

Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival

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Résumé de l'article

Eden Smith, qui a conçu plus de 2 500 maison isolées à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle et au début du vingtième siècle à Toronto, passe pour le créateur d'un style d'architecture domestique nettement canadien. Pourtant, sa propre publicité et l'accueil réservé à son œuvre dans la presse professionnelle et populaire de l'époque soulignent le *caractère anglais* de ses maisons. Le présent article examine l'architecture domestique d'Eden Smith en tant qu'indice des attitudes de la haute bourgeoisie torontoise envers la Grande-Bretagne, au début du vingtième siècle. À quoi correspondait l'image de la « maison anglaise » dans le Toronto de l'époque édouardienne ? Pourquoi les qualités particulières à ce type de maison étaient-elles recherchées par l'aristocratie terrienne de Toronto ?

L'architecture d'Eden Smith était donc à la fois distincte et dérivée d'un autre style. Le langage des façades était indubitablement britannique, mais le plan de ses maisons représentait quelque chose d'entièrement nouveau. La popularité et l'influence que Smith exerça sur les générations ultérieures d'architectes canadiens spécialistes de l'architecture résidentielle témoigne avec éloquence de l'empressement de la bourgeoisie torontoise à essayer des choses nouvelles, à condition qu'elles soient revêtues des apparences d'un passé britannique.

Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival

Annamarie Adams

Abstract

The designer of more than 2500 detached houses in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Toronto, Eden Smith has been hailed as the author of a distinctly Canadian style of domestic architecture. Yet his self-promotion and the reception of his work in both the professional and popular presses of the time emphasize the Englishness of his houses. This paper considers the domestic architecture of Eden Smith as an index of attitudes held by Toronto's upper middle class toward Britain in the early twentieth century. What did the image of an "English house" represent in Edwardian Toronto? Why were these particular qualities attractive to Toronto's landed gentry?

Eden Smith's architecture was both distinct and derivative. The language of the elevations was unmistakably British, while the plan of his houses was something completely new. Smith's popularity and his influence on subsequent generations of Canadian house-architects speak eloquently of the willingness of Toronto's middle class to try new things, but only clothed in the auspices of a British past.

The search for a national style of domestic architecture in English Canada did not begin in earnest until the second decade of the 20th century.¹ Although Confederation in 1867 had marked the transformation of the colony to the Dominion of Canada, the cultural authority of Britain remained strong in the new nation for another generation. The British North America Act had granted self-government to the new nation, but there had been no revolution. Canadian architecture continued to express English characteristics until a generation of artists and architects *born* about the time of Confederation began to question the appropriateness of British models for the new nation. Even then, a national style in architecture was measured only in terms of its relationship to English architecture.

The career of Toronto architect Eden Smith (1858/9-1949) spanned this critical transition in Canadian architectural history.² His formula for success was to appear both British and Canadian at once; the mark of Smith's architecture was the design of a seemingly British house, drawn directly from the vocabularies of Voysey, Shaw, Webb, and other well-known English domestic architects, but reformed and marketed in Toronto as a distinctly Canadian house-type.

Eden Smith carefully constructed his reputation by presenting himself to Toronto's middle class as an expert on all matters of English culture.³ When avant-garde art and architecture appeared to question the authority of British forms after the turn of the century, Smith, by association, marketed the same houses as distinctly Canadian. His architecture actually changed little during this period, but his public image and his private associations altered the way his houses were seen.

Smith offered middle-class Torontonians a fairly predictable product. Although the design of his houses differed slightly in

terms of size, materials, and details, the architect's repeated use of a standard formal vocabulary within a range of possibilities assured the client that their house would be of a recognizable type (Figures 1 and 2). Drawn loosely from the British Arts and Crafts tradition, Smith's house type became known as the "English cottage style" and was associated in Toronto exclusively with his name.⁴

There was, however, much more to his houses than a keen awareness of British fashion. Behind conservative elevations, Smith's plans clearly questioned the traditional arrangement of the English detached house.⁵ Unlike his elevations, the plans of Smith's houses were unpredictable and usually acted without the authority of British precedent. Often inspired more by sun angles than by history, the plans were inverted, or as they were called at the time, "*turned about*."⁶ Historian Eric Arthur called them revolutionary.⁷

The typical Victorian detached house in Toronto was two storeys high, on a long and narrow site (Figure 3). The main entry was in the short end of the house, facing the street, which also held the large window of the front parlour. Sometimes a front porch marked the transition from the exterior to interior. The entry hall extended along the side of the house, leading to a pair of parlours. The kitchen was at the rear of the house, looking onto a small garden that was separated from adjacent yards by tall fences. It was a common plan in English, American, and Canadian cities in the late 19th century.

