by the Consolidated Illustrating Co., Toronto).

40. The same association was applied in fifteenth-century Florence when Cosimo de' Medici was credited as architect of the Palazzo Medici.

41. The Empire (Toronto), June 13, 1892.

42. For a discussion of the fifteenth-century Florentine merchant princes, see Richard Goldthwaite, The Building of Renaissance Florence (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

43. Richard Goldthwaite, Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600 (Baltimore, 1993) 217. The Renaissance architect and theorist Leon Battista Alberti believed that ideally a villa should be within walking distance of the city. This would enable the merchants to go to and from their villas during the working day. In this way, he believed, a villa should be part of the urban environment.

44. Girouard, (1985).

45. American historian Richard Bushman, in his study of American house forms and their meanings, discussed what is often referred to as the "democratization of the villa" in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which occurred when a new wealthy upper middle class appropriated the villa form as a symbol of its commercial success. Bushman (1992). James Ackerman uses the term "democratization of the villa" to describe what happened in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when a larger segment of the population was able to afford homes on the outskirts of the cities. Thus the basic concept of the villa as a country house on a large acreage of agricultural land was changed and the amount of land surrounding the house decreased considerably. The use of the term "villa" to describe a house outside the city found favour in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as part of the Romantic movement. Later in the nineteenth century, it fell into disuse. James S. Ackerman, The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses (Princeton, 1990) 253. See also Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York, 1968) Reprint of original 1850 edition. p. 257; and Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages (New York, 1968). Unabridged replication of 1st Ed. (New York, 1857).

46. Downing , 257.

47. The effect of the introduction of first horse-drawn and then electric streetcar railways on the urban development of Boston is described in Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Streetcar Suburbs. The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900 (Cambridge, 1978). Warner has shown how in the late nineteenth century, the introduction of the horse drawn street car made the outlying areas of the city more accessible to the middle class. In late nineteenth-century Hamilton, the creation of the Hamilton Street Railway, opened up many areas of the city and rails were laid through the centre of the elite area.

48. Ennals and Holdsworth (1998) 149-170.

49. For a historical view on this connection, see Goldthwaite (1980). The same demand for art and artifacts that visually displayed wealth and opulence can be seen in the late nineteenth-century interiors of American mansions. See Arnold Lewis, James Turner, and Steven McQuillin (new text by), The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age (New York: Dover, 1987). Originally published as Artistic Houses (1883-84).

50. In early nineteenth-century society, the church exerted a powerful moral influence, emphasizing the social obligation of the rich towards the poor and unfortunate. The wealthy responded by giving money, but also by personal volunteerism. By 1851, the Hamilton ladies were active in social causes. The Ladies' Benevolent Association was an early manifestation of this, followed by the buildings of institutions to house the destitute and widows and orphans. For the Chicago experience see Kathleen D. McCarthy, Noblesse Oblige. Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929 (Chicago, 1982).

51. A good recent study of the contributions of Pugin to nineteenth-century architecture, art, and design, is Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, Eds. Pugin. A Gothic Passion (New Haven, 1994). For Pugin's original comments on the subject, see Contrasts (1836).

52. Downing (1968) 1-38. Jan Cohn makes a telling comment on what she calls "a peculiar form of democratization" in that she believes that the "dangerous moral qualities" which were applied to the great mansions of the elite in the nineteenth century were subsequently transferred to the smaller yet still ostentatious homes of today's suburban upper middle class. Jan Cohn, The Palace or the Poorhouse: The American House as a Cultural Symbol (East Lansing), 115-142. Cohn's observation can be related to Ackerman's ideas on the "democratization of the villa". (See e/n 43).

53. The idea of the "Christian gentleman" was still very much a part of the successful entrepreneurial image in Hamilton at the end of the century. In Hamilton. The Birmingham of Canada (1892), photographs of the Hamilton churches are displayed along with the businesses and homes of the city's elite. In contrast, in Chicago, the wealthy elite seem to have shed this image by the 1890s, having accepted the Social Darwinism of the time as expressed in Andrew Carnegie's The Gospel of Wealth (1889). (McCarthy, Chapters 3 and 4). In Chicago, there appears to be a direct association between the abandoning of the earlier church-based concept of hands-on philanthropy, the acceptance of the doctrine of Social Darwinism, and the gradual withdrawal of the elite from direct involvement in politics. In Hamilton, political withdrawal did not occur until after World War I.

54. S. Hibberd, Rustic Ornaments, 2nd ed. (London, 1858), quoted in S. J. Gould, Leonardo's Mountain of Clams and the Diet of Worms (New York, 1998), 58.

55. Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Moral Home (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), and Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

56. "Architecture in Canada", C.A.B. I:1 (1888) p.3.

57. W. E. Doran, "Truth in Architecture" C.A.B. IX:6 (1896), 86.

58. Wright (1980) and (1981) has emphasized the relation of these values to house form in her studies of American housing and this is reflected in the social idealism of social reformers. See also Amos Rapoport, House Form and Culture (New Jersey,, 1969)133-134.

59. Hibberd quoted in Gould (1998), 57-59.

60. Quoted in Wright (1980), p.85. Dwight also stated, "Uncouth, mean, ragged, dirty houses, constituting the body of any town, will regularly be accompanied by course, groveling manners". (1820). Quoted in Loudon (1869) 3.
See also Clifford E. Clark, The American Family Home, 1800-1960 (Chapel Hill, 1986).

61. C.A.B., July, 1892, 73.

62. When Lady Aberdeen stopped in Hamilton in March of 1895, to address the local Council of Women, she found that wine and toasting were not acceptable. "The Jewish women of the Council taking pity on my predicament, sent up some claret and some Moselle to the house of the President, Mrs. Lyle". Unfortunately, "the claret was drunk by Mr. Lyle and the Moselle by Mr. Erskine in their solitary dinner at home, whilst the ladies were disporting themselves at the Royal Hotel." (Countess of Aberdeen, Canadian Diary, Tues. March 5, 1895.)

63. The dominance of the Protestant religions in everyday life in nineteenth-century Ontario has been discussed by William Westfall in Two Worlds. The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario (Montreal/Kingston, 1989). Westfall shows how the writings of the English Ecclesiologists and the Camden Society at Cambridge influenced the design of churches in Ontario. The emphasis on the moral qualities of Gothic architecture in the writings of A.W. Pugin were translated into church form in "an exposition of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity clothed up in material form". (quote from The Church, Apr. 2, 1842, in Westfall, 149).

64. Richard Juson, one of the mid-nineteenth century elite, donated the site for the Anglican Church of the Ascension at the north-east corner of the original elite area. He was also the largest contributor to its erection as well as donating the money for the spire and half the cost of the bells. On August 1, 1861, he wrote to his friend and business partner, John Young from Scotland, "I have ordered a peale of 5 bells from Meass, not noisy ones. I fear they are a little small." Young lived immediately south of the church, and Juson's property was to the south of Young's, so he had reason to be concerned about the loudness of the bells. (Young Papers, S.C., H.P.L.).

65. See Bushman (1992). See also, Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America. Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (New York, 1982). Trachtenberg's study of American culture in this period emphasized the relationship of the corporate system and culture and especially the way in which language expressed beliefs, values, and relationships. Although he did not focus on architecture, there is an obvious parallel between the use of the written language and the visual language of architecture. Hancock's study of a group of London merchants in the eighteenth century (1995) examined their efforts to increase their social status within an aristocratic society. Even with wealth and political status, they still needed to be perceived as "gentlemen". This came with a suitable house, philanthropy, and evidence of culture which included a

library and art collection. (Chapters 9 and 10). These activities had to be "polite, industrious, and moral". (p. 279).

66. Girouard (1978) p. 274.

67. For an intimate view of the *fin-de-siecle* Ottawa vice-regal scene, see Sandra Gwyn, The Private Capital (Toronto, 1984), esp. pp.273-292, which discusses the "reign" of the Countess of Aberdeen as "queen" of Ottawa Society. See also Cynthia Cooper, Magnificent Entertainments. Fancy Dress Balls of Canada's Governors' General, 1876-1898 (Fredericton/Hull, 1997). Pages 67 to 96 discuss Lady Aberdeen's History Fancy Dress Ball, held in Ottawa on February 17, 1896. See also James Noonan, "Theatre and Spectacle under the Aberdeens", Canadian Drama 16:2 (1990) 147-172.

68. McDonald (1990), 63.

69. Visual materials have been used to determine the character of Hamilton during its early history by amateur and professional historians alike. Walter Peace in an article entitled "Landscapes of Victorian Hamilton", U.H.R. XVIII:1 (June, 1989) 75-85, discussed the differences in approach taken in three visual sources of 1890s Hamilton, the 1893 Bird's-eye view, the book, Hamilton. The Birmingham of Canada (Hamilton, 1892), and Art Work on Hamilton, a photographic record by W.H. Carre (Hamilton, 1899). The book by Carre takes a more picturesque view of the city and its surroundings, highlighting the natural landscape and tending to ignore the more gritty industrial areas. Peace concluded that these sources bring a more intimate view of the period than could be had through written sources alone. They provide a sense of the spirit of the times. Architectural drawings, plans, and contemporary photographs are visual documents of an age and are extremely valuable in the reconstruction of original building form. (See, Dorothy Ahlgren, "Architectural Drawings: Sources for Urban History", U.H.R. XI:3 (Feb., 1983), 67-72). Exterior photographs provide a view of the original condition of the house, and interior images show furnishings, artifacts, and decoration not available in architectural plans. For critical comments on the value of visual material, see Ken Cruikshank and Nancy B. Bouchier, "'The pictures are great, but the text is a bit of a downer' . . . Ways of Seeing and the Challenge of Exhibiting Critical History", C.H.R. 80:1 (March, 1999), 96-113. See also the contemporary photographs reproduced in The Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society, Hamilton, Panorama of our Past (Hamilton, 1997).

70. See Alan Gowans, "The Evolution of Architectural Styles in Toronto: in The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History, Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, Eds., Rev. ed. (Ottawa, 1984) 210-219.

71. See Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West (Cambridge, Ma., 1975) for a study of Hamilton using the 1851 and 1861 Assessment Rolls. This was followed a few years later by another study done in conjunction with Doucet and Stern to expand on the conclusions of the earlier study with regard to the entrepreneurial class. Michael Katz, Michael Doucet and Mark Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, Ma., 1982).

Baltzell (1962) defined the elite in Philadelphia as a group of individuals who stood at the top of the upper class.

A major social analysis of the late nineteenth-century iron and steel entrepreneurs in west Pennsylvania and Ohio (especially Pittsburgh) was completed by Ingham (1978). The distinction between the business elite and the social elite has been emphasized by McDonald (1990) in his study of Vancouver.

72. This finding for a specific social elite corresponds to the results of studies by Doucet and Weaver (1991), and others on house values in nineteenth-century Hamilton.

73. The book was especially designed to attract manufacturers, industrialists and investors to the city. The book's introduction explained its genesis from a letter written by a group of Englishmen who, in 1889, had, quite by accident, spent some time in the city and had come away impressed by its "vast and varied manufacturing industries, its one hundred and seventy factories, with its 14,000 artisans, the large capital invested, and the immense output annually." The publication was also inspired by the coming Chicago World's Fair of 1893, which, it was felt, would provide a good opportunity for Hamilton's boosters to attract many visitors on their way to Chicago to take a side trip to view potential investments of the city.

Hamilton's industries were profiled in E.P. Morgan and F.L. Harvey, Hamilton and its Industries (Hamilton, 1879), and the Magazine of Industry (Hamilton, 1910).

74. Many of Hamilton's heritage buildings that are still standing have been researched by the Hamilton L.A.C.A.C. office with a view to designation.

75. The best general scholarly work on the history of the city of Hamilton is by McMaster University historian, John Weaver. See Hamilton. An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1982).

76. Doucet and Weaver (1991).

77. Michael Doucet and John C. Weaver, "Town Fathers and Urban Continuity: The Roots of Community Power and Physical Form in Hamilton, Upper Canada in the 1830s", U.H.R. XIII:2 (Oct., 1984), 75-90.

78. Doucet (1976), 83-105. See also Doucet, "Speculation and the Physical Development of Mid-Nineteenth Century Hamilton", Shaping the Urban Landscape, Gilbert A. Stelter and A. J. Artibise, Eds. (Ottawa, 1982).

79. T. Melville Bailey, Ed., Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, Vols. I, II, III, and IV. (Hamilton, 1967-1999). Biographies of notable Hamilton citizens are contained in early publications such as Henry James Morgan, Ed. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 2nd Ed. (Toronto: 1912), and G. Mercer Adam, Ed. Prominent Men of Canada (Toronto, 1892).

80. Herbert Gardiner, "Hamilton's Stone Age", Address to the Wentworth Historical Society, 1922. Reprinted in The Hamilton Herald, June 10, 1922.

CHAPTER 1 HAMILTON AND ITS ELITE

“The private residences of Hamilton are specially deserving of comment. Some of the stately stone mansions . . . would do credit to any city on the American continent.” (Toronto Globe, Feb. 16, 1877)

Hamilton's elite at the end of the nineteenth was a microcosm of the city's economic development. Originally dominated by wholesale distributors and manufacturers who serviced western Ontario and then western Canada, the composition of the elite began to shift with the beginnings of heavy industry in the last quarter of the century. The character of the city changed in unison with this shift. Industry became the major employer, and unions threatened the paternalistic employer/employee relationships that dominated the early history of the city, fundamentally changing the city's relationship with its elite. Although, the concentration on heavy industry was a major difference between Hamilton and other more economically diverse cities such as Toronto, the social and demographic characteristics of the Hamilton elite were very similar. Hamilton's elite also produced several Senators, rewards for business and economic contributions to the nation and the ruling political party and were prominent within the provincial parliament; two of them becoming Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Members of the elite maintained business, social and family ties with Toronto; for example, William Hendrie, a Hamilton businessman with a passion for horses, was instrumental in the formation of the Toronto-based Ontario Jockey Club, and the daughter of Edward Martin, the scion of a prominent Hamilton lawyer dynasty, married into the prestigious Toronto-based Baldwin family.

By 1901, Hamilton was a medium-sized Canadian city in the heartland of Ontario with a population of 52,665. In comparison, the population of Toronto in 1901 was over

250,000 while the city of Buffalo to the south had a population of 350,000. Situated at the western end of Lake Ontario, Hamilton was protected from the more violent storms on the lake by a natural sandbar that formed a harbour. An alluvial plain stretches from the bay to a ridge of high rock - the escarpment - known locally as "the Mountain", a geographical situation poetically described by businessman and official bard of the St. Andrew's Society, William Murray, in 1895.

Thy rear reposing 'gainst that royal ridge
Of mingled rock and turf we call "the mountain", . . .
Thy feet fomented by the rippling waves
That wash the beauteous boundaries of a bay. . . "1

In the nineteenth century, the city's location, approximately half-way between Toronto and the United States' border and en route to the western part of the province, made it especially suitable as a distributing centre for goods on their way to the west and south, a factor that attracted aspiring entrepreneurs during its early history.

The urban development of the south-central area of Hamilton with which this thesis is concerned can be followed in three visual documents that present three-dimensional images of the city: Edwin Whitefield's engraving of 1852-54 and the two Bird's-Eye Views of 1876 and 1893, which give a visual system of analysis for a forty year period with intervals of approximately 20 years. Whitefield's 1852 view of the city represents the height of Hamilton's wholesale and early manufacturing phase and presents the city from the south with Lake Ontario in the background, the 1876 Bird's-Eye View from the bay front towards the south clearly indicates the dominance of manufacturing by the smokestacks scattered throughout the city, and the 1893 Bird's-Eye View, also from the bay front, portrays a emerging industrial city filled with chimneys belching black smoke.² All three thus give visual form to dominant characteristics of the city's nineteenth-century economic development - wholesale, manufacturing, and

industrial.³ (Figures 2, 3a and 3b) The makeup of Hamilton's elite at the end of the nineteenth century reflected these phases of economic development throughout all three periods with wholesalers and manufacturers dominating followed by professionals, lawyers and bankers. In 1901, industrial managers were beginning to appear within the makeup of the elite as the city shifted from an age when ownership was controlled by one man or partnerships to a period when corporate ownership was the norm.

The original town site that would become Hamilton was owned by two men, James Durand and Nathaniel Hughson at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1815, Durand sold his property to George Hamilton, the man from whom the city gets its name, and it was Hamilton who organized the site into a grid system of north-south, east-west streets. With Durand, he was instrumental in securing the district court house for Hamilton which assured its primacy in the Niagara region and also increased the value of Hamilton's own land. This resulted in the establishment of the Gore District as an administrative region in 1816 which included Hamilton at the centre and the surrounding counties of Wentworth, Halton, Brant and part of Haldimand.⁴ In 1817, the area to the west of the present Bay Street was purchased by James Mills and Peter Hess, and George Hamilton's half-brother Peter Hunter Hamilton acquired the land between that of his brother and the Mills and Hess properties. Much of the land originally owned by the Hamilton, Mills, and Hess families corresponds with the study area, and, by the end of the century, contained a higher concentration of wealth in one square mile than anywhere in the city. *Fin-de-siecle* Hamilton was, in fact, composed of land originally owned in 1820 by ten men. A 1837 Plan of Hamilton outlined the area surveyed by the Hamiltons as far west as Bowery (Bay) Street and five years later, a 1842 map of the same area showed that most of this proposed development had not yet begun. (Figures

4 and 5) The high ridge of land that passed through the area which would contain the densest concentration of elite homes was clearly indicated on the later map.

The town of Hamilton became a transition point for settlers heading west and was therefore a lucrative location for wholesalers, retailers, manufacturers, and lawyers. It was in these businesses that the early elite of Hamilton began; wholesalers like John Young, Colin Ferrie and Isaac Buchanan, manufacturers such as Richard Juson and Edward Jackson, and lawyer, Allan MacNab.⁵ These early entrepreneurs built themselves impressive houses as legitimization of their elite status. George Hamilton inherited the home of James Durand, "Bellevue", on his purchase of the land in 1815, and Peter Hunter Hamilton built a stone house, the "Holmstead", on his property in 1830. In the late 1840s and early 1850s, John Young and Richard Juson built villas near George Hamilton's home which anchored the eastern boundary of the **original** elite area. Edward Jackson, an iron manufacturer, located his new home farther to the north-east near the northern boundaries of what would become the **new** elite area in the last quarter of the century. The builders of these early villas were conscious of the status value of their homes; Colin Campbell Ferrie, Hamilton's first mayor in 1846, risked bankruptcy to keep up with his neighbour, lawyer Allan MacNab of "Dundurn Castle", by building his own mansion, "Westlawn" near York Street in 1836. His father, Montreal businessman Adam Ferrie, commented that "the cost of it and furniture, and living like the house requires will keep him from ever becoming a rich man."⁶ Ferrie and Peter Hamilton were original members of a five man administrative board formed in 1833 following an act passed by the Legislative Assembly in York (now Toronto). The establishment of the Gore Bank in 1835 also conferred financial legitimacy on the town and was the first of a number of financial institutions established that attracted bankers

and financiers to the city.⁷ The importance of the villa residences of those who were considered the leading citizens of Hamilton in 1842, Sir Allan MacNab, Colin Ferrie, Peter Hamilton, and George Hamilton was emphasized by their inclusion on the 1842 map of the Town of Hamilton.

At this point in Hamilton's history, elite homes were scattered either along the main accesses into Hamilton or in the centre of large undeveloped areas of land. The remoteness of Allan MacNab's "Dundum Castle", built in the 1830s, was part of the mystique of the Scottish thane which he was trying to emulate, although the house was heavily Italianate in style. It provided an impressive entry to the city from the capital at York but, probably because of its remoteness from the town core, did not attract many aspiring elite to build in its vicinity and, unlike other elite homes found in this study, was not immediately purchased by other elite after MacNab's death in 1862. Most recognized that acquiring property near to already established elite members near the city's core was a necessary part of the process of acceptance and thus the area around the Hamiltons which was within easy driving and, if necessary walking, distance to the central business area of the city, was the most attractive.

The geological features of the city predetermined the location of elite and working class neighbourhoods. The symbolism of a large house on a large area of land on a high elevation was adopted by aspiring elite from the beginning of Hamilton's history. Heights of land were much desired and cost more money to buy; in comparison, the city's poor could only afford to live in the lower areas where land values were cheap and where poor drainage and the regular flooding from the streams and creeks running off the escarpment created unhealthy swamps and mud-filled streets. During the 1830s

there was a large influx of poor Catholic-Irish immigrants, who located mainly in the low-lying areas below the ridge and it was during this period that Corktown to the east of John Street developed. The unhealthy situation was partly alleviated by the establishment of a Water Works in 1857 that pumped water to a reservoir on the slopes of the escarpment which then flowed by gravity through pipes into the city.

Hamilton's early years consisted of periods of growth followed by economic stagnation or even loss. It was incorporated as a city in 1846 and this resulted in a boom of housing construction that attracted many builders and stonemasons from Scotland. One of these Scottish builders was Peter Balfour, the father of James Balfour, the architect who would design many of the late nineteenth-century homes of Hamilton's elite.⁸ By mid-century, following the sale of George Hamilton's land, the great villa estates along the base of the escarpment and in the area between James and John south of Hannah, were being built by businessmen such as W. P. McLaren, Richard Juson, John Young, Dennis Moore, Aeneas Kennedy, Archibald Kerr, and John Brown. (Figure 6) In 1851, a Scottish journalist, James B. Brown (no relation to John or Adam), visited Hamilton and offered the following description:

" . . . finely situated among woodland and lawn are the seats and villas of several of the principal citizens. Among the number is the seat of Sir Allan MacNab, styled Dundum Castle. The slopes and nooks of the wooded mountain, or range of heights, which rise immediately back of the town afford also many picturesque sites for the villas of the citizens. The largest proportion of the owners of these pleasant mansions are enterprising and successful merchants and lawyers. The leading merchants of Hamilton . . . are chiefly Scotchmen. Hamilton, particularly, has been much indebted to the enterprising energy and industry of these individuals for its rapid growth and prosperity. The principal street of Hamilton is wide and imposing. The buildings are stately and spacious, and consist chiefly of extensive wholesale and retail shops and warehouses."⁹

Brown was particularly perceptive and his report illustrated the defining characteristics of the elite that would continue throughout the century. He correctly identified the predilection of the elite to situate their homes on the slopes of the gradually rising land. Their Scottish background was emphasized, though this is not surprising considering Brown's own interests, and the concentration of merchants and lawyers within this elite was also mentioned.

Edwin Whitefield (1816-1892), an artist and engraver, produced a series of Bird's-Eye View prints of Canadian and American cities which are remarkably accurate and show fine detail.¹⁰ They were sold by subscription, thus he was particularly concerned to show the houses accurately since they were owned by those whom he considered customers.¹¹ He tended to show his subjects from a high viewpoint which infused the landscape with a sense of monumentality. Whitefield's view of Hamilton was drawn from the edge of the escarpment looking north, with a view of the lake beyond, so technically it is not a true "Bird's-Eye View", but it is particularly useful for historical research because the elite homes in the south of the city stand out very well.

The Hamilton City Directory of 1853 contained an advertisement for Whitefield's "View of Hamilton", stating that it was done from original drawings and was 30-36" in length.¹² A tinted lithograph sold for \$5 a copy and a fully coloured view done by hand was \$3.¹³ The work was clearly intended for the wealthy, since it would have cost a week's wages for a fully-employed labourer to buy the \$5 version, and Whitefield's preliminary sketches and notations show that he was particularly careful in his renditions of the larger elite homes. The rest of the area to the south-west contained some small scattered houses and farmers' fields and, as if to emphasize this rural quality and thus

legitimize the “villa” designation of these homes, Whitefield included sheep in the fields. Some of the future streets were indicated by fences separating the fields, and there were a number of copses drawn throughout the area. Even the orientation of the views can reveal much about the way in which the political, social, and economic elite of Hamilton saw their city. Whitefield concentrated on the panoramic scenic view available from the heights of the escarpment and focussed on the impressive villas of Hamilton's elite. The bay and the shipping that it brought to Hamilton as well as the roads that climbed the escarpment connecting Hamilton to its hinterland were what ensured the city's early commercial success and served as a backdrop and frame to the large mansions.

Hamilton entered a period of expansion in the 1850s following its incorporation as a city which was helped by the Reciprocity Treaty signed with the United States in 1854 and in effect until 1865. Hamilton businessmen, Adam Brown, John Young, and Isaac Buchanan were delegates to the Detroit Trade Convention in 1864 where they attempted to secure its renewal.¹⁴ Although this was a free trade agreement, it was generally seen at the time as a boon for Hamilton although it may have retarded some industries which were not as advanced as those in the United States. New industries were established and new names appeared that would form the basis of the late nineteenth-century elite. Men like W. E. Sanford and William Hendrie began their rise to prominence. In the late 1840s and early 1850s, Hamilton's entrepreneurs looked to another vital transportation link. The city was able to attract the Great Western Railway with a line connecting Hamilton to the United States in 1853, and another connection to the east-west link between Windsor and Toronto was completed between 1853 and 1855, mainly through the efforts of Sir Allan MacNab.¹⁵ By 1856, MacNab was also a director of the Hamilton and Port Dover Railway and the Hamilton and Toronto Railway.¹⁶

As in other Canadian cities, the acquisition of rail connections to other parts of Canada and the United States was seen as essential for the city's economic success. Many of Montreal's elite had gained their fortunes in railway development. In Hamilton, William Hendrie, one of the most important figures of the end-of-the-century elite, built his financial empire first by providing haulage and transportation of goods from the railway to their ultimate destination, and secondly, by the manufacture and laying of railway ties and building of bridges, both in Ontario and across Canada. In October, 1888, Hamiltonians Adam Brown and Alex McKay, in their capacity as Federal Members of Parliament, journeyed from Montreal to Vancouver on the Canadian Pacific Railway and praised the "excellence of roads as constructed by Mr. William Hendrie, the contractor, and the strength and beauty of the steel bridge at North Bay manufactured by the Hamilton Bridge Company."¹⁷

In Hamilton, the years of prosperity were followed by years of depression from 1857 to 1864, related in part to the city over-extending itself with financial incentives to attract manufacturing and railways to locate in Hamilton. The corruption of railway politics ultimately stained the career of early entrepreneur, Isaac Buchanan, so that he was forced to sell his mountain-brow estate, "Auchmar", after going bankrupt in the mid-1870s. The railway scandals also affected the city itself with the depreciation of railway stocks held by the city which forced it to the verge of bankruptcy in 1862.¹⁸ Weaver (1982) attributes the economic depression to a deficit of investment capital and an overemphasis on railway and land speculation by the city's investors.¹⁹ The population of Hamilton rose and fell with these economic changes. By 1850, the population of Hamilton was 10,312; between 1850 and 1858 it rose to 27,500 as heavy investment in

railways, sewers, gasworks, and waterworks brought workers to the city. After a financial crisis in 1859, the population fell, and by 1864, it was at a low of 17,000. Assessment values fell in tandem with population loss, from \$1,000,000 in 1858 to \$500,000 in 1861.²⁰

The 1876 Bird's-Eye View, published nearly twenty-five years after Whitefield, is indicative of the instability of Hamilton's economy in the previous 20 years, since the south-central area between James and Bay Streets was still shown as mostly undeveloped. However, the focus of the view was reversed and was now from the bay looking south to the escarpment. The railway and steamship connections were highlighted, and the city now boasted smokestacks belching black smoke, a sure indication of a booming economy to the nineteenth-century mind-set. The escarpment and the villa homes of Hamilton's elite now formed the backdrop for the city's manufacturing and transportation links, and although by 1871, the official population of Hamilton was 26,716, lower than that of the late 1850s, by 1873, assessment values had risen to \$12,680,000, indicating a building boom of larger more expensive homes and factories.²¹ The 1876 view of the city reflected this sense of optimism and progress.

Significant development had taken place by 1876 in the area to the west of Bay Street, originally owned by Mills. The Mills family undertook to build on land that was, in effect, their private fief, enabling them to control not only the type of house built, but also the type of tenant and/or buyer who occupied the house.²² The houses in this area were smaller and closer together and were built with the working class in mind. Only a small area in the Mills' estate, centred around the Mills' home, developed into an elite area. The location of these homes directly related to the land elevation, as the ridge of high

land passed across this part of the Mills' estate, and was reflected in the assessed lot values of, on average, less than \$150 in the working class area, and more than \$250 in the wealthier area where the houses and lot sizes were visibly larger. The direct relationship of height of land and assessment value also corresponds to the area under study farther to the east.²³

The optimism displayed visually on the 1876 Bird's-Eye View was reflected in print during the 1870s and 1880s. The local newspapers emphasized the growing manufacturing establishments of the city in glowing terms. In large newspaper articles published in May, 1884, in both Hamilton and Toronto, the prosperity of the city was emphasized through descriptions of the many successful companies operating in the city.²⁴ Early Hamilton manufacturers and businessmen had seen themselves as the embodiment of their city's success and, following Canada's Confederation in 1867, it was felt that the government in Ottawa should heed the advice of those who were responsible through their investments for the success of the country. Hamilton's Donald MacInnes, later a Senator, stated at the 1877 convention of the Ontario Manufacturing Association that "The Government ought to take the evidence of people engaged in the business and be guided by it."²⁵ Pressure on Prime Minister John A. Macdonald by members of the O.M.A. who had been lobbying for protective tariffs finally bore fruit and the "National Policy" of protectionism for Canadian industries was the result.²⁶ As a result, Hamilton became staunchly Conservative electing Francis Kilvert, banker and lawyer, and mayor from 1877 to 1878, to the federal parliament and, in 1887, businessmen Adam Brown and Alex McKay. In 1891, at the opening of George E. Tuckett's new tobacco factory on Queen Street North in Hamilton, Senator W. E. Sanford quoted Tuckett who had said, in reference to Macdonald, that he had erected "a

monument to the National Policy and our Grand Old Man."²⁷ Tuckett's new factory on Queen Street was indeed "monumental" with references to the past and future in its neo-Renaissance architectural form.

The National Policy may have helped many manufacturers, but at this time, the beleaguered iron industries of Hamilton were struggling with the effects of high tariffs on raw iron ore. The Hamilton industrialists had tried to counter the effect of high duties on pig iron, necessary for their metal industries, by approaching the American steel companies with an offer to establish a branch plant in Hamilton, with the result that the Hamilton Blast Furnace Company was founded in 1889 to produce pig iron, made easier by the redevelopment of the Welland Canal connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario. The transportation of iron ores from Lake Superior enabled Hamilton to obtain these raw materials and produce pig iron cheaper than the mills in Pittsburgh and this made the Hamilton works highly desirable for American investment. The completion of the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo (T.H.& B.) railway in 1896 also stimulated this development.²⁸ In 1879, Americans from the Ohio iron regions had come to Hamilton to manufacture wrought iron bars and nails. They included Charles H. Wilcox, a graduate of Yale who later became the first president of the Steel Company of Canada, C. E. Doolittle, who was made president of the Ontario Rolling Mills in 1880, and other Americans from Cleveland, Youngstown and Painesville.²⁹ These Americans settled in Hamilton, bought or built houses in the south-central elite area and by the end of the century had established themselves as members of the elite.

By 1893, the density of factories and their smokestacks had increased considerably and there can be no doubt that Hamilton by this time was fast becoming a

major industrial city. A Hamilton Spectator editorial supporting George E. Tuckett for mayor in 1896 emphasized, "See that smoke pouring out of the big stack at the iron works? George E. Tuckett's money helped to raise that smoke and give employment to these men down there".³⁰ Tuckett won the election. It is therefore not surprising that the 1893 Bird's-Eye View was still from the bay, portraying a vibrant industrial city, validating the city's self-appellation as the "Birmingham of Canada".³¹ This identification with the English manufacturing and industrial centre was changed within ten years to the "Pittsburgh of Canada", as the city became more and more oriented towards the United States and began to see itself more akin to the industrial heartland of Pennsylvania, home of the Carnegie steel mills. Hamilton's economic development is similar to that of Detroit which was a centre for dry goods and manufacturing by the mid-nineteenth century. The transition from commercial to industrial centre also took place gradually over the period 1880 to 1920. Detroit, however, was less class conscious because of its multi-ethnicity and its labour movement did not become organized until the 1920s. In Hamilton, there was a strong labour movement as early as the 1870s, which is a sign of factories each employing many workers.³²

In the south-central elite area, there was virtually no building space left with the exception of a strip along the base of the escarpment where the old estates were located. Building activity had increased between 1876 and 1893, corresponding to the rising population attracted to the city by manufacturing and industry. By 1891, the population had risen to 45,423, in part through the annexation of areas to the east and south and by 1901, it was 52,665 with total assessment values of \$47,383,346.³³

Because of this increasing number of manufacturing and industrial

establishments through the last quarter of the nineteenth century, accompanied by an increase in the working class population, research on Hamilton has in the past focussed on workers.³⁴ This is not surprising, since Hamilton has prided itself on being a "lunch bucket" city and a centre of union activity. The city's upper classes have traditionally been cast in the role of adversaries by labour; businessmen whose paternalistic practices kept the worker overworked and underpaid and who fought long and hard against the implementation of improved working conditions. Much of this is true, though there are some exceptions, such as the tobacco manufacturer, George E. Tuckett, who was the first major entrepreneur to implement the nine-hour working day without pressure from workers and who provided his workers with land on which to build homes after twenty-one years of service to his company.³⁵ The "Nine-Hour Movement" had begun in Hamilton in early 1872. A parade celebrating the movement's achievements and also, as it turned out, focussing attention on those workers who had been locked out, was held on May 15. The workers marched through the streets of the city, passing the most important factories and businesses. It also passed the prestigious and class and gender restricted Hamilton Club. However, whether willingly or not, it skirted the elite homes to the south.³⁶ A notice, signed by 144 "Manufacturers, Builders and other Tradesmen of the City of Hamilton" was published in the March 23, 1872 issue of the Hamilton Spectator, opposing the Movement. It stated that allowing workers to work only nine hours per day would retard business. Both William Hendrie and W. E. Sanford signed as well as eight other members of the 1901 elite.

George E. Tuckett was a good friend of Adam Brown. He was encouraged to run for mayor by his friends and business associates and elected in 1896, after running on a platform of lowering taxation. It was said at the time that if he had decided to run for the

Ontario legislature against lawyer John Gibson, he would have won and this, in itself, is testimony to the popularity of Tuckett among the Hamilton population at large. Tuckett's classically Georgian home was built on the south side of King Street to the west of the city core, on the height of land originally been owned by George Mills. His son, George T. Tuckett, built a castellated mansion to the east of his father's house in the early 1890s. (Figures 7 and 8). Both houses sat on the elevated ridge that, from this point, sloped downwards towards the centre of town to the east where Tuckett's original factory was located, and to the north towards his new factory at Queen and York Streets.

The rapid industrialization in Hamilton towards the end of the nineteenth century resulted in amalgamations and expansions of businesses. Many of the original founders who had operated in the paternalistic nineteenth-century philosophy of business, and who knew their employees by name, passed on. The new management became increasingly distant from their employees and layers of managers and supervisors were imposed between the owners of the companies and the workers. In the early years of the Tuckett Tobacco company, George Tuckett Sr. hosted lavish Christmas dinners for his employees and provided annual bonuses, thus ensuring their loyalty to him and, by extension, the firm. As the company grew, his son George Jr. came to rely more and more on senior managers; George's son Charles wanted nothing to do with the business, and George Jr.'s death in 1913 ended direct family involvement in the company. General studies of the relations of capital and labour in Canada, the United States and Britain have shown that the ideas of workers' rights created a rift between the workers and their employers. The company owner was no longer physically seen regularly in the workplace so that once this tie of personal loyalty was broken, the elite came to be seen as a group more to be resented and envied than respected.³⁷

The advantages to the Hamilton businessmen of having their homes within a convenient distance to their place of work meant that their elaborate homes were visible to the people of the city's working class who looking uphill towards the mountain would have a view of turrets, towers, and gables rising above the trees, a stark contrast to their own homes nestled close to the factories. The installation of Hamilton Street Railway lines through the elite area in the 1880s made it even more accessible. By the end of the nineteenth century, open resentment against the Hamilton elite and their lifestyle became common. In 1888, the city government proposed cutting a road through the old elite area to connect the two mountain roads and lessen the distance that travellers from the west end of the city had to travel to get around the central villa estates which effectively blocked direct travel. The route would have gone across the rolling lawns between the McLaren and Wood homes. Although it was defeated at this time, due to threats by A.T. Wood to take his business elsewhere, the road was eventually built in the early twentieth century. The local newspaper, The Spectator, somewhat surprisingly considering its conservative leanings and elite ownership, supported the move, saying that ". . . an investment in privacy, as well as an investment in land, should be respected so long as the **public good** does not imperatively call for a change. . . ", an editorial that would come back to haunt it several years later.³⁸

The building of the 1,904.5 ft. Hunter Street tunnel for the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway in the mid 1890s also emphasized the growing rift between the classes. The line travelled in a deep open channel through the centre of the working class district in the lower west end of the city, went underground when it reached the "hog's back" height of land on which stood W.E. Sanford's grand mansion and other elite homes, and

emerged within yards of John Hendrie's home between Charles and Park Streets. Adam Brown, writing to his wife Mary in England in a letter of November 30, 1895, complained that "The slides on Hunter Street are awful another today fancy the foundations of Sanford's stables are exposed."³⁹ (The quote is written as is. Brown very rarely included punctuation in his correspondence, and run-together sentences are common.) The railway then travelled over one of the major north-south streets, James Street, causing trepidation to the elite whose homes and villas were located to the south and who were now forced to drive to their offices and businesses in the city core *under* the railway bridge. Their complaints prompted an "Irate Ratepayer" to write a letter to the local newspaper saying that "If our aristocracy from under the mountain do not like the James Street drive, let them go to Bay Street and drive *over* the tunnel."⁴⁰

It was the elite, led by lawyer and Q.C. John Crerar, and William Southam, owner and publisher of the Hamilton Spectator, both of whom lived in the affected area, that led the opposition to the railway line. The consortium behind the railway appealed to the city's working class, promising jobs, cheaper freight rates, and economic prosperity for the \$225,000 the city was being asked to put up front. Both Crerar and the Spectator editorials aggressively refuted these claims. The people of Hamilton were "Canucks" they said, but not "the wooden-headed chumps you take Canucks to be."⁴¹ There was a lot on the line for the elite. The bonus to the T.H.&B. meant that ratepayers would probably face increased taxes and the proposed line along Hunter Street meant the destruction of a major street and the cutting off of the elite area from the downtown, as well as devaluation of property and aesthetic considerations. Crerar's arguments against the railway, however eloquently expressed, fell on deaf ears. Mayor Stewart, "made a very pathetic speech on behalf of Hamilton's 'starving poor'"⁴² and city council passed

the by-law authorizing the deal on October 11, 1894.⁴³ By the end of the century, city council was dominated by the working and middle classes, whereas previously the wealthy business class had taken a more active role in the political sphere. This gradual trend towards a withdrawal from political involvement by elite groups was common in North American cities and was related to a similar withdrawal from active participation in philanthropic endeavours, where a monetary donation satisfied the sense of civic duty yet ensured that an appropriate distance was kept.

During the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, Hamilton changed from a wholesale and manufacturing town supplying the western area of the province to an industrial centre and Hamilton's elite were actively involved in this economic development. They saw themselves as defining the city economically, politically, and socially, yet they also saw themselves as socially superior and reinforced this through the location and form of their homes to be discussed in later chapters. Within Hamilton's late nineteenth-century elite, there was a commonality of purpose, strengthened by shared characteristics which are remarkably consistent with the results of demographic studies elsewhere. In Canada and the United States, the absence of a landed and titled aristocracy as was present in Great Britain, the source country of the majority of the families in this study group, facilitated the creation of a new "aristocracy". Success in business and commerce certainly helped but that is not to say that these new "aristocrats" were part of the "rags to riches" myth so well stated within American history.⁴⁴ Many traced their ancestry to successful artisan and business stock from the "old country" and individuals stressed links to "blue blood" in their heritage as a form of legitimization of status.⁴⁵ One of Hamilton's early senators, Adam Hope, was proud to state that he could trace his ancestors back to the seventeenth century when they came

from Holland to England with William of Orange in 1688.⁴⁶ Senator William Sanford went one better by announcing his direct lineal descent from Thomas de Sanford, knighted by William the Conqueror on the battlefield of Hastings in 1066.⁴⁷ Prestige by association was the all important factor here.

The terms, "elite" and "upper class" are related, with an elite being the top level of the upper class. An elite functions as a socially tight group and one can be considered upper class but still not be a member of the elite. As discussed by Katz and others with specific reference to Hamilton, the definition of an upper class largely depended on wealth which had a direct relation to business success. Within the social elite discussed here, there appears to be a wide variance in financial worth, and it is concluded that personal wealth was not as important as other factors for elite membership. Katz has proposed a two class system in mid-nineteenth-century Hamilton, an entrepreneurial class and a labouring class, though he admitted that this was an uneasy division.⁴⁸ The Hamilton elite, as discussed in this study, can be defined as one that saw itself as a **socially** superior group; one that was based most importantly on social relationships which provided a clearly defined structure and which tied the integrity of the group to the form and function of domestic architecture.⁴⁹

The identification of a study group for this work was based on both objective and subjective sources. It was our contention that identification of this elite, like that of Vancouver, was not solely dependent on economic factors and that social factors were in many ways just as, or even more, important. As McDonald (1990) has pointed out, a display of wealth, if tastefully done, through the architectural appointments of the home and its contents definitely added to a family's status.⁵⁰ In this respect then, the influence

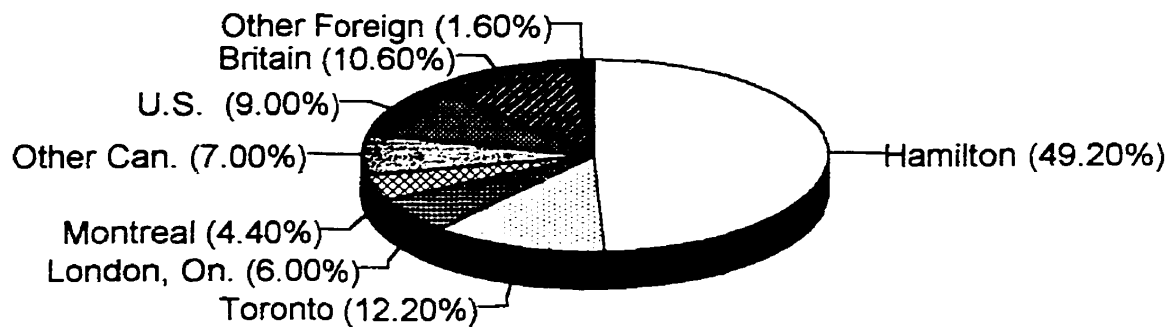
of the wife and the home on the formation and maintenance of a social elite attained a new focus since the home was the centre of social interaction. For a true definition of the Hamilton social elite as they defined *themselves*, one must look beyond the quantitative criteria and include more subjective reasons for inclusion, such as who one was prepared to admit to one's dining room. In order to identify this elite, we therefore began with two society functions which took place within a ten year period, Senator W. E. Sanford's reception of 1892 and the Brown-Hendrie wedding of 1901. These two large social events, nine years apart prompted the use of the term "Four Hundred" to describe the invitation lists.⁵¹ Many guests were invited from outside the city, both from other parts of Canada and from foreign countries. The importance of these events was confirmed by the fact that they were reported extensively in the Toronto newspapers.

The guest list for the Brown-Hendrie wedding was organized by place of origin (Table 1:1). Analysis of the list showed that, of the 368 families invited, 45 families were from Toronto and 12 were from Detroit, reflecting Hendrie's business and social connections in these cities; 22 were from London, Ontario, and 16 were from Montreal, reflecting Brown's connections. Twenty-six were from other Canadian cities, 10 were from New York City, 2 from Pittsburgh, 2 from Chicago, 2 from Minnesota, and one each from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Iowa, Montana, and Buffalo. Thirty-nine were from the British Isles. This indicates that, for Brown and Hendrie, both family and business ties to Britain were still strong and the breakdown reflects the economic change that was in progress in Hamilton in this period when further industrial development would create a stronger relationship with the United States.

TABLE 1.1

Brown-Hendrie Wedding June 5, 1901.

Breakdown of Guests (n=368)



SOURCE: Guest List, Brown-Hendrie Wedding. Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1901

Using these guest lists as a baseline, the criteria were enlarged to include Tyrrell's Society Blue Book, the Ontario equivalent of the U.S. Social Registers, published in Toronto in 1900, which included entries from Toronto, Hamilton and London.⁵² One factor to consider is that Tyrrell's was not an exclusively upper class listing as was the case with the American Social Registers where inclusion came with the payment of a subscription fee of between \$5 and \$10 per volume and references.⁵³ Tyrrell's also required a subscription fee but not references. The editor of Tyrrell's, on the other hand, emphasized that the listings included not only those who might consider themselves truly "blue" but also those whom the publishers deemed worthy because of accomplishments professionally, artistically, and otherwise. Some members of the Hamilton elite, such as lawyer Edward Martin, seem to have chosen not to be listed, perhaps because of the lack of strict restrictions for selection by the editors, but this omission does not lessen his elite status. Five hundred and forty-four families chose to

be listed in Tyrrell's. Of these, 114 were invited to the Brown-Hendrie wedding in 1901. In addition to Tyrrell's, the membership records of the Hamilton Club, an exclusive businessmen's club were used. The Hamilton Club required a large initial membership fee and an "introduction" and acceptance vote by the members, a method of initiation that corresponded to exclusive men's clubs in American cities. However, since the objective here was to identify a social elite which included widows and single women, membership in the Hamilton Club was not considered essential for inclusion within the study group.

One hundred and thirty eight individuals were identified who attended the Brown-Hendrie wedding and met at least one of the other three criteria, either the Sanford reception, membership in the Hamilton Club, or inclusion in Tyrrell's. (See Appendix A) Thus the pivotal criterion for this selection process was membership in the social circle of the Hendrie family. Hendrie who will be discussed in Chapter 3 along with Senator Sanford and Adam Brown, was a successful businessman, whose family was actively involved in the social, political, and economic life of the city. One of the contentions of this thesis is that it was Hendrie's choice of home location on an entire city block in the most expensive real estate area of the city that served to enhance the desirability of that area and it was Hendrie's house and surrounding estate that provided a node for the development of the closely knit elite society that subsequently grew up in the south-central and south-west area of Hamilton.

By placing more emphasis on the Brown-Hendrie wedding and not insisting on attendance at the earlier Wesanford event, we were able to include those individuals and families who had arrived in Hamilton after 1892 and who were able to enter into the elite

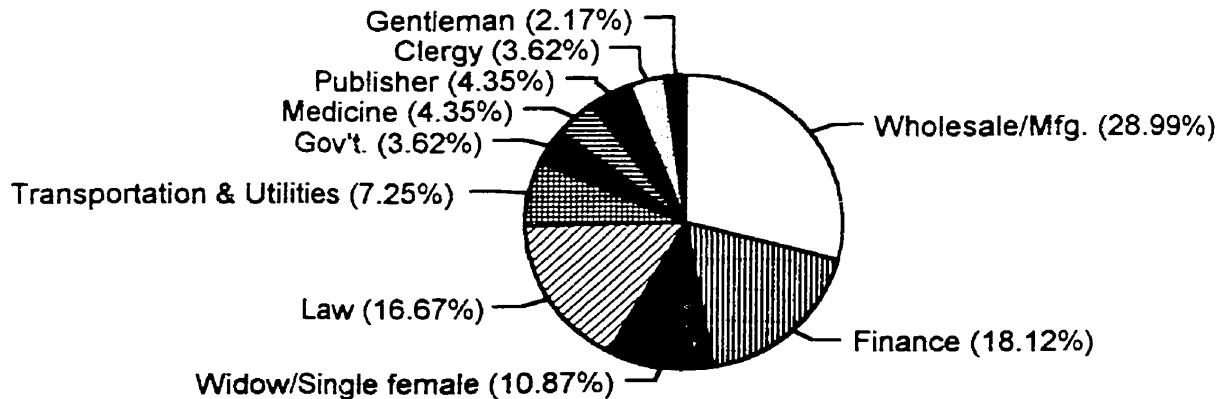
within a short period of time. This meant that the 1901 study group of 138 individuals was ten more than those included in the 1891 calculations. Also, there were four women whose husbands had died prior to 1891 and were therefore classified as widows for the Wesanford event, and between 1891 and 1901, nine additional women became widows. These women continued to be included in society functions even after their husbands had died. In addition, there were two single women included in the 1901 group, both adult daughters of deceased male members of the earlier elite. A number of deaths during the period resulted in adult sons inheriting the patriarchal home, the sons replacing the father within the elite. The other conclusion that can be made here is that a fairly large number of the original Hamilton elite were, by the end of the century, in their senior years, and it is at this time that we begin to see a turnover in favour of the younger generation, an indication that, to the Hamilton elite, family ties were an important consideration in elite determination. The names of Hamilton's social elite in the last decade of the nineteenth century have been culled from the larger group using the above criteria. They shared common characteristics, to be examined in the remainder of this chapter. This group will be analysed by occupation, religion, ethnicity, origins, persistence, home ownership and assessment value, age, servants, and political and club involvement.

The members of the elite were active in a variety of occupations; however, three groups stand out. The largest single group consisted of the wholesale merchants and manufacturers which included Senator William Eli Sanford who made his fortune producing ready-made clothing and selling it wholesale and through government contract and later directly selling to the public through a string of his own retail outlets throughout Ontario. This merchant group consisted of many of the oldest entrepreneurs in the city,

such as Adam Brown, who were able to take advantage of the expansion of the country to the North-West following Confederation. The second largest group was made up of those men associated with finance, - bank managers, accountants, stock brokers, real estate and insurance agents. The managers of all the major banks and financial institutions in Hamilton were part of this elite. They commanded huge salaries of from \$4,000 to \$12,000 per annum and were able to purchase or build homes within the most exclusive areas of the city. Some of them were provided with accommodation by their bank. The third group were lawyers, many of them like the Martins and the Crerars, formed family dynasties. The dominance of bankers and lawyers (in Hamilton together totalling 36 out of 138 or 26% of the elite) correlates with findings for Philadelphia where a small primary group of professionals controlled wealth.⁵⁴

TABLE 1.2

Occupation of Hamilton's Elite 1901



(Finance includes bankers, stockbrokers, accountants, insurance and real estate agents)
SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901.

Many of the elite who had made their fortunes in wholesale and who are therefore listed under this category had expanded their interests into other concerns, investing

their money in industry, land, and railways, and sitting on the boards of directors of many of these new companies and banks. When the 1901 statistics are compared to Katz's for 1851-52, the largest change is the decline in the occupational group which he calls "merchant, proprietor, or manufacturer", which at that time consisted of 46% of the entrepreneurial class. By 1901, this group had declined to 29% of the total with a corresponding rise in the percentage of professionals.⁵⁵

Over 50% of Hamilton's elite were members of the Church of England.⁵⁶ An overwhelming majority of them (over 91%) belonged to either the Church of England or the Presbyterian church, though the handicap of other religious affiliations could be overcome in some cases if other social factors were strong enough. George Lynch-Staunton, a Catholic barrister, was included in the social functions of the Hendrie circle, but his father, Francis, a land surveyor, was not. George had the advantage of being married to a Presbyterian, both his children were baptized Presbyterian, he also belonged to an occupational group that was dominant in the elite and he had purchased a home within the elite south-central area. Harry Watson, an Inspector with the Bank of Hamilton and an Anglican, was married to a Roman Catholic and all six of his children were baptised Catholic. Watson also belonged to a dominant occupational group, had a substantial income of \$4,500 and lived in the elite area in a home owned by the Bank and assessed at \$6,000. Religious difference, as shown by Staunton and Watson in Hamilton, thus seems to have been second to professional status as a criterion for social acceptance. It was also not uncommon for an aspiring member of the elite to become an Anglican because of the Church of England's affiliations with the English upper classes. Adam Brown, born a Presbyterian, became an Anglican and an active member of the Church of the Ascension.

TABLE 1.3: RELIGION OF HAMILTON'S ELITE

Denomination	N=138	% of total
Church of England	72	52.2
Presbyterian	54	39.1
Methodist	7	5.1
Baptist	2	1.5
Roman Catholic	1	0.7
Unitarian	1	0.7
Congregational	1	0.7

SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901.

National origins were already seeing a shift by the end of the century. Many of the newer members of the Hamilton elite had been born in Canada, the majority in Ontario. When the birth places of their parents (in this case, that of the father) are examined, a dominance of British stock is shown. Figure 1:4 shows the origins of the study group using categories which reflect the birthplaces of both the individual and his/her father.⁵⁷ The largest two categories were those born in Canada with a foreign parent, and those born outside of Canada, the numbers being almost equal. The large Native/Foreign category reflects the increasing number of second generation elite taking their place within society. The Foreign/Foreign category is an indication that there were still many older first generation immigrants in the group, and also a smaller, but increasing, number of new immigrants, mainly from the United States.

TABLE 1.4
ORIGINS OF HAMILTON'S ELITE BY BIRTH AND ETHNICITY, 1901

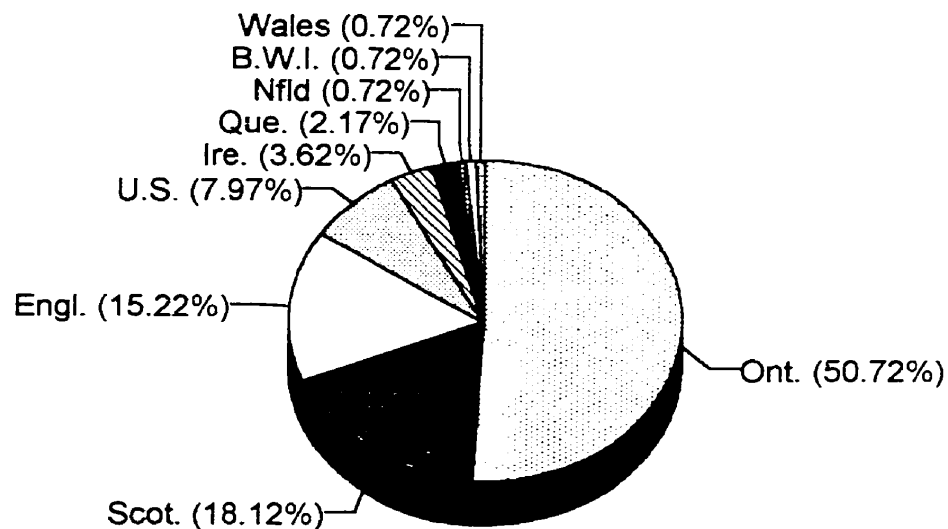
Birth/Ethnicity	N=138	% of Total
Native/Native	11	8.0
Native/Foreign	62	45.0
Foreign/Foreign	65	47.0

SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901.

Even at this late date, 47% of the core study group were foreign-born, though native-born Canadians were in the majority (53%). With regard to the country of origin, the results are fairly consistent with findings elsewhere, as seen in Table 1.5.

TABLE 1.5

National Origins of the 1901 Elite



SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901 and 1891

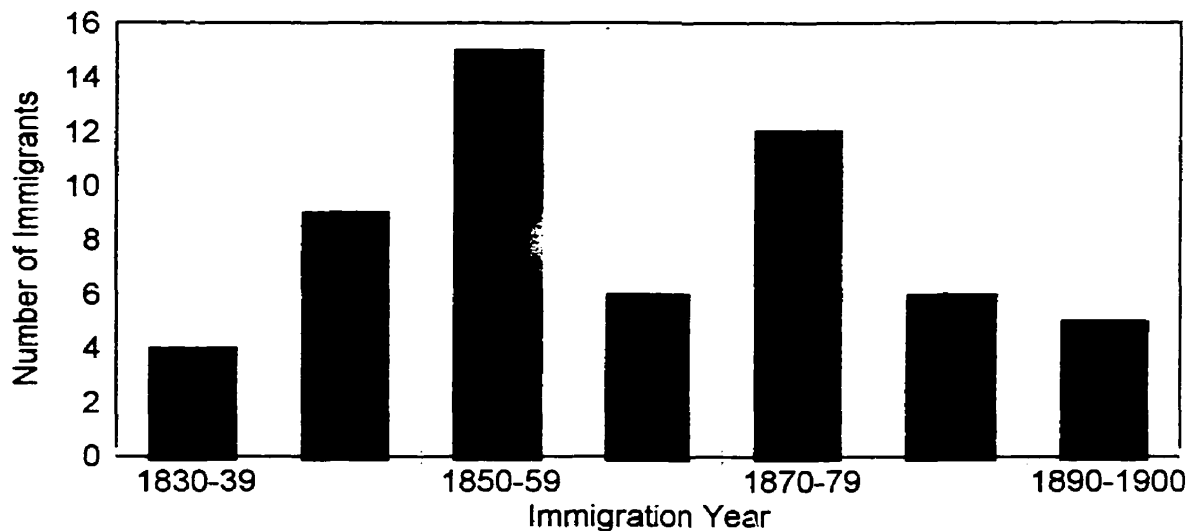
When compared with Katz's figures for mid-century (18.9% native born, 70.7% British Isles), the greatest change was in the percentage of native-born, which in 1901 made up 53% of the elite, in comparison to 37.7% born in the British Isles.⁵⁸ Nearly 40%, however, claimed Scottish roots, followed closely by the English at nearly 35%, with the Irish close to 11%. Thus well over 80% had their roots in the British Isles which

ties in with Katz' earlier figures. In Pittsburgh in the 1890s, a Scotch-Irish group dominated within the iron and steel elite with the English and Welsh also prominent.⁵⁹

In Hamilton, dates of immigration can be given for 57 out of 65 of the elite born outside Canada. Approximately 49% of the non-Canadian born arrived before 1860.

TABLE 1.6

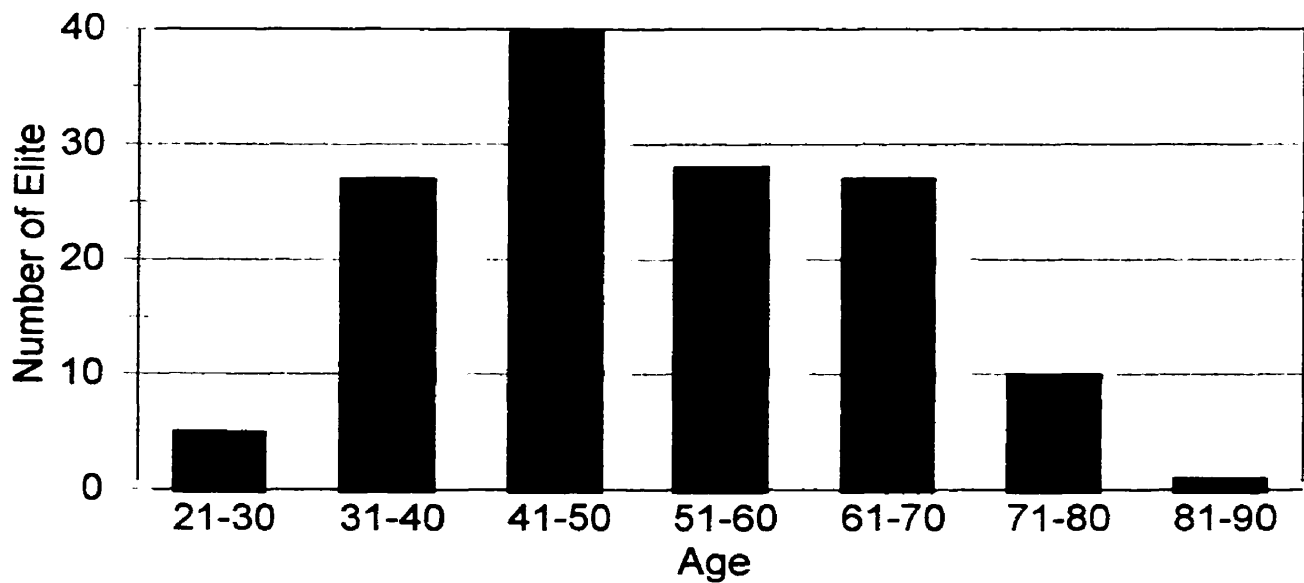
IMMIGRATION YEAR OF FOREIGN BORN ELITE



SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901, 1891; City of Hamilton Assessment Rolls, 1901.

These figures can also be compared with Katz to support the concept of longevity and corresponds to the age variations of the elite seen in Table 1:7. Almost half (48.5%) of Hamilton's elite were born before 1850, making this group 50 years of age or older in 1901. Over 77% of the group were 40 or over. When these statistics are tied in with country of origin and immigration year, where over 50% of the foreign born whose immigration year is known arrived before 1860, longevity being a factor in elite membership receives additional confirmation.

TABLE 1.7
AGE OF THE HAMILTON ELITE, 1901



SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901, 1891; City of Hamilton Assessment Rolls, 1901.

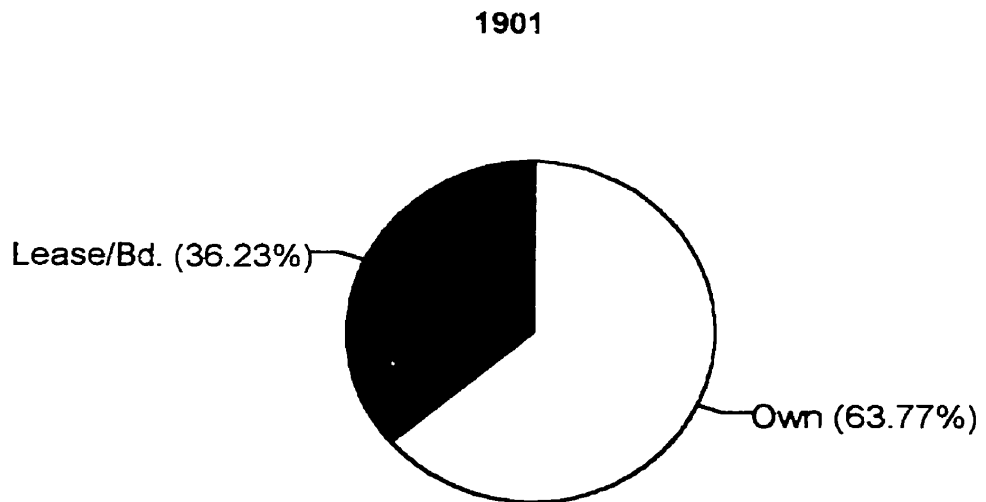
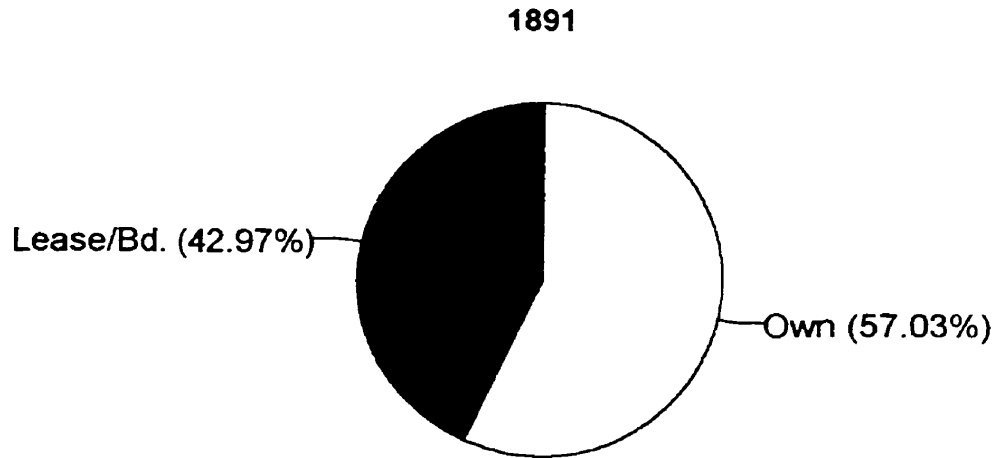
In his study of Hamilton at mid-century, Katz indicated ownership of property was linked to persistence within the community.⁶⁰ Although the above statistics cannot tell us how long each individual had lived in Hamilton, many of the names can be traced back to mid-century, and it can be shown that, of those individuals who owned their homes at the end of the century, the majority were 40 and over.⁶¹ Home ownership has also been linked to social status. Katz found that there was a direct linear relationship between wealth and home ownership, with the proportions of owners rising with each socio-economic level.⁶² Real property represented real wealth. Not only did the elite in Hamilton have a propensity to own their own homes, some also indulged in real estate speculation. Many fortunes were made in the early growth years of Hamilton, although as Doucet and Weaver point out, real estate speculation was in many ways a trial of

persistence, since Hamilton in the last half of the nineteenth century underwent several swings of real economic growth and depression.⁶³ Doucet noted that typical Hamilton blocks took at least 20 years to develop, and it was not uncommon for houses to be interspersed with vacant lots. Another result of this patchy development was the mixture of different socio-economic groups within the same neighbourhood.⁶⁴

The percentage of the elite who owned their homes rather than leased increased between 1891 and 1901 from 57% to 63.7%. Those who did lease were careful to choose homes in proximity to others of the elite and the assessed value of those homes was very closely linked with those that were directly owned. The increase in ownership could be due to several factors. Many of the children of established members of the elite group had within the ten year span of the study left the family home and some of the more successful were able within this period to purchase their own home. For the most part, these houses tended to be within the lower values of assessment. In other cases, families who were just getting established in 1891, and therefore rented their accommodation, by 1901 were in a position to buy. In a few cases, children left the home and parents acquired smaller accommodation. Individuals who tended to rent rather than buy were often single men or widowers with no children at home, widows, or families just starting out on their own.

