

THE MANITOBA PROVINCIAL ARCHITECT'S OFFICE
(1904 - 1916)

BY

ERIN A. M. BOOTH

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History
University of Winnipeg
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
LIST OF FIGURES	6
INTRODUCTION	12
CHAPTER 1 - THE PAO UNDER HOOPER: 1904-1911	33
CHAPTER 2 - THE PAO UNDER HORWOOD: 1911-1915	66
CHAPTER 3 - THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PAO: 1915-1916	110
CHAPTER 4 - ANALYSIS OF THE DECLINE	159
CONCLUSION	194
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	197
FIGURES	207

Abstract

From the turn of the twentieth century to the onset of the First World War, Manitoba experienced extensive social, demographic, and economic changes. Additionally, the architectural profession in Canada went through a metamorphosis from a haphazard practice to a standardized profession. During this period, the Provincial Architect's Office (PAO) of the Manitoba Department of Public Works initiated and completed numerous new building projects. In the context of rapid changes, the PAO evolved to adjust. The Provincial Architects, Samuel Hooper (1904-11) and Victor Horwood (1911-15), were varyingly successful in fulfilling the demands of the Office and the directions in which the PAO was taken by the Ministers. The major building projects undertaken during Horwood's term vastly altered the role of the Provincial Architect and occasioned the demise of the PAO. Scandals associated with these projects served as a catalyst for the dissolution of the PAO in 1916 as a result of charges of mismanagement. Upon realizing the scope of the mismanagement, the Liberals, led by Tobias C. Norris, used the Office and Provincial Architect, Victor Horwood to disparage the Roblin Conservatives.

By reviewing the Department of Public Works annual reports, focusing particularly on those of The Provincial Architect, I examine how the Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office changed and evolved to fit the rapidly changing world

around it, as well as the changing directions of the Ministers. I analyze the design styles of the Provincial Architects to determine the messages which were conveyed to the public about the government. I then examine Reports of the various Royal Commissions convened to inquire into the major building projects to determine the roles of the Office, the Provincial Architect, and the Ministers.

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Writing this thesis has been a most challenging and rewarding task. This has not been due simply to the subject matter - which was voluminous and intricate - but to the manner in which the task was undertaken. This thesis was written over a five year period while working (more than) full time. It was created in stolen pieces of time - statutory holidays, vacations, weekends, and evenings. Consequently, I have many people to thank for making the sacrifices right along with me.

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List of Figures

- 1 - Samuel Hooper (1902) - Provincial Archives of Manitoba, N4219.
- 2 - Samuel Hooper, Queen Victoria, ca. 1893, Winnipeg - Western Canada Pictorial Index.
- 3 - Samuel Hooper, The Grain Exchange Building (1898), Winnipeg - Kip Park. The Historic Winnipeg Restoration Area : An Illustrated Guide to Winnipeg's Historic Warehouse District, Winnipeg, 1983, p.21.
- 4 - Samuel Hooper, The Holman Meat Market (1903), Winnipeg - "Winnipeg Building and Street Improvement", Manitoba Free Press, November 14, 1903, p.22.
- 5 - Samuel Hooper, Isbister School (1898-9), Winnipeg - City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, 1982 The Year Past: Report of the City of Winnipeg Historical Buildings Committee, n.d., p.49.
- 6 - Samuel Hooper, St. Mary's Academy (ca.1900), Winnipeg - Western Canada Pictorial Index.
- 7 - Samuel Hooper, Bell Tower, Isbister School (1898-9), Winnipeg - City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, 1982 The Year Past: Report of the City of Winnipeg Historical Buildings Committee, n.d., p.49.

- 8 - Samuel Hooper, The Provincial Normal School (1903-6), Winnipeg - City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, 1982 The Year Past: Report of the City of Winnipeg Historical Buildings Committee, n.d., p.55.
- 9 - Samuel Hooper, The Administration Building, The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles site (1904-10), Winnipeg - Western Canada Pictorial Index.
- 10 - Samuel Hooper, The Western Judicial District Court House and Gaol (1908-10), Brandon - Manitoba. Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Brandon : An Architectural Walking Tour, Winnipeg, 1985, n.p.
- 11 - Samuel Hooper and Victor Horwood, The Administration Building, The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site (1911-16), Winnipeg - Gilbert Parfitt, The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November-December 1925, p.202-9.
- 12 - Samuel Hooper, Home for Incurables and Old Folks' Home (1908 / 1910-12), Portage La Prairie - Manitoba. Department of Public Works, Provincial Government of Manitoba : Various Public Buildings, ca. 1913, n.p.
- 13 - Samuel Hooper, The Empress Hotel, (ca.1909),

- Winnipeg Beach, Manitoba -"Gateway to the Granary of the British Empire", Construction, III, December 1909, p. 54-83.
- 14 - Samuel Hooper, Provincial Telephone Exchange (1907-8), Winnipeg - "Building and Real Estate News", Manitoba Free Press, September 12, 1908.
- 15 - Samuel Hooper, The Manitoba Land Titles Building (1903), Winnipeg - Western Canada Pictorial Index.
- 16 - Samuel Hooper, Carnegie Library (1903-5), Winnipeg - City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, 1984 The Year Past: Report of the City of Winnipeg Historical Buildings Committee, n.d., p.65.
- 17 - Samuel Hooper, Drawings of Proposed Land Titles Building, Winnipeg, Man. (1903) - Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.
- 18 - Samuel Hooper, Elevation to Broadway, Manitoba Law Courts Building (1909), Winnipeg - Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.
- 19 - Victor W. Horwood - Marilyn Baker, Symbol in Stone: The Art and Politics of a Public Building, Winnipeg, 1986, p.49.
- 20 - Victor Horwood, Normal School, Brandon (1912) - Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report of the Department of Public Works for the Year Ending December 31st, 1911, Winnipeg, 1912, between pp. 24

and 25.

- 21 - Victor Horwood, Perspective View of New Law Courts, Winnipeg (1912) -Manitoba. Department of Public Works, Provincial Government of Manitoba : Various Public Buildings, ca. 1913, n.p.
- 22 - Victor Horwood, Principal's Residence, Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, (1913), Winnipeg - Gilbert Parfitt, The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November-December 1925, p.202-9.
- 23 - Victor Horwood, Western Elevation, Central Power House, Winnipeg (1913-16) - Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.
- 24 - Victor Horwood, Dairy Science Building, (1913), Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg - Gilbert Parfitt, The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November-December 1925, p.202-9.
- 25 - Victor Horwood, Poultry Building, (1913), Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg - Gilbert Parfitt, The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Nov.-Dec. 1925, p.202-9.
- 26 - Victor Horwood, The Engineering Building, (1913-16), Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg - Gilbert Parfitt, The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November-

December 1925, p.202-9.

- 27 - Victor Horwood, Designs for a Stable (1906) - V.W. Horwood, "Designs for a Stable", Canadian Architect and Builder, Volume XIX, September 1906, 134-5.
- 28 - Kennedy Street entrance, Manitoba Law Courts Building (1911-16), Winnipeg - Western Canada Pictorial Index.
- 29 - Victor Horwood, Suggestion for Plan of Government Grounds and for Buildings of Manitoba (1912) - Marilyn Baker, Symbol in Stone : The Art and Politics of a Public Building, Winnipeg, 1986, p.30.
- 30 - Samuel Hooper, Drawings of Dairy and Science Hall, Agricultural College, (ca.1904), Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles site, Winnipeg - Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.
- 31 - Samuel Hooper and Victor Horwood, Horticulture and Biology Building, Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site (1911-13), Winnipeg - Gilbert Parfitt, The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, November-December 1925, p.202-9.
- 32 - Victor Horwood, Longitudinal Section, Manitoba Central Power House (1913-16), Winnipeg - Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.
- 33 - Simon and Boddington, Legislative and Executive Building, Winnipeg - South Elevation, (1912) -

Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report of the
Department of Public Works for the Year Ending
December 31st, 1911, Winnipeg, 1912, between pp. 72
and 73.

Introduction

A significant period of expansion marked by extensive public building initiatives occurred in Manitoba between the turn of the twentieth century and the onset of the First World War. The government of the Province of Manitoba played an active, indeed an integral role in this building boom. The Provincial Architect's Office (PAO) of the Department of Public Works (DPW) initiated and completed numerous projects. The appointed Provincial Architects during the existence of the Office were Samuel Hooper (1904-11) and V.W. Horwood (1911-14), followed for a short period by Acting Provincial Architect, William Fingland (1915). The Office was dissolved as a result of charges of mismanagement in 1916. The buildings designed and constructed by the PAO reflected economic optimism, sustained by exceptional economic development throughout the period.

The Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office was given the responsibility for the construction and maintenance of all public structures. Scandals involving the administrative mismanagement of major building projects such as the Manitoba Legislative Building project, the Manitoba Law Courts project, the Manitoba Central Power House project, and the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, occasioned the demise of the PAO. Indeed, these scandals served as a catalyst for the confrontation between the opposing forces that had developed

in government and in the community.

Within the administrative structure of the provincial government under Rodmond P. Roblin, and specifically, in the Department of Public Works and the Provincial Architect's Office, certain forces had begun to gain strength which would culminate in the dissolution of the PAO. "Porkbarrelling" and party patronage had become a common practice within the Roblin government. The Department of Public Works under Robert Rogers, Colin Campbell, and W.H. Montague continued this practice with its awarding of public works contracts. Facilitating this system, was the administration of the Provincial Architect's Office. Upon the discovery of the fraudulent activity by the Roblin Conservative government in the context of the major projects of the PAO, the Liberal opposition led by T.C. Norris capitalized on the opportunity to discredit the government. Once in power, the Norris Liberals dismantled the vehicle for these activities, the Provincial Architect's Office.

Manitoba, at this time, experienced extensive social, demographic, and economic changes. A boom period in the province, and especially in Winnipeg, had reshaped a small, insular community into an international centre and resource base. As Winnipeg grew into a major centre of trade and transport, practising architects arrived in order to take advantage of the demand for new structures. As with the

development of architectural professionalism elsewhere, the architectural community in Winnipeg became more active regarding professional standards and practices. With the rapid expansion of the community in Winnipeg and in other centres in Manitoba, there grew a need for public buildings to provide government services. The Provincial Architect's Office was conceived within this setting. However, the economic surge and associated sense of progressive optimism at the turn of the twentieth century could not be maintained. A sharp decline in the economy, the increasing number of poor, and the advent of World War I brought a demand from the community for a change in priorities in terms of the expenditure of public revenue.

During the boom period at the end of the nineteenth century Winnipeg emerged as the centre of western expansionist drive. The period of prosperity from 1900 to 1913 confirmed this status. From the time of Manitoba's entrance into Confederation in 1870 to the 1920's, it had undergone extensive changes in population base, economic base, and political conviction. A great wave of immigrants (1897-1912) to the province and Winnipeg created a dynamic community led by an elite group which was well-placed in business, politics and society. Throughout the province, the optimism fostered by eras of vigorous frontier development and metropolitan boosterism was succeeded by the realism bred of social reform movements and an awareness of economic and

political disparity with the East. ¹

At this time, a fledgling group of local architects were meeting occasionally to discuss various architectural topics. The local architectural community consisted of three groups : those who designed and built structures without any formal architectural training but practical experience and who were located in Manitoba; those who had received some formal training either in the form of apprenticeship or education and who came to Manitoba to establish a practice; and those who had extensive education and experience, undertaking projects in Manitoba from a practice located in a larger centre. In accordance with developments throughout Canada, an Act of the Manitoba Legislature incorporated the Manitoba Association of Architects in 1910 to promote professional training and the advancement of the profession.² By 1913, a chair of

¹ These themes are handled extensively in G. Friesen, The Canadian Prairies : A History, Toronto, 1987. See particularly chapters 13,14 & 15.

² In "A History of the Manitoba Association of Architects", John Chivers describes some of the events in the history of MAA and outlines its role. (see John Chivers, "A History of the Manitoba Association of Architects", unpublished manuscript, ca. 1966, p. 23.) The Manitoba Architects' Act was assented to in 1910, amended in 1913, and proclaimed in July, 1914. The Act mandates the MAA as follows :

The objects and powers of the association shall be to promote and increase, by all lawful means, the knowledge, skill and proficiency of its members in all things relating to the profession of the architect, and to that end to establish classes, lectures and examinations, and prescribe such tests of competency, fitness and moral character as may be thought expedient to qualify for admission to membership, and to grant diplomas to such members as a certificate of such membership, and the association shall have power to make and pass by-laws for

Architecture had been established at the University of Manitoba with the understanding that graduates of the program would be exempt from the MAA's examination process and be given automatic membership.³ Clearly, an architectural community existed in Manitoba prior to the development of a school or professional association. With these institutions, however, a new era of self-regulation in the architectural community in Manitoba was launched. The Provincial Architects were an integral and influential part of this small community. The developments in the profession had a great impact on the operation of the PAO. Conversely, the operations of the PAO impacted the architectural community.

The movement towards professionalism in architecture was occurring also in the United States, and Great Britain. On a national level, Canadian architects were struggling for legitimacy in their own right. At the same time, an initiative was taking place throughout the country to organize architects. In 1908, the Architectural Institute of Canada

the direction and management of the association, and for the admission to the study and the practice of the profession of architecture and all the rules that may be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the dignity and honor of the said profession, and to alter and amend same when deemed advisable.

The Act also provided that only members of the MAA were entitled to practise as architects or use the designation "architect". Manitoba Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Third Session of the Twelfth Legislature (February 10 - March 16, 1910) Chapter 4, pp. 8-14.

³ Manitoba Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Third Session of the Twelfth Legislature (February 10 - March 16, 1910) Chapter 4, pp. 8-14, article 10(c).

was incorporated; and in 1912 was renamed the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC). By 1912, the RAIC included the architectural associations from all the provinces, including the unincorporated Manitoba Association of Architects (MAA). Architects in Manitoba were closely linked to the national body from its inception. Indeed, sixteen Manitoba architects were charter members of the Architectural Institute of Canada.⁴ The professionalism movement among Manitoba architects began as early as 1900 as a result of the competition for projects that had developed between contractors and architects. The local architectural community considered it necessary to establish an "organized association" so that architects would be more highly regarded. This, in turn, would discredit the "designed" projects of contractors.⁵ Ten years later the Incorporation Act of the MAA was passed.

With the majority of important private and public contracts being awarded to foreign architects, the Canadian architectural community agitated for limitations in competition eligibility, the right to examine students of

⁴ John Chivers, op.cit, p. 23, 27.

⁵ Manitoba buildings in 1900 were described as "... more noted, perhaps, for their simplicity, symmetry and solidity than their architectural beauty or purity of design...". The frugality of clients led to the desire for the least expensive buildings. This desire and the lack of standardization created a direct competition for projects between architects and contractors in Manitoba. "Architecture in Manitoba", Canadian Architect and Builder, Volume XIII, Number 3, March 1900, p.60.

architecture, and establish standards of practice for architects.⁶ From 1885 to 1910, the practice and education of architects changed dramatically in response to new styles, technologies, administrative practices and a changing public perception of the architect in society.⁷ Throughout the industrialized world, during this period, architects were experiencing "... the transformation of architecture from a skill rooted in the artistic traditions of western Europe to a profession dependent on the techniques of science and the managerial theories of modern business."⁸

Government architects experienced the same professional transition as architects in private practice. The Chief Architect's Branch of the federal Department of Public Works developed from a small government office, staffed through nepotism, into a large architectural firm with fully trained professionals, divided into areas of specialty.⁹ The entrenchment of professional values within government architectural offices was often met with opposition from

⁶ Kelly Crossman discusses the professionalization of Canadian architecture extensively in Architecture in Transition : From Art to Practice, 1885-1906, Montreal, 1987.

⁷ Crossman structures his study in terms of three themes : professionalism; new technologies; and national style. Crossman, op.cit., p.3.

⁸ Crossman, op.cit., p.4.

⁹ see Margaret Archibald, By Federal Design : The Chief Architect's Branch of the Department of Public Works, 1881-1914, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1983, for a full study of the Chief Architect's Branch.

private firms. Government public works offices were transformed by professionalism into self-sufficient architectural firms within the government structure. This was opposed by the architectural community since it virtually excluded private firms from government contracts. Moreover, many government architects undertook private projects, sometimes using government facilities. The architectural community was divided on this issue, some believing that government architects should be precluded from private practices and some defending a government architect's right to undertake private commissions on his own time. There was consensus, however, on the opposition to the use of government time, facilities and staff for private commissions.¹⁰

Before World War I, Canada's architectural culture was derived from those of Britain and the United States, the western provinces maintaining the trend until the 1920's. Yet, the architectural community throughout Canada was concerned with the establishment of a national style, apart from those of other countries. On this issue, government and private architects were agreed; the way in which the style should be determined, and by whom, however, was a cause of

¹⁰ The discussion of private commissions by government architects was still evident long after the dissolution of the Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office. see "Editorial", The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Volume IV, Number 8, August, 1927, pp.275-6; and "Correspondence", ibid., Volume IV, Number 10, October, 1927, p.382

conflict and division. Architect Percy Nobbs championed the movement for a Canadian style.¹¹ Prior to and during the search for this national style, Canadian architects were doing most of their work in the historical revival styles or the picturesque eclecticism of the Victorian era, as had been popular in Great Britain. A great number of architects practising in Canada had been trained in Great Britain, some emigrating to Canada afterward, some having been sent specifically for apprenticeship in an office.

During the Victorian era, architectural style in Canada had two trends: the eclectic use of ornament for its picturesque qualities; and the faithful reproduction of historic styles.¹² The styles of the Victorian era in Canada broke down initially after World War I, due to a disillusionment with the values of former generations, and finally, after the economic depression which began in 1929, which caused the Victorian social and economic world to collapse.¹³ Another extremely influential style from this period was Beaux-Arts. L'école des beaux-arts in Paris, France had developed a manner of conceptualization and design

¹¹ Crossman discusses the development of national style and the role of Percy Nobbs in its development extensively in Architecture in Transition.

¹² Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture, Volume 1, Toronto, 1994. Kalman provides an excellent description of the development of these styles throughout Canada. See particularly chapters 6 and 7.

¹³ Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada, Toronto, 1958, p. 173-93.

which resulted in the Beaux-Arts style. By the late nineteenth century, the studios or ateliers of the École were producing some of the most successful architects in Europe and North America. By 1910, the Beaux-Arts style had all but replaced the styles of the Victorian era in North America. American architects such as Henry Hobson Richardson, and the partnership of McKim, Mead and White had great influence on Canadian architects.¹⁴ Other movements developing at this time included the City Beautiful Movement, Arts and Crafts Movement, and the American Skyscraper. These and others influenced the nascent professional architectural community in Manitoba to create a complex, eclectic architectural community.

The Provincial Architect's Office was established as a branch of the Department of Public Works in 1904 to meet the growing demands for public buildings of villages, towns, and cities as they developed. The PAO was established

¹⁴ The influence of these Beaux-Arts architects was greatly facilitated by the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1895. Many American architects influenced by the Columbian Exposition made their way to Canadian cities, influencing local architects. A number of Canadian architects also visited the Exposition, among them Edward and William Maxwell of Montreal. Indeed, William S. Maxwell went on to attend the atelier of Jean-Louis Pascal who was closely associated with the École. The influence of the Beaux-Arts style on Canadian architects is discussed by Crossman in Architecture in Transition, 1987; the Beaux-Arts style in Canadian architecture is outlined very well by Kalman in A History of Canadian Architecture, Volume 2, 1994; and the experience of the Maxwell Brothers with Beaux-Arts is explained in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts exhibition catalogue, The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, Montreal, 1991.

specifically when the government decided to proceed with several projects including the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles.¹⁵ A province-wide network of government buildings was constructed in response to the influx of settlers in many areas. As the agricultural economy became established in the first decade of the century, there was a need for service-oriented structures such as schools and hospitals.

During the tenure of Samuel Hooper as Provincial Architect, projects were generally designed in variations of the favoured styles of the Victorian era.

The position of Provincial Architect was created by Premier Rodmond P. Roblin in 1904 with the appointment of Samuel Hooper, a prominent architect in Winnipeg. The Provincial Architect's Office grew to meet the public space needs of the province during an economic boom that lasted until 1913. In January, 1911, Victor W. Horwood was named Hooper's assistant. As Hooper's health failed, Horwood took on more of the duties of the Provincial Architect. Upon Hooper's unexpected death in October, Horwood was appointed Provincial Architect. During Horwood's term, the additional function was added to the PAO of undertaking, in various capacities, large-scale building projects. The balance of

¹⁵ "Samuel Hooper Dies in England", Manitoba Free Press, October 20, 1911, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping File, B5, p.47.

work in the PAO consisted of the smaller new building projects, and various maintenance and renovation projects for existing structures. It was during Horwood's term that the monumental public structures were supervised and completed. During the Royal Commission inquiry into the mismanagement of the Manitoba Legislative Building project, Horwood fell ill. He was replaced in the summer of 1915 by William Fingland, as Acting Provincial Architect. Subsequently, the position was terminated and the Office dissolved. In 1916, the Provincial Architect's Office was dismantled and replaced by a much reduced Office of the Building Superintendent, as recommended in a report by S.C. Oxton, Special Assistant to Liberal Minister, T.H. Johnson.

