

Canada's Urban History in Architecture, Part One

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Canada's Urban History in Architecture, Part One*

Alan Gowans

Introduction/Avant-propos

"Architecture is politics in three dimensions." That is a useful principle to keep in mind when you walk around any town or city, or drive through the countryside in Canada. It means that the kind of buildings people put on a landscape do more than merely reflect prevailing political or social views or economic conditions. They also play a large part in shaping those political and social views. Through architecture, establishments make the most dramatic statement of things officially believed in and hoped for. Architecture requires too much money and time ever to be a private art, ever to represent personal musings about life or sensibility to environment. Paintings or poems may be produced in garrets with little or no resources or commitment to an audience, but never buildings. They are always involved in community life to some degree and if they are of any size, they may affect that life for centuries. Because of these relationships between it and society, architecture makes the most lasting statements about history that can ever be made – history made visible for those who know how to see, history speaking to those who know how to listen.

Buildings function as historical documents in at least two distinct ways. Traditionally, the art of architecture was concerned with making visual metaphors, that is, with creating shapes or combinations of forms which had associations with the kinds of ideas on which the institutions of society – all societies, everywhere – are necessarily founded. The greater the impact of a building's shape and the more appealing its combination of mass, void and decoration, the more it was recognized as possessing Great or High Architecture. In our century, such aesthetic effects have tended to be isolated, separated from other and earlier kinds of functions. Designers have concentrated on them as ends in themselves. The result has been that instead of visual metaphors consciously associated with political and social ideas, modern buildings reveal the kind of society that created them by the way they are built – by their use of exposed steel cage, for example, or huge sheets of glass (sometimes clear, sometimes opaque), or "brutal" masses of almost raw concrete. All these in their several ways proclaim faith in society being transformed through the powers of a technology capable of producing

«L'architecture, c'est la politique en trois dimensions.» Il est bon de se rappeler cette formule lorsqu'on se promène dans les rues d'une ville ou sur les routes de la campagne canadienne. Elle signifie que le genre de bâtiments que les gens font construire sont plus qu'un simple *reflet* des idées politiques et sociales de leur époque ou des conditions économiques. En effet, ils contribuent dans une large mesure à *façonner* ces idées politiques et sociales. C'est par l'architecture que les classes dirigeantes expriment avec le plus de force leurs convictions et leurs aspirations. Au vrai, l'architecture demande tellement de temps et d'argent qu'elle ne pourra jamais devenir un art privé, traduire les réflexions d'un individu sur l'existence ou sa sensibilité à l'environnement. On peut peindre un tableau ou écrire un poème dans une mansarde avec un minimum de ressources et sans obligation à l'égard du public, mais il n'en va pas de même pour la construction des bâtiments. Ceux-ci participent toujours dans une plus ou moins large mesure à la vie collective. Pour peu qu'ils aient certaines dimensions, les bâtiments peuvent influencer des siècles durant sur la vie collective. Parce qu'elle entretient ces rapports avec la société, l'architecture constitue le témoignage historique le plus durable; elle est l'histoire rendue visible à ceux qui savent voir, l'histoire qui parle à ceux qui savent écouter.

Les bâtiments font office de documents historiques au moins de deux façons différentes. Depuis toujours, l'architecture s'est attachée à créer des métaphores visuelles, c'est-à-dire à créer des formes ou des combinaisons de formes associées aux idées qui sous-tendent nécessairement les institutions de toute société. Plus ces formes produisent de l'effet et plus l'ornementation et la combinaison d'espaces pleins et d'espaces vides sont séduisantes, plus un édifice est reconnu comme appartenant à la grande architecture. Au XX^e siècle, on a tendance à isoler ces effets esthétiques des autres fonctions souvent plus anciennes. Les architectes en font une fin en soi. De là vient que les bâtiments modernes ont cessé d'être des métaphores visuelles consciemment associées aux idées politiques et sociales pour devenir les révélateurs du type de société qui les a conçus; par exemple, une ossature d'acier à découvert ou d'immenses surfaces vitrées

* *Editor's Note:* This article is the first of a three-part series. The next two articles will appear in February and June 1983, respectively.

