

ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE FOR THE DOMINION: SCOTT, FULLER AND THE STRATFORD POST OFFICE

In the nineteenth century the town post office was considered highly visible evidence of the progress of civilization generally and of national development specifically. Postal service in Canada depended upon interprovincial and international economic co-operation, and it improved as means of transportation advanced. The well designed post office symbolized this progress and demonstrated sophisticated architectural taste as well.¹ The design of postal buildings that would lend prestige to the Canadian government could not be left to chance: less than fifteen years after Confederation it became one of the chief functions of the Dominion Architect.

In *Ontario Towns*, Douglas Richardson has shown that the post offices of Thomas Fuller (1823-98), Canada's Chief Architect from 1881 to 1897, were the most distinctive examples of this building type. He points to the "family resemblance" among them and, at the same time, to the unique character of each one, suited to its townscape. Fuller's post offices were:

designed as two-and-a-half storey rectangular buildings with one-storey extensions at the rear. The longer face was turned to the street, taller than it was wide, and had a high gable in the centre. Fuller's manner was a distinctive combination of French Renaissance composition and High Victorian Gothic detailing — a forceful mixture of massively proportioned blocks with roughly textured surfaces incorporating rhythmically varied but strongly grouped elements.²

Richardson has perceptively isolated the features of the typical Fuller post office, such as those in Strathroy, Ontario (Fig. 1) and Lachine, Quebec (Fig. 2).³ It is my contention here, however, that Fuller perfected a type initiated by his predecessor Thomas Seaton Scott (1836-95) in the Post Office of Stratford, Ontario, now demolished (Fig. 3). This paper will set the Stratford Post Office and the Fuller buildings in the context of the two architects' careers and will demonstrate the transformation wrought in postal architecture by them. Furthermore, it will consider the idea that the style of the Stratford Post Office may derive ultimately from Fuller's Parliament Buildings at Ottawa (Fig. 17), and thus represent a "Dominion image" in public architecture.



Fig. 1. Thomas Fuller, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, corner Frank and Centre Streets, Strathroy, Ont. Contract signed 31 July 1889. (Photo: *The Age-Dispatch*).



Fig. 2. Thomas Fuller, The Lachine Post Office, City of Lachine, c. 1891. (Photo: Archives of the City of Lachine).

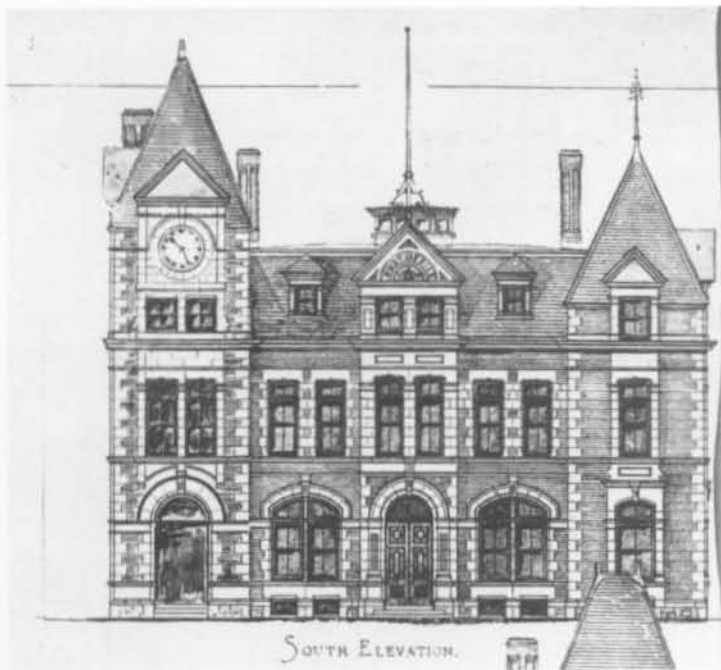


Fig. 4. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford, Ont. Front (south) elevation designed in or before Sept. 1881. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).



Fig. 3. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, north side of Ontario St., Stratford Ont. Designed in or before Sept. 1881. Contract signed 16 January 1882. (Photo: before 1894, Perth County Archives).