Table 1.8

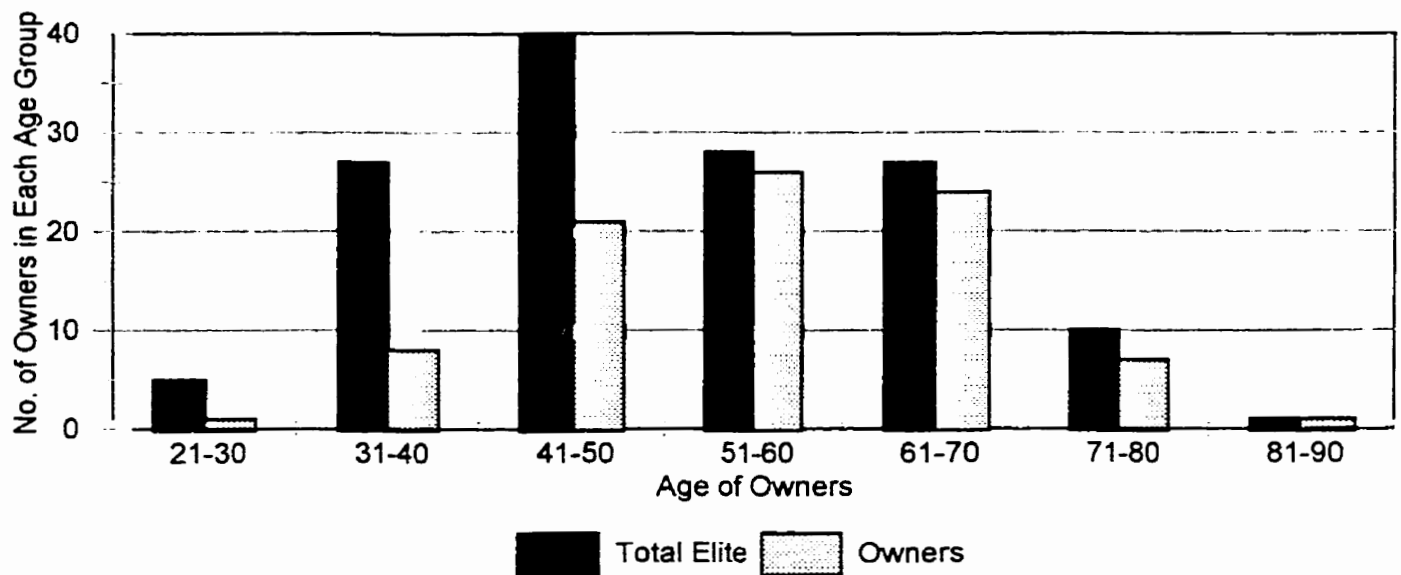
Home Ownership of Hamilton Elite



Source: City of Hamilton Assessment Rolls, 1891 and 1901

Another factor affecting home ownership was age. The assumption that the older members of a group will be more likely to own their own home than those who are just starting out in their profession is borne out when the relationship of age to home ownership is examined. The largest home ownership grouping in 1901 was between 40 and 70 years of age. Those members of the elite born after 1860 were less likely to own their own homes than those born before 1860.

**TABLE 1:9
AGE OF ELITE HOME OWNERS IN HAMILTON
1901**



SOURCE: City of Hamilton Assessment Rolls, 1901

The assessment values within the group varied. In 1901, the highest number of homes were in the \$5,000 to \$9,999 assessed value range. This study group included 32 individuals occupying 16 house locations in 1891 and 20 individuals at 10 house locations in 1901. These are brothers, father and son, mother and son, etc. To avoid

duplication of numbers, the total sample numbers have been adjusted. The 1891 sample also takes into consideration the 10 individuals not in Hamilton at that time.

TABLE 1.10
ASSESSMENT VALUES OF HOMES OWNED
AND/OR OCCUPIED BY HAMILTON'S ELITE

ASSESSED VALUE \$	1891 (N=120)	1901 (N=128)
0 - 4,999	44	42
5,000 - 9,999	38	53
10,000 - 14,999	14	21
15,000 - 19,999	8	8
20,000 - 29,999	3	2
30,000 - 39,999	0	0
40,000 - 49,999	1	2
No information	12	

SOURCE: City of Hamilton Assessment Rolls, 1891 and 1901.

In 1901, the highest percent (41%) of homes fell within the \$5,000 to \$9,000 range, although there was a significant number (32.8%) under \$5,000. This indicates that even within the elite, incomes were very spread out. Less than 10% of the elite owned or occupied a house with an assessment value above \$15,000 and a very large gap existed between those few whose homes were assessed in the \$20,000 range (William Hendrie was one of those) and the two \$40,000 plus home owners, John Stuart and William Sanford. Sanford, whose home in 1891, had been close in assessment to that of Hendrie, jumped to the highest category in 1901 as a result of his renovations. A comparative value can be obtained from Doucet and Weaver (1991) who found that the mean assessment value for all houses within Hamilton was \$950 in 1886, and \$1,100 in 1896.⁶⁵ All of the assessed values for the homes of members of the elite study group

were above that latter figure. The mean assessed value for the homes of Hamilton's elite in 1891 was \$7,500, while that figure rose to \$8,200 in 1901, over seven times the mean value of all Hamilton homes, keeping in mind that the few extremely high assessments do skew the mean upwards. The average assessed value of the homes in our study in 1891 was \$8,700 and in 1901 was \$9,100. Doucet (1976) has shown how the average value of houses owned by occupational groups related to the average values of all city houses from 1852 to 1881. Taking a value of 100 for the average value of a home in 1881, the home of a labourer would be valued at 47% while that of a merchant would be worth 326.9%, and that of a lawyer 390.6%. Merchants and lawyers were more likely to own their home than labourers and clerks; for example, 47.5% and 56.5% vs. 29.8% and 17.3%. The average for the total city was 30.5% in 1881.⁶⁶ Thus the percentages shown for ownership in our study group obviously place these individuals within an select upper group, even within the merchant and lawyer groups in the city as a whole.

It was not uncommon for a member of the elite to appeal his assessment and have it reduced by a judge by as much as \$5,000. For example, in 1891, lawyer and president of the Hamilton Law Association, Edward Martin, appealed his assessment of \$20,000, and it was subsequently reduced by \$6,400 (nearly a third overall) to \$13,600. John Crerar, also a lawyer, appealed his 1891 assessment and it was reduced from \$11,500 to \$8,100.⁶⁷ Reductions in assessment do not appear to be consistent across the board, as property owners with higher assessments seem to be the most likely to appeal. However, it should be cautioned that statistical analysis of this fact has not been done, and this conclusion is from personal observation of the assessment rolls. Another question is how the assessment values relate to the actual value of the home. John Hendrie's home at 252 James Street, for example, cost \$20,000 to build in 1892 and it

was assessed at \$13,000 in 1901.⁶⁸

Over the years, many individuals from various levels of society engaged in land and property speculation.⁶⁹ By the end of the century, 29 individuals or 21% of the elite in this study (n =138) held either land or houses in Hamilton in addition to their own home.⁷⁰ The majority of these individuals held 5 or less lots or developed properties and this may indicate a declining interest in real estate speculation within the city by this group at the end of the century. By this time, the amount of land available within the city limits was considerably reduced, but real estate holdings for this group outside of the city have not been evaluated. It is known, for example, that Henry McLaren owned property in East Flamborough, and investment on the mountain (at that time not part of the city of Hamilton) was also indulged in. Since our group was composed of a large number of professionals, this observation does relate to Macdonald's 1996 study of Vancouver where it was found that professionals were less likely than businessmen to invest in real estate and land, and more likely to invest in stocks and bonds.

By 1901, some members of the Hamilton elite still held a few vacant lots in the elite south-central area of Hamilton, but, by and large, speculation in this area had been in the hands of speculators not belonging to the elite. This is one factor that can help to explain the irregular development of the streets and the proliferation of smaller houses to the north of Hannah Street. The established elite did not have complete control over how the area developed, though the very fact that the southern part of the area was already known as elite did enable speculators to charge higher prices for lots, in effect limiting the number and social class of people who could afford to buy or build in that area.

Two individuals stand out in real estate speculation at this time. Lawyer and Member of the Provincial Parliament (M.P.P.), John M. Gibson, was extensively involved in real estate speculation. Much of his property lay in the north-east section of the city and was part of the eastern area annexed to the city in 1891. Property listed on the 1901 assessment rolls as Gibson's corresponds with an undated Plan of Property drawn up by the surveyors, Tyrrell and Ford.⁷¹ Both this survey and the corresponding streets can be seen on an 1898 city map, so it can be concluded that the Plan probably dates within this period. In addition to his home in the south-west of the city, assessed at \$10,000, Gibson held a total of 162 undeveloped lots, assessed at \$32,720 (value = approx. \$200 each), and developed properties with a total value of \$24,500 (value = approx. \$1,360 each). Some of these properties were placed in the name of his wife, Elizabeth. Emma McGiverin, the widow of William McGiverin, also owned extensive properties, from which she derived a substantial income.⁷² Emma held, in addition to her Queen Street North home, assessed at \$12,000, a total of 66 lots throughout the city with a total assessed value of \$33,360 (value = approx. \$550 each).⁷³

Therefore real estate, which in the mid-nineteenth century was a major source of wealth for Hamiltonians with capital to invest, still held its allure for some at the end of the century. For widows especially, property would provide a source of income and security. Darroch and Soltow(1994) have pointed out that property ownership provided independence for widows, since it freed them from becoming a ward of other male members of the family after their husband's death. In 1871, the percentage of women owning homes in Ontario's urban areas nearly matched that of men (39 vs. 44%).⁷⁴ Hagopian (1999) has examined the role of the Galt widow, Florence Dickson, in the development of "Dickson's Hill", an upper middle class subdivision laid out at the end of

the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Certainly within the elite group studied here, it was not uncommon for a widow to be listed as head of the household until her eldest son came of age. In some cases, the son had to wait until her death before becoming official head of the house. For example, Elizabeth Martin, the widow of Richard Martin, was listed as head of the house on both the assessment and census rolls of 1891 even though her eldest son Richard, a real estate agent, was 27 years of age and living at home. E. Herbert Browne, a cod merchant, had to wait until he was 40 to inherit that title and the house that went with it. In other cases, such as that of Harriet Sanford, whose husband the Senator died in 1899, the house and property were left in the care of the husband's estate, to be managed by a chosen executor, who was always male.⁷⁵

Although it is impossible to determine how many of the elite employed outside help, it is possible through the Census to determine who kept in-house servants. Having a servant live in necessitated having accommodation that was large enough to house not only the family but also the domestic help. Income was also a determinant. The average annual wage for a servant in our study group was approximately \$180, though some, especially a good cook, could command up to \$250. A coachman or gardener could receive \$400 annually, and if he was lucky, his wife would also be employed as a housemaid or cook, and a small cottage provided.⁷⁶ Many of those members of the elite listed as having no live-in servants would probably have hired domestic help on a daily basis to cook and clean, but this cannot be verified. There were also a number of families with unmarried daughters, many past the age when marriage was still thought of as possible and households also included widowed sisters, sisters-in-law, and mothers, who presumably would have helped around the house. Households in these

circumstances usually had fewer servants. Many families with children employed a live-in nurse. Very few families kept the same servants throughout the ten year period between 1891 and 1901, though cooks seemed to last longer in their positions. In respect to age, cooks were generally older than other domestics, many of whom were in their late teens or early twenties.

TABLE 1:11

**IN-HOUSE SERVANTS PER ELITE HOUSEHOLD
IN HAMILTON, 1901**



SOURCE: Canadian Census, 1901

The elite in Hamilton at the beginning of the twentieth century employed a total of 219 live in servants for 128 households, or an average of 1.7 per family. The greatest number of servants, 6, were employed by John Stuart, the president of the Bank of Hamilton whose home was also in the highest assessment ranking. Stuart's servants included a cook (\$280), a parlour maid (\$244), a housemaid (\$232), a coachman (\$420), and a gardener (\$420), who was also provided with a cottage on the grounds. As well,

Stuart employed a nurse who was paid \$400 annually to care for his four grandchildren, left fatherless when his daughter's husband, Patrick Bankier, passed away in 1899. Stuart paid very well in comparison to other families.⁷⁷

The Hamilton elite was strengthened by intermarriage and business relationships, the two often interconnected.⁷⁸ In the study group, it has been possible to determine marital relationships based on information from the Society Blue Book of 1900, obituaries, and the matching of birth dates from the Census rolls. However, overall it is difficult to determine maiden names since these were not listed on Census or Assessment Rolls. Of 40 marriages where the maiden name of the wife is known, 30 married within the Hamilton elite as defined in the period 1891-1901.⁷⁹ Business relationships were also important in the development of this elite society. Some of these were strengthened by family relationships, most notably the three lawyer dynasties of this period - the Crerars, Bruces and Martins. The Wilcox-Doolittle relationship was based on both business and family connections. In 1901, within the study group seventeen marital relationships were found within the context of actual business partnership. This is but the tip of the iceberg, because most of the Hamilton elite held directorships in the banks, insurance companies, industrial establishments, railways, power and light companies and many others throughout the city, and during the carrying out of these responsibilities would have interacted with each other on a regular basis. Many of the elite invested in industry, manufacturing, and real estate together and belonged to the same masonic lodges and fraternal organizations such as the St. Andrew's Society and other philanthropic and cultural organizations. All of these interactions served to strengthen the feeling of unity within the group.

Investigation into the membership of Hamilton's "Four Hundred" has shown the inclusion of some individuals who, from the somewhat lowly form of their residences, might be seen to be reduced in status, but who continued to be included in the social functions of the elite. The reasons for this inclusion lay in family relationships, either by blood or marriage, and other social and business ties. As the nineteenth-century American society matron, Mrs. Ellet, said, "The leaders of gayety (*sic*) flutter in the admiring gaze of the stupid and ignorant masses, but they are not worthy to be named in the same category with those who can boast better claims to distinction than merely the possession of money."⁸⁰ Money might "talk", but "blood" was heard.⁸¹

Membership in exclusive clubs is another measure of one's acceptance into the elite. The major cities in Canada, the United States, and Britain had their exclusive men's clubs which were frequented by businessmen. The concept of the private club is discussed in detail in Baltzell, who quotes Max Weber. "He who did not succeed in joining was no gentleman".⁸² Exclusive urban men's clubs were an essential part of elite life; exclusivity itself guaranteed status. The joining of clubs was therefore an essential part of attaining admittance to the new aristocracy, and being a member was part of that legitimacy. The club provided a social environment away from women whose domain was the drawing room and afternoon teas, all part of the rituals of power and wealth.

The Hamilton Club was just such an exclusive club.⁸³ Founded in 1869 to provide "a comfortable gentlemen's club", the Hamilton Club stayed a bastion of male dominance until 1960 when women were first admitted to membership in their own special annex.⁸⁴ In 1900, it could boast 163 full-time members and an impressive club house in the centre of the city which had undergone several additions and improvements and was assessed

at \$17,500. In 1901, entry was gained into the Hamilton Club through an "introduction" by two existing members, as well as the payment of an initial membership fee of \$125 and an annual fee of \$25, which had remained at that level for over 10 years.⁸⁵ The membership fee was not what kept potential members out; it was the fact that one needed sponsors and had to be voted in by the complete membership, and rejection did happen even though one's sponsors might be highly regarded, as the minutes of the Club show. A somewhat less exclusive Hamilton club which emerged during the same period was the Thistle Club, in this case, a club more sport oriented, with curling rinks, and tennis courts.

TABLE 1.12
SOCIAL LISTING AND CLUB MEMBERSHIP OF HAMILTON'S ELITE(1901)
TOTAL* % OF TOTAL

Tyrrell's Society Blue Book	114	82.6
Hamilton Club	87	71
Thistle Club	36	29

*For Tyrrell's, N=138 (total of elite group). For Hamilton and Thistle Clubs, N=123 (138-15 widows/single women).

Sources: Tyrrell's Society Blue Book; Minutes, Hamilton Club

Seven (5.7%) of Hamilton's elite belonged to the Toronto Club, the Toronto equivalent of the Hamilton Club, indicating the Toronto connections of the group. Senator Sanford also belonged to Ottawa's exclusive Rideau Club.

Hamilton's elite were also involved in country clubs such as the Hamilton Golf and Country Club which seems to have been a popular activity for the ladies since twenty-three percent of those ladies listed in the Society Blue Book were noted as belonging. Not only was exclusivity ensured through membership fees, it was accessible only to

those with transportation and time, that elusive element for working class women. The male members of the elite involved themselves with sports such as the Hamilton Football Club and the Hamilton Cricket Club, cricket being considered a sport for gentlemen and one that had direct ties to Britain. The cricket club was located in the south-west region of the city, near the home of Reginald Kennedy, the publisher of the Hamilton Times and a member of the elite.⁸⁶ For the younger ladies, the new sport of bicycling was popular with the Spinning Wheel Club consisting of 21% of those ladies listed in Tyrrell's.

Public service was part of the nineteenth-century businessman's life. The political scene in Hamilton during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was dominated by those individuals who were not only at the top of their economic scale, but also part of an inner circle which controlled the social structure of elite Hamilton.⁸⁷ The list is certainly impressive and included seven mayors, five Members of Parliament, two Members of the Provincial Parliament, four Senators, and two Lieutenant-Governors, as well as city aldermen and members of civic boards such as the waterworks and the School Board.

Investigation of the social, economic, and political characteristics of the 1901 Hamilton social elite has revealed a remarkably homogeneous group. They were at the top of the wholesale business, were managers in industry, transportation, and banking, professional lawyers and physicians and many were also at the top of the social and financial scale of their class. They were almost equally divided between being Canadian born (53%) and foreign born (47%), with 38% of the latter coming from Scotland, 32% from England, and 17% from the United States. The majority of the elite belonged to the Church of England (52%), and 39% were affiliated with the Presbyterian church. In 1901, most of Hamilton's elite were between the ages of 40 and 70, had been in Canada

Proud Lake Ontario, o'er whose limpid breast
 Shall float, with flags unfurled, the fairy craft
 That future engineering gods shall launch
 To carry Hamiltonian Vanderbilts
 And daughters destined to be duchesses,
 Away from all the diamonds, din and dust. . .

Proud, princely Hamilton! who that stands to-day
 Upon thy world-renowned bold mountain brow ,
 And views that panorama spread below - -
 On either hand wide avenues and streets
 Of castles, cots, cottages, adomed
 Throughout with shade-trees of the kingliest kinds,
 All beautifully blent in green and gold;
 And proud, palatial buildings reared and used
 By kings of capital, live lords of trade,
 And manufacturers of a world of wares. . .

If one sifts through the verbiage, the poem contains important information.

There are references to "princely palaces", "castles", and "proud palatial buildings", and numerous other references alluding to royalty - "queenly", "enthroned". "crown", "royal", "duchesses", for example, common metaphors in late nineteenth-century elite circles. Since many a rich "colonial" yearned to legitimize his position in society by marrying his daughter into the old British aristocracy, Murray's phrase "daughters destined to be duchesses" was particularly apt. Sir Alan MacNab, the laird of Hamilton's Dundum Castle, had done just that earlier in the century, and literature of the time presented such visions to young ladies. The English aristocracy had the blood, the history, but, in many cases, very little money. The North Americans had money but not the true "blue" blood.⁹⁰ Murray's poem states that Hamilton has a "royal ridge" and it is significant that, on the slopes of this "royal ridge", Hamilton's elite chose to cluster their homes. Murray also made a direct reference to Hamilton as the new Naples, the site of many aristocratic villas from Roman times and later. He emphasized the geographical similarity; Naples and Hamilton are situated on a bay, with a mountain in close proximity, in Naples' case, Mount Vesuvius.⁹¹

Murray identified the occupations of the Hamilton elite when he referred to "kings of capital, live lords of trade and manufacturers of a world of wares". As has been discussed, many of the early members of Hamilton's elite were, like Murray himself, involved in commercial activities and by the time of this poem, 1895, manufacturing had been and was still a major source of wealth for the elite. Murray made a direct comparison between Hamilton's "millionaires" and the Vanderbilts of New York, a pointed reference indicating that they shared the same power and influence, though the Hamiltonians' total wealth was small when compared to their American counterparts.

The following chapters will demonstrate how this remarkably homogeneous social elite was able to influence the physical form of the urban landscape in south-central Hamilton, an area of just under one square mile, throughout the last half of the nineteenth century by imposing an architectural standard on both the exterior and interior form of new elite homes and simultaneously creating and maintaining an active social hierarchy.⁹² The Hamilton experience is not unique in this respect. Social elites had emerged earlier in other Canadian cities such as Toronto and Montreal and towards the end of the century in western cities such as Vancouver and Winnipeg, forming in clearly defined neighbourhoods. Even smaller towns such as Galt had their elite neighbourhoods. Hamilton's south-west development took place within an established east-west/north-south grid of streets on a rising but uneven slope of land with geological factors and streets defining the limits. Hamilton's elite area was formed from elite architectural clusters, nodal points organized around social relationships and psychologically connected to a central core of established elite.⁹³ As a result, when it came to style of house and location, the elite stayed close to those who shared similar demographics and influenced the overall character of the neighbourhood.

Neighbourhood is one of the basic social units of modern urban civilization and an neighbourhood with distinctive characteristics is essential in creating and maintaining an elite way of life. In the case of Hamilton, proximity to one's peers seems to have been the most important element in the choice of housing location.

ENDNOTES to CHAPTER 1

1. William Murray, "Hamilton", in Souvenir Book and Program. Military Encampment. The Ladies' Committee of the Wentworth Historical Society, (November, 1895) 7-9.
2. One can get an indication of how these Bird's-Eye Views were compiled from a letter from the Toronto Lithographing Company published in the Hamilton Weekly Times in 1893 in response to "a criticism of the Bird's-Eye View of Hamilton lately published by our firm". The company stated: "We first took a certified plan of Hamilton and laid out the streets and then sent an artist up to sketch in the buildings and blocks. After doing this the sketch was shown to parties who were in a position to judge as to its correctness. Some alterations and additions were of course suggested and were made by us. We then proceeded with the lithographing and printed a complete and finished proof in colors. This was then sent by an artist to Hamilton with instructions to show it to any one whom he thought in a position to criticize. Some very slight changes and additions were suggested, which we made, and another finished proof was sent this time to the City Engineer." Ernest Barlow, the Assistant City Engineer endorsed it and a copy of his letter was included. The company concluded, "This proof was then shown to a number of the leading businessmen and subscribers who also attached their signatures." The letter is dated October 28, 1893. It was published in the Hamilton Weekly Times, October 30, 1893.
3. Other urban studies have used economic divisions as analytical tools. Caulfield (1991) related specific urban images of Toronto throughout its history to Stelter's three phases of urban development, mercantile, commercial, and industrial. See Jon Caulfield, "The Imagined Cities of Three Canadian Painters", U.H.R. XX:1 (June, 1991) 3-14. See also Gilbert Stelter, "The City-building Process in Canada", G. Stelter and A. Artibise, Eds. Shaping the Urban Landscape (Ottawa, 1981) 1-29. Weaver also divided Hamilton's economic history into three periods, the first dominated by the wholesale business, the second by the railway, and the third, beginning in the 1870s, by industry. (Weaver (1982) 77).
4. J. W. Watson, "Industrial and Commercial Development", The Hamilton Centennial 1846-1946, Alexander Wingfield, Ed. (Hamilton, 1946) 27.
5. These early elite are discussed in Katz (1975).

6. Ferrie Papers. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

"Dundum Castle" was designed and built by Robert Charles Wetherall in 1835. It was bought by the Honorable Donald McInnes in the early 1870s, after being used for some time as a School for the Deaf and Dumb after the death of MacNab when no buyers could be found. It was sold to the city as a park in 1898, following the strong lobbying of City Council by W. Fearman, a wealthy pork packager, and an early advocate of public green space. "Westlawn" was situated off York Street on land bought by Ferrie from MacNab. The property stretched north to the Bay. Cut in the stone block over the front door was the inscription, "C.C.F. 1836". "Westlawn" had a series of owners after Ferrie's sudden death of heart failure, and was finally bought by George Tuckett along with the surrounding land as a site for his new tobacco factory in the late 1880s. It was demolished in the 1950s after having been used for years as a storage area for the tobacco company.

7. The Gore Bank, along with four other banks amalgamated with the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1870.

8. Weaver (1982) 59.

9. James B. Brown, Views of Canada and the Colonists (Edinburgh, 1851), quoted in the Hamilton Herald, October 27, 1923.

10. The original of Whitefield's view of Hamilton and his preparatory drawings are in the National Archives of Canada. See also F. St. George Spendlove, The Face of Early Canada (Toronto, 1958) 69-71. John W. Reps, Views and Viewmakers of Urban America (New Jersey, 1969).

11. Reps (1969) verifies this view when he states that "The overwhelming number of city views can be regarded as substantially accurate in showing the city as a whole as well as in showing details of individual buildings and their surroundings." (p. 67) It was also common for the artists of these views to show a building complete while it was still under construction, thus anticipating the finished work. (Reps, 70) This would have a practical purpose since the owner of that building would be more inclined to purchase the finished lithograph.

12. p. 143.

13. The year usually given for Whitefield's view is 1854, since under the image is printed "Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1854 by E. Whitefield in the Clerk's Office of the district Court of the Southern district of N.Y.", but, if Whitefield was selling lithographs in 1853, this seems to indicate that the drawings were already done or in progress, probably even as early as 1852 since the 1853 City Directory would have been compiled in late 1852. Whitefield's own sketch books verify that he did extensive preparatory drawings of individual streetscapes before the final overall view was made.

14. Morgan (1912)

15. The 1853 Board of Directors consisted of R.W. Harris (President), Allan MacNab (Chairman), and Richard Juson, John Young, and W. P. McLaren (Directors).

16. Hamilton City Directory, 1853 and 1856. In later years, A. T. Wood was a director of the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway, a line on which both Adam Brown and William Hendrie collaborated. The County Council of Bruce County wrote "... the whole line of Railway has been completed within the time named in the agreement . . . by and through the energies of the enterprising Contractor, Mr. Hendrie. . . . the County of Bruce is also indebted to Mr. Adam Brown, the Father of the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway . . ." Letter from the County Council of the County of Bruce, n/d, but probably ca. 1870. (Brown-Hendrie Papers, BW-2, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.).

17. Hamilton Herald, December 31, 1889

18. The tale of City Clerk, Thomas Beasley, "losing" himself and the city assessment rolls so that the creditors could not collect on unpaid debentures has gone down in the history of Hamilton lore. Beasley told his story to the Hamilton Spectator thirty four years later, where it appeared in print for the first time. (July 15, 1896)

19. Weaver (1982) 71.

20. Herbert Lister, Hamilton, Canada. Its History, Commerce, Industry and Resources (Hamilton, 1913), pp. 25, 75, 77.

21. Lister (1913) 75, 77.

22. The fortunes of the Mills family and their real estate holdings are discussed in Doucet and Weaver (1991) 25-25.

23. Doucet and Weaver (1991) 348-364.

24. Hamilton Spectator, May 16, 1884. See also the Toronto Mail, May 22, 1886.

25. The Globe, Toronto, Oct. 27, 1877, p.2, quoted in Forster (1979) 39.

26. Opposition fears were that this protectionism would result in higher prices to the consumer. See the article by Ben Forster, "The Coming of the National Policy: Business, Government and the Tariff, 1876-1879", J.C.S. 14:3 (Fall, 1979) 39-49.

27. Hamilton Spectator, February 28, 1891.

28. Watson, in Wingfield (1946) 21-39.

29. A series of amalgamations would eventually result in the formation of the Hamilton Steel and Iron Company in 1900. Hamilton companies, the Canada Screw Company and the Ontario Tack Company, merged and both were bought out by the Ontario Rolling Mills headed by Americans Charles Doolittle and C.S. Wilcox. This company then amalgamated with the Hamilton Blast Furnace Company which made pig iron and was headed by Hamiltonians John Tilden (President), John Milne and A.T. Wood. Robert Hobson was the general manager. The result was the Hamilton Steel and Iron Company which built a plant for the manufacture of steel - from pig iron to finished bar - in 1900. Skilled labour was brought in from Ohio and the pay was equivalent to American rates, usually about \$1.10 to \$1.25 per day. This resulted in an alcohol problem since whiskey was cheaper in Canada than in Pittsburgh. W. A. Child, a

former secretary of the company, wrote of his experiences in the late 1880s and 1890s. ("Iron Trade Built by Determined Men", Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1926)

30. January 4, 1896

31. "Hamilton is pre-eminently the great manufacturing city of the Dominion. It is frequently called the Birmingham of Canada. . . Hamilton resembles Birmingham in her thrifty application of skill and capital to widely diversified industrial operations . . ." (Hamilton Spectator Carnival Edition, August, 1889, p. 18)

32. Zunz, Introduction, Chapter 1.

33. Lister (1913) 75, 77.

34. Michael Katz, Michael Doucet, Mark Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, 1982); Bryan Palmer, A Culture in Conflict. Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal/Kingston, 1979).

35. The Samia Canadian wrote: "If the great employers of labour throughout the Dominion were to follow Mr. Tuckett's example, existing conditions among many of our labouring classes and intelligent mechanics would be greatly improved. Mr. Tuckett's plan, if extensively adopted, would constitute an anti-strike law in many enterprises." (September, 1899). Indeed, it was not until some years after the ownership of the Tuckett Tobacco Company had passed out of the hands of the family after George T. Tuckett's death that the company had its first strike. Statements from workers and supervisors of the company to the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada in 1889 indicate a good relationship between Tuckett and his workers in comparison to other companies. (See Vol. 2, Evidence - Ontario (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889)).

The paternalism shown by Tuckett in his relationship with his employees is similar to that of the textile manufacturer, John Penman of Paris, Ontario, who with his father, who had founded the mills in 1868, felt strongly about their moral and social responsibilities to their workers who in this case were mostly female. Tuckett also employed many female employees who worked in the packing and processing areas of his factory. Penman constructed a stately and impressive mill with a six-storey bell tower and cast iron decoration. (See Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners (1990), 34-40.) Penman's house, "Penmarvian", built on a hill overlooking the Grand River and the town, can also be compared favourably to that of Tuckett and other members of the Hamilton elite.

36. Peter G. Goheen, "Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada", U.H.R. XVIII:3 (Feb., 1990), 237-243. See also The Hamilton Spectator, May 15, 1872. For the route taken by the parade and further discussion see, Peter G. Goheen, Plate 58 in The Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. II (Toronto, 1993).

37. Baltzell (1958) relates this withdrawal from public service to a secular trend that began after the Civil War. (p. 20) McDonald (1983) also notes this same trend in the Vancouver business elite, as pressure from business affairs necessitated their withdrawal from municipal politics. The control of urban politics on the Prairies and thus

urban development was in the hands of a small business elite both prior to and after 1914. Alan F. J. Artibise, "Continuity and Change: Elites and Urban Development, 1914-1950", The Usable Urban Past, Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, Eds., Carleton Library No. 19 (Toronto, 1979) 130-15

38. Hamilton Spectator, October 26,, 1888.

39. Brown-Hendrie Collection. Letter of Adam Brown to Mary Brown, 30 November, 1895), S.C., H.P.L.

40. Hamilton Spectator, November 19, 1899.

41. Hamilton Spectator, October 9, 1894.

42. Hamilton Spectator, October 1, 1894.

43. The opposition to the route of the railway line can be followed in the Hamilton Spectator from September 20 to October 10, 1894. A short history of the TH&B railway can be found in "Farewell to the TH&B" by Douglas Smith, Canadian Rail No. 404 (May-June, 1988) 79-101.

44. Ingham (1978) and others have deflated this myth and shown that the typical successful businessman of the period came from a middle-class or upper-class family

45. Many of Baltzell's elite in Philadelphia traced their ancestry in America to the seventeenth century. (1962)

46. Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register, 1879, C.H. Mackintosh, Ed. (Ottawa, 1879), 122.

47. Canadian Parliamentary Companion, 1887, J.A. Gemmill, Ed. (Ottawa, 1887), 55.

48. Katz (1975). In a later study, Katz, with Doucet and Stern (1982), again postulated a two class model based on capital and labour, a business class and a working class. The business class included a privileged upper level (top 10%) thus creating an economic ranking within the class itself.

In Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, Baizell (1964) divided the American business aristocracy into two parts, an elite and an upper class.

In another American study, John Ingham (1978) defined the elite as a group of individuals of high rank and power economically, socially and politically. The term, **upper class**, was used to refer to a social class where its members interrelated on a social basis and shared common interests.

McDonald (1990) in his study of Vancouver pointed out that while previous studies had generally assumed that the business elite was synonymous with the social elite, this was not the case.

49. See Baltzell (1964). In Philadelphia, members of the elite were drawn to one another in various primary groups and established a class consciousness. These smaller groups associated with each other socially, intermarried, and maintained a distinctive lifestyle which set them apart culturally from the rest of the population, a phenomenon that could be called an "elite concept".

50. p. 63.

51. The original use of the term "The Four Hundred" referred to the number of guests who could comfortably fit into the ball room of the New York society hostess, Mrs. Astor.

52. In the United States, a new American upper class arose during the last decades of the nineteenth century and developed the means to clearly identify who belonged and who did not. This necessitated not only a local means as within a specific city, but also a national means for other cities throughout the United States. A listing was definitely needed and this was provided through the Social Register, the first volume of which appeared in New York City in 1888, and listed less than 200 families. (Baltzell (1958) 35).

53. The American Social Register was privately owned, was highly exclusive and listed social status for a profit. Potential listees were required to make an application and include written references from present members. The U.S. President, Vice-President, members of the Supreme Court and the Senate were automatically listed. The members of the House of Representatives were not and had to apply like everyone else. (Baltzell (1962) 36).

54. Baltzell's elite were the leaders in business, politics, law, medicine, education, religion and the arts. (1962)

This is one instance where occupational listings in the Census and City Directories can be misleading. They use the term "bank clerk", which today signifies a low status of professional, but if one examines annual income statistics for three individuals in our group involved in banking, it is obvious that the term "clerk" is ambiguous. For example: 1) James Turnbull, Manager, Bank of Hamilton; annual salary, \$7,000; 2) Stuart Strathy, Manager, Traders' Bank; annual salary, \$3,500; 3) Hugh Steven, Bank Clerk; annual salary, \$4,500.

Lawyers of course will always be in demand wherever business is carried out. In Georgian England, barristers congregated in the larger cities, while attorneys were present in almost every town. Girouard discusses how by the end of the eighteenth century in England, lawyers had become firmly established as leading members of society. Since their services were much in demand, they became very wealthy and as a result, their homes were among the best in the town. "If, in a small town, there is one eighteenth-century house bigger and more stylish than the rest, the odds are that it was built by a local attorney." Girouard (1990) 111.

55. Katz (1975)180. It must always be kept in mind that Katz's group was a **business elite** not a **social elite**. McDonald's study of the Vancouver social elite (1990) also showed a larger percentage of professionals.

56. In Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century, the Episcopal Church was in fashion with the elite. (Baltzell (1958) 61).

In Vancouver (1910-1914), the Church of England held 66.8% of the social elite while only 20.5% were Presbyterian. Vancouver's statistics also present an interesting difference between the business elite and the social elite, both of which overlapped but which were not exactly the same. Whereas no Roman Catholics were included in the business elite, they accounted for 5% of the social elite (15 out of 302). This probably

relates to the fact that over 44% of Vancouver's social elite were in the professions, compared to 14% of the business elite. (McDonald (1990), 66-67).

57. In most cases, the mother and father shared similar origins; there were very few cases in the Hamilton elite where mother and father came from different countries, though if they did, the Census gave the child the ethnicity of the father.

58. Katz (1975) 180.

59. Ingham (1978) 23.

60. Katz (1975) 131.

61. Baltzell, in his study of the Philadelphia elite (1958) also showed that longevity in one place was linked to success. Gordon Darroch, in his studies of Central Ontario in the last half of the nineteenth century, concluded that remaining in a region was closely linked to relative prosperity. (Gordon Darroch, "Class in nineteenth-century, central Ontario: A reassessment of the crisis and demise of small producers during early industrialization, 1861-1871", Class, Gender and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology, Gregory S. Kealey, Ed. (St. John's, 1988). See also Gordon Darroch and Lee Saltrow, Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario (Toronto, 1994), and Gordon Darroch, "Occupational Structure, Assessed Wealth and Homeowning during Toronto's Early Industrialization, 1861-1899", Histoire Sociale/Social History 16 (Nov., 1983) 381-310.). This conclusion was supported on a rural level by Gagan's study of the county of Peel during the 1850s and 1860s. (David Gagan, Hopeful Travelers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto, 1981)).

62. Katz (1975) 77-92. It was significant that in mid-century Hamilton, approximately one fifth of the people in Katz' bottom forty economic ranks managed to own their own homes, and the Irish, regardless of income, tended to own property. See also, Darroch (1983).

63. Doucet and Weaver (1991).

64. Doucet (1982) 173-199.

65. Doucet and Weaver (1991), Table 10.4, pp. 432, 433.

66. Doucet (1976) 83-105.

67. John Stuart appealed his 1889 \$10,000 personal assessment on the grounds that he did not carry on business in the City. He did admit, however, that he had an income of \$3,500 derived in the City, \$2,500 as president of the Bank of Hamilton, and \$1,000 as director of Canada Life. After review by the city solicitor, the assessment was reduced to \$8,500. That year, the total amount struck off the assessment rolls was \$432,520 (total assessment - \$23,122,000; population - 45,243), one half of this was in Ward 2, where most of the elite lived. Hamilton Spectator, Nov. 5, 1889), p. 4.

68. Darroch and Soltow (1994) have used the manuscript census of 1871 to examine how property was acquired and distributed within Ontario and to define what social characteristics were associated with ownership. They also took up the theme of

inequality which had been examined by Katz, Doucet, Weaver, and others. The sole use of property to assess inequality was justified by their statement that, at that time, property was the most important form of wealth in Ontario from both a social and economic basis. The study revealed that, although across Ontario only 9% of adult males owned two or more houses, in Hamilton, that figure rose to 12%. The authors also defined what they called a "propertied and rich group" by assessing land, property, and equipment ownership. Within this "rich group", social characteristics of birth, ethnicity, residence, religion and age were examined. In early Hamilton, a small group of investors owned large tracts of land within the city.

69. Doucet and Weaver (1991) followed the history of 14 of these surveys and showed how most of these lots changed hands an average of 4.3 times between 1847 and 1881. Returns were not excessive, but they did show that after ten years, taking the original purchase price, value of the mortgage, and the various holding costs into account, the average annual return on an investment was 7.1%. (p. 29).

70. Information from Assessment Rolls of City of Hamilton, 1901.

71. Map Collection. S.C., H.P.L.

72. Emma's husband, William McGiverin, had been a prominent merchant and politician who had served in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada from 1863 to 1867 and as mayor of St. Catherines in 1863. He bought the wholesale hardware business from Richard Juson when Juson retired to add to his already thriving business in the wholesale grocery trade. Financial difficulties forced him to sell the firm in the late 1870s and he died in 1881. The McGiverins lived in a large stone house, "The Homestead" on the east side of Queen Street North opposite the home of Colin Ferrie. The house had been built by Emma's father-in-law, Thomas Stinson, in the late 1840s.

73. Assessment rolls for the City of Hamilton, 1901

74. Darroch and Soltow (1994) 33.

75. See also Girouard (1990), pp. 112-114, for a discussion of widows and single women as property holders in the English town.

76. Katz (1975) points out the linear relationship between wealth and the employment of servants. Gagan (1981) also identified the servant as an indication of social betterment.

77. Thus Stuart was paying nearly \$2,000 per annum for servant salaries. When one compares this with the \$3,500 income that Stuart admitted to in 1889, (see e/n 68) it is obvious that he had other sources of income, in all probability stocks and bonds.

78. As has been shown in other studies, these characteristics were common among elite groups. (See Katz (1975))

79. The family relationships of Emma McGiverin, nee Counsell (b. 1836) illustrates a not uncommon example of the complexity of elite intermarriages. Emma and her family had arrived in Hamilton from the United States in 1859. One brother Charles (b. 1840)

was a stockbroker. Another brother George (d. 1898) was clerk of the County of Wentworth. Emma's sister Marianna (b. 1841) married lawyer, Edward Martin (b. 1834). Her first husband John Stinson, was the son of one of the early Hamilton elite, Thomas Stinson, the founder of the Stinson Bank. Emma's second marriage was to Colonel William McGiverin. Her son Thomas (b. 1861) married Agnes Hope, daughter of another of the early elite, Senator Adam Hope. Her daughter Marian (b. 1860) married lawyer P.D.. Crerar (b. 1859), son of barrister John Crerar and her granddaughter Margaret (b. 1876) married D'Arcy Martin, son of Edward Martin. John Crerar (b. 1836) was married to Jessie Ann Hope another daughter of Senator Adam Hope and his daughter Nell married George McLaren Brown, son of Adam Brown. (Shaw Papers. Archives. S.C., H.P.L.)

80. Mrs. Ellet, The Queens of American Society, quoted in Andrews, p. 152.

81. Pease and Pease have pointed out that in Boston in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, one third of the upper class was extremely wealthy, yet only one fifth of those had a high social standing. In Boston, what counted was kin, schooling, church membership and clubs. Wealth was considered fleeting and therefore could not be counted on as a stable qualification. Another important criterion was charity which served to legitimize wealth. William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, The Web of Progress. Private Values and Public Styles in Boston and Charleston, 1828-1843 (New York, 1985)121-146.

82. Baltzell (1958). See Chapter 13: "Social Clubs and the Class Structure".

83. The Hamilton Club, (at the intersection of Main and James Streets), moved into its permanent home in 1873. The building was one of the first brick buildings in Hamilton, had originally been occupied by the merchant, John Young, and was sold to the club by Charles Magill in 1873. After several additions, this original building was replaced in 1908. The original prospectus, signed by 93 of Hamilton's prominent citizens read, "In view of the acknowledged necessity of a comfortable GENTLEMEN'S CLUB in this city and in order that one may be on par with other large cities in the Dominion it is proposed by the subscribers to rent a suitable building for the purpose of establishing a HAMILTON CLUB, the entrance fee to be \$100 (one hundred dollars) and the yearly subscription to be arranged afterwards at a meeting of the subscribers. It is thought that the entrance fee from 60-100 subscribers will be amply sufficient to furnish all necessary rooms and provide a good BILLIARD ROOM. A Committee of Gentlemen will be selected at the first general meeting to arrange all preliminaries and form bylaws." (Hamilton Club Archives, Archives and Research Collection, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University)

84. Not that some of the male members didn't try to correct this omission. An entry in the minutes of a special meeting of the managing committee called on September, 1887, stated that certain members "want to hold a private dinner and invite ladies". The committee said no. (Hamilton Club Minutes, S.C., McMaster University) Similarly, when some members of the Buffalo Club expressed a desire to stage a reception to which ladies would be invited, they were criticized by other members. The Buffalo Express stated that although it believed in some rights for women, "men's clubs are not part of them." Twenty years later the Buffalo ladies formed their own club, the Twentieth Century Club, welcoming men as guests. (Brown & Watson (1982), 125).

85. From Hamilton Club archives. S.C., Mill's Library, McMaster University.

86. One of the first intercity cricket matches was against the Toronto Club on August 10, 1847, which was played in front of Peter Hunter Hamilton's home. The Toronto team won (by six wickets). On later teams, members of Hamilton's elite were singled out as powerful players. (Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1926)

87. See Baltzell (1958), 20; McDonald (1983), 1-14; and Artibise (1979), 130-154. In 1964, Baltzell showed how the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant upper class had changed from being a ruling class to one of privilege largely through its turning inward and becoming more caste-like. It was here that Baltzell introduced the acronym WASP to the English language.

88. In addition to having been a partner in the successful dry goods firm of A. Murray & Co., William Murray became known for his literary abilities. He wrote many poems for various special occasions and was given the title of the "Bard of Athol" by the St. Andrew's Society in Hamilton of which he was official poet laureate. Critics said that he had "a fine literary taste". Murray's wedding gift to William Hendrie Jr. and his bride, Elizabeth Ann (Lily) Brown in June, 1901, was a book entitled, The Life and Letters of Sir J. Millais. (Hamilton Spectator, June 5, 1901). He also wrote a poem for the occasion. A selection of Murray's poems is included in John D. Ross, Scottish Poets in America (New York, 1889).

89. Souvenir Book and Program. Military Encampment. The Ladies' Committee of The Wentworth Historical Society, Nov., 1895, pp.7-9.

90. This phenomenon is presented in the novel by Edith Wharton, The Buccaneers, published in the early twentieth century.

91. The ancient Romans built country villas on the slopes of Mount Vesuvius and in nearby Pompeii. During the Italian Renaissance, the Villa d'Este at Tivoli was built on a hill to give its owners a panoramic view of the countryside and the city, and Cosimo de'Medici had a terrace especially built for his villa at Fiesole so that he could look down on the city of Florence. (For a discussion of these villas and their symbolism, see Ackerman (1990)).

92. In 1901, the city of Hamilton encompassed an area of 3,974 acres. The elite area covered approximately 16% of this.

93. This can be compared with Holdsworth's comment on Vancouver's west end. "Worker's cottages nestled among the castles, just as castles protruded above the cottages." (1986) 16. The true cottages in Hamilton elite area were located at the foot of the mountain in an area known as "Chauffeurs' Row", since they were built especially for the chauffeurs of the elite so that they would be immediately available. This concentration of the elite at the end of the century contrasts with Katz's findings for the 1850s. Katz noted that almost 60% of this wealthy group lived in the city core, while 40% located their homes on the main thoroughfares in the outlying areas. This finding can be related to the formation of the early Hamilton elite, since by the 1850s, much of the area to the west had not been opened for development and the men who formed the end of the century elite, such as William Hendrie, had not yet established

themselves. While the old elite had situated their homes in the south-central area, along the base of the escarpment, and along the main entrances into the city, such as York and King Street, Hendrie, on setting up his business in the late 1850s, lived in the core, off York Street. It was only in the 1860s that he made the move to a larger home to the west. As economic conditions became favourable, and land came on the market, the new aspiring elite were quick to build their mansions in this new area. This is why Katz, speaking for the early period, can say that the "clear, identifiable social groupings" created by these wealthy entrepreneurs did not have a similar residential clustering effect. This changed as the century wore on.

CHAPTER 2 HAMILTON'S ELITE ARCHITECTS AND LANDSCAPE GARDENERS

“Hamilton should have good architecture, for it is very picturesque, and gives the designer a better setting for his work than is usual in cities.” C. H. Acton Bond, Architect.¹

As discussed in Chapter 1, a close-knit social elite evolved in Hamilton in the last half of the nineteenth century. During that period, the city's economy grew and businesses prospered. Wealthy businessmen looked to architects to design suitably impressive houses in the latest architectural styles and landscape architects and gardeners to ensure that the surrounding landscape contributed favourably to the overall image of wealth and status. The design of the houses was, in many ways, jointly influenced by the architect's abilities and knowledge and the desire of the client to live in a home that compared favourably with those of his peers. In this chapter, the architect-client relationship will be explored to show how both architects and landscape gardeners influenced the form and cultural ambience of south-central Hamilton.

The arrival of professional architects within the city corresponded with Hamilton's change to city status in 1846, the coming of the railway to the city, the opening up of the south-central area for building, and the increase in personal wealth. Although clients initially looked to out-of-town architects, by the end of the century, most of the architectural commissions were being awarded to Hamilton-based professionals, an advantage in that a local architect could more closely supervise the construction. In turn, tenders were usually granted to Hamilton tradesmen, such as contractors Peter Balfour and Michael Piggott, providing local job opportunities. By the end of the century, Hamilton was able to support a number of practising architects,

builders and tradesmen who were kept busy designing houses, factories and civic buildings.

The earliest recorded architect in Hamilton was Robert Charles Wetherell who designed Sir Allan MacNab's Italianate villa, "Dundurn Castle" in 1834. He did not stay in Hamilton. Tender calls for buildings began to appear in the local newspapers in the early 1850s with the publication of the Hamilton Spectator, founded by Robert Smiley. Toronto-based, English-born architect, William Thomas, (1799-1860), set up an office in Hamilton in the late 1840s, and was given the commission for the new Presbyterian church of St. Andrew's (now St. Paul's). He was a very versatile architect as seen in his designs for two villa homes of the 1850s, "Ballinahinch" and "Inglewood", to be discussed in Chapter 4. His youngest brother, John, had been a sculptor for English architects Sir Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin who had designed the British Houses of Parliament in the 1830s, and it is conceivable that Thomas would have been introduced into that professional circle since his architectural designs show the influence of both men. While he was still in England, he designed many Gothic Revival buildings, followed by a period when he came under the influence of the English architect John Nash, and developed a more conservative, neo-classical style.² Thomas found that although the demand in Hamilton for professionally trained architects was on the increase, Toronto and environs offered a more lucrative market for his talents, where he accepted large commissions such as Toronto's Don Jail and Guelph's City Hall.

Thomas designed an Italianate villa, "Ballinahinch", for Aeneas Kennedy in 1849. It was subsequently damaged by fire, necessitating further work on the

residence. In both cases, Thomas and local builder Peter Balfour worked together, with Thomas leaving the work in Balfour's hands. Balfour, the father of architect James Balfour, was a Scottish builder who had immigrated to Hamilton in the 1840s.³ Correspondence between Thomas and Kennedy during the building period documents the relationship between architect, builder, and client. An agreement dated the 13th of February, 1849, between Kennedy and Balfour confirmed that Balfour would build the house according to the plans and specifications of Thomas for the sum of 1395 pounds. The next day, Thomas sent a letter to Kennedy agreeing to undertake superintendence of the house and make working drawings at a commission of 5% on the amount of expenditure. Five percent seems to be a standard throughout the nineteenth century for architect's commissions, as indicated by other documents. Thomas went on to say that "I consider Mr. P. Balfour's tender a low amount considering the building you will have according to the amount". There is an undated tender by Balfour for Kennedy's house for 1460 pounds, but it is unknown whether this predates the February 13th tender or whether it is later. Thomas told Kennedy that Balfour could start joiner work since he (Thomas) was unable to come in from Toronto until the 26th of February. An undated letter from Thomas to Kennedy refers to the "restoration of your residence", so this must refer to the damage repair that was necessary after the fire. This is further confirmed by a later agreement between Thomas and Balfour, dated June 9, 1854, that contracts Balfour "to finish the rubble stone work, carpenter and tower works for the house to be built for E.S. Kennedy according to plans and spec. - L1105."⁴ The architect was therefore content to leave the construction aspects to the builder.

Balfour seems to have been a prolific builder and was very well liked and

respected in the city. He became Water Commissioner for St. Mary's Ward in the City in 1858 and City Assessor with an office at City Hall in 1871.⁵ It was Balfour who was appointed Building Commissioner for Hamilton in 1891, much to the relief of the Hamilton correspondent to the Canadian Architect and Builder who had been complaining about the sorry state of affairs in Hamilton's building department. The correspondent took credit for exposing the problem thus forcing Hamilton to appoint Balfour to the job. "Under his direction let us hope, a correct record be kept of the number, character, location and cost of every structure hereafter erected in the city."⁶ Balfour kept the position until his death in 1897 at age 78. Balfour also undertook speculative building in the city, with his son James providing the designs after the mid-1870s; one of their earliest collaborative efforts was the manse for Central Presbyterian Church in 1874.⁷ Peter's will lists a number of properties that he owned in the city which were divided up between his children and their families. At the end of his life, he lived in a large house within the elite area assessed at \$3,200 and left an estate valued at \$40,000, \$39,000 of that in real estate.⁸ Thus it seems that with judicious investment, a respected builder in Hamilton could attain a good standard of living, though neither Balfour nor his son, James, were invited to elite functions, nor were any of the architects to be discussed here.

Since Thomas was busy elsewhere, it was another English-trained architect, Frederick Rastrick (1820-1897), who was to become the favourite of Hamilton's wealthy elite. Hamilton's first true resident architect designed and built villa residences, beginning in the 1850s including "Highfield" for John Brown, "Ravenswood" for John Galbreath, and "Abbotsford" for Colin Reid. Rastrick studied civil engineering with his father and then articulated with Sir Charles Barry. He travelled in Europe, studying in

Belgium, Paris, Rome, Venice and Munich, as well as visiting Egypt and Asia before emigrating to Canada in 1852 and setting up practice in Hamilton in 1853.⁹ Rastrick was an obvious choice for the elite with his impressive credentials and ties to the “old country. If the similarities of Thomas’ and Rastrick’s origins and training are taken into account, it is not surprising that the early villas, such Archibald Kerr’s “Inglewood” and John Brown’s “Highfield”, share the same basic architectural characteristics.

In Hamilton, by mid-century, the Georgian style, which had previously dominated Canadian domestic architecture, had been replaced in popularity by the Gothic. The “masculinity” of the classical forms was fine for large imposing buildings such as city halls and jails, denoting strength, rationality, and control, but domestic architecture began to lean towards a more humane paternalistic vision. The writings of Andrew Jackson Downing on the virtues of the country house and A.W. Pugin's endorsement of the Gothic inspired a different vision of the home that was eagerly embraced by the new bourgeoisie who desired a more relaxed and moral image. The Gothic Revival, with its British roots and its symbolism of patriotism, paternalism, and moral superiority, the latter with a strong dose of religion, had wide appeal for the Canadian elite. Not that this meant the elimination of status-related architectural forms such as towers, porches, decorative elements, and size. One could still have it all without rejecting the sense of culture that classical forms brought with them. In the design of one's home, it was still important to project superiority, but the focus was now on a more nurturing and caring image, in both architecture and business.

Other than Rastrick, the professional credentials of other early Hamilton architects are vague. It was not uncommon for a highly trained craftsman with

aspirations to call himself an architect, and in the period before the founding of the Ontario Association of Architects in 1889, anyone could do just that in Canada with no fear of reprisals or censure. Hutchinson Clark (1806-1877) came to Hamilton in 1834. His tender calls for buildings appeared in the local newspaper, the Spectator, from October, 1852, to March, 1854. They list several villa residences but are not specific as to location and Clark could well have designed some of the early elite villas discussed in Chapter 4.¹⁰ Clark lost the competition for the monument to British General, Sir Isaac Brock, on Queenston Heights to William Thomas, and seems to have found more success as a politician, winning a seat on City Council and then the office of Mayor in 1868.¹¹ Albert H. Hills (1816-1878) is known to have started as a builder who switched to designing buildings. He began advertising in early 1854 with tender calls for a number of domestic and commercial buildings, though the non-specific nature of many of these tender calls does present problems for architectural research.¹² Hills is credited with Hamilton's Knox Presbyterian Church, Centenary Methodist Church and the Royal Hotel. Thus Hamilton in the 1850s was able to support four architects, reflecting the presence of wealthy individuals with sufficient capital to commission both commercial buildings and villa residences.

One of the most prolific of Hamilton's home-grown architects was James Balfour (1854-1917), the son of Peter Balfour. In 1874, James was sent to apprentice with the Scottish architectural firm of Peddie and Kinnear, returning to Hamilton in 1876. He designed many homes for the elite, including houses on Bay Street for James Lottridge, several homes for the Hamilton Real Estate Association, and George T. Tuckett's turreted and towered mansion on Queen Street, as well as his crowning local achievement, Hamilton City Hall. His ambition reached beyond local fame and he

successfully obtained commissions for buildings in St. Thomas, Ontario (Alma College), and the Detroit Museum of Arts for which he defeated a number of American architects. He also submitted a design for the competition for the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh. He was on an exploratory trip to New York racetracks with John Hendrie in 1892, when his marital scandal was meticulously detailed on the front pages of the Hamilton Spectator.¹³ It seems to have been from this point onward that he was excluded from major commissions in the city, although he continued to practice and built a number of smaller houses including a Queen Anne home for industrial manager James Thompson at the northern end of the elite area.

Architects W. A. Edwards and William Stewart located in Hamilton in the latter part of the century. Edwards arrived in Hamilton in the early 1880s; his first tender call appeared in the Spectator of May 26, 1882. In 1890, he was given the commission for T. B. Griffith's Romanesque residence at the corner of James and Herkimer Streets, later bought by John Hendrie.¹⁴ Stewart, born in Toronto in 1832, came to Hamilton in 1872 and set up a practice with his son. He was hired by Senator Sanford to undertake the extensive renovations to his mansion in 1889, a commission that appears to have raised him to prominence in Hamilton, since following its completion in 1891, he received a number of large commissions that included the Toronto, Hamilton, and Buffalo Railway Station and Hamilton Collegiate Institute.¹⁵ Sanford must have been pleased with Stewart's work, since he later hired him to build "Elsinore", a summer home for poor children on Hamilton's beach strip.¹⁶

The use of architects to design the homes of the wealthy was an important factor in domestic architecture in this period. The publication of architectural pattern

books in the nineteenth century meant that homes could be built by tradesmen who had received no formal architectural training, but had learned their trade as apprentices "on the job". It is probable that both Clark and Hills belonged to this category. In contrast, Peter Balfour left the designing to his architect son. Another builder, Michael Pigott, started a family tradition in construction in this period. The use of the title "architect" by those people was one of the reasons behind the formal organization of Ontario architects in the late 1880s which also enabled them to control the use of the title and specify training and qualifications.¹⁷ As the Association emphasized, anyone could use a builder to produce a copy of a thousand other houses; only the wealthy and enlightened patron could afford and appreciate the unique architect-designed house. It seems therefore that, to the elite, the employment of an architect, with its increased cost (the whole idea of employing a builder to build from a pattern was to save money), and resultant individuality, meant prestige.

Those architects who had received rigorous professional training resented the way in which the term "architect" was loosely applied and in the 1880s began to organize into professional groups. Led by a group of Toronto architects, the Ontario Association of Architects, formed in 1889, attracted members from all over the province. At the first annual Convention, held in Toronto in November, 1889, Toronto architect, W. G. Storm, who occupied the chair urged stricter control over who could call himself an architect.¹⁸ The Hamilton architects had already banded themselves into a small group and enthusiastically endorsed the new organization.¹⁹ In a letter to the Canadian Architect and Builder in December, 1888, Rastrick wrote, "We have had three meetings of the most prominent architects in this city, and appointed a committee to draft constitution and by-laws to govern an association. We are determined with the aid of

our brother architects in Ottawa, Toronto, and elsewhere, to raise the status of the profession to its proper level.” Rastrick was elected President, with James Balfour as Vice-President of the Hamilton organization. At the first meeting of the Ontario Association of Architects in March, 1889, Balfour was elected Third Vice-President, though was later replaced by Rastrick as Hamilton’s representative on Council in 1890 after the Bill incorporating the new association was passed by the Ontario Legislature.²⁰

The initial enthusiasm for the Association from architects outside of Toronto soon dimmed as it became apparent that the Toronto members were determined to assert their control over all aspects of the group. Balfour’s motion to have the annual meetings held in urban centres other than Toronto was not only voted down by the Toronto majority but was met with jeers and laughter. The humiliation was even more galling since Rastrick sided with the Toronto group, saying that “it would not do for our association to become a travelling menagerie. . . .”²¹ The situation deteriorated and, at the fourth annual convention held in 1892, the correspondent to the Canadian Architect and Builder felt obliged to state that,

“It is a matter of regret that so many of the members are unwilling to devote the small amount of time and money necessary to meet once a year with their professional brethren for the consideration of questions affecting in an important degree the welfare of architecture in this country. The architects of Hamilton, although only forty miles distant, were with one exception conspicuous by their absence.”²²

The Canadian Architect and Builder became the official voice of the Association, emulating the earlier American Architect and Building News, the Chicago-based Inland Architect and Builder and the British Builder, by providing a forum for architects. Balfour contributed the first article written by a Canadian architect in the journal, and

lamented how far architects had strayed from truth in architecture. "Looking at the principal cities and towns in Canada from an architectural standpoint, they must be considered a failure. . . ." He added that it was by attaining truth in architecture, with every line expressing a purpose, ". . . that a new and perfectly suitable style would soon beautify our cities and towns."²³ The creation of a distinctly Canadian style seems to have been an ideal that Balfour and other architects felt to be a desirable goal.

The concepts of truth in building outlined in Balfour's article indicate a knowledge of the writings of Pugin and Ruskin. The theological symbolism of architecture was emphasized in a later article by Montreal architect, W.E. Doran, when he saw "geometric truth" in the Christian symbolism of Gothic cathedrals. As with Balfour, Doran lamented the fact that the nineteenth century had no distinctive style; it was a period when architecture reflected the past in contrast to forward developments in other fields.²⁴ Balfour had wanted a Canadian style; Doran wanted any style as long as it was new. It is perhaps ironic that Balfour, vociferously promoting a true Canadian architecture, had been at the forefront of all the "new" styles used in Hamilton architecture in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, such as the French-inspired Second Empire, the American Neo-Romanesque, and the English Queen Anne. Pre-dating the use of the Romanesque by American architect, Henry Hobson Richardson, Canadian artist William Hay had stated in 1853, that it was the Romanesque with its rugged and primitive qualities that was most appropriate for the Canadian landscape.²⁵ Hamilton had its share of Neo-Romanesque buildings, but by the end of the century it was the eclectic Queen Anne Style that was most popular, perhaps because of the variety of forms that could be used. One could have the turrets and towers, the gables and vergeboard, the verandahs and porches, in any combination without necessarily

copying one's neighbour.

The architects' professional opinion of speculative builders was forcefully stated by Balfour in the Canadian Architect and Builder in 1888 where he said, " Let us leave all untruthful and flimsy building in the hands of the speculative builders . . .", making it very clear what he thought of builders mass producing inferior buildings for profit. The threat to an architect's livelihood from speculative builders was real. In years when the economy was slow, many architects found that they had to rely on other means to get by. Balfour, for example, advertised himself as a property manager in addition to architect. The Hamilton correspondent to the Canadian Architect and Builder reported in March, 1889, that,

"The building outlook here is considered good. A great number of cheap buildings have been contracted for; in fact, if all is true that I hear, the city will be boomed this summer. I don't think the architects as a rule are busy, as most of the buildings are in speculative builders' hands."²⁶

Another of the incentives behind the creation of the Ontario Association of Architects was the awarding of major building commissions to American architects, the most scandalous being the contract for the Ontario Legislative Buildings to Ralph Waite of Buffalo in 1886. Waite had already completed the Canada Life Building in the centre of Hamilton in 1882, another in Toronto in 1889, and was subsequently to design the Canada Life Building in Montreal in 1895. A letter to the Canadian Architect and Builder, dated May 3, 1894 and signed "Canadian" complained that

"The latest insult our Canadian architects have had to submit to is from the Canada Life Assurance Co., a purely Canadian company making its revenue out of Canadians, its chiefs Canadians, and yet it employs an American, and gives him *carte blanche* as to expense - some \$400,000 - to spend on a comparatively small building. A

Canadian would have been asked to build this palace with \$150,00, . . . ²⁷

Of course, Canadian architects were not beneath trying to beat the Americans at their own game. Balfour's own success in obtaining the contract to design the Detroit Museum of Art had resulted in much negative response from American architects.

It is through the Canadian Architect and Builder, that one can view the architectural scene as it unfolded in Hamilton in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Initially, there was a regular correspondent to the journal who remained anonymous, but in 1893, the job was taken over with enthusiasm by C.H. Acton Bond who was at the time serving an apprenticeship with Balfour and later became a prominent architect in Toronto. Each report never failed to complain of the dismal administrative procedures at Hamilton's City Hall which made it impossible for the correspondent to obtain an accurate listing of building activities in the city. As he pointed out, there was no system in effect that compelled builders to apply for permits as stated in the by-law which "stipulates under a penalty that before commencing any building in the city limits a description of such building, the locality, the name of the proprietor and the probably cost of erection, should be entered. This has not been done in a single instance."²⁸ Bond's outspoken opinions got him into trouble more than once. His disparaging remarks about the carving on the newly constructed house for George T. Tuckett, which Balfour had designed, resulted in a protracted series of letters to the journal from each of the protagonists.²⁹

The influence of the client on the design of his house can be seen in the architectural plans for the new home of Clerk of the Court, Henry Tica Bunbury. Bunbury, of the firm Bunbury and Burkholder (Bunbury and Eager in 1892), Insurance

Agents, commissioned a Toronto architect, D. B. Dick, to design an imposing home for him in 1880. Born in England in 1834, Bunbury had arrived in Canada at the age of twelve, and served in the Union army during the American Civil War. It was Judge James Sinclair, a district judge, who appointed him Clerk of the First Division Court in Hamilton in 1877. The two houses on the south side of Herkimer Street, owned in 1901 by Bunbury and American industrialist C.S. Wilcox who bought his house from Sinclair, were built in the early 1880s, both designed by Dick. Dick had submitted a design for the Hamilton Club, but not won that contract. It was unusual in Hamilton at this time for non-local architects to be hired to design domestic dwellings; however, it may be that other suitable local architects were not available. Or, it is possible that the Judge felt that a Toronto architect would have more prestige and Bunbury, wanting to impress his mentor, hired the same architect. Perhaps this was compensation for Dick's losing the Hamilton Club contract.

It appears that Judge Sinclair was the first to acquire Dick's services, for the earliest set of architectural plans are sketches for his house dated March 15, 1880. (Figure 9a,b) Dick proposed a large and very impressive late Gothic house with an irregular roof line, steeply pointed eaves, and tall massed chimneys, on a lot with a frontage of nearly 200 feet. The main entrance was emphasized with an elaborate porch capped with decorative finials which also appeared on the roof line. The actual tender call for the construction of the house appeared in the Hamilton Spectator on April 18, 1881, a full year after these drawings. Since the plans for Bunbury's house underwent extensive revision, it is likely that the same occurred with those for Sinclair. The only photograph of the house on the site was taken in 1950 shortly before it was demolished.³⁰ (Figure 10) This house bears only a scant resemblance to Dick's plans

so it is possible that either a new design was made or that extensive renovations were carried out either during Wilcox's tenure or later.

It is rare in Hamilton at this time to be able to trace the interaction of architect and client throughout the designing process. We can, however, get a fully documented account through an examination of the architectural sketches and plans done by Dick for H.T. Bunbury between 1880 and 1881, and there is also the additional advantage of the original house still standing for comparison. (Figure 11) Bunbury illustrates several important points in the formation of the Hamilton elite of the late nineteenth century. He was initially an outsider; he had been living in Goderich, a small town in south-western Ontario, for ten years. As his initial introduction to Hamilton society was through an established member, a respected judge, he was given a stamp of approval. Through his position as Clerk of the Court, he would have had almost daily contact with a large majority of Hamilton's elite. Now it was necessary for him to acquire a impressive home in proximity to that elite. Even by the late 1870s, the area to the south of Duke Street and to the west of James was still sparsely populated, making it easier to acquire property on which to build a new home if one had the money. In Bunbury's case, there was an existing house on the lot, visible in the 1876 Bird's-Eye view, but Bunbury obviously felt that it was not impressive enough for his ambitions within the elite.