* N.D.L.R.: Premier d'une série de trois articles. Les deux autres paraîtront respectivement en février 1983 et en juin 1983.

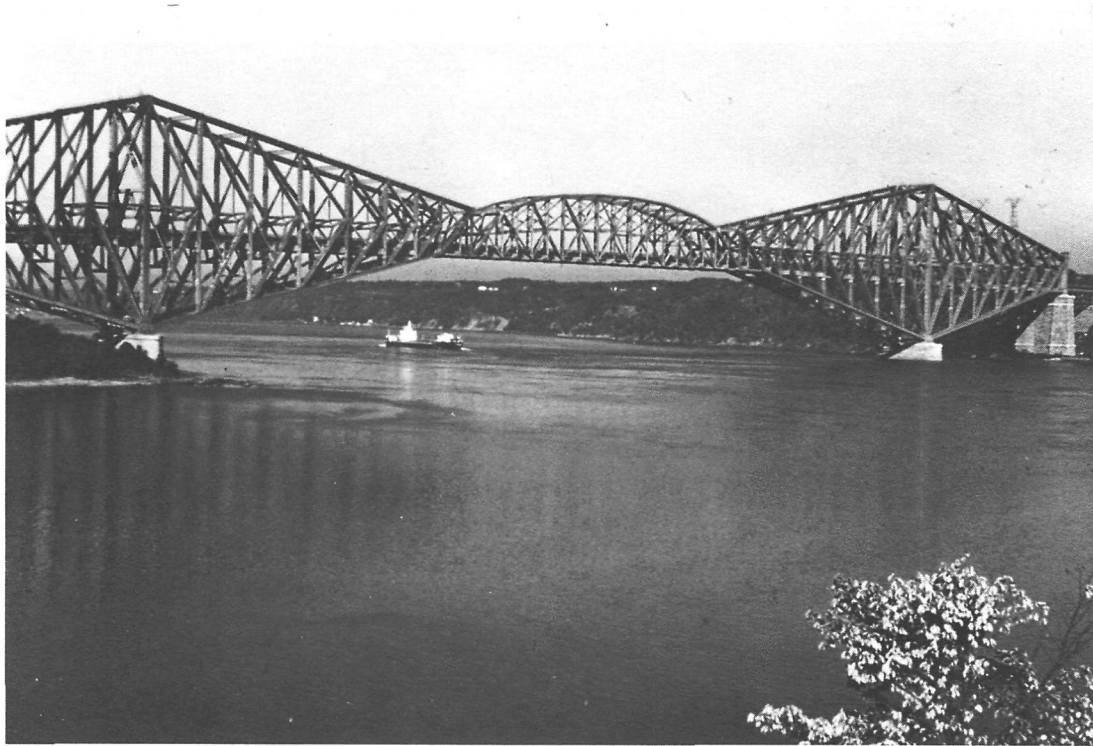
such things, but at the same time they paradoxically allude to a vision of happiness achievable by a return to some primitive state of a hypothetical natural man.

Once you understand how to read architecture in this way, you will never find yourself in a community without interesting buildings. For *all* buildings can be read as history. Whether you live in the far northwest of Canada where settlement goes back only a generation or two, or in the St. Lawrence valley where Europeans first arrived three and a half centuries ago, you will be surrounded by buildings whose forms can be traced into a remote past. If one were able to learn the origins of the words he speaks, he would master history, so if one learns the "language" of architecture, he confronts the past.

(parfois transparentes, parfois opaques) ou de masses «brutales» de béton presque brut. Tous ces éléments proclament, chacun à sa façon, la foi en une société en cours de transformation sous l'effet d'une technologie capable de telles réalisations. Mais en même temps, ils évoquent paradoxalement l'aspiration à une forme de bonheur réalisable par le retour à un hypothétique état naturel primitif.

Une fois que vous aurez appris à interpréter l'architecture de cette façon, vous trouverez dans toutes les agglomérations des bâtiments dignes d'intérêt. Car vus de cette façon, *tous* les bâtiments sont des témoins de l'histoire. Que vous viviez dans les régions éloignées du nord-ouest du Canada où les établissements ne remontent qu'à une génération ou deux, ou dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent où les Européens arrivèrent il y a trois siècles et demi, vous serez entouré de bâtiments dont les formes remontent à un passé lointain. En fait, le langage de l'architecture se compare à n'importe quelle langue. Ainsi, si l'origine des mots peut nous permettre de comprendre l'histoire, le langage de l'architecture peut nous faire mieux connaître le passé.