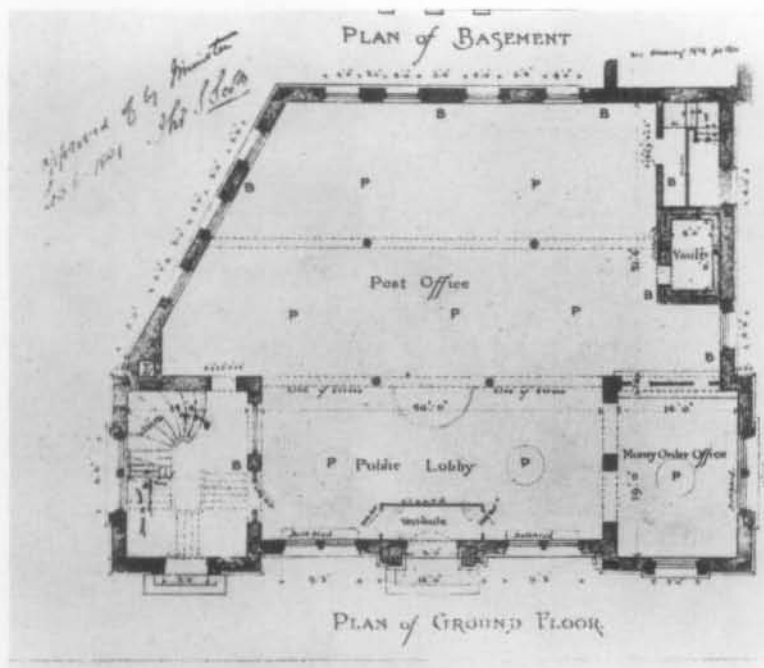


Fig. 5. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford Ont. Ground-floor plan & note signed by Scott, 8 Sept. 1881. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).



Fig. 7. Stratford Ont. Ontario Street looking east from a point just west of Erie St.: Post Office (left), Gordon Block, 1902 now threatened (right), tower of Knox Presbyterian Church, distance (burned). (Photo: Perth County Archives).



Fig. 6. T. S. Scott, Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, Stratford Ont. Shortly before demolition in 1961. (Photo: Stratford Beacon-Herald).



Fig. 8. Stratford Ont. Looking north up Downie (Market) St. towards Ontario St. (Photo: Perth County Archives).

The Post Office in Stratford (Fig. 4) was possibly Scott's last design as Chief Architect.⁴ Appointed in 1872, Scott had served in an expansive decade of public building, but on 9 September 1881 he took a leave of absence and three months later he resigned. On 31 October Thomas Fuller returned from Albany, New York, to replace him.⁵ Fuller had left Ottawa in 1867, with the Parliament Buildings largely complete, to work on the New York State Legislative Buildings. Scott had only just completed the Stratford Post Office designs before his resignation, for the floor plans in the Public Archives bear a brief note signed and dated by Scott in September 1881 (Fig. 5).⁶ Therefore, although the specifications were signed by Scott's interim replacement, D. Ewart, and the contract was signed after Fuller's appointment in January 1882, the design of the Stratford Post Office can be attributed to T. S. Scott.

Yet curiously, the Stratford building that Scott designed bears most of the earmarks of a Fuller post office as described by Richardson. First, it conforms to the basic spatial distribution: it originally consisted of a basement and two and a half storeys, although one more storey was added in 1894 after a fire (Fig. 6).⁷ Moreover, the uses of the storeys agreed with those in the typical Fuller post office: a ground floor with a public lobby and deep mail-sorting area; a second floor accommodating offices of the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments; and an attic, half of which was given over to the custodian's quarters while half was left unfinished. The Stratford Post Office was a rectangular mansarded mass, except for the northwest corner which was lopped off by a roadway, with a rear ell containing a Weights and Measures office and one for the Gas Inspector.⁸ The same features appear in post office buildings of the 1870s, except that these were sometimes three and a half storeys tall.

Like Fuller's post offices, the Stratford structure had a decided landmark quality. It occupied a commanding site, taking over a treed plot known as "Shakespeare Square," which stood on rising ground between intersections on the town's main thoroughfare, Ontario Street. It was visible from both directions along Ontario Street (Fig. 7), from Huron Street to the west at the foot of Ontario Street, and from the far side of the Avon River (which lies north of the site). Its position on Ontario Street between Erie and Downie made its end towers visual anchors for the two streets. It gave Downie (formerly Market) Street (Fig. 8) an axial quality, with a sense of concentrated activity, for it acted as an opposite pole to the Town Hall and Market buildings (1857)

standing back-to-back one block to the south. Even among the elegant commercial buildings of booming Stratford, the Post Office stood out forcefully, a high-style structure of character, confidence, and stability.⁹

Stylistically the Stratford Post Office combined formal planning with picturesque accents, in much the same way as later buildings by Fuller. Its formality can be related to the vogue of French Renaissance or Second Empire initiated by the New Louvre of Visconti and Lefuel (1852-57). The mansard roof was the most obvious Second Empire feature, but the planning also revealed some similarity. The two towers functioned, on plan, as slightly projecting end pavilions, while the façade gable and projecting central bay established a central axis of symmetry. The regular march of windows in uninflected rows about the building had a formal quality as well. Although the Post Office lacked the Second Empire's customary plastic richness of surface, its refined smoothness and some of its decorative features — the quoins, the keystones, the cornice and stringcourses — reflected a studied and deliberate classicism. Mouldings were delicate and clean edged, and the window-frames of the various storeys subtly differentiated.