Methodological literature available in the discipline of architectural history includes several studies from various fields of the social sciences : from architecture and engineering, Rudolf Arnheim's The Dynamics of Architectural Form (1977) studies the visual aspects of design; from cultural geography, D.W. Meinig et al's The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes (1979) offers essays from prominent geographers on the socio-cultural interpretations of all types of landscapes and buildings; from social history, Paul Frankl's Principles of Architectural History (1914) outlines four distinct phases of architectural styles from Renaissance to Modern. More recently, several publications have offered

an interesting viewpoint of architectural interpretation. Witold Rybczynski's recent publications, Home : A Short History of the Idea (1987) and The Most Beautiful House in the World (1990) broach the subject of the intellectual and artistic processes that architects have gone through as they create the artifacts that historians later study. Another interesting perspective is offered by Charles Goodsell's The Social Meaning of Civic Space (1988) analyzing political authority through architectural history. As evidenced above, methodological literature exists in various academic disciplines, using different methodologies. Within the study of history, the value of architectural history is gaining recognition from artifact-based disciplines, such as ethnohistory and the study of material culture. These disciplines, too, are supported from other social sciences such as anthropology.

Style manuals are abundant and are helpful in understanding the general stylistic movements taking place in Europe and America. Mark Girouard's Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860 - 1900, Toronto, 1977; Alan Crawford's By Hammer and Hand: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham, Birmingham, England, 1984; Arthur Drexler's, The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, New York, 1977; and Alistair Service's Edwardian Architecture, 1977 all provide valuable stylistic context. Unfortunately, very few style manuals relate directly to the Canadian context. Style

manuals, by their nature, focus on specific buildings and architects, analysing the developments of a style. As such, they do not place the stylistic development within social, economic and political contexts. One source which brings together the best characteristics of the style manual and Canadian history is Harold Kalman's A History of Canadian Architecture, volumes 1 and 2, Toronto, 1994. Kalman traces the development of Canadian architectural styles, but always does so with a firm hold on the context of time and place.

The history of the development of architectural practice is addressed in Spiro Kostof's The Architect with a series of historical essays. A most valuable source has been Kelly Crossman's Architecture in Transition : From Art to Practice, 1885-1906 (1987) which traces the professional development of the architectural community in Canada under the specific themes of professionalism, new technologies, and national style.

In terms of the history of the Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office, extensive primary material exists through annual Reports of the Department of Public Works, working drawings and blue prints, the Manitoba Statutes, and correspondence with contractors, inspectors, and site supervisors. Additionally, the reports and testimony of the Royal Commissions relating the major projects of the PAO illuminate the roles of the individuals involved.

Except for events related to the scandal of the

mismanagement of, particularly, the Manitoba Legislative Building project and the decline of the Roblin government, secondary material on the PAO and the Department is lacking. Fortunately, a couple of histories are available on comparable departments in Canada. Margaret Archibald's By Federal Design : The Chief Architect's Branch of the Department of Public Works, 1881-1914 (1983), provided useful guidance in the internal procedures of a comparable governmental branch. On the civic level, The Architecture of Public Works : R.C. Harris Commissioner, 1912-1945 (1982), produced by the City Clerk's Department of the City of Toronto, was equally useful.

Of particular importance, has been Marilyn Baker's Symbol in Stone : the Art and Politics of Public Building (1986). This detailed study of the Manitoba Legislative Building project (1911-20) provides valuable background regarding the architectural community in Winnipeg, the development of its design and construction, and analysis of the design elements of the structure. Providing the context for the Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office, several sources were very useful : M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba, Toronto, 1963; Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies : A History, Toronto, 1987; and James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba, Toronto, 1970.

An invaluable source for any architectural study in Manitoba is Jill Wade's A Bibliography : Manitoba Architecture

to 1940 (1976). Beyond the obvious applications of the contents of this source, Wade's Preface provides an interesting survey of the historiography of architectural sources pertaining to Manitoba. Wade explains that, until approximately 1970, very few secondary sources existed; and primary sources were not well-known.¹⁶ The appearance, in the 1970's, of architectural histories coincided with the development of Manitoba heritage resources, the restoration of historic buildings and sites, particularly.¹⁷ Since the primary sources were often unindexed, in large collections, the secondary sources tended to be either surveys, ordering the mass of information, or narrowly-defined, focused building analyses. This has continued to date. Kelly Crossman, in his examination of the development of architectural professionalism in Canada, did not include significant study of western provinces, including Manitoba, since resources were not accessible.¹⁸

The study of a landscape, including its buildings and their builders, can be undertaken for many reasons and yield many interpretations. As D.W. Meinig states, "Landscape is a technical term used by artists and earth scientists,

¹⁶ Jill Wade (ed.), A Bibliography : Manitoba Architecture to 1940, Winnipeg, 1976, p.vii-ix.

¹⁷ ibid., p.viii.

¹⁸ Crossman, op.cit., p.4-5.

architects and planners, geographers and historians. It is also an important dimension of many issues relating to the development, alteration, and management of our cities and towns and countrysides."¹⁹ The significance of the landscape and its buildings is the meaning infused in them by humanity.²⁰ This meaning only becomes evident through its interpretation. The interpretation, in turn, depends both on the built form, itself, and how it is perceived by the "interpreter". This is true both for the original designers of the built forms, those who infuse the meaning, and later generations attempting to decipher their meaning. Architects and artists have interpreted built forms from the perspective of art and creativity; that the shapes, textures, and forms convey a meaning both conscious and subconscious. The levels of the meaning can be personal, understood only by studying the individual who created the object; social, understood by members of the same socio-cultural group as the creator; or even global, understood on a deep, common level by all people. Sociologists and social psychologists have interpreted built forms in terms of the relation of the forms to the society.

¹⁹ D.W. Meinig, "Introduction" in The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes, D.W. Meinig (ed), New York, 1979, p.1.

²⁰ Trevor Boddy defines architecture as... "the infusion of meaning into places of human habitation. To take the field, the plot, the square, the plain, and imbue it with a significance beyond its contours is the mystery of the process. The conscious accretion of meaning into built forms is what distinguishes architecture from building..." Trevor Boddy, "Introduction", in Prairie Forum : Prairie Architecture, Central Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, vol.5, 1980, p.124.

In terms of public architecture, this study can clarify the role of government to its populace by interpreting the image that the government is presenting to its public. Historians have interpreted the meaning of built forms to examine various aspects of history - social, economic, political, religious, etc. The common methodological thread, however, is that built forms are always studied with an understanding of the importance of chronological context - the landscape is viewed as a process, influenced by any number of factors.²¹

With all of these perspectives, built forms are understood as tangible products of a time, society or individual. This understanding of buildings as artifacts of the cultures and individuals that created them requires the presumption that the individuals reflected the common perspective and values of that culture. In certain cases this understanding can be uncomplicated, such as vernacular architecture produced by a largely homogeneous culture in response to need and as a common expression. In the case of "designed" or professional structures, the understanding of perspective is greatly complicated by many internal and external influences. Regarding the Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office, clearly, the structures are not a common expression of a homogeneous society. Rather, they are an expression of the powerful social, economic and political

²¹ see D.W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye" in The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes, p. 43-5, for a more detailed explanation of a historian's perspective of interpretation of built forms.

elite which was a homogeneous society unto itself.

Trevor Boddy states that prairie architecture is characterized by a need to tame the overwhelming landscape; that the very expanse of the prairie and the extremes of its climate have instilled in its inhabitants a compulsion to contain and order it.²² This is particularly apparent with public structures, as expressions of political authority. Even the earliest structures, such as trading forts were conceived as formal, axial structures to impose order on the wilderness and convey the message of governmental presence and authority. Boddy outlines that this need to order and dominate the prairie is persistent, culminating in "... periodic architectural purges with each boom, in which we tear down symbols of previous patterns to replace them with shiny new ones..".²³ This trend is evident in the actions of the Provincial government of Manitoba over the years with its handling of its public buildings.

²² Trevor Boddy, "Introduction" in Prairie Forum : Prairie Architecture, pp.125-6. Boddy does not include in this conception of prairie landscape previous and continued occupation by aboriginal cultures. The belief system of aboriginal cultures had accommodated and integrated the power of the prairie landscape. Boddy's image of the compulsion to dominate the landscape is best understood confined to the context of European-based immigrant cultures attempting to recreate on the prairies their former lifestyles. These cultures might be French-Canadian, Anglo-Ontarian, British, American, Ukrainian, Polish, German, etc.

²³ Trevor Boddy, ibid., p. 130. According to Boddy, with Confederation, government again imposed structure on the prairie through the geographical survey, dissecting the landscape into section, township and range.

Historians have not had consistent paradigms of interpretation for landscape or architectural history. Romantic historians read the landscape and its buildings as extensions of nature, seeing the landscape and buildings as expressions of humanity's relationship with nature, and seeking a balance in that relationship²⁴. Positivist historians have viewed the landscape as a series of interrelated systems or as a problem to be corrected. Many other historians have interpreted buildings as an expression of political ideology and social beliefs in a particular period. All of these approaches have served the discipline of architectural history, as well as their own, very well.

This study will use the Annual Reports of the Department of Public Works to examine the PAO from its inception in 1904 to its dissolution in 1916. The first section will address the PAO under the first Provincial Architect, Samuel Hooper. I will study Hooper as an architect and as an administrator, as well as developments in the Office and some of the projects that were undertaken. The second section will address the PAO under Victor W. Horwood in much the same way. Then I will discuss the period of transition from the major project scandals and inquiries to the eventual dissolution of the PAO.

²⁴ I refer extensively here to the ideas of D.W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye", in Interpretation..., New York, 1979, outlining only some of the differing ways in which a landscape can be perceived and interpreted. Certain of these correspond closely with methodological schools of historiography.

Finally, I will address certain themes and developments which set the scene for demise of the PAO.

Chapter 1

The PAO Under Hooper : 1904-1911

In 1904, Samuel Hooper was appointed to the newly established position of Provincial Architect of Manitoba. While he held the office, an ambitious building program was undertaken throughout the province. Public buildings were required in many towns, particularly Winnipeg, which grew from supply outlets for surrounding farms to burgeoning sites of economic, religious, educational and governmental services. Hooper designed approximately twenty major projects as the Provincial Architect from 1904 to 1911. Beyond of his work at the PAO, Hooper is definitely identified with another seventeen projects in two different architectural partnerships. The PAO for Hooper was a very important part of his architectural career; but it did not encompass the body of his work.

During Hooper's term as Provincial Architect, significant changes occurred throughout the Province. In Winnipeg, three architects were listed in the Henderson Directory of 1876. This number had increased substantially by 1906 to forty-five. By 1909, the annual building permits for Winnipeg totalled approximately \$12,000,000.²⁵ This was the height of the

²⁵ "Gateway to the Granary of the British Empire", Construction, Volume III, December 1909, p.55.

building boom in Winnipeg; and it drew architects from Eastern Canada, the United States, and Europe, particularly Britain. The degree of training and expertise among these individuals varied greatly. Prior to the registration of architects in Manitoba, "... anyone who had experience in construction and who had the inclination and courage to try their hand at designing a building, especially a small building or a house, were free to do so. However, among this group there were men who had buildings including the Carnegie Library and the Land Titles Building."²⁶

Although the Manitoba Association of Architects was formally incorporated in 1910, it proved to be very influential in the building community for sometime before that. The group began meeting in 1906 and the members soon became involved in the vast changes that occurred in the landscape of downtown Winnipeg during the building boom which escalated until 1911. Included in these changes were the addition of such stately structures as the Bank of Montreal building undertaken by Winnipeg architect, John Semmens for McKim, Mead & White; and the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau's exhibition hall by Chicago expatriate, John D. Atchison.²⁷

²⁶ Chivers, Ibid. p. 23-4. Interestingly, both buildings referred to were designed and built by Samuel Hooper; the Carnegie Library as a commission for the City of Winnipeg before his appointment as Provincial Architect; the Land Titles Building (1903) as a commission for the provincial Department of Public Works as he made the transition to Provincial Architect.

²⁷ Marilyn Baker, Symbol in Stone : the Art and Politics of Public Building, Winnipeg, 1986, p. 25.

The fledgling organization exhibited a leadership role in the architectural community of Manitoba very early in its activities through the establishment of architectural competition regulations in 1906.²⁸ In 1913, the MAA was responsible for the establishment of the chair of architecture at the University of Manitoba.

The first decade of the twentieth century proved to be one of substantial growth and development for architectural communities both on the provincial and national levels. The concept of designed buildings and a planned environment was a new and exciting one to western Canada. Naturally, it was an attractive concept to any optimistic community riding the crest of an economic boom. It was particularly appealing to communities in Canada's western provinces, many of whom recognized their newness as an opportunity to build a new life and a new land. A planned environment suited the utopian sensibilities that fed the belief that the west could become the focal point of trade, transportation and government of Canada.²⁹

The City Beautiful movement came to prominence in the late nineteenth century in the United States. Its precepts that all communities required green space and harmonious planning to be healthy and spiritually nourishing resulted in

²⁸ "Western Architects Organizing", Canadian Architect and Builder, volume XIX, no.6, June, 1906, p.81-2.

²⁹ Friesen, op.cit., p. 342.

extensive park planning and the concerted effort to curtail the ad hoc construction occurring in many industrial cities. In Manitoba, this movement expressed itself most assertively in Winnipeg with the establishment of the City Planning Commission. After a banquet held in 1910, the City Beautiful movement gained considerable momentum in Winnipeg. Immediately after, a committee was formed to work in association with the Industrial Bureau's Town Planning Committee. Both groups lobbied City Council to establish an empowered body to oversee planning. On June 5, 1911, the City Planning Commission was established through a by-law of the City of Winnipeg.³⁰ In the midst of these various developments was Samuel Hooper.

In order to fully understand Hooper in his office of Provincial Architect, it is important to first study who he was as an individual and as an architect. Samuel Hooper (figure 1) was born in 1851 in Hatherleigh, Devon, England. He initially came to Canada at the age of eighteen years with his family and lived in London, Ontario. There, he took up the trade of stone carving and monumental work.³¹ At the age of 27, he went back to England for two years, returning again to Canada in 1880. In this second emigration, Hooper settled in Emerson, Manitoba for a year, then moved to Winnipeg to

³⁰ Baker, op.cit., pp.20-1.

³¹ "Samuel Hooper Dies in London", Winnipeg Tribune, October 19, 1911, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping files, B5, p.128.

settle permanently. In Winnipeg, he established Hooper Marble and Granite Company in partnership with David Ede³² where he designed and executed such monuments as those to the Honourable John Norquay to be erected in the cemetery of St. John's Anglican Church, the Seven Oaks monument, and the soldiers of the 1885 Riel Uprising erected on the grounds of the City Hall. In 1893, Hooper began his architectural career and was reputed to be one of the best known architects in North America.³³ Hooper's marble and granite company continued to prosper with Hooper as president and his son, John, managing the business. Hooper served as Provincial Architect from 1904 to 1911, and died at the age of 60 in 1911, while still in office.

Hooper had been trained prior to his first emigration in the office of his uncle in England, who was Surveyor of the Duchy of Cornwall.³⁴ While living in England, Hooper was educated in the public school of Devonshire; and then went on to study architecture in the office of his uncle. This pattern of training is similar to many of Hooper's contemporaries. In this period - the professionalization of architecture - architects gained training and experience

³² *ibid.*, p.128; City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, "Appendix A : Samuel Hooper", unpublished manuscript, n.d., p.1. The City of Winnipeg's biography lists the company as **Hooper Marble and Granite Company**.

³³ "Samuel Hooper Dies in London", *op.cit.*, p.128.

³⁴ "Samuel Hooper Dies in England", Winnipeg Free Press, October 20, 1911, Manitoba Legislative Library, B5, p.47.

wherever available. Certain architects also gained expertise through the building trades, as did Hooper in his stonework. Those who had the opportunity for architectural training usually acquired it through eclectic apprenticeships in architectural offices.³⁵ In Canada, the first reforms of architectural training took the form of skills courses to compensate for the haphazard nature of most apprenticeships.³⁶ Hooper's training put him in the category of architect whose designs were based on practical draughting and construction skills rather than on an artistic, compositional theory such as would be apparent through the Beaux-Arts movement.

Hooper served an apprenticeship in the Surveyor's Office of his uncle before he emigrated with his family to Canada at age eighteen. While it is unclear exactly what activities he performed in the office, he was described as having "worked as a draftsman for his uncle".³⁷ Due to Hooper's youth, it is unlikely that he would have risen beyond this level. The position would have entailed draughting details of larger projects, such as window plans, staircases, or stonework as

³⁵ An excellent description of apprenticeship training is presented in Ellen James, "The Education and Training of Edward Maxwell" in Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, Montreal, 1991, pp.24-8.

³⁶ Crossman, op.cit., p.52-3.

³⁷ "Regretted Death of Samuel Hooper, Provincial Architect of Manitoba and member of the Council of the R.A.I. of Canada", Construction, January, 1912, p.49.

well as making copies of existing plans and drawings. This also assumes that Hooper was not occupied in any other aspects of the duties of the Surveyor's Office.

Some of Hooper's obituaries state specifically that he studied architecture in the Surveyor's Office. It is unclear exactly what role the Surveyor's Office had regarding architecture in the Duchy; but, Hooper's uncle was "a practising architect".³⁸ Since the Surveyor's Office was an office of the state, any architectural designs were likely public projects. Hence, Hooper's experience, even as a draughtsman, would have exposed him to the handling of an architectural project and, perhaps more importantly, the operation of a government architectural office.³⁹

Hooper's training in the Surveyor's Office occurred before 1868. Being part of a government office at this time,

³⁸ "Regretted Death of Samuel Hooper, Provincial Architect of Manitoba and member of the Council of the R.A.I. of Canada", *ibid.*, p.49.

³⁹ Ellen James describes the training of a contemporary of Hooper's, Edward Maxwell of Montreal who apprenticed in the architectural office of Alexander Dunlop : "With Dunlop, Edward would have learned the fundamentals of drawing, materials, surveying and construction. Before the 1880s this kind of preparation would have been sufficient to become a practising architect in Canada, as the profession was still rooted in the traditions of the building trades." E. James, "The Education and Training of Edward Maxwell" in The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, Montreal, 1991, p.24.

Hooper's training in the Surveyor's Office probably resulted in similar skills. The comparison of the structure and administration of the Surveyor's Office and the Manitoba PAO under Hooper would be an significant study. The PAO in Manitoba was preceded by a Branch of the federal Chief Architect's Branch. It would be interesting to explore how these models impacted on Hooper's PAO.

the style of design that he was working in would clearly have been the historical revival and eclectic styles of the Victorian era. This was Hooper's introduction to the Victorian styles, which would dominate all of his own subsequent designs.

Hooper's career in Canada did not begin with an architectural practice. Once settled in London, Ontario, Hooper established a career in stone carving. While structural carving did not likely provide the opportunity for Hooper to design his own work, he became well-known for the quality of his interpretation of the architects' plans. Hooper's monuments, however, allowed him to use his draughting skills and talent for design. The process of creating monuments such as 1885 Riel Uprising and Bust of Queen Victoria took Hooper through every stage of development : design, draughting, and execution.⁴⁰ Hooper brought this knowledge of the execution of designs to his work as Provincial Architect.

Hooper was well-placed in the social elite of Winnipeg shortly after arriving from Emerson. He held memberships with

⁴⁰ The fact that Hooper was aware of all the stages of the creation of a monument is clear from an interview with his daughter, Gertrude Hooper Higbee. Higbee described seeing Hooper's sketch of Queen Victoria in his sketchbook. She went on : " I remember Victoria's head being on his modelling board. Father cast it in plaster, then carved the stone face for the column outside the City Hall." L. Gibbons, "News Article Identified Queen Victoria Sculptor", Winnipeg Tribune, June 10, 1967, clipping file, Manitoba Legislative Library, M18, p.137. The carving (figure 2), now situated in Assiniboine Park, was both designed and executed by Hooper, himself, prior to his architectural career.

the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Manitoba Association of Architects and the St. John's Masonic Lodge. Hooper also maintained links with the buildings trades fraternities such as the Woodmen of the World, and the Ancient Order of United Workmen.⁴¹ These social and professional memberships assisted him in his architectural career by permitting him to become integrated into the elite group that held the power in business and government. The various lodges of the Masonic order (Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons) offered a gathering place for the powerful men associated with construction. While a number of fraternal organizations existed in Winnipeg after 1900; and Hooper belonged to several of them, the common factor among them was that they provided an opportunity for informal mingling of people with the same business interests in a social setting.⁴² Hooper's involvement in the St. John's Lodge of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons (AF&AM) allowed him to develop associations with business leaders, contractors, and other architects. The St. John's Lodge was one of the most prominent clubs in Winnipeg, having been established in 1875 and prospering with the first wave of immigrants that settled in Point Douglas and went on to become

⁴¹ "Samuel Hooper Dies in England", op.cit., p.47.