Quebec Bridge



The Quebec Bridge, seen from the juncture of the St. Lawrence and Chaudière rivers. Built 1908-18, on designs by H.E. Vautelet of Montreal, chief engineer of the St. Lawrence Bridge Company, 1908-11; completion supervised by chief engineers C.N. Monsarrat and G.H. Duggan. Total length of steel work, 3,239 feet; height of central span above high water, 150 feet. Photo taken September 1955, when original bridge could still be admired without the distraction of the second and not nearly so interesting span, built in the 1970s.

Comments

For all intents and purposes, Canadian history begins at Quebec. There the great river of Canada constricts for the last time between high cliffs before suddenly expanding into the great widths of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. And there, appropriately enough, stand two major monuments of Canadian history in architecture: the Château Frontenac crowning the promontory from which even feeble eighteenth-century guns could command the narrowed ship channel; and, a few miles upstream, the Quebec Bridge. Strictly speaking, the bridge qualifies as a work of architecture neither in our modern sense of expressing in aesthetically dramatic form some artist's sensibilities, or the qualities of materials and structure, or the spirit of our times; nor in the traditional sense of being primarily concerned with recreating symbols of those enduring beliefs on which the institutions of state and society rest. It is utilitarian building at best. But geography and history have nevertheless combined to give the bridge architectural qualities of both sorts.

For two or three generations now, the Quebec Bridge has been admired as a starkly utilitarian expression of twentieth-century technology. And, however unintentionally, the bridge functions also as a visual metaphor of the railroads' role in unifying Canada and of the difficulties, dangers and frustrations overcome in effecting that union. (In 1907 the first bridge, begun in 1900, collapsed with horrible loss of life, and in 1916 there was a further disaster when the central span collapsed into the ship channel while being installed.) It functions too as a visual metaphor of Scottish imprint on Canadian life, for its obvious model was the (considerably smaller) cantilever bridge over the Firth of Forth, north of Edinburgh. In short, the Quebec Bridge is Canada's single most outstanding example of utilitarian building – not High Architecture, but the essential foundation of all High Architecture, in Canada or anywhere else.

Further reference

The Quebec Bridge, 2 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919).



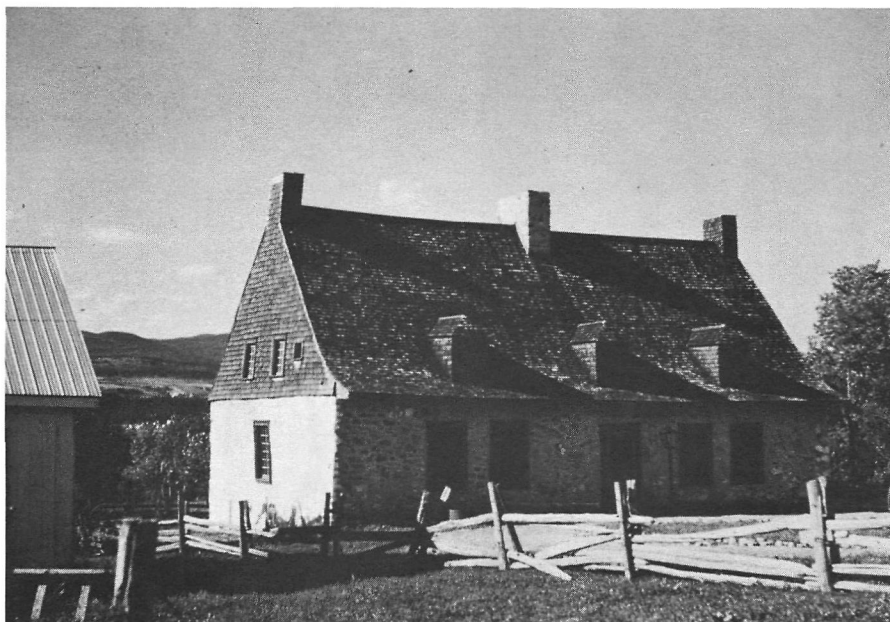
Old Mill at Glenora on the Bay of Quinte. Built of local limestone by local builders, who followed proportions and techniques made familiar by a hundred generations of use in the American colonies and before that in the Old World.