But Stratford's Post Offices also had a picturesque personality that can be related to T. S. Scott's experience in the Gothic mode and, more generally, to the High Victorian Gothic movement in Britain. George Hersey has succinctly described the High Victorian Gothic:

It is colorful, asymmetrical, sharp-faceted, full of jumpy rhythms, and laced into irregular grids with polychrome bands. Weighty geometrical solids are juggled into alternately tight and expansive array... [Also it has a concern] to express the different functions and sites of individual buildings.¹⁰

The Stratford Post Office had some of these qualities. First, it was intended to be viewed, not as an isolated sculptural object approached frontally, but within its unusual site and from odd angles. The underlying symmetry of the façade was deliberately thrown off by unequal towers and asymmetrical placement of doors. The off-square rear elevation also contributed to this multi-faceted aspect. A memory of the "rudeness" that Ruskin had admired¹¹ persisted in the rock-faced basement and subtle polychromy of the exterior masonry, though the bulk of

the building lacked the surface rusticity of Gothic.¹² Finally, the pleasantly varied roofscape — pyramidal towers, finials, tall panelled chimneys, front gable and dormers — reflected a High Victorian fondness for spiky Gothic silhouettes. The jagged profiles of Fuller's post offices would recall these even more vividly.

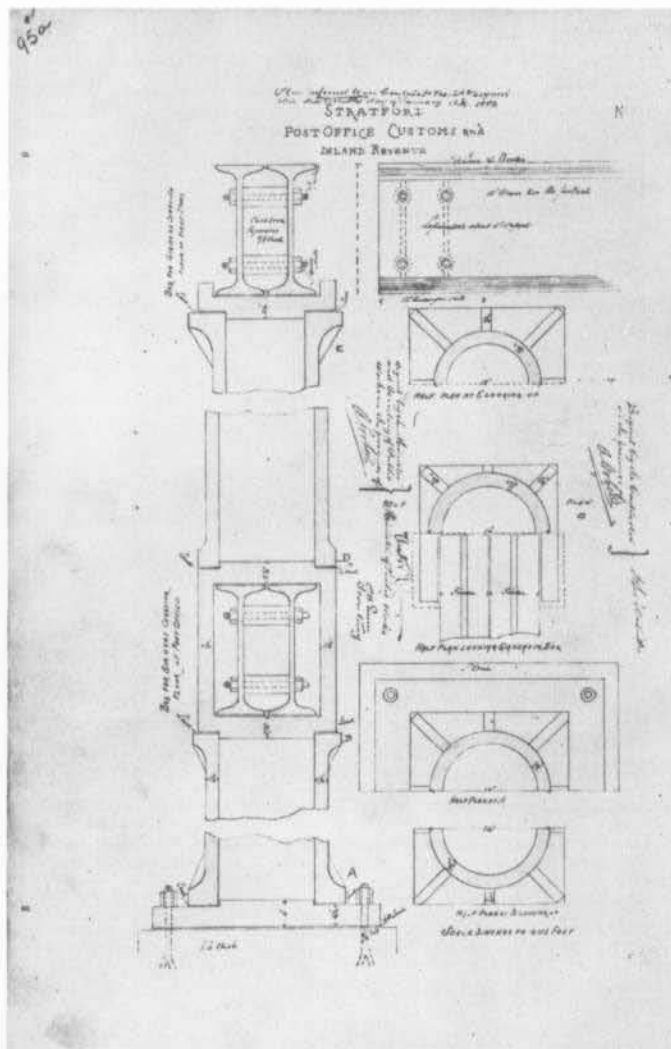
Structurally, however, the building was more avant-garde than many of Fuller's post offices in its use of cast-iron supporting members. Though its masonry walls were load-bearing, the floors were carried on a combination of timber joists (running front to rear) and iron girders beneath (side to side). The girders locked into the caps of cast-iron columns on all storeys (Fig. 9). Fuller seems, however, to have been more mistrustful of structural metal than Scott: he always placed iron columns in his ground floor lobbies, but only rarely used iron girders to help support the floors. Evidently, he did not fully possess the interest in structural iron, for strength and fireproofing, that was characteristic of the late nineteenth century.¹³

There are several other respects in which the Stratford Post Office differed from Fuller's highly personal solutions. For one thing, Fuller would develop a distinctive picturesque formula for massing, one that bordered on the additive in principle. He would start with a tall, rather gawky mansarded cube and add, depending on the site, a salient tower (Strathroy, Kitchener, Peterborough), an apsidal side projection (Galt and Hull, Quebec), a corner entrance (Kitchener and Napanee), or a broken skyline treatment, with the side elevation duplicating the gable of the main façade (Amherstburg, Smiths Falls). The Post Office in Lachine, Quebec (Fig. 2), like those in Orangeville and Gananoque, presents the basic type, though a clock-tower (probably added about 1915) appears in later photos. By contrast, Scott's Stratford structure, especially in its original state, was more horizontally massed and full of repose, with fewer angular projections and asymmetrical features. Moreover, Scott's smooth textures and delicate detail differed from Fuller's rough surfaces and bold handling. In place of traditional smooth mouldings, Fuller would often imitate H. H. Richardson's rock-faced belt-courses and window-heads that contrasted in texture and hue with the wall. Both Lachine and Strathroy are examples of this (Figs. 1, 2). The Auvergnat detail on Fuller's central gables was absolutely distinctive, as indeed were the enormous gables themselves: Gothic visual equivalents for the high mansarded pavilions in the centre of Second

Empire façades. Finally, Fuller's fondness for "rhythmically varied but strongly grouped elements," such as windows, is a study in contrast to Scott's quiet regularity. On the whole, it seems that Scott's Stratford Post Office established a type for the planning and structure of Fuller's typical post office; however Fuller departed from his predecessor where massing, texture and detail were concerned.