Smith rejected this arrangement even in his earliest work (Figure 4). He preferred to place the major living spaces at the rear of the house, while the kitchen was on the street front of the building. The porch was also moved to the rear. These "turned-about" houses were frequently located on south-facing sites, allowing the

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Figure 1: 59 Admiral Road (by author)

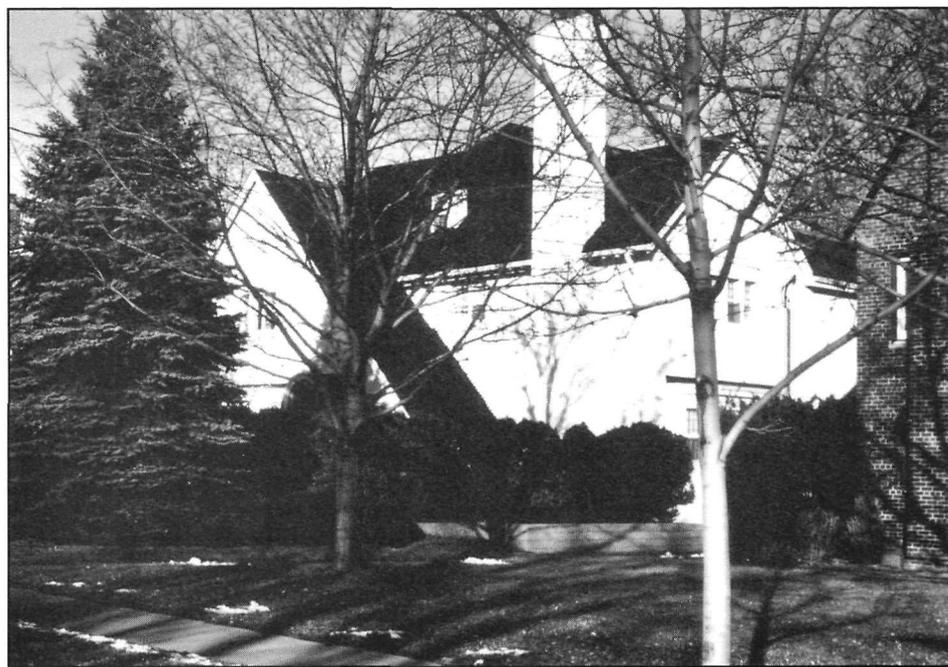


Figure 2: 109 Dunvegan Road (by author)

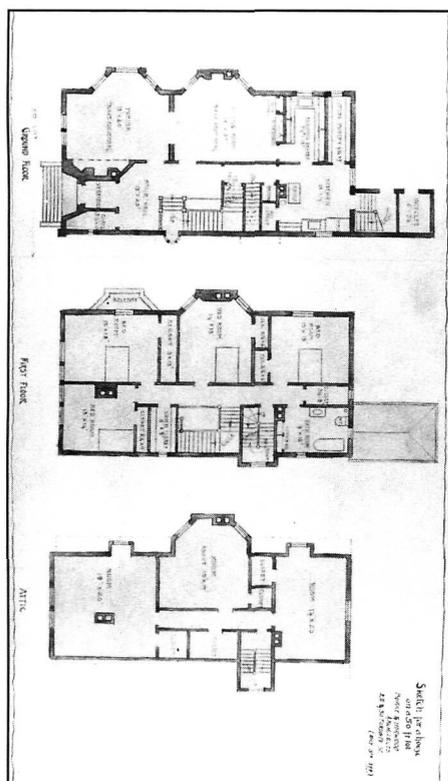


Figure 3: "Sketch for a house on a 50 foot lot," Burke & Horwood, 1898, Archives Ontario J.C.B. and E.C. Harwood Collection, Series C 11-869

living spaces direct access to the garden and plenty of sunlight. This turning away from the street is something usually associated with the architecture of new towns like Radburn, in the 1920s, and American ranch-houses of the 1950s. As we will see, this independent relationship of elevation and plan in Smith's architecture allowed the houses to be read as both conservative or radical—in other words, as English or Canadian. In this way, he offered Torontonians a well-designed compromise between loyalty and independence.

As designer of more than 2500 detached houses, Eden Smith's impact on the streetscape of Toronto was considerable. The sheer number of houses he