Bunbury's 100 by 135 ft. lot was ideally situated. At the corner of Park and Herkimer Streets, it was a block away from the upscale Herkimer Terrace to the east, two blocks both west and north of the early estates, and three blocks south of William Hendrie's "Holmstead". Three sets of sketches of elevations and plans date from

December 30, 1880 to August 5, 1881. The latter was probably the final set of sketches from which the finished drawings were made since the tender call for Bunbury's house appeared in the Spectator on September 16, 1881.

Since it was at the intersection of two streets, two facades of Bunbury's house, the east and the north, would be visible to the public, therefore both would have to be suitably impressive, although any design would have to make it obvious that the east facade was the principal one. The December, 1880 plans (Figure 12a,b) displayed a north elevation with two gabled projecting bays. The east elevation was less impressive, a problem, since this contained the porch and the main entrance to the house. To the right of the porch was a tall gabled blank wall, which reflected, on the interior, the fireplace wall of the drawing room and the bedroom above. The blank wall detracted from the overall impression of the exterior. The west elevation had one projecting bay on the south end and a covered porch that reached from the north-west corner of the house to that bay. It seems as if most of the windows were to be concentrated on the north side of the house, and although the intent was probably to let in as much light as possible and also to give the occupants a maximum view of the city and the bay, instead it gave the house a rather unbalanced look.

These plans were obviously not satisfactory to the client, and were sent back for revision. An undated set of highly finished plans shows a few minor changes from the first design, but also includes a south view. (Figure 13a,b) The fact that these are highly finished seems to indicate that Dick thought that these were to be the final design. A three part bay section now came out from the south elevation on the east side, with the centre area taken up by a blank chimney facing, flanked by two levels of

windows, corresponding with a ground floor library and a first floor bedroom. The original plan called for a breakfast room with no windows on the south face and with the east windows looking on to a verandah. This would not have been very satisfying since there would have been very little light.

Bunbury seems to have changed his mind on a number of features, and Dick was sent off to produce another set of drawings. (Figure 14a,b) In these, dated July 18, 1881, Dick completely reversed the features of the facade and placed the gabled section to the left of the porch making this side of the facade very busy and out of balance with the rest of the house. The east facade was incorrectly labelled "north", but this time the blank wall was on the left side of the north facade, called "west" on the plans, giving it a strange asymmetrical look. The porch was now placed on the south facade (labelled "east"). Again the plans were sent back for changes.

The design seems to finally come together in the August 5, 1881 plans, where the mistakenly labelled "north" (east) elevation was now changed to give a projecting bay to the right of the porch and the "west" (north) elevation had windows added to take away from the extremely asymmetrical look. (Figure 15a,b) It is apparent from these drawings that the final plans, which would have been kept by the client and the builder and therefore are not included with the others in the architect's papers, would contain additional changes, because Dick wrote on the sketch several notes probably made after consultation with Bunbury. They include the fact that the verandah which was placed on the east side covering, and to the left of, the main entrance was to be moved to the north side, a sensible change since this would give more emphasis to the front of the house. The total consultation process over several designs took about nine

months. Bunbury was obviously not in a hurry and wanted to make sure that the final design was right for himself and the surrounding urban space.

It is fortunate that Bunbury's house still stands today and that when compared to the final 1881 sketch it can be seen that there have been minimal changes made to it. The north verandah, which was one of the last changes made, is still there and wraps around the north-west corner of the house joining the west verandah. The summer kitchen attached to the rear of the house and projecting towards the south has had a second storey added with an open deck but it is doubtful that this was done at the time since a change in the weathering of the brick can be seen although every care has been taken to ensure that the juncture is discrete. It is also apparent that the planned eastern window in the drawing room on the first level on the north side, shown on the August, 1881, plans was never included, since there is no evidence of brick infilling. This would have been one of two symmetrical windows on either side of a fireplace. On the August, 1881 floor plans, Dick had placed an "X" on the window opening and drawn dark lines through it, indicating that it was Bunbury who requested that it be taken out.

Although this study has uncovered no similar series of plans for other homes, the variety of forms within architectural styles indicates that each client would have had distinct preferences for the final design, based on their aesthetic preferences and also practical and symbolic considerations. What Dick had to say about the length of the process and the numerous plans made for what was essentially a modest house in comparison to Toronto mansions and even earlier Hamilton villas we do not know. Perhaps he felt that he would receive other commissions in Hamilton, though this does

not appear to have happened.

The major proportion of the houses in the south-west area consisted of single family homes, many on multiple lots. Architects were commissioned either by the prospective owner or by speculators intending to sell the house to up-scale clients. Great care was therefore taken in the design and form of the houses to uphold the elite status of the area. New housing construction in the south-west area was given an boost by the creation of the Hamilton Real Estate Association, formed as an speculative building consortium by Hamilton's elite and granted a provincial charter in 1874. Its purpose was to reduce costs by building in quantity and then selling at a higher profit than would have been attained if the houses had been built on an individual basis. It thus put the buying and selling of real estate into a modern context. Of the six founders of the company, two names remained in the list of Hamilton's elite at the end of the nineteenth century. These were R.AE. Kennedy, the son of the builder of "Ballinahinch" and the owner of the Hamilton Times and Lyman Moore who had made his fortune in the drug wholesale business.³¹

Two blocks south of William Hendrie's home, on the east side of MacNab Street, can be seen an example of the architect-designed smaller house from this middle period. The Hamilton Real Estate Association commissioned three houses from architect, James Balfour in the late 1870s, on lots 45 ft wide by 85 ft deep.³² (Figure 16) Two are still standing today, 199 and 203 MacNab. The design of these houses is similar to the houses at 230 and 250 James South, also built for the Hamilton Real Estate Association in the early 1880s and attributed to Balfour. A newspaper advertisement for the latter houses emphasized certain characteristics that the

Association felt would appeal to prospective buyers.³³ These included a detailed listing of the individual rooms, headed by the parlour and the dining room, two essential elements for the entertainment of sophisticated company. Another interesting feature was the offer of the sale of the adjoining lots to the purchaser of the house at cost. This not only enabled the purchaser to build on these lots and make a profit, but also, and more importantly, it would enable him to choose his neighbours if he decided to live in the purchased house or enlarge the size of his property with surrounding green space and gardens. The terms listed indicated that the Hamilton Real Estate Association would hold a ten-year mortgage at eight percent. The actual cost of the house was not included in the advertisement.³⁴ All of these houses, those on James and also on MacNab, featured the mansard roof characteristic of the Second Empire style, with Renaissance trimmings.³⁵

One of the houses on MacNab was occupied in 1900 by Hannah Hope, widow of Senator Adam Hope, one of the city's early elite. It was important for her to remain within the social circle to which she belonged and also to retain visual reminders of that status, but now that her children were adult, she did not need a large home. The house was built in the Second Empire style with a mansard roof, tall chimneys, projecting roof with brackets, window surrounds with prominent keystones and corner quoins. Balfour's drawing for the house clearly showed a facade that receded in three planes. (Figure 17) An additional feature was the bay window of the dining room on the south side of the house which would have been important in maximizing the light to that room since the lots were quite narrow and the houses close together.

A very similar house was owned by accountant, Charles Scott, on Hughson

Street (demolished, 1950s). There were some similarities to the MacNab Street house such as the window and door surrounds, corner quoins, keystones, contrasting brick and stone work, and the irregular facade. A mansard roof identified the Second Empire style, and the bracketed overhanging cornice was similar to the Hamilton Real Estate houses on both MacNab and James Street. The similarity of design leads one to believe that this was also a Balfour-designed house and it appears that the architect established a design formula that enabled the company to almost mass-produce these houses, thus cutting costs for the company but retaining the aura of respectability and class, an interesting relationship considering Balfour's later published statements on speculative builders. A tender call from Balfour on March 25, 1876, in the Spectator for houses on Hannah Street, within half of mile of the others, was also for Hamilton Real Estate homes. The north-east corner of the Herkimer-Park intersection was occupied by a brick terrace, also built for the Hamilton Real Estate Association by Balfour in 1877-78 in the Second Empire style, with mansard roofs, massing of pavilions and extensive detailing, giving a rich and exclusive aura.³⁶ (Figure 18)

The Hamilton Real Estate Association was therefore building upscale medium-sized family homes in the elite south-central area during the 1870s and 1880s, a fact which indicates that there must have been a market for the smaller, but still visually rich-looking family house. The Hamilton elite through the hiring of architects to design and build speculative housing were directly influencing the final form of the south-central area of the city and ensuring that only individuals with sufficient wealth would be able to live in proximity to their own architect-designed homes.

Nineteenth century architecture in Canada consisted for the most part of

revivals of older architectural forms. In Hamilton, at mid-century, there was a proliferation of upper-scale Gothic Revival and Italianate homes designed principally by English trained architects, William Thomas and Frederick Rastrick. The first popular, though short-lived, architectural style to challenge the Gothic during the late 1870s and early 1880s was the Second Empire Style, favoured by the French court of Napoleon III, and popular with the Hamilton Real Estate Association. With its prominent mansard roof, named after the seventeenth-century French architect, Francois Mansart, and its sometimes overwhelmingly highly decorative details, its obvious drawing cards for the upper classes were the richness of detail and the aristocratic associations.³⁷ If the Gothic Revival symbolized morality and enlightened superiority in a subtle yet still obvious way, then the Second Empire style pulled out the stops. It mirrored the temper of the times, a period of new prosperity that had been ushered in with the formation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 and the optimism that came out of the westward expansion of the country with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. By the late 1880s though, the Second Empire style had been replaced by the versatile Queen Anne. In late 1888, the Hamilton correspondent to the Canadian Architect and Builder gave his approval to what he saw as a marked improvement in building design in the city. "Some of the villa residences being erected in the suburbs reflect much credit on their designers." The Queen Anne style also allowed variety in material. The correspondent noted the use of red brick with cut stone for effect and strings and arches in red, white and black brick.³⁸

Architects had long been employed by the upper classes of Europe and thus their use appealed to the aristocratic aspirations of the Canadian *nouveau riche*, just as references to the historical architectural styles brought with them the ideas of culture,

wealth, and power. In their study of London, Ontario architecture in the nineteenth century, Tausky and DiStefano pointed out that the association of the architectural profession and the merchant class in Canada did not always lead to good architecture form. The true architectural patron who had emerged in the Italian Renaissance prided himself on his knowledge of architectural history and took an active role in the design of his palace. The new architectural patron of the nineteenth century was more than likely not very knowledgeable in architectural styles, but knew exactly what he wanted in his house: an up-to-date style with all the architectural “addings-on” that reflected his own inflated self-image; in fact, according to Tausky and DiStefano, “. . . the abundant supply of bad taste became one of the period’s favourite themes”.³⁹

A problem that faced Hamilton architects and their professional colleagues was the amount of control exerted by their clients in the final design of the house. Wealthy clients wanted the latest styles from the United States and Britain, yet there were very few to whom money was no object. Many times it was necessary for architects to cut corners to meet the client’s budget, and if they wanted further commissions, to give the client what he wanted. The villas of the early Hamilton elite were the most innovative but very few of the later elite seem to have been particularly daring in their choices of architectural style and the houses that were built conformed with what was popular at the time. For an architect to get work, he had to work within the desires of the client which left little room to manoeuvre.

Toronto architect, Edmund Burke, lamented that “unfortunately in these days of sudden wealth, we frequently have for clients those who have practically no individual tastes or preferences, and who can only explain their requirements by referring to Mr.

So and So's house as being something like what they want".⁴⁰ Another Toronto architect, Grant Helliwell, condemned the over-indulgence of much domestic architecture when he said that "because every man's house is his castle is no reason why every modest home should ape the pretentiousness of a palace."⁴¹ Montreal architect, W. E. Doran, was even more explicit. ". . . how ridiculous a tin battlement looks on a house. In the first place a street front in the castellated style is out of place; although the law says every man's house is his castle, they are not made to stand a siege of snowballs, about the only use the mock battlements could be put to."⁴² Hamilton's James Balfour felt that "clients dictate too much in regard to style and insist on being 'in fashion' notwithstanding the advice of the architect." He emphasized that architects should "have the courage to stand up for their opinions" and not be pushed into creating "monuments".⁴³

Architects therefore found themselves in the awkward position of having to balance the sometimes outrageous demands of their clients against their sense of aesthetic truth and professional reputation. Hamilton architect, W. A. Edwards must have felt similarly uneasy during the execution of the commission for Thomas Oliver, a buyer for the W.E. Sanford Company, in September, 1891.⁴⁴ Edwards, who had designed a stately Neo-Romanesque house on James Street for T.B. Griffiths, bought by John Hendrie in 1898, produced a highly decorative house for Oliver, complete with all the vocabulary of the Queen Anne Style at its most extreme.⁴⁵ (Figure 19) It was located on MacNab Street opposite barrister John Crerar's stately home, "Merksworth", just north-west of gentleman Henry McLaren's "Oakbank", and two blocks south-east of William Hendrie's "Holmstead", right in the middle of the established elite. Assessed for \$6,800 in 1901, the house was less than a credit to its architect and probably more of a

reflection of the lack of taste of the client. It possessed every architectural detail related to status, combined to give the effect of a "gingerbread" confectionary. Although Oliver was invited to the Sanford reception in June, 1892, probably because he was a senior Sanford employee, he was not invited to the Hendrie wedding in 1901, so it appears that his efforts to join the elite through location and architecture fell through. The reason is probably reflective of the convoluted game of status-seeking that evolved amongst the would-be elite during the last half of the nineteenth century. As the matriarch in a "Punch" cartoon of January 23, 1892, said to her daughters, "If they're dying to know us, they're not worth knowing."⁴⁶ Perhaps Oliver's problem was also his ties to Sanford, who, as will be seen in the next chapter, was not a particularly refined man. Oliver's new home proclaimed the same obsession with status as that seen in Sanford's newly renovated "chateau", but because of its smaller scale it appeared crass.

The same attention to status-related forms was used in the landscape surrounding these homes. For the early elite, landscape was an essential element for villa status and even in the later homes where land was at a premium, care could be taken to ensure that the surrounding landscape enhanced the value and status of the house. Architects recognized the importance of this inter-relationship between house and land. In 1896, Toronto architect, Grant Helliwell, wrote:

. . . the impression produced on the mind of an observant person by our residential architecture depends largely, not only on the buildings themselves but on their approaches and surroundings, the disposition of trees and shrubbery and the arrangement of the walks and terraces.⁴⁷

The early villa estates with several acres of land needed full time gardeners to keep the gardens in order and landscape architects to design the layout of the grounds. The names of these early landscape gardeners in Hamilton are elusive. But it can be ascertained from advertisements in the local newspapers that they were present in Hamilton by mid-century. In February, 1857, an advertisement appeared in the Hamilton Spectator, placed by George Laing working out of the nurseries of Bruce & Murray. "In the season he will have experienced and neat handed men and will undertake to put and keep in order Gentlemen's Gardens and Pleasure Grounds, either by day's wages or contract."⁴⁸ Laing had competition from another landscape architect, William Mundie, whose advertisement also appeared in the Spectator at the same time. A corresponding editorial drew attention to the fact that the nursery business was on the rise due mainly to the increase in wealth in Hamilton.

Laing, who arrived in Hamilton in June, 1856, was hired by Sir Allan MacNab to design roadways and terraces at Dundurn Castle, and was then hired by Alexander Carpenter to make a survey of his property at the head of John Street in 1858. However, by this time, the depression which had already affected the economy of Hamilton was underway. In order to support his family, Laing found himself having to beg for a position with businessman and railway entrepreneur Isaac Buchanan whose "Auchmar" estate sat on top of the escarpment overlooking the west end of the city. He wrote, "I have been advised to apply to you and beg to say that if you will be kind enough to give me an appointment in any of your Railway departments or any other I will endeavour to give you satisfaction."⁴⁹ Whether Buchanan hired Laing is not known for sure, though it is believed that Laing worked on the gardens of "Auchmar". The relationship was secure enough by December, 1862, that Laing, as secretary of

the Burlington Curling Club, could write to Buchanan asking him to become a patron and it does appear therefore that Laing's fortunes did improve after he sent the 1858 letter to Buchanan.⁵⁰

Another member of the elite, John Young, employed Robert Murray of the firm of Bruce & Murray to look after the grounds of his villa estate, "Undermount", but it also appears that Laing was hired as consultant. While Young was travelling in England in the early 1860s, he received letters from Murray regarding the greenhouses and grounds. "All the flowers, fruits, vegetables are doing well".⁵¹ "The orchard will take 98 trees".⁵² Another letter that would not have been welcome stated, "Had to shoot the dog because he was bit by Mr. Juson's mad dog".⁵³ Young's neighbour, Richard Juson, an early wholesaler, reported to him on the building of a stable and gardener's house. In his letter of June 23, 1862, he stated that "Laing advocates placing the gardener's house in a frame yard just at the corner", confirming that Laing seems to have established himself by that time as a landscape gardener for the elite.⁵⁴

By the end of the century, most of Hamilton's elite did not employ full-time gardeners and made do with contracting out gardening chores. This was related to the reduction in average elite property size from several acres to approximately 5,000 to 7,500 sq. ft. However, those with large properties to maintain found that having a full-time gardener was still a necessity, and some provided living quarters for them. Wholesaler and Member of Parliament, A.T. Wood, in addition to employing four live-in house servants (a parlour maid, a cook, a housemaid, and a ladies' maid), provided a separate house on his property for a gardener and his family and a salary of \$360 per annum. In comparison, the female cook received \$180 per annum.⁵⁵ John Stuart,

President of the Bank of Hamilton, and owner of "Inglewood" had more extensive grounds than Wood, correspondingly, his live-in gardener was paid \$420 per annum. In comparison, the nurse hired to look after the four children of his widowed daughter, Jane Bankier, was paid \$400 per annum and the cook, \$280.⁵⁶ The nurturing of plants was worth more than the nurturing of children it seems.

A conservatory provided a year-round garden and a relaxing and fragrant retreat within the house. It was an essential part of the old villa estates but was also adopted by some of the later elite. The house of barrister Warren Burton had a conservatory attached to the drawing room, a alignment that seems to have been quite common. No-one, however, could surpass Senator Sanford in this respect. His large conservatory on the east side of the house was supplied with fragrant orchids and azaleas grown in the greenhouses on his property. The conservatory was also stocked with live chameleons that provided a sense of the exotic.⁵⁷ In addition, the greenhouses contained lime, orange and banana trees and those of other tropical fruits. In a fountain grotto in one corner of the conservatory, the reporter for the Toronto-based, The Empire, encountered "baby crocodiles . . . taking an afternoon siesta in the crevices."⁵⁸ Sanford was adopting a custom common to the European aristocracy who liked to keep exotic animals on their estates. The gardens and conservatories of Hamilton's elite provided a ready market for the many commercial greenhouses in the city. In March of 1876, the Hamilton Times highlighted fifteen nurseries throughout the city which propagated and sold flowers and bedding plants.⁵⁹

On the early estates with acres of land surrounding the house, the owner could create a private retreat where the visitor had to journey through expanses of trees and

lawns to reach the house. The later houses of the elite on smaller lots could not afford these luxuries, therefore the design of the house and the facade which was always in view from the street became more important than the landscape.

"Bellevue", the home of Samuel Barker at the head of John Street, was set back from the road on four acres of land and was approached by a long drive through low stone and iron gates. (Figure 20) John Stuart's "Inglewood" could not be seen from the street, though it could be seen from on top of the mountain. The approach was along a winding tree-filled landscape, so that the house came into view suddenly at the end of the drive. (Figure 21) The entrance to Edward Martin's "Ballinahinch" was framed with tall thick stone piers and the drive wound back through mature trees. (Figure 22) The grounds were covered with rolling lawns and trees.

By the end of the century, this early elite area between James and John Streets was filled with mature trees. "Elmwood", E. T. Wood's estate, contained trees that were reputed to have existed in pre-Hamilton times. Adam Brown's 1890s house, "Bowbrook", built on part of the former estate of Richard Juson, was approached along a drive lined by horse chestnut trees. The grounds were described as being filled with "handsome trees and shrubs and artistic flower beds."⁶⁰ By hiding the house from the street, or at least affording a tantalising small glimpse of the house to the outsider, an element of mystique and reclusivity could be attained. This could be further emphasized by the addition of a stone wall, such as those at "Ballinahinch" and Hendrie's "Holmstead". The latter was set back from Bold Street and the entrance gate, framed by four tall piers surmounted by stone globes, acted as a frame for the house from the street. From there, a circular driveway led to the house. (Figure 23).

Here was a sanctuary to be approached only by the select few.⁶¹

The landscaping style utilized in Hamilton was related to the Picturesque style favoured by the English and developed by landscape architect Lancelot (Capability) Brown in the early eighteenth century on English estates such as Blenheim. The English landscape garden was "planned to look unplanned", even though it took an army of gardeners to keep it that way, and it was based on the idyllic visions seen in the seventeenth-century landscape paintings of the French painter Claude Lorraine. Certainly the nineteenth-century estates of Hamilton's elite still retained some of the wilderness quality that had been found by John Brown in the 1850s when he chose to locate his estate just below the escarpment. In fact, the grounds seem to have been deliberately cultivated to give the impression that anyone capable of taming the wilderness would surely be a formidable opponent in the commercial sphere. Hendrie's home was surrounded by gardens and trees that gave this same effect. Even without a large enough area of land to push the house back out of reach of public view, it was still possible to create the impression of a country villa. George Bisby did just that on the grounds of his Hannah Street home. The lawn stretched down to the street and was accented by carefully placed trees, shrubs, and planters. The front steps led between two fountains which added a civilizing touch to the more informal arrangement of vegetation. (Figure 24)

As lot size decreased, the homes of the elite took on a different exterior character in that they could not be hidden from the street. The homes themselves, however, retained their large size, almost filling the lots on which they were situated. The term, villa residence, was therefore now relegated to its original meaning, a house

outside of the city. Villa residences could not be built on the new smaller lots of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the cost of purchasing several lots in order to combine them was prohibitive for even the wealthier of the elite. The facade of the city house thus gained in importance in the determination of social status.

Within the homes of the wealthy from the Renaissance on, the presence of grand salons on the ground floor facilitated a flow between interior and exterior, the exterior landscape becoming at this time an extension of the house itself. Hamilton's early elite used their space in a similar manner, entertaining their peers in gardens decorated with lanterns and filled with the music of full regimental orchestras. Guests flowed easily between house and garden which provided spatial unity within the grand symbolism of nobility. To maintain this impression, as has been seen, many of the early elite employed professional architects and full-time gardeners.

The architectural exterior and surrounding landscape of the home were, therefore, important indications of social status, both in house design and the presence on the building of certain highly charged symbolic architectural forms, such as classical details that exuded sophistication and learning, and towers, turrets, and heavy stone that conjured up images of medieval kings and nobles. This architectural symbolism exuded by a critical mass of similarly signed buildings within a compressed acreage reinforced the elite status of the neighbourhood revolving around the homes of William Hendrie and W. E. Sanford who will be discussed in the next chapter.

ENDNOTES to CHAPTER 2

1. C.A.B. VI:1 (Jan., 1893), 3.
2. Glenn McArthur and Annie Szamosi, William Thomas. Architect. 1799-1860 (1996), 70.
3. Peter Balfour's Christmas Day wedding to Agnes Waugh of Hamilton was announced in the Hamilton Spectator and Journal of Commerce on January 2, 1847.
4. All of these documents can be found in the Ferrie Papers, S.C., H.P.L. #s 1859, 1860, 1867, 111, 1877, 1852.
5. Hamilton City Directories, 1858, 1871.
6. C.A.B. III:6 (June, 1890), 1.
7. Jean Rosenfeld, James Balfour, M.A.Thesis (1991). Unpublished.
8. Hamilton Spectator, Feb. 6, 1897.
9. Fraser, Men of Canada, Vol. 1, 253. See also D.H.B., Vol. 1, pp. 169-170. The opening of Rastrick's Hamilton office (over Mr. Higanbotham's Drug Store at the corner of Colborne and King), was announced on page 1 of the Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce, Feb. 7, 1853. This stated that he had studied under Sir Charles Barry as an architect, and as an engineer under his father, "one of the first Engineers in England." It also announced that he had worked on some of the most extensive works in England", though was not more specific. See also "The Late Mr. F.J. Rastrick" (Obituary) in the C.A.B. IX:9 (Sept., 1897), 195.
10. A villa residence (Oct. 23, 1852), a villa on the north shore of Burlington Bay (Oct. 20, 1853), a stone house on Main Street (Feb. 8, 1854), a villa on the corner of Ferguson and Wilson (Feb. 25, 1854), and a gentleman's residence at the corner of Maiden Lane and MacNab (March 28, 1854). Clark appears to have gone into partnership with David Murray in early 1853, since the tender calls were listed as Clark and Murray until late 1854 when Murray was now listed as Murray and Smith, and by July, 1855, on his own. Clark's name does not appear in tender calls after mid 1854, although he was still in Hamilton, actively involved in city politics.
11. Clark listed himself as an architect and contractor with an office on Hughson Street. He is credited with the design of the Mechanics' Institute on James Street North (1851) and the Norfolk St. Methodist Church in Guelph. (D.H.B., 51).
12. Unless the tender call specifies for whom the contract is, the assignment of an architect to it remains an educated guess usually based on that architect's past work and formal similarities between the buildings. However, common influences, training, the popular style of the time, as well as the desires of the client, affect the final form of

any building and so two very similar houses can still be by different architects such as happened with Thomas and Rastrick.

13. C.A.B. V:9 (Sept., 1892), 91. The architectural drawings and floor plans for the Club House for the Hamilton Jockey Club were published in the C.A.B. VI:3 (Mar., 1893), between pages 42 and 43. Balfour also designed a grandstand that sat 2,000 for the Club at the same time.

14. C.C.R. I (Mar. 1, 1890), 3, and C.C.R. I (July 26, 1890), 24.

15. The Hamilton Spectator of November 21, 1889, published an extensive list of the buildings designed by Stewart in Cincinnati, Ohio, Covington, Kentucky, Toronto and Hamilton. (p.4)

16. C.C.R. I (Mar.8, 1890), 4.

17. For a discussion of the architectural profession in Ontario in this period, see Kelly Crossman, Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906 (Kingston/Montreal, 1987).

18. C.A.B. II:12 (Dec., 1889), 137-138.

19. Raymond Card, The Ontario Association of Architects, 1890-1950 (Toronto, 1950)
13. See also Letter from F.J. Rastrick and "Hamilton Architects Organizing", published in the C.A.B. I:12 (Dec., 1888), pp. 28-29.

20. C.A.B. III:8 (Aug., 1890), 88. At the first meeting, the Secretary, S.H. Townsend, reported a paid membership of 90, with 43 from Toronto. Ottawa at 10 had the next highest membership, followed by Kingston at 5, and Hamilton at 4 members. These were Rastrick, Edwards, Stewart, and Balfour. (C.A.B. II:12 (Dec., 1889), 138.)

21. C.A.B. IV:2 (Feb., 1891), 18.

22. C.A.B. V:2 (Feb., 1892), 12.

23. "Architecture in Canada", C.A.B. I:1 (Jan., 1888), 3. Balfour's comments on speculative builders were probably related to personal experience. A year later, the Hamilton correspondent to the Canadian Architect and Builder complained that although the building outlook was good, he didn't believe "that the architects as a rule are busy, as most of the buildings are in speculative builders hands." (C.A.B. II:3 (Mar., 1889), 33). In contrast to this point of view, the July, 1888 (I:VII) edition of the C.A.B. had a very favourable report on a Mr. Strong who was building detached and terraced housing in the south-east section of the city. "Mr. Strong is quite an enterprising builder and deserves credit for the taste he displays in getting up his buildings both as regards exterior design and interior finish; in fact, he has been a very successful speculative builder. He has also perfected some very useful improvements in sanitary plumbing and heating." (p.7).

24. "Truth in Architecture", C.A.B. IX:5 (May, 1896) 68; C.A.B. IX:6 (June, 1896), 86.
25. Geoffrey Simmins, Ontario Association of Architects. A Centennial History. 1889-1989 (Toronto, 1989), 12.
26. C.A.B. II:3 (Mar., 1889), 33.
27. C.A.B. VII:5 (May, 1894), 70. A discussion of the discrimination against Canadian architects that led to the formation of the O.A.A. can be found in Chapter 1 of Architecture in Transition by Kelly Crossman (Kingston/Montreal, 1987).
28. C.A.B. 1:9 (Sept., 1888), 6.
29. C.A.B. V:9 (Sept., 1892) to VI:1 (Jan., 1893).
30. Photo Collection, S.C., H.P.L.
31. The place of the Hamilton Real Estate Association in the context of Hamilton's urban development is discussed in Doucet and Weaver (1991), p. 79-80.
32. I have estimated the date of these houses as ca. 1879. Balfour seems to have been very busy with work from the Hamilton Real Estate Association at the time. On May 15, 1878, there is a tender call from Balfour for the "grading and filling of lots, Herkimer St., for the Hamilton Real Estate Association". This is probably for 42-46 Herkimer. On April 28, 1880, there is a tender call for "two houses for the Hamilton Real Estate Association". This has been generally felt to refer to 250 and 242 James Street South, since later in the year, an advertisement for sale appeared in the local newspaper. However, there are also architectural plans by Balfour in the Fisher Rare Book Archives in Toronto for "MacNab Street Houses" for the Hamilton Real Estate Association. The architectural style of the latter and also the houses on James Street are the same, Second Empire, though the MacNab Street houses are smaller and less imposing with narrower lots. Coupled with statistical data from directories and assessment rolls, this would place the date of the MacNab houses at ca. 1879. The original numbers for these houses were 91, 93, and 95; these were later changed to 199, 203, and 209, a common event in these decades, as more development occurred, and one that complicates research. They are all listed in the city directory and assessment rolls for 1879. This seems to eliminate the later date, though there is another Balfour tender call for three brick houses on MacNab from February, 1880. They do not appear on the 1876 Birds-eye view of Hamilton; that block on the east side of MacNab between Robinson and Hannah is empty.
33. The advertisement for the houses at 250 and 230 James Street South in the Spectator, (Jan. 22, 1880) reads "Two New First-class Houses For Sale, on James Street South, corners Hannah and Herkimer streets: the most desirable and rapidly improving part of the city. Each house contains, parlour, dining-room, breakfast room, kitchen, seven good bedrooms and dressing room, housemaids' pantry, with sink, china closet, large linen closet, storeroom and several good bedroom closets, bathroom with marble wash basin, w.c. on second floor, and also in basement, seven bells, hot water pipes and taps wherever necessary. Houses are well built of brick and cut stone, and

well finished with marble mantles, cornices, centrers, etc., and special attention has been paid to drainage and ventilation, which will be found more perfect than usual. Adjoining lots will be offered at cost to purchaser of houses. Terms very easy - Payments may be spread over ten years if desired, with interest at eight per cent."

34. That the Hamilton Real Estate Association intended to hold mortgages on its houses is clearly stated in the *Prospectus* issued by the company in 1875. It indicated that investors would be able to profit from the mortgage interests held by the company. (Doucet and Weaver, p. 80)

35. Detailed models for this style were available in pattern books which were accessible to the general public as well as architects and builders. Design catalogues listed prices for prefabricated architectural elements such as doors, windows, porches, glass, and transoms.

36. #42 was torn down to make way for a large apartment block immediately to the east, indicating one problem with independent ownership of individual houses on a row. The remaining two units have been converted into condominiums.

37. The Second Empire style had been developed in Paris during the Second Empire of Napoleon III, a period which extended from the 1852 revolution to 1872, when the city fell to the Prussians, ending the Franco-Prussian War. It was a short but heady period of excess in every form of life including architecture, fuelled by the glitter and splendour of the Imperial court. For a discussion of the Second Empire style in Canada, see Christina Cameron and Janet Wright, Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture, Canadian Historic Sites, No. 24 (Hull, 1980), and Kalman (1994). The term "Second Empire" was rarely used in the United States to describe the style, most likely because of its political associations. "French Renaissance" was a more popular term, one with more cultural meaning, though the style had nothing to do with the Renaissance. The style later came to be termed "Neo-Baroque", reflecting the sweeping movement of High Baroque facades, and the richness of Late Baroque forms, qualities which attracted the bourgeoisie.

38. C.A.B. 1:11 (Nov., 1888), 6.

39. Tausky and DiStefano, 77, 78.

40. C.A.B. III (May, 1890) 55.

41. C.A.B. IX (Apr., 1896) 39.

42. "Truth in Architecture", C.A.B. IX:6 (June, 1896), 86.

43. "Architecture in Canada", C.A.B. I (Jan., 1888) 3.

44. Oliver, born in England in 1846, and a member of the Church of England, appears to have married late in life. His wife, Mary, was born in 1870. At this time (1891) they had no children (two would be born within the next decade), so it appears that the marriage may have been recent. He is not listed in the City Directories before 1891, so

must have immediately set about building a new home on his arrival in the city. Oliver was listed in Tyrrell's Society Blue Book in 1900, but does not appear on the membership lists of the Hamilton Club. He reported his annual income as \$2,000, a respectable amount. (Canadian Census, 1901, City of Hamilton, Wd. 2, B-6, p. 10).

45. C.A.B. IV (Sept., 1891). "New building for Thomas Oliver, MacNab St. S." W. A. Edwards, arch.

46. Reproduced in Davidoff (1973) betw. pp.32 and 33.

47. Grant Helliwell, "Domestic Architecture", C.A.B. IX:3 (April, 1896), 38.

48. Hamilton Spectator, Feb. 21, 1857

49. Letter to Buchanan from Laing, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

50. Letter from Laing to Buchanan, dated 6 Dec. 1862. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

51. Young Papers, Sept. 7, 1860. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

52. Young Papers, Oct. 10, 1860. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

53. Young Papers, June 3, 1862. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

54. Young Papers. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

55. Source: Canadian Census, Hamilton. 1901.

56. Source: Canadian Census, Hamilton. 1901.

57. Sanford was apparently in the habit of leaving orchid nosegays on the desks of M.P.s and Senators in Ottawa. (The Empire, June 13, 1892)

58. The Empire, June 13, 1892.

59. Hamilton Times, March 7, 1876.

60. Hamilton Herald, June 5, 1901. Brown loved flowers and gardening. A 1903 letter to Brown from A.D. Home in England congratulated him on the prizes won at Hamilton's flower show, the "Floral Fete". (Brown-Hendrie Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 3809-3815. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.)

61. The idea behind this symbolism was developed in the seventeenth century by the French nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie in Paris with the development of the *Hotel*. These *hotels*, or town houses, were situated behind a tall stone wall, the public face. The privileged few entered the *cour d'honneur* in their carriages through iron gates and were deposited at the front of the *corps-de-logis*, the private face, without contact with the urban masses on the other side of the wall. During this period the development of the *porte cochere* enabled one to alight from one's carriage and enter the house

without regard for the weather. The *porte cochere* can be seen on some of the larger homes of Hamilton's elite, such as Sanford's mansion and the home of stockbroker C.E. Counsell on James Street. In the latter case, Counsell has managed to include a modest *porte cochere* on the south side of the house even though the lot size is smaller in comparison to the larger estates. It appears that this was one architectural characteristic that he felt that he could not do without.

CHAPTER 3
THE "GRAND OLD MEN" OF HAMILTON'S LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ELITE.
ADAM BROWN, WILLIAM HENDRIE AND W. E. SANFORD

This chapter examines the interrelationship of architectural form and status through an analysis of the hosts of the 1892 Wesanford reception and the 1901 Brown-Hendrie wedding, three very contrasting figures, William Eli Sanford, William Hendrie and Adam Brown. All of these men chose to live in the south-central area of the city, Hendrie and Sanford in 1868, and Brown in the early 1850s, decisions that were influenced not only by closeness to Hamilton's original elite villa estates, but also by historical associations. Both Sanford and Hendrie moved into the existing homes of earlier wealthy and important Hamiltonians, Edward Jackson¹ and Peter Hunter Hamilton respectively, and, in the process, acquired several lots together that enabled them to simulate a villa-like atmosphere, a necessary visual symbolism that related them to both the Old World aristocracy and the founding Hamilton elite. The presence of these two major figures provided nuclei for the development of a close elite society, cemented by blood and business ties, and home location and form. Adam Brown, the third major character in this interplay of social relationships, was not in their class as far as wealth was concerned; however, he had accumulated over the course of fifty years, a well-earned respect from his peers through hard work, public service, philanthropy, and a relationship to the early elite through marriage and business.

The marriage of Brown's daughter, Lily, to William Hendrie Jr. in 1901 was seen by the Hamilton elite as the culmination of decades of social interaction aimed at creating a distinct group. Both fathers had lived and worked in Hamilton since the 1850s, and had known each other for almost that long. Both were members of the

Board of Directors for many of the same institutions and they, along with other Hamilton businessmen, had been responsible for bringing the railway to Hamilton in the 1850s, creating a node for commerce in south-western Ontario and benefiting the economic well-being of the fledgling city.² The wedding provided the occasion for the largest spectacle of elite display ever presented in Hamilton.³ The extensive media coverage of the event was a sign of its importance not only to the Hamilton elite, but to society watchers elsewhere. According to the Toronto Sunday World, it “. . . created a furore among the “four hundred” of Toronto. . .”⁴ Although, over the years, there had been a number of smaller weddings between the children of the elite, and the elite themselves, there had been nothing to equal the reaction provoked by this dynastic wedding between two of Hamilton's most important and long-standing families. Marriages between peers ultimately serve to solidify and strengthen group identity and serve as a justification of exclusivity. The European aristocracy had used dynastic marriages to strengthen or establish political alliances for centuries. In Canada, children of the elite were encouraged to engage in social events organized by their elders which had the effect of introducing them to socially acceptable potential mates, and the Hamilton elite was no exception.⁵

The accomplishments of each of these men have been discussed in the many contemporary and subsequent biographical dictionaries and Who's Who. What is of interest in this study is how each of them influenced the social and physical fabric of Hamilton society in the late nineteenth century. How did their choices of house form and location affect the structure of the Hamilton elite? What did they think of their position within the elite and how did this effect their actions? These three men enable us to obtain an intimate look at the mind set of Hamilton society.

ADAM BROWN (1826-1926): *"Everyone rather likes Adam Brown for his innocuous bumptiousness"*.⁶

When Adam Brown died in 1926 at the age of 99 years and 9 months, tributes were received from Lord Byng of Vimy the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, and many other influential and powerful government figures. Adam Brown, descended from the Browns of Milntown, Langholm, Dumfries shire, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland⁷ and emigrated to Canada with his parents in 1838. He was educated in Montreal and arrived in Hamilton in 1851. A year later, he married Maria Evatt, the sister of the wife of W.P. McLaren, a wholesale grocer whose villa estate was located in the south-central elite area. Brown became a partner in the business and then the principal owner when McLaren retired in 1866. He helped create the city waterworks in 1858 serving as its chairman, and this may have been his first close business relationship with William Hendrie who was given the contract to supply the pipes. He was president of the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway and the first engine was named after him.⁸ In addition to the usual appointments to various Boards of Directors, Brown was involved in many civic causes. He was particularly active as President of the Children's Aid Society, the S.P.C.A., and the Royal Canadian Humane Society, and was courted as a public speaker on a variety of issues all across the country, the proceeds of which he donated to charitable causes.⁹ As a Conservative Member of Parliament in Ottawa from 1887-1891, he tried to achieve what was considered impossible, the passage of a bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals, in a House whose members were known for their love of hunting and shooting.¹⁰

In 1862, after the death of his first wife, Brown married Mary Kough, the

daughter of an English solicitor and a relative of the Jusons of "Arkledun", whose property backed onto that of McLaren. As a prominent member of the early elite, Harriet Juson took a personal interest in seeing that Brown took an acceptable wife who would care for his four young sons and would also fit into Hamilton's elite circle. Even at this early stage of elite formation, it was considered important that a wife be socially acceptable. Harriet had seen Mary as a suitable match while on a visit to England to visit her cousins in June, 1861, and invited Mary to visit her in Canada. By March 21, 1862, Mary was musing in her letters on a possible marriage to an unnamed suitor and the engagement is first mentioned by Brown in a letter to Mary of May 30.¹¹ The letters which make up the Kough-Brown correspondence between 1861 and 1873 provide an insight into the relationship between the Browns, Jusons, and McLarens.¹² The correspondence between Adam and Mary in the 1890s, when she was very sick and in England for her health, displays a deep affection and respect. In a letter to Brown of July 24, 1896, Mary complained "I have become very thin and old-looking". Brown replied on August 2, 1896, "You say you are thin and old-looking. You are my Mary and that is enough".¹³ Mary and Adam had seven children, two of whom died in infancy. Of the remaining five, three married children of members of the Hamilton elite (Hobson, Crerar, Hendrie), and another married into an elite family from London, Ontario (Smith).

Mary Brown's journals, which cover the period 1888 to 1890, follow Brown and his family through a particularly critical period in their lives and provide the reader with an insight into the inner relations of the elite as well as giving us Brown's opinions on the importance of a suitable home. Three themes are intertwined: the courtship and marriage of Brown's daughter, Daisy; Brown's tenure as a Conservative Member of

Parliament in Ottawa; and the bankruptcy of Brown's business and the effect that it had on the family.

Mary recorded in her journal on June 5, 1888, "Adam much depressed business so bad. His promotion still delayed." It appears that Brown had been promised a cabinet post by the Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, yet for some reason, the promise was never kept. This is the first indication in Mary's diaries that Brown's business affairs were in trouble. At the same time, Brown's daughter Daisy was beginning a relationship with the son of a prominent London, Ontario family, Ernest Smith. By June, 1889, Brown was still waiting for ". . . Sir John to give what he promised. . ." and on June 7, Mary wrote that "Adam received a beautiful letter from Sir John, promising the Post Office without fail should political promotion be impossible in the meantime . . .".¹⁴ The "promise" was not enough, and two days later, Brown wrote to his sons telling them about his financial difficulties and asking for help. Mary's journal entry of June 12 indicated that W. E. Sanford had offered Brown a loan and that the four brothers had undertaken to repay it over five years at \$732.50 per year. Brown's son Hilhouse wrote to his brother Fraser in Montana that "The interest on the Insurance must be paid every two months which is \$33.75 and the other is to be put in a Savings Bank and handed over to W.E. Sanford at the end of every year".¹⁵ On July 22, Brown received a letter from the Prime Minister stating that he and Mr. Balfour were "uniting their energies to permit him to accept the Office of Assistant Commissioner to Australia, with the Hon. J.C. Abbott as Commissioner. The Times called the appointment "a holiday trip for Hamilton's Senior Member."¹⁶

By October 27, 1889, Mary wrote that "the dreaded suspension of payment

came at last but Adam decrys (*sic*) a man again, able to cope with the reverses which is very sad after his years of hard work with the dregs of a business without capital but his honour is unimpeachable (Mary's emphasis) and his friends rally around him."

Brown's business, Brown, Balfour & Co. failed with liabilities around \$90,000. Since it was generally felt that Brown's dedication to charitable works, and his untiring work in Ottawa had contributed to the failure by diverting his attention from the business, his friends and colleagues were sympathetic. The Toronto World noted that "The general opinion was one of regret at the occurrence and sympathy for Mr. Brown who is known from one end of Canada to the other as a public-spirited and enterprising citizen." The article mentioned Brown's extensive knowledge of railways, trade, and financial institutions, and said that "Sir John . . . ought to take advantage of the opportunity and put him where he will be of greatest use to the country."¹⁷ One of the chief creditors was the Bank of British North America which accepted 43 ½ cents on the dollar as a settlement. Mary wrote in her diaries, "Mr. Tuckett was in the chair, he being a great friend of Adam's and the largest stockholder in the Bank of British North America in the world."¹⁸ The creditors in Montreal also treated Brown well. In November, he telegraphed Mary, "Everyone seen signed never saw the like of the kindness practically completed as far as creditors are concerned." (*sic*)¹⁹

In the meantime, three weddings took place in the Brown family. Daisy's (Catharine Mary) wedding to Ernest Smith of London, Ontario, on January 22, 1890, which coincided with the financial woes of Brown's company, was a small affair by elite standards with 150 guests who included the foremost members of Hamilton's elite. Brown's friends were quick to help with finances. The McLarens gave money for Daisy's trousseau and also sent money to Mary. Two Hamilton Senators, Sanford and

McInnes, attended the wedding; the orchids for the bridal bouquet were provided by Sanford who was known for the exotic plants that he grew in the conservatory attached to his house.²⁰ In April of the same year, Brown's son, George McLaren, married Nell Crerar, the daughter of prominent Hamilton barrister John Crerar, and in April, 1894, another son, James Harley, married Margaret Hobson, daughter of Joseph Hobson, engineer for the Grand Trunk Railway, in the drawing room of her home, "Woodlawn" on Bay Street. Mary commented that,

"Margaret's sweet expression could not be changed, but I have seen her more becomingly attired . . . The presents were all beautiful and numerous tho' not quite so numerous as dear Daisy's in 1890 which filled three rooms. Champagne helped to make things brisk tho' Mr. Hobson has never touched alcohol of any kind for 22 years."²¹

In July, 1890, Brown received an appointment as Honorary Commissioner to Jamaica, representing Canada for the Jamaica Exhibition from January to April, 1891, the Australian appointment apparently coming to naught. On July 1, 1891, he received his reward for loyal service to the Government with his appointment as Postmaster of Hamilton.²²

Over the years, Brown lived in several houses, all of which were in the elite district, thus although his residence changed, the general location was consistent, and the family's social relationships remained stable.²³ In 1877, Brown and his family of eleven lived at "Langholm Villa" and then in 1887 when Brown was elected to Parliament and his family was smaller, they moved to Sandyford Place, an upscale terrace. Although the family began looking for less expensive accommodation in the fall of 1889 as Brown's bankruptcy loomed, they did not actually move until the following May, after Daisy's and George's weddings. In a journal entry of October 3,

1889, Mary Brown recorded that "Adam, Lily and I went in a cab to look at the house on Herkimer Street recommended by Willy, which we did not like, also going through Mr. Pilkey's house on Bay Street, which if it had only contained another room suitable for a Library we would have taken", the latter confirming the importance of a Library in a gentleman's house. Although it was obviously important that Brown obtain a less expensive home, it was also imperative that he have a suitably impressive dwelling in which to entertain Daisy's future mother-in-law who lived in a large mansion in London, and to host Daisy's wedding. Therefore, it was not until the second of May, 1890, that Mary wrote that Adam had secured a house owned by Dr. Sinclair on Hughson Street. The house was one half of a duplex, built in the Queen Anne style in the late 1880s just to the north of the old villa estates.

In 1893, following his appointment as Postmaster, Brown moved into a 2 ½ storey house which he had built on what had been part of the Juson estate that had been subdivided into large lots in 1889. The land bordered with the property of Henry McLaren to the west and John Street South on the east. In May of 1894, Mary wrote in her journal, "Adam is watching progress at the new house, the grounds all about it are lovely and the old fences renewed, 160 small spruce also planted for which Mr. Fowley drew 160 pails of water out of the well to plant them with."²⁴ The new house, named "Bowbrook" after Mary's childhood home in England, represented the accomplishments of Brown's long career and the location reaffirmed his business and marital connections with two of the founding entrepreneurs of Hamilton, Richard Juson and William Patterson McLaren.²⁵ The house was well situated in the old historically-elite section of Hamilton with a panoramic view to the north, and would give Brown the aura of both high social status and privacy. (Figure 25)

Brown's status within the elite was never in question, but this move would serve as vindication following his bankruptcy. To Brown, ownership of a house was an important symbol of a man's success in life. One can get some sense of his feelings about home ownership in Mary Brown's Journals. As Ernest Smith's courtship of Daisy continued through 1889, his visits to the Brown home became more and more frequent. "Mr. E. Smith . . . arrived on our modest flower's account and stayed over Monday".²⁶ "Daisy . . . received a large and beautiful box of candies by express from London."²⁷ Brown obviously felt that it was time that he, as Daisy's father, had a heart-to-heart talk with the young Mr. Smith, and on May 23, 1889, Mary recorded that "Adam had a clear and exhaustive conversation with (Mr. Smith) about ways and means". The following day, she wrote that "Adam had another long conversation that of last night having evidently opened the young man's eyes; Adam thinks him one of the nicest young fellows he knows and would be willing to consent to the engagement were he in position to think of a house . . .".²⁸ A house for Brown was a sign of stability and showed a man's true worth. What he lacked in physical assets, Smith made up for in persistence and he also had the support of Daisy's brothers. Brown wrote to his son Fraser in Montana on June 12, 1889.

"I gave my consent to her lover Mr. E. B. Smith of London provided he won her, he has a good grocery business in London retail & jobbing, does \$160,000 his brother supplies him with most of his goods he puts \$3000 in Daisy's name & \$7000 he has yet to get from his Father's Estate also in her name - he insured his life for \$10,000 & put that in her name".²⁹ (*sic.*)

Brown was, no doubt, pleased six years later, when Daisy wrote to tell him that Smith had bought a "sweet artistic house" on "country property" in London South for \$3,000, on 3/4 of an acre filled with "lovely forest trees".³⁰

Brown's new house on Alma Avenue, assessed in 1901 at \$14,000, was surrounded by mature trees and an elaborate garden giving it privacy from the street. A brick house with stone window surrounds, it had two storeys and a basement level, three quarters above ground and a large gable over a projecting bay on the facade that provided a break from the strict symmetry and somewhat unexciting architecture. The emphasis on the vertical was further stressed by tall chimneys. The style of the house could be termed a conservative Queen Anne though the hipped roof, unusual for this style, was more common in Italianate homes. The overall impression of simplicity and functionality matched the conservative tastes of Brown himself. But the location, the landscape and the architecture combined with Brown's own sterling reputation would have been significant in paving the way for the engagement and marriage of Brown's youngest daughter, Lily, to the city's wealthiest and most eligible bachelor, William Hendrie, Jr.

WILLIAM HENDRIE (1831-1906)

A man of the loftiest character, of generous impulses, he was one of nature's truest noblemen. . . . His personal appearance was worthy of his splendid qualities. Standing over six feet, straight as an arrow even up to his later years; his broad shoulders crowned by a head of magnificent proportions; a handsome face, full of character and one that responded with a sunny smile to any remark that pleased his fancy; clean of speech, and one of the pleasantest of companions. A man of great wealth, every dollar of which was gained by the force of his own genius; illustrated by indomitable energy and unswerving integrity; a self-made man in every sense of the word, but, thank God, not one of those who are worshipping his maker - namely, himself.³¹

Hendrie's background, like Brown's, was Scottish. Born in Glasgow in 1831, he had emigrated to Canada in 1853, working first on the Great Western Railway in

Hamilton, and it was Hendrie, along with John Sheddon, who introduced the railway cartage system into Canada.³² Hendrie's other company, the Hamilton Bridge Co., which he reorganized in 1881, constructed iron and steel bridges, viaducts, iron roofs and other structural steel constructions.³³ Hendrie had eight children (four sons and four daughters) with his first wife, Margaret Walker (d. 1873) and three children (two daughters and a son) with his second wife, Mary Murray, the daughter of Alexander Murray, a long-time Hamilton businessman, whom he married in 1875.³⁴

In 1868, when it was time for Hendrie to acquire a home commensurate with his growing status, he made a very significant choice. Rather than building a new house, he purchased the former home of one of the founders of the city, Peter Hunter Hamilton (1800-1857), which was located on an entire city block in the centre of what had been Hamilton-owned land, encompassing about 2.6 acres.³⁵ The house faced north, towards the Bay, and was situated at the end of Charles Street, originally Peter Hamilton's driveway. It therefore appeared at the end of a long straight vista and provided a focal point for the viewer facing south and uphill since it was also located on the elevated ridge of high ground. Thus, in addition to the geographical symbolism, Hendrie inherited the historical symbolism of the house. The house which originally had been built out of logs in the early part of the century had been replaced with a brick home during the 1830s, at which time the elaborate decoration and spaciousness of the home had been emphasized.³⁶

The history and substantial heritage of the home was expressed by Hendrie when he continued the name "The Holmstead". The different spelling of the name distinguished it from numerous other "Homesteads" scattered throughout the area. The

name was significant in its symbolic allusion to the homesteads of the pioneers, and in a historical sense also conjures up an image of house, land and family and the nobility that could be obtained through hard work and perseverance. This concept was discussed by C. Acton Bond while he was an architectural student for Hamilton architect James Balfour in the early 1890s.³⁷

As far as domestic architecture is concerned, Hamilton has both good and bad. There is something quite charming about most of the old homesteads where the true feeling of a *home* is well expressed. They have an air of repose and refinement about them in striking contrast to much of the new work, which literally bristles with towers and turrets, calling loudly to every passerby to behold what wealth and power its owner must have. A tower is altogether out of place on a *home*; . . .³⁸

It is tempting to see this as an indictment of William Sanford's newly reconstructed mansion, reminiscent of a French chateau. Sanford had moved into Edward Jackson's original house and had updated the architectural features several times over the years and the final version in 1892 fairly bristled with towers and richness. In comparison, Hendrie's stately, yet impressive home, must have seemed the picture of repose. It is also significant that although Hendrie had additions and renovations made during the forty years that he lived in the house, he made minimal changes to the architectural integrity of the facade of the original Hamilton home, providing a visual reminder its historical significance.³⁹

The twenty-four room house was assessed for \$20,000 in 1901 and had the symmetry and balance of the Georgian style popular in the early part of the nineteenth century and was similar in style to "The Grange", built for one of York's (Toronto) early elite, D'Arcy Boulton, ca. 1820.⁴⁰ The centre of the facade projected and included a Palladian window on the upper level capped by a triangular motif reminiscent of a

classical pediment, the missing base being supplied by the projecting stone cornice over this centre window. The deep overhanging cornice of the roof was supported by large curved brackets that were also used on the windows. Contrasting stone quoins accented the edges of the centre section and the corners of the entire facade.

(Figure 26a) Later additions included two large bay windows on the ground floor which framed the entrance which was reached through a classically-inspired columned porch with balustrade.⁴¹ Shortly after 1892, the porch was extended and given a semi-circular shape which corresponded to that of the windows on either side. (Figure 26b). This change somewhat modernized the facade but did not alter the original character. The porch was supported at the front by two fluted columns with Ionic capitals and two pilasters of the same order attached to the house on either side of the main door. The stairs leading to the entrance were also changed from right-angled to a series of semi-circles, mirroring the porch roof. Over the years, additions were made to the south and west facades.

The principal north-facing facade exuded character. Its order and simplicity showed the stability, practicality and trustworthiness of its owner and the touch of classical details in the columns indicated a man with a sense of history and culture. Hendrie obviously never felt the need to overwhelm, and unlike Sanford, was visited by royalty many times. His home hosted the future King George V in 1883, who left a photograph signed "George". George visited again in 1901.⁴² The Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and several Governors-General also visited, indicating the prestige and high social position of the Hendrie family not only within Hamilton but also the country at large.⁴³ The placement of the house on the lot and its location within the urban landscape were significant - near to the hub of the city and its economic and political

heart - yet also distant, withdrawn from the street, enclosed by a stone wall, and partially hidden by trees.

William Hendrie had five sons, thus accomplishing what eluded William Sanford, - the establishment of a dynasty. Hendrie's sons became intimately involved in the family business, and it was his second son from his first marriage who attained the political success that the father had not attempted to achieve. John Strathearn Hendrie (1857-1923) was elected Mayor of Hamilton in 1901 and 1902, running on a platform of reduced debt and lower taxes. In 1902, he was elected to the Ontario Legislature as a Conservative and re-elected in 1908 and 1911. He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario from 1914 to 1919, succeeding another member of the Hamilton elite, Sir John Gibson. John Hendrie, like many sons of the elite joined the militia, and soon became an officer in the 4th Field Battery. In 1903, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel for the 2nd Brigade, of the Canadian Artillery.⁴⁴

John Hendrie bought a home at 61 Hunter Street (now Hurst Place) in 1890. (Figure 27). In so doing, he followed a elite trend by that time well established in Hamilton, that of locating one's home in close proximity to other relatives or members of the same social set. The home, a block away from "The Holmstead" to the south, had been built in a Neo-Classical style in 1857. The choice of location thus indicated Hendrie's desire to emphasize his connection with the family, and the style presented an architectural connection to the houses of the English upper classes designed by Robert Adam and his contemporaries. The two and one half storey house was symmetrical with classical columns on the porch and tall rectangular windows.⁴⁵ The overhanging cornice of the roof was embellished with brackets.⁴⁶

The home decreased in value with the building of the railway tunnel for the Toronto, Hamilton, and Buffalo Railway that tunnelled beneath the homes of the elite on the high point of land to emerge just to the north of Hendrie's house. Hendrie then purchased the house at 252 James St. South in 1898, naming it "Strathearn". (Figure 28) The land, a large corner lot on James Street at Herkimer Street, had been bought from stockbroker C. S. Counsell in 1890 for \$5,000 by T. B. Griffith, Manager of the Hamilton Street Railway. In 1891, Griffith had commissioned the local architect W. A. Edwards to design a home in terra cotta, pressed brick, and sandstone, for an estimated cost of \$20,000.⁴⁷ Described by the local newspaper as having "Byzantine" characteristics, probably in reference to the terra cotta detail and tower, the house is a very good example of the Romanesque revival style. Edwards located the entrance to the house on the corner of the intersection facing north-east, thus presenting it immediately to anyone coming up James Street. There was a characteristic heaviness to the structure, emphasized by the projecting gable-topped pavilions, the entrance pavilion capped by a tower, and another round tower on the Herkimer side. The windows were tall and narrow. A flight of stone stairs led to the main entrance where rounded arches formed a loggia effect and supported a balcony on the second storey.⁴⁸

For his business, William Hendrie contented himself with plain but functional facilities. The Hendrie Cartage Company and the Hamilton Bridge Works, the latter run by his son John, occupied office space in the city core, storage sheds near the railway terminus, and stables in various parts of the north-west section of the city. Hendrie's daily visibility came in another form - the constant movement of his wagons and teams from the railway to various parts of the city every day (except Sunday). His interest in

horses started with the cartage business, Hendrie and Co. The stables at the corner of Market and Caroline Streets to the west of City Hall housed the heavy workhorses which were taken early in the morning, Monday to Saturday, to the freight sheds on Strachan Street at 7 a.m. to begin the day's work.⁴⁹

Hendrie soon got into the breeding and racing of thoroughbreds and standardbreds, centred at his Valley Farm, located just around Burlington Bay off the Toronto highway to the north-east of the bridge into Hamilton.⁵⁰ This was the site of the annual picnic of the employees of Hendrie and Co. which in 1892 numbered 400 and who were ferried across from Hamilton harbour for the event.⁵¹ Although the keeping of draught horses was necessary for his business, the breeding and racing of sport horses placed Hendrie in a different category, one that had aristocratic origins. The sport also forged social connections with the Toronto elite expanding Hendrie's influence and prestige.⁵² Hendrie's horses were entered in the Queen's Plate from 1884 on, his biggest rival being the Waterloo distiller, Joseph Seagram, whose horses consistently won from 1891 to 1898, until finally defeated by Hendrie's filly, "Butterscotch", in 1899.⁵³ Hendrie was instrumental in the establishment of the Hamilton Jockey Club and Woodbine Race Track in Toronto, as well as serving as president of both the Hamilton Jockey Club and the Ontario Jockey Club.⁵⁴ The events at the Hamilton Jockey Club became important social gatherings for the elite. Adam Brown, whose pithy comments on Hamilton's social scene are always enlightening, commented in a 1896 letter to his wife, Mary, ". . . the Hendries pass today in their grand drag, the old boy himself handling the ribbons, his wife sitting beside him, she all dressed in black, all the rest of the gentler sex in all the colours of the rainbow. You should have seen the parasols . . ." ⁵⁵ The opening and closing days at the Jockey Club enabled the ladies

of Hamilton society to parade in the best Ascot tradition, thus emulating the English aristocracy. The Racing page of the Hamilton Spectator described the ladies' gowns before ever mentioning a horse.⁵⁶

The "Holmstead" had a stable on the property, assessed in 1901 at \$11,500, more than many of the homes of the Hamilton elite.⁵⁷ Many of the later elite whose properties could not accommodate a stable kept their horses and carriages in group stabling in the centre of the city and would be driven to and from their places of business. An important part of Hamilton's annual Winter Carnival was "The Drive" which gave the elite the opportunity to parade their horses and carriages before an admiring populace. The 1887 drive was led by Hendrie in a four-in-hand turnout accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and another four-in-hand was driven by banker, John Stuart of "Inglewood". Other elite who took part in the drive were John Proctor with a unicorn hitch, William Hendrie Jr. and John Hendrie in tandems, and A.G. Ramsay, George Bisby, J. M. Lottridge, Henry McLaren, Edward Martin, W. E. Sanford, and C. M. Counsell with teams. It is tempting to infer the social hierarchy of the time from the type of hitch and range of driving difficulty.⁵⁸

When William Hendrie died in 1906, his estate was valued at \$2,300,000, an enormous sum at the time. Of that, nearly two million was in stocks and the balance in real estate in Canada and the United States. Almost \$600,000 or 30% of Hendrie's stock holdings were invested in the Winnipeg Western Land Company with the rest consisting of investments in various banks and trusts, small land companies, and navigation companies.⁵⁹ The estate showed a diversity of investment which was indicative of the trend in the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

WILLIAM ELI SANFORD (1834-1899): ". . . not a man to be delayed by trifles".⁶¹

William Sanford could be considered a paradox. By far the wealthiest man in Hamilton in the 1890s, with the largest most expensive house, he could look back on a lifetime of hard work and dedication that had enabled him to reach that position. His background is obscure and contemporary biographies gloss over his early life in the United States mentioning only that he was an orphan and had been adopted by his uncle, Edward Jackson of Hamilton, and given a start in life through marriage to his cousin and employment in his uncle's firm. Not content with local success, he sought recognition on the national front and the last two decades of his life were spent trying to attain what appears to have been his life's goal, the New World equivalent of aristocratic status, a knighthood.

In the nineteenth century, wealth enabled an individual to acquire the trappings of aristocracy and in Canada and America, the nouveau-riche affected a pseudo-aristocratic veneer through consumerism that was dominated by the visual metaphor of the home. As Mrs. Archer stated very clearly in Edith Wharton's tale of New York society, The Age of Innocence, "Don't tell me all this modern newspaper rubbish about a New York aristocracy. . . New York has always been a commercial community, and there are not more than three families in it who can claim an aristocratic origin in the real sense of the word."⁶² Wharton likened New York society of the 1870s to a pyramid and a slippery one at that. "At its base was a firm foundation. . . an honorable but obscure majority of respectable families who. . . had been raised above their level by marriage with one of the ruling clans."⁶³ Sanford's goal was to be at the apex of

Hamilton's social pyramid. Certainly, by 1880, he seemed to be well on his way with an entry in an international biographical dictionary of "eminent and self-made" men that stated, "For several years he has stood in the front rank of the Merchant Princes of Hamilton".⁶⁴ Emphasized also was the importance of the house in the attainment of that status. "His magnificent palatial home, a home that in elegance of equipment and gracefulness of style, as well as beauty and richness of surroundings, is fit enough for the accommodation of Vice-Royalty. . .".⁶⁵ This direct connection between status and architecture was one that Sanford exploited to a high degree.

Sanford, born in 1834 in New York City, had arrived in Hamilton about 1845/47. In 1860, he became a wool dealer, known as the "Wool King of Canada". In 1862, he went into the wholesale clothing industry with Alexander McInnes, manufacturing ready-made clothes and selling them cheaply. When McInnes retired in 1871, the business became Sanford, Vail & Bickley and when Bickley retired in 1878 and Vail in 1884, Sanford attained full ownership of the company. The firm, renamed W.E. Sanford and Company, subsequently became the W.E. Sanford Manufacturing Co. (Ltd.).

Sanford's second wife, Harriet Sophia (1848-1938), was the daughter of Thomas Vaux, Accountant of the House of Commons in Ottawa. Sanford's marital alliances reflect, in some ways, his career focus. His first short marriage to his cousin served to cement his family ties to the Jacksons and their place in Hamilton society and this was further strengthened when he acquired the Jackson homestead in 1875-76. His marriage to Harriet emphasized his political ambitions which extended beyond the boundaries of the relatively small southern Ontario city. Many of his business decisions

were tied in with this, and his financial support of the Federal Conservative Party had long-term possibilities.

While it may seem surprising that Sanford never sought elected political office, he must have realized the financial sacrifices that would have to be made. By focussing on his business and working behind the political scenes financially, Sanford was able to work both ends. He no doubt expected that he would be able to call in the favours at some future time; the nineteenth-century reincarnation of that "wheeler-dealer" of the Florentine Renaissance, Cosimo de'Medici. For a first generation businessman who did not have "family money" to fall back on, the idea of facing the electorate every few years and justifying one's re-election obviously did not appeal and then there could be the embarrassing public spectacle of defeat and subsequent humiliation that Sanford's ego did not want to face. It was much easier for a wealthy man to buy political office. Sanford's vision was thus more long-term than elected office could provide and included the Senate, a non-elected body with a prestigious name, and ultimately a knighthood. Whether the idea of becoming "Sir" William was there in the early years is impossible to tell, but Sanford's systematic ingratiation of himself with the political powers in Ottawa over the years seems to indicate that his eye had been on the Senate for a long period of time. There were certainly Hamilton precedents. Hamilton had produced three Senators before Sanford; Samuel Mills, Adam Hope, and James Turner. Sir Allan MacNab, considered the first bright star in Hamilton's political history, whose daughter had married into the British aristocracy, and whose home, "Dundurn Castle", provided an imposing and regal entry to Hamilton from the east, had been Premier of the United Canadas.