In presenting Scott's Stratford Post Office as a model for Fuller, one should also point out that it continued the formal tendencies of earlier Canadian public architecture. Though buildings constructed specifically as post offices were rare in Canada before the building campaign of the 1850's,¹⁴ there had been a tradition of classicizing town halls, court houses and jails. These conformed more or less to long-established British practice in public architecture, brought from the United Kingdom to the colonies. As late as 1842, for instance, John G. Howard would design a court house for Brockville (Fig. 10) so conservative that it seems old-fashioned even beside a Canadian prototype such as the 1811 Province House, Halifax.¹⁵ When separate post offices were needed, architects simply perpetuated such monumental, sober and clearly public designs. The most conservative of all, (but also the most accomplished), was the small temple front which Fred. Cumberland and William Storm built in 1852-53 for Toronto's Seventh Post Office, at 10 Toronto Street (Fig. 11). A more explicitly classical image than this "Grecian Ionic after the Temple of Minerva at Athens," could hardly be imagined in this country.¹⁶

Most post offices built between 1850 and 1870 were treated as Italian Renaissance *palazzi*. Between 1854 and 1856 Cumberland and Storm built a post office on James Street North in Hamilton, in an emphatically Roman Mannerist style (Fig. 12).¹⁷ Taste had changed: the heavily rusticated masonry and the Palladian windows of the ground floor, the cut-stone quoins of the upper storeys and the pedimented window tabernacles of the *piano nobile* replaced classicizing allusions. These had evidently been thought appropriate to the Pax Britannica, with Renaissance mercantile allusions suitable to the commercial alliance that the British Empire had become.¹⁸ The Hamilton Post Office might be compared, in form and decoration, to Sir Charles Barry's Reform Club in London's Pall Mall (1837-41).¹⁹ Another Mannerist post office, though this time in the Venetian vein of Sanmichele or Sansovino, was designed about 1857 or 1858 for Richmond Street in London, Ontario (Fig. 13). The



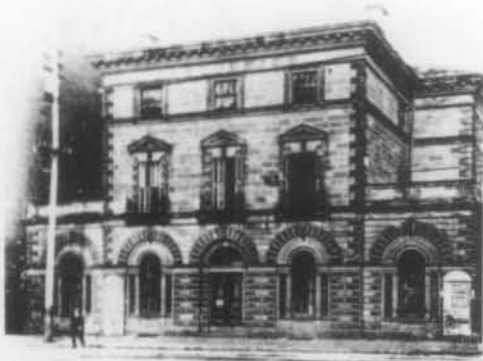


Fig. 12. F. W. Cumberland
& W. G. Storm, Post Office,
James St., north opp. Merrick,
Hamilton Ont., 1854-56.
(Photo: Province of Ontario
Archives).



Fig. 13. W. B. Leather, Post Office, Richmond St.,
London, Ont., 1858-60. (Photo: Province of Ontario
Archives).



Fig. 14. Henry Langley, Eighth Post Office, north side
of Adelaide St., Toronto, Ont., 1871-73.
(Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

architect was W.B. Leather.²⁰ The ground storey had vermiculation and Serliesque attached columns while the upper floors received elaborate "Italianate" window-frames and a giant order of attached Corinthian columns, and pilasters in the angles. The sculptural richness and verticality of the London façade showed a marked stylistic advance over the plainer Hamilton building, though a gap of only three or four years separated the designs; these very qualities would characterize post offices of the 1870s.

After 1870, both before and during Scott's period as Chief Architect, Canadian post offices were designed exclusively in the Second Empire mode that had grown out of the Italianate.²¹ George Hersey has aptly described this "French" style in the full-blown American form:

It is whitish, symmetrical, bulbous, and layered in appearance. It is classicizing and uniform. It is conceived in terms of long axes and long wings, regularly punctuated with arched, mansarded pavilions... It relies heavily upon rich sculptural extrusions, Baroque heraldry, trumpeting allegorical figures, and garlanded triumphal arches.²²

With a more limited economy and little building stone tractable enough for such work, Canada had few truly grand Second Empire buildings; still, its larger post offices had their pretensions. In its Eighth Post Office Toronto had one of the most ornate examples (Fig. 14). It was built to Henry Langley's design in 1871-73 and once stood on Adelaide Street at the head of Toronto Street, creating a grand formal prospect.²³ Three and a half storeys high, it had a symmetrical lobby and deep mail-sorting area on its ground floor, (although its upper storeys were much smaller). The lavish façade, dominated by an elegant Roman Baroque centrepiece, was conceived in the same ostentatious spirit as the London building of 1858-60. Similar stylish structures of the 1870s housed the main post offices of Ottawa and Montreal. Some smaller towns received "striped" versions, mansarded and formally planned but with much plainer exteriors.²⁴ The Stratford Post Office was the first, and indeed the only, departure from this style before Fuller took over as Chief Architect on 31 October 1881.²⁵