⁴² for clarification of the differences among the various fraternal organizations, see Alvin J. Schmidt, The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions : Fraternal Organizations, Westport, Connecticut, 1980.

the powerful elite.⁴³ Since 1887 all Winnipeg lodges were housed in one building - the Masonic Hall.⁴⁴ The concentration of the city lodges permitted greater interaction among the members of the various lodges. Hooper's associations would have included fellow architects, John D. Atchison (Northern Light Lodge)⁴⁵, J.H.G. Russell (Assiniboine Lodge)⁴⁶, and Victor W. Horwood, who became his assistant in 1911⁴⁷. Political associations would have included Dr. W.H. Montague (Assiniboine Lodge, past master) who was a Member of the Legislative⁴⁸, and T.W. Taylor (St.John's Lodge, past master) who was a Member of Legislative Assembly, Chairman of the Winnipeg Public Parks Board (1904-5), and president of the prominent T.W. Taylor Company Limited⁴⁹.

⁴³ for a history of the St.John's Lodge, see William Douglas, The Story of Number Four : Being a brief summary of the happenings in St.John's Lodge 1875 to 1950, Winnipeg, 1950.

⁴⁴ Prince Rupert's Lodge No.1 G.R.M. - A.F. & A.M. Centennial 1870-1970, Winnipeg, 1970, n.p.

⁴⁵ Story of Manitoba, volume II, Winnipeg, 1913, p.375.

⁴⁶ ibid., p.154-7.

⁴⁷ Dr. C.W. Parker, (ed.) Who's Who and Why, Volumes 6 and 7, 1915-16, Winnipeg, 1916, p.160.

⁴⁸ Story of Manitoba, p.39-40. Dr. Montague became Provincial Minister of Public Works, briefly, in 1913.

⁴⁹ The Story of Manitoba, p.165-6. Hooper would have known Taylor quite well since both were members of the same lodge in addition to their work with provincial government. Taylor was also the father-in-law of Victor Horwood. (see Chapter 2 for a full discussion) Besides the link of common fraternal organizations, Horwood's relation to Taylor was a connection to Hooper and the

Hooper's family was well-connected in the small elite of Winnipeg. His brother, James Hooper, was the King's Printer and Deputy Provincial Secretary throughout Hooper's term as Provincial Architect, and after.⁵⁰ Thomas Hooper, another of Samuel's brothers, was also an architect and also trained under their uncle in England. After working in Manitoba in contracting and building from 1881 to 1886, Thomas went to British Columbia. One year after his arrival in Vancouver, Thomas was appointed Supervisory Architect to the provincial government.⁵¹

Hooper had several business interests outside of the Provincial Architect's Office. The Hooper Marble and Granite Company continued to undertake architectural stonework as well as monuments after Hooper began practising architecture. One of the most notable cases was the Tyndall stone decoration on the Merchants' Bank (1903) formerly on Main Street.⁵² Frank W. Simon, architect of the Manitoba Legislative Buildings, cited this stonework as the standard for the stonework to be undertaken on the Legislative.⁵³

PAO.

⁵⁰ James Hooper also held office as municipal clerk, treasurer, and school trustee. C.W. Parker, op.cit., p.210.

⁵¹ Dr. C.W. Parker, (ed.) Who's Who in Western Canada, Winnipeg, 1911, p.211.

⁵² City of Winnipeg, "Appendix A : Samuel Hooper", p.1.

⁵³ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Public Works Department : Annual Report for 1915, Winnipeg, King's Printer for Manitoba, 1916, p.130. An interview with Hooper's daughter,

During his term as Provincial Architect, Hooper maintained two private architectural partnerships. In a 1908 newspaper article, Hooper was already heralded as a leader among the best known architects in Winnipeg.⁵⁴ His most successful partnership was with Charles H. Walker. The City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning has inventoried Hooper's projects under this partnership as follows : Grain Exchange Building (1898); Isbister School (1898-9); St. Mary's School (Academy) (ca.1900); Manitoba Land Titles Building (1903); Carnegie Library (1903-5); Provincial Normal School (1903-6)⁵⁵; Marshall-Wells Hardware Warehouse (1905-6); Adelaide Block (1906); Winnipeg General Hospital addition; A.S. Bardal stores and apartment block; St. Mary's School; St. Mary's Presbytery; and St. Charles Church.⁵⁶ At

Gertrude Higbee, indicates that Hooper undertook at least some of the actual carving of the decoration on The Merchants' Back, himself. If this is accurate, then Hooper was still carving architectural stonework well into his architectural career (1903). L. Gibbons, op.cit., p.137.

⁵⁴ "Well Known Architect", Winnipeg Free Press, May 12, 1908, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping files, B3, p.116. Hooper's biography in The Story of Manitoba (1913) states that the "... consensus of public opinion acknowledged him without a peer in his chosen field of labor and the character of his operations indicated his superior skill." The Story of Manitoba, p.601.

⁵⁵ There is conflicting evidence regarding the attribution of the Manitoba Land Titles Building to Hooper & Walker. The blueprints for the project record only Hooper as architect. While the plans were done prior to Hooper's appointment as Provincial Architect, it is uncertain if the plans were done under his partnership with Walker.

⁵⁶ City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, "Samuel Hooper", unpublished manuscript, n.d.

the time of his death, Hooper was listed as the senior partner of Hooper & Hooper, with offices in the McIntyre Block.⁵⁷ The buildings attributed to this partnership occurred later in Hooper's career : Robert Rogers House (1908); Central Police Station, Winnipeg (ca.1909); Tache School, St. Boniface (ca.1909); Empress Hotel, Winnipeg Beach (ca.1909); Pasadena Apartments, Winnipeg (1912)⁵⁸.

As Provincial Architect, Hooper was responsible for designing approximately twenty new projects : Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles (1904-10); Neepawa Land Titles Office (1904); Provincial Telephone Exchange, Winnipeg (1907-8); St-Pierre Court House and Municipal Building (1907-8); Western Judicial District Court House and Gaol, Brandon (1908-10); Minnedosa Court House (1908-10); Industrial Training School, Portage La Prairie (1908-11); Superintendent's Residence at the Home for Incurables, Portage La Prairie (1908); Manitoba Law Courts Building, Winnipeg (1909); Municipal Building, Lorette (1909); Municipal Building, Ste-Anne (1909); Sherbrooke Street Telephone Exchange, Winnipeg (1909-10); Superintendent's Residence at the Brandon Asylum (1909); St. John's Telephone Exchange,

⁵⁷ Since Hooper's son, Lawrence, was also an architect, this partnership was likely with Lawrence. Dr. C.W. Parker (ed.) Who's Who in Western Canada, Winnipeg, 1911, p.210-11.

⁵⁸ Manitoba Free Press, September 12, 1908, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping files, M3, p.83. City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, "Samuel Hooper", unpublished manuscript, n.d., p.8.

Winnipeg (1910-11); Brandon Asylum (1910-12); Old Folks' Home, Portage La Prairie (1910-12); Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital (1911-16); and the Dauphin Land Titles Building (1911).

Hooper was an important figure in the professional development of architecture in Canada. He was an active member of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC). He was a member of the council and had been reappointed just prior to his death.⁵⁹ On a local level, Hooper was involved in the fledgling Manitoba Association of Architects, founded in May, 1906. During its inaugural meeting on May 25, 1906, Hooper was elected a Director of the MAA. As in the case of the national organization, Hooper was counted among the finest architects, including : S. Frank Peters, J.H.G. Russell, and C.H. Wheeler. Notably, Victor Horwood was also in attendance at this meeting.⁶⁰ At the same inaugural meeting, Hooper and his MAA colleagues adopted a constitution and schedule of fees for the organization, and passed a set of regulations

⁵⁹ "Samuel Hooper Dies in England", op.cit.

⁶⁰ "Western Architects Organizing", op.cit., p.81-2. The inference from the article is that this was a large meeting, comprising those elected to positions and approximately forty others. Among these was Victor Horwood. This would indicate that Horwood had professional associations with Hooper five years before being appointed to the PAO.

governing architectural competitions.⁶¹

Hooper's architectural training had been undertaken in England during the predominance of late Victorian styles and the emergence of the Arts and Crafts movement of William Morris. His designs have an overwhelming clarity and compactness, even in his monumental structures. In a style full of extravagant ornament and free-flowing forms, Hooper's designs retained a sense of order in small scale. Hooper refrained from using a proliferation of ornament in preference to historical elements - classical arches and pediments; romanesque turrets, rusticated stone, heavy forms. This ability to present monumentality on a small scale is apparent throughout Hooper's designs, from his schools and institutional buildings, to his governmental buildings. Also consistent through Hooper's body of work is an interest in the textures of his building materials and the way in which they broke up the surface of the structure. Contrasting colours of stone and brick, the juxtaposition of glass and stone, and sculptural wall surfaces incorporating porches or ironwork are common motifs in Hooper buildings. Certain features recur so

⁶¹ ibid., p.81-2. It is interesting that the MAA passed regulations regarding architectural competitions since it was not given any regulatory powers until the passing of the Manitoba Architect's Act in March, 1910. It is feasible that the large representation of architects at the meeting coupled with their collective influence was enough to wield some regulatory power on the profession. Clearly, they must have anticipated no Legislative opposition in the MAA's approval as a self-governing profession.

frequently in Hooper's designs as to be characteristic. Cupolas, parapets and pediments are used in various combinations in almost all of his buildings. His ground plans tend to be simple; and when the building requires complexity, they can be somewhat disjointed.

Hooper designed several commercial buildings ranging from large warehouses (Marshall-Wells Warehouse - 1905-6) to small store front shops (Holman Meat Market - 1903). Hooper's earlier buildings already show an easy familiarity working with classical and romanesque elements. The Grain Exchange Building (1898) (figure 3) illustrates an interesting mixture of styles. Its pediment, pilasters and arch details above the second floor windows are classical elements; yet its use of rusticated stone, red brick, and massive bases for the pilasters are elements commonly seen in romanesque revival, particularly the work of H.H. Richardson. In the Grain Exchange Building there is a balanced sense of scale evident. The contrasting light stone band separating the two storeys and the light stone arch details serve to balance the verticality of the colossal order pilasters and pediment. The result is a sense of grandeur and monumentality presented effectively in a compact space. Such grandeur is appropriate in light of the purpose of the building and the optimism of the era. The use of several different features and textures in addition to the protruding pilasters and pediment which give the facade a sculptural quality, make this building very

engaging. Hooper does not need to use a lot of carved stonework to decorate the building. His awareness of the materials, themselves, is sufficient. The building, as a unit, is a sculpted piece. The breaking up of surfaces is evident also in the Holman Meat Market (1903) (figure 4). Between the ironwork in the parapet, the rusticated stone piers and the small leaded-glass panels, the large surfaces of glass and brick are balanced.

As Provincial Architect, Hooper designed several institutional buildings. The PAO was responsible for all new structures, additions, and maintenance of government buildings. These institutions included the asylums, industrial training school (reformatory), old folks' home, and home for incurables. Additionally, certain educational institutions were under the purview of the PAO, specifically, normal schools and colleges.⁶² Hooper designed his educational institutions using heavy, solid forms with romanesque and classical features. Prior to his appointment to the PAO, Hooper designed and built Isbister School (1898-9) (figure 5) and St. Mary's Academy (ca.1900) (figure 6). Isbister School, again, shows the sculptural wall surface and Hooper's interest in the texture of his materials. The entrance of the school is emphasized by protruding from the rest of the building and is topped by a substantial, yet

⁶² Generally, elementary and secondary schools were built through the Department of Education.

ornate bell tower. The bell tower is two-tiered with an open arcade on the lower level and an oriental-influenced cupola. This type of bell tower is a feature that is evident in several of Hooper's educational institutions. In Isbister School's bell tower (figure 7) Hooper brought together a number of styles : romanesque rusticated stone, classical pediments, and an eastern-influenced roof line. This mixture of historical features was common within the picturesque eclecticism of the Victorian era. Features from different historical styles were blended liberally according to their artistic properties. Stylistically, St. Mary's Academy was one of Hooper's most coherent buildings. The romanesque style of the building was carried through the entire design from heavy rusticated stone, to the turret, tower and dome. One of the few diversions from this style was the pediment at the base of the bell tower, over the main entrance. This simple style was quite appropriate for a convent school. While the surface of the building is still broken up, to a certain extent, the walls and roofline are less sculptural than those of Isbister School. As such, St. Mary's retains a massive quality which makes the building more imposing. The Provincial Normal School (1903-6) (figure 8) exhibits several of the characteristic features of Hooper designs: pediments, cupola, and parapet. While the roofline is broken up, like Isbister School, the wall surface is relatively smooth, except

for the corner entrance.⁶³ Like St. Mary's, Hooper chose to use rusticated stone only on the base; and the walls are virtually flush up to the cornice of the roof. Relieving what would have been a rather stark building for Hooper is an ornate bell tower, consisting of an octagonal base with parapet and an eastern-influenced cupola.

The Provincial Normal School building marked a shift in Hooper's school designs since it was one of his first project through the PAO.⁶⁴ Many of Hooper's designs at this point became more classical and simple, often favouring one tone over contrasting tones in the materials. This is the case with the Provincial Normal School. The effect is a de-emphasis of the ornament and sculptural qualities of the buildings, even though the amount of ornament did not decrease greatly.

When reviewing Hooper's early educational and institutional buildings, distinct similarities can be recognized among the schools. This is not the case with the

⁶³ This corner entrance is a feature that recurs in the Dormitory for the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital (1911-12). A similar feature was used in Hooper's original designs for the Manitoba Law Courts Building (1909). The difference is that it was not planned as an entrance, although it was the focal point of the building.

⁶⁴ The Provincial Normal School was a transition project for Hooper. It was awarded prior to his appointment as Provincial Architect, but completed as part of his duties in the position. The DPW Report for 1904, the first year of tenure of the PAO, indicates that the project was under way, to some degree, prior to Hooper's appointment. (Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report of the Department of Public Works for the Year 1904, Winnipeg, 1905, p.11.

remaining educational and institutional buildings. While Hooper's style, generally, is still quite recognizable, there is little that categorizes his other educational and institutional buildings. Neither are these particularly distinct from some of Hooper's private commissions, as is the Provincial Normal School. The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles (1904-10), was the first large project that Hooper undertook in the PAO. The Administration Building (figure 9) exhibits certain "characteristic" features of Hooper's schools such as the cupola, pediment, and protruding entrance (which together form a bell tower on his schools), as well as the rusticated stone. Conversely, the building does not have a broken roofline or sculptural walls. It retains its massive quality. The Administration Building is quite similar to a slightly later design by Hooper for the Western Judicial District Court House and Gaol, in Brandon (figure 10), and a still later design for the Administration Building of the New Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital in 1911 (figure 11). The courses of porches on Hooper's Home for Incurables and Old Folks' Home, Portage La Prairie (figure 12) are reminiscent of his Empress Hotel, Winnipeg Beach (figure 13).

Hooper did not make a clear stylistic division between his government commissions and private commissions. Rather, his designs are consistent in relation to their functions. Hence, plans for a building focused on repose, such as the Home for Incurables and Old Folks' Home, Portage La Prairie,

were designed much akin to a hotel. Additionally, an administrative building containing the offices of authority for a college was designed like a court building.

Hooper's tendency to design by function was also apparent in Hooper's "public" buildings. Public buildings were not simply those pertaining to government.⁶⁵ Hooper differentiated between those buildings which housed government offices and those buildings which served the general public. Consequently, his Provincial Government Telephone Exchange building in Winnipeg (figure 14) resembles Hooper's commercial buildings, albeit, on a larger scale; and his Manitoba Land Titles building (figure 15) resembles his Carnegie Library building (figure 16). Indeed, except for the larger central parapet and extra bay of windows on the Manitoba Land Titles building, the two buildings are virtually the same design. It is unclear if they were intended to be so similar. Since they were designed in the same year, it is unlikely that it was a coincidence. Both buildings are excellent examples of Hooper's ability to present a monumental building on a

⁶⁵ By "public buildings", I mean here those buildings designed for and for the use of the **general** public. While schools and the various institutions were also for public use, they were targeted for a particular segment of the population. This definition is in line with Charles Goodsell's parameters for public space, whereby such buildings are reserved for special activities which demonstrate the authority of the government. Charles Goodsell, The Social Meaning of Civic Space : Studying Political Authority through Architecture, Lawrence, Kansas, 1988, p. 10-12.

relatively small scale.⁶⁶ Hooper used classical features⁶⁷ such as pediments and columns in a Victorian interpretation of English Baroque. Ornamental details are confined to the central entrance bay. The Manitoba Land Titles building contains more ornament than the Carnegie Library building and is more impressive by nature. The front elevation plan of the Manitoba Land Titles building (figure 17) shows Hooper's talent for fine, detailed ornament. The ornament is executed mostly in stone, although there is also wrought iron work and stained glass. The ornament is small, incorporating the Provincial coat of arms into scrolls and vegetal patterns. The delicacy of the ornament in the entrance bay serves to balance the imposing sense of the building due to its overall form which is a large stone block.

Hooper had a sense that the design of a building presented a particular image, and that the image should fit the function of the building. Hooper's public buildings exhibit his vision of public space, in particular, his

⁶⁶ Interestingly, these are the two buildings to which John Chivers refers as being representative of the high quality of design from certain architects in this period.

⁶⁷ The use of classical features in public buildings is a long-standing tradition in architecture. According to George Woodcock, classical elements were used extensively in the United States in order to reflect republican ideals. In the early twentieth century, these elements were used again as an expression of the agrarian populist movement. Woodcock goes on to say that the similar usage of classical elements in the government buildings of the Canadian prairie provinces indicates a close relationship between the agrarian populist movements in Canada and the U.S.A. George Woodcock, "The Rhetoric of Public Architecture", in Prairie Forum, volume 13, number 2, Fall 1988, p.151-4.

interpretation of monumentality.⁶⁸ Even in Hooper's most imposing buildings, the massive qualities are balanced through the use of fine ornament or by the sculptural quality of the wall surface. Visually breaking up the surface of the structure in these ways bring down the scale of the building, making it less massive. As a result, such buildings are more "human-sized" and intimate, drawing impact away from the monumentality of the building. This, in turn, communicates something about the way that Hooper understood the relationship between the general public and the government.

Under the analytical method of Charles Goodsell regarding public space, Hooper's Manitoba Land Titles building fits certain characteristics of the Traditional period (1865-1920). It has a large, boxy spatial composition. Its site is appropriately significant for the level of authority of its purpose and activities. According to Goodsell, the design of governmental buildings in this period stresses "... the superiority of the governors over the governed."⁶⁹ Certainly, Hooper's public buildings are impressive; but, they stop short of being imposing or superior. Neither the Manitoba Land Titles building nor Hooper's design for the Manitoba Law Courts building (1909) (figure 18) convey this superiority. Rather, they retain an accessibility through

⁶⁸ "Monumentality", as I use it here, describes the qualities of a design which convey the image of government, as expressed through public buildings.

⁶⁹ Goodsell, op.cit., p.xvi.

their relatively small scale. As George Woodcock explains:

There is even a hierarchy of public buildings, varying according to the complexity of the systems and societies they represent. Small and simple societies where relations are direct can often do without elaborate buildings in which to conduct their business.⁷⁰

While Manitoba, particularly Winnipeg, was hardly simple or small when Hooper was practising, it had not reached the size and level of sophistication and international importance that it would just prior to World War I. Hooper's sense of monumentality in his public buildings reflected the era of optimistic growth in which he lived. His "monumental" designs were a reflection of a relatively small, still accessible government within a less sophisticated society.

How Hooper became Provincial Architect remains unclear. Prior to the establishment of the PAO, several architects worked on contracts for the Department of Public Works (DPW). In the 1890s, Charles H. Wheeler, H. McGowan, D. Smith, Walter Chesterton, George Browne, H.S. Griffith and Sam Hooper designed buildings for the DPW.⁷¹ At its inception, Hooper

⁷⁰ Woodcock, op.cit., p.149.

⁷¹ Plans and drawings in the Public Works Collection of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba indicate that these architects were involved in the following projects :

Charles H. Wheeler	Bacteriological Laboratory building, Winnipeg (1897); Deaf and Dumb Institute, Winnipeg (1889); Gaol and Keeper's House, Portage La Prairie (1891)
H. McGowan	Land Titles Office, Morden (1898)
D. Smith	Stable for Lieutenant-Governor's

had completed for the DPW the Addition to the Deaf and Dumb Institute, Winnipeg (1900) and had two projects under way : the Manitoba Land Titles building and the Provincial Normal School. The two pending projects, Hooper's reputation as a top architect and his social, political and professional connections, resulted in Hooper's appointment to the position. Since this was a position was within a department, its appointment was at the discretion of the Minister, Robert Rogers.