Sanford's appointment to the Senate came in March, 1887, and culminated a long search for official prestige. His qualifications were outlined in the Hamilton Spectator of March 14, of that year, with a pointed reference to the "rags to riches" mythology. "A man who from comparatively small beginnings has built up a business in which a million dollars are invested cannot lack the ability to judge shrewdly of the business affairs of the country."⁶⁶ The Senate records show barely a murmur from Sanford, and when he did have something to say, about once per session, it was concerning minor petitions from Hamiltonians. He did however, belong to several Senate committees, notably those on Banking and Commerce, and Railways, Telegraphs, and Harbours.⁶⁷

On June 7, 1892, Sanford invited nearly a thousand people "to meet Mr. and Mrs. E. Jackson Sanford".⁶⁸ Sanford's son, named after his great-uncle, Edward Jackson, had just returned from his wedding tour with his new bride. With impeccable timing, Sanford had just moved back into his newly renovated mansion; thus the guests were also given the opportunity to view the interior of all fifty-six rooms, including five bathrooms.⁶⁹ The Hamilton newspapers gushed with descriptions of the event. Before even mentioning the house, the Hamilton Times emphasized its location on high ground with a commanding view of the city. The grounds and the house itself were then described in detail; "palace and land", both traditional symbols of aristocracy. The Hamilton Spectator's description of the event consisted of three sections. The first, itself in three parts, stated the occasion, what the hostesses were wearing, and lastly the dramatic exterior effect. "For every window was open wide, and the guests were revealed as if posing in the glory of limelight effects for the benefit of admiring spectators". Those "admiring spectators", or put in another way, the uninvited, were

given the opportunity to view tantalizing tidbits of a way of life of which many could only dream. The second section of the article was slightly longer than the first and listed the names of the invited guests. The third, and by far, the largest section of the article, provided a detailed description of the interior of the house.

The article is useful as a document of the times for the following reasons. It provides a list of Hamiltonians who were considered to belong to the privileged class, the elite, at the end of the nineteenth century, and, according to the Senator at least, those who were worthy enough to enter his home, the two criteria not necessarily being the same. It also serves as a counterpoint to the guest list for the Brown-Hendrie wedding of 1901. For many, it would have reinforced and publically validated their inclusion within that "aristocracy", and for those not on the list would have given a reminder that they had not yet "arrived" within Sanford's exclusive circle. The spectacle of a continuous flow of carriages disgorging their strikingly-dressed passengers, under the impressive *porte-cochere* provided the less-privileged Hamiltonians who crowded the surrounding streets with a dazzling view of the entrepreneurial "aristocracy" that provided the jobs and philanthropy which many of them enjoyed, in addition to providing a valuable lesson on the virtues and results of hard work and industry.

For Sanford, his home was an important signifier of his status, both in its exterior and interior forms. The exterior was visible to all, rich and poor, and created an almost mystical envelope for the interior. Did Sanford overreach his position in Hamilton society at that time? What his peers thought of this excess is not known. If Sanford was attempting to supplant William Hendrie at the top of the social pyramid by overwhelming Hamilton's elite with his wealth, he made a serious miscalculation. The

social code of advancement within elite society was very clear, and wealth alone was not enough.

Unlike many of the Hamilton elite who sought to solidify their position within the group as well as to strengthen the group itself through marriages between their children, Sanford's son married the daughter of Colonel Sanford of Knoxville, Tennessee. Although a family relationship is unconfirmed here, there is no reason not to infer that there was a genealogical link. Sanford's first wife had, after all, been his first cousin, and his parents were American. Many of the families of the Old South prided themselves on their aristocratic origins through younger sons of the English peerage and therefore a marriage to the daughter of a Southern colonel conjured up visions of superiority and "blue blood", certainly of a higher status than could be gained by marriage into any of the Hamilton families. It was in many ways a slap in the face of Hamilton's elite and also meant that Sanford would not have to defer to any of them.

The description of the interior of the Senator's house provides even more insight into Sanford's character. The richness of the decoration, including the many varieties of wood, the marble, the gold, the silk, and especially the artworks, described not only the house but its owner. They detailed his wealth to the nth degree, and showed an excess comparable to the Rococo interiors of eighteenth-century Paris, an analogy pointedly expressed by Sanford's Louis XIV drawing room and Louis XV guest chamber. The Empire reporter referred to a tour through the house as "a most entertaining history lesson".⁷⁰ Sanford also presented himself as a modern man of vision in tune with the advances of science and technology, with the inclusion of electric elevators, "inter-telephonic communications" and piped music throughout the house.⁷¹

The past and the future were thus both acknowledged as well as the Senator's seemingly infinite wealth.

The Spectator article noted that the house had undergone several renovations over the years of Sanford's tenure, this latest being the most extensive. The site originally had been occupied by the home of Sanford's uncle, Edward Jackson, one of Hamilton's early elite, as defined by Katz.⁷² The reporter raised the question of why the Senator chose to renovate rather than to rebuild and concluded that Sanford "is attached to the place by many old associations". Jackson had been a wealthy and influential man; his home reflected that influence, both by association and by location, for Jackson's original house, located on the height of land that passed through the centre of the south-west area of the city, had been built in the late 1840s, at a time when the area to the south was largely occupied by fields and cows. When Sanford acquired the property in 1876, he assumed the symbolic mantle of historical prestige and as a reminder of the association, the east-west street on which the property was located was renamed Jackson Street.

The grounds took in the block from Jackson Street on the south to Hunter Street on the north, with a frontage of 275 ft. on Jackson and 290 ft. on Caroline, approximately 1.8 acres. Significantly, the property, unlike Hendrie's, did not fill the entire block, the eastern portion being taken up by smaller houses on individual lots. Alterations and additions were made to the house by F.J. Rastrick who was still the leading architect in Hamilton at the time and the date of the tender call corresponds to when Sanford acquired the house.⁷³ Details of what was actually done are not known, however, the newspaper report stated that changes had been made on an extensive

scale.⁷⁴ In April, 1890, architect William Stewart called for tenders for more renovations.⁷⁵ These last were the most elaborate, and coincided with Sanford's appointment to the Senate in February, 1887, and even though Sanford did not spend a great deal of time in Hamilton, the house dominated south-west Hamilton as a visual reminder of his wealth and importance.

The pre-1892 residence, illustrated in the Dominion Illustrated News in late 1889, was in the Second Empire style which would correspond to the period when it was renovated by Rastrick and was described as “. . . a pleasant example of the taste of a later generation”.⁷⁶ (Figure 29) It was symmetrical with a central square entrance tower surmounted with a Second Empire domed cap and had a mansard roof, lined with decorative iron railings. On either side of the central tower were two projecting sections with conjoined bay windows on the first and second storeys. A porch supported by Doric columns and surmounted by a balcony was approached by a wide flight of stairs. The conservatory adjoined the house; the windows being in the form of an arcade with alternating light and dark voussoirs. The stables and other buildings were located behind the conservatory. This residence was imposing, but by 1890, it was out of style, and apparently did not fit Sanford's idea of a residence fit for a Senator. Architect William Stewart was apparently instructed by Sanford to incorporate the original structure into his design, but the 1870s house was transformed with new fittings, increasing the assessment value from \$28,000 in 1891 to \$40,000 in 1901. According to the Hamilton Times, "Every trace of the old Jackson homestead is now gone, and in its place stands "Wesanford", one of the finest residences in Canada."⁷⁷ (Figure 30).

Stewart extended the house to the west on the Caroline Street side, as well as adding a *porte cochere* supported by granite pillars, and approached by an asphalted driveway for the convenience of carriages, a necessity for aspiring palatial dwellings. This new west facade was capped by another tower, not as tall as the original one on the north, but one which provided a central focus for the Caroline Street entrance. The height of the north central tower was increased. The contrasting brown and grey sandstone blocks stood out, providing an interesting visual play of light and dark. The mansard roof, now considered old-fashioned, was changed to one with a steep pitch, the decorative iron work was eliminated and the third storey dormers which projected from the mansard roof were enlarged and capped with tall gables. The transition from roof to second storey was made smoother with the placement of classically-inspired decorative projecting blocks (dentil course) under the roofline. An addition was made to the east side of the house behind the conservatory which itself had been made simpler - the arcaded windows were replaced by large solid panes of glass which would have provided more light for Sanford's collection of rare and exotic plants. The hot houses and stables were in the rear on the north of the property. On the whole, the house exuded monumentality, and greater classical simplicity and is a perfect example of what Ennals and Holdsworth refer to as a "self-conscious house", since it represents a conscious and deliberate intent to dominate and overwhelm every other domestic building in the city.⁷⁸

Although the architectural forms have a basis in the classical, it would be wrong to label this house with a classical title. In type, it seems in many ways to reflect different styles. In height and castle-like features, it was reminiscent of the Scottish Baronial style, yet it did not have the heaviness. It can be more readily related to the

Renaissance chateaux built in France during the sixteenth century, which emphasized projecting bays and tall roof lines with gables. This style as a model for the homes of late nineteenth-century millionaires had already been adopted in New York City by architect Richard Morris Hunt when he designed the Fifth Avenue mansion for W. K. Vanderbilt in 1881.⁷⁹ Hunt had been inspired by the Renaissance buildings at Blois when he had visited France in 1876.⁸⁰ The style was just coming into popularity in Canada, and it is possible that the style had been suggested to Stewart by Sanford who travelled extensively. In both cases, the image of the Scottish laird or French *duc* can easily be seen. Both suggest nobility of birth, culture, wealth, and power, everything that Sanford saw himself to possess. The spreading of morality and virtue were seen by the nobility as part of its duty as benevolent ruler through the elevation of the spirit exposed to beautiful things. As The Empire reporter stated, Sanford was merely unselfishly distributing affluence and bringing "enjoyment and cultivation to all."⁸¹

Certainly the use of the Renaissance chateau as an architectural form was ideal for a man with aristocratic pretensions. Joseph M. Wells, reputed to have been the draughtsman in the American architectural firm of McKim, Mead and White, stated that ". . . the Renaissance ideal suggests a fine and cultivated society, with its crowds of gay ladies and gentlemen devoted to the pleasures and elegances of life. . . ."⁸² and the twentieth-century French architect Le Corbusier once sardonically commented that he had seen more "Renaissance" buildings on his visits to America than he had in Europe. Montreal architect, W.E. Doran, in a 1896 article, pointed out that ". . . the grand hotel, and the private mansion of the wealthy man, naturally seek the Renaissance in their outward form of expression."⁸³ It was, therefore, the Renaissance ideal of culture and refinement as interpreted by late nineteenth-century architects and their clients that was

being emulated, not an accurate reconstruction of Renaissance building forms. Tradition and historical reference add to the prestige of a successor through legitimization of the present. Senator Sanford's late nineteenth-century palatial home, self-referentially named "WESANFORD", was as much an allegory of power and wealth as that of any Renaissance merchant prince. The Empire reporter explicitly made this connection when he said that "Hamilton's famous merchant prince" had built for himself "a lordly pleasure-house".⁸⁴

The idea of fame in a direct relationship with architecture eloquently expressed by Alberti and others in the Italian Renaissance and discussed in the Introduction can be translated into Sanford's vision of personal fame. Not only did he desire to build the most magnificent and expensive palace/home in the city, but this vision was also expressed in other architectural projects that included his wholesale and retail establishments, and his family tomb.

Sanford's business had a starting capital of \$20,000 and first year's sales of \$32,000 in 1862, and by 1898, the business' cash capital rose to about \$1,000,000 and employed over 2,000 persons. As early as 1871, the company was being described as "the leading interest of the Dominion."⁸⁵ It eventually employed a virtual army of travelling salesmen who worked out of agencies in major urban centres across Canada.⁸⁶ Sanford is reported to have been the first commercial representative to visit the Red River country in what is now the province of Manitoba.⁸⁷ The Winnipeg Free Press reported that Sanford used his influence to persuade other Canadian firms to penetrate the Northwest market. As well as his commercial influence, his charitable work for the region during the grasshopper-induced famine in Red River in the winter of

1868 was noted, when he procured subscriptions in Hamilton for the relief of the settlers and superintended the purchase and forwarding of supplies to Fort Garry. When interviewed by the Free Press, Sanford stated that he was "justly proud at having been the pioneer of Canadian commerce in the Northwest."⁸⁸ By 1889, he was listed as one of the largest landowners in Manitoba and also a director of the Portage and Westbourne Railway.⁸⁹

The Sanford warehouse eventually encompassed the entire block in the centre of the city. Over the years, the site expanded both to the east and south. The fact that Sanford consulted the leading architects in Hamilton over the years to build and expand his warehouse is testament to the importance which he placed on the visual image. Certainly inside, practicality overcame architectural design. At any time over the years, the visitor could find stacks of clothing in the storerooms on each floor waiting to be shipped all over the Dominion, a testament to the success of the business. The development of the building architecturally can be traced through contemporary illustrations and photographs and tender calls within the local newspapers.⁹⁰

The rapid frequency of renovations and additions to the original building indicated not only a successful and profitable business, but also a obsessive desire to create a suitably imposing building on the main street of the city, one that no-one would or could surpass. It is probable that it was local architect, James Balfour, who was responsible for changing the building from a Second Empire style with a mansard roof, to one with Italian Renaissance characteristics, and increasing the frontage on King Street to 126 feet in 1888.⁹¹ Built in a Renaissance Revival style, the building

progressed from an open concept of glass framed by flat pilasters with capitals on the street level to round-headed pedimented windows on the second storey, then to triangular pediments on the third and flat pediments on the fourth, and round mouldings with keystones on the smaller attic storey. The entire building was capped by an overhanging cornice supported by brackets with a dentil course beneath, and a balustrade above. Three large decorated rounded pediments rose above the cornice. In 1891, an addition was made to the east in the same design with the addition of another large pediment. In May, 1899, a 20 foot addition was made to the west facade, increasing the frontage to 160 feet.⁹² (Figure 31)

Although Sanford had originally started in business as a wholesale manufacturer of ready-made clothing, this left him dependent on the purchasing and promoting demands of other retail establishments such as the T. Eaton Company, based in Toronto. Nothing is known of Sanford's relationship (if any) with Timothy Eaton, but Sanford's competitive instincts would naturally have led him to compete. The market for ready-made clothing was increasing. Sanford had acquired a lucrative business deal with the Dominion government to supply uniforms for Canadian troops during the Riel Rebellion, but this was not enough to provide a consistent market. It was at this point that he decided to branch into the retail clothing trade by opening a store in Hamilton that would exclusively stock the products of his own manufacturing company and from that base, created a chain of stores across southern Ontario.

"Oak Hall" on James Street North was promoted as dealing in the highest fashion of men's clothing. Predictably, the style went under the name "Sovereign Brand", and guaranteed quality clothing at a fair price.⁹³ The venture was successful

enough to justify the opening of branch stores in Toronto, Windsor, London, St. Catharines, St. Thomas, Galt, and Owen Sound, with sample rooms in Montreal, Ottawa, Calgary, and Winnipeg. The architecture of the three storey Hamilton store was quite low key, yet it stood out against the plainer facades on either side. (Figure 32a) The upper two stories were accented with Renaissance details around the windows, flat pilasters with bracketed flat cornices over the windows, rising to a strong projecting bracketed cornice flanked by two pinnacles. The ground level of the store employed a full plate glass front and inside, to add to the impression of quality, the flooring, shelving and tables were of solid oak. The plate glass window served a functional purpose enabling customers to have a better view of the goods, but it also established Sanford as being at the forefront of architectural styles.

Even though Hamilton was considered the main branch of the firm, by far the more architecturally innovative store was built in Toronto on King Street East opposite St. James' Cathedral in 1893.⁹⁴ (Figure 32b). Demolished in 1938, it has been described by Eric Arthur as "a landmark in the evolution of the office building in North America."⁹⁵ This building, designed by architect George R. Harper, was built of iron and glass, and featured large plate glass windows on the ground floor with three upper levels of bay windows of floor to ceiling glass. Again, not only did it present an innovative form in commercial architecture, but it also created a very functional design, since the three part bay windows increased the amount of light that would enter the showrooms of the store. This was the first use of the full glass bay window in a commercial building ever, preceding the Reliance Building in Chicago by a full year.⁹⁶ Modern innovations aside, Sanford still wanted symbolic architectural associations to create an image of high quality, superior products. As a result, there is a somewhat

awkward merging of modern and historical characteristics, an examination of which reveals something about Sanford himself.

The facade with its horizontal and vertical elements presented a very classical balance, and there were also a number of decorative elements indebted to the classical. The emphasis was on height with a four storey plus belvedere-like structure at the top. This height plus the three bay facade was reminiscent of medieval cathedral facades, the two framing bays capped with pediments substituting for the framing towers, a fitting allusion considering the stately sacred edifice it faced. The centre bay, through a series of architectural forms, took the eye up from the sidewalk to a large female statue perched on the roof, her arms reaching to the sky as if about to take flight and framed by two flame-like decorations. She was not alone; attached to the each of the four sets of columns from ground level to roof were more female figures in bronze, fourteen in all, in various poses, like the sculptured saints on the facades of the great French cathedrals. The form, though, was anything but medieval. There was a Baroque movement to the facade which projected forwards on either side of a recessed centre. The flamboyant decoration was also Baroque as was the emphasis on the centre. The entrance was framed by attached columns that were repeated through each of the storeys of the centre bay and framed the large plate glass areas of the bay windows as well as each side of the building.

There are two messages here. First, Sanford was telling his more sophisticated Toronto clientele that he was a modern man, up to date with the latest building techniques. Yet he was also saying that he was a cultured individual and one who could be trusted by the modern man for his clothing needs. Thus when one examines

the buildings commissioned by W. E. Sanford, it is apparent that he shared the view of his Renaissance predecessors of the importance of architecture as a lasting memorial and was drawn towards Renaissance forms to express his self-image and ambitions.⁹⁷ In Hamilton, although Sanford spent much of his time away from the city, either in Ottawa or travelling in Europe, his home, his factory, and his retail store remained as visual reminders of his presence.

Sanford could not hope to match Hendrie in the “sport of kings”, thoroughbred racing. Rather than horses, he looked to another sport of the wealthy elite, and acquired a yacht, and, as was his habit, only the best and most expensive available. In 1886, Sanford had purchased island property in the Muskokas, the new playground of the rich north of Toronto, and unless he wanted to be dependent on others, it was necessary for him to acquire his own transportation from the railway terminal to his island home. Sanford had become a director of the Polson Iron Works when he had saved the company from bankruptcy with a large infusion of \$10,000 in 1889, and by 1890, the company had constructed a “flagship” for the Senator.⁹⁸ The yacht, named “Naiad”, cost \$10,000. (Figure 33) Only one of two Naiad-class vessels built, it was 20.7 metres long and just over 3 metres wide, and weighed 29 tons gross with a top speed of 15 knots. It carried up to 40 passengers and Sanford delighted in taking his guests for daily cruises in the afternoon. Gold-plated floral wreath adorned each side of the bow and stood out against the black hull; the windows were of British plate glass and the boat carried a small brass cannon on its deck and a Union Jack at the stern. The main cabin was panelled in bird’s eye maple framed with cherry, all of which was elaborately carved. The crew consisted of a Captain, engineer and deck hand.⁹⁹ It wasn’t until 1897 that T. Eaton’s yacht, “Wanda”, also built by the Polson Iron Works,

appeared on Lake Muskoka.

There was one important item that, in Sanford's eyes, would further his aristocratic ambitions and firmly cement his superior status at the top of the social pyramid; this was the presence of royalty in his home. After all, his rival for social supremacy, William Hendrie, had been visited by royalty several times. The story of Sanford's quest for status and the importance of his house in this quest can be followed in the personal diaries of Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, wife of Canada's Governor-General in the 1890s. Her pronouncements must be taken cautiously since it is plainly obvious that she had an intense dislike for Sanford, but they do reveal insecurities in his otherwise stolid exterior that perhaps help to explain Sanford's emphasis on architecture as a means of asserting his personal sense of worth.¹⁰⁰

Lady Aberdeen, her husband, family, and entourage had travelled through Canada in 1890, and stayed in Hamilton at "Highfield", built for John Brown, Adam's older brother, in the 1850s. Her trip was described in a series of illustrated articles entitled "Through Canada with a Kodak", published in the Onward and Upward magazine, founded by Ishbel herself to help improve the lot of working class women. Sanford had met the Aberdeens through the Governor-General at the time, the Earl of Derby, and had helped secure "Highfield" for them during their Canadian stay. Lord Aberdeen returned to Canada as Governor-General from 1893 to 1898 and it was during his tenure that Lady Aberdeen's dislike of Sanford reached its peak. Lady Aberdeen was extremely candid in her diaries and expressed her opinion on many aspects of Canadian politics, and people.

Sanford's skilful "handling" of the Derbys can shed light on Lady Aberdeen's later attitude towards him. In June, 1893, when the then Governor-General, the Earl of Derby, was about to return to England, he was persuaded by Sanford to visit his newly renovated mansion. The City of Hamilton and its elite played "second fiddle" to Sanford's carefully orchestrated plans of maintaining centre stage throughout the visit. The vice-regal couple were "met at the station by Hon. W. E. Sanford (whose guests they are). . . ." and after exchanging brief courtesies with Hamilton's other Senator, Donald MacInnes, the Mayor, Hamilton's two M.P.s, and Adam Brown, they "were escorted to Senator Sanford's carriage and were driven to Wesanford". A short public reception was held at City Hall. "Lord Derby escorted Mrs. Sanford, and the Countess entered on the arm of Senator Sanford".¹⁰¹ In the evening, after a carefully planned afternoon which saw the Earl and Countess flanked continuously by Sanford as he showed them around the city, the Hamilton Four Hundred were given the opportunity to meet the vice-regal couple at a dinner at "Wesanford" and were received by Lord and Lady Derby alongside Senator and Mrs. Sanford. The next day, the Earl and Countess left on a special train engaged for them by the Senator since the regular train left too early and was too slow. That year, the Derbys were succeeded in Ottawa by the Aberdeens.

Sanford's exclusive handling of the Derbys on their visit to Hamilton showed his obsessive desire to be in control and his ambition to be a part of aristocratic circles. However, Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, was not the kind of person one controlled and in her, Sanford met a seemingly intractable obstacle to his ambitions. She took an immediate dislike to him and very perceptively observed in her diary, "He is a rich man and very useful to the Conservative party and very kind, generous too - but he is vulgar

...".¹⁰² Sanford's ambition had driven him to become "of use" financially to the Conservative Party; he socialized with their leaders, among them Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir John Thompson. The relationship with both Prime Ministers was emphasized to anyone who wished to listen.

In August, 1894, Sanford had persuaded the Thompsons to spend a holiday on his private island, "Sans Souci", on Lake Rosseau in the Muskokas.¹⁰³ Although Sanford intimated that he had given Thompson the use of a cottage *gratis*, Thompson insisted on paying for it and his diaries record the events of those days which included trips on Sanford's yacht, "Naiad".¹⁰⁴ In her diaries, Lady Aberdeen related a comment made to her by Lady Thompson after Thompson's death.

"Sir John appreciated his kindness and was his tenant last year at Muskoka and during the autumn Mr. Sanford was very anxious to make everything pleasant for them. But the Thompsons knew exactly the position - she said the other day that they had flattered themselves that they had improved him (Sanford)."¹⁰⁵

Sanford's persistence continued even after Thompson's death in London, England, as he insinuated himself into the position of accompanying the body back to Canada. The prominence of Sanford and his wife in the events was emphasized in the Hamilton Spectator of December 14, 1894, which took pains to point out under distinctive headings ("Mrs. and Miss Sanford Presented", "Senator Sanford Interviewed") that the Queen had summoned Harriet Sanford and her daughter especially so that she could express her grief to them and have them convey this sympathy to the Canadian people. Sanford was interviewed as to the state of Thompson's health before his death and announced that he would be accompanying the body back from England. Lady Aberdeen commented.

"It has been stated in the papers that he (Thompson) was the guest of Mrs. Sanford in London, but this is not so - he was simply staying at the same hotel and as a matter of fact did not draw to Mrs. Sanford, describing her as course. Lady Thompson never even saw her, so that it is somewhat comical that Her Majesty should send for them, as friends of the family, to express her sympathy. This however was the statement made in the papers."¹⁰⁶

On December 19, Lady Aberdeen, after visiting Lady Thompson in Ottawa, wrote in her diary, "She (Lady Thompson) is very hurt over the prominent part taken by the old wretch Sir Charles Tupper and the Sanfords. "Do you think the Queen will think we are like the Sanfords?"" Lady Aberdeen reassured her on this point. Ishbel saw an ulterior motive in Sanford's behaviour; he had lost another valuable connection in Ottawa and he was in the process of trying to retain his influence with the government. ". . . (Sanford) continues to make all this sad affair a medium for his self-advertising as Sir John's intimate friend. To think of it gives one the shivers."¹⁰⁷

Lady Aberdeen's dislike of Sanford no doubt stemmed from characteristics he had acquired in the competitive world of business. He was persistent, ambitious, and controlling, all assets in the business world and he tried to use these techniques in his quest for respectability and power using money to back him up. It worked with the Conservative party and enabled him to become a Senator. However, it appears that Sanford did not have the fine social graces that were necessary for aristocratic society. What he really wanted and what would put him in the same sphere as Macdonald and Thompson, and Hamiltonians such as the deceased Sir Allan MacNab, was a knighthood, the New World equivalent of the aristocracy. This, he felt, would legitimize his status and give him the prestige which could not be obtained through money alone and it would also provide an entry point to the aristocratic circles in

England. Essential to this quest was that he first become part of the vice-regal circle in Ottawa and that the Aberdeens succeed the Derbys in visiting his house in Hamilton.

Perhaps another reason for Lady Aberdeen's dislike can be attributed to the hint of scandal to which she alludes in her diaries, as well as the fact that she considered him vulgar and thus reaching above his status. Although Sanford was invited to the Vice-Regal residence in Ottawa in his capacity as Senator, ". . . we have asked him to dinner etc. and all that was his due as Senator but nothing more and have kept him at arm's length as courteously as possible but still decisively", it was seen as imperative by Sanford that Lord Aberdeen visit "Wesanford" in order to legitimize his acceptance into not only their social circle, but their social class, and to once more flaunt his aristocratic connections in front of the Hamilton Four Hundred. Lady Aberdeen commented:

"We have sedulously endeavoured to avoid familiarity with the Senator or accepting hospitality at his hands. He is always sending me flowers and fruit and urging us to come to his house and to take luncheon, dinner, etc. whenever we come to Hamilton. He gave \$100 to the Women's Council too etc. etc. But we know full well that it is a notorious fact that when he arrives home Mrs. Sanford goes away and when she comes home, he goes away, and that there are reasons for this in his private life. Nothing has been openly brought before the Courts. . . ."108

Early in 1895, Lady Aberdeen noted how she had "enquired confidentially" from an "unprejudiced source" in Hamilton about that particular situation and was told "worse than ever".¹⁰⁹ It appears from these comments that Sanford may have been guilty of certain indiscretions in his private life leading to a semi-estrangement from his wife. Although many men in positions of power during the nineteenth century retained mistresses, discretion was valued by their peers. If, as Lady Aberdeen hints, the Hamilton elite was aware of the situation, and it appears from Lady Aberdeen's

comments that they were, Sanford would be criticized for staining the reputation of the group as a whole by affecting their public high moral standards. It also appears that this may have been the reason for the exclusion of George T. Tuckett from the Brown/Hendrie circle. Although it is known that George E. Tuckett was a good friend of Adam Brown's, his son, George T. who succeeded his father on his death as head of the Tuckett Tobacco Company, was not invited to the Brown/Hendrie wedding. Local gossip about George Jr.'s affairs may have influenced this.

This rejection by the Queen's representative in Canada must have galled Sanford since it was a direct affront to his status. Having suffered rejection, Sanford now decided to take the direct approach. In March, 1895, Lady Aberdeen was travelling in the United States on behalf of the Council of Women. On her return, she stopped in Hamilton to address the local women and, returning to Toronto, found Sanford waiting "on important business". The latter turned out to be "a desire to clear his own character against which he understood I had a prejudice and the object of having it cleared being first that we should stay with him at Hamilton."¹¹⁰ The use of buildings for these purposes is not a new phenomenon. One of the most important parts of the social legitimization process stems from the actions of the accepted leaders of society, not only those who are invited to one's home but those who *choose* to come, knowing that their actions will have a decisive effect on the way in which the owner is perceived by other members of the social elite. In late nineteenth-century New York, it was the visit of Society matron Mrs. William Astor to the home of Mrs. W.K. Vanderbilt, that legitimized the place of Mrs. Vanderbilt in old New York Society.¹¹¹

Although the private morals of many in society were far from pristine, the

perception of a virtuous life was essential for acceptance into it. The machinations of late nineteenth-century New York society are vividly portrayed in the novels of Edith Wharton, but the source of this hypocrisy is rooted in Renaissance ideals, notably those put forth by Alberti and the Humanist Maffeo Palmieri who noted that "he who would want . . . to build a house resembling the magnificent ones of noble citizens would deserve blame if first he has not reached or excelled their virtue".¹¹² According to Lady Aberdeen, the implied stain on Sanford's virtue, reinforced by his uncouth manners, could not be redeemed by his monetary generosity to the Conservative Party and to charitable institutions. By entering Sanford's mansion, she would be conferring on him undeserved respectability and prestige. Sanford understood this ideological connection and in that rather bizarre interview seems to have tried to pressure Ishbel into this acceptance.

Lady Aberdeen was horrified and revealed not only that Sanford had pressured her to recommend him for a knighthood as a means of removing any stains from his character, but also that he "had been bothering Lady Thompson in an amazing way about it all, reminding her of her obligations to him and all that he had done for Sir John etc".¹¹³ In spite of this, Sanford's name was put forward for a knighthood by the Canadian Government, and on May 24, 1895, Lady Aberdeen was able to say that she rejoiced that Senator Sanford was not included on the Queen's list. Sanford apparently thought that his knighthood was assured since he "has been telling his Russell House friends that it was to be."¹¹⁴

Sanford was away from Hamilton so much that even Adam Brown found himself filling in at the former's dining table. In a letter of December 3, 1895 to his wife Mary in

England he told of attending a dinner at "Wesanford" with "the great Mr. Onderdonk the Contractor (a charming man) and his son". "I was put at the head of the table and asked to say grace".¹¹⁵ Mary replied, "Well to be sure you are called to be the host at Mrs. Sanford's dinner table to entertain Mr. Onderdonk and his son. I am glad you confess to all these allurements, fortunately I have faith in Mrs. S. and some little in you too. . . ."¹¹⁶ Brown must have been a success because on March 25, 1896, he again wrote to Mary saying that "Mrs. S. telephoned me yesterday asking me to dinner, I said I would go but would have to leave at 8 she said that suited her as she was tired having just got back from Chicago".¹¹⁷

Two years later, Sanford's only son, E. Jackson Sanford, died in Texas from lung problems at the age of 29, ending any hope that Sanford may have had of creating a dynasty like Hendrie and the Toronto Eaton family.¹¹⁸ As a result, he set about commissioning a fitting monument not only for his son but for the family itself.

Tomb structures historically have been not only functional but also, in the case of royalty and the society's upper classes, a symbol of what the occupant represents to himself and the image he(or she) wishes to preserve for posterity. When Sanford sought an architectural form for his family's mausoleum, he went to antique sources. In turn of the century Hamilton, as in other centres, a new wave of classicism had begun to dominate architecture. This academic classical revival which began about 1890, conflated elements of Academic Roman, the style shown at the 1893 Chicago Exposition, and the Italian Renaissance, and was popular until about 1910, when elements of Greek were added.¹¹⁹ Sanford cast his eyes south to New York for a suitable architect. Charles E. Tayntor & Co., of 239 Broadway, in New York City was

awarded the contract for the mausoleum which was estimated to cost about \$100,000.
(Figure 34a)

The structure was described in the New York Sunday Herald of January 16, 1898 as an "ideal Greek temple" though it was more akin to Roman Republican temple architecture. Certainly the ideological associations which Sanford no doubt wished to conjure in the eyes of his social circle were more akin to Roman Republican civic virtues of power and wealth than those of Greek.¹²⁰ Perhaps the most important stylistic connection is to be found no farther than Toronto, just 60 km. away. Sanford's foray into retail may have been influenced in part by a desire to follow in the footsteps of retail giant, Timothy Eaton, and his family tomb falls into the stylistic groove occupied by the mausolea perfectly lined up on "millionaire's row" in Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Toronto. The largest of these "Roman temples" is the Eaton Mausoleum, built in 1887 by the architects W. R. Mead and Sproatt and Rolph, and modelled on the *Maison Caree* in Nimes, France.¹²¹

The New York Sunday Herald described Sanford as a Canadian multi-millionaire and life member of the Canadian Parliament. The description of the mausoleum was lavish and impressive. Calling it the "costliest and most imposing mausoleum ever erected in Canada", the reporter explained that American granite was to be used as Sanford appreciated "its fitness for the artistic and massive mausoleum he had in mind". It described the perfect proportions and the statue of "Hope" at the peak. The reaction of Canadian architects was critical. R. W. Gambier-Bousfield, Hamilton correspondent for the Canadian Architect and Builder, called it ". . . a charming little classic temple . . . spoiled and knocked out of all proportion by the statue

of "Hope". . . The statue is so large that the temple is dwarfed until it looks like an ornamental base for the figure¹²² The statue is 8'8" high and seems to overwhelm the small temple; something that isn't obvious in Tayntor's drawing. The Eaton mausoleum, in comparison, is four times the size. In fact, both reports were somewhat correct. If the Sanford mausoleum had been built to its original proportions, there would have been a more balanced effect. Even so, it would not have approached the Eaton mausoleum in size and monumentality, so the Herald's description of it being the costliest and most imposing Canadian mausoleum is incorrect and was probably an exaggeration on Sanford's part. His final "temple", completed after his death in 1899, was in fact almost 14' square which with the porches and steps on either end gave an overall length of 27' and a width of 14'8".

The Sanford Mausoleum has a wide *cella* with engaged pilasters. The porches are supported by four round Corinthian columns, paired on common bases. Similar to Roman temples, a cornice overhung the sides. The statue of "Hope", her right arm raised and her eyes gazing heavenward, supported an anchor with her left hand. Sanford had used this type of figure on top of his Oak Hall clothing store in Toronto and it seems to have been a popular type of decoration, also appearing on the peak of the Massey Mausoleum in Mount Pleasant Cemetery (1892), designed by Toronto architect, E.J. Lennox.

Sanford's mausoleum is situated on a large knoll within the cemetery, the same height of land which runs along Burlington Heights to the base of the Escarpment in Hamilton upon which stood the Sanford mansion and which gives an unimpeded view of Lake Ontario. (Figure 34b) The height and location added symbolic meaning,

and can be compared in monumentality to the mausoleum of William Henry Vanderbilt which is located on a high knoll on Staten Island overlooking the harbour. Vanderbilt had told architect Hunt, "I want it roomy and solid and rich."¹²³ The Sanford mausoleum was made of American Granite from Vermont, the columns were of marble, and the pediment and column bases richly carved. The large bronze door opened to an interior holding ten burial sites, decorated with marble and mosaics. The entire structure was lined with steel to ensure its integrity against theft since Sanford was worried that his son's body might be stolen for ransom. The symbolism is telling. Not only is the structure in the highest possible location in the Hamilton Cemetery, the imagery it suggests is enduring, one of culture and refinement, of power and wealth, of respectability and position. All of these were pressed for by Sanford during his life.

It is one of the quirks of fate, therefore, that even before the "temple" was completed, Sanford lost his life in a boating accident in the Muskokas on July 10, 1899. The cause was attributed to an attack of rheumatism of which Sanford was widely known to have suffered.¹²⁴ In his will, he left a large estate with the bulk going to Mrs. Sanford and their two daughters. In addition to a house and property in the Muskokas, Sanford also owned a ranch of 52,000 acres and cattle herds in Manitoba. Ironically, given his reputation for charitable works, he left nothing to charity, noting that the Ontario Government took enough for that purpose through their succession duties.¹²⁵ The Sanford mansion was occupied sporadically by Mrs. Sanford over the course of the next forty years, although she spent much time overseas and became very involved in the work of the National Council of Women, being president for many years (an irony which no doubt caused Lady Aberdeen to ruminate deeply).¹²⁶ Upon her death in 1938 at age 90, the house and contents were put up for auction. Described as "the

most luxuriously and completely furnished Victorian residence on the North American continent", the house was demolished soon after its sale.¹²⁷

Of all the magnificent and impressive buildings commissioned by William Eli Sanford during his lifetime, the only one remaining today is his tomb. The name, Sanford, inscribed over the entrance reminds the visitor of who lies within. However, the final word on Sanford goes to Adam Brown. In Brown's letter to Mary of December 14, 1895, which began "My darling old wife", he apologized for sending a copy of a letter he had received from Sanford who was at the Arkansas Hot Springs after a severe attack of rheumatism. The letter, dated November 20, 1895, helps to explain why Sanford never became an intimate member of Hamilton's elite, although he was too wealthy and powerful to be excluded from society functions. It is formal and condescending. Characteristically, Brown took it as "amusing". Mary was appalled. "My first feeling abated somewhat for there were amusing as well as interesting points in the letter and one could close one's mind to the others."¹²⁸ Sanford began with the salutation, "My dear Fellow", and gave a blow by blow description of the twenty-three Turkish baths he had taken, and the "manipulations" of his person by his Valet while submerged in the hot springs. It was the conclusion to the letter that so infuriated Mary.

"I have no doubt that before long you will have rheumatism or some other disease and my advice to you is to come out now while I am here and lay the foundations for renewed health. I might say that which is an important factor in your case. This is the only spring discovered for the present in which a man renews his youth, and when I remember what a tired looking old prune you are, I would advise you by all means to come out here."¹²⁹

The strange thing is, Sanford did not seem to realise the insult. He added a postscript giving the real reason for the letter. He wanted Brown to speed up the masons who were working on the "monument" to Sir John A. Macdonald to be erected in downtown

Hamilton. Brown's comment to Mary was, "I take men as I find them".¹³⁰

William Hendrie and Adam Brown are also buried in the Hamilton Cemetery and their grave sites show a distinct contrast to that of William Sanford. Whereas Sanford's mausoleum stands alone, towering above the other graves, Hendrie's and Brown's can be found down a winding path, in a section of the cemetery shared with family and friends. Each site is marked by a modest monument, Hendrie's is an obelisk, Brown's not surprisingly, a cross, no different from many others in the cemetery. The individual graves of the Hendrie family are shown by stone markers set into the ground. It is in this final statement that the contrast between these men can be found. These three "Grand old men" of Hamilton contributed each in their own way to the late nineteenth-century elite society, from the quiet elegance and stability of the Hendrie family, to the grand ostentation of William Sanford, to the self-sacrificing public service of Adam Brown. By ensuring a stable centre around which elite society could expand, it was Hendrie more than any other who stimulated the creation of a upper scale neighbourhood in the undeveloped area to the south and west of his estate.

ENDNOTES to CHAPTER 3

1. Edward Jackson is identified as one of the founding elite in early Hamilton by Katz (1975). He is described as "one of the wealthiest men in the city". (p. 195)
2. Hendrie was instrumental in the organization of the railway cartage system in Canada. By 1862, Hendrie and Co. were the sole agents for the Great Western Railway. He was also involved in the construction of various railway lines. For a detailed biography, see D.H.B. Vol. 1, as well as contemporary accounts, such as G. Mercer Adam, ed. Prominent Men of Canada (Toronto, 1892).
3. The affair was reported in the Hamilton Spectator, June 6, 1901, the Hamilton Herald, June 6, 1901, the Hamilton Morning Post, June 6, 1901, the Toronto Globe,

June 6, 1901, the Toronto Mail and Empire, June 6, 1901, the Toronto Sunday World, June 9, 1901, and the Toronto Saturday Night, June 8, 1901.

4. June 9, 1901.

5. Macdonald (1990) in reference to Vancouver in the 1890s stated that it was a sign of a elite self-consciousness when the group began to encourage marriages among elite families. (pp. 55-73).

6. Quote from unidentified newspaper clipping of February 27, 1890 in Mary Brown's Journals, Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L. The article, entitled "Adam Brown Triumphs", discussed the "uproarious reception" given Adam Brown when he rose in the Houses of Parliament to move his bill on the prevention of cruelty to animals. It stated that there were ". . . roars of applause from both sides of the House, which filled the corridors with clamor and startled the Senators over in their gloomy morgue."

7. For biographical information, see the Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1887), D.H.B., Vol. 1, and Brown's obituary in the Hamilton Spectator.

8. See drawing of "The Adam Brown" in the C.W. Jeffreys Collection, P.A.C. Imperial Oil Collection. 1972-026.

9. The bill came to a vote on second reading on February 27, 1890. It provided against the ill-treatment of animals by beating, ill-usage in driving, stoning or abandoning, and using live birds as targets, providing a fine not exceeding \$50. The bill very nearly passed which was a tribute to how well Brown was respected. The vote of February 27 carried on second reading ninety-one to eighty-one. However, in a telegram of 13 March to his wife, Brown stated that although the prime minister John A. Macdonald and senior cabinet ministers supported the bill, he had been advised to delay it to another session. Brown yielded "in a speech which was cheered." (Telegram of 13 March, 1890, Mary Brown's Journals, Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.) Brown was president of the Hamilton S.P.C.A. for many years, and it is indicative of his status among the Hamilton elite that he was able to attract many of them to become members. More than half of the annual members listed in its early years (1890) were members of the elite study group.

10. A poem published at the time commenting on Brown's private member's bill in Parliament to outlaw the trap shooting of live birds was pasted into Mary Brown's journals and tells us of Brown's popularity with the fair sex and his devotion to anti-cruelty causes. It also makes reference to Brown's imminent appointment to the honorary position of postmaster of Hamilton.

(Unidentified newspaper clipping, ca. 1889/90, Brown-Hendrie Papers, J8, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.)

11. On June 7 of that year, Mrs. Juson wrote to Mrs. Young in England, "Adam Brown will be visiting you. Tease him about his engagement to Miss Kough." (Young Papers, 336-344. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.)

12. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

13. Adam Brown to Mary Brown. Letter of August 2, 1896. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

14. Mary Brown Journals. Entries of June 2 and June 7, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

15. Mary Brown Journals. Entry of June 12, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

16. Mary Brown Journals. Entries of July 22, 29, 30, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

17. Toronto World. Undated clipping. Mary Brown's Journals, October 29, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

18. Brown-Hendrie Papers, J.8, 173. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

19. Brown hardly ever uses punctuation in his correspondence. The quote is written as is. Brown-Hendrie Papers, J8, 174. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

20. The wedding was reported in the Hamilton Spectator, the Hamilton Herald, the Hamilton Evening Times, the Toronto World, and the Empire.

21. Mary Kough Brown Journals, Brown-Hendrie Papers, J-9, 235-236. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

22. The expansive generosity and unassuming character of Adam Brown can be illustrated by a look at the published guest lists for his daughter's wedding. In tracing the published names of the invited guests, there were two names that this author initially could not find listed anywhere, those of Mary McQuaig and Margaret Austin. These two women were Brown's live-in domestic servants. Mary McQuaig, a fifty-four year old Scottish Presbyterian, had worked for Brown for at least ten years; Margaret Austin was a twenty-nine year old Scottish Anglican. Both were paid \$200 per annum. All of the other invited guests were members of the elites of Hamilton, Toronto, and other Canadian, American and foreign cities. To include his servants on the official guest list alongside the cream of Hamilton society, shows a generous side of Brown's character. None of Hendrie's servants were included on the guest list. In addition, Brown was praised in the press for insisting that everything for the wedding be purchased from Hamilton suppliers. (Hamilton Evening Times, June 5, 1901).

23.

1852-1856/7 - 76 Upper James (numbers changed in the 1870s)

1857/58 -1869 - 6 Hannah St. E. (s. side at the head of Hughson). W. E. Sanford was a neighbour at #8 in 1868 and 1869.

1870-73 - 1 Herkimer (one of the houses in Burlington Terrace built by W. P. McLaren in the early 1850s.)

1874-1876 - "Hope Bank", 153 James St. South (this is the McLaren house, "Oakbank". In 1873, the house was sold following the death of W. P. McLaren to Wm. P. Findlay. It was then sold back to the McLarens in 1879 when Findlay ran into financial problems. It

- appears that Adam Brown rented the house from Findlay.
- 1877-1886 - "Langholm Villa", 13 Herkimer (later changed to #41). Beginning in 1876, Brown owned lots #18-24 on Herkimer between MacNab and Park Sts. In Mary Brown's Birthday Book, the note beside the date Feb. 24 states "Removed to Langholm Villa, 1877, eleven in family". Brown-Hendrie Papers, Br.-1) Langholm refers to the Brown's ancestral home in Dumfries shire, Scotland.
- 1887-1890 - 13 Duke Street (Sandyford Place). This coincides with when Brown was elected to Parliament. Brown's business went bankrupt in 1889.
- 1890-1893 - 187 Hughson St. (Leased). Brown is appointed Postmaster of Hamilton in 1891.
- 1893-1906 - Alma Street. Brown built a new home on the old Juson property which had recently been subdivided.
- 1906-1926 - 144 Aberdeen. Following Lily's marriage, Brown built another home closer to his daughter.

(Information from Hamilton City Directories 1852-1926.) The city directories begin with the 1852/53 edition. Brown came to Hamilton in 1851.

24. Mary Kough Brown Journals, Brown-Hendrie Papers, J9, 244. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

25. When the Prince of Wales had visited Hamilton in 1860 and was billeted with his entourage at the houses of Juson and McLaren, Brown was in charge as both families were out of the country.

26. Mary Brown Journals. Entry of April 14, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

27. Mary Brown Journals. Entry of May 10, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

28. Mary Brown Journals. Entries of May 23 and May 24, 1889. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

29. Mary Brown Journals. Entry of June 12, 1889. Copy of letter from Adam Brown to his son Fraser. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L. For a discussion of courtship and marriage in nineteenth-century Canada, see Frances Hoffman and Ryan Taylor, Much to be Done (Toronto, 1996) 7-40.

30. Correspondence Daisy Brown Smith to Adam Brown, St. Michaelmas Day, 1895, Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., HPL. (#1466-1467)

31. King (1909) 142.

32. Morgan, 456.

33. Industries of Canada, 77.

34. The wedding was reported in the Hamilton Spectator, September 22, 1875.

35. Hendrie's name first appears in the Hamilton City Directory of 1858. His home is listed as the corner of Merrick and Bay (n.w. Hamilton) until 1868/69 when he moved to Bold Street at the head of Charles. This was to be the Hendrie home for 68 years.
36. D.H.B., Vol. 1, pp. 93/93. The description of the home is in the Western Mercury of 1833.
37. C. H. Acton Bond came to Hamilton as an architectural student of James Balfour in 1891. He later set up an architectural practice in Toronto and was president of the Ontario Association of Architects from 1913-1919. (Obit., J.R.A.I.C. I (Apr./Jn, 1924) p. 70).
38. C. H. Acton Bond, "Architecture in Hamilton", C.A.B., January, 1893, p. 3.
39. Hendrie's other holdings in Hamilton included 600 acres, two town lots, eight dwelling houses, four stores and warehouses, seven barns, a stable and outbuildings, and a silo with a 6,400 cu. ft. capacity. (1901 Assessment, Hamilton, Ward 2, B-6, p.5).
40. See Lundell, pp. 28-30.
41. Hamilton. The Birmingham of Canada (1892), p. 90.
42. Hamilton Spectator, July 14, 1936.
43. The "Holmstead" was demolished in 1936, following the death of Mrs. Hendrie.
44. D.H.B., Vol. II, 63-66.
45. These columns are very similar to those on the facade of Treble Hall on John Street North and appear to be of the same metal.
46. L.A.C.A.C. Project, 1978, 61 Hurst Place. Hendrie sold the house in 1898 and in 1915 it was converted into apartments.
47. C.A.B. Sept., 1892, p. 91.
48. Hendrie's widow lived in the house after his death in 1923, and in 1937, it was converted into apartments. It now houses commercial establishments.
49. David M. Nelligan, "Reminiscences of the North End", Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 31, 1958. John Rattray, foreman at Hendrie & Co., told a Herald reporter that Hendrie was very concerned about the welfare of his work horses. Keeping his team in good condition could earn a man a promotion. (Hamilton Herald, June 6, 1901)
50. Hendrie bred heavy draught horses, trotting horses and thoroughbreds and exhibited at fairs in Canada and the United States. The breeding centre was at Valley Farm, 500 acres in East Flamborough. In 1892, he had 300 horses and supplied the British Government with remounts. (Adam, 106-109)

51. "Outing at Valley Farm", Hamilton Spectator, July 25, 1892. The Hendrie stables produced many King's Plate winners, including Martimas, the only Canadian two-year old to win both the Futurity and Flatbrush. Martimas is buried at the easterly end of the farm. "The burial place of a horse that brought fame to its owner and to Hamilton will ever remain sacred". (Hamilton Herald, Sept. 25, 1931) Hendrie was known as a great philanthropist. The \$46,500 purse from the Futurity won by Martimas was donated to the Hamilton General Hospital for the construction of a new wing. (Palethorpe, 15).

52. McDonald (1996) 155.

53. Palethorpe, 15, 16. "Mr. Hendrie's successes were not, from a dollar and cent view, proportionate to the outlay, but to one of his lofty ideals in all matters concerned with racing, the question of profit never engaged his attention . . . there never was an owner of race horses in any land who could lose with better grace or with more genuine warmth of feeling congratulate the owner who defeated him." King (1990) 141.

54. Hendrie was one of a group of Hamilton businessmen who purchased the Gage farm in the north-east of Hamilton in 1892. The deal for the purchase was closed on Jan. 12, 1893. In all, 120 acres at \$225 per acre were acquired, with Gage being paid in stock for part of it. The consortium consisted of Wm. Hendrie, A.T. Wood, J.J. Stuart, F.C. Bruce, J.M. Lottridge, George E. Tuckett, and George Roach, all of whom are included in the elite study group. (Hamilton Spectator, Jan. 13, 1892). This replaced the old two mile track north of Aberdeen between Dundurn and Locke Streets that had closed in 1874, where John Hendrie had ridden his horse, Doncaster, to victory in 1863. (Melville Bailey, Hamilton. Chronicle of a City (Windsor, 1983) 69). The Hamilton architect, James Balfour, was hired to build a grandstand to seat 2,000 people and a club house for the Hamilton Jockey Club in 1892. He and John Hendrie travelled to New York to view American race tracks that same year and the Hamilton club house was influenced by that at Saratoga. (C.A.B., Sept., 1892, p. 91).

55. Brown-Hendrie Papers, 2560-2563, 6th June, 1896, A.B. to Mary. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

56. "June, the month of roses and fine weather, is doing its duty nobly and the bright sunshine yesterday brought society out in full force at the races. Many exquisite and fashionable gowns were worn, and the bright colours in contrast to the somber tweed suits and frock coats of the men made a beautiful picture on the lawn." Then followed a description of each individual lady's ensemble. ("Hamilton Jockey Club's Races", Hamilton Spectator, June 5, 1901, p. 6).

57. Assessment Rolls, City of Hamilton, 1901.

58. Hamilton Spectator, February 3, 1887. Riding was considered an elite sport and many of the younger generation indulged in horse races for fun and pleasure. A non-dated clipping from the 1890s in the Brown-Hendrie Papers recorded how "Masters Murray Hendrie of Hamilton and George T. Hendrie of Detroit have triumphantly succeeded in riding all the way from Hamilton to Kingston on horseback without the slightest sign of fatigue in either horses or riders." (Brown-Hendrie Papers, Scrapbook of mementoes of events in the 1890s. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.)

59. The Hamilton Spectator, July 19, 1906, p. 1.
60. The opening of the west encouraged those with capital to invest in undeveloped land. Banks, trust companies and transportation were other important and profitable venues for investment. The importance of the stock market to Hamilton elite investors increased and this interest is shown by the installation of a direct line to the Toronto Stock Exchange in the Hamilton Club during this period to enable the members to obtain immediate information on their holdings (Personal communication with Hamilton Club).
61. Winnipeg Free Press, 1879. The "trifle" referred to was the Northwest Rebellion led by Louis Riel.
62. Edith Wharton, The Age of Innocence (New York, 1986), 49 Originally published, 1920. Wharton who grew up in New York society was intimately familiar with the social and moral structures of that time.
63. Wharton, p. 48.
64. Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men (1880), Ontario Volume (Toronto, Chicago, New York, 1880), 434.
65. Ibid., 439.
66. The newspaper also emphasized the obvious advantages for Hamilton of having another voice in the Senate to strengthen that of Senator Turner. ". . . with such men as Senator Turner and Senator Sanford at Ottawa their (the people of Hamilton) interests have two powerful champions in addition to those who represent the city in the House of Commons; . . ."
67. Bruce Rudolph, "Senator W. E. Sanford and his yacht NAIAD", FreshWater 12:1 (1997) 5.
68. A detailed account can also be read in The Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1892.
69. Even the reporter for the Spectator noted the "happily conceived coincidence".
70. The Empire, June 13, 1892.
71. "In the wall of every hall there is a neatly concealed spring which will reveal a dust-pan, into which the sweepings are placed and dropped down a slide into a receptacle in the basement." The Empire, June 13, 1892.
72. Katz (1975) 179.
73. Tender Call, Hamilton Spectator, August 17, 1875.
74. This same article mentions that extensive renovations took place "fifteen years ago", which would indicate that something was done in 1877, if the estimate is accurate. Unfortunately, there are many parts of the 1877 series of the Spectator that

are missing, and it is not possible to check for tender calls. It could also refer to those carried out in 1875 by Rastrick.

75. Canadian Contract Record I:4 (March 8, 1890).

76. Dominion Illustrated News, 28 December, 1880.

77. Hamilton Times, June 8, 1892. Architect William Stewart had moved to Hamilton from Toronto in 1885, where he had already made a reputation for himself by designing buildings for the Toronto Industrial Exhibition in 1879, and the Toronto General Hospital. In 1889, he won the competition to build the new Hamilton Public Library and, designed Thomas Watkin's new department store on King Street in 1893.

78. Ennals and Holdsworth (1998). Chapter 6.

79. William H. Vanderbilt, who was reported to have a net worth of about \$200 million by the time of his death in 1886, also shared the same appreciation of the symbolic value of his residence. His impressive Italianate house in New York City (architects Charles B. Atwood and John B. Snook) served to demonstrate his wealth and power with its implied relationship to the Renaissance merchant princes, notwithstanding its criticism by architects and architectural critics. (Lewis *et al.*, 1987, 114-121; see also Andrews, 1947, 157). On March 7, 1882, about 2,000 of Vanderbilt's friends were invited to celebrate the completion of his mansion, believed to have cost \$3,000,000, which took up the entire block from Fifty-first to Fifty-second Street on the west side of Fifth Avenue. (Andrews, 1947, 157). Vanderbilt already owned a comfortable house on Fifth Avenue, one his wife did not want to leave, but it was, he felt, too small to express his social position as well as to display effectively his growing collection of paintings and other *objets d'art*. (Cohn, p. 119). See also Andrews (1941) 218.

Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection by Early Shinn (pseud. Edward Strahan), handsomely illustrated in four volumes, was published in 1883-84, and, according to Lewis *et al.*, is the best record of any millionaire's house from the late nineteenth century. (p. 116). Cohn (1979) describes these volumes in detail, though she says that there were ten volumes altogether, printed in a limited edition of 1,000 copies on fine paper with watered silk in side covers. (pp. 118-120). Cohn points out that Shinn justified the mansion by stating that it was symbolic of the success of American culture and that also it was a sample of a "typical personal home". After all, as he put it, it was no more unusual to want to read about the house of an American than to read about the houses of Venetian merchant princes or Flemish bankers. (p.119).

80. Wayne Andrews, Architecture in New York (New York, 1969), xiv.

81. The Empire (Toronto), June 13, 1892.

82. Quoted in Andrews (1948) 188, 189. Wells went on to say that this ideal ". . . excites my imagination, but not my sympathies."

83. W. E. Doran, "Truth in Architecture", C.A.B. IX:6 (June, 1896) 86, 87.

84. The Empire, June 13, 1892. Fifteenth-century Italian Renaissance palaces had been built for families who had attained their position in society by commercial means.

As the nineteenth-century cultural historian, Jacob Burkhardt pointed out, "Fine, large buildings are a natural expression of privileged living in Italy, and for a few property owners, the first step to princely power". (p. 9). Renaissance Humanist writers such as Matteo Palmieri had been instrumental in legitimizing this show of wealth in grand architecture by using Aristotle's ideas about the relationship of display and character. The equating of wealth to magnificence in building in Renaissance Florence is discussed in an article by Richard Goldthwaite ("The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture", A.H.R. LXXVII (1972), 967-1012). The fifteenth-century architect and theorist, Leon Battista Alberti, stated that "we should endeavour to leave a reputation behind us, not only for our wisdom but our power too, for this reason . . . we erect great structures . . ." (See Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, Book 9, Chapter 11; also Goldthwaite, 1972, 990) Goldthwaite, in his study of the Florentine building boom of the fifteenth century, linked wealth with the visual display of Renaissance Florence. "The monumental family palace decked out with all the evidence of its ownership and legally projected to be forever a family possession became the preeminent symbol of status for the patrician." (Richard Goldthwaite, The Building of Renaissance Florence (Baltimore, 1980), 88.

85. Hamilton Spectator, July 3, 1871.

86. The fourth storey of the Hamilton warehouse housed the giant cutting room, where large machines did most of the work. The actual sewing was done by about 2,000 outside employees; only about 120 to 160 workers were actually employed in the building itself. The inner workings of Canadian businesses were examined by the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada whose report was published in 1889. James Munro, a foreman tailor, testified to the commission on behalf of the Sanford company. Munro seemed somewhat intimidated by the questioning and was quite vague in his answers, but it appears that the work was taken out by tailors in lots of 100 or 200 garments. These tailors employed from 10 to 20 women, each of whom worked by the piece. The women supplied their own sewing machines, and were paid from \$2.50 to \$7 per week, though Munro, when questioned, stated that it was an exception to get \$7. The wages had been lowered over the last few years to meet competition from Lower Canada; however, Munro emphasized that the men with the appliances and machinery were making the same high wages as at any time. When asked if women could obtain the same price for their work as men if they did the work equally well, Munro replied that both men and women were given the same price. (Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada. Vol. 2. Evidence - Ontario. (Ottawa, 1889), 829-833.)

87. E.P. Morgan and F.L. Harvey, Hamilton and its Industries (Hamilton, Nov., 1884) 22-24. "In 1869, Mr. Sanford visited this country (Red River) in company with Mr. Jas. Turner of Hamilton, and Hon. Jos. Howe, and had great difficulty in getting out, as Riel had just raised a barrier of ingress and egress to and from the settlement. Mr. Sanford, however, was not a man to be delayed by trifles. . . ." (Winnipeg Free Press, quoted in the Hamilton Spectator, May 5, 1879).

88. Winnipeg Free Press, quoted in the Hamilton Spectator, May 5, 1879.

89. Canadian Parliamentary Companion (Ottawa, 1889), 32.

90. A.H. Hills, was commissioned to make alterations and additions to the original building in October, 1870. (Tender Call, Hamilton Spectator, October 16, 1870, "Alterations and additions to Sanford, McInnes & Co.'s Wholesale Clothing Store, King St."). A short description of the building in the Spectator, on July 3rd, 1871, described it as being the "most conspicuous and ornamental on our principal street". Five storeys high, it was built of cut stone with a mansard roof, and extended 140 ft along John Street. Five years later, F.J. Rastrick carried out alterations and additions. In 1879, a major fire destroyed the McInnes block and the western half of Sanford and Company. Sanford immediately made plans for a more impressive building and the architect, James Balfour, was hired to rebuild. In 1881, he made additional renovations to the building. In 1888, Sanford acquired the neighbouring premises of John McPherson & Co., on John Street, and had extensive renovations made to the building to bring it into harmony with the original building, "so as to make the combined premises uniform and imposing". (Hamilton Spectator, July 27, 1888). Although the architect is not stated, a tender call by Balfour on June 8, 1888, for alterations to a store on King Street, may be for Sanford. It would be logical to assume that Sanford would hire the same architect who conducted the extensive make over of the building a few years earlier if, as the Spectator stated, he was concerned about making the entire building uniform.

91. Balfour had been responsible for the design of Larkin (Treble) Hall for Henry J. Larkin, a local barrister-developer, in 1878. This three storey building, which survives today, is on John Street, near the north side of King Street and was built in a Renaissance Revival style. It gives a good idea on a smaller scale of what Sanford's building would have looked like.

92. C.A.B. XII (May, 1899), 96. "W.E. Sanford is making a large addition to his clothing factory."

93. In a small notebook given out to Oak Hall customers in the early twentieth century, the comparison between "Sovereign Brand" and "Cheap Made-To-Order" was forcefully made. "In the matter of price, there are two ways of making men's clothes. One is to secure the order at the best price possible and then make up the garment to suit the price. . . . The other way - "Sovereign Brand way" - is to make up the clothes as they ought to be and then charge a fair living profit."

94. The innovative facade is noted by Angela K. Carr in "New Building Technology in Canada's Late Nineteenth-Century Department Stores: Handmaiden of Monopoly Capitalism", J.S.S.A.C. 23:4 (1998), 134-135.

95. Arthur (1986) 178. Arthur goes on to say that "If Oak Hall were still on the old stand on King Street, it would be a place of pilgrimage for architectural historians". (p.184)

96. Arthur, p. 179.

97. The royal symbolism used by Sanford was applied in both his business and private lives. It seems to have been deliberately cultivated by him and was used by newspapers on a regular basis. In addition to references to his "palatial" home, and his "sovereign" brand products, one finds allusions to royalty creeping into the oddest

places. In a newspaper article on the beginnings of the 1892 social season, a report on a reception given by the Hendries at the "Holmstead" described Mrs. Hendrie as looking "very handsome" in her "blue brocade and diamond tiara". Mrs. Sanford, a vision in a gown of "black velvet and diamonds" was described as having "queenly beauty". (Hamilton Times, Dec. 2, 1892. "Society's Whirl").

98. Hamilton Spectator, April 15, 1890. Sanford who was an honorary commodore of the Hamilton Yacht Club had been honoured for acquiring the Royal Designation from Queen Victoria in 1891. In a speech to the club, Sanford said that "although he was not a sailor, he had learned to steer about and was rapidly acquiring nautical knowledge. He knew how to say larboard and starboard, but he'd be hanged if he knew what the terms meant." (Hamilton Herald, April 13, 1891).

99. Rudolph 9, 10.

100. Ennals and Holdsworth (1998) have also speculated on this uncertainty within a new elite. (p. 158)

101. Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1893.

102. Lady Aberdeen, Canadian Journal, Entry of December 17, 1894.

103. Reported in The Globe, Toronto, August 24, 1895. "Our Summer Resorts. Muskoka."

104. P.B. Waite, The Man from Halifax (Toronto, 1985), 412-414.

Thompson seems to have enjoyed the relaxation and peace from the trials of government, though the stay was interrupted for a cabinet meeting on the 21st of August. Upon his death, later that year, it was revealed that he had little in the way of savings, spending all of his salary on the requisite entertaining of colleagues and guests in Ottawa. Perhaps, the offer from Sanford appealed to him as a way of getting together with his family in a relaxed and isolated area, but pride insisted that he not accept the offer without compensation.

105. Lady Aberdeen, December 17, 1894.

106. Lady Aberdeen, December 13, 1894.

107. Lady Aberdeen wrote this on her way back from Halifax on January 4, where the "Blenheim" carrying Thompson's body, escorted by Sanford, had docked and where the funeral had taken place on January 3, 1895.

108. Lady Aberdeen, December 17, 1894.

109. Lady Aberdeen, March 6, 1895.

110. Lady Aberdeen, March 6, 1895.

111. Lewis *et al.* (1987), 10.

112. Goldthwaite, 83.

113. Lady Aberdeen, March 6, 1895.

114. Lady Aberdeen, May 24, 1895.

115. Adam Brown to Mary Brown. 3 December, 1895. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L. Onderdonk was the American railroad contractor who was constructing the T.H.&B. Railway tunnel.

116. Mary Brown to Adam Brown from England. December 15, 1895. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L. Mary was alluding to the fact that Sanford was at the hot Springs for his rheumatism.

117. Adam Brown to Mary Brown, March 25, 1896. Brown-Hendrie Collection. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

118. Hamilton Spectator, March 15, 1897.

119. Gowans (1993) 244

120. One of Sanford's earliest trips to Italy took place in the early 1870s, and was the subject of a talk which he gave to the Young People's Association of the Centenary Church. Referring to Rome as a dead city, and comparing its streets to the narrow back streets of Montreal, "very dirty, and on every side ruins of magnificent buildings. . .", Sanford went on to praise the Napolitan churches, "most of them built by noblemen to serve as tombs and monuments." (Clipping File, William E. Sanford, n. d. or heading. ca. 1873. S.C., H.P.L). Even at this early date, therefore, Sanford seems to have appreciated the connection between architecture and the concept of immortality and lasting fame.

121. Rod McQueen, The Eatons (Toronto, 1998) 27.

122. C.A.B. XII:8 (Aug., 1899) 159.

123. Andrews (1941), xii. The Vanderbilt mausoleum was designed by Richard Morris Hunt in a French Romanesque style with landscaping by Frederick Olmstead and cost \$300,000. Vanderbilt had told Hunt, "We are plain, quiet, unostentatious people. . . I don't object to appropriate carvings, or even statuary, but it mustn't have any unnecessary fancy work on it". (Andrews (1941) 232).

124. The rheumatism attack had occurred while Sanford and a young lady were returning from a fishing trip and both ended up in the water. The young lady, a Miss Dowry, lived at her father's home at the corner of Queen and Bold Streets in Hamilton and had been invited as a guest by Sanford to "Sans Souci" along with his widowed daughter-in-law and a few other young friends. Harriet Sanford and her daughters were not in the party. Extensive coverage of the death and funeral can be read in all the Hamilton papers from July 11 to July 18, 1899.

In a March, 1895 letter to his wife, Adam Brown had informed her that "Sanford is at a hot springs at Arkansas - a most amusing epistle - he is being treated for rheumatism . . .

. I fancy his wife and girls will go out to him it looks as if he may be there a good while poor fellow his grand house seems to be of little use to him." (Brown-Hendrie Papers, S.C., H.P. L. Letter of Adam Brown to Mary Brown, March 24, 1895)

125. Hamilton Times, July 13, 1899.

126. Harriet Sanford spent little of her time at "Wesanford" after the death of her husband. The house and furnishings remained in much the same condition over the thirty-nine years between her husband's death and her own on February 22, 1938.