Both Scott and Fuller were experienced in the Second Empire mode, although both blended its' means with the spirit of High Victorian

Gothic.²⁶ Second Empire was at its most popular while Scott was Chief Architect, and public buildings constructed in the period must reflect his own manner, despite the involvement of local architects. We can thus consider the Customs House conceived about 1878 for Saint John, New Brunswick (Fig. 15), as Scott's own design to some extent, though probably not so much his own as the Stratford Post Office, which was designed entirely in the Chief Architect's office. The Customs House was singular enough to warrant publication of two views in *The American Architect and Building News*.²⁷ It was typically Second Empire in its symmetrical plan based on massive pavilions under sculpturally treated mansard roofs. At the same time, compared to an impressive American example of the style, Arthur B. Mullett's State, War and Navy Departmental Buildings in Washington (1871-75), Scott's Customs House appears rather Gothic. Scott's profusion of chimneys, his restlessly jumping roof levels and his end towers (like Venetian lighthouses) resemble a High Victorian Gothic skyline, as was the case in the various projects for the Law Courts in the Strand.²⁸ Scott's exterior had to be plainer than Mullett's for the sake of economy, and its relatively bare walls with large round-arched openings suggest a kinship with the Romanesque developing at this time in the United States, especially Richardson's. In this latter respect the Customs House is related to the principal building of Fuller's late career, the Langevin Block in Ottawa, begun in 1883.²⁹

Fuller, too, employed Second Empire with the dramatic flair of a High Victorian Goth. The New York State Legislative Buildings at Albany were begun following the Second Empire design he conceived with Arthur D. Gilman (Fig. 16). However, for a variety of political and financial reasons, these were completed by H. H. Richardson and Leopold Eidlitz in a variant of Romanesque.³⁰ Though Fuller's grandiose Albany proposal was only partly realized, it allows us to analyze his handling of Second Empire style. He likened his exterior composition to the New Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville of Paris and the elegant new Maison de Commerce at Lyons.³¹ With a grand formal entrance, a rich exterior and vast interior circulation spaces, Fuller's Capitol would indeed have been an opulent French Renaissance pile. His roofscape however climaxed in an enormous central tower with, once again, picturesque Gothic suggestions, although on a more lavish scale than Scott's Saint John skyline.³² In the light of both Scott's and Fuller's British training and of their experience with High Victorian Gothic, it is hardly surpri-



Fig. 15. T. S. Scott (McKean & Fairweather supervising architects), Customs House, Saint John, N.B., 1878-80. Perspective of street face. (*The American Architect and Building News*), 21 February 1880.



Fig. 16. Thomas Fuller and Arthur D. Gilman, State Legislative Buildings, New York; heliotype of original proposal, 1867. (*The American Architect and Building News*), 8 April 1876.



Fig. 17. Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones, Houses of Parliament, Ottawa, 1859-66. (burned 1916); view from western approach. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).

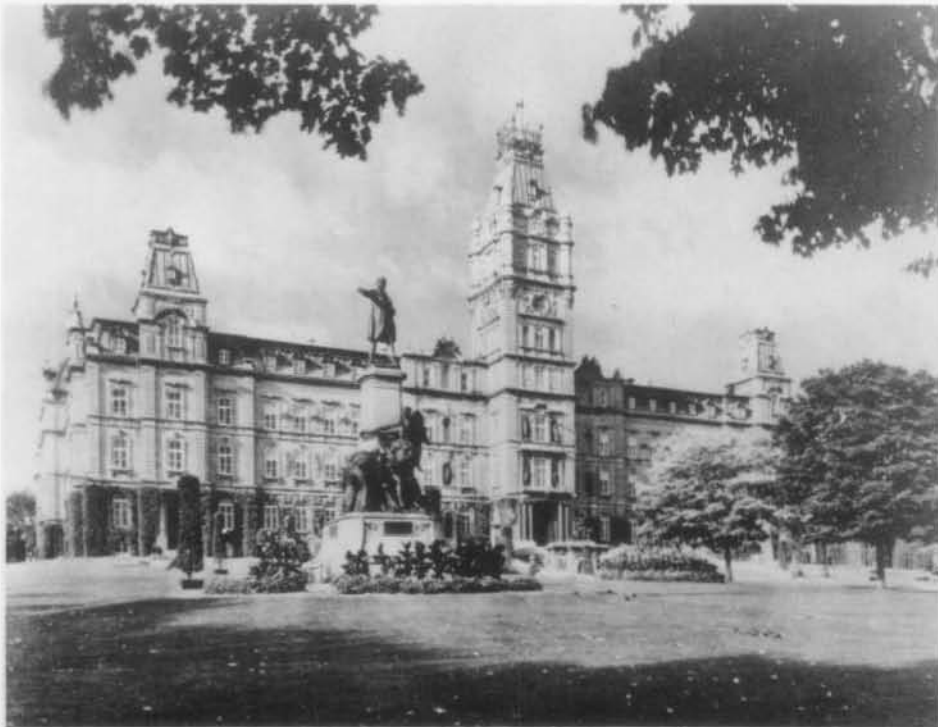


Fig. 18. Eugène Taché and Pierre Gauvreau, Provincial Legislative Buildings, Quebec City, 1878-80; main front from east. (Photo: Metropolitan Library Board).