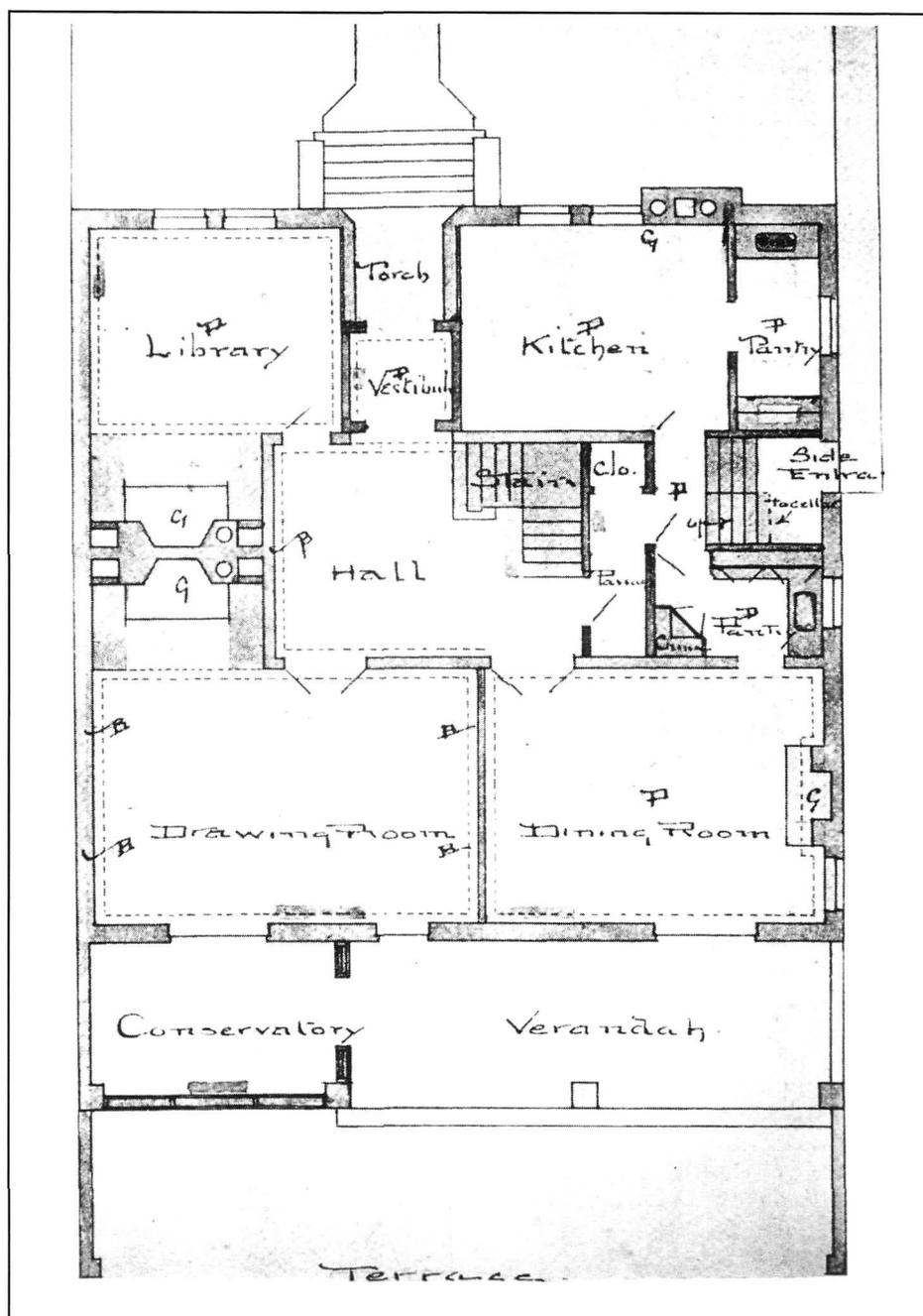


Figure 4: Plan by Eden Smith for an inverted house, from *Canadian Architect and Builder* (Mar. 1909), p. 43. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library University of Toronto

designed and their high visibility in areas of the city whose development was heavily publicized attracted many imitators.⁸

The height of his domestic practice corresponded with the annexation of huge areas north of the city centre, developed

into residential neighbourhoods from the subdivision of large farms. Smith's houses cluster in the areas of Rosedale, Deer Park, the Annex, and Wychwood Park, also the pockets of highest wealth in early 20th-century Toronto.⁹

Smith's highly developed design process was ideally suited to the spontaneous developments of large tracts; he produced approximately one hundred buildings a year; his son described forty-eight projects on the boards at once. He apparently did all the sketches himself, employing only draughtsmen, rather than other designers. A.S. Mathers, an employee in Smith's office, claimed that a set of drawings and specifications for a typical house was often prepared in four or five days, drawn by a single draughtsman. A house would go out to tender within ten days of approval of the plan.¹⁰ Given the sheer volume of work produced, Smith's use of rigid formulae is not surprising, resulting in a certain family resemblance among the houses.

The recognition of the product served as the architect's major marketing strategy. The inversion of the plan and the use of familiar elements made them easy to spot. Most of the reversed houses have side entries, leaving a relatively impenetrable front elevation (Figure 5 and 6). Many of them occupy huge sites where he could have run the long side of the house parallel to the street. As a result, some houses appear to have been turned 90 degrees.

The exterior image of Smith's houses, however, was not as revolutionary as the arrangement inside. The architectural press reported that Smith's inverted houses were "almost obscured by exterior lines, which suggest[ed] nothing radically different from the



Figure 5: Harper house, 1911, 190 Warren Rd. (by author)



Figure 6: Fussell House, 29 Oakmount (by author)



Figure 7: Photo of Eden Smith with wife Annie and son Harry, 1885
Wychwood Park Archives

usual order of things within."¹¹ Indeed, the elevations allowed Smith's houses to occupy an approved position in the architecture world, while the plan was seen as an anomaly and brought attention to his work. Because the plan, without a front door or porch, ap-

peared at odds with the traditional English exterior, it was seen as a particularly Canadian feature.¹² In the 19-teens sightseeing buses were said to have been re-routed to include his "turned-about" houses.¹³

Smith's success owed much to skillful marketing and a well-crafted network of willing patrons. He carefully nurtured his early reputation in Toronto by describing himself in a particular light, and then developed important connections through highly visible social groups in Toronto. Crucial to the construction of his early image and the attainment of several major public commissions was his English background. His story, as he told it, was an intriguing one. Immigrating to Canada with his English wife Annie and three-year old son in 1885, Smith had not planned to practice architecture at all (Figure 7). In England he had received a "gentleman's education," including the study of music, art, and archaeology. During the crossing of the Atlantic the young couple had met a French count who convinced them to homestead in southwest Manitoba. Unprepared for the experience, the family moved to Toronto, where the architect began working as a draughtsman for the firm of Strickland and Symons. Apparently appalled by the lack of taste in Canadian domestic architecture, Smith felt compelled to open his own practice in 1892. He thus saw and described himself as a man of impeccable taste who felt obligated, for complex reasons, to save Canadians from cultural immaturity.¹⁴