Early in its existence, the PAO was on the same administrative level in the DPW as the Engineering Branch, the Mechanical Engineer, Factory Inspector, and Inspector of Public Institutions, all reporting directly to the Deputy Minister. Until 1907, the Provincial Architect's Office was presented in the reports of the Department of Public Works as the equal counterpart of the Chief Engineer's Office. In 1907, the Chief Engineer, C.H. Dancer, was also appointed Deputy Minister, but retained the position of Chief Engineer.⁷² Once both positions were held by Dancer, the reports began to show a change in the role of the PAO in

Residence, Winnipeg (1900)

Walter Chesterton
George Browne

Reformatory for Boys, Brandon
Addition to Courthouse and Gaol,
Portage La Prairie (1894)
Addition to Main Building of Brandon
Asylum (1903)

H.S. Griffith

⁷² Manitoba Free Press, May 30, 1907, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping files, B3, p.59.

relation to other areas of the DPW. Staff of the Engineering Branch began to present reports on the same level as the Provincial Architect. More importantly, the Provincial Architect began to report to the Deputy Minister rather than the Minister, thus subordinating the PAO to the Engineering Branch.

The PAO was further isolated from the DPW by virtue of its location. With the 1908 completion of the Government Telephones Building on McDermot Avenue and Charlotte Street in Winnipeg, the PAO was relocated from its crowded quarters in the Parliament Building. Taking into account the limited communications technology at the time, it would be impossible to keep close contact with the DPW on daily activities or crisis activities. This could logically lead to the duplication of efforts. There would be insufficient opportunities for communication between departments that most effectively work in consultation.

The position of Provincial Architect first appeared in the Act of Supply in 1905, at an annual salary of \$1,800, which was just over half of the salary of the Deputy Minister/Chief Engineer.⁷³ In 1905, the entire DPW consisted of twenty-two positions, eight of which were senior positions. The junior staff positions did not indicate any draughtsmen for the PAO. It was the government's most expensive

⁷³ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... Second Session of the Eleventh Legislature, 1905, Chapter 46, p. 134-5.

department with a budget of \$675,680. The budget for capital expenditure on public buildings, including major renovations, was \$352,390.⁷⁴ Hooper brought a draughtsman with him to the PAO from his private practice. Hugh Gordon Holman was Hooper's draughtsman from 1903 to 1905 at Hooper & Walker and then for the Provincial Government from 1905 to 1906. From the PAO Holman opened his own practice (1906-9) and the lucrative partnership of Holman & Pain.⁷⁵ In 1909, the PAO was allocated its own budget of \$3,000 from the Supplementary Act of Supply, with \$2,000 allocated to salaries and \$1,000 to office expenses.⁷⁶ This coincided with the move of the PAO to its new offices in the Provincial Telephone Exchange building. The salary allocation would have permitted the hiring of, perhaps, one draughtsman and one clerk. It is likely that there was a high turn over of staff under Hooper since government architectural offices served as training grounds for students.⁷⁷ The securing of a separate budget allocation, and separate offices from the DPW facilitated the

⁷⁴ ibid., p.134-41.

⁷⁵ Holman had apprenticed with H.J. Powell in Stratford in 1895 before coming to Manitoba in 1900. He then worked as a draughtsman for J.H.G. Russell from 1901-3. Holman then immediately went to work for Hooper. Parker, op.cit., p.209. This may have been facilitated by Hooper's association with Russell through the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and the Masons.

⁷⁶ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Second Session of the Twelfth Legislature, 1909, Chapter 71, p.199-201.

⁷⁷ see Archibald, op.cit.

PAO's independence. The 1911 budget for the PAO was \$19,000, with \$5,000 for office expenses and \$14,000 for salaries.⁷⁸ This permitted the PAO to be fully staffed and to become the Province's own architectural firm. At the end of Hooper's term, the PAO had grown in independence and importance in the DPW such that the position of Provincial Architect was salaried just below that of the Deputy Minister/Chief Engineer; and the position of Assistant Provincial Architect had been added to the senior positions of the DPW.⁷⁹ In 1911, the budget of the DPW, including the care and maintenance of the various government offices and institutions, had risen to \$1,544,590, with an **additional** capital expenditure of over \$2,000,000 on new projects.⁸⁰

It is possible that Hooper's position as Provincial Architect did not begin as a full-time position. Hooper's partnerships remained active throughout the first years of his appointment. His partnership, Hooper & Hooper, undertook projects until at least 1909. This is the point at which the

⁷⁸ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Thirteenth Legislature, 1911, Chapter 61, p.332-3.

⁷⁹ ibid., p.332. Victor W. Horwood had been appointed to this position which was salaried \$2,500 - the same salary as for the Provincial Architect.

⁸⁰ ibid. The capital account expenditure for the Supply Act was \$482,000 (p.322). An additional \$1,600,000 was allocated from the Supplementary Supply Act for large scale projects such as the new Manitoba Agricultural College, St.Vital; the replacement of the main building of the Hospital for the Insane (formerly the Asylum), Brandon; and the new Manitoba Legislative building (p.338).

PAO received its own budget and a separate location. This would indicate that Hooper's focus shifted to the PAO. His own firm benefited, at least to some level, from Hooper's political connections. In 1908, Hooper & Hopper designed and built the residence of Public Works Minister, the Honourable Robert Rogers. Beyond this contract, there does not appear to be evidence of overlap between Hooper's private practice and his public appointment.

In the PAO, Hooper made the drawings for all of the major projects himself.⁸¹ Considering that the local architectural community was just beginning to consider issues such as specialization and professionalism, it is most likely that Hooper had direct control over the designs for the buildings. This is further supported by the similarity of style of the designs and the signatures on the plans and drawings. The majority of Hooper's PAO drawings and blueprints were signed "Sam Hooper, Provincial Architect".⁸²

During Hooper's term as Provincial Architect, the building and site plans were undertaken in the PAO; but electrical and mechanical systems drawings were done in the

⁸¹ In his 1906 report to the Minister Hooper often stated he had made drawings and plans for the projects. (Manitoba. Department of Public Works, Report, 1906, p.30-1. Hooper took the primary role in the creation of designs. If the statements in the report are to be taken literally, Hooper undertook all the designs and drawings personally, including smaller renovation projects.

⁸² see "Proposed Old Folks' Home, Portage La Prairie", 1910; and "Power House, Brandon Asylum", n.d. Public Works Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Engineering Branch. The Block Plan for the Manitoba Agricultural College, St.Charles, showing the lay out of buildings on the site with the plan for sewers and utility tunnels, was done through the DPW, not specifically the PAO.⁸³ By 1910, at least some of this work was being contracted out by the PAO. The block plan and heating and ventilating plan for the Power House at the Old Folks' Home project in Portage La Prairie were signed by Hooper and "Jas. McAlear, Consulting Engineer".⁸⁴ The decision to contract out on engineering projects was not likely in Hooper's purview. The allocation of workload in the Engineering Branch of the DPW was the responsibility of the Chief Engineer. In 1908, the position of Chief Engineer was combined with that of the Deputy Minister through the dual appointment of Charles H. Dancer. As the most senior civil servant in the department, the decision to contract out would have been Dancer's, with the approval of the Minister. The letting of the contract would have been the responsibility of the Chief Engineer or Provincial Architect. As Chief Engineer, Dancer would have handled this himself for the Engineering Branch.

Recommendations for new buildings occasionally originated

⁸³ "Block Plan, Manitoba Agricultural College, St.Charles", 1905, Public Works Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

⁸⁴ "Proposed Old Folks Home, Portage", 1910, Public Works Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba. It is possible that James McAlear worked for the Engineering Branch of the DPW. However, since the Mechanical Office of the Engineering Branch was headed by L. Bickle, he would have been the most likely person to certify any plans on behalf of that office.

with the Provincial Architect. Projects recommended by the Provincial Architect were generally small scale such as additions to current structures, renovations and repairs. These recommendations were often a result of changing needs in the various institutional buildings brought to Hooper's attention through his site visits or through the annual reports made by the institutional superintendents. Large scale projects such as new monumental structures generally were initiated by the Minister or Deputy Minister, not the Provincial Architect.⁸⁵

Designs for significant projects such as new buildings were submitted to the Deputy Minister or Minister for approval prior to the tendering process. Hooper's reports repeatedly mentioned the advertising of tenders followed by the awarding of contracts for all projects, including renovations and repairs. While the Mechanical Engineer provided plans and specifications for plumbing, heating and water systems on projects, the tendering process was handled through the PAO.⁸⁶ Supervision of such work, however, was the

⁸⁵ For example, the new Legislative Building was proposed by Deputy Minister, C.H. Dancer in his 1909 report. Manitoba. Department of Public Works. Report of The Department of Public Works for the Year Ending December 31st 1909, Winnipeg, 1910, p.6-7.

⁸⁶ Manitoba. Department of Public Works. Report of the Department of Public Works for the Year Ending December 31st, 1905, Winnipeg, 1906, pp.16-19.

responsibility of the Mechanical Engineer.⁸⁷ On occasion, small construction projects, such as the implement shed and ice-house of the Agricultural College, St. Charles, were built under the direct supervision of the PAO using day labour. While this practice began out of necessity, when no contractor would undertake the work, it eventually became the preferred method.⁸⁸ Completion of small jobs which might otherwise have been contracted out was considered by Hooper and, presumably, Dancer to be less expensive for the DPW since the contractor's profit was avoided. Additionally, the practice gave the PAO more control over the quality of workmanship and the work schedule. This latter point was particularly important since PAO projects were plagued with contractors' delays. The building boom in Manitoba, especially Winnipeg, meant that contractors were inundated with projects. This was so much the case that Hooper occasionally had difficulty awarding smaller contracts. On the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles project, for instance, the implement shed and ice-house that were designed by Hooper were planned to be erected through the PAO using day labour, since no contractor was interested in the work.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Manitoba. Department of Public Works. Report for 1906, Winnipeg, 1907, p.28.

⁸⁸ Manitoba. Department of Public Works. ibid., p.30.

⁸⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report, 1906, p.30. Hooper states : "The implement shed and ice-house we are erecting ourselves, by day labour, as it seemed impossible to get anyone to take the work."

The new building projects that were undertaken by the PAO during Hooper's tenure formed a province-wide network of buildings to house government services and institutions. The sudden population increase in the province warranted more land titles offices, court houses and gaols.

As an architect, Samuel Hooper was representative of the first generation of trained architects who practised in Manitoba at the turn of the twentieth century. His style, broadly defined, was the picturesque eclecticism of the Victorian era. His buildings were small-scale, simple and functional. Their designs conveyed the optimism of the society in which Hooper prospered.

Hooper's social and professional connections meant that he was well-placed within the elite which so greatly influenced the provincial government at the time. He managed the PAO as he did his other businesses, particularly his private architectural firms. For Hooper, the PAO was the last of his architectural offices; and it happened to be part of the Manitoba Department of Public Works. With the maturation of the Province, the PAO was about to be taken in a new direction to reflect the new international prominence of Manitoba, especially Winnipeg, as well as the interests of the Ministers and the Conservative Party.

Chapter 2

The PAO under Horwood (1911-15)

Victor W. Horwood (figure 19) came to the Provincial Architect's Office (PAO) in January, 1911, in the position of Assistant Provincial Architect.⁹⁰ As a result of Samuel Hooper's ill health during that year, Horwood spent much of his time acting as Provincial Architect. Upon Hooper's death in October, Horwood was officially appointed Provincial Architect.⁹¹ His tenure was at a crucial period of transition in the PAO. Unlike Hooper, Horwood was responsible for large-scale capital projects almost to the exclusion of other smaller projects. These projects, and the Provincial Architect's changing role in relation to them, dominated Horwood's tenure. Ultimately, these projects all but ended his architectural career at the age of 37.

The Provincial Architect's Office had only been in existence for seven years when Horwood joined. Yet, the world around the PAO had changed considerably. In 1901, just before the inception of the PAO, the population of Manitoba was approximately 255,000, twenty percent (48,000) of which was

⁹⁰ Parker, op.cit.p.213. Manitoba, Acts of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Thirteenth Legislature (1911), Chapter 61, p.332.

⁹¹ "New Provincial Architect Named" Manitoba Free Press, November 1, 1911, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping files, B5, p.50.

located in Winnipeg. By 1911, the start of Horwood's tenure, the population of the Province had almost doubled to 461,000. Of this, 157,000 people resided in Winnipeg, triple the amount of 1901.⁹² The increased population caused a shift in the demographic pattern of the Province :

If the arrival of hundreds of thousands of newcomers imposed great strains on prairie economic and social institutions, the tensions were made worse by the growth of large urban centres and the widening gap between the rich and poor.⁹³

The upper class elite of Manitoba resided mainly in Winnipeg, and had built prosperous businesses during the boom period. Regarding the increasing working class, the attitude of the elite remained somewhat unsympathetic -- that life was a challenge in which the fittest of men prospered.⁹⁴ During Horwood's tenure, there was a rise in political awareness and involvement within disenfranchised sectors of the population and within the rising middle class which advocated social welfare policies over the construction of monumental public buildings.⁹⁵

Economically, Winnipeg had been experiencing a boom since the turn of the century. Optimism for the future of the city was such that a newspaper article at the time of Horwood's appointment as Provincial Architect predicted that Winnipeg

⁹² Friesen, op.cit., p. 511-513. See Tables 4 and 6.

⁹³ Friesen, op.cit., p.274.

⁹⁴ Friesen, op.cit., p.286.

⁹⁵ Friesen, op.cit., p.289-91.

would ultimately become the financial centre of Canada.⁹⁶ Winnipeg building permits in 1912 totalled \$20.6 million. This boom peaked in 1913; then the economy began to decline. Gerald Friesen explains that : "Winnipeg's rise to prominence was based on the railway, the grain trade, the wholesale trade, and a limited range of manufacturing and financial activities." With the eventual growth of other urban centres on the Prairies, Winnipeg's role as "the regional metropolis" declined.⁹⁷ Indeed, the initial economic downturn in 1913 and 1914 continued in Winnipeg until about 1920.⁹⁸ The economic downturn was also due to the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. Jackson explains that grain shipments from the western provinces could be transported anywhere via Vancouver at lower water carriage rates, rather than by rail through Winnipeg. Though the effects of this were not felt immediately, their impact was no less important. Vancouver became the backdoor of western grain transport, directly threatening Winnipeg's distinction as the sole gateway to the West.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ "When Will Winnipeg Be Actual Centre of Financial Canada," Winnipeg Tribune, November 15, 1911, p.1, in Baker, op.cit., p.21.

⁹⁷ Friesen, op.cit., p.275.

⁹⁸ Friesen, op.cit., p.349. Friesen attributes this partially to the false economy established by numerous public works projects. Once the Province had enough public buildings, the construction industry experienced a downturn.

⁹⁹ James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba, Toronto, 1970, p.178-9.

During Horwood's tenure as Provincial Architect, the Conservative government of Roblin, which had occupied the seats of government since 1900, was challenged and defeated by the Liberal party. The mishandling, on several levels, of the major public works projects, resulted in fraud and scandal and undermined the Roblin Conservatives' public support. Exacerbating the situation for the Roblin Conservatives was the timely alliance of the provincial Liberals with a number of previously scattered factions.¹⁰⁰ Along with Roblin, Horwood was one of the casualties of this political shift.

By 1911, the architectural community in Manitoba, which had been in a period of transition since 1900, was fully involved in the national architectural community. The changes taking place throughout the nation in the practise of architecture were felt equally in Manitoba, particularly Winnipeg. Professionalization meant that all architects were members of their provincial associations as well as the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. Three separate professional journals existed on the national level as well as several local magazines covering architectural topics.¹⁰¹ A conscious effort was being made among architects to balance the business, the science, and the art of architecture.

¹⁰⁰ Friesen, op.cit., p.341.

¹⁰¹ Nationally, these included : Canadian Architect and Builder; the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada; and Construction. On a local level, magazines such as Dominion, and Western Home Monthly had architectural sections.

Architectural education was regulated; and several provinces had training courses in architecture. New technologies and materials such as structural steel and reinforced concrete required specialization and changed the organization of offices and the design process. Stylistic influences were showing a marked change from the picturesque Victorian styles promoted by theorists like Ruskin, to the rising Arts and Crafts movement, Beaux-Arts design theories, and a belief in a coherent national style for Canada.¹⁰² The RAIC was pivotal to the changes occurring in the profession; and Winnipeg was one of the centres for these changes. In 1912, the RAIC was led by a Winnipeg architect, J.H.G. Russell.¹⁰³

The Manitoba Architectural Association implemented, on a local level, the national developments in the profession. By the time of Horwood's appointment as Provincial Architect, Winnipeg and the MAA were drawing internationally known architects for lectures. On July 15, 1912, a Town Planning Congress was held in Winnipeg with keynote speaker, Frederick Law Olmstead, who was the foremost planner in North America.¹⁰⁴ Winnipeg had a course in architecture through the University of Manitoba; and the MAA offered classes on

¹⁰² Crossman, op.cit., p.3-4.

¹⁰³ "The Sixth General Assembly of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, held in Ottawa, October 7-8, 1912, marks the beginning of a new era in the architectural advancement of Canada." Construction, V, November, 1912, p.43.

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Law Olmstead, "Town Planning", Construction, V, August, 1912, p.54-6.

Tuesday and Thursday evenings at the association offices.¹⁰⁵

Horwood, like the majority of architects in Winnipeg at this time, was not originally from Winnipeg. He was born in Frome, Somersetshire, England, in 1878, and moved with his family to Prescott, Ontario at the age of five. He attended the local public school and went on to obtain a college education. He received his architectural training in Ottawa under his brother, Edgar L. Horwood, as well as at art schools. In 1904, Horwood arrived in Winnipeg and started his own practice.¹⁰⁶ His practice lasted seven years, until he joined the Provincial Architect's Office in 1911. In that time, Horwood became a well-known member of the local architectural community. His prominence in the architectural community was evident by 1913 when he was described as "... one of the foremost representatives of the profession, his opinions largely being accepted as authority upon matters relating thereto."¹⁰⁷ From 1911 to 1915, Horwood was the

¹⁰⁵ see the entry for Manitoba Association of Architects under "Architects, Engineers, General Contractors" in Henderson's Directory for Winnipeg, 1913, Winnipeg, 1913, p.206-17.

¹⁰⁶ "New Provincial Architect Named" Manitoba Free Press, November 1, 1911, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clippings file, B5, p.50; "V.W. Horwood, Noted Winnipeg Architect, Dies" Winnipeg Tribune, March 15, 1939, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clipping files, B9, p.76; Parker, op.cit., p.213.

¹⁰⁷ The Story of Manitoba, p.664. If he was not the most talented architect in Winnipeg, Horwood's standing in the architectural community was, at least, that of a knowledgeable professional. This was clear from his various lectures on architectural topics and articles in professional journals.

Provincial Architect of Manitoba. He resigned from the PAO in the wake of the political scandals and Royal Commission inquiries into the handling of several of his projects. Horwood died on March 15, 1939 at his home in Matlock, Manitoba at the age of 61. His later years were spent writing and illustrating a series of short stories on Manitoba life.¹⁰⁸ Horwood kept up his registration as an architect and his membership in the RAIC¹⁰⁹; but his architectural career never recovered from the public dishonour that ended his tenure as Provincial Architect.

Horwood came from a family of craftsmen. His father led the firm H. Horwood & Sons in Ottawa, a prosperous stained glass design firm, which installed the stained glass windows

¹⁰⁸ "V.W. Horwood, Noted Winnipeg Architect, Dies" op.cit. Some of these short stories were based on Horwood's own experiences, such as : "A Sign Post to the Land : The Second Chapter of a City Man's Experience in Farming" which appeared in The Winnipeg Evening Tribune, September 3, 1932; and, "The Order of the Red River Cart" which appeared in the Winnipeg Free Press two years later. Other articles written by Horwood were on particular subjects such as "Famous Crowns" for The Winnipeg Evening Tribune in 1937. Horwood also had illustrated poems published in various newspapers and magazines. He kept a scrapbook of such clippings which is now in the collection of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. V.W. Horwood, Newspaper Clippings, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG9A17-1.

¹⁰⁹ One of the last articles that Horwood wrote was signed "V.W. Horwood, Registered Architect". "Special Article on the Construction of a Fireplace : for the NOR'-WEST FARMER by V.W. Horwood, Registered Architect", Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG9 A17-2. Since the passing of The Manitoba Architect's Act in 1910, only architects holding memberships in the MAA and the RAIC could use the term "Registered Architect".

in the House of Commons in Ottawa.¹¹⁰ After studying at the Collegiate Institute of Prescott, Ontario, Horwood proceeded to study art in New York. He then entered the office of his brother, Edgar L. Horwood to obtain experience and training in architecture, until his arrival in Manitoba in 1904.¹¹¹

Victor's art education in New York must have exposed him to the latest design theories which were being celebrated at the time.¹¹² The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago had had a tremendous impact on American architects by introducing the Beaux-Arts style. The Beaux-Arts style buildings featured monumental, symmetrical plans and the use of ornamented classical forms. After a long dedication to historical and highly decorative designs in Victorian styles, the symmetry of Beaux-Arts designs was accepted eagerly by most American architects.¹¹³ Certainly, by 1900 many American architects, particularly in New York and Boston, had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and had brought

¹¹⁰ Story of Manitoba, p.664.

¹¹¹ ibid., p.664.

¹¹² While little is known of Victor's experience in New York, a parallel can be drawn with the experience of William S. Maxwell, as described by Rosalind Pepall. Rosalind Pepall, "The Education and Training of William S. Maxwell" in The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell, p.29-34.