Comments

If the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal is the heart of French Canada, then the heart of English Canada is the old Loyalist territory along the upper St. Lawrence and north shore of Lake Ontario from Brockville to the Bay of Quinte. Here the “spirit of ’76” can still be sensed, in reverse; it is a region where, as Arthur Lower remarks in *Canadians in the Making*, “the War” still means the war of the American Revolution, whose outcome drove the first English-speaking settlers here.

As in all frontier settlements, the history of civilization was reproduced in embryo here. For a brief span, mills played as pivotal a role in these communities as they had in medieval countrysides. Where there’s a mill, there’s a way; and from the crossing of two ways, cities often sprang. But not always. Sometimes progress bypassed mills, left them to dream and crumble off the beaten track, as here. In the process, such a mill, like the Quebec Bridge, acquires romantic associations – in this case, with pioneer life and virtues. Unlike the bridge, such mills commonly did function from their beginning as visual metaphors, albeit unintentionally and unconsciously. Their proportions, derived from centuries of tradition, embodied a deep sense of “rightness.” Generation after generation, people reacted to them – “That looks right, somehow” – and thus accepted such architecture as the image of a basic rightness of things, thence of the moral order of the universe – what the philosophers used to call Practical Reason or Natural Law – on which all societies must ultimately rest.

Farmhouse near Saint-Pierre, Île d'Orléans



Begun probably in the late seventeenth-century with the central chimney and hearth characteristic of the peasant homestead. Characteristic, too, in facing the river rather than the land – travellers used to comment on New France looking like “a single continuous village” lining the river bank from Saint-Joachim to Lachine. Later, around 1800, fake wooden chimneys were added at each end, not physically but socially functional, to make the house resemble town houses (whose chimneys were in the firebreak end walls, contiguous with their neighbours’ on each side) and so proclaim a rise in social status from peasant to independent farmer.

Comments

Of all colonial styles in Canada, the Quebec homestead is surely best known. It is a monument to permanent settlement on the land – in New France as in Old France, an image of family life on that land.

Broad attic for sleeping, main floor with central hearth for cooking and warmth, ground floor where animals stay and food is stored through long winters – together these compose a visual metaphor of the peasant home, foundation of society in France (and everywhere else). Solidity is its predominant characteristic – nowhere better described than in *L'architecture en Nouvelle France* by Gérard Morisset (Quebec, 1949, pp. 15-19).

Pour peu qu'on examine notre architecture d'autrefois, on constate qu'elle est l'œuvre d'un peuple sédentaire et terrien. C'est – le croirait-on dans le pays des coureurs de bois – un art essentiellement statique.

Cette architecture, si elle a poussé quelques rejetons en Nouvelle-France, n'a pas pris naissance chez nous. Elle ... remontait au Moyen Âge, à l'époque où les villes et les gros bourgs reconstruisaient en pierre leurs habitations de bois et leurs églises détruites par les Normands. Et c'est bien l'esprit du style roman qu'on perçoit dans les murailles nues et frustes de nos vieilles demeures, dans leurs toitures élancées et coupées de lucarnes, dans leurs cheminées monumentales et leurs coupe-feu, dans leurs proportions massives et leur aspect d'édifices fortifiés.

La tradition romane ne se perd point. Un peu partout sur le territoire français, on la voit cheminer à travers les somptuosités du style rayonnant et les extravagances du flamboyant; ... l'abondance décorative du XVII^e siècle ... sous le règne de Louis XIV, ... c'est elle qui s'oppose au baroque et préserve la France des excentricités italiennes. Elle est toujours robuste, simple sans affectation, à la fois hardie et mesurée; elle reste toujours la tradition populaire, tant elle résume en elle la pérennité du goût et de la logique du peuple....