Smith's version of his own past is as significant for the details that were omitted, as for what was included. Information concerning his place of birth, education, and class background, for example, was vague. Even his age seems to have been a mystery at the time of his death. An intensely private man throughout his life, he never discussed his experiences in England in any detail. Rumours abounded that his silence was because of the illegitimate birth of his son, Harry, his marriage to Annie below his station, or a possible financial catastrophe that had forced the young couple to flee England.¹⁵

As if to add to the mysteriousness surrounding his past, Smith may have even changed his name upon arrival in Canada. Because his sons were known as Harry Eden Smith and Ralph Eden Smith, it has been assumed that Eden Smith was a double, unhyphenated surname.¹⁶ Arriving in Toronto from a romantic adventure in Manitoba, Smith presented himself to Toronto's upper middle class as an Englishman of mysterious origins, willing to save the city from architectural illiteracy. Like his architecture, he was thoroughly British in appearance, speech, and education, but with a new name and a pioneering spirit.

Evidence of Smith's conscious marketing of his English background is evident in both the design of Wychwood Park and in his close personal association with the place and its residents. Wychwood Park was a romantically conceived enclave for artists and academics, developed in the 1890s with the subdivision of a ten acre farm owned by the English landscape painter, Marmaduke Matthews (Figure 8).¹⁷ In keeping with Matthews' work, the plan of the suburb was fully within the picturesque landscape tradition; thirty-five individually designed cottages on heavily wooded lots were arranged romantically around a pond. Windy roads and paths, conspicuous gates, and the rural, village atmosphere of Wychwood Park marked its distinction from the surrounding gridded city. Even its name recalled the ancient Wychwood Forest in Oxfordshire, England, near the birthplace of Marmaduke Matthews. Wychwood Park was clearly meant to remind Toronto's landed gentry of the Old Country.

Smith himself moved to the park in 1907, along with his friends the painters George Reid, George Howell, and Gustav Hahn (Figure 9). They moved from a similarly conceived artistic colony in west Toronto that Eden Smith had designed in 1896. He was,

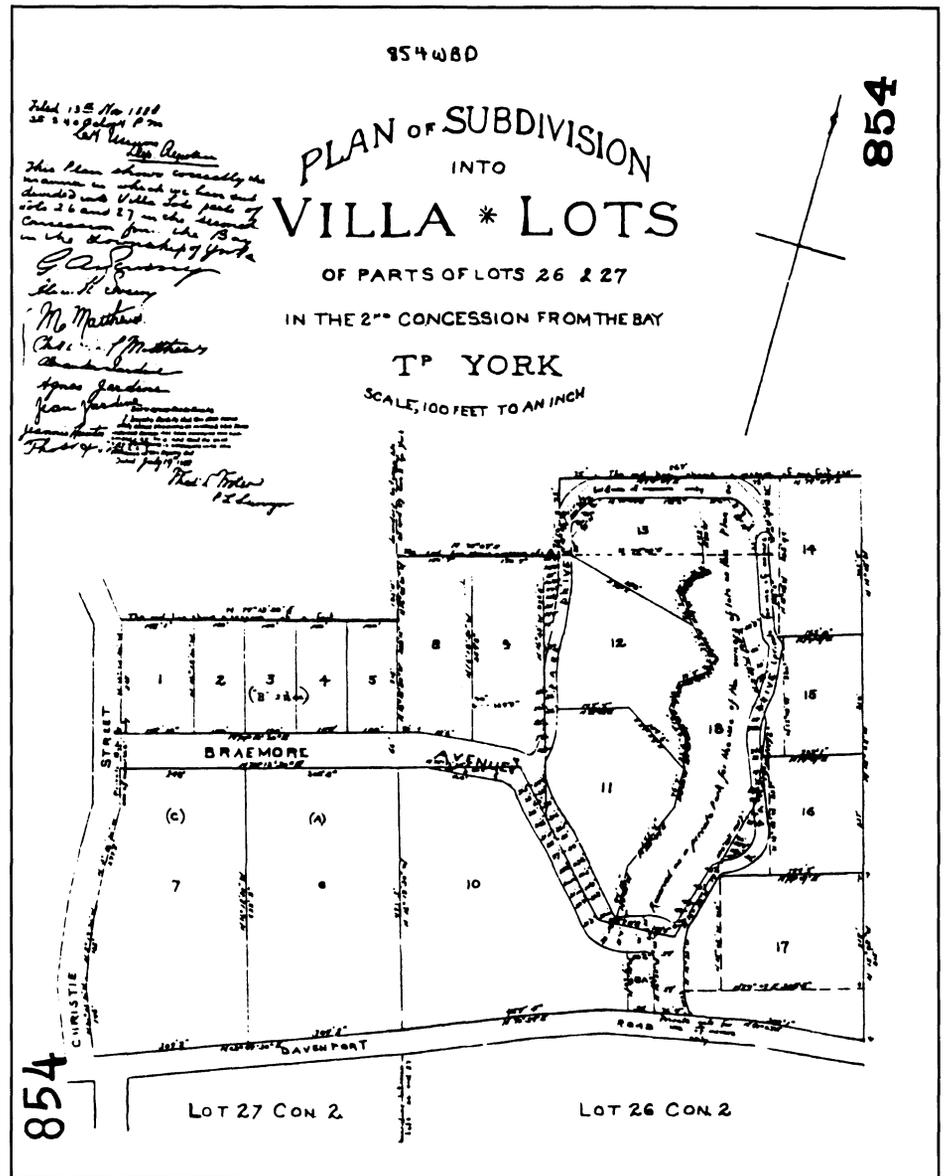


Figure 8: Plan of Wychwood Park, 1888. Wychwood Park /archives

therefore, an obvious choice for architect of the second community. Many Wychwood Park inhabitants had immigrated from England, such as Matthews, or had been closely associated with artists in Britain. One couple had married at the home of their close friend William Holman Hunt; another house was designed to recall George

Watts' studio in Surrey. Most of the Wychwood Park artists painted in a style directly associated with the English picturesque tradition. By living among these painters, Smith was confirming his own affiliations with British architecture. In the design of cottages for Wychwood Park, the "English cottage style" thoroughly matured.