127. Hamilton Spectator, May 10, 1938.

128. Adam Brown to Mary Brown, December 14, 1895. Brown-Hendrie Collection. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

129. Brown-Hendrie Papers. Correspondence of Mary Brown to Adam Brown. Dec. 10, 1895.

130. Brown-Hendrie Papers. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

CHAPTER 4 THE FORMATION OF AN ELITE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN HAMILTON

"A noble house in the city brings considerable honour, being more visible than all one's possessions." - Michelangelo.¹

In this chapter, the development of the south-central elite area, will be examined through an investigation into the form and location of selected elite homes that were important in the formation of urban nodal points throughout the area. (Figure 35a, b)

Many of these homes were strategically located and anchored intersections, the facades oriented to give the best possible view from the street. All of them were within easy walking distance of the Hendrie homestead and each other, thus serving to cement elite relationships and aid in the maintenance of the elite society that was in place in Hamilton by the end of the nineteenth century. Hendrie's home served as a stable centre for that society. All of these homes were designed by professional architects in the latest architectural styles, ranging from the early Italianate and Gothic villas to the end-of-the-century Queen Anne, yet they retained a sense of individuality and patron involvement through the placement of architectural forms that symbolized elite aspirations and concerns. The creation of this elite neighbourhood was crucial for the maintenance and expansion of the elite. Without a substantial mass of socially-superior individuals within a clearly defined compact area, elite society could not flourish. To this end, it is apparent that individuals wishing to join the elite social circle were indirectly encouraged to establish their family home within this area.

The original centre of Hamilton's elite was established in the late 1840s and early 1850s by a small group of wealthy entrepreneurs who had built their homes on

large acreages of land near the southern boundaries of the city. This land, at the eastern end of Hamilton's "royal ridge", offered exclusivity, privacy, and all the symbolism of aristocratic precedent associated with power and prestige. Three other members of this early elite located their homes on large estates to the west just outside the city limits along the base of the mountain, building architect-designed "villa" homes in the latest architectural styles, thus creating Hamilton's first true elite neighbourhood. The homes retained their elite status throughout the nineteenth century, effectively creating an eastern boundary and ensuring a solid foundation for the later expansion of the elite on undeveloped land to the west. Of the houses identified as belonging to members of the study group at the end of the nineteenth century, 45% had been occupied by the same individual for at least a ten-year period and many for more. The McLaren family had lived in the same house on James Street South for nearly 50 years, with only a short period when the home was in other hands. Thus, being up to date with architectural style does not seem to have been as important to the elite as the historical significance and location of the home itself.

"Bellevue", built by Hamilton co-founder, James Durand, around 1805-06 and sold to George Hamilton in 1815, was the earliest house in the south-central area of Hamilton.² (Figure 36a) Constructed of local stone, it was located part way up the escarpment to the south of a macadamized road leading east up the mountain and east of the mountain road that led from the landing on the bay to Ancaster on the mountain. It had a panoramic view of the lake, a fact obviously taken into account by Durand with the design of the house. The house was surrounded by gardens and an orchard and had an open porch on the ground floor and a verandah on the first level accessible by tall floor-length windows. Symmetrical and rectangular in design, it had

a low roof and chimneys on both the east and the west. These characteristics of height of land, large acreage, and impressive house remained standard elite signifiers throughout the early period of elite development until the end of the 1860s.

After George's death, his son Robert retained the family home and an area to the north of the macadamized road. Robert, however, did not have George's business acumen and bankruptcy forced the sale of the house which was bought by merchant Hugh McInnes in 1864. After McInnes' death, the house and four acres and some undeveloped land, were put up for auction.³ The advertisement for the auction sale emphasized that the house had a "magnificent view of the city" and that water for the house was obtained from a spring on the grounds, an important consideration before the city pumped water to that location. The owners of "Bellevue" were also entitled to two fifth of the water supply on the grounds of neighbouring "Arkledun" through pipes leading from there into the house.⁴ The property was bought by a merchant, F.P. Bickley, and then in the early 1880s, sold to Samuel Barker (1839-1915), a lawyer and businessman, who was elected as a Conservative to the House of Commons with a huge majority in 1900.

When Barker purchased the property, he had the house renovated. The original two storey "Bellevue" with its enveloping verandah and what appeared to be two joined buildings behind was illustrated on the 1876 Bird's-Eye View of Hamilton and the new, more stately, and up-to-date "Bellevue" appeared on the 1893 Bird's-Eye View which confirms that renovations were not done previous to Barker's occupation. The new "Bellevue" was still based on a rectangle, with the facade facing north but the house gained a storey over the original, the third level being contained within the gabled roof.

(Figure 36b) Classical detail was added by a projecting bracketed cornice between the second and third levels of the house and the advantages of the location were retained by a verandah that extended around three sides, indications of the remains of the Hamilton home. The 1901 assessment was \$14,000, placing it in the upper third of elite homes in value.

When the area to the immediate north-west of the old "Bellevue" was sold by Hamilton, it was quickly bought by successful businessmen and large villa estates began to appear. This first area of influence for later elite housing, in location, architectural style, and architect-design, set a standard and model and determined the future location of the homes of the Hamilton elite, thus creating the first real concentration of wealth in the city within a clearly defined area. At the end of the nineteenth century, all but two ("Highfield" and "Undermount") were occupied by members of the elite.⁵ They included some of the oldest homes in Hamilton built during the late 1840s and 1850s and were the villa residences referred to in contemporary accounts, the palaces of Hamilton's merchant princes. An examination of these homes reveals a common architectural language of forms relating to status and wealth.

"Highfield" and "Inglewood", both to the west of the old mountain road, stood on vast estates, surrounded by trees.⁶ Both houses date from mid-century, both were designed by leading architects, and both were in the Gothic Revival style.⁷ The Gothic Revival was embraced by Hamilton's new bourgeoisie. In actual fact, these "villas" were no more than a mile and a few blocks of green space from the city centre where the elite worked. To enhance the concept of the "country house", trees and other

foliage were planted to supplement existing greenery and by the end of the century, effectively screened the mansions from the street. These two Gothic "villas" were built for Archibald Kerr and John Brown, both Scottish dry goods merchants. Both houses were contemporary with Toronto's "The Hall", a Gothic villa designed by architect Frederick Cumberland in 1858 for wealthy railway engineer, Casimir Gzowski.⁸

Kerr's "Inglewood", located partway up the James Street mountain road, was sold for \$25,000 in 1867 to banker John Stuart along with the twelve acres of land surrounding it.⁹ (Figure 37) This house had all the characteristics of the Gothic villa, a steeply pitched roof, pointed eaves with decorative bargeboard, hanging finials and pointed windows. Constructed of stone and thus expressing what Pugin referred to as truth in architecture, it was decorated with Gothic details, from the oriel window with quatrefoils and the border of stained glass to the carved panelling of the shutters.¹⁰ The entrance faced east, framed by an overhanging porch supported by clustered columns and a verandah to either side. In 1901, the house on eleven acres (part had been severed for Stuart's daughter's new home), was assessed for \$40,000. John Brown's "Highfield", to the west of "Inglewood" on fourteen acres of land, was built in 1858 and was the second house on the site.¹¹ (Figure 38) The first house may have been the "stone cottage" referred to in a tender call of 1847.¹²

These two early houses were obviously influenced in their style by Downing's books on country house architecture. Both were in the same Gothic style that Downing described as possessing "substantial comfort and refinement", characteristics which would have appealed to the mid-century businessmen.¹³ Their architectural forms were very similar and included pointed gables, tall double-light pointed windows, finials,

and decorative bargeboard. Both had a bay window on the north side of the house in the dining room, giving a view of the city and the bay, and there were conservatories on the south side that gave the appearance of the covered cloister walks of medieval monasteries, symbolic of Christian virtues. There were a few differences, such as the porches, the dormers on "Highfield", and "Inglewood's" belvedere, the touches of individualism that can be attributed to the architect, and perhaps also the client. Undoubtedly, Brown had been impressed with the Gothic villa built earlier for Kerr and felt that it was time for a more modern and impressive home on his property. Since Thomas was not available, he turned to Rastrick.

Because architectural styles are always fluid, a good architect can combine the best of a number of styles to suit his client. "Ballinahinch" ("Wildemess House"), to the north of "Inglewood" on the west side of the mountain road (James), was built for the Scottish dry goods merchant, Aeneas Sage Kennedy, around 1849-1850, by William Thomas with Peter Balfour, as discussed in Chapter 2. Originally in an Italianate villa design, there were renovations done in 1870 at which time the Gothic details and the tower crenellations were added. (Figure 39) These additions which are not present on the house shown on Whitefield's view of Hamilton, and are unclear in the 1876 Bird's-Eye view, correspond to the period just after lawyer Edward Martin purchased the house.¹⁴ Martin founded the law firm, Martin and Martin, about 1857 with his brother Richard, and later two of his sons, Kirwan (1864-1950) and D'Arcy (1869-1951) also joined the firm.¹⁵ The name of the house was changed to "Ballinahinch" after the Martin's ancestral family home, "Ballynahinch Castle", situated on 200,000 acres in Connemara, Ireland.¹⁶ The form of the house shown on the 1893 Bird's-Eye View leads the writer to believe that further renovations were done after 1876, which is in keeping

with elite standards of being up to date with architectural styles.

In Whitefield's 1852 view, the house resembles the type of Italianate villa recommended by A.J. Downing to "express the elegant culture and variety of accomplishment of the retired citizen or man of the world . . .". (Figure 40) The form of the house was somewhat irregular; however as Downing had explained, the presence of the campanile or tower brought "all into unity, and (gave) picturesqueness, or an expression of power and elevation to the whole composition."¹⁷ The entrance to the house was through the tower which was therefore the most important element in the composition. Attached to the house on the south side was a greenhouse with a glass-paned sloping roof. After the renovations therefore, the house gained a more Gothic-like appearance, though the basic form remained the same. The tower was given crenellations, and hood mouldings were added over the pointed windows. To the right of the tower, the facade now curved forward. Finials and decorative ironwork were added to the roof as well as tall pointed gables. A verandah, wrapped around the front and north side, was supported by tall slender twisted columns with pseudo-Corinthian, vine-like capitals on bases supporting an arcade. The ironwork on the balcony was very ornate and corresponded to the ironwork on the roof. In spite of all the Gothic additions, however, the basic classical form still existed, including the overhanging bracketed cornice and dentil course. Downing felt that the Gothic or pointed style expressed an "intelligent, domestic life in the country", but in "Ballinahinch", it is impossible to eliminate the imposing, image of power transmitted by the tower.¹⁸ This combination of Italianate and Gothic forms, not that uncommon in houses at this time, made it possible to obtain the best of both worlds. Martin obviously liked the idea of Neo-Gothic morality but also wanted the status image conveyed by the central tower.

A more traditional Italianate villa stood to the north-east. William Thomas is credited with the design of "Undermount", the residence of John Young on John Street South, built ca. 1847-48, in the Italianate style.¹⁹ (Figure 41a) The house sat on two acres of land and was constructed of smooth stone. The comers, porch and ground floor windows were given a more rusticated effect by an emphasis on the blocks. The facade was divided into three, horizontally and vertically, giving a perfect unity of balance and proportion. On the north side, the house curved into a three storey bay. The south and west sides of the house were shown in Whitefield's view which included one gable and a slightly hipped roof, with four sets of chimneys. (Figure 41b) The north side of the house had a grand sweeping flow, and the overhanging cornice, hood and eyebrow mouldings on the windows, accented keystones, and decorated brackets related it to earlier classical forms.

There were also several smaller buildings associated with large estates since their owners kept horses and carriages and milk cows on their property. This necessitated a stable and coach house.²⁰ Young's neighbour to the south on John Street, Richard Juson, wrote to him in Europe on June 23, 1862 regarding a stable being built on his property, pointing out that the stable would be 26 feet long with the stalls 6 feet each.²¹ Even for a stable, an architect was required, in this case, local architect Albert Hills got the job.²² Juson's own stable was also a long and narrow building with a cupola and weathervane.

Young, like tax payers even to the present day, was concerned about what he considered unfair assessment of his property. He was in Europe in early 1861 when he

received a letter from his partner, David Law, giving him his assessment "for waterworks, house and land \$7,620, buildings \$9,000, furniture \$5,000." As if that wasn't bad enough, Law continued with the assessment for Young, Law & Co., their wholesale dry goods house, "land \$9,440, building \$24,000, stock \$180,000". It was the latter number that enraged Law so much to say that he would appeal the "monstrous figure!" and recommended that they remove their business to Montreal. "With our present and probable taxes no business carrying on in such premises and holding such stocks can make money in Hamilton."²³ In a February 28 letter, Law was pleased to report to Young that the waterworks assessment had been reduced, but further emphasized that if they could get \$20,000 for the warehouse, they should move to Montreal. In March of that year, Law wrote to Young that ". . . Hamiltonians are rapidly coming to one mind that the City must compromise with her creditors, the only ones who oppose this and say we should pay to the last farthing are those who have paid no taxes, for instance, Sir Allan (MacNab of "Dundum Castle") who has paid no taxes for four years"²⁴, a comment that infers some resentment, though by all accounts the abrasive personality of "The MacNab", as he was often referred to may have caused it. Young's firm did open a branch in Montreal, with Law in charge, but Young remained in Hamilton at "Undermount" until his death in 1873.²⁵

To the south of "Undermount", stood "Arkledun", the home of Richard Juson. Juson, a hardware wholesaler, born in 1812, had immigrated to Canada from England and arrived in Hamilton around 1835. He was Adam Brown's first employer and Brown had married his wife's sister. Juson had sold his business in 1867 and retired to England.²⁶ "Arkledun" was purchased by the wharfinger, Edward Browne, who sold it to James Turnbull, manager of the Bank of Hamilton for \$9,000 in November, 1888,

and then divided up the rest of the property into 33 lots.²⁷ The prime selling point in the advertisement for 14 of the lots remaining in March, 1889, was the location. The advertisement emphasized the fact that Turnbull had purchased "Arkledun", and then went on to state what other prestigious neighbours the buyers would have. "These lots . . . are surrounded by the handsome residences of Mr. Ramsay, Mr. McLaren, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Barker. For private residences this position cannot be surpassed".²⁸ The advertisement emphasizes the importance of having the "right kind" of neighbours when choosing the location of one's home.

"Arkledun" was built around 1849-1850. At the same time, Juson donated land for a new Anglican Church of the Ascension to the north of Young's property, and also contributed towards its building. The architect of the church was another Toronto architect, Frederick Cumberland, and Juson also served on the building committee.²⁹ Did Cumberland also design Juson's house? That is a tempting thought, since he was later to design Gzowski's Victorian Gothic villa, but the other likely candidate is Thomas, who designed "Inglewood" and "Ballinahinch", the latter in 1849, the same time as the building of St. Andrew's. Whoever the architect was, the style conformed with the times. "Arkledun" was a large Gothic Revival house approached by a long driveway. This was considered one of the most impressive houses in the city, so that when the Prince of Wales visited Hamilton in 1860, he stayed at "Arkledun", with his entourage billeted in the home of Juson's brother-in-law, William P. McLaren whose property backed onto Juson's. Featured in a pictorial essay in the Illustrated London News of 1860 illustrating the many scenic spots visited by the Prince, "Arkledun" was depicted as suitably impressive for a royal lodging, silhouetted against the sky and rising above the surrounding trees.³⁰ (Figure 42a) It displayed an irregular roof-line, pavilions, and

large clustered chimneys, and in many ways, was very similar to "Inglewood". (Figure 42b) There was also a courtyard at the back of the house on the south side and a covered walkway adjoining a greenhouse.

Along the south side of Hannah (Charlton) Street in the 1850s, there was another row of early homes, occupied in 1856 by attorney James Pringle, wholesale grocer John Galbreath, and tinsmith Dennis Moore. The Gothic Revival house, "Ravenswood", at 42 Hannah Street East, built for John Galbreath and possibly designed by Rastrick, was owned by physician, Alex Osborne in 1901. (Figure 43) If the architect was indeed Rastrick, he would have had to have obtained the commission while still at his Brantford office where he had located in 1852 on his arrival in Canada. This would make "Ravenswood", one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest Gothic villa designed by Rastrick in Hamilton.

Another early south-central villa was "Amisfield" (originally named "Abbotsford"), located on an entire city block. (Figure 44a, b) It has been traditional to date this Romantic Gothic villa (sometimes called "The Castle") from 1858 or later. However, in Whitefield's view of Hamilton, the south side of the house was clearly visible, so it must be much earlier, possibly 1850-52. There were obviously later additions and renovations to the house and it appears that over the years, two additions were made to the west. However the basic form of the most easterly part of the south face and the east facade have remained virtually intact. Whitefield's preparatory sketch, without the surrounding trees of the final drawing, showed the elaborate projecting porch and east facade clearly. (Figure 44c) "Amisfield" has architectural similarities with George William Allan's Toronto home, "The Home Wood", build in 1847-47. This Gothic

mansion featured an elaborate facade with ornamental ogee-shaped vergeboards, hanging finials, and *fleur-de-lys* like tracery, similar to the decoration on "Amisfield".³¹ The east facade of "Amisfield" was, in effect, a screen that extended beyond the width of the rest of the house. The house had two storeys, and the facade was divided into three vertically with an emphasis on the centre, similar to "Arkledun". But each bay was capped with an elaborately curved gable in a flame-like form and the flanking twin turrets on the centre created a strong vertical thrust which, matched with smaller turrets on the corners of the roof, the chimneys, and the tall narrow windows, gave a heightened sense of monumentality beyond any of the Gothic Revival or Italianate houses already discussed. On the south side there was a conservatory or columned covered verandah which would lead into the hall through the south door.

This house expressed the romantic vision of the original owner, Scotsman Colin Reid, who tried to reproduce "Abbotsford", the nineteenth-century ideal Scottish castle of his hero, Sir Walter Scott. When lumber baron, Robert Thomson bought the house in 1887, he renamed it "Amisfield" after his wife's ancestral home in Dumfriesshire, Scotland.³² It was assessed for \$13,700 in 1901, with an additional \$7,200 for a stable on the north side of the property. Rastrick has been given the credit for this house. However, the early dating to before 1852 would make this unlikely. The design is similar to houses in England attributed to Thomas, so it is more probable that this was another Thomas house.³³

"Oakbank", the home of wholesaler W.P. McLaren, was located on tree-filled grounds directly east of Juson's estate. (Figure 45a) McLaren's son, Henry, occupied it with his family after the death of his widowed mother in the late 1890s. Using early

maps and Whitefield's Bird's-Eye View, it can be determined that there was a house on the property as early as 1850. (Figure 45b) This house was square with an overhanging bracketed cornice. A large tree, the three-hundred year old "McLaren oak", stood in front of the house to the left of the drive. While it has generally been believed by local historians that the house present at the end of the nineteenth century was built in the late 1870s for William Findlay who bought the property after the death of W.P. McLaren, another reason for its earlier dating is its plain square architectural form. Findlay may have renovated the house but it can be verified that McLaren made changes to the house after Whitefield made his drawing as evidenced by a tender call placed by Rastrick, Hall and Wily on May 23, 1859, asking for "Alterations and Additions to W.P. McLaren's residence".³⁴

The property was typical for this central area with a frontage of 262 ft on James Street and a depth of 400 ft., about half the width of the block. On the west side of the property, a stone wall fronting on James Street separated it from the street. The three-storey, eighteen room house was built of stone with a simple verandah supported by tall thin columns wrapped around at least two sides. The main entrance was emphasized by double columns and the house had a very solid and simple classical feel to it with the only ornamentation coming from the overhanging bracketed cornice around the roof. Its 1901 assessment was \$18,000.

The only other house on the east side of James in this area built in the late 1840s/early 1850s was owned by S. B. Freeman, a lawyer (1814-1874). Following his death, his wife Catherine (nee Hamilton) occupied the house. The style cannot be assessed since only rooftop glimpses are available in Whitefield's view and a later

photograph of James Street, and the Bird's-Eye View of 1876 show only a glimpse of a house with outbuildings at the head of James. It seems probable that it may have been a smaller version of "Oakbank". At the end of the century, the house was leased by Stuart Strathy, manager of the Traders' Bank. The property, owned by the Freeman Estate, sat on 3 ½ acres and was assessed for \$7,500 in 1901.³⁵

These homes therefore formed the first elite urban node in Hamilton by the end of the 1850s. They were all situated on large areas of land, from two to fourteen acres and many of them faced north towards the city or had dining rooms facing north so that guests could obtain this city view. On their properties, these early elite built coachhouses, stables, and conservatories, thus adopting the lifestyle accoutrements of country squires. Although by the end of the nineteenth century only the McLaren family remained of the original founding elite, the continuing presence of these grand villa residences and their wealthy owners served to maintain the area's elite status and attracted other up-and-coming individuals whose newer homes filled in the area between the early estates. Before analysing the form of elite building to the west, the infilling of this original elite area will be examined. The presence of this wealthy elite core and their villas also stimulated further development immediately to the north of these estates.

"Elmwood" was located to the north of "Balquidder" and separated from it by rolling lawns. (Figure 46) It had been built in the 1860s on a two acre site by David Law, John Young's partner. It was bought by manufacturer, Andrew Trew Wood in 1875 and by 1901 had an assessed value of \$16,000. The twenty-three room house was built of grey stone in an L-shape which was quite unusual for this period although

this characteristic could be seen in some Picturesque Gothic houses. The large porch spanned the space between the two arms of the "L" and was supported by paired columns and topped with a short balustrade. This bay-shaped form joined the two parts of the house, giving it symmetry and unity and also emphasizing the entrance, creating a visual interest and movement in what might otherwise have been a boring facade. The balcony on the south facade provided the same aesthetic function as the porch on the south-west facade by softening the basic geometric shape of the house and adding interest and variety to the walls. The corners of the "L" wings were emphasized by rustication.

The 1870s brought another period of economic growth to the city accompanied by an increase in building activity. To the north of "Oakbank", "Clova Lea", built by William Findlay in the mid to late 1870s, was bought by Henry McLaren in 1879 and renamed "Balquidder". (Figure 47) In 1899, he leased it to Elstner Fisher, the General Superintendent of the T.H. & B. Railway, and moved next door to "Oakbank" on the death of his mother. "Balquidder" was assessed for \$15,000 in 1901. "Balquidder" was Gothic with Italianate details and had similarities to "Ballinahinch" with an emphasis on height and its construction corresponds to the time when renovation were made to the latter house. Its windows were tall and narrow, the roof pointed and a tall tower marked the entrance at the intersection of the cross-axes of the house. The roof was high and was broken by tall gabled windows on each plane. Traditional Gothic Revival forms such as pointed gables edged with fascia boards, hanging finials, and pinnacles abounded. The house was quite colourful. Light and dark stone was used, with light stone accenting the corners and the windows, and the multi-coloured patterning of the roof shingles would have created a rich polychrome effect. The architectural style was

therefore High Victorian Gothic, where the emphasis is on picturesque detail and asymmetry, often manifested in the L-shaped house. It is also in this period, 1870 to 1880 that polychrome effects were used for the decoration of houses.

South of "Oakbank", "Dunedin", in 1901, was the home of A.G. Ramsay (1829-1915), brought to Hamilton from Scotland by John Young in 1859 to be the manager of the Canada Life Company of which Young was president. (Figure 48) Ramsey succeeded Young as president in 1875 and was also a director of the Bank of Hamilton. When the Canada Life Company moved from Hamilton to Toronto in 1899, he retired with an annual pension of \$12,000.³⁶ The impressive Second Empire style house, built about 1878-1879 and assessed at \$13,000 in 1901, had two storeys with a mansard roof giving it the appearance of an elaborately decorated three-tiered cake with a wrap-around verandah on the ground floor and a second storey with slightly pointed windows with stone surrounds and contrasts of light coloured stone at the corners. An overhanging cornice with brackets framed the mansard roof which was pierced by dormers with ornate Baroque-inspired omega-shaped pediments and finials and above the cornice were decorative iron cresting and chimneys. The exterior walls' in-and-out movements through space were characteristic of the neo-Baroque flavour of the Second Empire style.³⁷

Immediately to the north of Wood's home was "Greenhill", a stone house owned by John Parker, the Manager of Meriden Britannia Co., and assessed for \$10,000 in 1901.³⁸ (Figure 49) "Greenhill" had a hipped roof with ironwork and central belvedere which gave it an Italian villa flavour. There was a raised covered verandah at the front of the house and a conservatory or sun room at the side. Being on the side

of a slope would have meant that water flowing downhill would not be trapped under the verandah and would continue down the hill.³⁹

Building continued in the 1880s and the area attracted successful businessmen and their families who added to the now well established elite core. The home of George Bisby of the firm Long and Bisby was to the north of all of the early estates, on the south side of Hannah Street and faced north down Hughson.⁴⁰ (Figure 50) This house was a mixture of a number of styles, and given its late date (1889) seems a bit old fashioned, though its 1901 assessment of \$15,000 compares quite favourably with the other homes in the area. The facade was symmetrical, with projecting centre bay continued up through the roof line with a tower that almost seemed like a giant dormer between the two smaller dormers on either side. A verandah wrapped around the house and was supported by paired columns with pseudo-Ionian capitals.

There are obvious similarities between the Bisby house, "Greenhill" and "Dunedin". All of them were raised up and approached by a flight of steps, a practical consideration, since they were all on the side of a slope. Each had a south-facing verandah on a symmetrical facade, and high roofs from which a view could be had of the city and the bay, characteristics of all of the early estates in this area of Hamilton. Yet they were all individual in their style. The Bisby house had a pronounced vertical focus in the centre of the facade, counteracting any horizontality that the cornices between the storeys might have. The vertical line extended through paired columns to a classical pediment to a projecting centre section that gave the effect of an attached tower. The windows on either side of the centre lined up and ended in dormers on the roof. With "Greenhill", the strongest line was the horizontal, and even though the

central section of the facade projected there was no emphasis placed on it. The belvedere at the top seemed somewhat short and squat. The Bisby house therefore was the most unified architecturally. With "Dunedin", the side pavilions on the facade were emphasized most since they came forward and were wider than the centre. There was a modified vertical focus at the central entrance, the porch was capped with a pediment that lined up with a single window on each of both upper storeys, but it was the horizontal lines of the house that dominated and led the eye in a flowing movement around the house. These three houses, built in the 1870s and 1880, show individuality in design details, the result of consultation between architect and client, and correspond to another period of prosperity in the city as well as complementing the original villas of mid-century. They were expensive and architect-designed and had a variety of established elite signifiers such as verandahs, impressive porches, and elaborate decoration. Their location within an established elite area endowed them with status and enabled their owners to enter into elite society.

One home immediately to the north of the original south-central area, at 182 Hughson, bears close examination since it was built in a new, heavier and more "masculine" style than the ornate Second Empire or the rustic Gothic Revival. This was "Elmhurst", the home of John Calder, a manufacturer who owned a large wholesale clothing establishment on MacNab Street North. (Figure 51) Calder had been listed at this address since the 1870s, yet was not invited to the large reception held by Senator Sanford in 1892. However, in that year, Calder's assessment took a giant leap from \$5,500 to \$14,000, indicating that either a brand new house had been built or that extensive additions and renovations had been made to the existing house. It is possible that the architect was James Balfour since he placed a tender call in the

Hamilton Spectator in March, 1890 for a house on Hughson Street South. Calder's house had a distinct medieval flavour to it, notably the tower-like crenellations over the entrance porch and the corner tower to the rear which can be found on Late Gothic buildings constructed in the academic Beaux-Arts manner and related to the English Tudor period. What moved Calder's house towards the Romanesque was the character of the entrance with its two giant stone arches that rose from a rusticated stone base that continued around to the side of the porch.

This writer is strongly inclined to favour the renovation/addition option in this case since the above-mentioned castellated forms seem to have been added to an earlier Gothic Revival house. The basic house (taking away the porch and the tower) appears to have been built in an L-shape, popular during the hey-day of the Picturesque Gothic. The corbie-step gables were common to northern Europe during the Renaissance, and, if the above assumption is correct and this is a renovation, they may have been added to correspond with the shape of the crenellations on the porch and tower.⁴¹ If Calder was concerned about raising his status in elite society, his choice of Balfour as an architect would have been highly appropriate at this time. Balfour was at the height of his career. In 1892, he was commissioned to build a new home for George T. Tuckett, the tobacco manufacturer at the corner of Queen and King Streets, also with a distinctly Romanesque flavour, the turrets and heavy stone arches relating it to the Calder house.⁴² (See Figure 9) Calder was already living on the fringes of old society, at the top of Hughson, within sight of the Bisby house and the other grand villas between James and King. What he needed was a monumental home to go along with it. The use of the Romanesque style brought with it important symbolic meaning. Turrets and castles are visual reminders of kings and their

attributes, power, wealth, and glory, fitting descriptions for a successful entrepreneur and aspiring elite of the late nineteenth century. By 1901, Calder seems to have arrived with his inclusion on the guest list of the Brown-Hendrie wedding. Perhaps one reason that Calder was not invited to the Sanford's reception was the abrasive character of his wife. Brown, ever the diplomat, managed to smooth ruffled feathers at the "Military Encampment" organized by the ladies. Mary perceptively wrote, "So Mrs. Calder was again the cause of offence. . . Mind you, I think Mrs. Calder is a very hard worker and overdoes herself and thus loses self-control."⁴³

In the 1890s, the block opposite the home of E.T. Wood was finally filled in when C. M. Counsell, a wealthy stockbroker and banker, sold off two parcels of land originally purchased by him in 1873. The large lot on the corner of James and Herkimer was purchased by T.B. Griffith who built the large home that was sold a few years later to John Hendrie, discussed in Chapter 3. Counsell then proceeded to build himself an impressive house at the corner of James and Markland on a 120 ft. by 120 ft. lot, assessed at \$13,000 in 1901. (Figure 52) In so doing, he, along with Adam Brown immediately to the east, introduced the Queen Anne Style to the old elite area. Since the house stood at the corner of two streets, there was the imperative to treat both the east facade, which faced the old villa estates, and the south-facing facade, opposite the "Ballinahinch" estate, in a suitably elaborate manner. A large gable over an elaborate porch on the east was balanced by a bay windowed conservatory on the south. On the north side, a *porte-cochere* enabled visitors to disembark from their carriages sheltered from the elements and enter through a north entrance into an impressive hall. The architect, James Balfour, used a variety of different coloured materials and textures on the house such as rough, light-coloured ashlar stone

contrasted with red brick and a belt course of pink stone.

The original elite area was therefore dominated by a few individuals and served as a magnet for others who were part of the second generation of the Hamilton elite. The area combined historical significance, a location on a slope giving it the symbolism associated with height, and a core of expensive and lavish homes which set the standard for those to follow. The houses were designed by architects in the latest architectural styles and had an assessed value in 1901 of, on average, between \$13,000 and \$15,000, which also served to keep out, or limit the tenure of, those who could not afford the purchase price and taxes. The area retained its elite status over a period of fifty years and served as a base for the expansion westward of the new elite neighbourhoods from the 1870s on.

The major difference between the original elite homes and the later houses was the amount of land on which they sat. The new elite neighbourhoods were created on land that had already been surveyed into small regular lots, which meant that anyone who wanted a larger house with surrounding land had to buy more than one lot, a very rare occurrence. The survey to the immediate west of the old elite had been set out originally by Peter Hunter Hamilton in 1848, who then sold the land in parcels to speculators. There was thus no overall control on the development of the area. In spite of this, groups of elite homes formed urban foci, and this clustering served to define the final character of the area even though many smaller and less expensive homes were built. The primary focus, to which the others were joined, was the large home of William Hendrie on an entire city block and the clusters of elite homes spread from this site to the south and west along the grid-like arteries of streets. Sanford's

estate on Jackson Street, farther to the north-west, served to strengthen the northern boundaries of the area. His estate, however, was on the periphery, one block to the south of Main Street. His huge chateau-like mansion stood to the south of modest houses occupied by a porter, a mason, an upholsterer, a clerk, an insurance agent, and a carpenter.⁴⁴ In the northern section of the study area, closer to Main Street, there was a mix of homes when the more skilled tradespeople and middle-class white collar workers, who desired a bit of that same respectability and prestige, moved into the area.

In his 1975 study of Hamilton, Katz noted that the nineteenth-century city had a rigid society with those having wealth and power being clearly identifiable at the top of that social structure. He also emphasized that the residential structure of Hamilton society did not reflect this clear social distinction.⁴⁵ However, there can be no doubt that it was the early leaders of Hamilton society who chose to build their homes on the slopes below the mountain and whose early settlement in this area predestined its elite character by attracting other men with high aspirations. Members of Hamilton's elite were involved in this development, the Hamilton Real Estate Association has already been discussed. W. H. McLaren, Archibald Kerr and George Street purchased a large area of land between Bay (originally Bowery Street) and Queen Streets from George Hess in 1853 for investment.⁴⁶ The land was subdivided again, and sold to smaller developers who either held small areas of land for speculation or built as the market rose and fell. For example, within the study group, brewer James Lottridge owned several properties on the west side of Bay Street, Charles Counsell, who had made a great deal of money in real estate and the stock market, purchased the land on the west side of James Street between Herkimer and Markland in 1873; and in the 1870s,

John Stuart, the president of the Bank of Hamilton, and owner of "Inglewood", purchased the block of land bordered by Bay, Markland, Caroline, and Concession (Aberdeen).

Printed sources such as the Assessment Rolls and City Directories confirm the growth of land development already established from the visual sources. The urban development of the area to the south-west of the original elite villas can thus be seen as having taken place in waves. (Figure 53) Although they did not own large tracts of land in this area, during each successive wave, members of the established elite figured prominently by providing vertical focal points through the building of impressive homes. These houses projected a message to Hamiltonians, one literally oozing with the symbolism of wealth, power, culture, and high moral character. They anchored intersections and controlled the view of whole blocks. Many were surrounded by space accomplished by combining two or more standard lots. For example, the house of the drug wholesaler/glass manufacturer, Lyman Moore, at 39 Herkimer, had enough surrounding property with 175 ft. of frontage that two additional lots could be severed from it in the early twentieth century.

The first significant elite housing in the area to the west was contemporary with the old villa estates and took the form of upscale stone terraces. This satisfied a demand by young bachelors or newly-weds for visually distinctive homes close to the elite area yet without the bother and expense of maintaining a large acreage of land. Three of these, built during the 1850s, were Palmerston Terrace (attributed to Rastrick; demolished, early 1960s), Sandyford Place, built by Hamilton builder, Donald Nicholson, ca. 1857, near Peter Hamilton's home, and Herkimer Terrace (also known

as Burlington Terrace), near the home of owner W.P. McLaren. These terraces were part of what has been dubbed Hamilton's "Stone Age", when, in the 1850s, terraces of local limestone were built by newly arrived Scottish stonemasons in the terrace style of Scottish cities. All of these terraces were on the south side of their respective streets, were on the slope of land, and their occupants could look down towards the city. The strong Scottish connections of Hamilton's founding elite were well stated both in the style and the builders. Terrace housing was a popular form of urban residence for the wealthy in Britain in the nineteenth century, constrained by the lack of space within cities to choose a type of housing that made economical use of urban space and also projected an aura of monumentality.⁴⁷

Herkimer Terrace was a typical example of elite speculation and was built by W.H. McLaren in 1853 to the north-west of his own home on the east side of James Street South. (Figure 54) It was on part of a larger area of land that had been purchased by McLaren and his partners from Peter Hunter Hamilton at a cost of \$232 per lot, a price that was about ten times the cost paid for land in the north part of the city.⁴⁸ At the time, from his home, "Oakbank", McLaren could look unimpeded across open land to the north-west and view his investment. The building became immediately popular as elite housing because of its location and grand style of architecture. The Herkimer Terrace units were originally leased with McLaren holding ownership, then in the early 1870s they were sold to individual buyers, including Messrs. Counsell, O'Reilly, Baker, and Gates.⁴⁹ Even by the later part of the century, the terraces still retained their status as favoured upper class housing.⁵⁰

Herkimer Terrace had three main storeys with a basement level partly above

ground and the entrances were reached by a flight of stone stairs . The centre bay included two units with the other two framing the centre in the form of projecting pavilions. The facade was simple with rounded pediments over the second storey windows and a bracketed overhanging cornice which provided a strong horizontal element. The terrace thus asserted a strong classical feel with its symmetry, balance, and solidity and compares favourably with a similar terrace, Drumsheugh Gardens, in Edinburgh, Scotland. (1874; architects, Peddie and Kinnear)⁵¹. (Figure 55)

Sandyford Place was the home of Adam Brown and his family in the late 1880s. (Figure 56) It had four units originally and had the same classical details as the Herkimer facade, though the pediments over the second storey windows were different. The form of the three-sided dormers was also characteristic of Scottish buildings of the nineteenth century.⁵²

The popularity of the stone terrace in Hamilton did not continue much beyond the 1860s in part because the source of local limestone ran out, but also because the growth in individual wealth enabled aspiring elite to either purchase land on which to build or to buy existing houses. In general, the terraced house did not become a favoured housing style in Canadian cities, with the exception of Montreal, in part a result of the North American cultural myth of the desirability of home ownership. In nineteenth-century Hamilton, there was sufficient cheap land available in the city for even lower income families to obtain a small plot of land on which to build a house. By the end of the century, the terraces were favoured by those of the elite who were retired, widowed, or whose children had left home, and who did not require or want a large house and surrounding property for their needs.

William Hendrie purchased the estate of Peter Hunter Hamilton in 1868 and therefore can be identified as a major influence in the expansion of elite housing to the north and west of the original elite area. This new area began to be filled in the 1870s and was bounded by the Hendrie home to the north, the "Inglewood" estate to the south, and the early villa estates to the east. As the city's economy flourished and the demand for upper-scale homes increased, land in this area was sold. Hendrie therefore created a second node for urban development in south-central Hamilton. Sanford, on the other hand, did not move into the Jackson house until 1876, so his influence does not come into play in this period. The area to the south of the Hendrie and Jackson homes was gradually built up and by 1870 with the exception of a few empty lots scattered here and there, both homes were surrounded by houses. Between 1870 and 1880, about half the remaining south-central area was filled in with houses, and between 1880 and 1890, most of the remaining space was built up, so there was a gradual westward and southward flow of houses in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. This difference in the density of the area between 1876 and 1893 is obvious in the Bird's-Eye Views. (See Figures 2 and 3)

In 1852, Edward Jackson's house was shown by Whitefield as square-shaped with two storeys and several chimneys prominently emerging from its hipped roof. Built in the late 1840s, it was contemporary with many of the villas in the central elite area, and appears to have been similar to "Oakbank" in architectural form. The house immediately to the west was owned and occupied by Tristram Bickle. (Figure 57a) Both houses were therefore definitely in place by 1852 since they were included in Whitefield's view.⁵³ Bickle's house was similar to Jackson's with two storeys, several chimneys and a hipped roof, topped with metalwork. Both can be called Italianate

villas. Because of Sanford's extensive renovations in the 1870s and early 1890s, by the end of the century, his home bore little resemblance to its original form. Bickle's house was sold to the Bishop of Niagara, Thomas Fuller, in 1875 when it was named "Bishophurst", and in 1892, the house was sold to the publisher of the Hamilton Spectator, William Southam, who changed the name to "Pinehurst". (Figure 57b)

The house, with a 1901 assessment of \$11,300 was a step up for Southam who had been living in a house on Markland, assessed at \$6,800 in 1891. The association with Sanford was obviously seen as benefiting his social and business aspirations and indeed the conservative-leaning Spectator spoke very highly of Sanford both before and after his death. At some point, the design of the original house was changed and it was given a mansard roof, transforming it to the Second Empire style but if one stripped away the Second Empire additions, the basic square shape with the western addition at right angles was still there. The house was of stone with a simple facade and corner quoins, the centre projected, and the square porch jugged forward onto the front walk. In fact, there were many similarities to the basic facade of the Hendrie house. Even though there are no corresponding tender calls for this period, it would appear that shortly after Bishop Fuller acquired the house, he had it renovated to correspond to the popular architectural style of the time, the Second Empire. This would also correspond to when Sanford acquired Jackson's house and had renovations done by Rastrick who may also have worked on "Pinehurst". The fact that this was to be the See house of the Bishop of Niagara would have more than justified its transformation into a more regal and imposing mansion.

It is also apparent that even though Sanford and Hendrie's homes occupied the

same elevation, there was less of an elite density around Sanford than that around Hendrie. We can relate this to the narrow width of the height of land at this point and also to the closeness of the area to Main Street and the commercial area to the east. To the west of the height of land, the elevation dips dramatically, reducing its desirability. Following the ridge of land even further to the north-west past Sanford's house, it crosses Main Street, creating a "hump" of land. Two homes on Main Street near Queen Street were owned by Alexander Murray, the father of the second Mrs. Hendrie, and Thomas Mewburn, whose son Sydney, a lawyer, became a member of Hendrie's social circle. Murray's home, "Arlo House", was built in the 1840s, in the "Gothic villa" style and followed an early trend of elite housing location along the major arteries leading into Hamilton. Assessed at \$11,300 in 1901, it compared favourably with the early villas to the south, though if it had been in the south-central area, the assessment would probably have been higher. Mewburn's house, located on the block to the west, was on the downside of the ridge, was not as elaborate as Murray's, and was assessed at only \$4,500.

The three-block area to the west between James and Bay Streets and south of the Hamilton/Hendrie's home became a favourite location of elite housing. One of the first large villa residences in this area was at 239 MacNab Street, built by John Osborne in 1864 and originally owned by Thomas Kerr, the brother of Archibald Kerr ("Inglewood"). It was purchased by lawyer John Crerar in the 1870s and named "Merksworth" after Crerar's ancestral Scottish home. It stood by itself on the east side of MacNab between Herkimer and Markland Streets and was a large house with what, on the 1876 and 1893 Bird's-Eye Views, appeared to be a mansard roof.⁵⁴ Two houses were built in the early 1880s on the west side of the next block, 264 MacNab, the house

of R.S. Morris, a stockbroker, and 272 MacNab, at the corner of MacNab and Markland, owned by John Glassco, a wholesale grocer. The same architect probably designed both since their facades are almost mirror images of each other. (Figures 58, 59) The most likely candidate is Peter Brass whose tender call for two detached houses on MacNab appeared on May 5, 1880.⁵⁵ Brass was a builder and as far as is known was not formally trained as an architect. 272 was built of orange brick while 246 was of red brick. Both had decorated white mouldings over the windows of the facade, overhanging bracketed cornices at the roofline, mansard roofs with dormers, tall chimneys, and large bay windows through two storeys of the facades. Both houses were assessed for \$6,000 in 1901.

Between MacNab and Park Streets, 39 Herkimer, built in the late 1870s, was purchased by Lyman Moore in the mid-1880s and occupied by his widow in 1901. (Figure 60) The house was on the south side of the street and faced north, had a frontage of 175 ft. and was therefore surrounded by enough land to enable it to dominate its surroundings. The property sloped up from the street, therefore the visitor had to look up to the house from street level which gave it a monumentality and appearance of great height, the vertical effect increased by the tower over the central entrance. The house was asymmetrical, the west bay projected, and there was an irregular roofline. Pointed arches over the door and an eave over the window place it earlier than the two MacNab street houses, confirmed by the fact that it is included on the 1893 Bird's-Eye view but not the 1876 view.

A strong node of elite housing developed at the intersection of Herkimer and Park Streets beginning in the late 1870s. At the north-east corner of the intersection

were 42, 44 and 46 Herkimer, the three unit terrace, designed by James Balfour for the Hamilton Real Estate Association in 1877-78, already discussed in Chapter 2. The latter two units were occupied in 1900 by George Thomson and William Osborne respectively, both barristers and brothers-in-law. Thomson, who had married the daughter of H. T. Bunbury whose house was diagonally across the intersection (the Sinclair/Wilcox house was just to the west), owned his unit, Osborne leased his. With 1901 assessments of \$6,000 and 7,500 respectively, they compared favourably with many of the single family homes owned by the elite.⁵⁶ The original grouping of three presented a symmetrical, well-balanced facade, with projecting pavilions at either end and in the centre, and were clearly visible on a Bird's-Eye view of 1883.⁵⁷ (Figure 61)

Orange brick, a popular building material in Hamilton at that time, was used with contrasting light coloured stone to accent the corners of each projecting pavilion. The ground floor featured elaborately carved and projecting porches, and three-light bay windows, each surmounted by an overhanging cornice with brackets. The porches created the effect of grand entrances with detailed tracery, finials, and clustered columns on high bases, supporting the overhanging roofs. On the second storey, the windows, although flat against the facade, were given character by the stone surrounds and textured key stones, and the twinned window over the facade was joined by a small attached column. The bracketed cornice of the roof overhung the facade and broke forward several times giving a sense of movement and the mansard roof was pierced by dormers with omega framing. Other gabled dormers presented interesting variations on the standard triangular shape with hanging finials. This elaborate decoration added to the richness of the facade and the Renaissance and classical references gave an aura of respectability and culture.

There was another wave of building in this area in the 1890s. The Hamilton Spectator of April 30, 1890 contained two announcements, "The fine residence and grounds of F.H. Mills, corner of Park and Robinson Streets were sold yesterday to W.F. Burton", and, "Alex Gartshore has purchased the residence of the late J.M. Henderson, Robinson Street." Both of these houses on opposite sides of Robinson Streets were located one block to the south of William Hendrie's estate, between Bold and Duke Streets, one block to the west of MacNab Street, and two blocks north of the Bunbury and Wilcox houses. On the west side of Park Street, opposite Burton's house, was the Thistle Club, an exclusive curling club, patronized by the elite.

Warren F. Burton, a lawyer in the firm, Bruce, Burton, and Bruce, was the son of Sir George and Lady Burton who had emigrated to Canada in 1837. Burton's father who died in 1901 was Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals. Burton had been called to the bar in 1875 and entered the law firm of which his father was senior partner.⁵⁸ Alexander Gartshore, a manufacturer of cast iron pipes for water, sewage and gas, was born in 1836. He was the owner of the Canada Pipe Foundry, having started in his father's Dundas foundry in 1856. In 1866, he married the sister of William Hendrie, thus the location of this home would place him within a block of his brother-in-law.⁵⁹

It appears as though Gartshore demolished the original house and built himself an imposing new house in the Queen Anne style at 50 Robinson. (Figure 62) By the 1880s, his business was booming, his children were growing up and he required a larger and more impressive home.⁶⁰ Although he bought "Ravelston" in 1890, he did not move in until 1892 when the rebuilding was complete. This was certainly a step up for him since he and his family had been renting a small house on Charles Street, just

north of the Hendrie estate that had an assessment of \$2,800. The 1891 assessment for the house on Robinson Street was only \$4,600; after Gartshore occupied the house, the assessment rose to \$12,000. On the other hand, it does not appear that significant changes were made by Burton after he moved in. The assessment for this house between 1891 and 1901 did not change significantly and actually went down from \$12,000 to \$10,000 in those years.

Gartshore's house, together with that of John Harvey, occupied the entire north side of the block between MacNab and Park Streets.⁶¹ It was in the new Queen Anne style with corner tower and gabled entrance pavilion and was typical of the many houses that were springing up in Hamilton at the time. Its irregular roof line and plasticity of forms, combined with a sweeping wrap-around porch at the base of the tower created an interesting facade. The heavy forms, such as the round-arched entrance and turreted tower also give it a Romanesque flavour. The house was therefore a good example of the mixing of styles that went on at the end of the century probably due to clients unwilling to give up the more symbolic elements of the Neo-Romanesque. Because the house was located on a large lot with most of the land stretching from the west side of the house to Park Street, the entire west side of the house was visible from the street. Thus the west facade was given an interesting balance of forms and the large three storey tower served as a fulcrum for the rest of the house.

Burton's house, "Kenwood Lodge", was less flamboyant.⁶² (Figure 63) Of red brick with contrasting dark string courses, it had a very solid and balanced harmony. The wrap around porch on the west and the conservatory on the east were later

additions after Burton's death and the sale of the house to Westinghouse manager, Paul Myler.⁶³ Even without these two elements, the house contained subtle decorative details which added a quiet dignity, - the bay window on the north facade, the decorative elements at the roofline, the carving on the tall chimneys, the contrasting white stone sills. Although Burton's family was not as large as Gartshore's, one son and two daughters, he employed more servants, - a gardener, a housemaid, a cook, and a nurse for the children. Gartshore seems to have made do without the live-in gardener.⁶⁴

Half-way between the houses of Warren Burton and Henry Tica Bunbury was the home of Herbert Ambrose at 72 Hannah Street. (Figure 64) The house was designed by Frederick Rastrick towards the end of his career in 1889 for John W. Bickle and was leased by Ambrose until he purchased it in 1906. Ambrose, a young lawyer, was a partner with the equally young and upcoming Sydney Mewburn in the firm of Mewburn and Ambrose. Ambrose's residence, which anchored the north-west corner of Hannah and Park Streets, seemed a throwback to the High Victorian Gothic villas such as "Balquidder" and "Ballinahinch". It stood in stark and, in many ways, welcome, contrast to the Queen Anne red brick houses appearing everywhere. Built in light brick with a dark slate hipped roof, the entrance was emphasized by a tall three storey square tower in the centre of the facade. To off-set a sense of strict symmetry, to the north of the tower was a three light bay. The house was enriched by an projecting cornice supported by brackets. The entrance was through the tower which had a stained glass window on its east face.

With the completion of these homes on MacNab and Herkimer Streets, the

rectangular area to the south of William Hendrie's homestead was now filled with large and impressive homes. Not only did they characterize the area as exclusive, they also provided visual markers that activated the entire urban space with a psychological energy.

The last concentration of nineteenth-century elite homes in the area were built on Bay Street, south of Herkimer, most of them in the 1880s and 1890s. This was the height of the Queen Anne style's popularity, a style which eminently suited the desires of an urban aristocracy who now had to settle for much smaller building lots than the older generation. One of the most important members of the younger generation elite was lawyer John Gibson, son of a Scottish immigrant farmer, who was 49 years old when he built his impressive home at 311 Bay Street South in 1891. Gibson and Francis S. Malloch, a physician, were brothers-in-law and built their houses at the same time, next door to each other, the latter to the north at 301 Bay Street.⁶⁵ Gibson met all the criteria of elite leadership, - locally educated and University trained, a successful lawyer and head of his own law firm, a Mason, and a Presbyterian, active in community affairs such as the Board of Education and the Hamilton Art School, a colonel in the local militia, a competitive rifleman, a M.L.A. reelected four times, a government minister in 1899, married for a second time to the daughter of a Hamilton senator, Adam Hope, and for a third to the daughter of Judge Malloch of Brockville. He was Attorney-general of Ontario from 1899 to 1904 and then Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario from 1908 to 1914.⁶⁶

Gibson's house was in the Queen Anne style with an irregular silhouette, high intersecting rooflines, and the popular "Eastlake" porch with its wooden spindles and

balusters. (Figure 65) The house was set up on a stone base with the basement partly above ground; one had to ascend to the front door by a long series of steps and therefore had the feel of great height accented by the sharply pointed gables and tall chimneys. Malloch's huge Queen Anne house anchored the south-east corner of Bay and Markland Streets, where the natural slope of land gave the house the appearance of even greater height. (Figure 66) It too had a sturdy stone base and rose two and a half storeys above the ground. The north side of the house had a full-height half-tower and an attached tower at the south-west corner. What was particularly striking about these two homes was their size and location on large lots at a time when smaller lots were the norm, even for the elite. Gibson's household in 1901 consisted of his wife and six children as well as four live-in servants - a cook, a housemaid, a governess, and a parlour maid. Malloch died in 1895 and the house passed to his wife Mary. In 1901, there were four children at home, ranging in age from 13 to 26, and three live-in servants - a cook, a housemaid, and a nursemaid - for a total expenditure on servants of \$732 a year, which indicates that Malloch must have left a considerable estate. In 1901, Malloch's house was assessed at \$13,500, comparable to the villa estates on James Street. Gibson's was assessed for \$10,000.

With the Mallochs and Gibsons anchoring the block between Herkimer and Markland, the cue seemed to have been taken to fully develop Bay Street north to Robinson and this area was filled with architect-designed smaller homes on smaller lots suitable for aspiring elite. The corner of Bay and Herkimer was developed at the beginning of the 1890s by James Lottridge, president of the Grant-Lottridge Brewing Company.⁶⁷ Lottridge owned several lots on the west side of Bay Street and had built himself a home at 266 Bay called "Blackanton", assessed at \$15,000 in 1891, on the

block between Herkimer and Hannah. (Figure 67) He later moved to a new home farther south close to the Gibson/Malloch houses in 1899, and next door to his daughter and son-in-law, Paul Myler, though he still retained ownership of 266 Bay Street. Built in 1899 on land originally owned by Thomas Leather, both 325 and 327 Bay were assessed for \$4,300 each in 1901. Lottridge therefore moved from a large house on a large lot to a more modest house on a small lot, probably related to the fact that his children were now grown and thus it was no longer necessary to maintain a large home. The houses of Malloch and Gibson were located on large lots, 140 and 100 ft respectively on Bay Street, and 140 ft deep. Lottridge and Myler's houses were on 45 ft. lots, although they still retained the 140 ft. depth, and this illustrates very clearly the "cottages and castles" phenomenon in Hamilton at this time where large and small homes stood side by side.

The contrast in land availability between the earlier elite homes and those built towards the end of the century can be seen with the three houses on the west side of Bay Street to the south of Herkimer. Two houses in the Queen Anne Style were designed by architect James Balfour between 1891 and 1892. These were 274 and 280 Bay Street South in the block between Herkimer and Markland on land owned by James Lottridge. (Figure 68) "Widderley" (274) was purchased as a See House for the Bishop of Niagara, and "Bright Side" (280) was owned by Benjamin Charlton, the president of the Hamilton Vinegar Works and a former mayor of Hamilton. "The Lodge" (282) was built earlier, in 1886, by Balfour who had occupied the house himself until it was purchased by lawyer, P.D. Crerar in 1888.⁶⁸ (Figure 69) Although both 274 and 280 were in the same Queen Anne Style, constructed at the same time, and designed by the same architect, there was variety in the forms, such as the contrasting towers,

conical versus dome-like, and the different placing of details on the houses.

Perhaps the most obvious characteristic seen here is the lack of space between the houses. In comparison to other elite homes, they seem cramped together and each house is on one small lot, rather than combining lots to obtain more space. Lottridge was probably looking to profit by the sale of the houses and they were sold immediately after they were built. That he had elite clients in mind is attested to by the location and by his hiring an architect to design the houses rather than using a builder and pattern book plan which would have saved him money. The savings in this case were gained by putting as large a house as possible on a standard-sized lot. That these houses were bought by the elite indicates that it was the neighbourhood and the architectural style that was more important to the buyer than the lot size.

“Widderley”, the home of the Bishop, his wife, four children, and two live in servants, was assessed for \$8,500 in 1901. Charlton may have bought “Bright Side” for his retirement. He and his wife occupied the house, together with four live-in servants. It was assessed for \$8,000. Crerar’s home, “The Lodge”, was shared with his wife, five children, and two servants, and was assessed for \$5,900 in 1901. Bishop DuMoulin’s house with the highest assessment was located at the corner of Bay and Herkimer Streets and was comparable in size to Charlton’s house since Balfour obviously wanted them to stand well together as a pair. Thus the exteriors of the houses were deceiving, since they were quite large enough to house both children and servants and this is reflected in the assessed values given to them; however, without the surrounding landscape, they lose in monumentality and effect. The prime location, one block north of Gibson and Malloch, must have compensated for the lack of

landscaping.

Bay Street was crowned at its south end by the home of Paul Bankier on the south side of Concession (Aberdeen) Street on land owned by his father-in-law, John Stuart of "Inglewood". "Ingleneuk" was built in 1893 in the Queen Anne style, and assessed for \$12,000 in 1901. (Figure 70) The house was of limestone and brick with sandstone sills and lintels, and a bracketed slate roof. The entrance on the north facade, was accessed by a stone staircase through a full porch with paired columns that faced south and filled the entire Aberdeen facade. The house had bay windows, dormers, gables, tall chimneys, and a massive tower on the north-west corner, all characteristic of the style, and provided its owners with a panoramic view of the city and the bay. The building was a solid, massive and balanced structure with an irregular roof line and asymmetrical facades. The surrounding property stretched to the east with extensive gardens and a tennis court, until it joined Stuart's "Inglewood" estate. With apple orchards to the south in a semi-rural setting, this house was the last of the great country villas to be built in the south-west area. It dominated every other house to the north, even those of Gibson and Malloch.

Although the houses of the elite built over the last fifty years of the nineteenth century in Hamilton came in a variety of styles, they were all built with the status of the owner in mind. He required an elite location, a house that reflected his status, both in its unique design and its air of regal elegance and these were found in the style and the small details which exuded a sense of class. Height, both height of land and height of architecture, also conveyed an image of superiority. Hamilton's geological layout lent itself very well to this metaphor. Within the general rise of land from the bay front to the

base of Hamilton "mountain", there were rises and hollows which enabled one to "rise above" not only the working classes who clustered for the most part between Main Street and the bay, but also other members of the elite. The concept of being "more equal" shows itself here. Although there were certainly differences in the sizes of homes in this area, exclusivity was kept under control by the property assessment and subsequent taxes.

Many of the owners of these properties were related either through blood or business and this helped to ensure that there was a critical mass necessary to maintain status. Size of lot became less important towards the end of the century more from necessity than anything else, as few had a choice of wide open expenses of land. For most of the second-generation elite, it would not have been possible to build a large house on a large piece of land. Although larger lots were still available in the southerly part of the study area, status seekers came to depend more on house location near established and unchallenged society leaders and the design of the house itself to assert their high status.

As the amount of land available in Hamilton for large homes on large lots shrank, Hamilton's elite turned to a solution that had been used by other elites to escape the closeness of the city in the summer. The Romans had their villas by the sea, the Italian Renaissance princes and nobility built country villas to escape the heat of the summer, the English aristocracy lived in town houses when Parliament was in session and during the "Season", and left for their country seats during the summer for relaxation and hunting, and New York's "Four Hundred" fled their Fifth Avenue mansions for their sumptuous Newport villas. Hamilton's "Four Hundred" also left the

city. The summer house continued the city house symbolism and served to connect the elite historically to the aristocracy of Europe. Although the working people of Hamilton would never see these country "seats", the very fact that they were aware that their own "aristocracy" could leave the city for distant parts during the summer, heightened the class distinction and increased the psychological gap between rich and poor. Those members of the elite who could not support the upkeep of an additional home in the new "playground of the rich", the Muskoka Lakes district to the north of Toronto, had to be content either with facilities in the Hamilton area such as the Beach strip of land that joined east Hamilton with Burlington to the north-east, or their own rural land holdings outside of the city. Brewing magnate, James Murray Lottridge, owned a working farm to the east of the city at Red Hill.⁶⁹ Banker Alexander Ramsay bred cattle and hackney horses on his farm at Albion Hills.⁷⁰ Another option, and one which served to define who was in the elite core and who was not, was an invitation to spend some time as a guest at these country houses.

In 1874, the City of Hamilton had leased the Beach strip from the Township of Saltfleet for ninety-nine years at the unbeatable cost of \$1 per year. Lots were quickly surveyed and sold at auction, a luxury hotel was built, and the elite began to move in. Among those members of Hamilton's elite who had cottages on Hamilton Beach were John Gibson, tobacco magnate George Tuckett, Archibald Kerr,⁷¹ and lawyer F.E. Kilvert. In 1883, the Hamilton Spectator referred to ". . . the gaily painted villa residences of Hamilton's nobility, with Lake View on the one side and the busy city nestling in the harbour on the other. . ."⁷² With the arrival of public transportation to the Beach Strip from the city, the area became too crowded, privacy was threatened, and with the increase in industrialization in the city, the view towards Hamilton was

becoming less and less pleasant. The elite moved north to the Muskokas, a favoured destination of the Toronto elite, and an area that had become accessible as a result of the building of a rail line north from Toronto to Gravenhurst.⁷³ During the summer, trains arrived in Gravenhurst laden with vacationers. Most of them stayed at the many resort hotels around the lakes, but others built large homes on large acreages and private islands, with the result that the class divisions of the urban south were transported to the north.

Many of Hamilton's elite built summer homes on the lakes and islands, Lake Rosseau being a particularly popular area. Built in 1886, W. E. Sanford's home on Sans Souci Island on Lake Rosseau was described by The Globe in 1895 as "the most beautiful island home on these Muskoka Lakes".⁷⁴ Other islands were purchased by Hamilton's Hugh Baker (Cassie Island), Dr. Alexander Gaviller (Edith Island) and Samuel Barker (Oak Island). Bohemia Park, a large island in the north part of Lake Rosseau was shared by several families including the Gibsons. Henry McLaren built a large home on Big Island called Norway Point.⁷⁵ Mary Brown recorded in her diary, August 12, 1890, ". . . left Hamilton on the 12th per Hamilton North Western with Lily to join Mr. and Mrs. Henry McLaren and their family at Norway Point, Lake Rosseau." They were met by McLaren at Port Carling and then took the steamer, "Nipissing", to Norway Point, joining Herbert Gates and his wife and Mrs. Fred Gates.⁷⁶ Others built homes on Lake Muskoka, such as C. E. Doolittle on Bassett's Island, F. Fearman on Gibraltar Island, and James Young on the, as yet unnamed, Island No. 59. Samuel Lyle, pastor of Hamilton's Central Presbyterian Church, and father of architect, John Lyle, also had a lake cottage in the Muskokas. John Hendrie's will listed a summer home on Pine Island in Georgian Bay.⁷⁷ By far the largest concentration of Hamilton's

elite was on Lake Rosseau thus enabling them to continue the social get-togethers of the city with fetes, teas, and regattas.

The architectural symbolism present in the city homes of Hamilton's elite was extended to their summer homes. Sanford's home was built on the largest of his islands and he purchased all of the adjacent islands and points of land to ensure privacy and exclusivity.⁷⁸ It was to this home on Sans Souci that he brought Canada's Prime Minister, Sir John Thompson, and his family in August, 1894. In a parallel with his Hamilton home, Sanford's summer home was also on a high elevation. The thirty-room house (Hendrie's city home, "Holmstead" had only twenty-four rooms) built in 1886, was located on a high bluff on the main island which would have provided its occupants with "an extensive view up Lake Rosseau."⁷⁹ Thick stands of hemlocks, maples, beeches, and oaks filled the island.⁸⁰ Sanford therefore brought the same desire to be the biggest and the best to his summer home as he did to everything else.

In general, the same psychology of display and separation was carried over to the vacation homes of the Hamilton elite. The summer home itself, being in a remote area, was accessible only to those able to afford the long journey by train. Even then, special transportation was required to reach the isolated islands and points where the homes were located thus ensuring their exclusivity. The social scene enforced this class distinction and further solidified the class structure.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the south-central area of Hamilton contained a critical mass of expensive elite homes, urban nodes within a grid of straight streets. Their exclusivity was strengthened by their architectural form, a product of the

architect-client relationship previously discussed in Chapter 2. The facades which faced the streets exuded character and refinement, but it was in the interiors that the form of elite society was determined. A direct correlation exists between the exterior landscape which is seen and the interior space which is hidden. Both are part of a specific system that sifts individuals into the categories of the desirable and the undesirable. Hamilton's elite used this system to strengthen the bonds of elite camaraderie. The interiors of these homes and the significance placed on their decoration will be discussed in the next chapter.

ENDNOTES to CHAPTER 4

1. Quoted in Goldthwaite (1980) 89.
2. Weaver (1982), 11,12.
3. Mrs. Margaret McInnes was part of the late nineteenth century elite. By 1901, she lived in the newest elite neighbourhood on Bay Street near Aberdeen.
4. Hamilton Spectator, May 6, 1876, p.2.
5. All of these two homes in the old elite area to the south of Hannah, between John and James are now gone, the last being torn down in the 1960s.
6. Both of these houses have been extensively researched by the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (L.A.C.A.C.) with a view to preservation and have been designated as historic buildings. See Nina Chapple, "316 James Street South. Ballinahinch, Hamilton, Ontario. An Architectural and Historical Preliminary Report", L.A.C.A.C., Hamilton Historical Board, November, 1979, and Nina Chapple, "Inglewood, 15 Inglewood Drive, Hamilton Ontario. An Architectural and Historical Report", L.A.C.A.C., Hamilton Historical Board, 1980. Both of these reports are available in the Archives and Special Collections of the Hamilton Public Library.
7. For a discussion of the Gothic Revival style in the context of North American domestic architecture, see Chapter 4 in Alan Gowans, Styles and Types of North American Architecture (New York, 1992) and for a specifically Canadian discussion, see Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture (Toronto, 1994), Chapter 11, and Mathilde Brosseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture (Ottawa, 1980).
8. Luddell, pp. 36-37.

9. "Inglewood" is discussed by MacRae (1963) and by McArthur and Szamosi (1996).
10. A.W. Pugin often lamented how modern (19th c.) architects had adopted the *form* of the Gothic but not the materials, hence they did not display "truth".
11. Tender call, Hamilton Spectator, April 5, 1858, by Rastrick, Hall and Wily. "House for J. Brown on slope of mountain facing top of Brewery (Bay) Street." Rastrick was in partnership (since December, 1856) with Daniel Berkely Wily and William Hall until July, 1860. Brown owned the house until 1874 when he sold it to Senator James Turner for \$5,000. Brown's son Walter married Turner's daughter. In 1890, Senator Sanford and Lord Stanley, the Governor General, arranged for the Aberdeens to lease the house during their stay in Ontario in 1893. "I think I have found a house there to suit you, Highfield, with 15 acres, good rides and under a mile from the Lake; they would take 1,000 dollars - L200 - for the three months, which is decidedly cheap." (Eddie Stanley, quoted in The Countess of Aberdeen, Through Canada with a Kodak, Introd. by Marjory Harper (Toronto, 1994), xlv. Originally published in 1893). The Countess of Aberdeen tells of her stay at "Highfield" in her reminiscences. She includes a photograph of the house and cites one of the main attractions as the abundance of insect life, including grasshoppers and butterflies. She assured her readers that "we employ the most humane methods in killing our victims", and refers to her four children as "the four young butterfly hunters of Highfield". (p. 48). In 1901, it became a private school for boys. It was destroyed by fire in the 1930s.
12. Hamilton Spectator, August 14, 1847. The stone coach house, three to four feet thick is still standing today. The lower part is the original Georgian, the upper Gothic, which probably mirrored the main house and helps to confirm the two house theory, since the coach house was built at the same time as the original house and both were updated by Rastrick.
13. Downing, 305.
14. See Chapple, 316 James Street S. (1979).
15. See Martin Papers, S.C. - H.P.L.
16. Edward Martin (1834-1904) was the grandson of Richard Martin, M.P. for Galway for a quarter of a century, who introduced a bill to the British House of Commons in 1824, the "Slaughter of Horses" Bill, leading to the foundation of the S.P.C.A., and earning Martin the nickname "Humanity Dick". On his deathbed, he was reputedly asked why he was so kind to animals, replying "Did you ever see an ox with a pistol?" He was also famous for his duelling, gaining another nickname, "Hairtrigger Dick". The superior trout fishing at "Ballynahinch" was extolled by Thackeray in his Irish Sketch Book (1842). "where you have but to cast and lo! a big trout springs at your fly." (Country Life, January 9, 1986, pp. 96-97). Hamilton's "Ballinahinch" shared the castellated turret and the spectacular view, but not the fish.
17. Downing (1968), 286. For a discussion of architectural styles in Canadian architecture, see John Blumenson, Ontario Architecture. A Guide to Styles and Building Terms 1784 to the present (Toronto, 1990), and Kalman (1994).