¹¹³ Lois Craig, The Federal Presence : Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Buildings, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, p.210-11.

the design theories and style back to the United States.¹¹⁴ The theories of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts saw the architect first as an artist, emphasizing draughtsmanship and artfully executed drawings. Logical problem-solving and systematic planning were the principles of Beaux-Arts architectural design. The result of such theories was a design which was both logical and decorous. Ornament was artistic, yet tasteful; and the overall effect was distinguished.¹¹⁵ Perhaps the most pervasive and enduring aspect of Beaux-Arts influence, however, was the method of teaching. Throughout the U.S.A. and, eventually, Canada, the atelier system was adopted for training students.¹¹⁶ It focused on drawing and design in a studio setting, supported by technical courses in

¹¹⁴ Rosalind Pepall, "The Education and Training of William S. Maxwell" in The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell, p.30. Crossman, op.cit., p.95.

¹¹⁵ Pepall, ibid., p.31; Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture, Volume 2, Toronto, 1994, p. 555-6.

¹¹⁶ A 1913 article in Construction called for the adoption of the Beaux-Arts system since it had been so successful in the U.S.A. It explained that the influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts dominated the architectural world; and that the movement had spread from France to England and the U.S.A. The article called for the adoption of a two-tiered training system : first, a preparatory atelier with projects for the students set by the professors to be worked out together; and, second, an atelier for students received into the formal school (equivalent to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts) where the students undertake projects set by the professor. "Canada's Need of Beaux-Arts Work -- A Help to our Draftsmen (sic) in Creative Work -- the time to adopt the system is now.", Construction, VI, July 1913, p.251. For a full discussion of the teaching methods and style of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see Arthur Drexler, The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, New York, 1977. For discussion of the impact of Beaux-Arts method on Canadian architecture, see Harold Kalmen, A History of Canadian Architecture, Volume 2, Toronto, 1994.

engineering, construction and architectural history.¹¹⁷ The Beaux-Arts system of design was not limited to its use of classical ornament. Rather, it was adapted for use with Arts and Crafts and various revival styles.¹¹⁸

It is not clear exactly when Victor began his apprenticeship with Edgar. It can be surmised, however, that, if he completed his education at the Collegiate Institute at the age of eighteen and studied art in New York for a year, he could have started at Edgar's firm as early as the age of nineteen, in 1897.¹¹⁹ Edgar had established his practice at Horwood, Taylor & Horwood, in Ottawa by 1893 and built it into a prosperous and prestigious firm. Victor's training had many similarities to that of Samuel Hooper in that it was based on an unstructured apprenticeship rather than a balanced curriculum of required skills and knowledge. A fundamental difference, however, was that Horwood's perspective at the start of his training came from an art tradition rather than

¹¹⁷ Crossman, op.cit., p.95.

¹¹⁸ One of the clearest examples of this adaptation is the work of Edward & W.S. Maxwell who used Beaux-Arts principles when designing in Gothic, Classical, or Baroque styles. See Harold Kalman and Susan Wagg, (eds.), The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, Montreal, 1991, particularly the catalogue entries for : Saskatchewan Legislative Building (1908-12); Competition Designs for the Justice and Departmental Buildings, Ottawa (1907, 1913); and Canadian Pacific Railway Station, Winnipeg (1904-6).

¹¹⁹ The presumption here is to establish the earliest point at which Victor was in Edgar's office. It is possible, and quite likely, that he spent more time in New York. Clarifying Victor's apprenticeship with Edgar would be an interesting and valuable study of its own.

a building tradition. Horwood's upbringing in a craft family coupled with his later study of art in New York influenced his architectural practice. That Victor was influenced by Beaux-Arts style is supported by his later architectural designs and watercolour sketches. Horwood's watercolour sketches of buildings are artfully executed with motion and loose brushstrokes. Several of his PAO projects illustrated the Beaux-Arts system of logical design.

In his apprenticeship with Horwood, Taylor and Horwood, Victor would have received training in draughting details of buildings and making copies of drawings, as well as being involved in the overall development of a design. As with Hooper, his instruction in the technical aspects of construction was not comprehensive. This, coupled with the rapidly changing materials and technology, was to plague Horwood in his career as Provincial Architect.

Horwood became part of a wealthy and prominent Winnipeg family in 1906 when he married Claratina Taylor, the daughter of T.W. Taylor. Taylor was a member of the provincial government, and president of T.W. Taylor, Ltd., a prosperous printing company in Winnipeg. Horwood retained memberships in a number of fraternal organizations, including the Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), and the

AF&AM.¹²⁰ In the IOOF, Horwood would have socialized with C.C. Chisholm, junior partner of Chisholm & Son, architects of Winnipeg.¹²¹ With the Knights of Pythias he socialized with James E. Wilson, prominent Winnipeg businessman, and William A. Elliott, architect, of Brandon.¹²² His membership in the AF&AM would have allowed him to mingle with many successful architects, contractors and businessmen, including his father-in-law, T.W. Taylor, and Samuel Hooper. He also knew Hooper through the MAA as they were involved with the Association from its beginning. A contemporary report of the inaugural meeting included the newly elected officers of the MAA, one of whom was Hooper, and highlighted the presence of both Hooper's son, John, and Horwood. Also elected to the MAA Board was another acquaintance of Horwood's, William Elliott. It is unclear as to why Horwood was chosen from a group of over forty architects (which almost the entire complement of architects in Winnipeg). It may have been an indication of Horwood's prominence in the community.¹²³

¹²⁰ "V.W. Horwood, Noted Winnipeg Architect, Dies" op.cit., p.76; Parker, op.cit., volumes 6 and 7, 1915-16, p.160.

¹²¹ for C.C. Chisholm, see The Story of Manitoba, volume III, p.723-4.

¹²² James Wilson and William Elliott were listed among the incorporators of The Grand Lodge of Manitoba of the Knights of Pythias in Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Third Session of the Twelfth Legislature, 1910, Chapter 100, p.79-85.

¹²³ On the other hand, it may have been the whim of the author. The article, "Western Architects Organizing" Canadian Architect and Builder, Volume XIX, number 6, June 1906, p.81-2, was

Horwood was an important figure in the rise of professionalism in architecture as one of the first members of the Manitoba Association of Architects. He furthered architectural awareness and training through his lectures on architectural topics for the Young Men's Christian Association. He maintained an active role in the work of local art organizations, as Vice-President of the Manitoba Art Association and judge of the Black and White category for exhibitions. Horwood also held the position of President of the Winnipeg T-Square Society.¹²⁴ At the request of local architects, Horwood wrote a 100-page history of the MAA.¹²⁵ He also wrote for Canadian Architect and Builder¹²⁶ and frequently for Western Home Monthly magazine on domestic

unsigned. Those highlighted as "also present" were : J. Hooper, Eade Brothers, and Victor Horwood. I am assuming the "J. Hooper" was John, Samuel's son, since he is the more likely choice than James Hooper, Samuel's brother. John managed Hooper Marble and Granite Works while James Hooper was the King's Printer. The fact that either John or James Hooper was mentioned with the Eade Brothers (David Ede was Samuel Hooper's first partner) raises the question of whether the author might have been Samuel Hooper, himself. If so, then the highlighting of Horwood with such company would indicate a significant relationship.

¹²⁴ Parker, op.cit., volumes 6 and 7, 1915-16, p.160.

¹²⁵ "V.W. Horwood, Noted Winnipeg Architect, Dies" op.cit. Baker also makes reference to this document in her biographical comments on Horwood. see Baker, op.cit. p.49. After searching the MAA, the City of Winnipeg Department of Environmental Planning, the Manitoba Legislative Library, the Provincial Archive of Manitoba, and both University Library holdings, it appears that the document has been lost.

¹²⁶ see Victor W. Horwood, "Designs for Stable" Canadian Architect and Builder, Volume XIX, 1906, p.134-5.

design.¹²⁷ Such articles, up until his resignation as Provincial Architect, were standard plans and consisted of sketches and plans with a narrative description of the design and specifications. In his "Designs for Stable" of 1906, Horwood provided a sketch, plans, and specifications for use by builders. The stable was designed so that the plan could be "enlarged or reduced without destroying its symmetry."¹²⁸

Horwood designed a number of apartment buildings in Winnipeg as well as schools and churches throughout western Canada. Some of his projects outside of the PAO include¹²⁹ : St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Winnipeg; St. Boniface City Hall and No. 1 Firehall (1905), Winnipeg; Moxam Court, Winnipeg; McMillan Court, Winnipeg; the Ivan, Van Stittart, Waldron and Moore Buildings, Winnipeg; and St. Alban's English

¹²⁷ City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, "Victor William Horwood - (1878-1939)", unpublished manuscript, n.d., p.1.

¹²⁸ Horwood, "Designs for Stable" op.cit., p.134.

¹²⁹ At this point, there does not appear to be an exhaustive inventory of Horwood buildings, particularly during the seven years of his private practise. After consulting with the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg Department of Environmental Planning, it appears that plans and drawings for Horwood's private projects are not in a cohesive collection, as yet. It is likely, however, that the apartment block projects undertaken by Horwood occurred sometime before 1920. The first wave of apartment block construction in Winnipeg has been dated from 1900 to 1914. Murray Peterson, "The Rise of Apartments and Apartment Dwellers in Winnipeg : 1900 - 1914", unpublished manuscript, 1991, p.11-12.

Church, Winnipeg.¹³⁰ Horwood designed schools for Fort William, Ontario; Innisfail, Alberta; Sintaluta, Saskatchewan (1907); Summerberry, Saskatchewan; Brandon, Virden, and Teulon, Manitoba.¹³¹ During his tenure as Provincial Architect, he worked on the following projects : Manitoba Agricultural College, St.Vital (1911-14); Power House for the Hospital for the Insane, Brandon (1911-12); Power House for the Home for the Aged and Infirm, Portage La Prairie (1911); School Cottage and Bakery & Laundry buildings for the Industrial Training School, Portage La Prairie (1911); Manitoba Law Courts Building, Winnipeg (1911-16); Gaoler's Cottage, Morden (1911); Neepawa Telephone Exchange (1911); Brandon Normal School (1911-14); suggested designs for the Manitoba Legislative Building (1911); model school standard plans (1912); Court House, Le Pas (1912); Farm Superintendent's Residence for the Hospital for the Insane, Brandon (1913); Court House and Municipal building, Stonewall (1913); Central Power House, Winnipeg (1913-16); Barns for the Hospital for the Insane, Brandon (1914-15); St. James Telephone Exchange, Winnipeg (1914-15).

Horwood's designs tended to be rectangular and well-

¹³⁰ City of Winnipeg, "Victor William Horwood - (1878-1939)" p.1; Parker, op.cit., volume I, p.213 and volumes 6 and 7, p.160.

¹³¹ "V.W. Horwood, Noted Winnipeg Architect, Dies" Winnipeg Tribune, March 15, 1939, Manitoba Legislative Library, Clippings file, B9, p.76.

balanced. His buildings did not have the heavy, massive quality of Hooper's, even when they were larger. Rather, they are less compact and more expansive. The Beaux-Arts design system used by Horwood permitted him certain freedom to move within various styles : French Second Empire as in the Brandon Normal School (figure 20); English Baroque as in the revised design for the Manitoba Law Courts building (figure 21); Arts and Crafts as in the Principal's Residence for the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital (figure 22). Horwood also worked outside specific stylistic references as with the Central Power House (figure 23). Consistent throughout his designs, however, was the use of Beaux-Arts design principles. On the Manitoba Agricultural College, St.Vital project, Horwood stopped the design process after Hooper's death, assessed the development of the entire site and designed an overall site plan. He then went on to systematically design the buildings on the site in relation to one another.¹³² On the Manitoba Law Courts and the Manitoba Legislative Building projects, Horwood visited similar structures in other cities to view "comparable solutions" to the designs for these projects. These projects were designed in association with one another by Horwood redesigning Hooper's plans for the Manitoba Law Courts Building to fit the guidelines set for the

¹³² Horwood's first report as Provincial Architect stated that a site plan was about to be developed. Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1911, p.23.

Manitoba Legislative Building competition.¹³³ Horwood also designed the furnishings for the Manitoba Law Courts building.¹³⁴

Unlike Hooper, there are no significantly characteristic features in Horwood's buildings. He was comfortable working in many styles with various elements and features. Horwood did not utilize the landmark heavy domes as did Hooper. Generally, only a pediment, elevated cornice, or small cupola were used to denote the projecting central bay.

When discussing Horwood's oeuvre, particularly during his term as Provincial Architect, it is important to determine where Hooper ended and Horwood began. The facts of Hooper's illness make this task relatively simple. Hooper became ill in August, 1911, and did not return to his role as Provincial Architect before his death in October of that year. Several projects were under way at that time, including the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital; the Manitoba Law Courts building; and the Manitoba Legislative building. The scale of these projects, in particular, was something that had not been experienced by Hooper and warranted the addition of another registered architect to the PAO. Since the Manitoba Legislative building project was at its most initial stages when Hooper fell ill and Horwood signed the "suggested design"

¹³³ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1912, p.5 and p.349.

¹³⁴ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1914, p.46-8.

plans, it is unlikely that Hooper had significant influence. In the Manitoba Law Courts project, Hooper's hand and Horwood's hand are distinguishable within the same building. The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, revealed a clear break in the project design stage. At the end of 1911, several buildings were under construction. In 1912, Horwood went back and designed the site plan. In 1913, the second design phase occurred under Horwood. As such, certain buildings designed in this phase can confidently be attributed to Horwood : Dairy Science building (figure 24); Poultry building (figure 25); Principal's Residence (figure 22); and the Engineering building (figure 26). Additionally, certain smaller projects such as the Brandon Normal School can be attributed to Horwood due to the radical difference in style to Hooper's previous school buildings.¹³⁵

Some of Horwood's designs, particularly the standard plans published in magazines, were reminiscent of Arts and Crafts Movement influences. These reflected an interest in vernacular structures and local materials, such as his "Designs for Stable" (figure 27). Indeed, Horwood's own residence at 234 Wellington Crescent was reminiscent of this, incorporating a low, shingled double-pitched roof (resembling a barn) with inset dormers. Horwood's educational buildings

¹³⁵ Beyond these projects, I would be hesitant to assign Horwood's hand over Hooper's during the transition period of 1911. The remaining projects for the year were more utilitarian in nature and may have been done by one of the draughtsmen under the supervision of Hooper, Horwood or both.

such as his designs for the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, the Brandon Normal School, and Sintaluta School, all incorporate contrasting red brick and white stone. The stone was used by Horwood to frame the buildings in some way, either horizontally or both horizontally and vertically. The effects were different. With the full framing of the structure, as seen in the Brandon Normal School (figure 20), the building is contained, curbing the broadness of Horwood's designs. The horizontal framing, as seen in the Engineering building at the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital (figure 26), undercuts any sense of the vertical in the building; but conveys a sense of broad expanse.

Horwood designed on a broader scale, with a grander expression of monumentality than Hooper. Much of Horwood's monumental design work during his term as Provincial Architect was the reworking of Hooper's preliminary designs at various stages. The fundamental example of this is the Manitoba Law Courts building. Horwood's reinterpretation of Hooper's plans resulted in an entirely different message being conveyed about public space. Hooper's original elevation drawings (figure 18) illustrated a finely executed, coherent design for a Classical Revival building on a small scale, befitting a province in an optimistic era, looking forward to economic and political prosperity. Horwood's design for the project was a bigger, grander version, using the Classical ornament in a Beaux-Arts manner. This design conveyed an international

sophistication and a sense of prosperity achieved. Horwood increased the size of the building, considerably. Indeed, the increased scale of Horwood's revision dwarfs Hooper's Manitoba Land Titles building (see figure 21). Between elevating the basement to grade level and raising the height of the parapet and cupola, Horwood's version is a full story higher than Hooper's design. The most obvious changes that Horwood made were the enlarged cupola and monumental entrances. The entrances, particularly the Kennedy Street entrance (figure 28), was designed as a classical temple entrance, with an ornate pediment supported by Ionic order columns on massive bases. The temple entrance sat at the top of a one-story high staircase. This was quite a shift from Hooper's comparatively modest entranceways. Horwood also raised the cupola so that it stood on a high one and a half-story drum decorated with Beaux-Arts scrolls and circular windows. These changes were meant to reflect the design guidelines for the Manitoba Legislative Building project competition. Indeed, Horwood's "Suggestion for Plan of Government Grounds and for Buildings of Manitoba" (figure 29) clearly displayed the high domed tower and monumental, classical temple entranceway which was superimposed on Hooper's previous Manitoba Law Courts design.¹³⁶ Even more than Hooper, Horwood's message fit the analysis of Charles Goodsell for monumental government

¹³⁶ Baker implies that this was Horwood's own design for the Manitoba Legislative Building, in hopes that it would not be contracted out. Baker, op.cit., p.30.

buildings in this period. The structure is large, with a boxy composition; it is placed on an exalted site; the building is overwhelming in size and grandeur; and there is a clear separation between governors and the governed¹³⁷. Horwood's monumental style was more elusive than Hooper's. Rather than being identified by particular features, it is identified by the perception of Beaux-Arts grandeur.

Horwood first came to PAO in January, 1911, as the Assistant Provincial Architect, serving directly under Hooper. The addition of the position occurred at the same time as the initiation of the largest projects that the PAO would ever undertake : the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital; the Manitoba Legislative Building; and the Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House complex. As a registered architect, Horwood had the qualifications to act in all of the same capacities as Hooper. With Hooper in his early sixties, having had recent serious bouts of illness, Horwood was likely hired to assist with the increased workload of the new major projects, and to be groomed to take over from Hooper when the time came. The time came for Horwood to step into Hooper's position early, when Hooper's health failed suddenly in August, 1911. Hooper never returned to the PAO and died in two months later. Horwood was appointed Acting Provincial

¹³⁷ Goodsell, op.cit., p.xvi. In fact, the separation of the governors from the governed is emphasized by the inclusion of a high stone wall surrounding the Legislative Building.

Architect when Hooper fell ill, and officially replaced Hooper upon his death.

When Horwood inherited the PAO from Hooper, it had become quite independent of the DPW. As the number of projects and staff increased, the PAO had grown into an architectural firm within the provincial bureaucracy. By Horwood's term this operational independence was acknowledged by the DPW. Architectural projects were handled almost exclusively in the PAO. At the start of the PAO, building designs were done internally, and engineering aspects of the project were handled by the Engineering Branch or contracted out. Just a few years after the establishment of the PAO, however, the work of the Mechanical Engineer reflected an emphasis on building projects, as opposed to public utility projects. The reports of the Electrical Engineer, appointed in 1911, reflect the same emphasis. By 1913, the Mechanical Engineer, L. Bickle, and the Electrical Engineer, Thomas G. Fyfe, had been added to the staff of the PAO. Thus, the division of duties shifted from task-based, where the aspects of building projects that required engineering skills were delegated to the Engineering Branch, to project-based, where those engineering skills were assimilated into the PAO for use exclusively on its building projects.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ The PAO's report for 1913 regarding the progress on the New Agricultural College in St. Vital illustrates this by reporting on engineering tasks such as the electric feeder system, transmission lines, and the pumping station.

With the amalgamation of the positions of Deputy Minister and Chief Engineer, some engineering duties were transferred to various parts of the DPW. The PAO brought in its own engineers for relevant work; the Selkirk Hospital for the Insane had its own engineer in 1913 who was capable of undertaking work that would otherwise have to be contracted out by the DPW. The site engineer worked under supervision of both the PAO and the Engineering Branch.¹³⁹ This decentralization of engineering duties was furthered by the increasing responsibilities and complexity of the DPW. In 1906, factory inspectors were added to the DPW. In 1910, a new public institution was established : the Industrial Training School, Portage La Prairie; as well as the Good Roads Board. In 1911, the positions of Electrical Engineer and Inspector of Stores were added. Before the dissolution of the PAO, another factory inspector and a building inspector were added, also a Building Trades Inspector and a Fair Wages Inspector.¹⁴⁰

By 1912, more and more work was being retained by both the DPW and PAO rather than contracted out.¹⁴¹ Design

¹³⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1913, p.54.

¹⁴⁰ see Department of Public Works Reports for 1905 to 1915.

¹⁴¹ If using internal staff of the DPW (eg. carpenters, mechanical engineer, etc.) was not a fullfledged policy, it was certainly a widespread procedure. The Deputy Minister, Charles H. Dancer, declared this practice to be most effective both financially and in terms of speed of completion.

By the above system the Government has been enabled to

contracts were let only for the largest of projects, such as the new Manitoba Legislative Building. Labour contracts were let only when there was insufficient manpower in the PAO to supervise the work. For smaller labour contracts, particularly those that were for public institutions with "captive" work forces, the work was undertaken under the supervision of the PAO.¹⁴² Often, when a "captive" work force was not available, the work was undertaken by local day labour under PAO supervision. In his 1913 Report, Horwood explained that the cost to government of preparing plans and specifications including regular supervision within the PAO was approximately one and a half percent of the value of the work. This was considerably lower than the average rate of external architectural firms which was five percent of the value of the contracted work. He explained further that the average external rate increased to ten percent when mechanical and electrical engineers were contracted to do repairs. Horwood compared his internal figure of one and a half percent to rates of comparable departments of other governments and found that the rates of the State Architect of New York and

carry out the work much more quickly than by contract system, and the class of work is undoubtedly better and cheaper, besides all causes of friction were removed. The bulk of the labor employed was obtained locally, St. Vital, St. Norbert, and gave plenty of employment to the farmers and settlers in the district.
Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1911, p.18.