sing that the Stratford Post Office, which Scott designed and Fuller erected, should have combined both formal and picturesque elements.

In adopting this curious hybrid style, the federal government may have been seeking a truly Canadian architectural image to express the quest for unity after Confederation.³³ The Parliament Buildings at Ottawa (1859-66) by Fuller and Jones (Fig. 17) were a monument with which Canadians could immediately identify. More profoundly, though, as William de Villiers-Westfall argues, the Houses of Parliament were to Victorian Canada a spiritual symbol of "the true North strong and free." Just after the turn of the century, the poet Wilfred Campbell associated their Gothic style with the restless striving of Canadians with their British and French ancestry and with Christian worship and morality.³⁴ This use of Gothic as a metaphor for the nation caused the style to pervade all kinds of structures. If we consider the Victorian mental habit of associating buildings with historic events and moral values, it seems natural to forge a stylistic link between federal buildings across the young Dominion and the "mother-structure" in the capital.

Visual resemblances between the Parliament Buildings and the Stratford Post Office are noticeable if not striking. Both buildings wore a skin, more or less medieval, over a mansarded structure of formal plan articulated by pavilions. Both had picturesque skylines: dormers, tall chimneys and towers. Though the profile at Stratford recalled Ottawa's only in the most general way, it is clear that the Stratford Post Office had more in common with the Parliament Buildings than had any post office before it.

The idea that a "Dominion image" may have been intended at Stratford is reinforced by references to Fuller's masterpiece in other buildings of the period. A blatant (and logical) example is the Quebec Legislative Buildings, designed in 1878-80 by Eugène Taché and Pierre Gauvreau (Fig. 18).³⁵ At the vernacular level, Belleville City Hall, opened in 1873 (Fig. 19), is a case in point. Its Gothicized tower, one hundred and eighty five feet high, seems grossly out of scale, and stylistically incongruous, in relation to the mansarded block of the building: in fact, its height was an afterthought.³⁶ Clearly the architect was recalling Fuller's Ottawa tower (Fig. 20), despite differences in detail. The awkward insertion of high pointed windows into the second storey and the heavy overhanging mansard roof probably reflect the same association.

T. S. Scott had already designed a structure to harmonize with Fuller's

Houses of Parliament: the 1878 tower of the extended West Block on Parliament Hill, better known as "MacDonald's Cowbell" (Fig. 21). From Fuller's tower (burned in 1916), Scott borrowed the high, stepped weatherings and used them to articulate the whole tower vertically. His disposition of lancet-windows in bands below immense louvred openings resembled Fuller's too. Polygonal corner turrets were capped with pinnacles to frame small gablets (with carved roundels instead of clock-faces) at the base of a prodigious roof of several stages. Scott's high, slender and relatively plain hipped roof contrasted with Fuller's unique crown, and the whole tower was eccentrically placed, with a view to its role in the larger townscape. Scott's tower was not given the rough textures or decorative boldness characteristic of Fuller. On the whole it must have seemed slim and elegant, yet somehow pallid, beside Fuller's aggressively masculine tower of Parliament. Evidently Scott designed his tower with Fuller's in mind, to project a consistent but distinguishable image. The similarities between the Stratford Post Office and Ottawa's Parliament Buildings probably reflect the same desire to produce a recognizable "Dominion image." At the same time, the very differences that mark Scott's and Fuller's Ottawa towers likewise distinguish Scott's Stratford Post Office and Fuller's post offices.

There are, then, several reasons to suggest that around 1880 the federal government was consciously searching for an appropriate "Dominion image" for its public buildings. The Stratford Post Office was a sudden departure from a formal tradition in postal architecture, towards a more romantic image. Though the Stratford building by no means copied Fuller's Houses of Parliament, its massing and its combination of picturesque with more regular elements suggest a family relationship. Other buildings of the time appear to have imitated the Parliament Buildings even more forcefully. Moreover, we know that Scott had designed a tower for the West Block to harmonize with Fuller's Centre Block tower. The fact that Fuller was invited to return to Ottawa in October 1881, to complete the governmental complex grouped around his Parliament Buildings and to design a series of small federal buildings across the Dominion, suggests that the government wanted its buildings in a consistent and distinctive Canadian style. Finally, we know that Canadians were intensely concerned with national unity, and federal buildings would naturally reflect this concern.