18. Downing, p. 304

19. McArthur and Szamosi, 64.

20. In 1848, Richard Juson, W.P. McLaren, Archibald Kerr, and the architect Hutchinson Clark, among others, were assessed for having a milk cow. (Assessment of the Rateable Property of Hamilton, Gore District, 1848, pp. 4, 9, 24.)

21. Young Papers, SC - HPL I have chosen to keep all original measurements in feet and inches rather than convert to metric for the sake of uniformity and accuracy to the original plans.

22. Tender call, Hamilton Spectator, October 2, 1862. "House, carriage house and stables (brick) and wood shed, fencing, etc."

23. Letter, Law to Young, dated January 10, 1861. Young Papers, SC - HPL.

24. Young Papers, SC - HPL.

25. After Young's death, the house was sold to the Roman Catholic diocese for a Bishop's Palace rather than to a private individual. By 1890, it had been converted into a hospital run by the Sisters of St. Joseph. Over the course of eighty years, the central villa estates were purchased by the hospital and then demolished to provide room for expansion.

26. See DHB I, pp. 111,112.

27. Turnbull's assessment in 1901 was \$14,000.

28. Hamilton Spectator, November 26, 1888, and March 24, 1889.

29. The Church of the Ascension received additional land from Juson for a rectory, money for a peal of bells and the spire and pinnacles, the latter being built from money donated after his death by his estate in 1875. Cumberland (1820-1881) opened a branch in Hamilton in 1850 and in 1851 in partnership with Thomas Ridout designed Central Public School. In 1852, he went into partnership with W.G. Storm who had been a pupil of William Thomas and was active in Hamilton until 1858. (D.H.B., I, 56).

30. The Illustrated London News XXXVII, Nov. 17, 1860, p. 463.

31. For a discussion of "The Home Wood", see Lundell, pp.58-59.

32. "Amisfield" is still standing, though very few people know it. It is hidden behind a wall of commercial buildings that face James Street, and its lateral faces are hidden by apartment blocks. The house has been incorporated into these apartments, and is now in terrible condition.

See L.A.C.A.C. report on James Street South and Hamilton Herald, June 10, 1922. For a biography of Robert Thomson see the D.H.B., Vol. I, and Industries of Canada, pp. 73, 74.

33. The facade of "Amisfield" is quite similar to those of two villas in Leamington, England, "Oak House" and "The Furze" attributed to Thomas, and built in the late 1830s in a picturesque Gothic. (Glenn McArthur and Annie Szamosi, William Thomas, Architect, 1799-1860 (Archives of Canadian Art, 1996) 15).

34. Hamilton Spectator

35. 1901 Assessment, City of Hamilton. The Freeman, Kerr, and Brown estates on the south side of Concession (Aberdeen) were officially part of the Township of Barton until 1891, when the City of Hamilton annexed this area plus two others to the east.

36. DHB I, pp. 168-169.

37. In the early twentieth century, Ramsay sold the house to P.D. Crerar who, at the end of the century, was a young Hamilton lawyer living in a house in the newly developed area of Bay Street South. During the war, Mrs. Crerar made the house available for a convalescent hospital for war wounded.

38. It is possible that this is the "stone villa" referred to in a tender call of July 13, 1874 in the Hamilton Spectator.

39. This was a problem for all the homes on the slope of the escarpment in this early period. Apparently, in the 1860s, much damage was done to the grounds of "Ballinahinch" by a flood that came down off the escarpment. The British Regiment of soldiers stationed in Hamilton at the time helped in the repair. (Hamilton Herald, June 10, 1922). "Greenhill's" architects were possibly Windemeyer and Savage whose tender calls began in March, 1874 and end in July of the same year. Perhaps they did not impress Hamiltonians with the work that they had done for Parker, for this was the last recorded commission for them in Hamilton.

40. Bisby's partner, William Long and his son, also lived in the house. (1901 Census).

41. The corbie forms were used on domestic Dutch architecture of the seventeenth century which also was undergoing a revival at the end of the nineteenth century.

42. Richardson had entered the architectural spotlight with his design for Trinity Church in Boston, Massachusetts in the early 1870s. In 1880-83, he designed the City Hall in Albany, New York, which influenced both Balfour and E.J. Lennox in Toronto for their city hall designs. See Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, H.H. Richardson. Complete Architectural Works (Cambridge, 1981).

43. Letter, Mary Brown to Adam Brown, Dec. 15, 1895. Brown-Hendrie papers, Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

44. Hamilton City Directory, 1892.

45. Katz (1975) 342.

46. The land consisted of 234 lots and was purchased in 1853 at a cost of \$232 per lot. This survey is included in a discussion of land development in Hamilton in the 19th

century in Chapter 1 of Doucet and Weaver's comprehensive study of the North American housing market. (1991)

47. For a discussion of terraced housing in Britain, see, Stefan Muthesius, The English Terraced House (New Haven, 1982). For Edinburgh architecture, see, Brian Crossland, Victorian Edinburgh (Letchworth, 1966).

48. Doucet and Weaver (1991) 44, 45.

49. Initially, there were only 3 units built, and these can be seen in Whitefield's 1852 view of Hamilton, but one more soon followed so that the entire terrace appears as a unity with no break in style or material.

50. The two terraces still existing today, Herkimer Terrace and Sandyford Place, have been studied by the Hamilton L.A.C.A.C. in 1979 and designated Heritage buildings.

51. The Hamilton architect James Balfour trained with the firm of Peddie and Kinnear in the mid-1870s.

52. See also, Commemorative Booklet, Sandyford Place, October 28, 1978; Grant Head, Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, Sandyford Place Scrapbook; Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society Newsletter, November, 1978, and Report of L.A.C.A.C., Hamilton, September, 1979. All are available in the Special Collections of the Hamilton Public Library.

53. According to Katz (1975), the credit reports of Bickle and Son rose considerably in 1851. As a result, Bickle built "a fine residence". (p. 196)

54. There does not seem to be any other visual material on this house. There is now an apartment building on the site.

55. Hamilton Spectator, May 5, 1880.

56. 44 would have been the central unit at the time and was therefore assessed lower than the other two framing units.

57. I have not used this particular Bird's-Eye view as one of the defining visual sources, even though it adopts Whitefield's viewpoint from the south looking north. There are several discrepancies in it, the most serious being the elimination of Robinson Street. However, it does present a good view of this terrace intact, a view that cannot be had today.

58. For detailed biographical information see: Commemorative Biographical Record of County of York, Ontario (Toronto, 1907) 525. Also, Hamilton Spectator Jan. 3, 1898, p. 3, and April 21, 1902, pp. 4 and 8.

59. G. Mercer Adam, Prominent Men in Canada, 131-133, Industries, p. 70, Hamilton Spectator, July 13, 1904 (Obit.), D.H. B., Vol. II, 56.

60. Gartshore had three sons and five daughters; by 1890, three of his daughters had died. (Census, 1891).

61. Both houses were demolished in the 1950s to make way for apartment blocks.

62. The Burton house was purchased by Paul Myler after Burton's death in 1902. He and his family lived in the house until 1947 when it was purchased from the estate and converted into the Hamilton Military Museum. Burton died as a result of falling from a Hamilton bound train as it sped over the Bronte Ravine on April 18, 1902. He was 51 years old. (Hamilton Spectator, April 21, 1908, p. 8.)

63. Beautiful Homes of Hamilton (Hamilton, 1918). This small booklet was published by Thomas Watkins' store to highlight the interior decoration carried out by the company.

64. Burton's annual expenditure on servants seems very large, \$976 in comparison to Gartshore's \$384. (Source: 1901 Census)

65. Building permits were issued to Malloch and Gibson for two brick houses on Bay Street. (C.A.B. 1:5 (May, 1888), 5).

66. Gibson's record in the legislature included amendments to the liquor laws, reorganization of the Ontario insurance systems, revisions of the game and fish law, modernization of the Ontario Companies' Act, and an 1892 "Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to and Better Protection of Children". This came to be known as the Gibson Act and the following year the Children's Aid Society of Hamilton was founded to carry out the provisions of the Act. Gibson later became Lt.-Governor of Ontario. (Fraser, History of Ontario, (Toronto, 1907) 877-881; D.H.B., Vol. 1, pp. 82, 83). In 1880, as a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto, Gibson acted on behalf of three women who had matriculated into the University without the right to attend lectures. One of these women had won a scholarship in modern languages but was debarred from holding it because she could not attend lectures. The principal and masters of the Hamilton Collegiate appealed to the Senate who ruled that no provision was necessary. Gibson who was a member of the Senate got a motion passed which allowed the scholarships to be paid without the requirement of attending lectures. It wasn't until later that the right to attend lectures was won. Of the three women, one was Margaret White, later to be Mrs. George Bristol, one of Gibson's neighbours in 1901 at 266 Bay Street South. (Hamilton Herald, Feb. 16, 1924).

67. Lottridge married the daughter of the founder of the company, Peter Grant, in 1869 and became sole proprietor in 1877 after Grant's death. On its incorporation in 1892, he was named president, with George Roach, former mayor of Hamilton (1875-77) as vice-president, and fellow elite, J.J. Mason, Edward Martin, and J.V. Teetzel as directors. Lottridge, as well as William Hendrie, was a breeder of racehorses and later became president of the Hamilton Jockey Club. He owned a large 400 acre breeding farm about five miles out of Hamilton. (Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 24, 1897, "The Three Breweries").

68. There had been a small cottage on the site of 274 Bay Street prior to its rebuilding in 1891. "The corner house is a reconstruction having formerly been a cottage." C.A.B.

Jan., 1892.

69. Obituary. Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 3, 1891, p.1.

70. D.H.B. I, 169.

71. Louis D. McCowell, Joan L. Pikor, Winsome M. Cain, "Hamilton Beach in Retrospect", Report of the Hamilton Beach Alternate Community and History Project, Summer, 1981.

72. Hamilton Spectator, July 7, 1883, p. 1.

73. ". . . in the 1890s what may be called the Age of Elegance arrived. Wealthy people usually without previous knowledge of the lakes bought islands and points, brought up city architects and contractors and built and furnished, more or less regardless of expense, large and luxurious houses with numerous bathrooms and other city conveniences, not to mention tennis courts and large imposing steam yachts. To the old timers '*c'était magnifique mais n'était pas Muskoka*'. D.H.C. Mason, Muskoka. The First Islanders and After (Bracebridge, 1974) 37. The first honorary president of the Muskoka Lakes Association was the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Q.C., Lieut.-Governor of Ontario from 1880-1887, whose summer residence was on Governor's Island on Lake Joseph. Robinson was the nephew of W.B. Robinson who had been a fur trader on the Muskoka lakes before settlement took place. (George Boyer, Early Days in Muskoka (Bracebridge, 1970) 159.)

74. The Globe, Toronto, August 24, 1895. The naming of his summer home, "Sans Souci" is curious. Since Sanford was interested in the art collection of the German Emperor William (see p. 343), it is just possible that the Senator's "pleasure home" was named after the Potsdam *maison de plaisance* of Frederick the Great, also named "Sanssouci" built in 1745.

75. "Our Summer Resorts", The Globe, Toronto, August 24, 1895.

76. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Special Collections Archives , H.P.L.

77. Hamilton Spectator, September 15, 1923.

78. "Our Summer Resorts", The Globe, Toronto, August 24, 1895
Also, Sanford Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History of the Village of Port Carling (Port Carling Public Library) no pagination.

79. The Globe, Toronto, August 24, 1895.

80. The house was destroyed by fire on June 22, 1969 . Hamilton Spectator, June 23, 1969.

CHAPTER 5 INTERIOR SPACES AND THE FORMATION OF THE ELITE

Whatever may be the size or cost of a house, its interior should suggest "A Home".¹ C.H. Acton Bond, 1892.

In late-nineteenth century house design, the organization and purpose of interior space did not change a great deal even with the changes in architectural style shown by the exterior. Why tamper with a "traffic flow" so eminently suited to the reinforcement of the social order? The psychological impediments on the exterior presented by the wall, the path, and the vegetation of the large villa estates which organized and focussed this flow towards one goal, the front door, were transferred to the more physical barriers of the interior. In the case of the smaller properties, the psychological and the physical were combined in the house itself, and more specifically, the front door, the first physically intimidating barrier.² Tradesmen and servants, whose social status psychologically prevented them from ascending the front porch, used the side door that led to the servants' areas, the kitchen and the pantry.

The front door, as a result, was the last link in a chain of exterior spaces, the culmination of a continuous movement through time that began with the front gates, passed along the drive, and ended at the porch and steps, and was the first link in a chain of interior spaces that served to sift out the less desirable from the more favoured visitors and guests during the transition from public to private space. The flow of space between exterior and interior was impeded by physical and psychological barriers that served to control or deny access. In the late eighteenth century, British architect, James Stewart, emphasized that,

"... a gateway with a spacious court within is both stately and commodious; but the front to the street should still present something that intimates a relation to the society in which you live; a dead wall of twenty or thirty feet high, run up in the face of your neighbours, can only inspire horror and dislike."³

There was thus a delicate balance to be maintained between accessibility and reclusiveness.

Edmund Burke, the prominent Toronto architect, emphasized that

"... the Entrance should have some special feature giving it such a measure of prominence as to leave no reasonable doubt in the mind regarding its purpose."⁴ Front entrances, as has been seen, were visually enhanced by elaborate porches, ascending stairs, columns, trellises, and verandahs that in many cases extended around the side of the house, the latter being a common characteristic of the later Queen Anne style. Houses such as those of Hendrie and Sanford, based as they were on the central plan, located the main entrance at the centre of the front facade. In both cases there was a vertical emphasis on the central pavilion of the facade highlighted by the impressive porch. As discussed, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Hendrie had a new porch supported by Ionic columns added to his house which swept forward in a sweeping curve breaking the geometric rigidity of the rest of the facade. The Victorian Gothic houses of "Inglewood" and "Highfield" crowned their porched entrances with pointed arches, and one entered "Ballinahinch" through the square castellated stone tower. With the Queen Anne style, popular at the end of the century, entrances were usually positioned off-centre but still were given a definite emphasis, such as the projecting porch of Charles Counsell's house at 268 James St. South. The more impressive house of John Gibson on Bay Street was set back from

the street and the front door emphasized by an very elaborate, intricately carved porch. Even with the smaller, less expensive houses, such as those built by the Hamilton Real Estate Association on MacNab and Herkimer Streets, it was considered important to emphasize the facade and especially the front entrance, in order to appeal to the upper class buyer.

The interior spaces of late nineteenth-century homes, when properly planned, presented a flow of space that enabled the owner to control the guest's passage from the public to the private in such a way as to minimize the number of steps taken, maximize the visual effect, and also prevent the guest from crossing the path of servants in the conduct of their daily chores. It was necessary therefore for the areas dominated by servants - the kitchen, the coal bins, the servants' quarter, - to be situated away from the family areas at the back of the house. The organization of space within the home also acted as a hierarchy of spaces designed to separate one's closest friends from mere acquaintances.

Visitors arriving at the home by carriage might pass under a sheltering porch or *porte cochere*, proceed to a vestibule and then to the hall which contained the main staircase. The presence of a *porte cochere* was usually determined by the amount of surrounding land needed to enable a carriage to drive up, through and around. For larger homes such as Sanford's, this did not present a problem, but for many of the smaller homes, this was an impossibility. It would appear that Sanford's *porte cochere* was added during his 1890s renovations since it did not appear in the pre-1890 photographs. Sanford must have realized the symbolic significance of this architectural feature which, from an historical point of view, provided a direct link with the aristocratic

town houses of the seventeenth century and before.

The presence of a *porte cochere* attached to one's home was an obvious sign of class, not only because it indicated that one had enough money to buy sufficient land to accommodate it, but also since it impressed one's visitors by giving them the ability to disembark in relative privacy and comfort without the inconvenience of stopping on the street, traversing the curb and walking up the front path through rain and snow under the eyes of curious onlookers. On the later houses in Hamilton it served as the equivalent to the curved drive of the older estates, such as "Amisfield", where one could drive up in one's carriage and alight at the foot of the stairs to the main door. Charles Counsell's home on James Street, facing the 1850s estate of Henry McLaren, had a *porte cochere* on its north elevation. Both it and the front entrance connected with the hall. This was essential to maintain the order of space within the home since it maintained the host's ability to control the access to the home's inner spaces. However, entering through a side door into the rear part of the hall, meant that one skipped the formalities of the vestibule, and in effect, elevated one's status to a small degree. In a hierarchical society even this small step was important.

The vestibule and hall were the most important public elements in the house plan since they were the first interior spaces entered by the visitor. One entered the vestibule, a transitional pause between the exterior and the hall, where the first impression of the interior was formed. Although it was the smallest space, it carried great importance since it created the first impression and its decoration had to be carefully planned. Heavy leaded glass, rich wood floors and panelling and stained glass were features commonly used in this space. The vestibule was enclosed by two

barriers, the principal entrance door and a second set of doors that could either admit or deny entrance to the rest of the house.

The ceiling of the vestibule in "Inglewood", architect William Thomas' Gothic villa, owned at the end of the century by John Stuart, contained fan vaulting, a characteristic of the fourteenth-century English Decorated Style, espoused by the English architect and designer, A. W. Pugin. The vestibule of Charles Counsell's home contained a round stained-glass window, framed in heavy wood. Vestibules varied in size, depending on the house itself, but were usually large enough to enable the visitor to pause comfortably between the outside and the inside spaces. The vestibule in the Burton house on Robinson Street was 6'8" wide and 5 ft. between the outer and inner doors. Vestibules served a practical purpose during inclement weather, acting as a buffer to the cold, hence the emphasis on heavy doors. In addition to practicality, the presence of an inner set of doors that separated the vestibule from the hall created another social barrier, further emphasizing the privacy of the home. It was in the vestibule that a small table was usually placed for calling cards so that if the lady of the house were not at home or indisposed, a card could be left and hopefully acknowledged.

W.E. Sanford's rebuilt mansion of 1892 proclaimed its owner on the mosaic flooring of the vestibule - WESANFORD - between an outer door of heavy walnut and plate glass and an inner door of leaded crystal. The obvious self-advertising was noted in the London Canadian Gazette which commented on the "curiosity exhibited in high quarters" in England. At least, the paper remarked, the idea was original and was an improvement from the bad habit the "colonial" elite had of appropriating names of

historic places to place on their homes, a habit of which many of the Hamilton elite were guilty.⁵

The hall set the tone of the house, opening up the entrance and presenting the main staircase which was expected to be suitably monumental but which did not expose the upper areas of the house to view. The main hallway of "Wesanford" was decorated in the "Old English" manner with solid English oak and walnut decoration; the guests passed between two bronze Nubians and were greeted by a huge "Atlas" that disported a clock in its muscular torso.⁶ The centrepiece was a huge painting by Emanuel van der Bussche entitled The Retreat from Moscow, highly praised by the Toronto reporter. The entrance to William Hendrie's home led into a centrally planned hall at the end of which was the staircase, the upper part concealed by an arch.

(Figure 71)

In the Neo-Romanesque and Queen Anne houses, the staircase was usually placed at one side of the hall, giving it a asymmetrical look. John Hendrie's home on James Street had a magnificent hall lined with heavy mahogany which contained a large stained glass window with coat-of-arms and a fireplace. (Figure 72) The staircase was to the right as the visitor entered. Charles Counsell's home was organized in a similar manner. The vestibule led through a second set of doors to the hall, somewhat smaller and less impressive than Hendrie's. The staircase was on the right. In John Hendrie's home, a set of glass doors on the visitor's left led to the drawing room, to the left of which was a fireplace, to warm the guests just in from the cold. The hall in W. F. Burton's home led from the vestibule with doors on either side to the library on the left and the drawing room on the right. It then opened up into a larger

area from where the staircase led to the second level.

The main staircase was an important feature and was used in the earlier Victorian homes as a central focus. Archibald Kerr's "Inglewood" made the solid oak staircase its principal feature. The stair rose in one flight from the main floor, then split at the landing into two. The stair rails had the appearance of a screen of tall Gothic lancet windows. The staircase in A.T. Wood's home on James Street curved from the main hall, and was terminated at its base by a tall elaborately-carved obelisk. The curve of the bannister was echoed by the curved opening through which the stair swept to the second level of the house. A heavy cornice with dentil course and rich wallpaper served as a counterpoint to the monumental stairway. (Figure 73) Hamilton's elite would perhaps have felt the same as retail magnate, Timothy Eaton, whose Toronto house on Lowther Avenue (1889-90, architects Langley & Burke), used the main hall as its focus. Eaton said that ". . . he wanted the best. . . . he could feel the great joy of being not only a great merchant and a powerful citizen, but the father of a family and the head of a clan that reached out to the people."⁷

The architectural style of the house usually determined the shape of the hall. In the earlier centrally-planned houses, such as the Galbreath/Osborne house, discussed in Chapter 4, the hall led off from the vestibule on a vertical axis. (Figure 74). In the later Queen Anne styles, the asymmetrical plan enabled the architects to create a rectangular vestibule which led into a much wider, and more square hall, such as John Hendrie's, thus creating a stronger sense of monumentality. The staircase, rather than being at the end of the hall as in the centrally planned house, was usually situated off to the side. This enabled the guest to focus on the decoration of the hall which could

be more open and better lit. It also provided for more space for the reception of large parties, that could congregate in the hall before being admitted to other areas of the house; so it was more practical for entertaining large groups.

The public areas of the house led from the hall. These included a reception room, the drawing room where the lady of the house entertained her guests, and the most important of these public areas, the dining room. In the plan of the Galbraith/Osborne house on Hannah Street, the drawing room was to the left and the library to the right. Behind each of these were, respectively, a breakfast room and a dining room. A door at the end of the hall effectively separated the family entertaining rooms from the servant areas. Another door at the back of the dining room led from the back hall and the pantry and kitchen areas. These two doors were the only connections. This physical separation was also very clearly expressed on the second floor plan where the back stairs and the servant areas were shut off from the family bedrooms by a door, the only connection between the front and back areas of the house. This conforms very well with the Victorian maxim, "the Servants' Department shall be separated from the main house, so that what passes on either side of the boundary shall be both invisible and inaudible to the other."⁸

The layout of the ground floor rooms emphasized a male-female division of space which continued with variations into the twentieth century. Before dinner, the men would gather in the library while the lady of the house would entertain her female guests in the drawing room. Both groups came together for dinner, but after, they again split up.

Admittance to the private family rooms was restricted to extremely close friends and it is probably fair to say that most of one's social group never went beyond the ground floor. Thus, in addition to the practical considerations of keeping the guests and the servants apart, the social graces of the nineteenth-century elite also dictated the physical layout of their houses. This hierarchical layout presented the family to its guests on a selective and graded basis within their own class and enforced the separation of master and servant.

"Amisfield" on James Street, built in the early 1850s and, as speculated in a previous chapter, the subject of renovations over the years while still retaining the original core, can be used to give an indication of the plan of an early Gothic villa. A set of architectural plans for the house, made in the 1960s, enables an examination of the layout. (Figure 75) The ground floor had a linear horizontal flow of spaces, from the projecting porch to the vestibule to the T-shaped hall. Off the base of the T were what the artist calls the living room on the right (north), and the music room with a bay window on the left (south). One of these, presumably the living room, would have been the drawing room in this period, since it was quite large, approximately 16 x 20 ft. A door from the rear of the drawing room led through the hall directly to another door to the dining room which was approximately 18 x 18 ft. and whose windows faced north. Opposite the dining room was the library which was in a more private area since it was separated from the main hall by the main staircase which led off to the left from the hall. Following dinner, the men could retire to the library, and the ladies to the drawing room. The rear part of the house, although it is not labelled, would presumably be the summer kitchen. In "Amisfield", the main kitchen was in the basement but was connected to the hall at the back of the dining room by a dumb waiter. The food could

therefore be prepared well away from the guests, further confining cooking odours, and placed on the dumb waiter by the kitchen staff to be then taken by the upstairs servants to the guests in the dining room. This arrangement was quite common in houses of this period. Toronto's "Grange", the home of the Bolton family, had a fully functional kitchen in the basement and a system of dumb waiters connecting it to the dining room, as did Allan MacNab's earlier "Dundum Castle".

The final plan for H.J. Bunbury's home at the corner of Park and Herkimer Streets also illustrates this conception quite clearly. (Figures 76a,b) The main entrance led into a vestibule, which led to a rectangular hall. To the right was the drawing room, to the left, the library. From the drawing room, sliding doors led to the dining room which could also be accessed from the rear of the hall, beyond the main staircase. Both the dining room and drawing room faced north, a condition imposed because of the corner lot, but to compensate, the architect, D.B. Dick, added a large bay window to the drawing room on the east. The library had two large windows in its east wall. The family rooms were on the first floor, around a central hall at the head of the main staircase. The servants' bedroom was in the attic and accessed by a separate stair which led from a side hall adjacent to the kitchen.

Judge Sinclair's home (later owned by C.S. Wilcox) was designed on a similar concept though it also included a sitting room on the ground floor. (Figure 77a,b) The flow was through a long narrow hall preceded by a square vestibule. The drawing room was to the right, the sitting room to the left. The drawing room had a large bay window facing north and a large fireplace. Its only door was to the hall. This was the calling room where the lady of the house entertained during the day. If one were invited to

dine, one entered the sitting room on the left, which also had a large north-facing window and a fireplace on the east wall. This room had a direct connection to the dining room, an irregular octagonal room with a very large window facing east. The dining room also connected directly to the hall and at the rear was accessed by the servants through the butler's pantry. The library was on the west side of the house and had a separate entrance from the hall. The second floor contained the family bedrooms which were located around a central hall at the top of the main staircase. At the back of the house was another stair that led from the kitchen and pantry area to the servant's bedroom and the sewing room. There was a billiard room in the attic. The laundry and wine cellar were in the basement.

Even in smaller homes, this strict organization was followed. For the homes on MacNab Street for the Hamilton Real Estate Association, architect James Balfour designed a long, narrow house to fit the lot. (Figure 78a,b) Because of the small size of lot, he omitted the vestibule. The entrance led off the verandah directly into the hall, the staircase was to the left of the hall, the parlour was to the right. The parlour connected by a sliding door with the dining room which also had a door leading to the rear of the hall, where, to the left of the dining room but not directly connected to the latter, was a sitting room. The dining room which faced south had a large bay window. The kitchen, at the back of the house was separated from the dining room by a small vestibule. There was no direct connection from the servant areas to the hall. Thus even here the social niceties of class were observed, necessary if the Hamilton Real Estate Association expected to attract the more sophisticated buyers. On the first floor, the hall took the shape of a long narrow passage, determined by the shape of the house and the dimensions of the lot which was about 50 ft wide, the house being

slightly less than 30 ft. wide. There were six bedrooms leading off this passage, the smallest only 7 ft. wide by 9'6" long, and the largest 14 by 13 ft., only slightly larger than the servant's bedroom in the Sinclair/Wilcox house. In all of these cases no matter what the overall size, there was little proportional difference between the size of the drawing room and the dining room, an indication of the importance both of these spaces had for social interplay.

The organization of spaces changed somewhat in the houses on Bay street built by James Balfour for James Lottridge in 1892. Both houses retained the vestibule and hall orientation. In the case of 272 Bay Street at the corner of Herkimer Street, the drawing room was to the left (south) and a morning room to the right (north) within the tower. (Figure 79a,b) In both cases, one had to exit the room to the hall before proceeding through a glass door to the dining room which was adjacent to the main staircase and directly connected to the kitchen.

In these latter examples, the lots were smaller and the houses almost fill the entire lot. It was therefore becoming increasingly important for both the architect and the client to take a closer look at the organization of space. There was less space, but it was still imperative to retain the hierarchy of spaces so necessary for the preservation of an elite society. These later Queen Anne designs met all these requirements.

Toronto architect Edmund Burke attributed the more scientific and economical planning of North American houses to the labour market, in comparison to what he considered the more rambling and diffuse planning of English homes. Since it was easier to obtain servants in England and families could afford more of them, the English

were not concerned about the increased work load that poor house planning made.

"There are certain rules evolved or developed by custom or convenience which govern the science of house-planning - simple, when the wants are few and the house inexpensive, and gradually becoming more complex as wealth, expenditures and desires increase."⁹

However, even though the number and size of rooms could be increased according to space available, the logic of space organization remained the same.

The drawing room in most house plans of the time was located to the left or right of the hall and usually adjoined the dining room. This arrangement, as has been seen, was certainly followed in the homes of the Hamilton elite. Most architects recommended that both the drawing room and dining room have windows that faced the east or south (a south-east orientation was ideal), but their relative position would depend on the orientation of the house itself. A ideal south-east facing would give direct morning light and a more indirect light in the afternoon and evening. With a larger lot, one could be more flexible with the axis of the home, and the main facade of the house could be positioned to obtain the best light effect. When surveys had already been set out on a north-south, east-west grid, such as in Hamilton in the second half of the nineteenth century, architects were required to be more creative in their orientations. Thus, houses on the east-west streets tended to place their dining rooms on the east side of the house and their drawing rooms facing the north, to the left as one entered, for example in Burton's house. Those on north-south streets, placed the dining room on the north side (to the right as one entered), for example, "Inglewood", where the best view was to the north, looking down to the bay, and the alternate view was the side of the mountain.

With houses situated close together in the later part of the century, the sides of the house received less light. Architects compensated by adding large bay windows, in most cases three sided rather than semi-circular, to lengthen the period of sunshine. Bay windows were a popular item in most architectural styles. They were practical not only because of the additional light they provided to the interior but also because of their ability to increase air circulation during hot weather. In addition, they added a sense of sophistication and class to the house design.

The drawing room, being the "ladies' special room", received a soft treatment and usually had a bay window facing the front or side of the house to increase the amount of natural light and to add a warm sense of cheeriness. To make the room more interesting, alcoves and recesses were recommended, as well as more than one door, making it more easy to receive and to avoid "traffic jams". As seen in the house plans, this was not always the case in the smaller Hamilton houses. The drawing room acquired new functions in the late nineteenth century, one of which Girouard calls "the inane ceremony of morning calls".¹⁰ With this "calling" system which was usually limited to short morning visits lasting no more than fifteen minutes, a "traffic control" system was necessary for the popular hostess and two doors to the hostess' inner sanctum were definitely an asset in this respect.¹¹ Architect Edmund Burke recommended that the drawing room be the closest to the entrance for "it would often be most inconvenient to be compelled to lead a chance caller to the reception room past the door of a family apartment such as a sitting or dining room."¹² Mary Brown discussed the "calling" system in her diary.¹³ She was careful to keep track of visits by making three lists: "Visits Paid", "Visits Returned", and "Visits Received". (Figure 80) Not all visits received were returned, a fact that reflects the social shuffling that

occurred, but it should be noted that of the forty-five calls received and made between January and March, 1893, only six were more than half a mile from her home. Only calls returned by an acknowledged leader of the social hierarchy could legitimize one's entry into that society. Tyrrell's Society Blue Book noted which days the ladies were "at home" to receive calls, and one can imagine the organizational logistics required to ensure that all important calls could be both made and received.

As seen in the architectural plans of the homes of Hamilton's elite, it was usual to turn immediately to the left or right upon entering the hall to reach the drawing room and the receiving hostess. The drawing room invariably had a fireplace and this, along with the bay window and the high ceiling, enabled it to be kept warm in the winter and cool in the summer. In John Hendrie's house on James Street, the drawing room led off the hall to the left and was reached through a large set of heavy glass doors. The pedimented fireplace in a classical design was framed by paired columns of indeterminate order. The drawing room in W. F. Burton's house also led off the hall at the left and connected with a conservatory, a common feature in English houses. The same configuration of drawing room to conservatory was also present in Mrs. Sanford's home.

The drawing room, which had begun as an informal space for the lady of the house to meet friends, developed in the nineteenth century into a formal space for social niceties. The second function of the drawing room was to provide a space for afternoon tea which had a more friendly and less rigid atmosphere than morning calls. Because the male members of the household had taken to spending time after business hours to visit their Club, dinner became later and later, thus necessitating that

the ladies take some kind of refreshment later in the day, usually tea and cake, to enable them to wait until dinner at the fashionable hour of 7:30 to 8:00 p.m.¹⁴ In many ways, the drawing room was the best reflection of a social ideal created by the elite. The room reflected the taste and character of its mistress, and was an expression of the ideas of gentility and refinement.

For the room itself, cheerfulness was the theme and this translated into a recommended colour scheme of egg-shell blue or deep grey-blue. Acton Bond felt that it "should receive a light and simple, but dignified, finish".¹⁵ As another architect commented, these colours would show off the ladies' complexions and dresses to the best advantage.¹⁶ While the dining room could be decorated with more manly art such as oil paintings and sculpture, here, watercolours and Oriental and Doulton pottery were more appropriate. It was also considered appropriate to include books since besides being decorative, they created a cultural and therefore morally uplifting atmosphere for the occupants.¹⁷ Mrs. Sanford's guests were entertained in a 40 x 25 ft. "Louis XIV" drawing room decorated in ivory and gold with pink silk panels and cavorting cupids. (Figure 81) The focus of the room was a large Mexican onyx fireplace with flanking pillars of white and gold. On the mantle was a bronze statue of a Bedouin with Chinese vases on either side and a large crystal chandelier hung from the ceiling. The floor was covered with a silk oriental rug purchased in England for L1,000. It appears to have been the type of room that Mme. de Pompadour would have used to intimidate her less successful rivals and compared favourably with the drawing rooms of the American elite shown in Sheldon's Artistic Houses. As with all of the rooms in Sanford's mansion, works of art were everywhere.

Mrs. Hendrie's drawing room was large, with a tall ceiling recessed above a decorated cornice seemingly supported by brackets, but which were decorative rather than structural. The guests reclined in comfortable chairs set on plush carpet. (Figure 82) Mrs. Wood's drawing room was decorated with carved cornices, rondels, pediments, scrolls, and painted friezes. (Figure 83) There was a distinct oriental theme in the painted birds on the frieze and the china vases. Orientalism was popular in art at this time, an integral part of the Romantic tradition favouring the exotic. The decorative qualities and flatness of Japanese prints influenced French artists such as Manet and the Impressionists. The pedimented Adam fireplace was framed by Ionic columns and centred with a relief of a Greek kylix bowl. A huge mirror at one end of the room doubled the effect thus creating an extension of the space of the room. The obligatory crystal chandelier hung from the ceiling. In contrast, Mary Brown's drawing room was less elaborate and less formal, reflecting what appears to be the more relaxed quality of Adam Brown. The room was bright with a large floor-length bay window at one end, and another at the side. (Figure 84)

The use of classical forms signified refinement and the Greek orders defined both masculine and feminine qualities. Doric was heavier, more pure, and definitely masculine; Ionic was a softer, more refined order and was placed, along with the Corinthian, in the feminine sphere. There was a direct contrast between the drawing room, the ladies' sanctuary, whose decoration reflected distinctly feminine qualities of delicacy, and the dining room with its heavy masculine woodwork.¹⁸ This served to emphasize the dominance of the male head of the family at the important ceremonial function of eating. In many of the homes of Hamilton's elite, the dining room and drawing room were connected by a door. In this way, the ladies would have been

joined by the gentlemen just before dinner was to be served and they would proceed together to the dining room. This arrangement sometimes changed with the later Queen Anne houses where the asymmetrical layout required the guests to cross the hall to approach the dining room. In all of the examples discussed here, the route followed by the guests and the route taken by the servants never crossed.

The penultimate social goal was the invitation to dinner.¹⁹ The American millionaire, Ward McAllister, a good friend of Mrs. Astor, said, "A dinner obligation, once accepted, is a sacred obligation. If you die before the dinner takes place, your executors must attend the dinner."²⁰ Toronto architect Edmund Burke noted that "the entrance to the dining room should be removed somewhat from the main thoroughfare, and out of the range of a chance caller or unbidden guest - in fact it should be a truly family room, to which only the specially invited guest might have access."²¹ In both the Burton and John Hendrie houses, the dining room entrance led off the drawing room, and so could be entered by the ladies without having to go out into the hall. This was the more common arrangement. The drawing room and dining room of "Hawthorn Lodge" (built 1850s) on Hannah Street, had high ceilings and were connected by an archway. A white marble fireplace in the drawing room was contrasted by one of black marble in the dining room.²² There was also a door from the hall, but farther back from the entrance area. Thus the dining room had been removed from the reach of the casual caller. Adam Brown's dining room was directly linked to the drawing room by an arch, and was lit by two windows. Burton's dining room measured over 26 by 16 feet and was decorated with wood panelling.²³ A recessed three light bay window was on the east side of the room. American Clarence Cook in his popular writings on home furnishings pointed out that ". . . sixteen feet is scrimp width for a dining-room unless

(as a servant said lately to a lady who wanted to hire her), "You do your own reachin'; .

... " 24

No expense was spared by Senator Sanford in his 50 x 28 ft. dining room which accommodated a huge 16 x 33 ft. oval mahogany dining-room table, resting on lions' paws, a mantel-piece faced with slabs of Numidian marble over which hung the family crest in stained glass, a sideboard over 10 ft. long by 9 ft. high, marble and bronze statuary, and a "Swiss orchestrion" built into the wall to provide continuous music. The heavy mahogany wainscotting, carved with fish, fruit and game, extended 9 ½ ft. up the wall and the ceiling, 20 ft. above the floor and quartered with mahogany beams inlaid with tapestry panels of fruit, served to instill a sober tone to the meal.²⁵ A range of windows of tinted cathedral glass, the walls of olive and gold on silver leaf with matching silk draperies extending above the wainscotting to the ceiling and the seventy-two light chandelier, no doubt gave many a guest food for thought.²⁶ The description of this room, in what was referred to locally as the German Renaissance style, brings to mind the courts of the sixteenth-century German princes and the milieu of Holbein's Henry VIII. The comment at the time was that the room was "more like the banqueting hall of some old feudal castle."²⁷ The Empire reporter equated the dining room table to that of "good King Arthur", an appellation that was probably appreciated by Sanford.²⁸

The dining rooms of Wm. Hendrie's "Holmstead" and A.T. Wood's "Elmwood" were also impressive though not as large as Sanford's. (Figures 85, 86) Wood was used extensively on the ceilings, walls and furnishings, the dark walls hung with artworks, and the large windows and the carpeting on top of hardwood floors provided

a total dining experience. The dining room of "Inglewood" was also heavy with wood panelling and the ceiling tracery showed an influence of the English Gothic. To the side of the dining room was a nook lit by an oriel window with quatre foils.²⁹ C. S. Wilcox's dining room in his house on Herkimer Street (the former Sinclair house) was large and spacious with a three light bay window and a fireplace.³⁰

Only the best china was used. A.T. Wood's guests ate off a 102 piece Meisson dinner service, sold for \$1,000 in 1947 when the contents of the house were put up for auction. The author of a 1877 guidebook to home furnishings reported that Meisson china had "The best fruits and flowers I ever saw painted on china . . . It is surprising what a character a little well-decorated china will give a table. . .".³¹ Obtaining the right set of china was essential for proper entertaining and paying attention to practical matters such as having good handles on the vegetable dishes and tureens ensured that the servants would not disgrace themselves. As a nineteenth century maid stated, "No servant who has a feeling for her business ever breaks china *before folks*."³²

Kitchens were located discretely distant at the rear of the house, and had separate access to the dining room usually through an intermediate stage such as a pantry, so that servants would not have to go through the hall and use the same door as the guests. Burke emphasized this arrangement as being essential for the well-to-do home. "The connection with the kitchen should never be direct, but at the same time the distance should be as short as possible, consistent with the proper isolation of the culinary department."³³ It was considered desirable to place the kitchen at the cool side of the house and also to ensure that, if it overlooked the garden, verandah, or entrance (the latter two were not recommended), the windows were placed high

enough for those outside not to be able to look in. The recommendation also worked two ways. If the servants could not look out, then they couldn't be distracted from their work.

Servants' quarters on the upper levels of the house were reached by a separate staircase located at the rear of the house, but never directly connected to the kitchen since odours could be transferred to the upper levels. Even if odours did manage to waft up the rear stairs to the servants' rooms, the stairs were sufficiently remote from the family rooms so as to dissipate the smells before reaching them. In many of the houses, a summer kitchen was added either to the rear of the house or off to the side at the rear as on the north-west of the Bunbury house.

Private family apartments occupied the second floor of the house, above the public rooms, a tradition that originated in the palaces and town houses of Europe. Most staircases led to a landing which then gave way to a second flight of stairs out of sight from those in the downstairs hall. In John Hendrie's James Street home, a superb triplet of stained glass windows following the flow of stairs was visible from the downstairs hall and the face of the knight in the bottom window bears an uncanny resemblance to Hendrie himself. (Figure 87) A landing usually had large windows which lit the staircase. In Patrick Bankier's Bay Street mansion, "Ingleneuk", a giant 13 ft. window lit the turn of the stairs..

This turn marked a clear division between public and private. The second flight of stairs was not visible from the downstairs hall and, for most families, (Sanford is the exception) marked the end of obvious display. The second flight of stairs in William

Hendrie's mansion was less elaborate than the flight visible from the main hall and led to an upstairs hall with a plain ceiling. The private apartments were usually much simpler than the public areas; it was not necessary here to put one's wealth on show. In W. F. Burton's home, for example, while the ground floor displayed an abundance of heavy dark woods and high ceilings, the second floor expressed a less heavy, more airy feeling with lighter woods such as maple. Here, the bedrooms were arranged around a central hall at the top of the stairs. The stairs to the next floor were discretely hidden at the end of a small corridor off the hallway. Each bedroom was similar in size, the average being approximately 13½ ft. square.

Sanford, of course, was out to impress, and when he held his grand reception at Wesanford in June, 1892, he opened the entire house, from cellar to attic, to everyone even remotely connected to the social scene. The heightened decor of the ground floor continued on the first floor with English Adams' style and Louis XV guest chambers. Mrs. Sanford's boudoir was decorated in cretonne and connected to the Senator's dressing room by a special hallway. The *piece-de-resistance*, the specially decorated chambers of the newly-weds on the second floor, was described as "a dream of ivory white enamelled woodwork and walls frescoed with trellised rose vines, combined with cretonne hangings".³⁴ There was also a 50 x 28 ft. billiard room on this floor with *trompe-l'oeil* inlaid blocks of walnut, maple and cherry.³⁵

"The ornaments of a house are the friends who visit it"³⁶ (Inscription on a plaque in the dining room of W.E. Sanford)

The phenomenon of putting art on display in one's home, seen in "Wesanford" and the other elite homes, typified a mentality common to North America during the last

quarter of the nineteenth century. As the American Architect and Building News sardonically remarked in 1884, "A man's house, which used to be his castle, is now his museum."³⁷ These art collections were meant to show off the possessions of the family and its ability to purchase expensive works of art, yet in many cases, the collection did not show any cohesive character at all. The Americans whose house interiors are described in detail in Sheldon's Artistic Interiors saw art as an integral part of the home. It was assumed that the walls would be hung with works of art and that numerous other treasures of glass, ceramic, and stone would adorn the corners and hallways of the house. Lack of these signs of culture and refinement indicated a lack of sophisticated values and a blank wall could well be an embarrassment.³⁸ The rooms crowded with the results of extensive travel to Europe or other exotic destinations reflected the wealth of the owners as surely as any other possession.

In addition to visits to Britain which many of the Hamilton elite made frequently both for business and to visit family and friends, regular trips were also made to many other countries. The Sanfords visited Europe frequently and also the Far East. Japan was a favoured destination reflecting the orientalism found in many homes. On February 1, 1890, an announcement in the Hamilton Spectator, stated that Miss Hendrie had just returned from a tour around the world and would give a lecture entitled "Impressions of Japan."³⁹ Mary Brown's correspondence includes a number of letters sent to friends travelling in Europe. Members of the Hamilton elite sent their children to be educated in Europe. The two daughters of William McLaren studied in a Paris school in the late 1860s, and their brother, Henry, attended Marlborough College in England a few years earlier.⁴⁰ Some mansions contained miniature art galleries especially for the display of the treasures of their owner's art collection. Along with

books, art symbolized the superiority of its owner in knowledge and experience. Chicago's Samuel Nickerson presents an extreme example which occurred when the growth of his collection provided the impetus to build a new house with a special gallery.⁴¹ Some of these American collectors, William H. Vanderbilt for example, opened their galleries to invited members of the art community. Most felt though that amassing a collection was enough and so viewing of the collection was limited to the family and intimate friends after dinner.

The art collections displayed in the homes of the Hamilton elite were given public exposure at the numerous exhibitions of the Art Loan Society during the 1880s, which were organized as fundraisers for various charities. For example, the Art Loan Exhibition of 1884 was organized to support the building fund for a new Sunday School for St. Paul's Church and consisted of 339 items loaned by the elite. Of course, this had other benefits. Besides fundraising, it gave the elite a chance to show off their treasures to the public and others not in their intimate social circle. At the opening of the 1884 Exhibition, the Hamilton artist W. Blair Bruce, gave an address on "The Beautiful in Nature and Art", and commented on the works in the exhibition, singling out the art collections of Alexander Harvey, A. G. Ramsay, Mrs. Young, Mrs. Hendrie, John Crerar, Adam Brown, W. E. Sanford, and Mrs. Gourlay.⁴²

These annual exhibitions, although organized as fundraisers, had another subliminal purpose that relates to the way in which the Hamilton elite, as a socially superior group that also included some of the major employers in the city, saw their obligations to uphold the moral fibre of society. By exposing the less fortunate to art, they felt that a more socially responsible and moral citizen could be created. This idea

was emphasized by the principal of the Hamilton Art School, John Ireland, at a meeting of the Hamilton Art Association in 1886. The president of that body was John Gibson. Ireland had explained that the objective of the school was to “train the wealthy to appreciate art, and the artisans to produce art for the wealthy” and gave the example of an employer in England who had sent all of his apprentices to art school in order that they might benefit from art’s refining influences.⁴³ In a sense then, the art exhibitions of Hamilton’s elite were a form of social control of the lower classes.

The listings at these exhibitions present an idea of the tastes and collecting habits of the elite. For the most part, the collections were limited to reproductions of the old European masters, though occasionally a Canadian artist such as Krieghoff would appear on the lists. The names of the artists represented in Sanford's "museum" - Hoffman, Gabriel, Max, Ebbhardt, and Richter - do not represent the great artists of history. However, they did serve as status enhancers. Sanford made sure that it was known that his painting of Christ before the Doctors by Hoffman was “an original copy” of “the great picture which the late Emperor William of Germany took for the Royal Gallery” and for which he paid the equivalent of \$10,000. Through association of mutual taste, Sanford was placing himself within the circle of the crowned heads of Europe.⁴⁴ In his home, one could also see marble and bronze statues, wood carvings, etchings and engravings, and porcelain, all displayed without regard for style and compatibility, but placed crowded together for a cumulative effect. “Each room disclosing gems of art picked up by Senator and Mrs. Sanford in the great capitals of the old world, . . . tell the story of extended travel”, visual reminders of wealth and privilege.⁴⁵

The artistic preferences of the Hamilton elite for landscape and genre paintings were very typical of their class, hence the appearance of artists such as Cornelius Krieghoff and Aelbert Cuyp in collections.⁴⁶ The new European avant-garde Impressionist and Post-Impressionist artists of the late nineteenth century were not present. Again, this mirrors the aesthetic tastes of most of the great New York families, though there were exceptions. It seems strange that entrepreneurs who were willing to take great risks in capital investment were not willing to go beyond the established masters in art. However, perhaps this reflects the fact that, for most of the elite, art was a symbol of their wealth and culture. One stayed with the established old masters, names that most people recognized and thus made a better statement of one's class than the new and more radical artists not yet established in the art world.

In Hamilton, where individual wealth appears to have been insufficient to purchase original masterpieces, great emphasis was placed on "original copies" of paintings by old masters, such as Adam Brown's copies of Salvator Rosa and Guercino paintings, both of which had been acquired from the collection of Richard Juson. A.T. Wood had a copy of Raphael's Madonna della Sedia hanging over the mantel of his drawing room, complete with an exact copy of the frame seen on the original in the Pitti Gallery in Florence. Wood also commissioned a painted portrait of himself and his wife for his home. Hendrie had photographs of his racehorses throughout his house and Sanford's morning room was adorned with mosaic portraits of himself and his wife. The commissioning of portraits as commemoration and legitimization of status was common among the early elite in other cities such as Toronto and Quebec City.

The ladies could display books within the drawing-room as part of the interior

decor, but it was equally essential that the men should possess a library.⁴⁷ In the large houses, the library would be located on the ground floor and one's male guests could be invited into this male sanctuary of the host's literary tastes. It is sometimes said that clothes make the man, but one can also see how the man makes his library. William Hendrie's home contained a large library, and although many of the books related to his overriding passion - the horse - there were also many books which showed him and his family to be well read in many different fields.⁴⁸ Some of these books can be seen in Hendrie's study, accompanied by paintings and photographs of horses. (Figure 88) Hendrie also stressed his Scottish heritage in his collection. There were a number of books of Scottish ballads and poetry, books by Thomas Ballantyne and Walter Scott, in addition to books on driving, hunting, polo and racing. Scott was especially popular among the elite. "Amisfield" on James Street in Hamilton was originally called "Abbotsford" after Scott's home in Scotland. Adam Brown's library consisted of various editions and translations of the Bible, including Commentaries (1789) inscribed "Adam Brown, Apr., 1861", and an edition of the Apocrypha.

In 1892, Sanford's library was described as a "pretty spot" by the Hamilton Spectator, with its mahogany floors, Dutch blue tapestry on the walls fastened by brass griffins, and a variety of works of art. The griffin motif was repeated in fresco on the ceiling. An adjoining alcove was finished in white mahogany with a dark mahogany floor, and the same blue tapestry on the walls. It was located to the right of the hall and led into the morning room; both of these rooms being on the east side of the house. Evidence of the Senator's literary tastes was not forthcoming from the reporter who was obviously more impressed with the setting than its literary contents. At the auction of house contents following the death of Mrs. Sanford in 1938, it was reported

that "the Wesanford library had not been stocked with the lavishness of the home as a whole".⁴⁹

E.T. Wood's library conformed well with one architect's recommendations for the decoration of the library who felt that low book cases not more than five feet high be placed along the walls to make them readily accessible and that the space above be hung with rare prints and etchings, and preferably painted.⁵⁰ It was also suggested that there should be no glass in front of the books to encourage their use. The library in Wood's home was planned with low bookcases so that works of art could be displayed on the walls above, an ideal combination of the visual and the written, and a reminder to those privileged to be invited to this inner sanctuary of its owner's dual attributes of sophistication and learning in both art and literature. (Figure 89)

"Of course", said architect Edmund Burke "when the head of the house or some member of the family is of decidedly literary tastes, it becomes necessary for the proper prosecution of his reading, writing or study to have a special apartment, be it ever so small."⁵¹ In the smaller homes, libraries were sometimes located on the second floor of the house. They would therefore not have the same sense of public importance in the social aspect of the house, since this was also the area where the private family rooms were located. This was true of the library of the chartered accountant, Charles Scott, whose modest home occupied a smaller lot on Hughson Street.

Thus, the possession of art and literature was important from a symbolic point of view. For most of the elite, artworks and books were not seen as financial investments. Certainly, a more profitable return could be obtained from stocks and

bonds, which many of them already had. The use of wealth to purchase these display items emphasized the fact that one had excess money to spend above and beyond the necessities of life. This sense of display projected a vision of a cultured citizen, and had its roots in the literature of Greece and Rome, which had been emulated by the "merchant princes" of the Italian Renaissance, the soul-mates of the late nineteenth-century Hamilton elite. Cosimo de'Medici, the greatest private patron of the arts in fifteenth century Florence, firmly believed that his prestige bore a direct relation to his expenditure on cultural artifacts.⁵² There seems to be no question that Hamilton's elite felt the same.

There was, therefore, an extraordinary amount of money invested in the home, both interior and exterior. For the elite, this went beyond the basic needs of shelter to a form of display. Another benefit was put forth by architect Wells in 1892.

"I don't think there is a wiser way of spending money than in making the home beautiful. Our wives and families spend most of their lives at home, and the enjoyment derived from beautiful surroundings is beyond estimate, besides the refining influence it has on our children."⁵³

This emphasis reflects the tendency during the last half of the nineteenth century where men worked at the office and rather than coming home for lunch and tea, spent that time at their club, which in many ways became an extension of their business. The women were left at home, and thus lunch and tea became integral social parts of the female day. This statement also illustrates the symbolic significance of the house interior and the accompanying moral attributes associated with the architectural form and the contents of the home. The importance of these in the formation and stability of the social order was thus an integral part of house planning and decoration and was

fully expressed in the homes of Hamilton's Four Hundred.

The energies of the wives and daughters of these wealthy entrepreneurs in addition to keeping up the basic social system of morning calls and teas, and club meetings, such as the Ladies' Afternoon Whist Club and the Ladies' Morning Musical Society, were also channelled into philanthropic causes. This had the effect of keeping the women occupied but also had the additional bonus of bolstering their husband's claim to social dominance by ensuring that their names would be seen as sympathetic to the causes of the poor and socially underprivileged. There were certainly many philanthropic causes to be met in Hamilton, among them, the Orphan Asylum, the Girls' Home, the Home of the Friendless and Infants' Home, the Boy's Home, the Ladies Benevolent Society, and the House of Refuge. The wives of the elite served as directors on all of these institutions, yet it is notable that the advisory boards and Trustee positions were filled by their husbands. The ladies were superb organizers and fundraisers, but, according to the men, they could not be trusted with the financial dealings of these organizations or be given the power to approve major policy decisions. In 1897, a request from the women who were active in fundraising and other voluntary activities for the General Hospital to have one of their number on the governing Board was met with silence from the male members.⁵⁴ The Hamilton news media cooperated in elevating these involvements from simple charity and goodwill to a display of wealth and power by regularly publishing the various gifts of goods and money made by each society matron to the various charities. These lists were no doubt read avidly by each lady to ensure that one was not outdone by someone considered a social inferior.

The meetings of these various charitable groups were conducted from the home, therefore it was necessary if one wished to rise to the position of actually hosting one of these events to have a home in the proper location so that the ladies did not have to travel an excessive distance, especially in the winter. Also one's house had to have a large enough drawing room to accommodate the number of ladies who sat on the various committees. Servants were of course necessary to serve refreshments and take coats and wraps. A meeting entailed more than just the discussion of business, it was also a social function that served to consolidate the social hierarchy.

This is not to lessen the contributions of the ladies of Hamilton's elite to the social betterment of the less privileged. It is indisputable that many of these charitable groups benefited from the involvement of the upper classes in their lives, and there is no doubt that many of these ladies saw themselves as performing an essential function within society. Hamilton's women were at the forefront of reform and the Local Council of Women which was organized in 1893 became involved with many health and welfare causes in the city. The first Women's Institute was formed in Stoney Creek, just to the east of Hamilton, by Adelaide Hoodless, wife of furniture manufacturer, John Hoodless, in 1897, and in 1899, the Victorian Order of Home Helpers was founded as another project of the Local Council. The Board of Managers of the Victorian Order, headed by Senator Sanford, were all male and included the mayor John Teetzel, A.T. Wood, John Gibson and Henry McLaren.

Harriet Sanford was active in the Women's Institute. It was from Sans Souci that she organized the Sanford Women's Institute in 1903 by inviting the local women to her summer home.⁵⁵ Her obituary noted that it was essential that those women

associated with the original Women's Institute, be "of calm and excellent judgment, with the experience that should give them ready comprehension of a variety of interests. In Mrs. Sanford, Lady Aberdeen recognized such a woman. . .".⁵⁶ It appears that, after the death of her husband, Harriet threw herself wholeheartedly into the activities first of the National Council and then the International Council of Women. It is suspected that Lady Aberdeen's initial disapproval of her was perhaps coloured by the former's intense dislike of Harriet's husband, for as a result of Harriet's dedication to a cause close to Ishbel's heart, she invited Harriet several times to the Aberdeen's lodge at Dublin after Sanford's death and arranged an audience for her with Queen Mary in 1919. Mrs. Sanford also seems to have been the driving force behind the building of a summer home for sick children on Hamilton Beach, designed by architect William Stewart.⁵⁷ The house, called "Elsinore", and estimated to have cost about \$6,000, was described as an "ornate and pinky-red structure" with "two broad piazzas" which "encircle the building . . . a dozen glass doors in lieu of windows opening on to the piazzas."⁵⁸ A photograph of the building appeared in the Dominion Illustrated News in November 1890.⁵⁹ The News gave credit to Mrs. Sanford as "one of Hamilton's most philanthropic citizens." (Figure 90). The house was strategically located so that the front looked towards the city and the back towards Lake Ontario, providing a healthy environment and lake breezes for its occupants. The local "four hundred" seem to have been more sympathetic to Harriet Sanford than Lady Aberdeen who originally had deemed her "not much better" than her husband. However, it is significant that Adam Brown thought highly enough of her to head her table for Andrew Onderdonk and in January, 1898, in the absence of Sanford, she and her daughter entertained Hamilton society at "Wesanford" with a musical evening.⁶⁰

Charitable work gave these elite wives and daughters a purpose to compensate for their lack of involvement in the business affairs of their husbands, many of whom based their daily social contacts within the walls of the exclusively male Hamilton Club. Indeed, it was the women who, in actual fact, may have exerted more power over membership in the Hamilton elite through their elaborate system of calls, clubs, and charity, thus making the home an indispensable tool in the establishment and maintenance of elite society.

The homes of the elite were the scene of many parties and receptions which served to introduce the younger set to acceptable mates. In May, 1897, William Hendrie and his wife held a dance to celebrate their daughter Maude's entrance into society. "The guests numbered over four hundred, and included prominent society people from Detroit, London, Toronto, Brockville, Montreal, and New York".⁶¹ The Hendrie house and gardens were used to their fullest, with food being served in the main dining room from 10 p.m. until 2 a.m. and dancing in a large marquee erected on the lawn directly connected to the house. Again, the media helped to validate the superiority of the elite over the rest of society by reporting the details of these events down to minute descriptions of the dresses worn by the ladies. When Edward Martin's eldest daughter married Lawrence Baldwin of the Toronto Baldwins of "Mastiquotch", the reception was held at "Ballinahinch". "As the carriage containing the bride and groom entered the lodge gates they were greeted by the inspiring strains of Mendelssohn's wedding march, played by the band of the Thirteenth battalion, which was stationed on the lawn."⁶²

There were three important items emphasized by the newspapers in reporting

these events: the guest list, what the ladies wore, and the house. This has been seen at the penultimate extreme with Sanford's reception. Later that same year, when Richard Lucas' daughter "came out" in December, 1892, she wore "a graceful gown of white satin with chiffon overdress with large polka dots of silk" and the drawing room of "Rowanhurst" was a "work of art", a "city beautiful" on a smaller scale.⁶³ "Rowanhurst", on the south side of Duke Street, to the south of the Hendrie estate, was assessed at \$16,000 in 1901.

The interior and exterior appointments of the house were visual symbols of superior status and social control within the group. These status symbols were essential in the assignment of positions on the social pyramid. In addition to maintaining social control within the elite, they also served to place the group at the top of the class pyramid. While the architectural symbols of power, wealth and status were obvious, a more subtle form of social control was also taking place where the elite tried to control the morality and subordinate position of the working class. The uplifting qualities of cultural activities were emphasized by the elite's patronage of art exhibitions. Moral qualities were also expressed in the architectural form and layout of the house and the landscapes surrounding that house. In a 1902 letter from Kensington, England to Adam Brown, Sir Anthony Dickson Home, former British Surgeon-General, said "It is always pleasant to read about flower shows - what occupation for leisure hours can be more humanizing especially in the labouring classes", a comment echoing Downing's ideas of the moral qualities of landscape expressed fifty years earlier.⁶⁴

ENDNOTES to CHAPTER 5

1. C.H. Acton Bond, "The Interior of a house". Address to the Toronto Architectural Club, reprinted in the C.A.B. 5:11 (Nov., 1892), 108-109. Bond was working for Hamilton's James Balfour at the time.
2. Even in the case of perimeter walls and fences, the house could still be seen and approached. Trees and other vegetation would hide the house in summer but expose it in the late fall. Curious onlookers, therefore, could, with a bit of courage, approach the house, but would be faced with the barrier of the front door. The private life of the family took place behind solid walls and doors. Walls and fences were never tall enough or solid enough to keep out anyone determined to enter. Their primary purpose was psychological, intimidation followed by directional control. However, in keeping with the nineteenth-century paternalism of the elite, the openness of a fence could also convey the impression that the property owner was also approachable.
3. Attributed to architect James Stuart in 1771 by Spiro Kostoff, The City Assembled (London, 1992) 198.
4. Edmund Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", C.A.B. III:5 (May, 1890), 56.
5. The original date of the London Canadian Gazette article is not known but it is expected that it probably dates soon after the unveiling of Sanford's new mansion. The story was repeated by H.F. Gardiner in the Hamilton Herald, Nov. 3, 1923.
6. Much of the interior decoration of Sanford's mansion was done by J. Hoodless & Son. John Hoodless, himself a member of the elite, is usually overshadowed by his wife, Adelaide, who was active in women's issues in the community and was instrumental in the formation of the Women's Institute. His sister was married to George T. Tuckett, and his firm was also responsible for the decoration of that mansion.
7. Edith Nelson Macdonald (1919), quoted in William Dendy, Lost Toronto (Toronto, 1993) 214-215.
8. Robert Kerr, The Gentleman's House (London, 1864), quoted in Girouard (1980) 272.
9. E. Burke, "Some Notes on House-Planning", C.A.B. May, 1890.
10. (1980) 293.
11. The rite of making the social "call" had originated in Britain in the 1820s as a means of entering the various levels of society, and soon developed into a formal ritual. It was essential to have a sponsor introduce the social inferior to the next level of society. However once an introduction was made, one was not yet a member of that level until an independent invitation to the home was received. This could come as a result of leaving one's card in advance of an invitation. A decision could then be made

as to whether the recipient was "At Home". This system was transported to the Americas and adapted to the social system there. It fitted very well into the social hierarchy of the Eastern United States with its "old families" and new money. In Hamilton, the system was also used. "There is very strict etiquette in this matter of cards and calls and there is one essential difference between *calling* and *leaving cards*. It is usual on paying a first visit merely to leave cards without inquiring if the mistress of the house is at home. Thus Mrs. A. leaves her own card and two of her husband's cards upon Mrs. B. Within a week, if possible, certainly within ten days Mrs. B. should return the visit and leave cards upon Mrs. A. Should Mrs. A., however, have 'called' upon Mrs. B. and the latter returned it by merely leaving cards this would be taken as a sign that the latter did not desire the acquaintance to ripen into friendship. Strict etiquette demands that a call should be returned by a call and a card by a card." The Lady, a Magazine for Gentlewomen, February 9, 1893, quoted in L. Davidoff, The Best Circles (1973), 43.

12. Burke, p. 56.

13. Brown-Hendrie Papers, Mary Brown's diary, 1892-1894. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

14. These functions originated in Victorian England. See Girouard's discussion in The English Country House, p. 293.

15. C.A.B. V:11 (Nov., 1892), 108.

16. Burke, C.A.B. (May, 1890), 56, 57.

17. Wells, C.A.B. (July, 1892), 73.

18. Kerr (1864) refers to this as "masculine importance and feminine delicacy".

19. Articles on house planning penned by various Canadian architects in the C.A.B. support this emphasis. "No room in the house is more important than the dining-room". (Helliwell, 1898). "The dining-room is one of the most important divisions of the house and should always receive special attention in planning". (Burke, 1890). "The general practice of treating the dining room rather heavier and in darker tones than the other rooms seems to be very appropriate; the serious business of eating is transacted here, and the occupants are usually sitting and in a comparative state of rest. In the drawing room it is quite the reverse, and a much lighter treatment is suitable." (Acton Bond, 1892). "The dining-room should be sombre in tone, the ceiling a vellum color in depth to suit the walls. . . I painted the dining rooms of two of the Royal Academicians in London, J. Pettie's and McWhirter's, and in both cases the color selected was dark grey-green." (Australian architect, Wells, 1892).

20. Quoted in Andrews, p. 176.

21. Burke, 57.

22. Hamilton Spectator, May 25, 1961. Written at the time of the house's purchase by St. Joseph's Hospital.

23. Burke says, "a good width is 14 to 15 feet, and 16 or 17 is quite sufficient for any establishment less than a palace." (p. 57) In comparison, Bunbury's dining room was approximately 16 x 16 ft., and the dining room in the McNab Street house was 13 x 16. In fact, in the MacNab St. house, the dining room was the largest room in the house, emphasizing its importance.
24. Cook, (1881).
25. Cook was very critical of the tradition "that dining rooms ought to be somber in their general color and decoration, in opposition to drawing rooms . . . ". He recommended decoration that encouraged "the most cheerful and festive trains of thought, and the sunniest good nature. (p. 215) In general, Cook did not approve of the "display" rooms common in late nineteenth-century homes and advocated rooms that were more family oriented. He championed a "living room" over drawing rooms and parlours.
26. "Reception at Wesanford", Hamilton Times, June 8, 1892. "A Splendid Housewarming", Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1892.
27. Hamilton Spectator, June 6, 1892.
28. The Empire, June 13, 1892.
29. Much of the original decoration in "Inglewood" is still intact. See McArthur and Szamosi (1996) 64-65, and MacRae (1963) 170.
30. It is impossible to comment further. The photograph was taken in the 1950s just before the house was demolished, and the decor would have probably have changed considerably in the course of 50 years.
31. Cook (1877) 244.
32. Cook (1877) 245, 246.
33. Burke, p. 57.
34. Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1892.
35. "Senator Sanford at Home". The Empire, June 13, 1892.
36. Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1892.
37. American Architect and Building News, August 9;, 1884, quoted in Lewis *et al.*, 28.
38. Lewis *et al.* 22.
39. p.6.
40. Letter to Mary Brown, August 14, 1867, Brown-Hendrie Papers. Letter of Richard Juson to John Young, May 21, 1862, Young Papers. Archives, S.C., H.P.L.