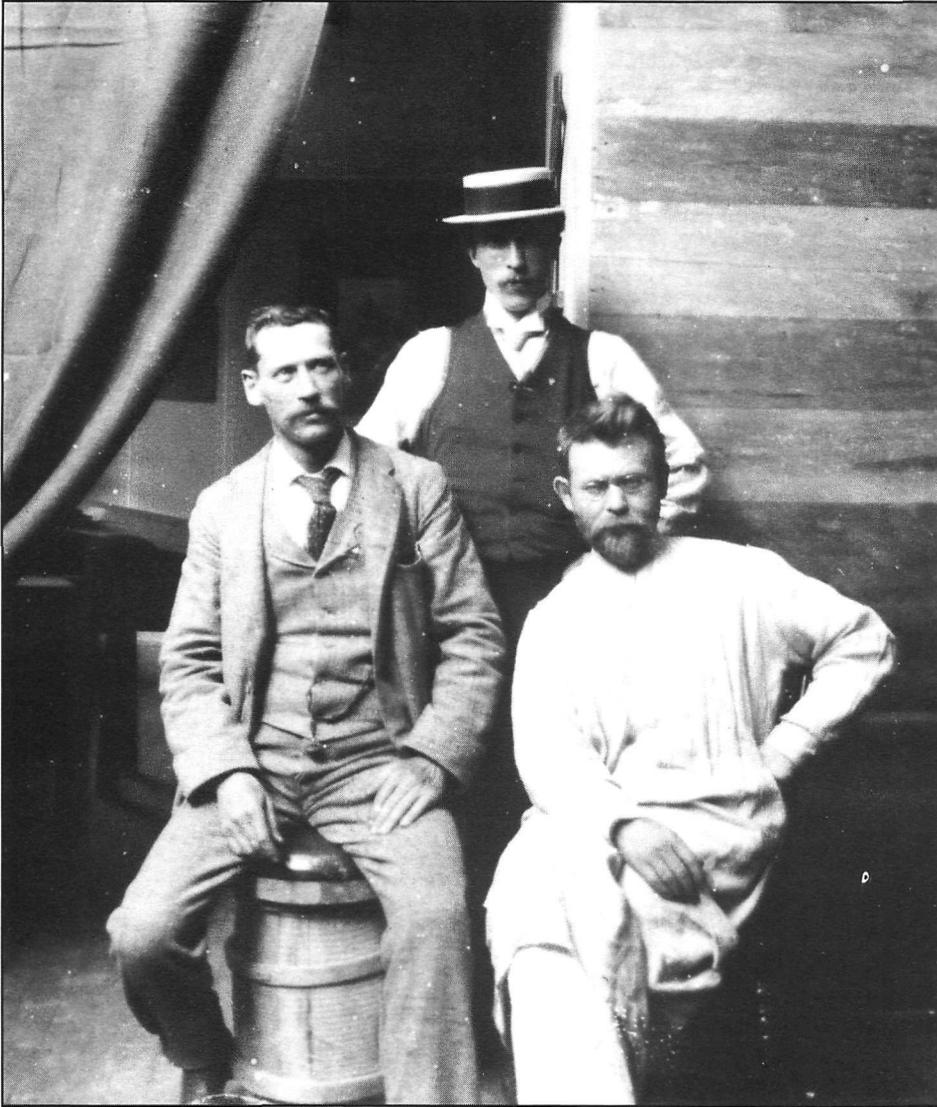


Figure 9: *Portrait of Eden Smith, George Howell, and Gustar Hann. Wychwood Park Archives n.d.*

And in his public and private association with successful artists, his architectural practice prospered. The Park was featured prominently in their work and there is much evidence to suggest that Smith was very much integrated into the artistic community there.

But the complete dependence on British forms in both the architecture and painting of Wychwood Park was one of the

last major gasps of British cultural authority in early 20th-century Toronto. Artists, before architects, began to question the validity of depicting picturesque imaginary scenery when, they believed, the real Canadian landscape was rough, brutal, and untouched. European academic painting had little relevance for life in Canada, they said. In Toronto social clubs formed expressly to discuss the new view of Canadian culture. Eden

Smith was a founding member in 1908 of the most important of these, the Arts and Letters Club.¹⁸ He, too, was eager to find a direction for Canadian domestic architecture.