¹⁴² Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1912, p.354.

the American federal Supervising Architect were considerably higher, at six percent.¹⁴³ The lower average cost justified the use of direct supervision over various construction projects.

During Horwood's term, the PAO began to produce model or standard plans. The 1913 Report described standard plans for the model rural school. One hundred and fifty sets of standard plans for one- and two-room schools were provided to the Department of Education. Horwood served in an advisory capacity to the Department and made several trips to various construction sites at the request of local school boards.¹⁴⁴ The use of standard plans was not, in itself, an innovation. Horwood had been developing standard plans since very early in his career, for publication in journals and magazines and for use by contractors and the general public, in the same manner as plan books. Large businesses with many branch offices, such as banks, commonly used standard plans in order to convey a consistent visual image to the public; to provide a recognizable icon for their customers no matter what the

¹⁴³ Horwood obtained these comparative figures from an article in an October issue of The Building News, London, England. Horwood confidently asserted that "By the foregoing it will be seen that this office is being run on most economical lines." Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1913, p.62

¹⁴⁴ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1913, p.61.

location; and to cut down on design costs.¹⁴⁵ The development of standard plans such as these was another method to reduce workload on the PAO and to reduce the expense for the Department of Education of letting a number of contracts for individual school buildings.¹⁴⁶

In 1912, Horwood revised some of the office procedures in the PAO.

I have endeavoured to make the office system as perfect as possible, and considering the immense amount of work being done I think it has proved successful. When work is being done in such a widely scattered area as the Province, some scheme had to be devised to keep an accurate record of all that was going on. I have a 24-hour duplicate report from every building and inspector. A triplicate order form for any emergency which might arise, and this method keeps the office in perfect accord and communication with all works being done for the Province, and I think that the office has as complete and perfect a system as could be devised.¹⁴⁷

As subsequent inquiries would show, Horwood's system was less

¹⁴⁵ This was not just the case with banking institutions. Railways often used a few standard designs or, at least, very strong design guidelines for stations. See "Hotels and Stations" in H. Kalman and S. Wagg (eds) The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, Montreal, 1991. This pattern continued in the use of employee housing and, later on, with the development of "the company town". see Gwendolyn Wright, Building the Dream, New York, 1985.

¹⁴⁶ The use of "standard plans" did not occur in the PAO prior to this time. However, Hooper clearly recycled designs for different projects. The most obvious case is the two Manitoba Agricultural Colleges : the Dairy Science building, St. Charles (figure 30) and the Horticultural building, St.Vital (figure 31); and the Administration buildings (figures 9 and 11), are remarkably similar.

¹⁴⁷ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1912, p.354.

than perfect. Based on the later Royal Commission inquiries, Horwood's record keeping was less of a problem than the accuracy of those records, and his willingness to cover up fraudulent activities.¹⁴⁸

The PAO budget and Horwood's own salary escalated in relation to the increased workload and responsibilities. In 1911, the budget for the PAO was \$19,000, with \$14,000 allocated for salaries (beyond those of the Provincial Architect and the Assistant Provincial Architect), and \$5,000 for office expenses.¹⁴⁹ In 1912, the salary of the Provincial Architect had risen from \$2,500 to \$3,117; and the salary allotment for the PAO rose to \$21,780. This indicated the addition of several staff members, likely draughtsmen, inspectors and clerks.¹⁵⁰ Additional budget lines were listed : \$2,000 for travel and \$2,400 for rent and caretaking.¹⁵¹ In 1913, the PAO budget levelled off at \$35,000, excluding Horwood's salary, with an office staff

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of this.

¹⁴⁹ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Thirteenth Legislature, 1911, Winnipeg, 1911, Chapter 61, p.332.

¹⁵⁰ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Second Session of the Thirteenth Legislature, 1912, Winnipeg, 1912, Chapter 88, p.283-4.

¹⁵¹ These costs were added to the PAO budget to cover travel made to visit public buildings elsewhere; and to cover the relocation of the PAO to its Fort Street offices. Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being Second Session of the Thirteenth Legislature, 1912, Winnipeg, 1912, Chapter 88, p.284.

salary component of \$23,000.¹⁵² At the peak of the PAO, at the end of Horwood's term, it was staffed by thirty-three positions, including draughtsmen, inspectors and accountants.¹⁵³ The PAO had grown from 1 to 33 positions in 10 years.¹⁵⁴

The Manitoba Legislative Building project marked a turning point for the PAO. No longer would it be the independent architectural firm within the provincial bureaucracy that it had been under Hooper. During Horwood's term as Provincial Architect, there were three large-scale, monumental building projects undertaken that challenged the typical role of the PAO. Extensive building projects such as the Manitoba Agricultural College (now the University of Manitoba), the Manitoba Law Courts Building and Central Power House and the Manitoba Legislative Building required a degree of administrative expertise for which the PAO and Horwood were unprepared. Insufficient financial and administrative accountability, in association with the confused role of the PAO in relation to these projects, resulted in

¹⁵² Horwood's salary had risen again, to \$3,600. Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Third Session of the Thirteenth Legislature, 1913, Winnipeg, 1913, Chapter 77, p.209, 222.

¹⁵³ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1915, p.68.

¹⁵⁴ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1915, p.68.

overexpenditure, duplication of effort, gaps in work, and, ultimately, fraud.

The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital

The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, project was the most complex of the three major projects, in terms of the number of buildings under construction at the same time and the site plan. The DPW reports, including the reports of the Provincial Architect, indicated an integrated working relationship between the PAO and the remainder of the DPW.

The Provincial Architect's Office designed and built two agricultural colleges : the St.Charles site (also referred to as the Tuxedo site and the St.James site), 1904-6; and the St.Vital (or Fort Garry) site, 1911-16. The first Agricultural College complex was originally conceived in 1903 and was one of the main reasons for the appointment of the Provincial Architect in 1904. The site of the first Agricultural College was secured just west of the city limits of Winnipeg, on the south bank of the Assiniboine River.¹⁵⁵ The initial buildings were designed by Hooper and constructed under the PAO from 1904-6.¹⁵⁶ Additions were still being

¹⁵⁵ Many buildings of the first Agricultural College are still standing. They are situated in Winnipeg, north of Tuxedo Boulevard, west of Kenaston Street, and south of Academy Road.

¹⁵⁶ There is evidence that Hooper worked with the Engineering Branch of the DPW as well as with contracted consulting engineers on projects. The plans and drawings for the St.Charles Agricultural College included a "Block Plan" (August 1905) showing the location of buildings in relation to sewers and the utility

made to the site until 1911 when the Roblin government decided to relocate the Agricultural College to a larger site on the bank of the Red River, south of the city, in St. Vital, Manitoba.¹⁵⁷ Work on the "New" Agricultural College began in 1911, prior to Hooper's death, and continued beyond the dissolution of the PAO in 1915.

The various branches of the DPW were involved in the Manitoba Agricultural College, St.Vital project. The report of the Good Roads Commissioner in 1911 showed involvement through the development of plans and specifications for an asphalt road to the College site in St. Vital.¹⁵⁸ In 1911, the DPW awarded the contract for sewerage works but the successful bidder proved "...very unsatisfactory, the contractors not only having underestimated the cost, but failing to complete the work in the specified time...".¹⁵⁹ The situation was resolved by letting a portion of the remaining work to another contractor, under close supervision of the Chief Engineer, but having the majority of the work

tunnels from the Power House. This block plan was signed by the DPW, rather than the PAO. (Public Buildings Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100)

¹⁵⁷ In the report for 1911, Horwood described the completion of the Dairy Science Building, built on the site of the previous building which had been destroyed by fire. See Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1911, p.23. The decision to relocate the college so shortly after its erection in St. Charles was found by the subsequent Royal Commission to have been due to political deals and personal gain.

¹⁵⁸ ibid., p.30.

¹⁵⁹ ibid., p.18.

done with DPW staff. The method of keeping the work within the Department was reported as having proven extremely satisfactory in terms of progress and expenditure.¹⁶⁰

Regarding the Sewerage Works, the engineers at the DPW took surveys, levels, established base lines, and prepared the specifications, working drawings and quantities. The engineers also worked with the building sites, laying out and entering the sites, and determining grades.¹⁶¹

The engineering portions of the project were undertaken with the Engineering Branch, as a result of the large scope of the project.¹⁶² Horwood also reported having drawn up plans and specifications for the mechanical and electrical systems. In fact, the plans were signed by Horwood, but in a supervisory capacity over other DPW staff.

Work on the buildings began in January of 1911. Contracts were awarded building by building rather than for the entire project. Contracts for the Dormitory & Auditorium building, Chemistry & Physics building, and Horticultural & Biological building were awarded to Thomas Kelly & Sons, Limited, of Winnipeg. Contracts for the Administration building and Power House building were awarded to Carter-Halls-Aldinger Company, Limited, also of Winnipeg. Specialized work such as the construction of the chimney stack

¹⁶⁰ ibid., p.18.

¹⁶¹ ibid., p.18.

¹⁶² ibid., p.21.

for the Power House; heating, plumbing, and ventilating systems; and electrical wiring were contracted outside the general contracts. These "outside" contracts were also let building by building rather than on a project basis.¹⁶³

In 1912, the Engineering Branch (EB) continued to administer portions of the building project appropriate to its discipline: waterworks, sewers, surveys, and the heating tunnel. The EB also undertook cement tests for the Portland cement being used at the Agricultural College site to ensure its quality.¹⁶⁴ In this year, Horwood prepared the water-colour sketches and put them on exhibition at the Winnipeg Industrial Exposition, Toronto Exposition, and others. Regarding the Administration Building, the following work was completed in 1912 : cut stone, carving, pressed brick work, steel work; concrete; tile floors, partitions; and grading. A temporary heating system was installed while the permanent system was progressing. The Power House was almost completed and had been operating on one boiler. The tunnels to house the utilities between buildings were begun in June, 1912, and were almost completed by the end of that year. The Horticultural & Biology Building was ready for the roof, but the interior finishing was not yet completed. The Chemistry

¹⁶³ ibid., pp.21-3. In his report to the Deputy Minister, Horwood provides a brief description of each building for which a contract has been let as well as for those buildings that he was in the process of designing.

¹⁶⁴ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1912, p.340-342.

& Physics Building was also ready to be roofed, with the completion date estimated for May, 1913.¹⁶⁵

The 1913 report from the Engineering Branch expounded the modern design of the waterworks at the Agricultural College, which had a capacity of 1,000,000 gallons of water per day. Indeed, it was seen to be such an innovative system, C. Donnelly, Engineer-in-charge-of-works, suggested that it could be used secondarily to train the engineering students at the College, as well as for lectures on chemistry and bacteriology.¹⁶⁶

In 1913, several of the buildings on site were occupied by the College. These included : Administration; Dormitory / Auditorium; Horticulture / Biology; Chemistry / Physics; Power House; Beef Cattle Barn; Swine Barn. The tunnels were also completed. The following buildings were still under construction : Engineering; Dairy Science; Principal's Residence; Foreman's Cottage; Stock Judging Pavilion; Dairy Cattle Barn; Horse Barn; Sheep Barn; Poultry - three Laying Houses, Brooder House, Fattening House; Entrance Gates; Pylons at the corners of the property; Branch Tunnels; and Waterworks Building.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ ibid., p.340-348.

¹⁶⁶ Donnelly goes on to say "The Government, the Department and yourself [Charles H. Dancer, Deputy Minister] are to be congratulated in having taken this advanced and most progressive action..." Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1913, p.29-30.

¹⁶⁷ ibid., p.45-46.

It is clear from the DPW annual reports and the collection of plans and drawings, that the PAO and the EB worked together on the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital project. The details of the division of labour are confused by the fact that both parties reported on the same work. The plans indicate that the PAO had a supervisory role since all the systems drawings are initialled as having been approved by Horwood.¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, the apparent sophistication of the system would indicate the design of a professional engineer. The working relationship of the EB and PAO on this project involved the portioning of labour along professionally-acknowledged lines : mechanical, electrical, sewerage and road work was done through the EB; the structural, design and finishing work was done through the PAO. The PAO had the overall supervisory role since it was mandated with new construction projects for the DPW.

Manitoba Law Courts Building and Central Power House

The original plans of the "New" Manitoba Law Courts Building were undertaken by Hooper in 1909. In his report for 1911, however, Horwood noted that he had altered the plans and specifications.¹⁶⁹ These alterations were made as the

¹⁶⁸ see the plans and drawings for the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, Public Buildings Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.

¹⁶⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1911, Winnipeg, 1912, p.26. For the full discussion of these changes, see the description of Horwood's style earlier in this chapter.

building was under construction. There was a break in the construction of the building in 1912 as Horwood's alterations were incorporated.¹⁷⁰ Horwood's report for 1912 stated that the plans and specifications had been completed and contracts let. It was in 1912, and partly due to this project, that the mechanical and electrical departments were combined and added to the complement of the PAO :

As the heating, plumbing and ventilating, and electrical plans and specifications in connection with the new Parliament buildings, new Law Courts, Winnipeg, and all other buildings throughout the Province, will be prepared in this office, it was found necessary owing to the immense amount of work involved, to again enlarge our office space, and a mechanical department has been added, with a competent staff for the carrying out of this work. The opening up of this department had proven a great success, in that it has saved the Province thousands of dollars and eliminated many vexatious delays as when this work was done outside this office.¹⁷¹

The role of the Provincial Architect changed, as a result of this addition to the Office. Clearly, the systems designs were to be undertaken under the purview of the Provincial Architect. While Hooper had been involved on some level previous to this in the development of these systems during his tenure, generally, they had been contracted out or done independently in the Engineering Branch. With the shift of the PAO to a project-based administration as a result of

¹⁷⁰ This situation occurred also when Horwood took over the Manitoba Agricultural College project, specifically the Administration Building.

¹⁷¹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1912, p.345.

large-scale projects, these duties and the associated staff were brought to the PAO. The PAO was a fully integrated architectural office, which required that Horwood administer not only the structural designs with which he was familiar, but supervise systems designs with which he was considerably less familiar.

The evidence suggests that the engineers - mechanical and electrical - retained certain independence from Horwood. On several projects, the systems blueprints were drawn by one draughtsman, checked by someone else (the engineer), and approved by Horwood per the engineer.¹⁷² This meant that the engineers, at least on certain projects, had Horwood's authority to approve systems designs.

In 1913, Horwood reported that the roof trusses were in place on the Law Courts Building. Plans and specifications were completed for the enlargement of the west wing containing extra judges' rooms, an enlargement of the courtroom, and extra library space.¹⁷³ The Power House associated with the Law Courts Building was also under way. It was designed to house the utilities for the New Law Courts, Old Law Courts,

¹⁷² The identifying marks on blueprints for the Brandon Asylum for electrical work on the main building show that they were drawn by "Wm.S.", checked by "M.E.H." (M.E. Hook), and approved by "V.W.H. per M.E.H.". The blueprints for the heating plan for the Fuel and Root House indicate that they were drawn by "T.E.", checked by "T.G. Fyfe" (Electrician), and approved by "V.W.H. per T.G.F.". see Public Buildings Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.

¹⁷³ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1913, Winnipeg, 1914, p.59-60.

Land Titles, Gaol, and New Parliament building. The construction of the building was in progress while the plans and specifications for the power plant, being housed within it, were being done. Horwood was particularly proud of the automatic stokers for the boilers, fed by a specially-designed coal-handling machine. The coal-handling machinery was a complicated conveyor system which would greatly reduce the need for the messy handling of the coal by labourers.¹⁷⁴ Presumably, this system was actually designed by Thomas Fyfe, the electrical engineer, rather than by Horwood; since the system was highly complex requiring the training and experience of a certified engineer. The structural drawings, particularly the longitudinal section drawing, for the Central Power House (figure 32) illustrate the placement of the coal-handling system : bunkers, conveyor and hoppers. These drawings were signed solely by Horwood, rather than by a draughtsman, indicating the level of his involvement in this design. Since the construction of the building was under way prior to the completion of the design for the coal-handling system, it is most likely that Horwood was associated with the initial concept of the system, and left Fyfe to complete the details.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1913, Winnipeg, 1914, p.60-61.

¹⁷⁵ This was a common procedure for architectural offices by this period. see "The Management of an Architect's Office" in Construction, X, March 1917, p.100-102.

In 1914, the exterior of the New Law Courts building had been completed; the roof was finished; and the interior work was proceeding. Horwood explained the design process involved with the interior work :

The arrangements for the convenience of the offices and public were made after an exhaustive study of conditions in other provinces. This was a great task, as many different opinions and ideas had to be met and reconciled (sic), where tradition and usages had to be carried out as in courts of justice, but this has been done successfully.¹⁷⁶

The Central Power House was almost completed by the end of 1914. Five separate equipment contracts had been let for the Power House outside of the general contract for the building. The administrative coordination of these contracts was a particular challenge for the PAO. The plans and specifications for the tunnels were being made to connect those buildings being serviced by the Power House to the main tunnel. The main tunnel, made of reinforced concrete and steel, was planned to cross under Broadway Avenue.¹⁷⁷

In the Manitoba Law Courts Building / Central Power House project, the scope of responsibility of the PAO broadened to include technological areas for which Horwood did not have the qualifications. In addition to being accountable for the structural aspects of the project, from design to completion, he was as well accountable for electrical and mechanical

¹⁷⁶ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1914, Winnipeg, 1915, p.47.

¹⁷⁷ ibid., p.49-50.

systems. Where independent architectural firms still relied on the expertise of consulting engineers for such systems design, the PAO had integrated them.¹⁷⁸

Manitoba Legislative Building

The Manitoba Legislative Building project meant that new roles and procedures for the PAO had to be developed. While the PAO had evolved into a fully integrated architectural firm with Horwood as its principal, this project brought in an external architect, at least, initially.

The conception of this project, often referred to as the "New Parliament Buildings", occurred early in 1911. In the Annual Report for 1911, the Deputy Minister of Public Works, Charles H. Dancer, explained :

The congested state of all the Departments in the Legislative Buildings renders necessary the erection of more commodious buildings at the earliest possible date. With a view of profiting by the experience of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the newly-erected Legislative Buildings in Regina and Edmonton were visited in October last by the provincial architect and your deputy, and much valuable information was obtained.¹⁷⁹

In the 1912 Report, Acting Deputy Minister, H.A. Bowman, again

¹⁷⁸ A 1913 article in Construction warned against architects taking on too broad a responsibility and advised that they acknowledge the limits of their specialization. see "The Engineering Mistakes in the Modern Commercial Building -- An Existing Need for a Closer Alliance Between Architect and Engineer", Construction, VI, April 1913, p.128.

¹⁷⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1911, Winnipeg, 1912, p.5.

raised the issue of cramped space in the existing Legislative offices to the extent that it was hindering the performance of the staff. Bowman also reported that plans had been selected and a site obtained.¹⁸⁰

Horwood was instrumental in drafting the guidelines for the design competition and providing a model sketch for the complex of government buildings which would include and surround the new Manitoba Legislative Building (figure 29).¹⁸¹ Sixty-seven plans were submitted by external architectural firms. The plans of Simon and Boddington of London, England, were selected (figure 33). In the 1912 Report, Horwood stated that he had been in "... continuous consultation with the architect for the new Parliament buildings, in reference to materials used in this Province and details of construction, etc."¹⁸² Indeed, Simon had opened an office adjoining the PAO, staffed by his partner, Henry Boddington, as the official on-site representative of the

¹⁸⁰ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1912, Winnipeg, 1913, p.327.

¹⁸¹ For a full discussion of the competition designs and process, see Baker, op.cit., p.29-32. For a contemporary account of the competition process and reactions, see : Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1912, Winnipeg, 1913, p.350; V.W. Horwood, "New Legislative and Executive Building, Winnipeg, Manitoba", Construction, V, November 1912, p.69-78; and "The Manitoba Parliament Buildings Competition Programme Objectionable to Construction and Should Be to Architects Generally", Construction, V, February, 1912, p.44-5.

¹⁸² Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1912, Winnipeg, 1913, p.346.

firm.¹⁸³

In the summer of 1913, Horwood was appointed Supervising Architect to the project.¹⁸⁴ At the same time, significant changes were being made to the structural designs of the project. The Acting Minister communicated with Simon, indicating his intention that plans be done locally to change the infrastructure design to structural steel throughout, rather than only for the dome portion.¹⁸⁵ A structural engineer, A.G. Cameron, had been hired through the PAO to draught plans for the foundation caissons (concrete piers which extended to solid rock).¹⁸⁶ At the end of 1913, Horwood reported briefly on the project, stating that progress had been made on the foundation work. Horwood stated:

I personally examined these foundations in view of the responsible nature of this work. The drawings for the caisson work were prepared in this office, and every care is taken in their construction.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1912, p.345-6; Baker, op.cit., p.46.