Further reference

In many ways the traditional Québécois house has become a symbol of cultural and political independence in Quebec. There have been, in consequence, a great number of books about it in the last dozen years. Among them: Georges Gauthier-Larouche, *L'évolution de la maison rural Laurentienne* (Quebec, 1967); Yves Laframboise, *L'architecture traditionnelle au Québec: Glossaire illustré* (Montreal, 1975); Michel Lessard and Huguette Marquis, *Encyclopédie de la maison québécoise* (Montreal, 1972); Raymonde Gauthier, *Les manoirs du Québec* (Quebec, 1976); Peter N. Moogk, *Building a House in New France* (Toronto, 1977).



Basilica of Quebec

Quebec Basilica (Cathédrale Notre-Dame) looking up Rue de la Fabrique. Its origins go back to the first parish church, founded with the colony itself. Raised to cathedral status in the seventeenth century, and to a basilica in the nineteenth century. A fire in 1922 gutted the great eighteenth-century interior, product of several generations of the Baillairgé family of artisans, but spared the façade, a composite of the centuries. A central section designed by Thomas Baillairgé in the mid-1840s, and the south tower by Claude Baillif, royal master mason, c. 1689 are the façade's chief features.

Comments

In every capital of Europe, palace and church symbolized the twin authorities of state and church, and that pattern was transmitted to Quebec. Quebec's governors' palace is long gone – the Château Frontenac stands on its site. But its Basilica remains, principal early monument in the French colonial baroque style. To understand how this building functioned as a visual metaphor in its original social setting, try to imagine how it looked when it was the biggest and most richly ornamented structure around. Imagine the contrast it made with peasant homesteads in the countryside. Where they used rough and natural materials, it was built of smooth-cut stones; where they had no ornament and often were not even painted, it had carefully cut decorative details and sculpture in niches; where they had no firm interior divisions and were constantly added to as family living required, it was composed according to artificial rules and geometric order. In this fundamental contrast of naturalness with artificiality, an image was intended of a peasant class whose duty and happiness it was to till the soil contentedly and live naturally accepting the inevitable, and a governing class whose duty and happiness it was to impose order on nature and keep order in society, relying for the purpose on that capacity of inspired reason which, according to the church, was bestowed upon princes and nobles. In the contrast of homestead with palace, then, was a metaphor of the contrast of peasant with prince, of the two basic elements of society on whose harmonious co-operation peace and happiness in this life were held to depend.

Further reference

Luc Noppen, *Notre-Dame de Québec* (Quebec, 1973).

Maison Chevalier Complex, Lower Town, Quebec



Maison Chevalier complex in the Anse-aux-Basques district of Lower Town, restored by the Quebec government at great cost in the early 1960s to its appearance c. 1760. (The backs have been modernized, and the appropriateness of the quasi-parterre in front has been questioned.) Actually, there are three houses built contiguously; left to right: Maison Chevalier proper, begun 1752 for lawyer Jean-Baptiste Chevalier; centre, begun 1685, occupied c. 1760 by merchant Chenaye de la Garenne; right, another merchant's house of c. 1700 which lost an end in the nineteenth century to allow space for rue Notre-Dame.

Comments

Third of the traditional social classes in New France was the bourgeoisie. It was essentially composed of merchants, artisans and others who serviced the social system, that is, who ensured that goods produced by the peasants were distributed throughout society for (in theory) the greatest good of all. During the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie began to flourish in Europe as never before. Even in remote outposts like Quebec and Montreal, their houses suggested increased affluence and influence through more regular proportions, steadily more elaborate ornament, sometimes even sculptural decoration – palace-like features, which proclaimed the townspeople's pretensions to share some of that capacity for inspired reason by which princes and noblemen justified their authority. But town houses also customarily used materials in natural ways, like home-steads, thus suggesting a relationship to peasantry – truly a visual metaphor of the “middle class” in the traditional class-structured state.

Before mass transit, the most desirable residential areas in any town were those closest to its centre. Suburbs, now the choicest residential areas, were then usually slums housing the poor who suffered the disadvantage of having to spend hours getting to and from work. Town houses in consequence were typically crowded into town centres without intervening spaces, and, to prevent fires, were provided with massive “firebreak” sidewalls whose prominent chimneys carried protection against sparks far above the shingle line. Chimneys symmetrically arranged on the ends of houses became associated with middle-class status and in time were imitated in the country.