Smith's close association with the self-consciously Canadian club radically changed his professional image from an English gentleman to the purveyor of a national architectural style. A social club for Toronto patrons and artists, the Arts and Letters Club was an important forum for the formulation of a Canadian style in painting. The artists who formed the famous Group of Seven in the 1920s, now a national legend as the explorers of a distinctly Canadian mode of landscape painting, met regularly for lunch at the club, as did the city's business elite who became the painters' enthusiastic supporters. As Peter Mellen has remarked, it seems ironic in retrospect that an exclusive men's club played such a significant role in a radical art movement.¹⁹ Early images of the club's membership are important for the persons they document, as well as for the presence of the enormous fireplace in the background. J. E. Sampson's painting, "The Modern Fire Worshipper," of 1917 documents the central place of the fireplace in the main room of the club (Figure 10). Designed by Smith in 1911, the placement of the heavy fireplace in the second floor club headquarters was a great feat of engineering and it became a symbol of the club's early years. The men seated in front of the fireplace must have admired its design, as many of them commissioned its architect to design their own houses.

Painter Lawren Harris was the most important link between the artistic community and the financial establishment. Also a founding member of the Club, Harris' background differed radically from the other artists. As heir to the Massey-Harris fortune, Harris moved comfor-

tably among powerful patrons such as James MacCallum, Vincent Massey, and Sir Edmund Walker. These men and their business associates first supported the Group of Seven painters; they also commissioned Eden Smith houses.

Smith was associated with the radical painters in a much more direct way than the sharing of membership in the Arts and Letter Club. He was their choice of architect for the building that became closely associated with their work (Figure 11). According to Lawren Harris, Smith's Studio Building of 1913 was conceived of as a "workshop for artists doing distinctly Canadian work."²⁰ Smith's architecture, that is, by this time was deemed an appropriate architectural image for the movement to found a national style in painting. The building itself became so closely associated with the painters that they were known as the "Studio Building Group." Painter A.Y. Jackson, tenant of Studio One, said "the building was a lively centre for ... visions of an art inspired by the Canadian countryside."²¹

It is significant that this highly visible group of artists chose Eden Smith to design their place in the city. Obviously, they felt his architectural inclinations were sympathetic to the objectives of their work. Like their paintings, which had absorbed valuable lessons from English landscape painting and had adapted to a new subject, Smith's houses leaned on English precedents—on the surface—and were then rearranged inside to suit a less formal lifestyle. The client network, which began at the Arts and Letters Club, expanded into the audience of admiring art patrons at the Studio Building and led to many domestic commissions for Smith. Both public places were indelibly marked by his architectural ideas and presumably acted as powerful advertisements for his abilities in private architecture.



Figure 10: *J.E. Sampson, "The Modern Fire Worshipper," 1917. From Augustes Bridle, The Story of the Club, 1945.*

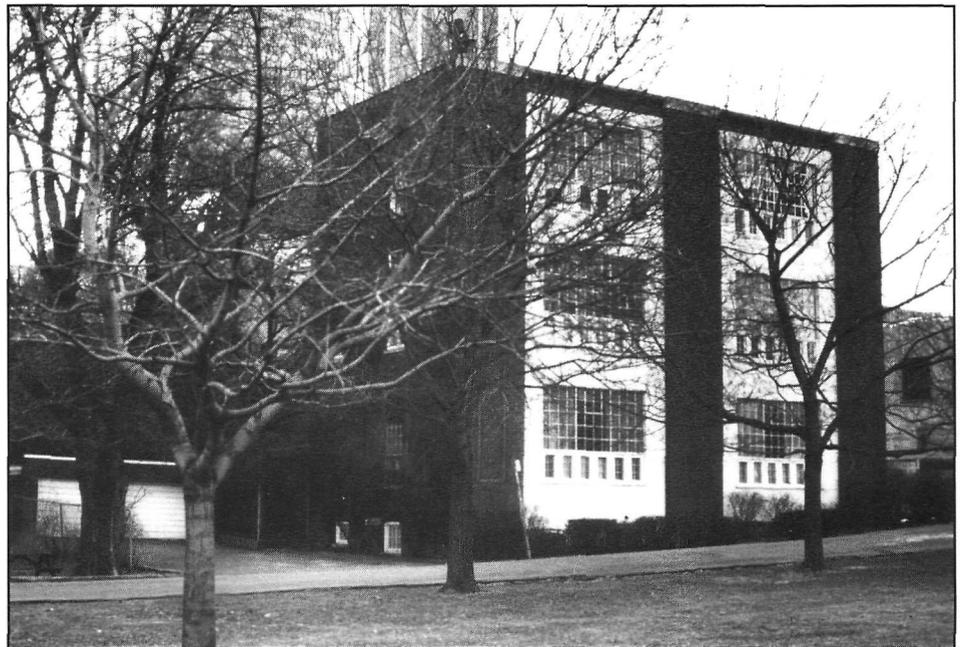


Figure 11: *Photo of the Studio Building (by author)*



Figure 12: Wychwood Library (by author)

It is difficult today, however, to isolate any distinctly Canadian aspects in his public architecture. The Studio Building differed radically from Smith's other work in that it cited examples of European modernism and industrial vernacular architecture rather than the English Arts and Crafts movement. Perhaps the building was seen as Canadian simply because it rejected the architect's usual nod to Britain. The Studio Building is important in this way because it illustrates how the Canadianness of architecture, in the first few decades of this century, was truly in the eyes of the beholder, rather than in the architectural forms themselves. Anything that questioned British traditions, it seems, could be seen as Canadian.

Smith's departure from English sources, in the house plans and the stark Modernism of the Studio Building, was acceptable to Toronto's middle class only because he had first convinced them of his competence to work in that mode. He was viewed as a link between English and Canadian culture, rather than as a revolutionary. And his success was due, in large part, to his willingness to revert to English sources when appropriate.