A sequence emerges: in the Parliament Buildings of 1859-66, Fuller



Fig. 19. John Forin, City Hall, Belleville Ont. 1872-73. (Photo: N. and H. Mika, *Belleville Friendly City*).

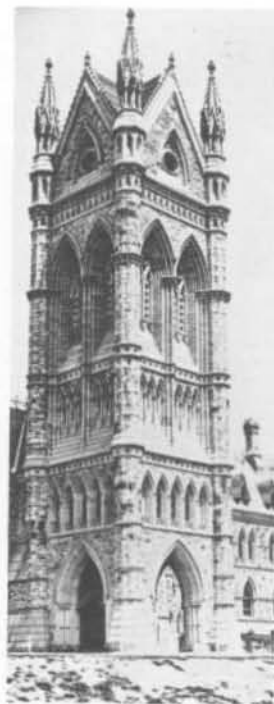


Fig. 20. Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones, tower of Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, 1859-66; photo of 1869. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada).



Fig. 21. T. S. Scott, design for tower called "MacDonald's Cowbell," west wing of West Block, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 1878. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada).



Fig. 22. Thomas Fuller, Customs and Inland Revenue Building, corner Queen and Hector Sts., Port Hope Ont., cornerstone laid 30 August 1883. (Photo: Province of Ontario Archives).

and Jones created a prototype, and in its image Thomas Scott designed the Stratford Post Office, but it was Fuller himself who carried this "Dominion image" across the young nation. His Port Hope Post Office, now demolished (Fig. 22), epitomized Fuller's unique personal synthesis. Its picturesque corner site and steep-roofed gabled masses climaxing in a crenellated corner tower that Fuller must have borrowed from a Norman fortress, lent force to its presence in the townscape. Its interpretive medievalism, though paralleling movements in the United States and Britain, symbolized the North European heritage of Canadians and expressed the rigour of the national personality.³⁷

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Notes:

¹ See, for instance, C. Pelham Mulvany's appreciative account of the Adelaide Street Post Office in *Toronto: Past and Present* (Toronto: 1884), pp. 47-48.

² Ralph Greenhill, Ken Macpherson and Douglas Richardson, *Ontario Towns* (Ottawa: 1974), unpaginated. The discussion closes the chapter "Public Buildings and Schools."

³ Fuller's post offices were numerous: about seventy, over thirty of which were in Ontario, at least twelve in Quebec, and the rest in the three Maritime Provinces, on the Prairies and on the West Coast. They have, however, fared badly; in Ontario approximately ten survive. The chief sources of information on them are in the Annual Reports of the Minister of Public Works in the *Sessional Papers*, the volumes of drawings and specifications among the Public Works Records (RG 11) of the Public Archives of Canada, and the collection of architectural drawings in the Department of Public Works headquarters, Ottawa.

⁴ For Scott's biography see Hugh G. Jones and Edmund Dyonnet, *History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts* (Montreal: 1934), 12.9, and Newton McTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto: 1925), p. 178. Scott is something of a mystery to us. We are not sure when he came to Canada: both sources say 1863, yet only one of two designs can be attributed to him with certainty before 1872 (the small Anglican church of St. John's, Prescott, Ont. was done before 1860). Even as Chief Architect, Scott is an enigma: apart from the West Block tower (Fig. 21), which is surely his own, we are not sure to what extent we can attribute public building designs to him, and in what degree, to the local supervising architects.

⁵ PAC, *Public Records: Orders-in-Council*, RG 2, series 1, Vol. 217, part 2, no. 1467 (29 October 1881).

⁶ *Ibid*, RG 11, drawings and specifications, Vol. 3910, 91a. The Stratford drawings are pp. 91a-95a.

⁷ The fire is mentioned in the *Stratford Beacon-Herald*, 5 September 1959, p. 8. Drawings for the additional storey are in the PAC: RG 11, Vol. 3913.

⁸ The Post Office, however, gradually expanded, filling in the yard enclosed within the ell. Drawings for various alterations and additions are in the DPW, drawer 622B.

⁹ Prominent mansarded blocks of the 1870s include the Easson Block on Wellington Street (1872), the iron-fronted Odd Fellows Lodge on Downie Street (1872), the Albion Hotel on Ontario Street, and the Merchants Bank on Albert Street (1874). Since its foundation by the Canada Company in the 1830s, Stratford

had attracted a select and prosperous populace. The wealth created by two railways, manufacturing industries and wheat-rich surrounding townships accounts for an unusual quantity of stylish nineteenth-century architecture, which today however, is being sadly depleted.

¹⁰ "Replication Replicated, or Notes on American Bastardy," *Perspecta, the Yale Architectural Journal*, nos. 9/10 (1965), p. 219.

¹¹ In his essay, "The Nature of Gothic," *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. 2, ch. 6.

¹² The specifications say that grey St. Mary's stone was to be used below ground; masonry above ground was to be Georgetown brownstone, with light grey trim. Some local white brick appeared on sides and rear.