¹⁸⁴ Baker, op.cit., p.46-8. Baker explains that, initially, the Province stalled in appointing a Supervising Architect, since it was the widely-held opinion of the architectural community that, as a matter of course, the designing architect of a project should be the Supervising Architect. After repeated inquiries from Simon, Acting Minister of Public Works, George Coldwell, announced Horwood's appointment.

¹⁸⁵ ibid., p.52. A letter to Simon from the Minister of Public Works indicated that the change from reinforced concrete to structural steel and foundation caissons was on the advice of Horwood. ibid., p.55.

¹⁸⁶ ibid., p.52.

¹⁸⁷ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1913, Winnipeg, 1914, p.59.

Horwood expected that one wing of the building would be covered by the Fall of 1914 so that work could continue during the winter.¹⁸⁸

In 1914, Horwood reported that the foundations were finished and that the construction of the superstructure was under way. Horwood again defended the foundation design of the building which utilized a series of caissons and structural steel.

This foundation is the best that it is possible to obtain, and all new buildings of any importance in this city are being constructed in this manner. Our soil is very treacherous to build upon, and the tremendous weight carried by the dome, amounting to some 24,000 tons, would allow of no other solution.¹⁸⁹

The PAO had done all of the systems plans (heating, wiring, ventilating, plumbing), resulting in 1,231 drawings for the project by 1914.¹⁹⁰

As Supervising Architect of the new Manitoba Legislative Building project, Horwood was in the awkward position of bringing to reality the designs and vision of another architect. Indeed, Baker states that Horwood had accepted the likelihood, prior to his own appointment as Supervising Architect, of Simon filling that role; with himself acting as

¹⁸⁸ ibid., p.59.

¹⁸⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1914, Winnipeg, 1915, p.50.

¹⁹⁰ ibid., p.51.

assistant.¹⁹¹ Instead, Horwood found himself responsible for the largest single-structure project, not to mention the most expensive, in the history of the Province.¹⁹² It required the coordination of various disciplines within the PAO, incorporating new materials and technologies. In addition, Horwood had to oversee the other large-scale projects under the PAO which were ongoing. There was some indication of administrative irresponsibility on the part of the PAO by having project supervision, inspection, and certification of payments to contractors occurring through one office, without some system of checks and balances.¹⁹³

The size of the Manitoba Legislative Building project demanded from Horwood greater administrative ability and financial accountability than ever before. Horwood's strengths - artistic ability and design technique - were not required in the administrative arrangement of the Manitoba Legislative Building project. This combined with the additional complications of unfamiliar materials and technologies, the workload associated with the other projects, and the political machinations of himself and his superiors

¹⁹¹ Baker, op.cit., p.47.

¹⁹² Later accusations were made that Horwood was given supervisory authority over the project rather than Simon in order for the government to retain control over all aspects of the project for the purposes of committing fraud. Baker, ibid., 48-9.

¹⁹³ Baker, ibid., p.50. In fact, this was the way that the PAO had been operating since its inception. The administrative problems only became evident in the wake of the large-scale projects undertaken during Horwood's term.

served to thrust Horwood into an impossible situation.

Chapter 3

The Dissolution of the PAO (1915-16)

In 1915, the Conservative government of Sir Rodmond P. Roblin, after fifteen years in office, was replaced by the Liberal government of Tobias C. Norris. In the spring, the Provincial Architect, Victor Horwood was replaced by H.A. Bowman, who had previously been with the Engineering Branch. Shortly after, Bowman was replaced by an accredited architect, William Fingland, as Acting Provincial Architect. The replacement of Horwood was precipitated by the various inquiries into the expenditures of the PAO on a number of projects. Stephen C. Oxton was brought into the DPW in 1915 as Special Assistant to the new Liberal Minister, the Honourable Thomas H. Johnson. Oxton's investigation into the procedures of the DPW and, particularly the PAO, was the basis for the latter's demise.

When Horwood joined the PAO in 1911, the Conservative government of Rodmond P. Roblin was at its zenith. Roblin and his Minister of Public Works, Robert Rogers, had "forged a political machine with which they accomplished much for Manitoba".¹⁹⁴ The Roblin Conservatives, among other things, relentlessly pursued the expansion of Manitoba's borders; and

¹⁹⁴ Jackson, op.cit., p.164.

achieved it in 1912.¹⁹⁵ Also in 1911, Robert Rogers won a federal seat and a place in the Conservative government of Robert Borden. Rogers was offered the portfolio of the Department of the Interior. According to James A. Jackson, Rogers left a legacy of patronage and payoffs in the Provincial Department of Public Works that, without Rogers' political finesse, Roblin was unable to handle.¹⁹⁶

As the Roblin Conservatives anticipated the election of 1914, they faced increasing opposition on such issues as temperance and women's suffrage. Rumours abounded regarding problems with the construction of the Manitoba Legislative Building, Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House, and Manitoba Agricultural College projects.¹⁹⁷ Despite these allegations and the best efforts of the provincial Liberal Party under the leadership of Tobias C. Norris, Roblin's Conservatives were returned to government in the election of July, 1914.¹⁹⁸ Less than one month later, Canada found itself at war.

The entry of Canada into World War I on August 5, 1914, had an immediate and drastic impact.

¹⁹⁵ Jackson, ibid., p.175-6.

¹⁹⁶ ibid., p.174-5.

¹⁹⁷ ibid., p.181-2. Jackson provides a thorough and coherent account of the political machinations of the transition from the Roblin Conservatives to the Norris Liberals. See Chapter Twelve: Politics and War (p. 177-202).

¹⁹⁸ ibid., p.181-2; Baker, op.cit., p.60-1.

With first-generation Anglo-Saxons leading the way, Manitobans flocked to the colors. There was a general submergence of racial, religious, and language differences in the greater common cause. ... Manitoba responded with men, money, and food, all on a generous scale. The war became a central point, around which all other things revolved.¹⁹⁹

The impact of the War on the DPW was swift. In anticipation of the costs of war, the Government announced that budget allocations to public works projects would cease, except for allocations made through borrowed funds. All DPW projects were closed down.²⁰⁰

From September 15-18, 1914, a Session of the Legislature was held to address issues associated with the War. The intent of the Special War Session was to pass a Supply Act to contribute to the Imperial war costs.²⁰¹ Also brought to the Assembly at this session were supplementary estimates to cover the cost of Horwood's alteration to the structural design of the Manitoba Legislative Building project. The change from reinforced concrete to structural steel with foundation caissons required an additional \$2,000,000. The Act was passed in order to expedite the resumption of work on the

¹⁹⁹ Jackson, op.cit., p.183.

²⁰⁰ Baker, op.cit., p. 61. According to Baker, the project closures caused strong reaction from local labour leaders which went unmet by Roblin.

²⁰¹ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Fourteenth Legislature, 1914 (Special War Session), 1914, Chapter 4, p.11-2; Jackson, op.cit. p.183-4; Baker, op.cit., p.62-3.

project and to reinstate construction jobs.²⁰² It brought the total project cost to an estimated \$3-4.5 million. Such a exorbitant increase for the project led the Liberals to investigate. As Jackson asserts, the initial review of the documentation tabled in the Legislature by the Liberals caused great suspicion -- they "smelled blood and were not to be deterred".²⁰³

By the spring of 1915, the Norris Liberals were making accusations of mismanagement relating to the Manitoba Legislative Building project. The Public Accounts Committee of the House was instructed to investigate the contracts on the project for possible wrong-doing. The Committee reported that there were no inappropriate actions taken on the part of the Government. Jackson states that this was due to the majority of Conservatives comprising the Committee.²⁰⁴

The Liberal Opposition continued to insist on a Royal Commission inquiry on the Manitoba Legislative Building matter. Norris and the members of the Opposition lobbied the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Douglas Cameron to intervene with Roblin on their behalf. After considerable political posturing, Roblin agreed to the appointment of the Royal

²⁰² Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Fourteenth Legislature, 1914 Special War Session, Chapter 2, p.7; Baker, ibid., p.62-3. Baker provides an excellent account of the events leading up to the passing of the supplementary estimates and public reaction.

²⁰³ Jackson, op.cit., p. 184-5.

²⁰⁴ ibid. p.185; Baker, op.cit., p.65-70.

Commission. Less than a month after the appointment of the Royal Commission, Roblin resigned and asked Cameron to have Norris form a government.²⁰⁵

Once the inquiry into the Manitoba Legislative Building project began, all of the major projects came under scrutiny. Indeed, each of the major projects of the PAO became the subjects of Royal Commission inquiries in 1915 and 1916.

Manitoba Legislative Building project

On April 20, 1915, the Royal Commission examining the Parliament Buildings was appointed under Chief Justice T.G. Mathers. After four months of investigation, the Royal Commission reported that Roblin and several members of his cabinet, (including G.R. Coldwell and Dr. W.H. Montague, past and current ministers of Public Works) as well as a senior Conservative party officer and the contractor, Thomas Kelly, were guilty of conspiracy to defraud the Province.²⁰⁶ Charges were laid against the former ministers; and a civil action suit was brought against Kelly.²⁰⁷

The investigation into the conditions of completed work

²⁰⁵ ibid., p.185-7; Baker, op.cit., p.70; Alexander Innes Inglis, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government : 1915", M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968.

Inglis explains how the Lieutenant-Governor stepped beyond his authority in appointing this Royal Commission.

²⁰⁶ Jackson, ibid., p.186-7;

²⁰⁷ ibid., p.187-8. Baker dedicates an entire chapter to the details of the "Political Controversy" connected with the Manitoba Legislative Building project. For a full discussion of this project, see Chapter IV : Political Controversy in Baker, op.cit., p.60-76.

at the site of the project in 1915 exposed the deplorable situation regarding the foundation caissons. As a result, the contracts on the project were cancelled. The valuation of the work accomplished to that time showed approximately \$150,000 worth of materials including cut stone, steel and brick, on site.²⁰⁸ The original architect, Frank W. Simon was immediately brought in and given control of the project as Supervising Architect.²⁰⁹

Simon had Mr. S. Bylander, a structural engineer from England, brought to the site to undertake a study of the caisson foundations. Bylander found the caissons to be in worse condition than initially anticipated. Regarding the caisson beneath the central bay and dome of the structure, he stated :

Investigation of these caissons shows a condition hard of belief, some of the large rectangular piers stopping within nine inches of rock. The concrete at the bottom of these piers can hardly be called concrete, and at present the contractors are engaged in cutting out the inferior concrete which comprises the bottom fifteen feet of the piers and replacing same with sound concrete.²¹⁰

Bylander explained that these caissons needed to be completely secure due to the load being carried.

The same situation occurred under the porticos of the

²⁰⁸ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1915, Winnipeg, 1915, p.129-30.

²⁰⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1915, Winnipeg, 1915, p.130; Baker, op.cit., p.77.

²¹⁰ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1915, Winnipeg, 1915, p.131.

structure. The cost of replacement was planned to be charged to the original contractor, Thomas Kelly & Sons, Ltd.²¹¹ A number of remedies for the caissons were proposed. It was resolved to sink seven new caissons under the central and portico areas, one caisson at each end and one between each of the existing six. The seven new caissons were sunk to rock level and corbelled to extend under the six old caissons. All thirteen were then bound together with a large iron grill, thus transferring the load of the superstructure from the old caissons to the new ones. The estimated cost of \$23,000 was proposed to be charged to the contractor.²¹²

The contractor was also charged for changes necessary to bring the workmanship on the superstructure up to the standards and specifications of the architect. This involved such work as cutting out and replacing the stone corners of the building in order to meet the original design.²¹³

An attempt was made to let the contract to complete the project. However, the competition had to be abandoned since there was little response from the community. What little

²¹¹ ibid., p.131.

²¹² ibid., p.132.

²¹³ ibid., p.132; Baker, op.cit., p.79-80. Baker explains that Simon had made complaints about substandard craftsmanship on the project to Horwood. Nothing had been done about Simon's concerns. Once appointed Supervising Architect, Simon made a point of rectifying these errors.

response there was offered very high tenders for the work.²¹⁴ This was due to a number of recent developments : the onset of World War I had caused a significant increase in the cost of materials; the fair wage schedule (passed by the Roblin Conservatives) had been raised, resulting in significantly higher labour costs. The contract was eventually awarded to James McDiarmid Company Ltd.²¹⁵

On March 22, 1917, the civil action brought against Thomas Kelly & Sons Ltd. was resolved after a trial. Kelly was convicted of "obtaining money under false pretences" and was sentenced to two and a half years in prison.²¹⁶ The judge appointed S.C. Oxton to represent the Government to appraise the amount payable and the amount to be paid by the defendants, Thomas Kelly & Sons, Ltd.²¹⁷ Henry J. Burt represented the defendants. On May 25th, the appraisal was determined as \$2,512,076.62 paid on debits on the project and \$1,304,724.97 valued as legitimate work and materials. The court decision was that the balance of \$1,207,351.65 should be paid to the plaintiff plus five per cent interest per annum as

²¹⁴ Manitoba. Department of Public Works, Report for 1915, Winnipeg, 1916, p.5.

²¹⁵ Baker, op.cit., p.93 and 97.

²¹⁶ Jackson, op.cit., p.187-9. Reportedly, Kelly did not do "hard time". He served less than his minimum sentence and was given special treatment by being permitted to serve his sentence in the warden's house. See also Baker, op.cit., p.74-5.

²¹⁷ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1917, Winnipeg, 1918, p.4.

of July 1, 1914. The total owing for the project was \$1,425,000.²¹⁸

Very little of the debt was ever collected from Kelly -- approximately \$30,000.²¹⁹ None of the charges against the Ministers and Roblin were consummated, as a result of a series of legal manoeuvres, absentee witnesses (including Horwood), and illnesses.²²⁰

Manitoba Law Courts Building / Central Power House project

In 1915, the Manitoba Law Courts Building and Central Power House were subjects of a Royal Commission inquiry. The result of the inquiry was that the general contractor, National Construction Co., agreed to set aside the inflated contract prices and accept a fair and impartial valuation of the work completed. The valuator appointed to the process were John D. Atchison, architect, and James McDiarmid, contractor.²²¹ The same resolution was agreed upon for the problems with the contracts for the Central Power House.²²² Regarding the completion of both the Law Courts and the Power House, S.C. Oxton reported that a superintendent of

²¹⁸ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1916, Winnipeg, 1917, p.4-6.

²¹⁹ Jackson, op.cit., p.188.

²²⁰ Indeed, while still under indictment, Montague died suddenly. ibid., p.187-8.

²²¹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1915, Winnipeg, 1916, p.127.

²²² ibid., p.128.

construction had been appointed to supervise the contractors. The government paid the invoice price for material and the actual wages of the workmen. The general contractor, National Construction Company, was left responsible for their own subcontracting agreements. The work was not expected to continue until the valuations were finished at the end of December, 1915.²²³

In 1916, Thomas M. Power was appointed Chief Engineer in charge of the Central Power House. As the Provincial Architect's Office ceased to exist, responsibilities were delegated to site personnel, as recommended by Oxton, under the central supervision of a Building Superintendent.²²⁴ By the end of 1916, the Power House was serving the Land Titles Building, the New Law Courts Building, the Provincial Gaol, the University Building and the University Annex (the old Law Courts Buildings).²²⁵ Regarding the Manitoba Law Courts Building, by 1916 the interior was completed and the building was fully occupied. A scheme was drawn up to remedy the situation of the main entrance steps. A number of drawings were also drawn up to alter the first floor to suit the County Court.²²⁶

²²³ ibid., p.135.

²²⁴ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1916, Winnipeg, 1917, p.135.

²²⁵ ibid., p.6-7.

²²⁶ ibid., p.134-35.

The final resolution of the investigations into this project was that the contractors for the Central Power House received approximately \$27,000 in excess of the worth of their work. Since the same contractors were used on the Law Courts project, this amount was held back to balance the overpayment in the other project. Government Treasury was reimbursed with the \$27,000.²²⁷

The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital project

On July 14, 1916, a Royal Commission was appointed to review all matters pertaining to the Manitoba Agricultural College at Fort Garry including : contracts, the expenditure of public funds, sub-contracts and amounts paid to sub-contractors.²²⁸ The Honourable Alexander C. Galt, Judge of

²²⁷ ibid., p.4.

²²⁸ Carter-Halls-Aldinger Company Ltd. had won the general contracts on the Administration Building, the Power House in 1911. Thomas Kelly and Sons Ltd. had won the general contracts on the Horticultural and Biological Building, the Chemistry and Physics Building, and the Dormitory and Auditorium Building in the same year. Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1911, Winnipeg, 1912, p. 21-3. In 1913, the general contracts for the remaining buildings were let : the Engineering Building and the Dairy Science Building to Thomas Kelly and Sons Ltd.; the Principal's Residence and the Beef Cattle Barn to Cote and Benoit; the Foreman's Cottage, the Sheep Barn and Dairy Barn to the Progress Construction Co.; the Stock Judging Pavilion, the Swine Barn, Laying Houses, the Brooder House, the Fattening House and the Horse Barn to Carter-Halls-Aldinger Company Ltd. Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1913, Winnipeg, 1914, p. 48-52.

the Court of King's Bench, was appointed Commissioner.²²⁹ The Commission was precipitated by cost over-expenditures on the project : the estimated cost of main buildings and outbuildings had been \$957,000; the cost, as completed, was \$3,875,500. Horwood had overseen a project whose actual costs were four times the budget amount.²³⁰ Testimony was heard from a number of people involved in the project, from labourers to the Minister of Public Works. Prior to the calling of the Royal Commission, Carter-Halls-Aldinger, which held a number of contracts for buildings on the site, voluntarily refunded the DPW \$9,500 as a result of overcharges on the project. Upon the presentation of evidence to the Royal Commission, a further \$3,500 was refunded for such overcharges as: lime mortar charged as cement mortar; steel brackets which had been supplied by sub-contractors but charged to the Government by the contractor; windows charged as porte-cochere's.²³¹ It was presented in testimony that the tenders submitted by contractors had been underestimated, accepted by government, then increased with the permission of government, Robert Rogers, specifically, in order to cover the losses of the contractors on other buildings on the site and to get the project completed. This was found to be untrue.

²²⁹ Alexander Galt, Interim Report of the Royal Commission pertaining to the Manitoba Agricultural College, Winnipeg, 1917, p.3.

²³⁰ ibid., p.5.

²³¹ ibid., p.6.

The Interim Report of the Royal Commission determined that Carter-Halls-Aldinger Co. could have undertaken their work as stated in the tenders for the price quoted. While the majority of the responsibility for the approval of the increased tenders was assigned to the Minister at that time, Robert Rogers, and, to a much lesser extent, Samuel Hooper,²³² it was clear that abuses occurred while Horwood was Provincial Architect, leaving Horwood with significant culpability.

The Royal Commission also found that of the \$41,000 profit declared by Carter-Halls-Aldinger Co. on their work for this project, just over half of that amount was contributed to the Conservative campaign fund. Upon the investigation of other contractors and sub-contractors, it became clear that other abuses took place on the project. A sub-contractor who had overcharged the government had also made a gift of \$1,120 to the Honourable Joseph Bernier, then Provincial Secretary, in association with the construction of an addition to his residence.²³³ Thomas Kelly & Sons, Co. were found to have overcharged on their contracts to the total amount of over \$300,000. This amount did not include the further costs required in order to repair damages to buildings due to substandard materials.²³⁴ The Honourable Robert Rogers was

²³² ibid., p.41-42.

²³³ ibid., p.43-45.

²³⁴ ibid., p.45.

also judged to have made personal profit from the Manitoba Agricultural College project by acquiring over 1,250 acres of land on the proposed site of the College prior to the public announcement of its new location. The Honourable J.H. Howden and the Honourable G.R. Coldwell were also named in this activity.²³⁵

Ultimately, the Royal Commission surmised that a conspiracy to defraud the government occurred while Rogers was Minister of Public Works. Among those involved was Victor Horwood. It was charged that by 1911 government inspectors, officials of the DPW including the PAO, and various contractors permitted the fraud to be perpetrated. When Rogers went to Ottawa in 1911, the mechanism that had been created continued under the Honourable Colin H. Campbell and the Honourable W.H. Montague. Indeed a greater portion of money was extorted after Rogers' departure.²³⁶

Dissolution of the PAO - 1915-16

With the election of the Liberal government of T.C. Norris, a number of changes occurred in the Department of Public Works, especially in light of the fiscal scandals associated with the recent building projects of that department. The personnel associated with the DPW changed,

²³⁵ ibid., p.45-6.