Further reference

Michel Gaumond, *La Place royale*, 2nd ed. (Quebec, 1972); Lessard and Marquis, *Encyclopédie*, pp.498ff.



Presbytère, Roman Catholic Church, school and store (left to right) at Long Lac in northern Ontario, photographed from the CNR tracks in 1970.

Comments

The Canadian National's transcontinental train leaves for the west from Toronto's Union Station in the late afternoon. Summers, it is not dark until you get past Muskoka around Parry Sound. So the light fades out just as the rocks and lakes of the Canadian Shield are beginning in earnest. When the sun rises again, you will be in some place like Long Lac. One glance at the landscape, and you know you are deep in northern Ontario. One glance at the buildings, and you know too that you are in a French community. It is not that the details of the building are derived from or even related to anything from Old Quebec. Technically, they belong to mid- and late-nineteenth-century eclectic styles – this church spire gets its forms from late Victorian Gothic, and the house has a second empire mansard roof shape. It is the proportion, the massing, the relation of one building to another that tells who built this town and on what convictions its social institutions rest. For this combination of shapes and proportions is familiar to anyone who has ever travelled through rural Quebec: church with silver spire, presbytère nearby, schoolyard, low school buildings, store. All are vernacular structures, that is, built by people basically unaware of style, reproducing forms that have come to look right. Hardly architectural art, then, but together the complex defines the cultural geography of this region: French, Canadian, Catholic.

You can see similar groupings of buildings all across northern Canada – Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta – as you can in northern New Brunswick, and on the southwest Fundy shore of Nova Scotia. This is Quebec vernacular architecture, the chief visual evidence of that prodigious expansion out of French Canada from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Wherever that expansion went south – into Fall River and New Bedford in Massachusetts, Manchester in New Hampshire, Augusta in Maine – its traces are feeble. But wherever it went north, east or west, its traces remain strong and give vital character to the landscape.



This farmhouse was built c. 1820 and photographed when abandoned, c. 1955. The combination of main house and addition – often called a “back kitchen” and serving for the family’s effective communal space, the main part containing a rarely used formal parlour – is customary. Sometimes the addition in fact represents the first structure on the land and the more formally proportioned house is in fact added to it.

Comments

This wooden house has long since disintegrated, but many like it survive, in stone and brick as well as wood, to give character to the Ontario landscape. It is a counterpart to the colonial homestead of Quebec, the kind of house the first permanent English-speaking settlers in Canada put upon their land. Distinctive are the low solid proportions and the wide gable. American folklorist, Henry Glassie, has called such houses the “British cabin” type when they occur in the American colonies and has suggested they may originate in Protestant areas of Ireland. Wherever they come from, they stamped the Ontario landscape, especially those parts of it settled by Loyalists, for half a century. Similar proportions and spaces persist through all manner of changes in exterior detail: a more symmetrical arrangement of central door and flanking windows conveying Georgian-gentleman aspirations; a central gable-peak, often with a pointed window in it, betokening Gothic revival influences from the 1830s on; often a frilly porch or gingerbreading around eaves and pediments proclaiming stylish picturesqueness after mid-century.

Further reference

Anthony Adamson and Marion Macrae, *The Ancestral Roof* (Toronto, 1963).

Victoria Hall, Cobourg, Ontario



Victoria Hall, Cobourg, built on the designs of Kivas Tully of Belfast between 1856 and 1860, opened with a gala ceremony graced by the presence of the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VII), and restored 1972-75. Deliberately built as a symbol of Cobourg's aspirations towards national grandeur (the city fathers hoped to rival and surpass Toronto and St. Peter's church is another witness to their dreams), the building was designed so that it might be used for legislative assemblies; in fact, it was used for town business and government, as a court house and sometimes for opera.