¹³ See Carl Condit, "Iron Framing," *American Building Art: the Nineteenth Century* (New York: 1960), pp. 25-70.

¹⁴ The decade saw new post offices erected in Toronto, Kingston, London, Hamilton and Quebec City. Local architects were foremost in their design, and the "Engineer-Draftsman" F. P. Rubidge, listed among DPW staff in the *Canadian Almanac* for 1859, seems to have been the closest thing to a Chief Architect.

¹⁵ Illustrated in Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, *Founded Upon a Rock* (Halifax: 1967), p. 23.

¹⁶ *Toronto in the Camera* (Toronto: 1868), 1 verso.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Shirley Morriss for pointing out this attribution by R. H. Hubbard in "General View from a Lofty Eminence," *Canadian Art*, XIII, no. 2 (Winter, 1956), p. 236.

¹⁸ I owe this suggestion to Douglas Richardson.

¹⁹ This was a building Fred. Cumberland would almost certainly have known, since he had left for Canada only in 1847 and had returned twice. On his life and work, see Shirley Morriss, "The Nine-Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Goth: Three Churches by Fred Cumberland," *JCAH*, II, no. 1 (Summer, 1975), pp. 42-53.

²⁰ Again I am grateful to Shirley Morriss for this information and also to Miss Elizabeth Spicer of the London Public Library, who drew my attention to an article in the *London Free Press* of May 1, 1860 which names Leather. According to Archibald Bremner, *City of London, Ontario, Canada* (London: 1897), p. 110, the new post office opened in 1860 and "had been in the course of erection for two years."

²¹ Eighteen post offices and customs houses were erected in the style during the decade. I am grateful to Christina Cameron of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings for information on this group.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

²³ The building has often been mistakenly attributed to R. C. Windeyer, architect of the Toronto Customs House. Contemporary accounts and signed drawings at the DPW, however, name Henry Langley as the architect.

²⁴ The Post Office and Customs House on St. George's Square in Guelph (now demolished) was an example. The drawings are at the DPW, drawers 617 and 618C.

²⁵ Post offices were designed for Belleville, St. Catharines and Brantford only slightly earlier than for Stratford. All three were "stripped" versions of Second Empire, in brick with stone trim.

²⁶ Hersey, *op. cit.*, p. 220; George Hersey makes the point that, in the United States, Second Empire and High Victorian Gothic were complementary, not competing, modes.

²⁷ 4 October 1879 and 21 February 1880.

²⁸ Sir John Summerson, *Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation* (London and New York: 1970), chapter 4, "A Victorian Competition: the Royal Courts of Justice."

²⁹ Wendy Sailman, "New Life for an Old Building: Langevin Block," *The Dispatch* (Ottawa, DPW), (Winter, 1975), pp. 2 and 8-14.

³⁰ A blow-by-blow account is given in Cecil R. Roseberry, *Capitol Story* (Albany: 1964), chaps. 3 and 4. See also *The American Architect and Building News*, II (1876), several issues early in the year, especially April 8.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

³² The identical silhouette could indeed be reworked in a medieval vein, as a perspective of the Advisory Board's first alternative proposal shows (Roseberry, 37 top). See also Walter Langsam, "Thomas Fuller and Augustus Laver: Victorian Neo-Baroque and Second Empire vs. Gothic Revival in North America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXIX, no. 3 (October, 1970), p. 270.

³³ I owe this suggestion to Douglas Richardson. Alan Gowans has suggested something similar: he considers the High Victorian Gothic to have been Canada's "National Style," citing Cumberland's University College and the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa as the seminal works. But Gowans does not go so far as to suggest that the Parliament Buildings were the specific prototype of a distinctive image.

³⁴ In his *Canada: Painted by T. Mower Martin R.C.A.* (London: 1907), quoted in W. E. De Villiers-Westfall, "The Dominion of the Lord: An Introduction to the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period," *Queen's Quarterly*, LXXXIII, no. 1 (Spring, 1976), p. 55.

³⁵ A. J. H. Richardson, "Guide to the architecturally and historically most significant buildings in the old city of Quebec...", *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, II, nos. 3-4 (1970), pp. 56-57.

³⁶ N. and H. Mika, *Mosaic of Belleville* (Belleville: 1966), pp. 23-24, and *Belleville Friendly City* (Belleville: 1973), pp. 81-83.

³⁷ This article treats one aspect of my forthcoming Master's thesis, which will attempt to describe and evaluate Thomas Fuller's post offices. I will be grateful if any reader familiar with Fuller or any of his buildings would share his knowledge with me; I can be reached through the Department of Fine Art, Sidney Smith Hall, University of Toronto.

As will be obvious to the reader, I owe a great deal to Douglas Richardson, who has been far more than a teacher, also a friend. Many others have contributed too, among them Margaret Van Every of the Ontario Archives, James Anderson and Stan Dingman of Stratford, Gordon Cooper and his staff at DPW headquarters, my father, and the fifteen members of my household.