Most of Smith's clients were extremely conscious of their emerging Canadian identities.²² They were white, middle-class, self-made, Canadian-born, and politically Liberal (although there were several who were Conservatives). At

the same time, however, it was not uncommon for Smith's clients to have descended from Loyalist families, to have married British women, or to have been educated in England. Nearly all Smith's clients were active members of the Anglican church—the Church of England in Canada. A high percentage appears to have attended Trinity College, the Anglican college of the University of Toronto.²³ Smith himself was a prominent member of this powerful religious community and the designer of several important Anglican churches and colleges.²⁴

Further research may show how Smith's church connections—like American architect H.H. Richardson's through Har-



Figure 13: St. Hilda's College (by author)

vard University—provided a solid client base for the architect throughout his career. It seems more than coincidental that so many admirers of his architecture attended the same churches; of course, many members of Toronto's financial and cultural elite were followers of the Church of England and the pattern of Smith's clients may simply reflect that fact.²⁵ It is also possible, however, that Smith's seemingly English architectural style provided what they considered the appropriate public image for their relatively traditional backgrounds, while also accommodating their aspirations for new ways of living.

Smith's commission for three libraries in Toronto to mark the anniversary of Shakespeare's death in 1916, again, il-

lustrates how Torontonians saw his architecture as both English and Canadian at once. George Herbert Locke, chief librarian of the city's public library system for thirty years, proposed that Toronto's memorials to Shakespeare be in the style of sixteenth-century Gothic halls, in keeping with the architecture of his time. The unanimous choice of architect for these decidedly English buildings was Eden Smith (Figure 12). Locke described his ideas for the library. "These are people from the old Country, accustomed to see in their country villages architecture of the seventeenth century. . . . I am fortunate in having for this purpose an architect whose work is distinguished for its adaptation of English architecture to American requirements."²⁷ Eden Smith was thus seen as a cultural bridge be-

tween old and new worlds. His architecture did not follow a neat progression from English architecture to Canadian architecture; throughout his career his design retained its dual citizenship. In fact, his only project completely divorced from English precedent was the Studio Building—a Canadian cultural identity in that case simply implied using continental, rather than English models.

The generation of clients that commissioned Eden Smith and the Group of Seven really grappled with their Canadian identities. Most of them had been born in Canada and were educated professionals who spent a large part of their time and money in developing a Canadian cultural consciousness. Their critical roles in the foundation and

patronage of the city's arts institutions, such as the Ontario College of Art and the Art Gallery of Ontario, undermined British authority by providing a Canadian arena for local artists and architects. In their private lives, however, England still played a large part. Indeed, when the first residents moved into Smith's new building for St. Hilda's College in 1899 (Figure 13), the first university college in Canada for women, they were accused of effecting English accents and "wearing tweeds and brogues and saying Bloody too much."²⁷ Like his clients, Eden Smith's buildings were instrumental in the growing self-consciousness of Canadian culture; it is important to note, however, that they were acceptable because they spoke with a decidedly British accent.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Publications dealing directly with the issue of a Canadian national identity as expressed in architecture are surprisingly few. See Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); Alan Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966); Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1990); Pierre Mayrand and John Bland, *Three Centuries of Architecture in Canada* (Montreal: Federal Publications Service, 1971); T. Ritchie, *Canada Builds 1867-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). Domestic architecture in Quebec showed nationalistic tendencies earlier than housing in the rest of

- Canada; see Michel Lessard and Huguette Marquis, *Encyclopédie de la maison Québécoise: Trois siècles d'habitations* (Montréal: Les éditions de l'homme, 1972).
2. Biographical information on Eden Smith is taken from notices of his death by his partner A.S. Mathers, "Obituary: Eden Smith," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (March 1950), 112-13 and "Church Architect Eden Smith, 92, Dies," *Toronto Daily Star* (14 Oct. 1949), Sec. 2, p. 31. Even within these limited sources, there is considerable discrepancy regarding his dates of birth and immigration to Canada. The main secondary sources on the architect are, Kelly Crossman, pp 87-92; Carolyn Neal, *Eden Smith: Architect, 1858-1949* (Toronto: Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, 1976).
 3. The attempt on the part of late nineteenth-century American architects to sell their services as "experts" on a wide range of cultural matters has been explored in Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 19, nos. 2-3 (Summer/Autumn 1984), 107-50. See also Leonard K. Eaton, *Two Chicago Architects and Their Clients: Frank Lloyd Wright and Howard Van Doren Shaw* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969); Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).
 4. Patricia McHugh claims Smith used the term "English Cottage" to describe his own houses. See Patricia McHugh, *Toronto Architecture: A City Guide* (Toronto: Mercury, 1985), 20.
 5. There is a vast literature on nineteenth-century middle-class domestic architecture in England. See John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing, 1815-1985*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1986); Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900* (London: Yale University Press, 1977); Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). Women's and physicians' roles in the reform of the English house is the subject of my own dissertation, "Architecture in the Family Way: Health Reform, Feminism, and the Middle-class House in England, 1870-1900," Ph.D. Diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1992.
 6. Mathers claimed these houses were seen at the time as "striking and strange." See Mathers, 112.
 7. Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 259.
 8. Mathers, p. 112; Eden Smith's work was published in several popular and professional journal articles during his lifetime. See Eden Smith,