41. The collection was eventually donated to the Art Institute of Chicago. (Lewis *et al.*, 22.
42. Catalogue of the Art Loan Exhibition, May, 1884. (S.C., H.P.L.). With respect to Matthew Leggatt's painting, The Old Quarry by Docherty, a Scottish artist who died from a cold while painting in the mountains, he quoted the Art Journal of 1874. "He lays his hand, not metaphorically like Byron, but materially upon nature's elements and shows us many secrets of her witchery."
43. "Annual Meeting", Hamilton Spectator, Oct. 13, 1886.
44. Hamilton Times, June 8, 1892.
45. Hamilton Times, June 8, 1892.
46. Krieghoff, who was based in Quebec, and who painted landscape scenes showing French-Canadian *habitants* at work and play was popular with the wealthy English of Montreal. His work is related thematically to Netherlandish genre paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
47. The more symbolic purposes of a library and its consequent serious and dark atmosphere present in the late nineteenth century would give way in the early twentieth century to a more informal character as it became more of a family den.
48. Many of these books were left to the Hamilton Public Library by the Hendrie family following the death of Lily (Brown) Hendrie and a complete catalogue can be consulted in the Special Collections division..
49. Hamilton Spectator, May 12, 1938. It was noted that a first edition of Hymns for Use of the People Called Methodists by John Wesley went begging for \$1. The library also included three volumes of a History of the Northwest, which would relate to Sanford's early business dealings, two volumes of Loyalists of America and their Times, another personal interest of Sanford, and fifteen volumes of Dickens.
50. Wells, C.A.B., July, 1892.
51. Burke, C.A.B., May, 1890.
52. Vespasiano's biography of Cosimo de'Medici, quoted in Mary Hollingsworth, Patronage in Renaissance Italy from 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century (Baltimore, 1994) p. 57.
53. Wells, C.A.B. (July, 1892), 73.
54. "Noble Works were Wrought by Women", Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1926.
55. Sanford Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History of the Village of Port Carling. (Port Carling Public Library). No pagination.
56. Hamilton Spectator, Feb. 22, 1938.

57. C.C.R. I, Mar. 8, 1890, p.4.
58. Hamilton Spectator, June 9, 1890.
59. D.I.N. V, 29 Nov., 1890, p. 358. Morgan referred to Harriet as "a lady of culture and dignity, whose genial and refined spirit makes the home delightful and whose open-handed charity is a proverb . . . ". The accompanying photograph showed Harriet posed regally in profile in a full length richly decorated gown with train, against a backdrop of classical-looking statues and columns. (Henry James Morgan, Ed. Types of Canadian Women. Past and Present. Vol. I (Toronto, 1903) 304.
60. Hamilton Spectator, Jan. 27, 1898.
61. Hamilton Times, May 13, 1897.
62. Hamilton Spectator, June 6, 1890, 8.
63. Hamilton Times, December 2, 1892. "The drawing room was a work of art, having white cheese cloth artistically draped as a dado around the walls, on which were studded here and there red maple leaves of our brilliant autumn, which has just passed, and dainty bunches of maiden-hair fern. The fireplace was banked with palms, and many beautiful vases were visible about the house, holding orchids and gypsy roses. The dining-room was also set apart for dancing, and the flowers in this room were much admired. . . . Electric lights, with rose-shade globes, cast a becoming shade on all. The beautiful conservatory filled with rare exotica was another favourite nook."
64. A.D. Home to Adam Brown, Sept. 18, 1902. Brown-Hendrie Papers. 3809-3815. Archives, S.C. H.P.L.

CONCLUSION

***He who gives to the public a more beautiful and tasteful model of a habitation than his neighbours, is a benefactor to the cause of morality, a good order, and the improvement of society where he lives.*¹ Andrew Jackson Downing (1849).**

In Hamilton, Ontario, by the end of the nineteenth century, a strong social elite, connected through blood, business and social relationships, had impressed its vision of control, refinement, and exclusivity, upon a small section of the city. The process of elite social bonding resulted in a neighbourhood of visually distinctive homes located at strategic intersections. Through the use of symbolism in the architectural form, plan and decoration of these homes, metaphors of superior status and social control were created. A strong interconnection between social status and domestic architecture in the formation and maintenance of the social elite has been established. This final chapter provides a summary of the conclusions and points out the larger implications that arise from this study.

Two generations of Hamilton's elite were instrumental in the city's development from a small town to a thriving industrial centre. Both contributed to the final form of the south-central elite area; the first generation by providing a strong base of impressive villa estates which drew the second generation to that area, the second generation by expanding on that base through the building of new architect-designed houses and the purchase and renovation of older elite homes. The common language of aristocratic symbolism within the context of architectural forms and landscape used by the first generation was continued by the second. Thus there was both a philosophical and a spatial continuity of ideas impressed upon the urban landscape. The first generation elite used landscape to hide their private lives from public view as they surrounded their

homes with rolling lawns and trees. The second generation elite were compelled by rigid planning grids and smaller lots imposed on the area by early surveys to find their privacy behind imposing facades.

The close relationship between architects and clients was seen in the series of home plans for Henry Tica Bunbury. The comments by architects on how they saw that relationship revealed a frustration with client obsession with status-related forms to the detriment of artistic creativity. This obsession was expressed by a conscious effort by the elite to control both the public and private spaces of their environment. The employment of professional architects and gardeners enabled them to extend this social and physical control over the surrounding environment. Location was also important and the clustering of elite groups around the estate of William Hendrie facilitated the formation of a social elite controlled by women whose power base was the home. Thus, the organization of private and public space was an important element in the stabilization of Hamilton society. The rituals of status were played out in both exterior and interior spaces and although the women had no part to play in the business sphere, it was in the private spaces that the essential form of elite society was consolidated. In the words of the nineteenth-century English Society matron, Mrs. Ellet, "Society is to the daughters of a family, what business is to the sons. . . ."2

The study has examined a social elite and the results of the study reached here conform with the conclusions reached by other studies of elite groups such as Macdonald's analysis of Vancouver social classes. Whereas a business elite can be defined on economic terms, a definition of a social elite must include the home, since this was where the formal rituals of inclusion and exclusion were played out. This

language was universally accepted and understood by those whose lives were controlled by it. It is apparent from this study, therefore, that an elite group cannot be defined by the level of wealth alone. The determination of status requires a more complex set of criteria, related to subjective elements such as social acceptability, determined to a large extent by the form and location of the home. The apparently frivolous entertainments of elite society involved complex social relationships acted out within a domestic space that continued into the business sphere where they impacted on the political and economic development of the city at large. So, the direction of social control is reversed. Rather than emanating from male relationships formed in business and private clubs, the real catalyst of elite society formation is the domestic environment.

The Hamilton elite had a well-defined idea of themselves as “princes of commerce”. Like the great New York millionaires, they encouraged references to the Renaissance, an era they saw as the height of culture and refinement. These characteristics were reflected in their homes, many modelled on villas, castles, and chateaux. They enthusiastically adopted the latest architectural styles, popular in Britain, Europe and the United States, employing architects to design their homes with added cultural references such as pediments and columns, and images of power such as towers and battlements. In the interior of their homes, they created “museums” containing paintings, vases and sculpture, and libraries, all symbolic of an elite cultural superiority and enlightenment. The use of cultural forms displayed on and in the home were therefore more important for the expression of elite status than in the business sphere where practicality was dominant, another contrast between female and male spheres of influence, although exceptions such as Sanford’s factory did occur.

Within the Hamilton elite, a hierarchy emerged, with certain individuals rising to the top by the end of the century. William Hendrie and Adam Brown have been studied as two sides of the same coin. Hendrie was wealthy, Brown not that much so. But Brown, as Hendrie, was perceived as a “gentleman”, a caring individual, and thus drew others to him. The concept of the gentility and its relationship to refinement, morality and superior status was very important to elite sensibilities, as shown by the importance of membership in the Hamilton Club, a “Gentleman’s Club”. Another side of the elite was seen in William Sanford who had great wealth, a magnificent home, political ambitions, and, it seems, so great a sense of insecurity that he was for ever seeking to be better than anyone else through grand gestures and visual display. Comments from his contemporaries indicate a exasperation and impatience with the man, especially the Countess of Aberdeen who felt that he was certainly “vulgar” and thus no gentleman. It is therefore telling that more of the social elite were drawn to Hendrie rather than Sanford. This illustrates that elite sensibilities were particularly attuned to personality traits. Dominance within the group required its respect, a very subjective element that cannot be ascertained through statistical analyses of demographics or wealth.

During the nineteenth century, the Hamilton elite had an obvious civic pride in their contributions to the city’s prosperity, a common characteristic of elites elsewhere. The economic vitality of Hamilton, they felt, was directly related to their own efforts in the economic and political spheres. Although the city of Toronto, 60 km. to the east, was many times larger, and had a much larger elite with a corresponding greater concentration of wealth, there does not appear to have been a sense of inferiority felt by the Hamilton group. The guest lists of both society functions examined here included a large Toronto contingent, indicating an outreaching of Hamilton’s elite to

those to whom they felt socially equal. Tyrrell's Society Blue Book included listings for Hamilton and London in addition to Toronto, acknowledging the similarities, though the former two lists were substantially smaller than Toronto's.

Although the major players in Hamilton's social elite moved comfortably in Toronto elite circles, facilitated by common bonds of elite signifiers, there does appear to be, even in this early period, a underlying desire in Hamilton's business and political spheres to obtain acknowledgment of their equality from Toronto and it is suggested here that this was the same characteristic that appeared in the psyche of W. E. Sanford in his relationship with the rest of the Hamilton elite. A microcosm of this insecurity/frustration has been shown by the relationship of the Hamilton architects with their Toronto colleagues. Weaver (1982) concludes that Hamilton's proximity to Toronto was an impediment to the city's development in the twentieth century.³

In a very important way though, Hamilton's elite was different from those in other Canadian cities and this is related to the importance of manufacturing and later heavy industry to the city's economy. Even in the early years of Hamilton's development from town to city, manufacturing had a distinct role. As discussed in Chapter 1, wholesale and retail businesses dominated its economic development. However, manufacturing of essential staples and machinery for western land settlement soon followed, and many entrepreneurs indulged both in the manufacturing and wholesale selling of equipment and other goods. The change from commercial to manufacturing dominance was gradual; the number of manufacturers increased and dominated the city's economy by the 1870s as shown in the 1876 Bird's-Eye View. The Federal Government's economic policies were crucial to the development of the steel industry

which dominated the city's economy for most of that century. It is at this point, that one can call Hamilton an industrial city. The makeup of Hamilton's 1901 social elite mirrors this development. It was led by those who had made their fortunes in the wholesale business and who then invested that money in factories and railroads. One can say therefore that the character and make-up of this elite was substantially influenced by the expanding industrialization of the city and conversely, the elite's own business and social characteristics influenced the urban environment. The elite appropriation of status signifiers on and in its homes emphasized its superiority and contributed to this polarization of the classes, early paternalism and philanthropy notwithstanding. Even though the majority of its members had begun as hands-on employers, the end-of-century elite found that success only served to widen the gap between the classes.

The overall wealth of Hamilton's 1901 elite was small in comparison to larger Canadian urban centres such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Its houses were smaller also. Yet proportionately, Hamilton's nineteenth-century elite had a substantial impact not only on urban form but also on the future course of the city in manufacturing, heavy industry, and banking. The method of social dominance was similar to other cities both in Canada and the United States. The clustering of the elite in a neighbourhood dominated by their peers demonstrated the desire to cement close social relationships. The physical separation of distance and height from worker's neighbourhoods and factories indicated a desire to divorce business from the home. The development of this elite neighbourhood was related to the economy of the city where speculators held land until periods of prosperity, when aspiring elite would require new homes adjacent to those of established elite. Thus the relationship of land speculation, the economy and the growth of industry must be considered as a factor in

elite development.

Hamilton's early elite had not begun their careers as wealthy men, but they had built up their businesses through hard work and good economic sense. Their relationship with their workers was, in most cases good (there are certainly exceptions, such as the "Nine Hour Movement"). The perceived shared camaraderie between worker and employer was apparent when iron manufacturer, W. A. Child in 1926, reminisced about the "good old days" when managers "sweated" in the factory's offices while the men "sweated" on the shop floor.⁴ Perhaps because of the close working relationship, these businessmen felt that they had a civic obligation to improve the moral qualities of the working class and they tried to do this through philanthropic and cultural activities. However, the relationship became more remote at the end of the century with the growth of industry. Katz in his 1975 study of Hamilton pointed out that industrialization led to a larger working class which resulted in greater polarization between workers and owners. The basic composition of the elite was also beginning to change by 1900 with the increasing number of new elite who were employed in salaried positions in industrial managerial positions, a trend that had already occurred in American cities where industrialization had expanded following the Civil War. In Pittsburgh, for example, at the end of the century, many of the new elite were managers in the steel industry. The managers of the Carnegie Steel Mills in the Pittsburgh suburb of Braddock were encouraged by Carnegie to build themselves impressive homes on the hill overlooking the houses of the steel workers to reinforce the relationship of worker and superior in the mills. The architectural form and interior appointments of some of these houses were very similar to those of Hamilton's elite.

It can also be concluded that elite groups draw strength from established forms of social manipulation, but ultimately their sustainability and legitimacy as a group depends on their ability to maintain a separate urban space. In Toronto, the greater spread of wealth amongst a larger group meant that the removal of a few individuals did not threaten the unity of the whole. The creation of an elite neighbourhood requires a critical mass of similarly defined individuals in order to maintain social relationships. Within nineteenth-century Hamilton, the only true elite area formed in the south-central area of the city, the principal reason being the concentration of elite signifiers there. These included the historic and symbolic significance of location, the presence of clear boundaries, a perception of high social status shared by individuals who had similar demographic characteristics, the presence of dominating personalities at the top of the social hierarchy, impressive and expensive architect-designed homes which created urban foci, and, last but not least, a strong social network of women married to successful men. In the long term, the Hamilton group failed because it had not succeeded in guaranteeing the exclusivity of the south-central neighbourhood, and did not have the numbers or overall wealth to maintain control over the entire area once the group's leaders had died.

The inclusion of a specific social group and their use of architectural forms has provided a base for a wider analysis of urban development by supplying an answer to the question of why a particular neighbourhood achieved a specific form. Katz' analysis of Hamilton's elite in the 1850s was based on common business interests which does not reveal enough information for a true analysis of neighbourhood development. Indeed, Katz admits that he does not bridge that gap. There is a limit to the value of statistical analysis being used exclusively for an understanding of the makeup of an

elite. Social factors, which are more subjective, can give a clearer picture of elite relationships, especially within the context of domestic architecture. The challenge is to use quantitative and qualitative material together in such a way that a meaningful analysis results. Through a study of architectural forms and the ways in which they are used by specific groups to express their status-related ideas, we can begin to understand the mind set of specific individuals and their relationship with the larger group. Domestic architecture as visual expression of a group's *zeitgeist* can be more revealing than any analysis of occupation, religion, or ethnicity.

The traditional formal assessments of house form and function, such as those by Girouard, approach the question from the opposite direction, yet do not go far enough in the definition of the group and its relationships. Inter-disciplinary studies on urban development can remedy these omissions by focussing on the relationship of urban space, buildings, and human interaction. The clustering of elite homes within an interconnected network of space with clearly defined boundaries places a distinctive signature on the environment, and it is hoped that this examination of a small urban elite has revealed the usefulness of social and architectural criteria for urban analysis. The character of space changes depending on what does or doesn't occupy that space. A neighbourhood becomes elite because of the density of elite homes, and the character of that home is determined by the combined influence of the home owner and the architect and the image that they want to project. Wright's studies of Chicago have examined one aspect of this character from a moral point of view and emphasized the importance of abstract ideas made tangible through architectural form. The ideas of the owner, expressed through his home and its surrounding landscape, are then projected onto urban space.

This thesis has therefore introduced a new criterium to the study of urban form. It has attempted to strike a balance between form and function and their place within the larger area of spatial relationships and social manipulations. Within urban history and architectural history, there is a necessity of looking at those who design (architects) and those who use (occupants) buildings to establish their relationship to the final form. What does the architectural style and design elements say about the occupant of the building? What was the purpose and result of renovations, additions, rebuilding, or demolition of a building? Do these indicate a change of meaning or purpose for the urban space? How does any of these affect the concept of neighbourhood? It is important therefore to take a much longer and in depth look at factors other than exterior architectural forms or "facadism" to fully explain the character of urban areas. Peer relationships and social function must also be included in the mix. On another note, it is hoped that this thesis has raised questions about how populations are codified through statistical analyses, such as the work of Katz and others, which need to be tempered with a recognition of the human source of categorization, and also with acknowledgment of the unpredictability of social factors. It is also hoped that this work has contributed to the study of the visual arts through its emphasis on the value of interdisciplinary research for the understanding of architectural forms.

An examination of the late nineteenth-century social elite in Hamilton has revealed a complex and multi-faceted social organism moving within a continuum of architectural and urban space; one that used all the established symbols of status and morality to maintain its position at the top of the class structure. The use of architecture form within this model has facilitated the visualization of these socio-spatial

relationships and their relationship with urban form, as well as providing a better understanding of the formation and make-up of urban elites.

ENDNOTES to CONCLUSION

1. Andrew Jackson Downing, Rural Essays (1853), quoted in Ackerman, p. 245.
2. Mrs. Ellis, Daughters of England (1842) 255, quoted in Davidoff (1973) f/n 40, p. 109.
3. Weaver (1982) 194.
4. Hamilton Spectator. July 15, 1926.

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Hamilton

Property Index Maps

Blocks 17075, 17116, 17135, 17136, 17171, 17172, 17173.

(Individual property numbers and registered plan numbers can be obtained from these and used to trace history of ownership)

Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee. Files. Planning
Department, City Hall, Hamilton.

APPENDIX A: THE HAMILTON ELITE, 1901

NAME	OCCUPATION	BROWN- HENDRIE WEDD	SANFORD RECEPT.	BLUE BOOK	HAM. CLUB
AMBROSE, H.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
BALFOUR, ST.-C.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
BANKIER, P. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
BARKER, S.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
BELLHOUSE, G.	Banker	Y	Y	Y	N
BRAITHWAITE, A.D.	Banker	Y	N	Y	Y
BRISTOL, G.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
BROWN, A.	Postmaster	Y	Y	Y	N
BROWNE, E.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	N	Y
BRUCE, A.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
BUNBURY, H.T.	Insurance	Y	Y	Y	Y
BURNS, J.	Real Estate	Y	Y	N	Y
URTON, W.F.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALDER, J.	Whls/Mfr	Y	N	Y	Y
CHAPMAN, W.	Railway Eng.	Y	N	Y	N
CHARLTON, B. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
COBURN, H.	Manufacturer	Y	N	Y	N
COUNSELL, J.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	N
CRERAR, J.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
CRERAR, T.H.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	N
CRERAR, P.D.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
DOOLITTLE, C.E.	Manufacturer	Y	Y	Y	Y
DUMOULIN, J.	Clergy	Y	N	Y	N
DUNLOP, J.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	N
EAGER, H.	Post Office	Y	N	Y	N
FEARMAN, F.D.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	N	N
FEARMAN, F.C.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	N	N
FEARMAN, R.C.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	N
FERRIE, E. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
FERRIE, R.	Publisher	Y	Y	Y	N
FISHER, E.	Railway Mgr.	Y	N	Y	Y
FLETCHER, D.	Clergy	Y	Y	Y	N
FORNERET, G.	Clergy	Y	Y	Y	N
FULLER, E. (Miss)	Single Female	Y	Y	Y	N
GARDINER, H.	Publisher	Y	Y	N	N
GARTSHORE, A.	Manufacturer	Y	Y	Y	Y
GATES, F.W.	Utilities	Y	Y	Y	Y
GATES, F. W. Jr.	Insurance	Y	Y	N	Y
GAVILLER, A. (Miss)	Single Female	Y	Y	Y	N
GIBSON, J.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
GILLIES, J.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	N
GILLIES, D.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	N
GLASSCO, G.F.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y

NAME	OCCUPATION	BROWN- HENDRIE WEDD.	SANFORD RECEPT.	BLUE BOOK	HAM. CLUB
GLASSCO, G.S.	Physician	Y	Y	Y	Y
GLASSCO, F.	Banker	Y	N	Y	Y
GLASSCO, J.T.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
GILLESPIE, G. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
GREENING, F.B.	Broker	Y	N	Y	N
HARRIS, J.M.	Publisher	Y	Y	N	Y
HARRIS, R.B.	Publisher	Y	Y	N	Y
HASLETT, T.C.	Barrister	Y	Y	N	Y
HENDRIE, J.S.	Railway Contr.	Y	Y	Y	Y
HENDRIE, W. Sr.	Railway Contr.	Y	Y	Y	Y
HENDRIE, W. Jr.	Railway Contr.	Y	Y	Y	Y
HOBSON, J.	Railway Eng.	Y	N	Y	Y
HOBSON, R.	Manufacturer	Y	N	Y	Y
HOBSON, T.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
HOPE, H. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
HOPE, G.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
HOPE, R.K.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
JONES, C.	Railway Agent	Y	N	Y	N
KENNEDY, R.	Publisher	Y	Y	N	Y
KILVERT, F.	Customs	Y	Y	N	N
LAMBE, H.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	Y
LEGGATT, M.	Banker	Y	Y	Y	Y
LEITCH, A.	Insurance	Y	N	Y	N
LEYDEN, H.	Utilities	Y	N	Y	N
LINDSAY, W.	Banker	Y	N	Y	Y
LONG, W.D.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	Y
LOTTRIDGE, J.M.	Whis/Mfr	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOTTRIDGE, M.	Whis/Mfr	Y	N	Y	Y
LUCAS, R.A.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
LYLE, S.	Clergy	Y	Y	Y	N
MALLOCH, A.E.	Physician	Y	Y	Y	N
MALLOCH, F.S. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
MARSHALL, W.	Manufacturer	Y	N	Y	N
MARTIN, E.	Barrister	Y	Y	N	Y
MARTIN, D.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	Y
MARTIN, K.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	N
MARTIN, R.S.	Real Estate	Y	Y	N	Y
MCBRAYNE, W.S.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	Y
MCGIVERIN, E. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
MCINNES, M. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
MACKELCAN, F.	Barrister	Y	Y	N	Y
MACKENZIE, A.	Customs	Y	Y	Y	Y
MCLAREN, H.	Gentleman	Y	Y	Y	Y
MACPHERSON, T.H.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	N	Y
MEWBURN, S.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	Y

NAME	OCCUPATION	BROWN- HENDRIE WEDD.	SANFORD RECEPT.	BLUE BOOK	HAM. CLUB
MOORE, L. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
MORRIS, R.S.	Stock Broker	Y	Y	Y	Y
MORRISON, J.J.	Banker	Y	Y	Y	Y
MURRAY, A.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
MURRAY, A. Jr.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	N
MURRAY, C.	Railway Contr.	Y	Y	N	Y
MYLER, P.	Manufacturer	Y	N	Y	Y
O'REILLY, E.	Physician	Y	Y	N	Y
O'REILLY, J.E.	Master-in-Chanc.	Y	Y	Y	Y
OSBORNE, A.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	Y
OSBORNE, J.	Wholesaler	Y	N	N	Y
OSBORNE, W.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	Y
PAPPS, G.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	Y
PARKER, J.	Manufacturer	Y	Y	Y	Y
POTTENGER, J.	Gentleman	Y	Y	Y	Y
POWIS, A.	Broker	Y	N	Y	N
POWIS, C.	Broker	Y	N	Y	N
PRINGLE, R.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	N
PROCTOR, J.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	N	Y
RAMSAY, A.G.	Banker	Y	Y	Y	Y
RENNIE, G.	Physician	Y	N	Y	Y
ROACH, G.	Gentleman	Y	Y	Y	N
ROSS, F.	Dentist	Y	N	Y	Y
SANFORD, W.E. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
SCOTT, C.	Accountant	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTHAM, W.	Publisher	Y	Y	Y	Y
STAUNTON, G.L.	Barrister	Y	N	Y	Y
STEELE, R.T.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
STEVEN, H.	Banker	Y	N	Y	Y
STINSON, T. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	N	N
STRATHY, S.	Banker	Y	N	Y	Y
STUART, J.	Banker	Y	Y	N	Y
TEETZEL, J.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
THOMSON, G.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
THOMSON, J.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
TIDSWELL, W.	Real Estate	Y	Y	Y	N
TURNBULL, J.	Banker	Y	Y	Y	Y
TURNER, A.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
VAUX, H.	Physician	Y	Y	N	N
WADE, W.	Clergy	Y	N	Y	N
WALKER, W.	Barrister	Y	Y	Y	Y
WANZER, F.	Manufacturer	Y	Y	N	N
WATSON, H.	Banker	Y	N	Y	Y
WATSON, J. (Mrs.)	Widow	Y	Y	Y	N
WILCOX, C.S.	Manufacturer	Y	Y	Y	Y

NAME	OCCUPATION	BROWN- HENDRIE WEDD.	SANFORD RECEPT.	BLUE BOOK	HAM. CLUB
WILMOTT, K.E.	Accountant	Y	N	Y	Y
WOOD, A.T.	Wholesaler	Y	Y	Y	Y
WOOD, W.A.	Wholesaler	Y	N	Y	N
YOUNG, J.B.	Accountant	Y	Y	N	Y
YOUNG, J.M.	Manufacturer	Y	N	Y	Y
TOTALS		138	94	114	87

45/138 or 33% of the Elite meet all four of the criteria

67/138 or 48.5% meet three of the criteria

SOURCES: Brown-Hendrie Wedding: Hamilton Spectator, June 5, 1901.
 Sanford Reception: Hamilton Spectator, June 8, 1892.
Tyrrell's Society Blue Book. Toronto, Hamilton, London (Toronto, 1900).
Minutes Hamilton Club. McMaster University Mills Library, Research and
 Special Collections.

The guest list for the 1901 Brown-Hendrie wedding totaled 368 families, of which 181 were from Hamilton. The guest list for the 1892 Sanford affair totaled 242. However, unlike the Brown-Hendrie list, it did not break down the list by city or country. One hundred and thirty of these guests were listed in the 1892 Hamilton City Directory. The origins of the rest are unknown although some were listed in the Toronto section of the Tyrrell's Society Blue Book. Ninety-four of those invited to the Sanford reception were included on the Hendrie guest list. There were 544 Hamilton families listed in Tyrrell's. Of these, 114 were invited to the Hendrie wedding. Eighty-seven members of the male-only Hamilton Club were on the guest list of the wedding. In summary, one third (45) of the final group of 138 families and individuals were on all four of lists, another 67 were on three, and the rest were on at least two. Those chosen for the study group attended the Brown-Hendrie wedding and met at least one other criterium. The final list reflects those who could be considered the Hamilton social elite in 1901.

They include not only the “elite of the elite” who met all the criteria, but also widows and single women who could not join the male only Hamilton Club, those who chose not to be listed in Tyrrell’s, and also new members of the elite who were not in Hamilton at the time of the Sanford reception.

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

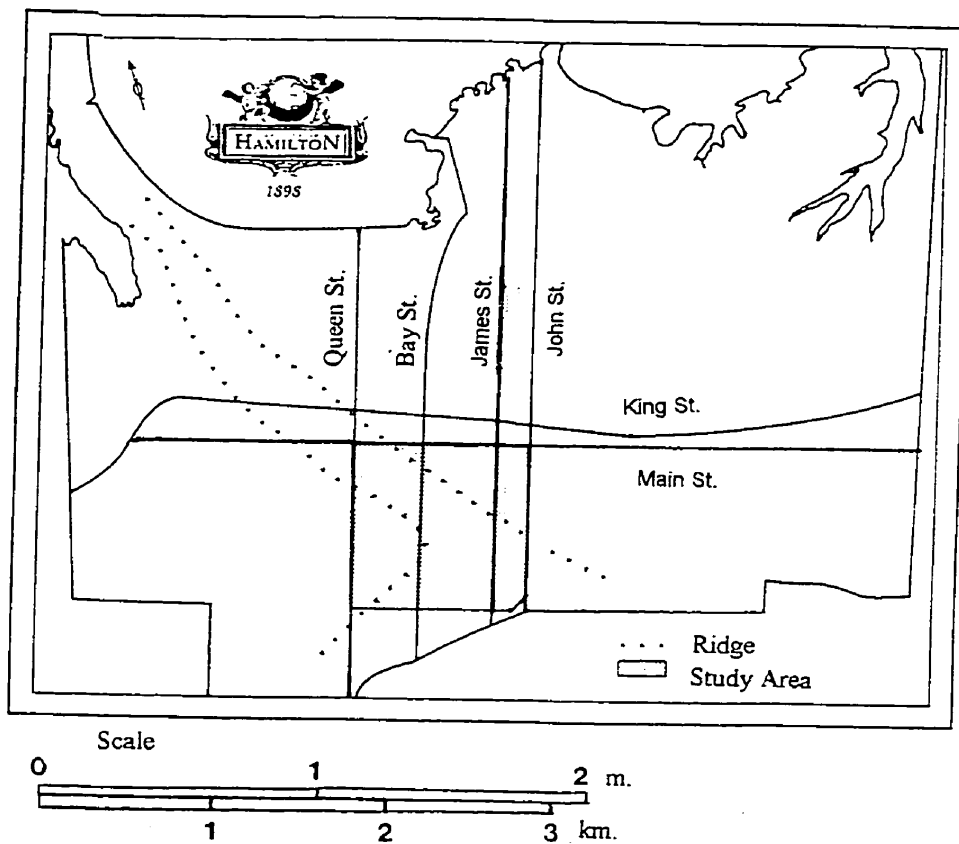


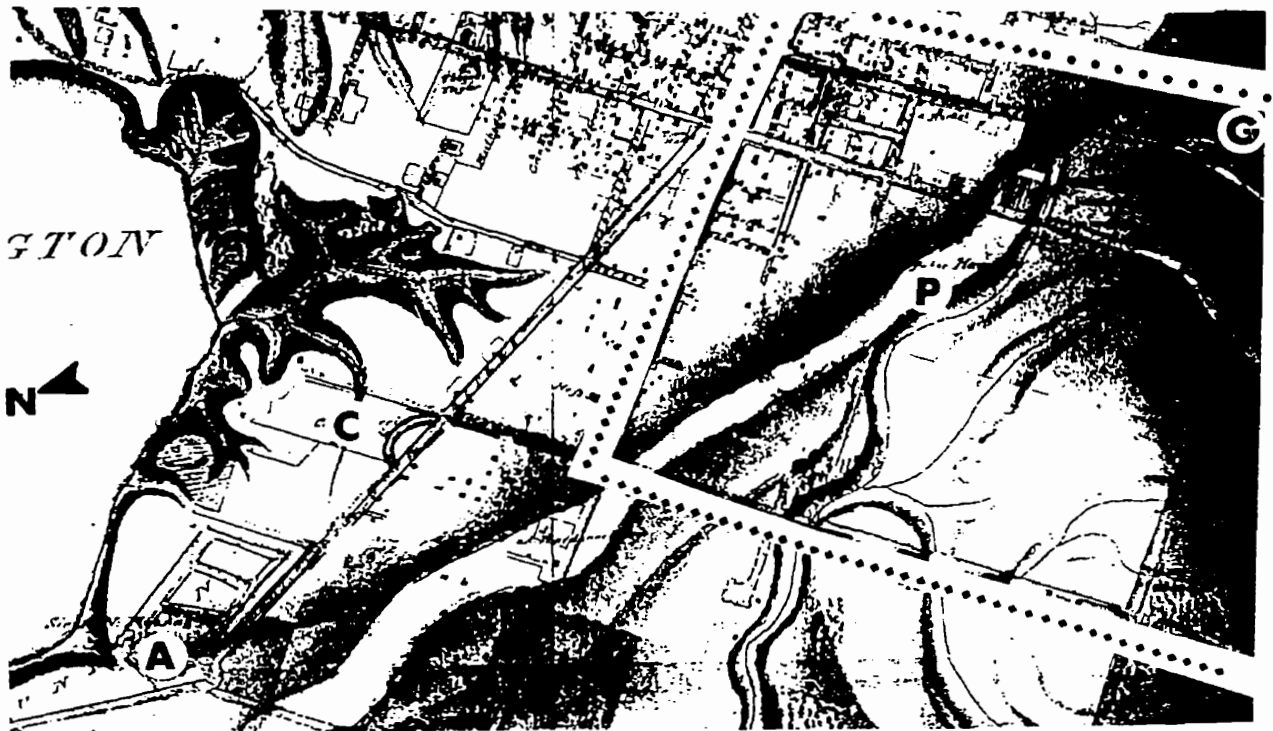
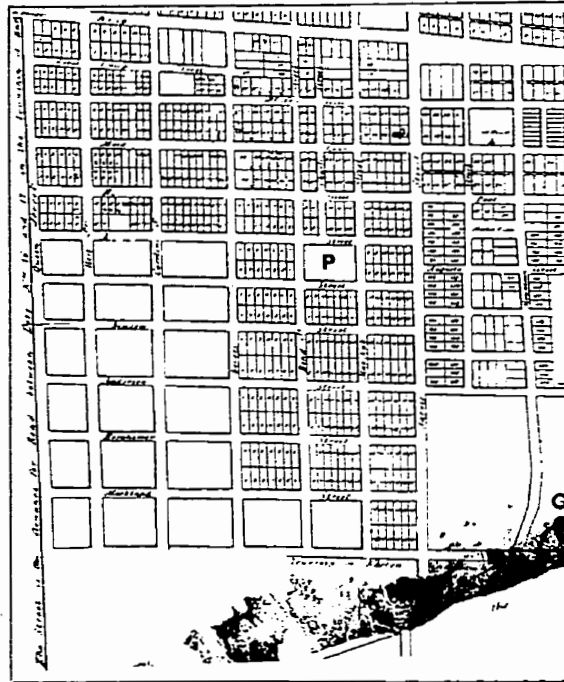
FIGURE 1: Hamilton Showing Location of Study Area.
FIGURE 2: Hamilton, Canada West. E. Whitefield, 1854. Detail of Study Area.



FIGURE 3a: Bird's-Eye View of Hamilton, 1876. Study area is outlined.
(B = Brown; H = Hendrie; S = Sanford)



FIGURE 3b: Bird's-Eye View of Hamilton, 1893. Study area is outlined (B = Brown; H = Hendrie; S = Sanford)



Scale: 1" = 1/2 mile.

FIGURE 4: Plan of Hamilton, 1837. Detail of Study area showing surveyed lots

FIGURE 5: Plan of Hamilton, 1842. Broken line indicates area shown in Figure 4. Most lots in the study area remain undeveloped at this time.

(G = George Hamilton; P = Peter Hamilton; C = Colin Ferrie; A = Sir Allan MacNab)

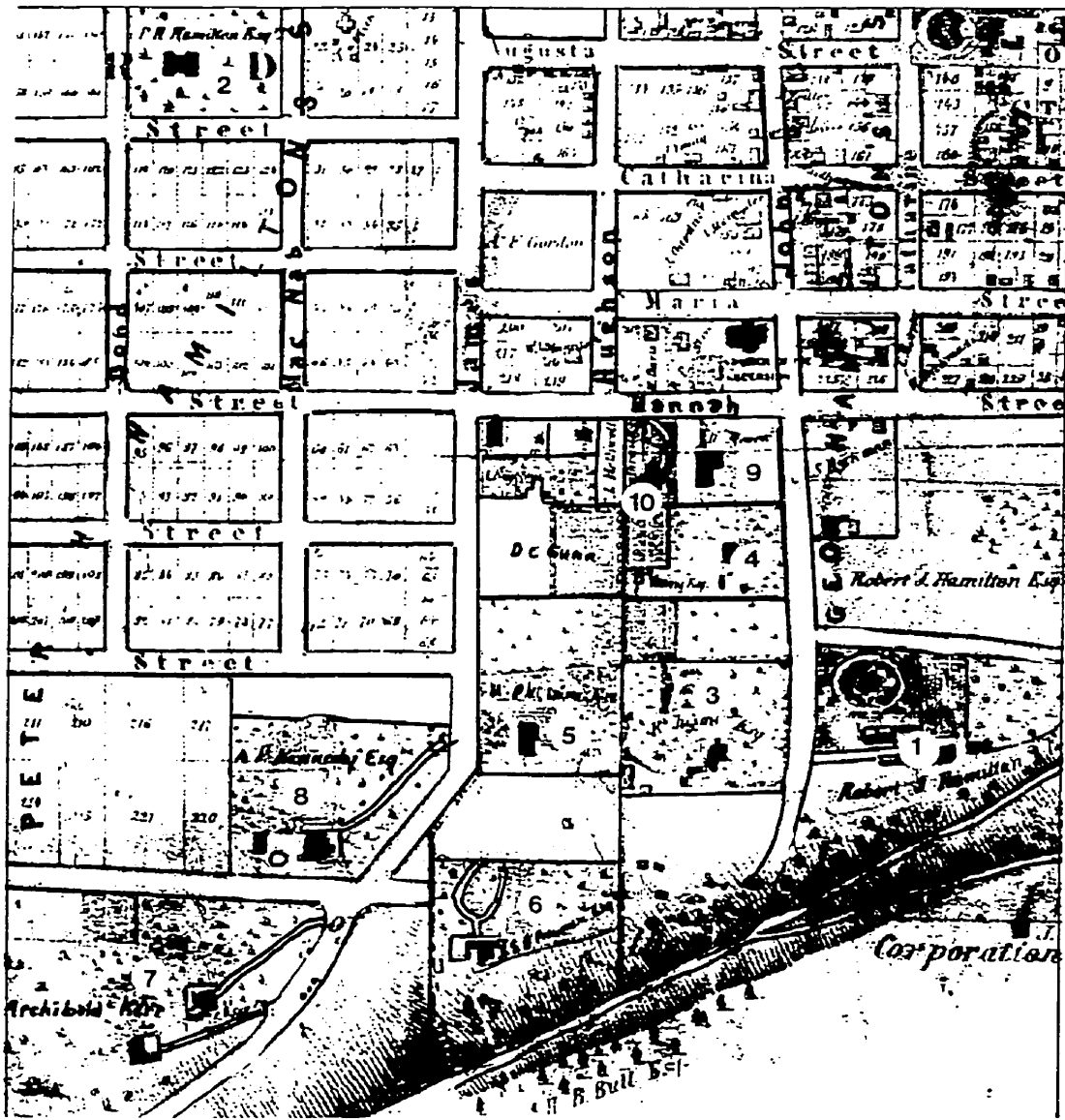


FIGURE 6: Map of Hamilton, 1850-51

- | | | | |
|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. R. Hamilton | 4. J. Young | 7. A. Kerr | 10. J. Galbreath |
| 2. P. Hamilton | 5. W. P. McLaren | 8. AE. Kennedy | |
| 3. R. Juson | 6. S. Freeman | 9. D. Moore | |

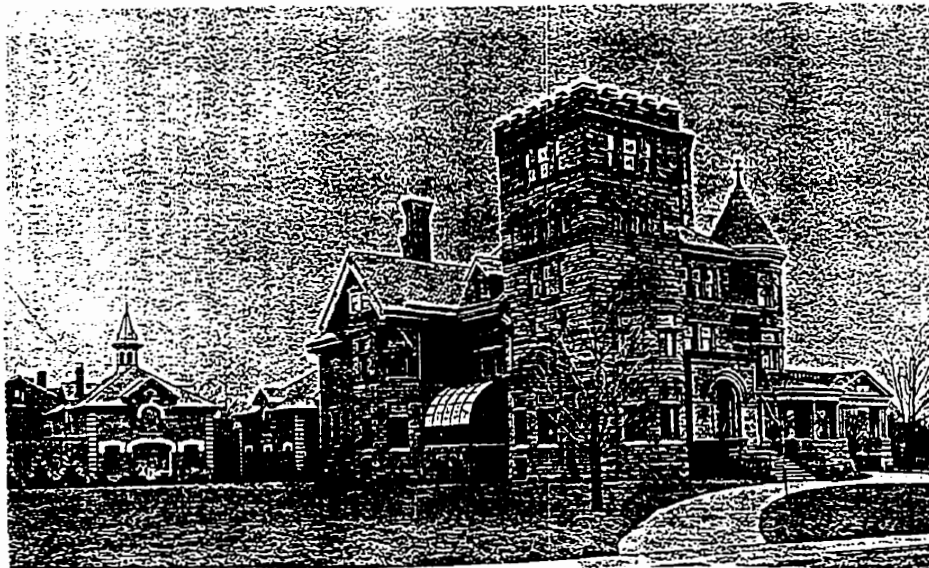


FIGURE 7: Home of George E. Tuckett.

FIGURE 8: "The Towers", home of George T. Tuckett



FIGURE 9a: 69 Herkimer, North Elevation. Architectural Drawing, March 15, 1881
FIGURE 9b: 69 Herkimer, East Elevation. Architectural Drawing, March 15, 1881



FIGURE 10: 69 Herkimer, North elevation.
FIGURE 11: 272 Park Street, North Elevation.



FIGURE 12a: 272 Park Street. East Elevation. Architectural plans, Dec. 30, 1880
FIGURE 12b: 272 Park Street. North Elevation. Architectural plans, Dec. 30, 1880



FIGURE 13a: 272 Park Street. East Elevation. Architectural plans, undated
FIGURE 13b: 272 Park Street. North Elevation. Architectural plans, undated

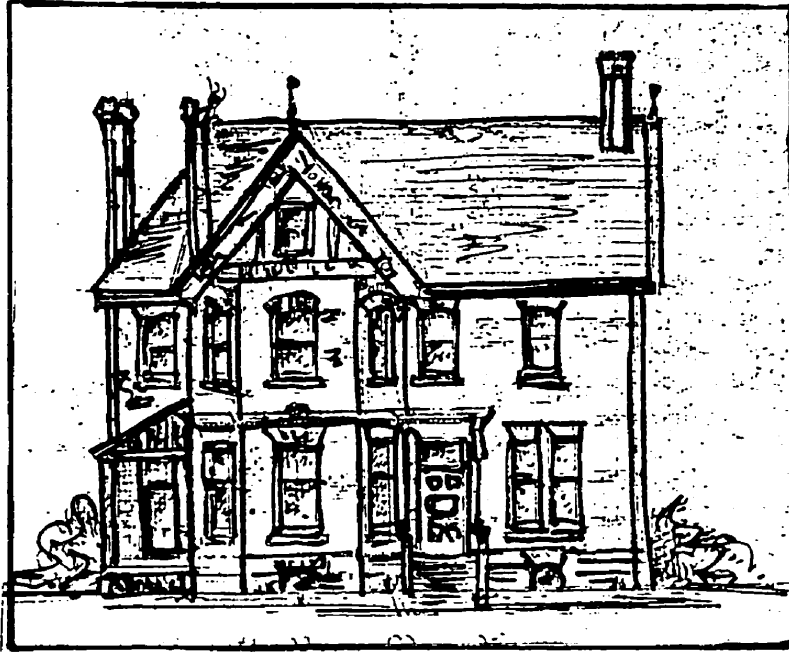


FIGURE 14a: 272 Park Street, East Elevation. Architectural plans, July 18, 1881
FIGURE 14b: 272 Park Street, North Elevation. Architectural plans, July 18, 1881

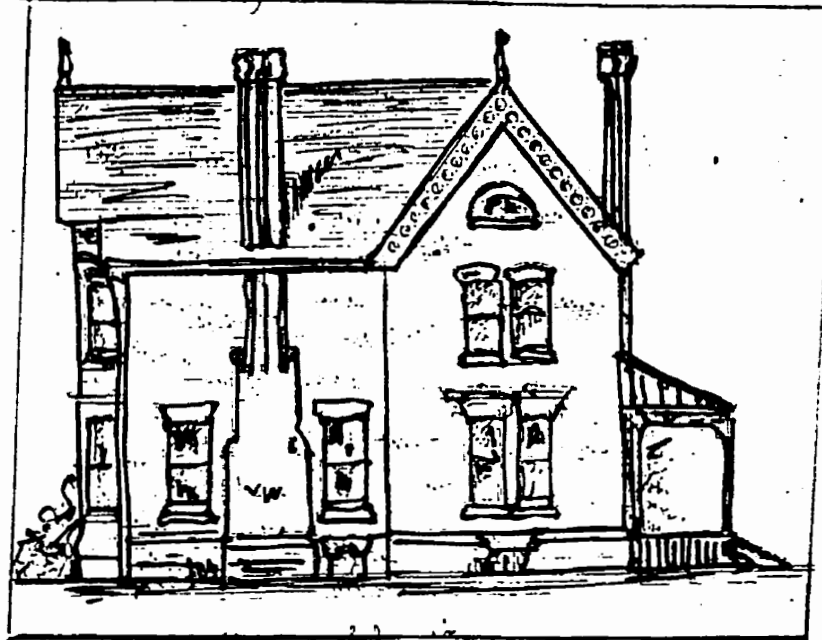
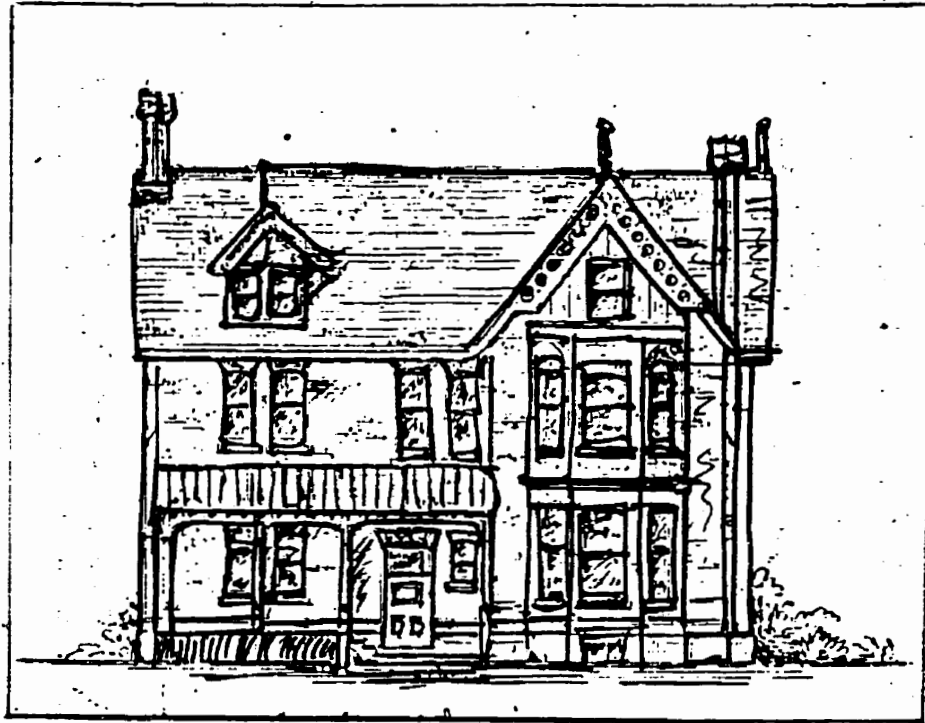
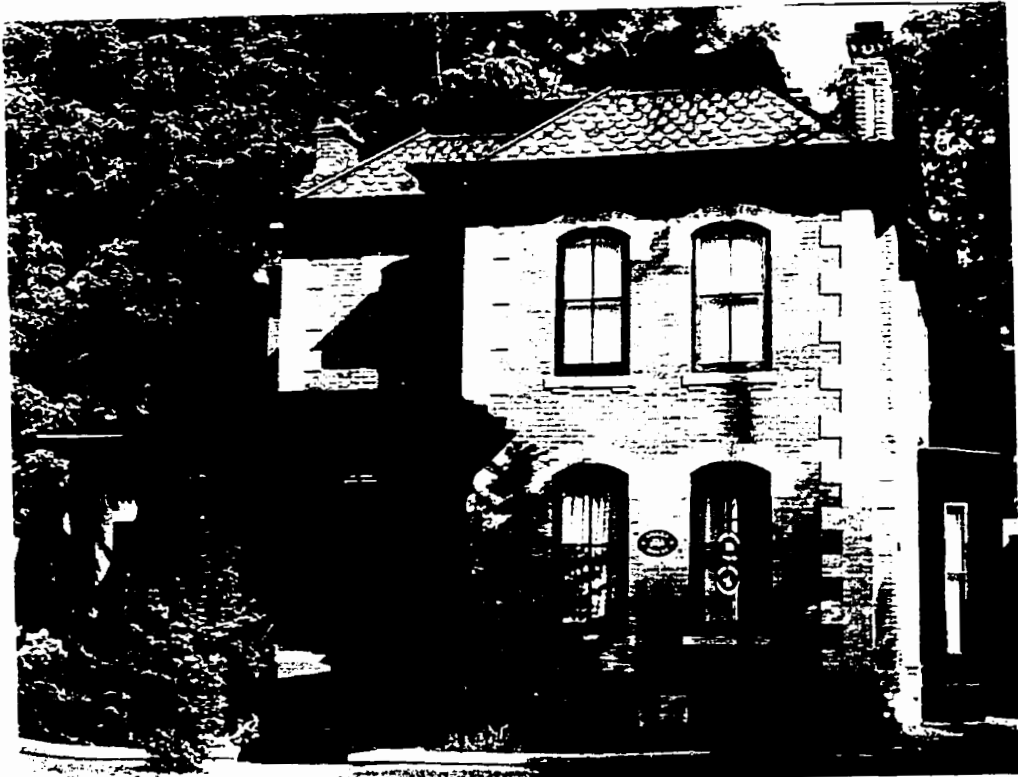


FIGURE 15a: 272 Park Street. East elevation. Architectural plans, Aug. 5, 1881
FIGURE 15b: 272 Park Street. North elevation. Architectural plans, Aug. 5, 1881



HAMILTON BRICK DETACHMENT ASSOCIATION
Mc Nab St. Houses



FRONT ELEVATION

FIGURE 16: 203 MacNab Street.

FIGURE 17: 203 MacNab Street. Architect's drawing..

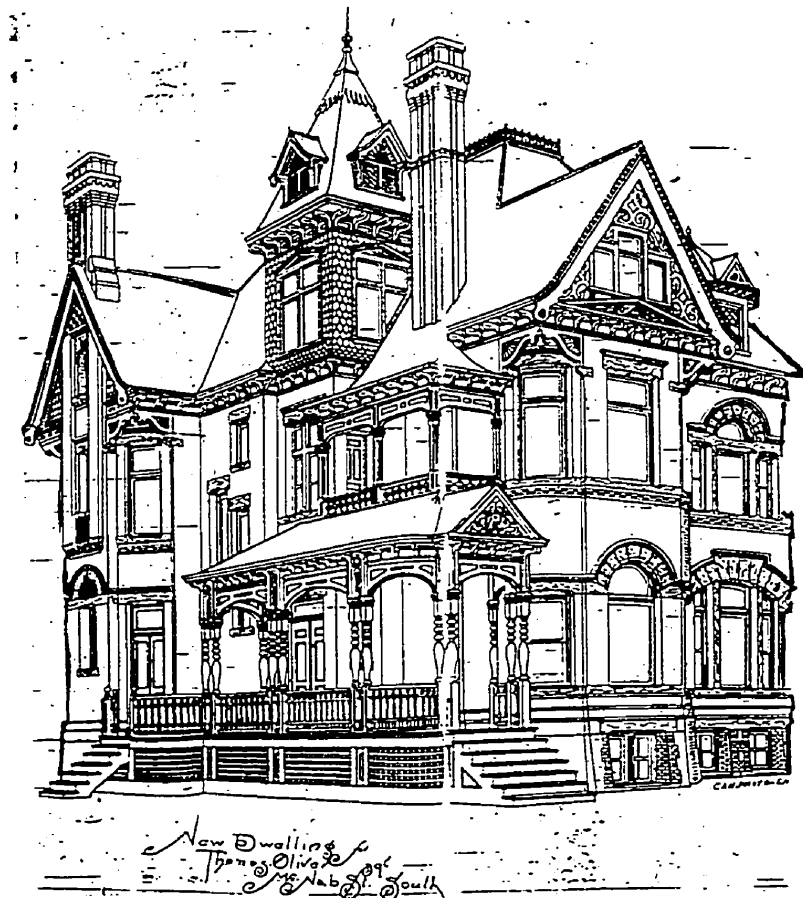


FIGURE 18: 44 and 46 Herkimer Street.

FIGURE 19: 234 MacNab Street. House for Thomas Oliver

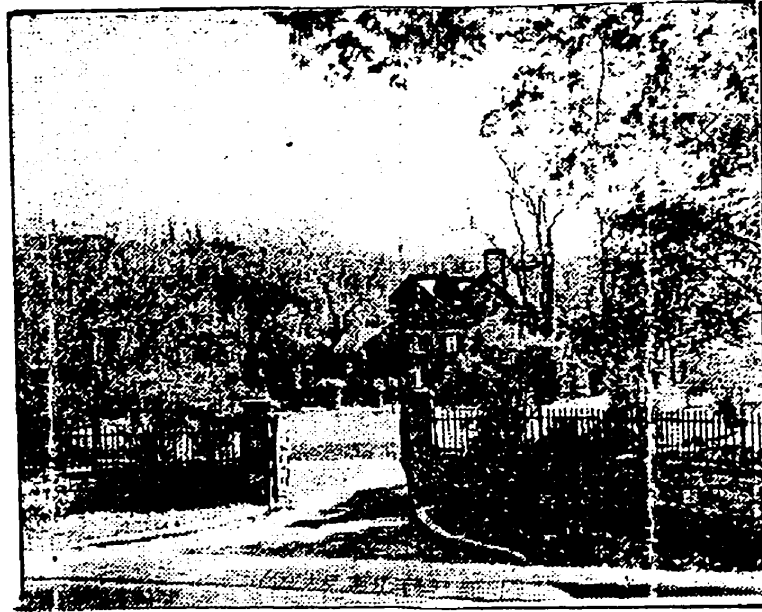


FIGURE 20: "Bellevue".
FIGURE 21: "Inglewood"

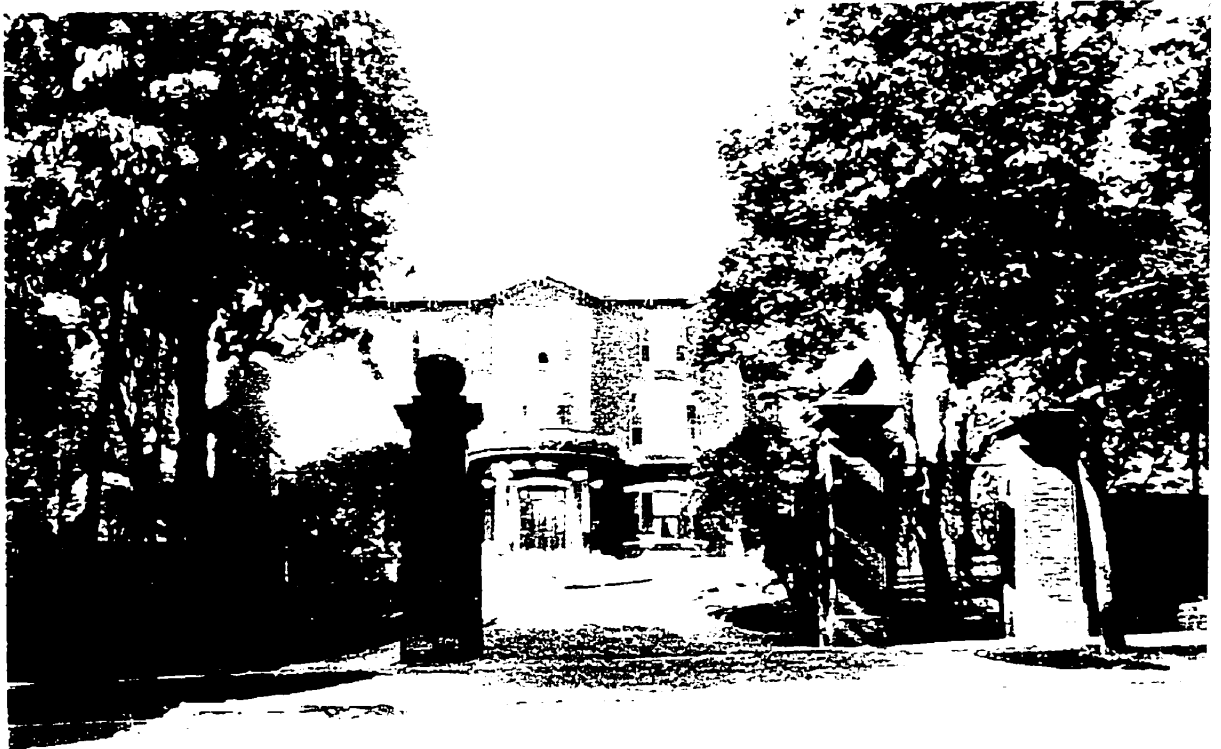


FIGURE 22: "Ballinahinch"
FIGURE 23: "Holmstead" (1899)

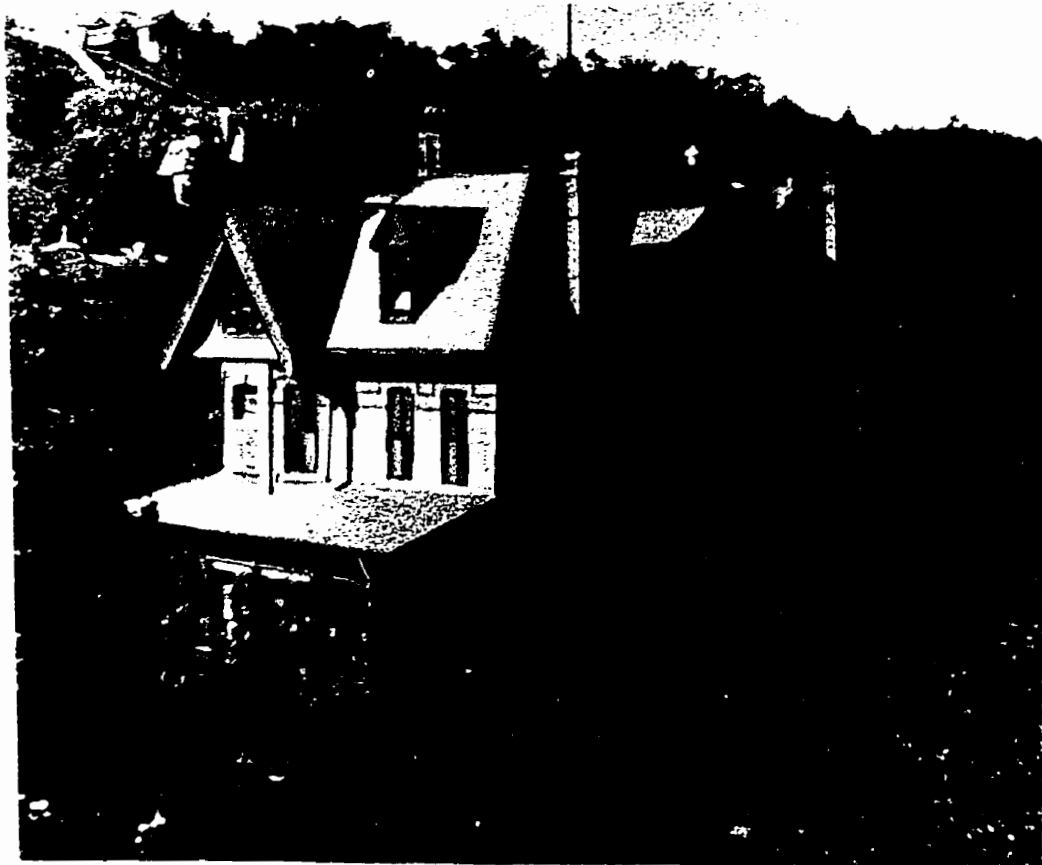


FIGURE 24: Bisby House, Hannah Street.
FIGURE 25: "Bowbrook"

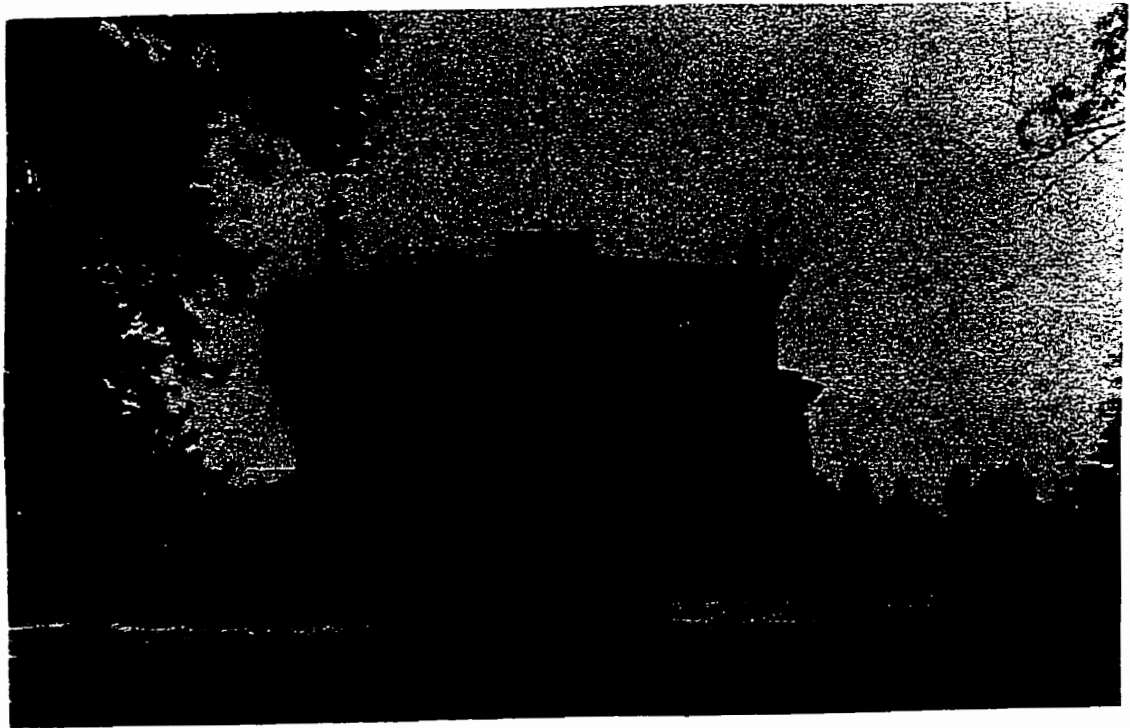


FIGURE 26a: "Holmstead" (1892)

FIGURE 26b: "Holmstead" (1903)



FIGURE 27: John Hendrie home, Hunter Street
FIGURE 28: 252 James Street.



FIGURE 29: Sanford House (1889)
FIGURE 30: "Wesanford" (1899)



N.B. The size of the building has been exaggerated by adjusting the size of the figures, which are actually shown $\frac{1}{2}$ the size they should be in relation to the building.