Comments

Question: What is a pompous-looking building like you, covered with pediments and pilasters, cupolas and columns, doing on a small-town street like this? Answer: I am a symbol of British authority. I was built to play the same role in English-society as the Basilica in French Canada, and to make the same kind of contrasts with the plain and natural homesteads around. Look, and you can find all sorts of buildings like me: Osgoode Hall and St. Lawrence Hall in Toronto; St. George's Cathedral and the Town Hall in Kingston; and so on. You should not think of us as a revival of the seventeenth-century baroque forms which were used by eighteenth-century English lords to build palaces symbolizing their dominance after the Glorious Revolution of 1689. We are survivals, direct descendants from them. We proclaim how the same values held in eighteenth-century Britain continued in nineteenth-century Canadian society. After the 1776 Revolution, we became obsolete in the United States, because there was no longer any aristocratic power for us to proclaim there. But in Canada, the theory (and often the practice) of aristocratic rule was held well into the nineteenth century, and the Establishments holding it went on erecting monuments like us to proclaim, support and promote their conviction. This is what traditional High Architecture always did.

Buildings like these, based upon the generalized Roman forms used in eighteenth-century British public architecture could be well described as constituting the style of the first British Empire (which ended with the loss of the thirteen American colonies in 1776-83). Other fine examples are the court houses in Welland, Napanee, Kingston and Windsor (Sandwich); the city hall of Guelph; Bonsecours Market in Montreal; the legislative buildings of Nova Scotia in Halifax and Newfoundland in St. John's. After about 1830, however, Gothic revival styles came to correspond increasingly well to what empire architecture needed to express, and by the 1850s it had superseded this older eighteenth-century classical style in fashionable taste.

Further reference

Alan Gowans, *Building Canada* (Toronto, 1967) gives a number of examples, but the book is out of print and hard to find; one must seek out specific information on separate buildings, like Eric Arthur's on St. Lawrence Hall, or Margaret Angus's and J. Douglas Stewart's books on Kingston.

Small Urban House-types in Halifax



House-types in Halifax, Nova Scotia, typical of the period 1840-90. These, off Spring Garden Street, are mostly gone in 1982, although the photo was taken only in 1959. Halifax and Guelph are the two Canadian cities which suffered most losses before the preservation/restoration movement of the 1965-80 period took hold.