- "Homes in a City's Suburbs," *MacLean's Magazine*, 21 (June 1911), 145-49; "Houses in Toronto and Vicinity, Ontario," *Construction*, 7 (July 1914), 273-74; photographs of his houses appeared in supplements to *Canadian Architect and Builder*, July 1900, Sept. 1902; Nov. 1902; Nov. 1903; *Construction* (June 1915), 234-35; *Catalogue of the First Exhibition of the Toronto Architectural Eighteen Club* (1902), 93, 111, 127. The major international publication of his work was W.A. Craick, "Cottage Flats in Toronto," *Architectural Record*, 36 (December 1914), 539-44.
9. See J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1984), 181.
 10. Mathers, 113.
 11. "The Kitchen-to-the-Front House," *Construction*, 2, No. 5 (March 1909), 43-46.
 12. This relationship of plan and elevation is in direct contrast to avant-garde American houses at the time. As historian Robert Twombly has illustrated, Frank Lloyd Wright's prairie houses actually comprised relatively traditional plans while the exterior of the buildings were seen as a radically new image of a suburban house. See Robert C. Twombly, "Saving the Family: Middle Class Attraction to Wright's Prairie House, 1901-1909," *American Quarterly*, 27, No. 1 (March 1975), 57-72.
 13. Mathers, 112; see Donald Jones, "Eden Smith set the style for Toronto house design," *The Toronto Star*, (30 Oct. 1982), Sec. B, p. 8.
 14. This biographical information is drawn from the obituaries. The discrepancy in Eden Smith's date of immigration is most likely due to an error in the obituary in the *Toronto Daily Star*. Most secondary sources cite 1885 as his date of arrival, even though the Toronto newspaper claims 1876. Robert Hill has noted, however, that the first mention of him in Toronto directories is not until 1892 at which time he is presumably practising architecture independently.
 15. Smith's date of birth is also unclear. Recent research conducted by Eden Smith's granddaughter, Pamela Morin, has revealed that the architect was born in Birmingham in 1859 to Benjamin Nind Smith and Sarah Beard Hunt. She believes a bankruptcy petition filed in 1884 against his father's company may have been the reason for the couple's immigration to Canada. Letter from Keith Miller, March 1988.
 16. Neal, 7; Eric Arthur claims the architect's first name was Ralph, like his second son; see Arthur, 258. Both sons practised architecture with their

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- father. Harry joined the firm in 1906 and Ralph in 1912. See Neal, 9.
17. On Wychwood Park in general, see William Dendy and William Kilbourn, *Toronto Observed: Its Architecture, Patrons, and History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), 175-77; a considerable amount of information on Wychwood Park was assembled by the Wychwood Park Archives to mark the centennial of the neighbourhood in 1988. See *The Art of Wychwood: Catalogue of the Art on Display During The Joy of Wychwood Centennial Exhibition* (1988).
18. A history of the club is recounted in Augustus Bridle, *The Story of the Club* (Toronto: Arts and Letters Club, 1945).
19. Peter Mellen, *The Group of Seven* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), 18; on the Group of Seven, see also Joan Murray, *The Best of the Group of Seven* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1984).
20. Mellen, 38; Dendy and Kilbourn imply Harris himself commissioned the architect to design the Studio Building. His own house on Ava Crescent (1930), however, was designed by Alexandra Biriukova. See Dendy and Kilbourn, 245.
21. Mellen, 38.
22. This sketch of Smith's clients is drawn from a reading of their obituaries. Typical examples are former Ontario Lieutenant-Governor Dr. Herbert Alexander Bruce, stockbroker Robert Ross Bongard, insurance agent George A. Harper, lawyer Bartle E. Bull, lawyer James O'Brian, horseman George W. Beardmore, Professor Eric Trevor Owen.
23. Professor Eric Owen, who lived in an Eden Smith house, is a good example of the typical multiple connections of Smith's clients through the Anglican church. Owen was the brother of Archbishop Derwyn T. Owen, Primate of Canada, who also lived in a Smith house, at 186 Warren Rd. Eric Owen graduated and then taught at Trinity College. Smith designed the Bishop's Chair and lectern for the Old Trinity College, a building which once occupied the site of St. Hilda's College (now known as Strachan House), which he designed in 1899.
24. Mathers claimed Smith "possessed that rare ability to feel the nature of a church building and to impart to it with the simplest meaning the ecclesiastical spirit." See Mathers, 113; Smith's churches are listed in Neal, 18-19, 24-25.
25. T.W. Acheson has shown, however, that while 19% of Canada's industrial elite in the 1880s were members of the Church of England, 36% were Presbyterians. See T.W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1885," in *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*, ed. David S. Macmillan (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 144-74.
26. Locke is quoted in *The Art of Wychwood*, 89. He also described the Wychwood Library as following an "English grammar school type" in his article "The Toronto Public Libraries," *The Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, 3, No. 3 (May-June 1926), 87-88. The other libraries constructed to mark the death of Shakespeare were Beaches and High Park; see "Toronto's gifts to Shakespeare," *The Toronto Star* (24 Dec. 1988), Sec. M, p. 4. The drawings for the Wychwood Library were published in *The Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, 3, No. 3 (May-June 1926), 96.
27. Donald Jones, "St. Hilda's 'saints' marched first on the road to higher education," *The Toronto Star* (23 Jan. 1982), Sec. F, p. 14.