FIGURE 31: W.E. Sanford & Co. (1903)



FIGURE 32a: "Oak Hall", Hamilton
FIGURE 32b: "Oak Hall", Toronto

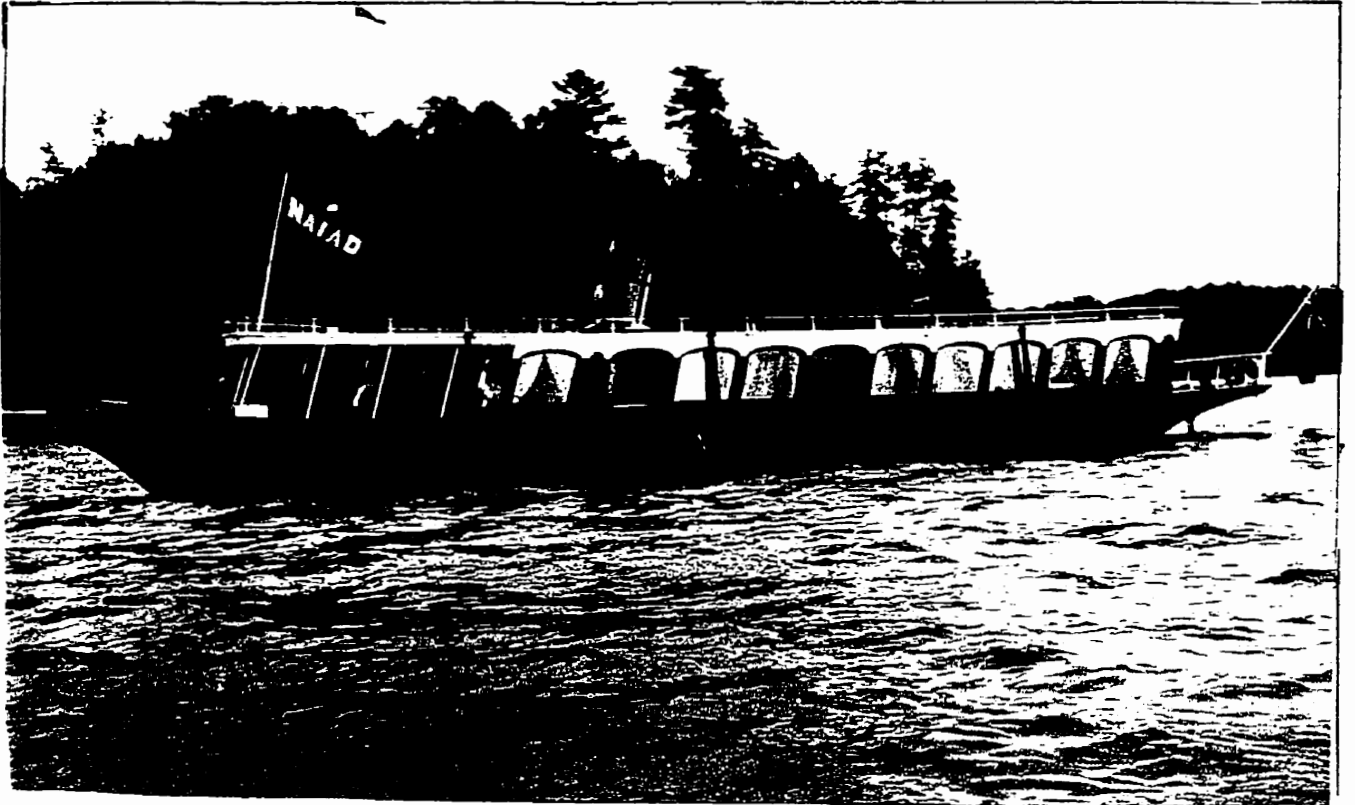
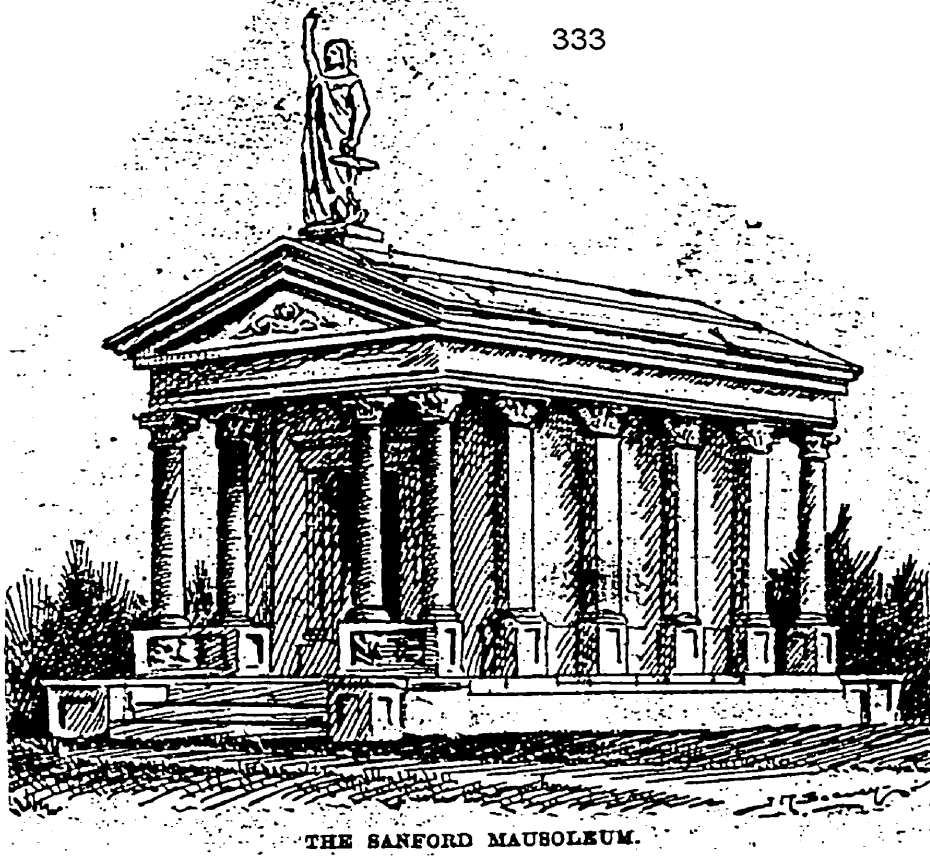


FIGURE 33: "Naiad".



THE SANFORD MAUSOLEUM.



FIGURE 34a: Sanford Mausoleum. Drawing from New York Sunday Herald, Jan. 16, 1898

FIGURE 34b: Sanford Mausoleum, Hamilton Cemetery



S = Sanford
 H = Hendrie
 B = Brown
 C = Hamilton Club
 Inner circle radius = 1/4 mile
 Outer circle radius = 1/2 mile

FIGURE 35: Home Location of Hamilton's Elite Living in Study Area, 1901

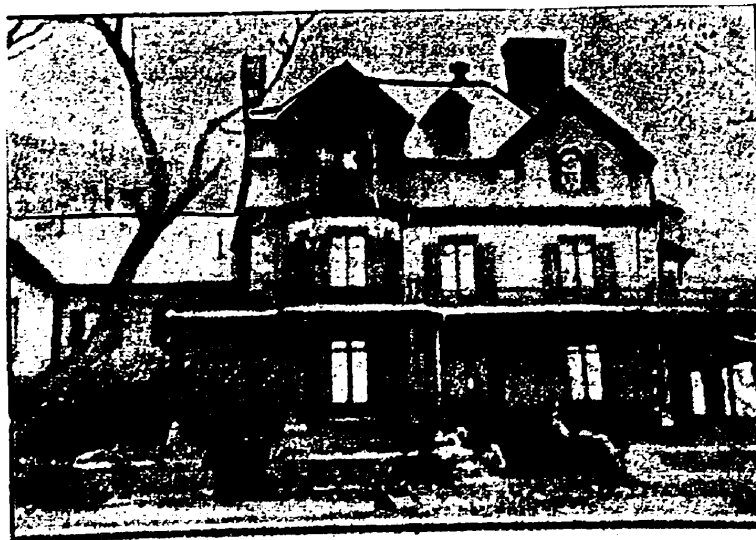


FIGURE 36a: "Bellevue", ca. 1830.
FIGURE 36b: "Bellevue". Late 19th c.



FIGURE 37: "Inglewood".
FIGURE 38: "Highfield"



FIGURE 39: "Ballinahinch"

FIGURE 40: "Ballinahinch". Detail from Whitefield, 1852

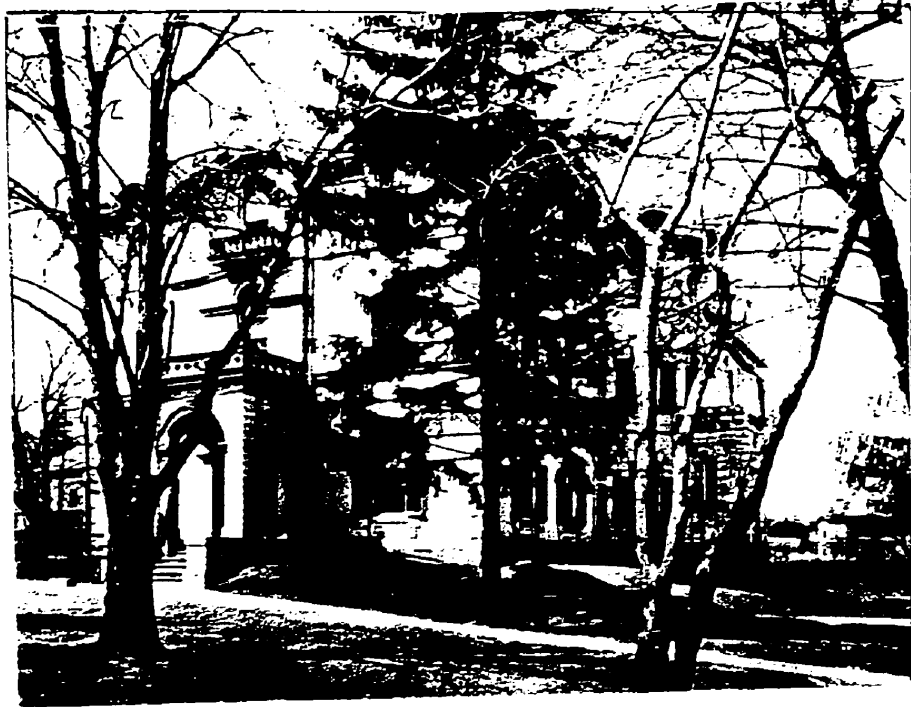


FIGURE 41a: "Undermount". 1899

FIGURE 41b: "Undermount". Detail from Whitefield, 1852



THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRINCE AT HAMILTON



FIGURE 42a: "Arkledun". 1860

FIGURE 42b: "Arkledun". Detail from Whitefield, 1852



FIGURE 43: "Ravenswood"
FIGURE 44a: "Amisfield"

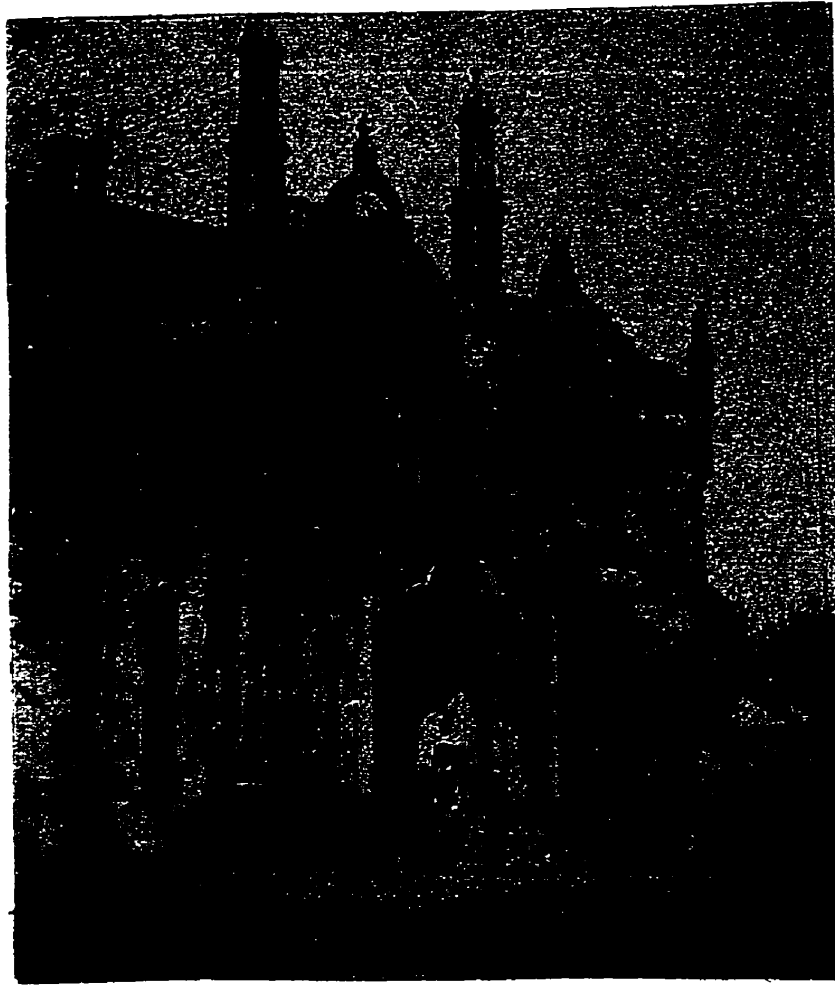


FIGURE 44b: "Amisfield"

FIGURE 44c: "Amisfield". Whitefield preparatory drawing. 1852.

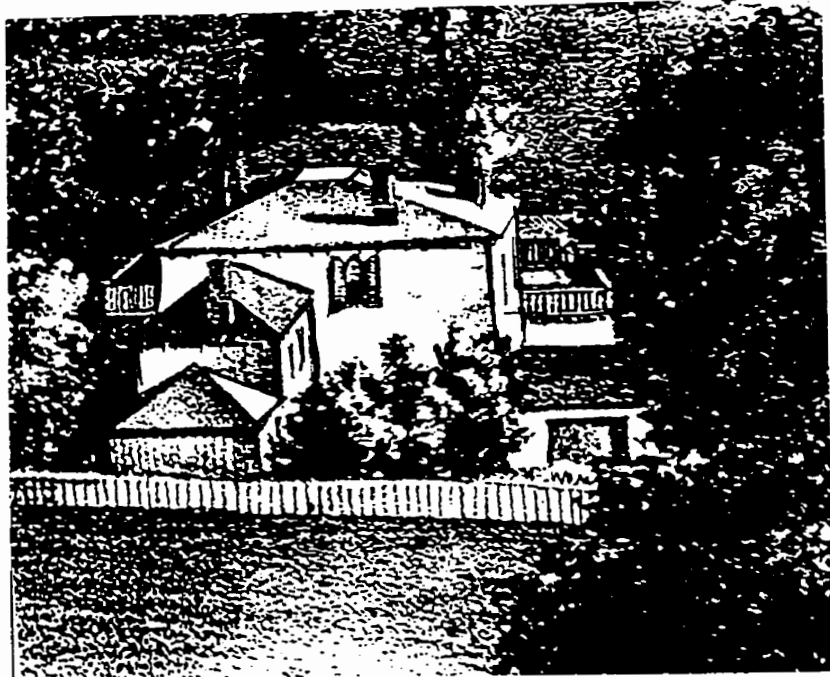


FIGURE 45a: "Oakbank". 1903

FIGURE 45b: "Oakbank". Detail from Whitefield, 1852

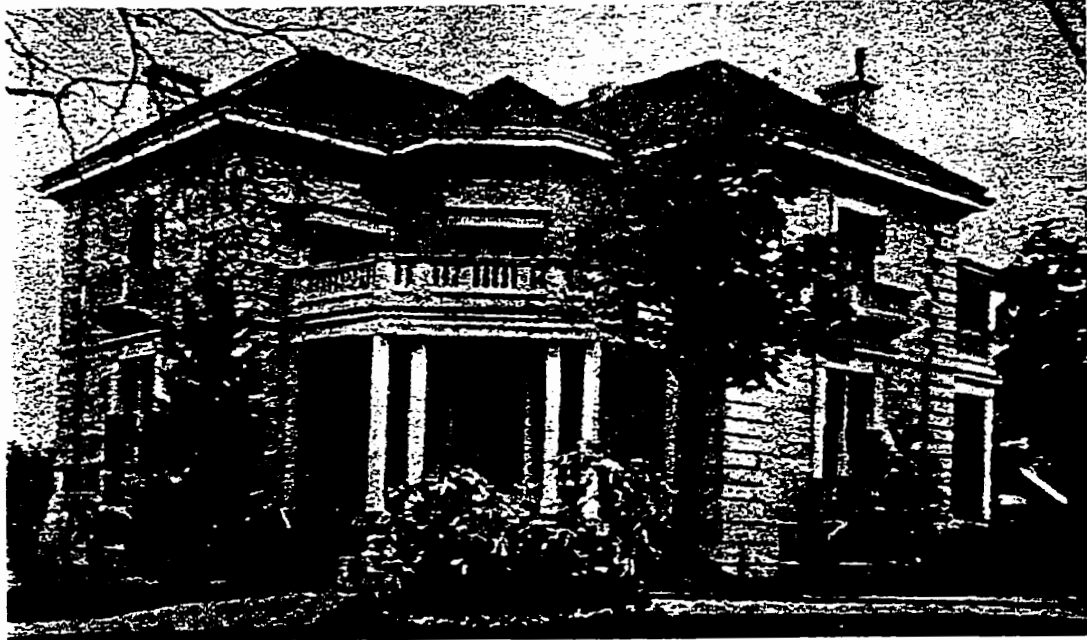


FIGURE 46: "Elmwood"
FIGURE 47: "Balquidder"



FIGURE 48: "Dunedin"
FIGURE 49: "Greenhill"

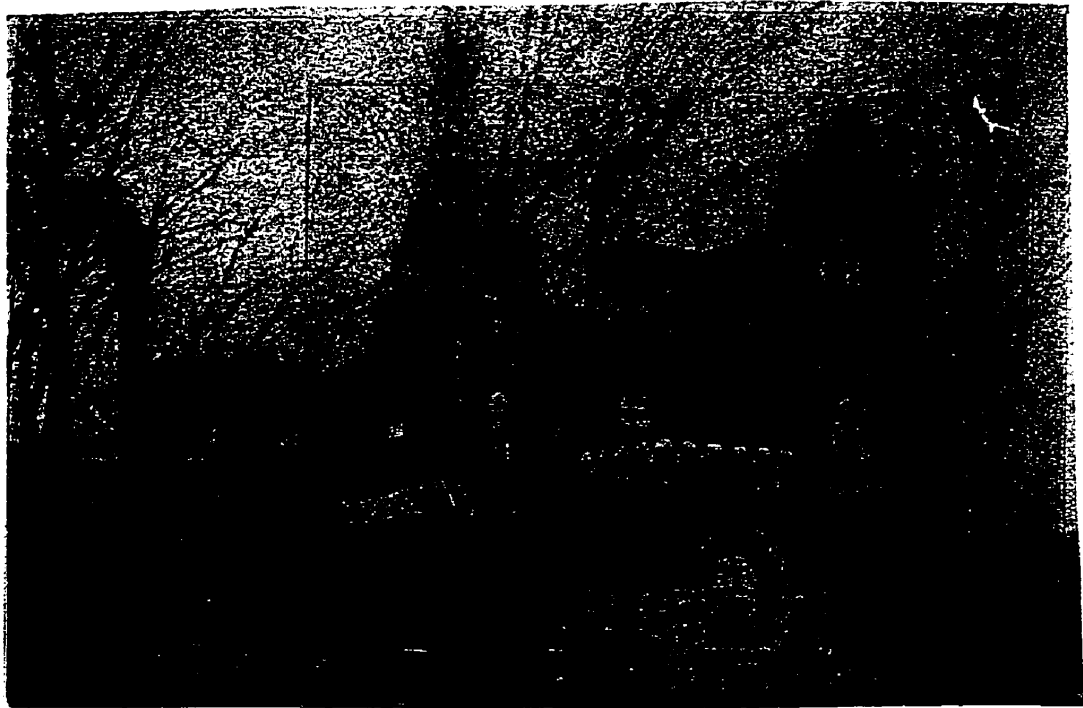


FIGURE 50: Bisby House, Hannah Street
FIGURE 51: "Elmhurst"



FIGURE 52: 268 James Street South

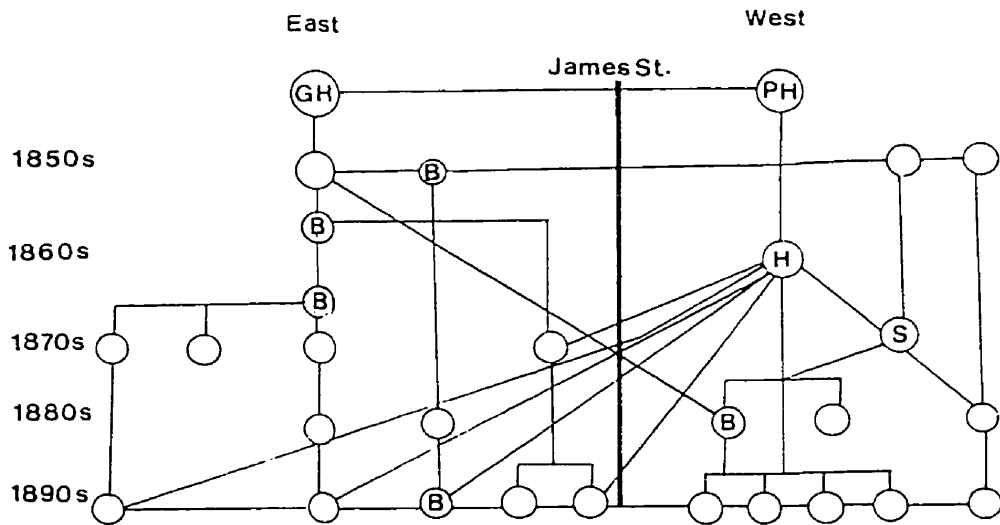
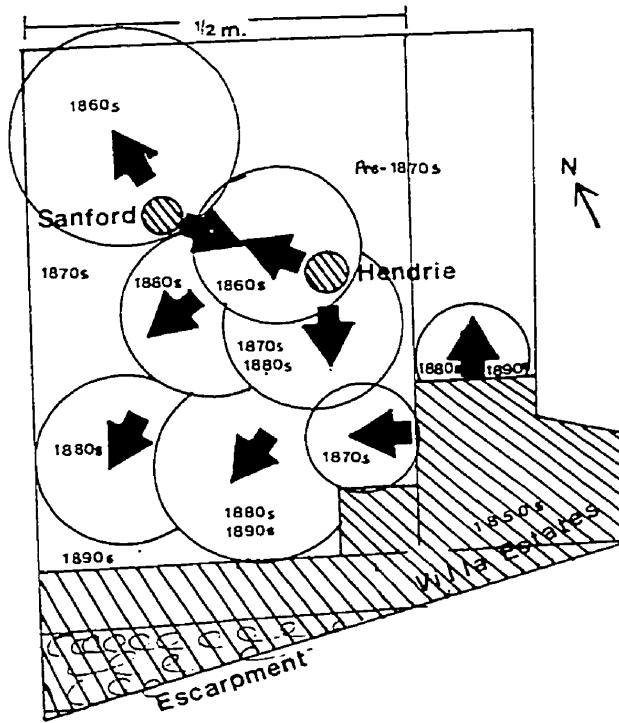


FIGURE 53a: Housing Development in south-central Hamilton to 1900
 FIGURE 53b: Social connections between elite nodes in relation to housing development. (GH = G. Hamilton; PH = P. Hamilton; H = Hendrie; S = Sanford; B = Brown)



FIGURE 54: Herkimer Terrace

FIGURE 55: Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh, Scotland.



FIGURE 56: Sandyford Place
FIGURE 57: "Pinehurst"



FIGURE 58: 264 MacNab Street
FIGURE 59: 272 MacNab Street

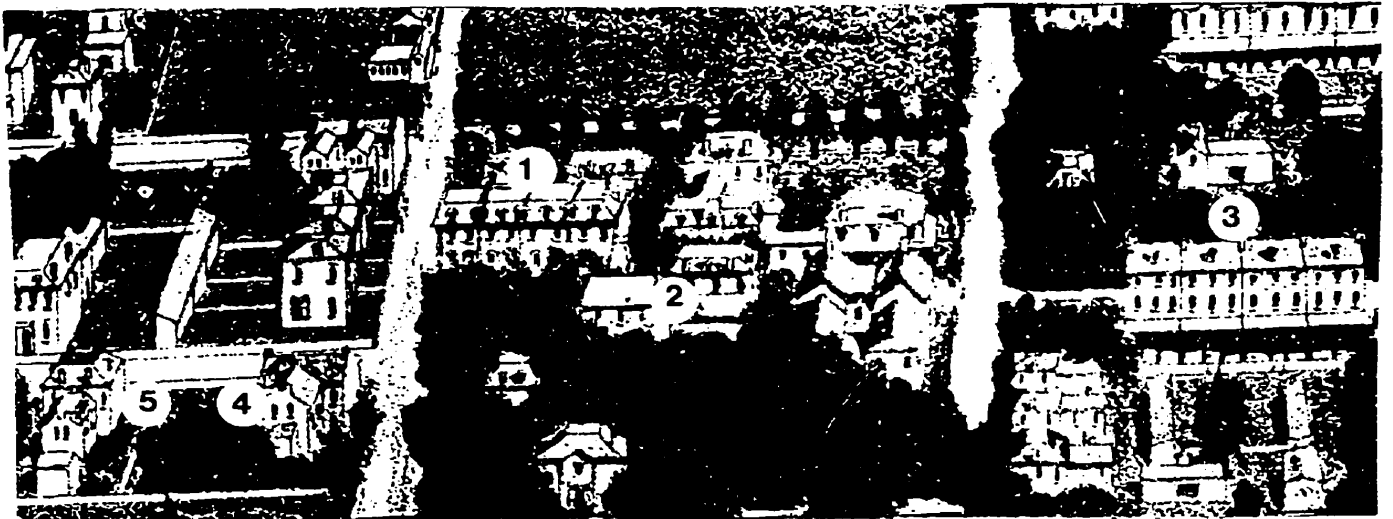


FIGURE 60: 39 Herkimer Street

FIGURE 61: 42, 44, 46 Herkimer Street. Bird's-Eye View, 1883

- 1. 42, 44, 46 Herkimer
- 2. 39 Herkimer
- 3. Herkimer Terrace
- 4. 272 Park (Bunbury)
- 5. 69 Herkimer (Sinclair)

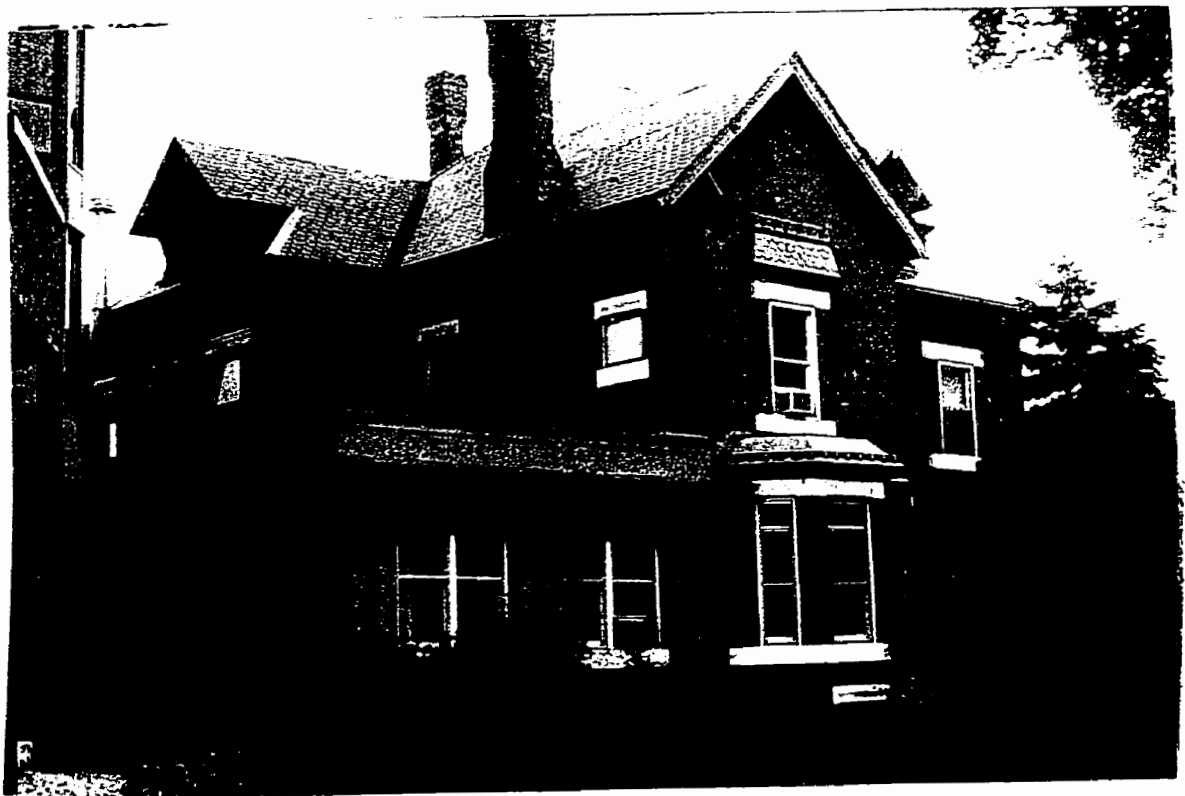
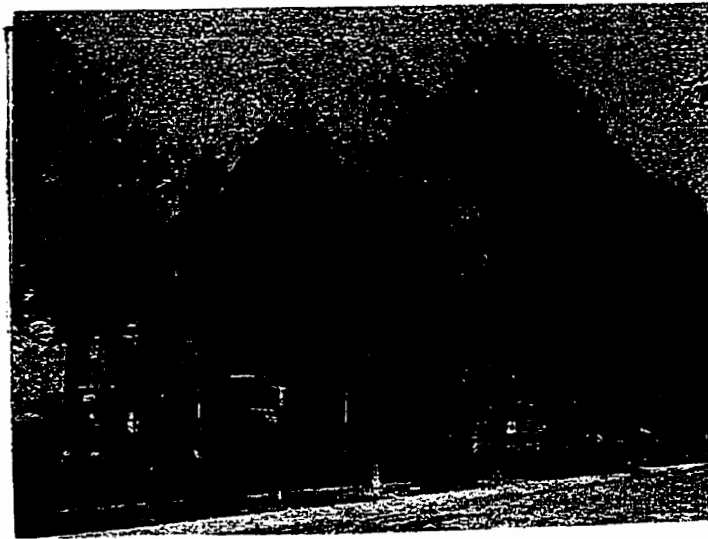


FIGURE 62: "Ravelston"
FIGURE 63: "Kenwood Lodge"

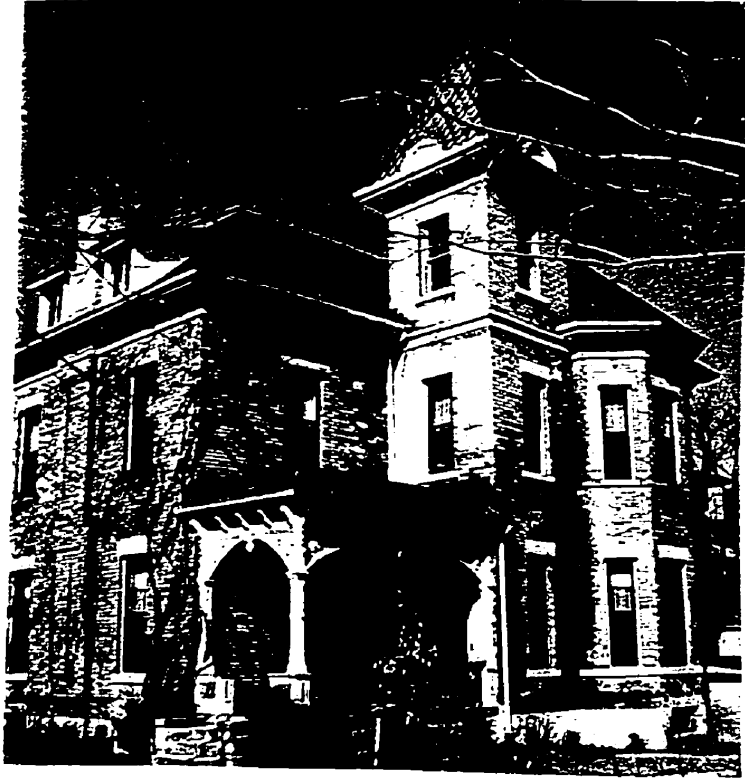


FIGURE 64: 72 Hannah Street
FIGURE 65: 311 Bay Street.



FIGURE 66: 301 Bay Street
FIGURE 67: "Blackanton"

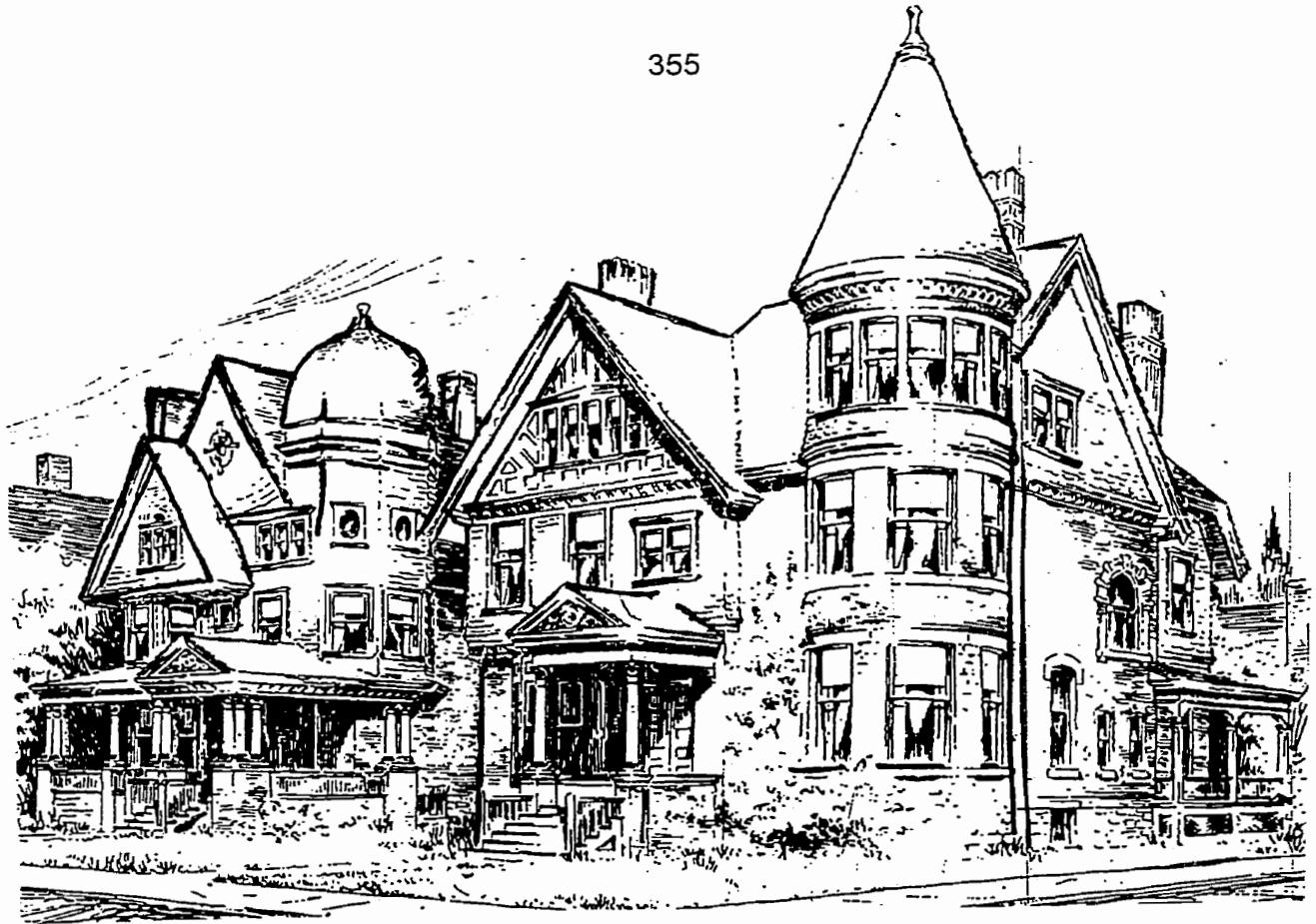


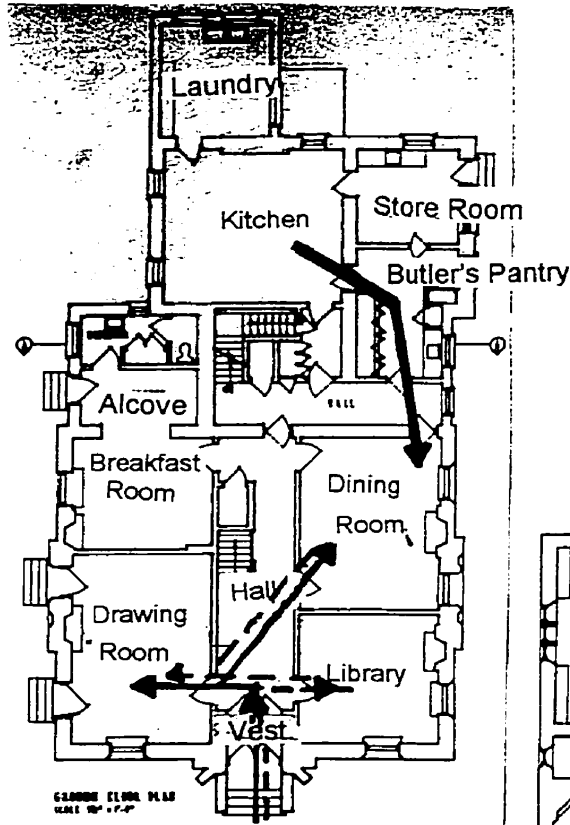
FIGURE 68: 274 and 280 Bay Street. Architect's Drawing
FIGURE 69: 274, 280, 282 Bay Street



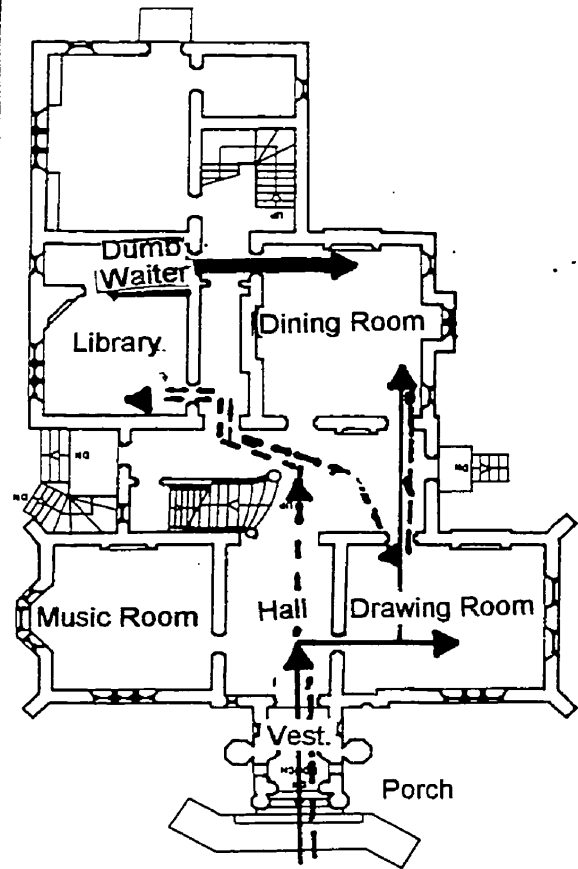
FIGURE 70: "Ingleneuk"
FIGURE 71: Hall, "Holmstead"



FIGURE 72: Hall, 252 James Street
FIGURE 73: Stairs and Hall, "Elmwood"



GROUND FLOOR PLAN
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"



TRAFFIC FLOW
 Women ———→
 Men - - - - -→
 Servants ———→

FIGURE 74: Ground Floor, "Ravenswood". Architectural Plans
 FIGURE 75: Ground Floor, "Amisfield". Architectural Plans

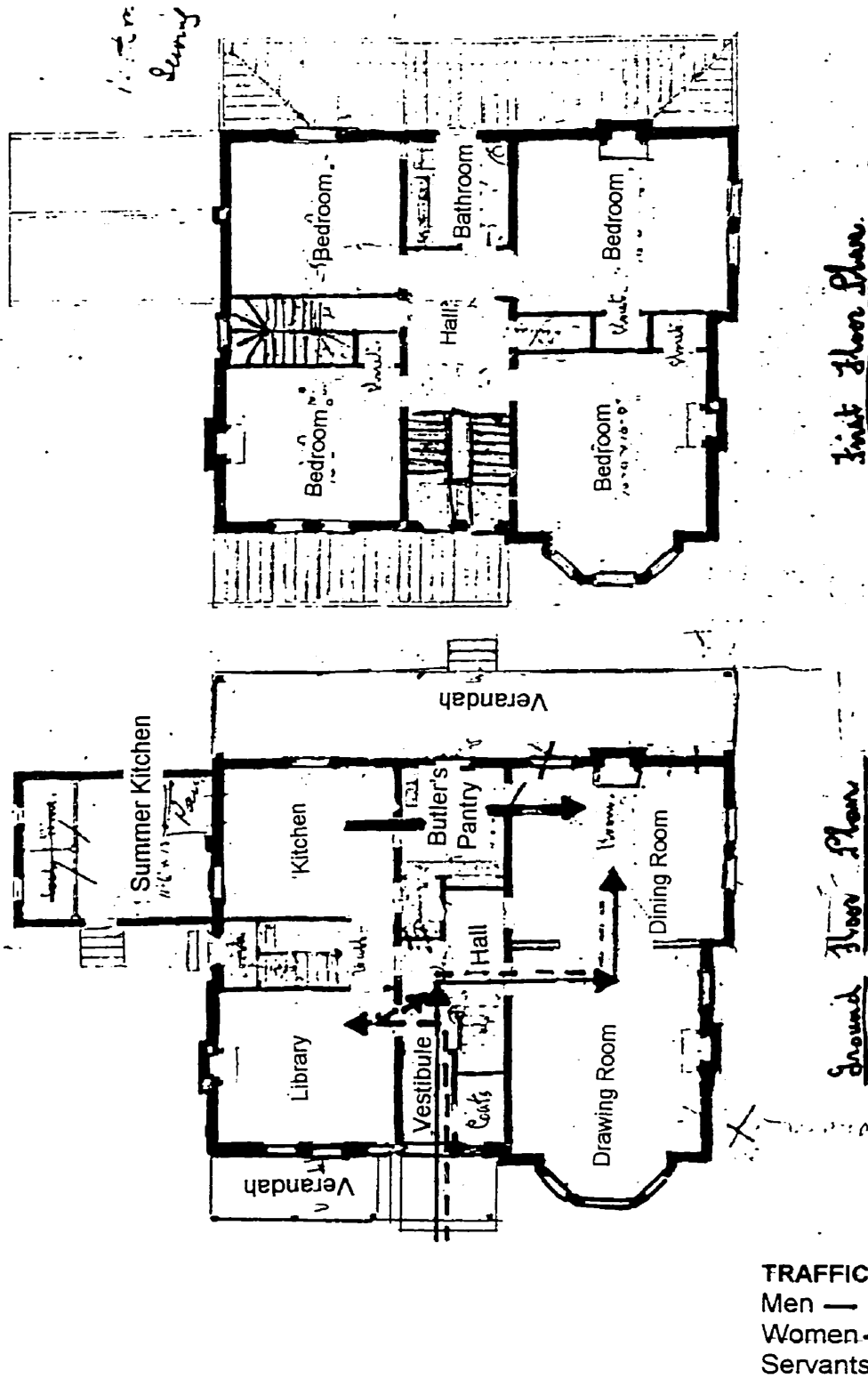


FIGURE 76a: 272 Park Street. Ground Floor. Architectural Plans, Aug., 1881
 FIGURE 76b: 272 Park Street. First Floor. Architectural Plans, Aug., 1881

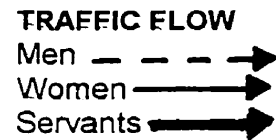
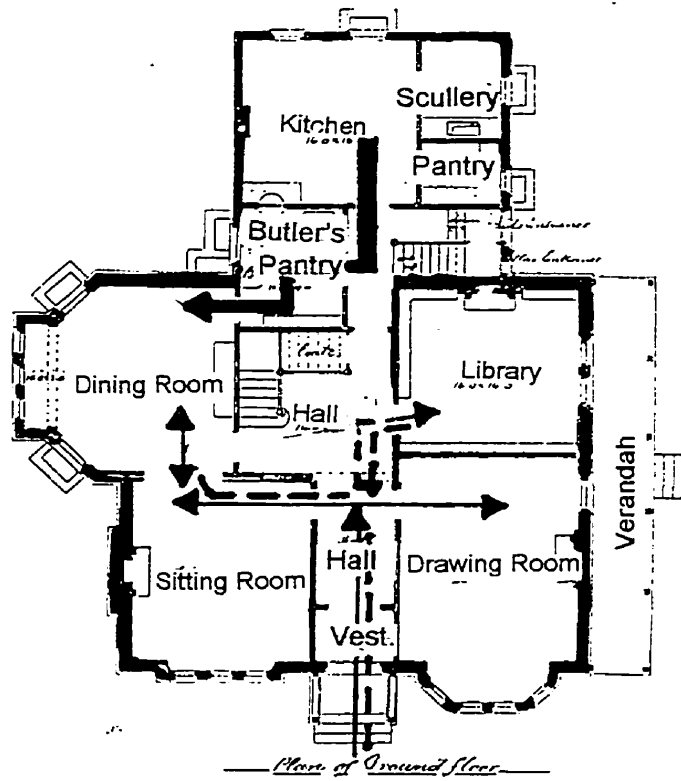


FIGURE 77a: 69 Herkimer. Ground Floor. Architectural Plans, March 15, 1880
 FIGURE 77b: 69 Herkimer. First Floor. Architectural Plans, March 15, 1880

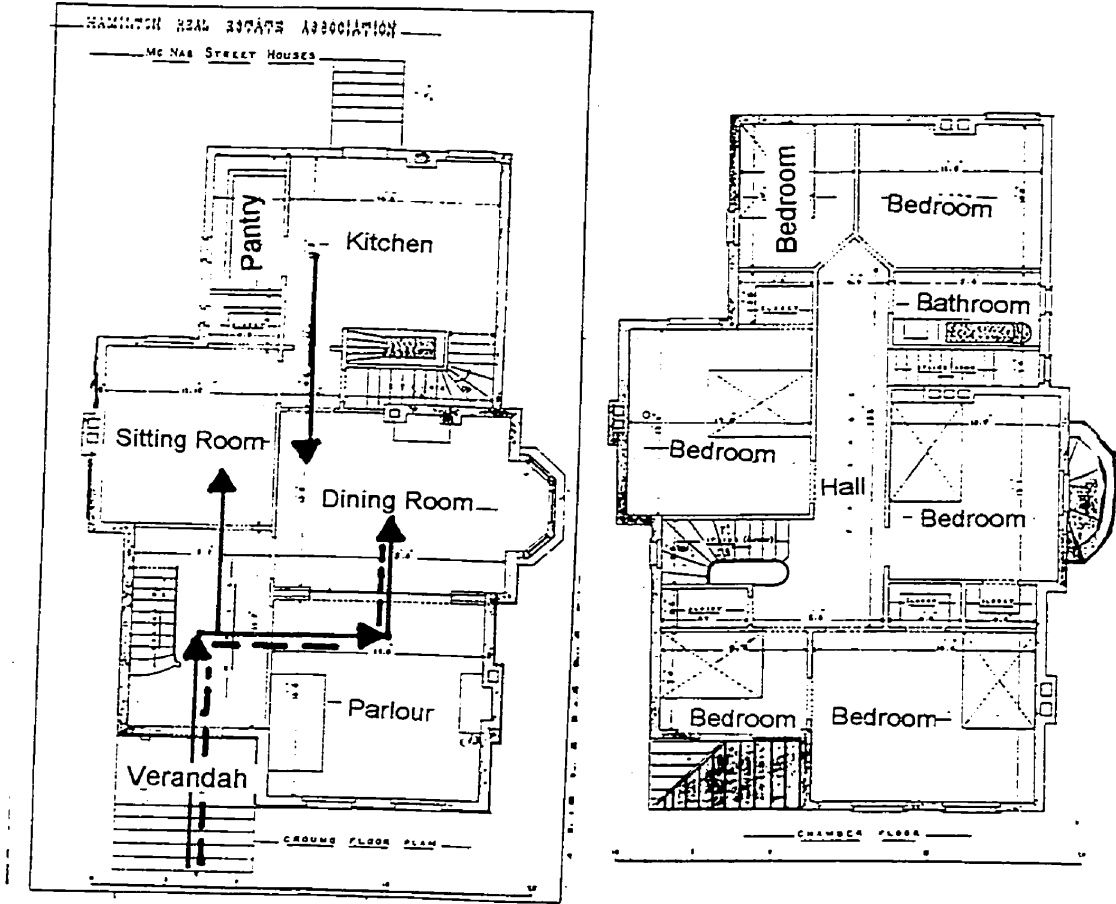
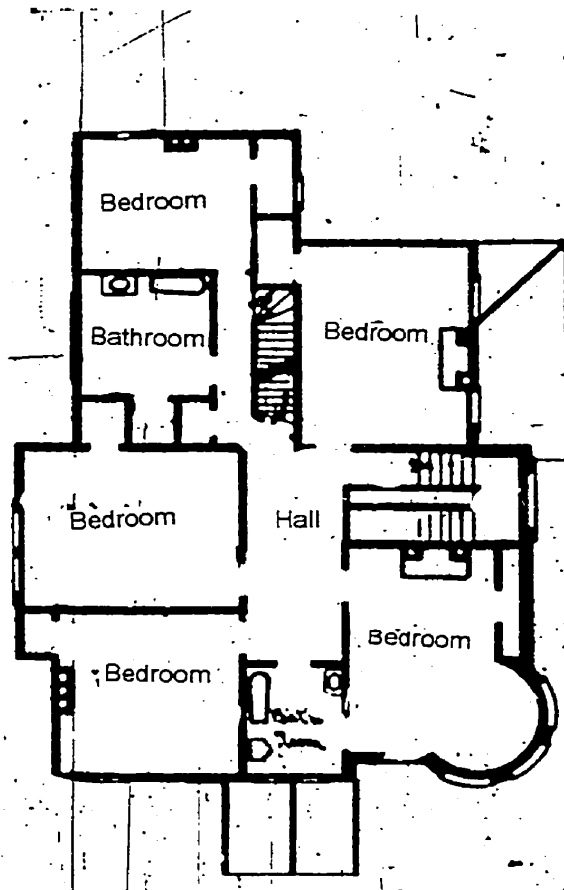
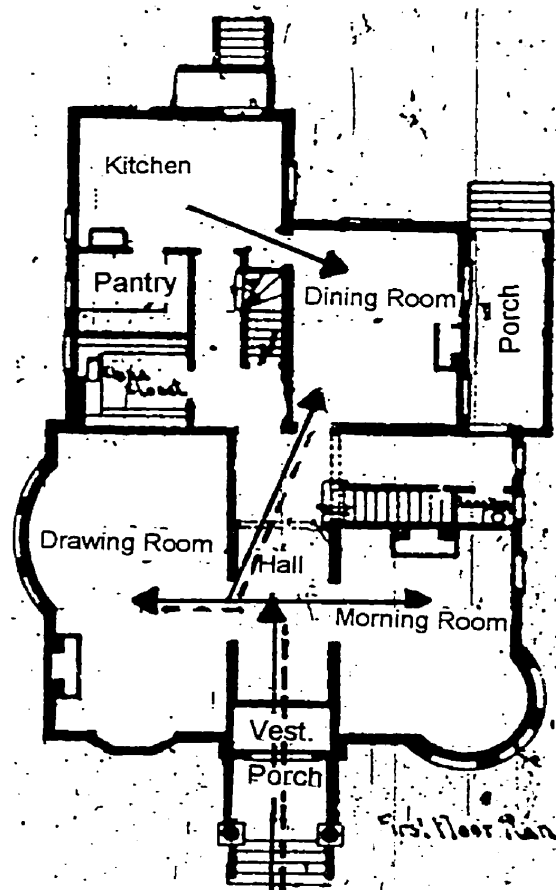


FIGURE 78a: MacNab Street Houses. Ground Floor. Architectural Plans
 FIGURE 78b: MacNab Street Houses. Chamber Floor. Architectural Plans.



TRAFFIC FLOW
 Men - - - - ->
 Women - - - - ->
 Servants - - - - ->

FIGURE 79a: 272 Bay Street. Ground Floor. Architectural Plans, 1892.
 FIGURE 79b: 272 Bay Street. Second Floor. Architectural Plans, 1892.

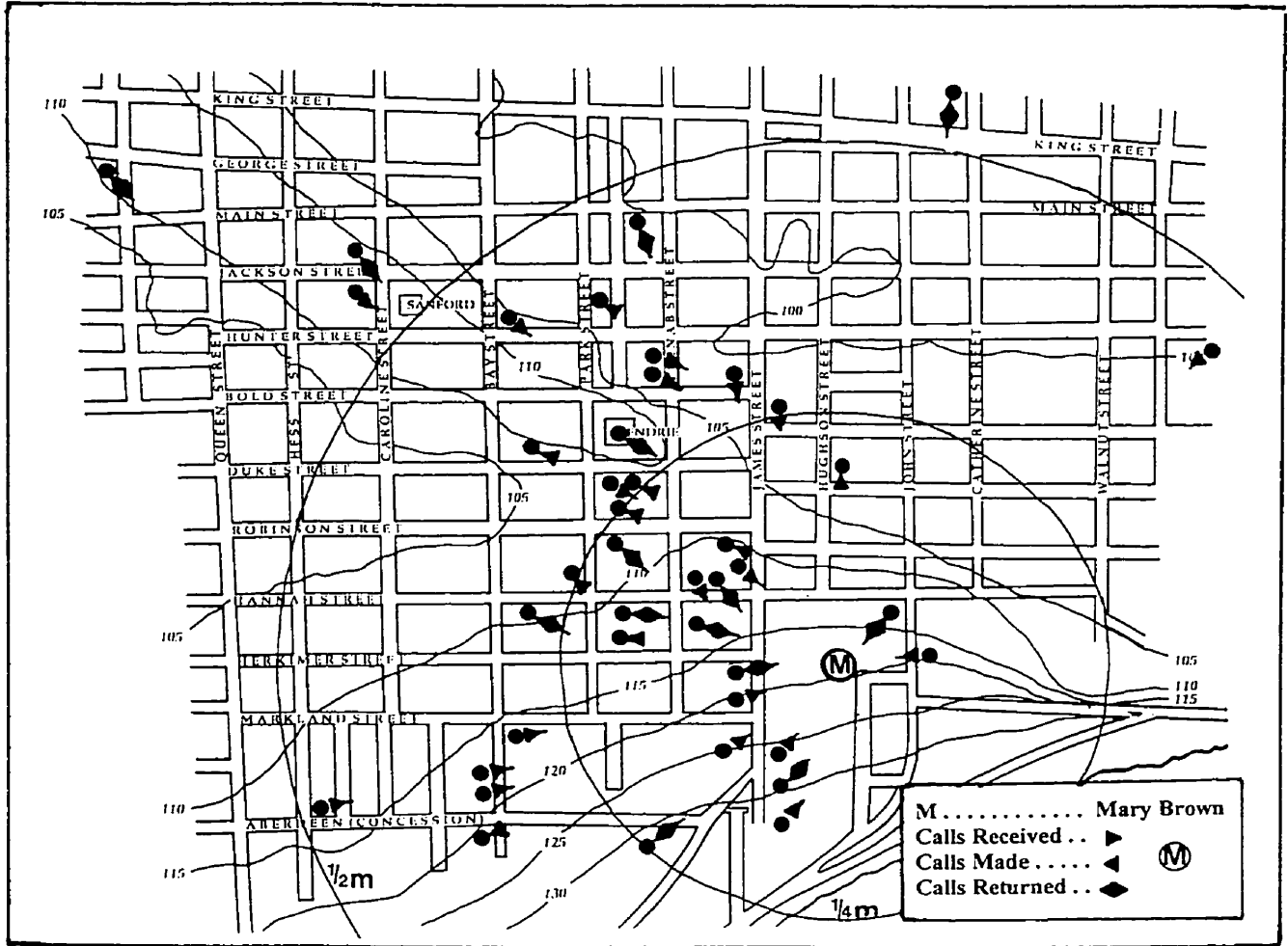


FIGURE 80: Mary Brown's Social Calls. January - March, 1893.

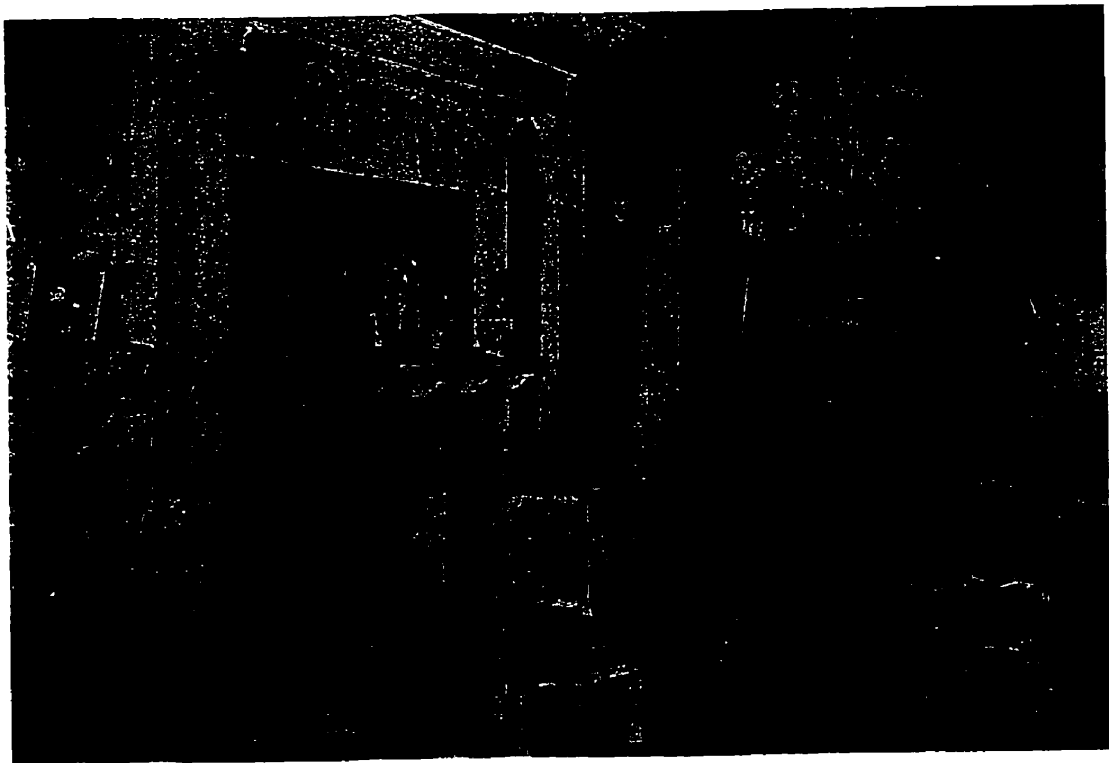


FIGURE 81: Drawing Room, "Wesanford"
FIGURE 82: Drawing Room, "Holmstead"

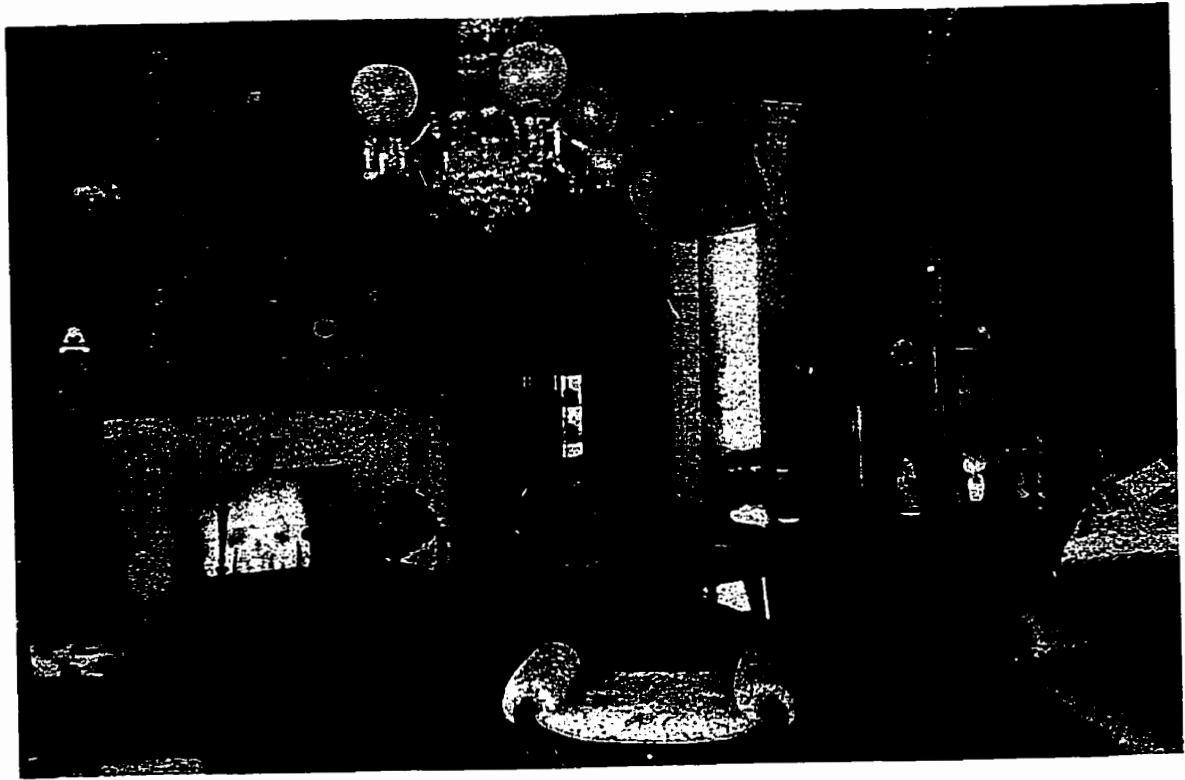


FIGURE 83: Drawing Room, "Elmwood"

FIGURE 84: Drawing Room, Adam Brown Home



FIGURE 85: Dining Room, "Holmstead"
FIGURE 86: Dining Room, "Elmwood"

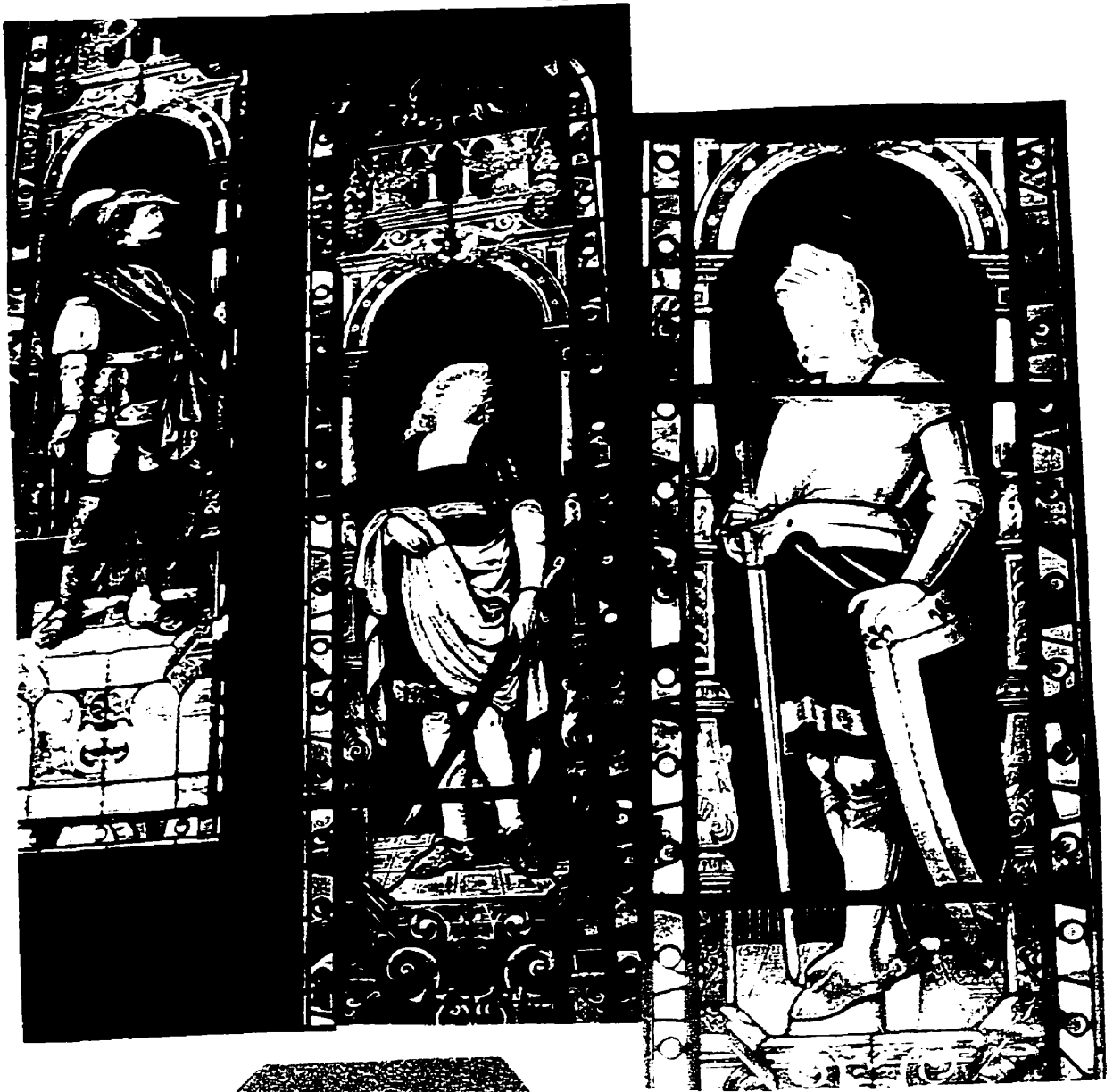


FIGURE 87a: Stained Glass, 252 James Street
FIGURE 87b: John Hendrie, 1903



FIGURE 88: Study, "Holmstead"
FIGURE 89: Library, "Elmwood"

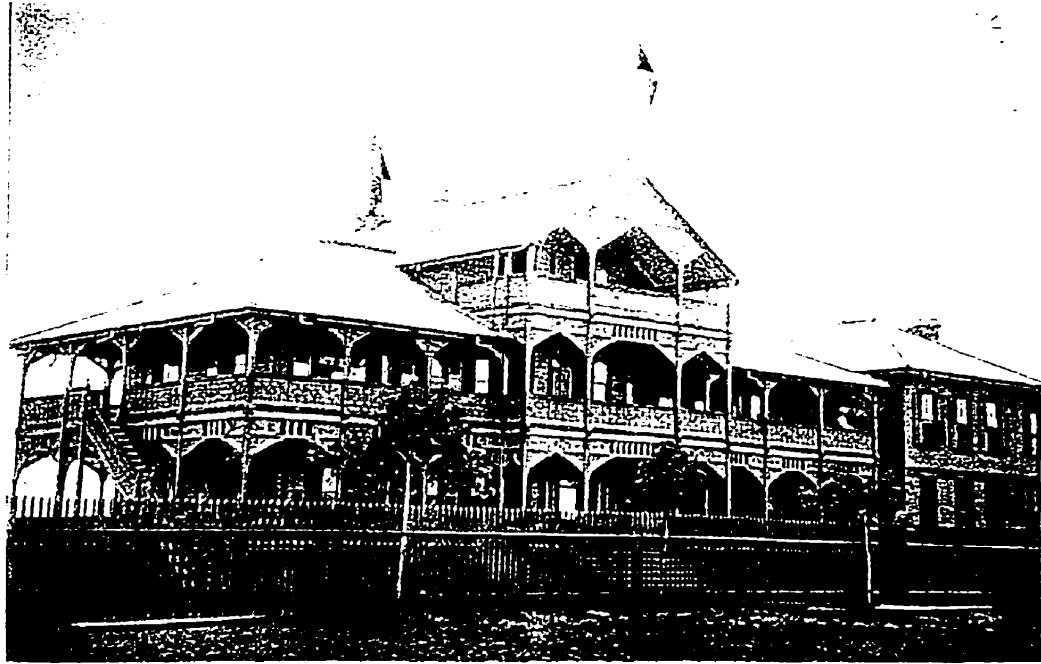


FIGURE 90: "Elsinore"