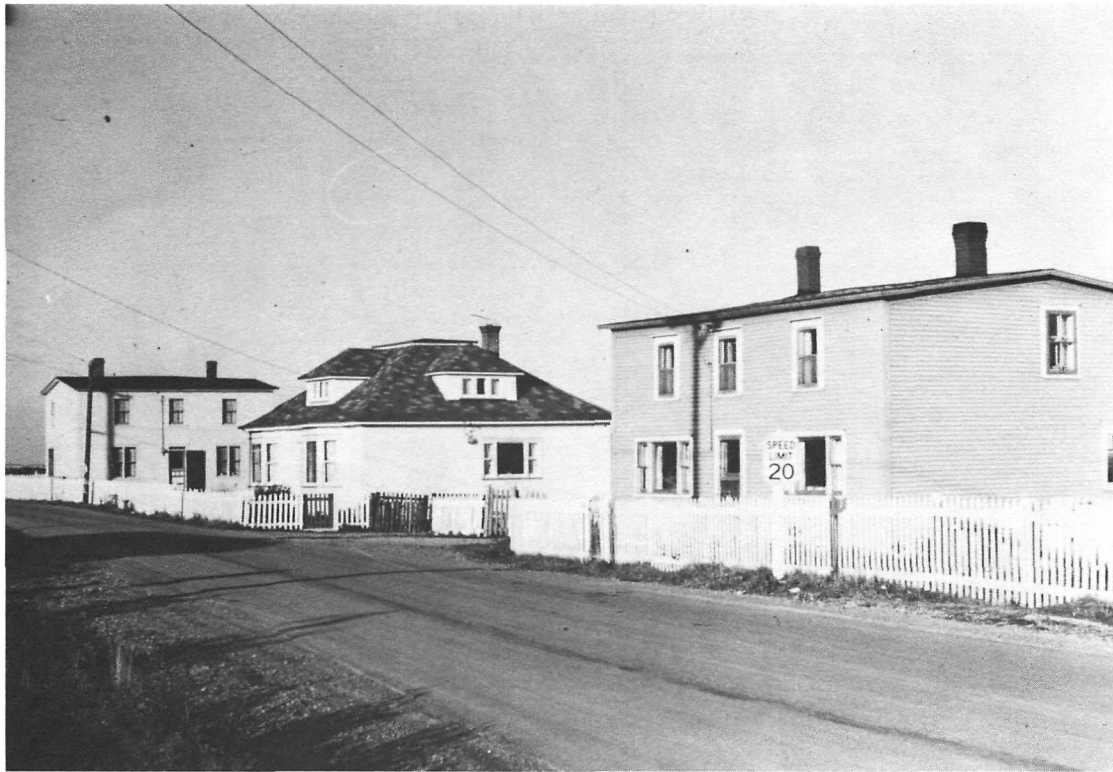
Comments

Just as there are English Canadian counterparts to French colonial folk styles and French colonial baroque styles, so English Canada had its distinctive town houses – and more of them, indeed, as might be expected from a “nation of shopkeepers.” These in Halifax have the same basic characteristics as the Quebec town houses: façades ordered with conspicuous regularity and ornamented with precise details to convey an image of associations with government and Establishment generally, combined with a use of materials and techniques reminiscent of homesteads. Besides these wooden types, Halifax also has stone town houses (on Hollis Street, for example) which ostentatiously recall such late eighteenth-century aristocratic Georgian palaces as Halifax’s Province House of 1811. A striking feature of all middle-class housing in old Halifax was a distinctive kind of five-sided dormer window, the work of Scottish builders and a memorial to that robust Scottish middle class which did so much to shape the nature and destiny of Nova Scotia and the rest of Canada.

Further reference

Founded Upon A Rock: Historic Buildings of Halifax and Vicinity (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1967). One of the articles describes this town-house type as follows: “the ‘Halifax house,’ a distinct regional type of domestic architecture, distinguished by its frame construction, balanced proportions, and Scottish bayed dormers.”

Street in Pouch Cove, Newfoundland



Street of vernacular house-types in Pouch (pronounced "Pooch") Cove, Newfoundland. Picket fences define both the street and house lot boundaries, as they did all over North America at the beginning of the twentieth century. Another survival of older custom is bright primary colours: the foreground house is green, the other two, different shades of yellow. In eighteenth-century North America, such bright colours for wooden houses were the rule.

Comments

Flanked by two variants of a standard Maritimes urban multi-family dwelling (a severe descendant of colonial house-types from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a family that includes Georgian mansions) is a square-plan pyramidal-roofed house of a type that abounds in Canada. The house here rendered in a typical Newfoundland combination of stark boards painted in primary colours can be found on the west coast, swathed in elaborate arts-and-crafts detail; shingled in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia and the Saint John Valley of New Brunswick; in the form of Regency cottages in Ontario's Niagara Peninsula; cobbled around London and Paris in central Ontario; fused with Québécois homestead details to produce the Anglo-Norman type of Quebec; balloon-framed on the Prairies; dressed in cut limestone around Kingston and Ganonoque. You could in fact teach a whole history of Canadian architecture from this one building-type. Why such popularity? This shape has associations with aristocratic life going back hundreds of years. Its ultimate origins are to be found in a kind of symmetrical villa with four Roman temple fronts, invented by Andrea Palladio to proclaim the pretensions to Roman patrician grandeur of sixteenth-century Italian noblemen. Thence it passed to eighteenth-century English nobles, who mined Palladio's books for the same reason. In due course the type came to Canada, fulfilling similar purposes on a colonial level with appropriate simplification and smaller scale. By the end of the nineteenth century it had sunk to the level of a vernacular, that is, a style which has lost any precise associations without builders remembering why. In this case, the type seemed, in contrast to simple gabled structures, to have "a touch of class." That is a revealing expression, for in fact the classical cottage did not completely disappear from Canadian architectural vocabularies until the country made its decisive turn toward egalitarian socialism after World War II.

Further reference

A Gift of Heritage (St. John's, 1975), published by the Newfoundland Historic Trust, with contributions from Shannie Duff, Shane O'Dea, Beverly Miller, Jean M. Ball and Paul O'Neill. Its nice drawings and interesting text convey the stark flavour of buildings in St. John's very well, although it has few vernacular buildings *per se*.