²³⁶ ibid., p.47.

particularly in the most responsible positions. The Honourable T.H. Johnson was given the portfolio of Public Works. H.A. Bowman, previously assistant Deputy Minister²³⁷ and an engineer, was appointed Acting Deputy Minister and Acting Chief Engineer, filling the role of C.H. Dancer. William Fingland replaced V.W. Horwood as Acting Provincial Architect. Dancer and Horwood vacated their positions pending the investigations into the activities associated with the Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House, Manitoba Legislative Building, and Manitoba Agricultural College projects. Horwood took ill early in the inquiry process - by June, 1915 - and was unavailable during certain parts of the inquiries. According to Baker, he had gone to Minnesota to have removed a facial malignancy.²³⁸

Clearly, Horwood had a role in the mismanagement of all three major projects. In the Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House project, his culpability was minor. The mismanagement of this project was the least serious of all of the projects. In this case, the contractor overcharged Horwood for work and materials, according to the impartial valuator. While this exhibited administrative failure on Horwood's part, it did not necessarily indicate deceit. It was just as likely to be simple neglect of the project due to

²³⁷ ibid., p.126.

²³⁸ Baker, op.cit., p.71.

the workload of the PAO at the time. In the case of the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, Horwood was directly implicated for incompetence, with the intent to create an environment which would permit Rogers and others to defraud the government. On the Manitoba Legislative Building project, Horwood was named in the cover up of the misdirection of public funds to the contractor. Prior to the change in government, Horwood stalled Johnson and members of the then Opposition in their examination of the project, after the Special War Session.

On October 9, 1914, in response to one of Johnson's requests for information, Provincial Architect Horwood replied that since the papers were voluminous and the staff limited, such a request would take some time. Subsequent requests to the government for materials concerning the Legislative Building were met by delays, by apologies for delays, and finally by no apologies at all.²³⁹

During his trial, Kelly attempted to include Horwood in the cover up by submitting as evidence a letter from him to Horwood which, essentially invalidated the charges against him. The letter was fake. In his testimony, Horwood refuted Kelly and the letter as an attempt to circumvent further inquiries.²⁴⁰ Horwood exposed the fraudulent activities vis-a-vis the Manitoba Legislative Building project. But the price he paid was dear. According to Oxton, "... Horwood was a discredited and broken man who had turned King's Evidence in

²³⁹ ibid., p.65.

²⁴⁰ ibid., p.73-4.

the Parliament Buildings' Scandal when he was on what he expected to be his death bed."²⁴¹ Horwood's guilt in all of this stopped short of criminal involvement. In each case, Horwood was guilty of complacency rather than deceit. How intentional the complacency was, is impossible to determine. There is no evidence which indicates that Horwood directly benefitted from the activities of Rogers, Roblin, Kelly and the others - except for the annual increases in his salary which were significant, but not so much so as to indicate a payoff for his involvement.²⁴² The extent of Horwood's involvement was maintaining the circumstances in which others could improperly benefit.

After becoming ill in the spring of 1915, Horwood resigned his position of Provincial Architect. Having been completely discredited and publicly humiliated by the various scandals of the major projects, Horwood, like the others implicated by the Royal Commissions, kept a low profile. He never returned to the DPW.

The personnel change which had the most impact on the DPW after the change in government was the addition of S.C. Oxtan

²⁴¹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, [Suppressed] Report of the Department of Public Works for the Year Ending November 30th, 1914, Winnipeg, 1915, p. 21.

²⁴² Horwood's salary rose from \$2,500 in 1911 as Assistant Provincial Architect to \$5,000 in 1914. While this was a substantial increase, it is consistent with overall budgetary increases for the department and for the salaries of other senior staff. see the Acts of Supply, Manitoba Statutes, 1891-14.

as Special Assistant to the Minister in 1915. Oxton's review of departmental activities, particularly those of the PAO, was the impetus for substantial changes throughout the department. It led ultimately to the dissolution of the PAO.

Stephen Clifford Oxton was originally from Liverpool, England, and came to Winnipeg in 1914. He was initially employed with Peter Lyall and Sons, a successful contracting company, which was building the Canadian Pacific Railway Station and the Royal Alexandria Hotel. While in Winnipeg, Oxton managed the Union Station project, consulted on the Canadian Bank of Commerce project on Main Street and established a large stone-cutting plant in Tyndall, Manitoba.²⁴³ Oxton came to the DPW initially in 1915 to respond to federal inquiries, introduced by federal minister Robert Rogers, regarding the propriety of the allegations of fraud made about Rogers in relation to the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, project.²⁴⁴ On May 15,

²⁴³ It is not clear exactly what training Oxton had. As a project manager for the Union Station project, he would not have required specialized training, and may have had extensive experience in the construction business. This was often the "training" of major contractors. However, Oxton's role as "an expert on the Canadian Bank of Commerce building" indicates specialization. It is quite likely that Oxton had some engineering experience, particularly in light of his familiarity with the technical aspects of such projects as the Central Power House and the Manitoba Legislative Building. "Death of S.C. Oxton Occurs at Vancouver", August 29, 1927, Clipping File, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, B8, p. 108.

²⁴⁴ S.C. Oxton, "Memo Submitted to Sir Wilfrid Laurier et al By S.C. Oxton : Memo Re McLeod-Tellier Report" in Manitoba, Department of Public Works, [Suppressed] Report ... 1914.

1915, Oxton was appointed by the Norris government to the position of Special Assistant to the Minister of the Department of Public Works, T.H. Johnson. Upon the official retirement of the Deputy Minister, C.H. Dancer, in March, 1916, Oxton was appointed Deputy Minister. He held this position until his own resignation on October 22, 1922.²⁴⁵

In the DPW Report for 1915, H.A. Bowman, Acting Deputy Minister, did not provide much commentary regarding the changes in the DPW beyond those affecting the Engineering Branch, other than to say that work had increased markedly in all branches. Bowman introduced the report of the new Acting Provincial Architect, William Fingland, by explaining that it would only cover the period of Fingland's tenure, i.e. June to December, 1915. No information was provided regarding the first half of the year; only that the "... very important matters, however, being dealt with in special reports, which will be published in due course" would explain the situation, referring to the Royal Commission inquiries for the Manitoba Legislative Building project and the Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House project.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ "Death of S.C. Oxton Occurs at Vancouver", p.108. Dancer's retirement in 1916 appears to have been a matter of paperwork. Dancer does not appear in the staff lists for the DPW in 1915 or 1916. Indeed, Oxton's 1915 report as Special Assistant to the Minister refers to the "absence of the Deputy Minister" when discussing the expanding duties of H.A. Bowman. (see DPW Report for 1915, p.126.)

²⁴⁶ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report for 1915, p.3.

William Fingland's report as Acting Provincial Architect described the state of the work of the PAO as chaotic due to the additional workload connected with the investigations of the Public Accounts Committee and Royal Commissions. The professional tasks of the PAO were neglected and progressing very slowly.²⁴⁷ Regarding the state of the Office, itself, Fingland reported :

The office was largely over-manned, maintaining a staff of thirty-three men, which included inspectors on buildings, as well as draughtsmen and accountants. The staff has been gradually reduced, until at the present time only thirteen are employed in the same capacity, and the work has been caught up with, so that it is now well in hand.²⁴⁸

Fingland went on to explain that the work of 1915 consisted of completing buildings with contracts under way. No new projects were begun in light of the confusion of the Manitoba Agricultural College, Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House, and Manitoba Legislative Building projects except for the St. James Telephone Exchange Building. The St. James Telephone Exchange, located on the corner of Ness Avenue and Rutland Street, was a small project, consisting of a one-story brick and stone building measuring twenty-five feet by fifty

²⁴⁷ ibid., p.68.

²⁴⁸ ibid., p.68. It is difficult to assess the accuracy of Fingland's statement. This may have been a self-serving statement; or it could have been accurate in light of the drastically decreased project work in the PAO. Since the staff was "gradually reduced", staff members could have been dismissed as the regular duties of the office were curtailed. The remaining thirteen men could have been handling only the paperwork associated with the various inquiries.

feet. The building was almost finished by the end of 1915, at a cost of \$7,055.²⁴⁹ Extensive repairs were also made on the building on the Northwest corner of Portage Avenue and Sherbrooke Street, formerly the Deaf and Dumb Institute, to convert it for shared usage by the government as a Detention Home and by the University of Manitoba. This work was completed at a cost of \$12,000. Smaller and more various repairs were made to the School for the Deaf in St. James, and to buildings in the Manitoba Agricultural College.²⁵⁰ Fingland also reported seconding PAO staff to other departments for special projects. One staff member was provided to the Department of Education to provide professional advice regarding school buildings. Another staff member was provided to the Attorney-General's Department for the purpose of rendering drawings to illustrate locations of accidents, and criminal events as well as attesting to the accuracy of the drawings in court when required.²⁵¹

The PAO budget changed markedly in the last years of its existence. The 1915 estimates (prior to the change in government) indicated a slight decrease in PAO budget, with salaries being more or less maintained.²⁵² The following

²⁴⁹ ibid. p.68-69.

²⁵⁰ ibid., p.69-70.

²⁵¹ ibid., p.70.

²⁵² Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being Second Session of the Fourteenth Legislature (1915), Winnipeg, 1915, Chapter 81, p.287.

year, the PAO budget was halved, with the salaries of senior staff (i.e. the Superintendent of Buildings and Draughtsman) adding up to just over half of what had been designated for the Provincial Architect, the previous year. More broadly, almost the entire complement of general staff for the DPW was dismissed.²⁵³ In 1917, the Office of the Building Superintendent was completely re-integrated into the DPW, without a separate budget. Additionally, twenty-two positions were added to the DPW, largely the same as those that were cut the previous year.²⁵⁴ Johnson had seen to it that the majority of staff who had served under the Roblin Conservatives had been "cleaned out".²⁵⁵ This was the job designated for Oxton.

Clearly, based on the reports of the Acting Chief Engineer and Acting Provincial Architect in 1915, the work within the DPW had been stalled until the situation of the large building projects could be assessed. Former officials such as C.H. Dancer and V.W. Horwood were no longer in positions of authority in the DPW; and the duties of both the Engineering Branch and the PAO were drastically curtailed. Discussion of the events leading to the change in government

²⁵³ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Fifteenth Legislature (1916), Winnipeg, 1916, Chapter 105, p.388-9.

²⁵⁴ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being Second Session of the Fifteenth Legislature (1917), Winnipeg, 1917, Chapter 89, p.286, 292-3.

²⁵⁵ Jackson, op.cit., p.188.

in the 1915 Report was left primarily to Oxton.

In his first report as Special Assistant to the Minister, presented in the annual departmental report for 1915, Oxton explained that he saw his objective as providing to the Minister a special report outlining his "personal observations" of the department since his appointment that spring. As Special Assistant to the Minister, Oxton clearly had been given authority over the DPW staff. Oxton explained that it took seven months of labour to straighten out the branches of the DPW so that they could work effectively. He also mentioned that he had offered suggestions to H.A. Bowman, then Assistant Deputy Minister, regarding his work.²⁵⁶

Oxton's report in 1915 was structured to review a number of issues : 1. Investigation into the Construction of Public Buildings; 2. Completion of the New Parliament Buildings; 3. Completion of the New Law Courts & Central Power House; 4. Required New Buildings; 5. General Departmental Administration; 6. Operation of Power Plants; 7. Administration of Institutions; 8. Caretaking and Maintenance of Buildings; 9. Bureau of Labour; 10. Boiler Inspection & Steam Engineers; 11. Inspection of Electric Power Installations; 12. Architectural Department; 13. Drainage Districts; 14. Aid to Municipalities; and, 15. General

²⁵⁶ Manitoba. Department of Public Works, Report ... 1915, p.126.

Observations. Many of these issues related directly and indirectly to the PAO.

In his discussion of the Investigation into Construction of Public Buildings, Oxton reviewed the work of the Royal Commission investigations under way for the Manitoba Legislative Building and Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House projects. Regarding the Manitoba Agricultural College, Oxton reported that he had studied the departmental records and found that there was significant difference between the valuation of the work and the cost to the Province. Oxton further stated that "... the expenditures on the whole have been made recklessly, and that the buildings as they stand to-day do not represent anything like fair value for the amounts expended thereon..."²⁵⁷ At the time of this report, two Royal Commissions had been established to investigate other large building projects undertaken by the PAO. Oxton acknowledged that the situation evident at the site of the Manitoba Agricultural College warranted a similar Royal Commission investigation. Due to the cost involved with Royal Commission inquiries, Oxton recommended instead, a departmental level investigation led by the Minister with essentially the same powers as a Royal Commission. Oxton's other explanation was that negative findings on the part of a Royal Commission would likely result in civil litigation, "...

²⁵⁷ ibid., p.127-8. The Canadian Appraisal Company Limited had made an appraisal of the site for the purposes of the Treasury Board.

which is a consummation to be avoided if at all possible."²⁵⁸ The implication of the fear of civil litigation is that the Department recognized its own culpability. This would not have been an issue if attempts were being made to discredit the previous government; or it could have been a serious attempt to save the work and money associated with a Royal Commission. However, in light of the negative publicity generated by the Royal Commission investigating the Fullerton Charges²⁵⁹, it is also likely that the Liberal Government did not want to exacerbate that publicity. Oxton went on to include in the proposed Departmental Investigation, work associated with the Hospitals for the Insane (Brandon and Selkirk), and the Home for Incurables and Industrial Training School at Portage La Prairie. Despite Oxton's recommendation, a Royal Commission was created in 1916 to investigate the Manitoba Agricultural College project.

Oxton's report placed considerable responsibility for the problems of the construction of the Provincial buildings on the inspectors. He stated that "... while there has been a superfluity of inspectors during construction, they appear as a whole to have done anything rather than inspect."²⁶⁰ In the case of the Manitoba Agricultural College, problems such

²⁵⁸ ibid., p.128-9.

²⁵⁹ see Chapter 4 for a full discussion of the Fullerton Charges.

²⁶⁰ ibid., p.129.

as structural steel with only erection bolts instead of rivets being clearly visible in exposed steel made Oxton question what defects lay in the hidden work.²⁶¹

Regarding the Completion of the New Parliament Buildings, Oxton outlined the situation which precipitated the Royal Commission investigation. He reported that the original architect of the buildings, Frank Simon had been made Supervising Architect for the project and that work was continuing.²⁶² A similar situation arose regarding the completion of the New Manitoba Law Courts and Central Power House. Oxton reported that a Superintendent of construction had been appointed to supervise the work on the project.²⁶³ Oxton's report illustrated the assignment of administrative responsibility on a project basis. Projects were assigned a supervisor who was to oversee all administrative aspects of that project, on site. This differed greatly from the previous handling of the projects. Previously, all projects had one comprehensive supervisor - i.e. the Provincial Architect, and responsibilities were delegated to PAO staff based on the nature of the task. The responsibilities, in

²⁶¹ ibid., p.129.

²⁶² ibid., p.129-135. A detailed discussion of this section of Oxton's report was presented earlier in this chapter, under "Manitoba Legislative Building".

²⁶³ ibid., p.135. For a detailed account of the section of Oxton's report retaining to the Manitoba Law Courts and the Central Power House, see the discussion earlier in this chapter under "Manitoba Law Courts and Central Power House".

addition to being task-specific, spanned any number of projects.

Oxton's report also assessed the need for any new structures. He recommended that a Provincial Library be built with accommodations for future expansion. Oxton also recommended a new residence for the Lieutenant-Governor to be situated south of Assiniboine Avenue, on the river bank. He suggested that this residence should be designed by Frank Simon as part of a broader site plan for the entire block, including the river bank.²⁶⁴ Oxton also made recommendations for new construction in connection with Manitoba Agricultural College site, despite the complications of the project that he, himself, had outlined.

There are enough family men working at the Agricultural College to form, with their families, quite a respectable community, and warrant the erection of houses which they could occupy at such rental as would give an adequate return on the necessary capital investment.²⁶⁵

This recommendation illustrates a shift in thinking from the PAO under Horwood and Hooper, as well as the DPW under C.H. Dancer. It incorporated the possibility of a return on the capital investment.²⁶⁶ He proposed that the housing

²⁶⁴ ibid., p.138-9.

²⁶⁵ ibid., p.139.

²⁶⁶ ibid., p.139. Oxton went so far as to detail the proposed community. The houses were to be planned individually, as single-family dwellings, placed in a crescent or horse-shoe configuration with the provision for expansion. Oxton saw the community as consisting of approximately twelve houses, similar to Armstrong's Point but "... the houses would not be so pretentious."

situation be considered within the context of professional town planning practises and advised that the DPW discuss the situation with the Manitoba Association of Architects, and solicit different ideas.²⁶⁷

Oxton's observations regarding the general administration of the DPW reflected optimism in light of the recent transformation from a chaotic situation to that of improved efficiency. Predictably, the department was experiencing some difficulty in the transition to the new level of accountability required for all government departments. Difficulties also arose with personnel who resisted the new efforts towards effectiveness and accountability. Oxton remained encouraged, however, that the staff would be working effectively after a sufficient amount of time had passed to introduce reforms, proper facilities, and a clear understanding of roles and contributions.²⁶⁸

The importance of accountability and efficiency was also

²⁶⁷ ibid., p.147. Oxton's assertion illustrates a connection with the professional associations in the Province which was not as evident under the previous government. However, the professional associations were not necessarily concerned involvement with government projects until the building boom subsided in 1913.

²⁶⁸ ibid., p.140. Oxton described the effects on staff of the transition of governments as follows :

Owing, however, to an entire change in the accounting of the Province, and the introduction of an entirely new system, it could not be expected that everything would run without a hitch. The inside service as a whole is manned with quite capable officials, some exceptionally so, but there has prevailed and still prevails petty jealousies which militate against that "esprit de corps" which is so essential to effective work.

evident in Oxton's assessment of the operation of the Province's power plants. These power plants included those at the Manitoba Agricultural College, the social institutions throughout the province, the Central Power House, and others. Oxton surmised that the inspector of the steam plants was a source of friction which led to inefficiency in the management of the plants. As a result, Oxton abolished this position.²⁶⁹ Oxton's recommendation was for the decentralization of the supervision of the power plants, explaining that the "... successful operation of any large heating or power plant depends entirely on the personal ability of the man in charge..."²⁷⁰ Oxton proposed that a chief engineer be appointed to each plant and be accountable for his own staff and the economical operation of his plant. He also recommended training concerning maintenance practices

²⁶⁹ ibid., p.141. It appears that Oxton's main reason for eliminating this position was due to the individual occupying it: It became quite evident at a very early stage after entering the service that this official was creating friction, and that his activities precipitated trouble and were conducive to inefficiency rather than to the smooth and economic running of the plants. The office has been abolished, and I see no real need for its revival.

Interestingly, the individual whose reports deal with the steam plant, the Mechanical Engineer, continued to submit reports to the Chief Engineer regarding steam plants and boilers. A position which disappears from the annual reports at this time is that of Electrical Engineer, Thomas G. Fyfe. Fyfe handled such duties as wiring and switch boxes in the context of the power plants, but nothing in terms of the steam heating. The reports do not indicate that Fyfe was in a position of authority over L. Bickle, the Mechanical Engineer, or that he was responsible for the steam plants.

²⁷⁰ ibid., p.141.

as he reprimanded the previous Chief Engineer, C.H. Dancer, for a policy which "... was to run something until it gave out and then replace it."²⁷¹ Oxton also suggested the use of a log book by the engineers with the details of daily operations in order that the DPW might determine long-term efficiency. Another act to ensure efficiency and accountability was to institute occasional site visits by an outside expert hired by the Public Utilities Commission.²⁷²

Similar actions were recommended by Oxton regarding the administration of institutions, under the purview of the DPW. The position of Inspector of Public Institutions, held by W.M. Baker, was abolished, with the responsibilities transferred to the individual superintendents. Oxton recommended that the administration of educational institutions such as the School for the Deaf and the Industrial Training School, be transferred to the Department of Education.²⁷³

Oxton was very critical of the Building Inspector and Fair Wage Officer, who happened to be the same individual, W.H. Reeve. He alleged :

He never was a "building inspector", but rather a "scaffolding inspector"; he never was a "fair wage officer", but rather one who fixed rates of wages to govern in contracts, either to suit his own

²⁷¹ ibid., p.141. Oxton also criticized the lack of maintenance and caretaking in other government buildings. He expressed great concern that the lack of cleanliness evident in these structures would hasten the deterioration of the buildings.

²⁷² ibid., p.141.

²⁷³ ibid., p.142.

ideas or to suit the ideas of those who brought the greatest pressure to bear!²⁷⁴

Oxton recommended that a Bureau of Labour be established to act primarily as a mediator between labor and business. In addition, the Bureau would oversee factory inspections; workmen's compensation; the regulation of wage rates, working hours and conditions; boiler inspections and the licensing of engineers of pressure steam plants.²⁷⁵ The Bureau assimilated the duties of the previous positions of factory inspectors, inspector of building trades protection, and fair wage officer which were established by the Roblin government.

Oxton's assessment of the Provincial Architect's Office was just as thorough as with the Engineering Branch. Oxton explained that the staff of the PAO had been reduced from thirty-three to thirteen; and that the thirteen had obtained a greater efficiency than the previous thirty-three men. This was facilitated by the fact that the PAO had been relieved of the administrative duties associated with the Parliament Buildings project, and was focusing its efforts on the completion of the Manitoba Law Courts and Central Power House projects, as well as some minor projects.²⁷⁶ Oxton's

²⁷⁴ ibid., p.143. The duty of the Fair Wage Officer was to enact the terms of the Fair Wage Schedule which was passed by the Roblin government to ensure some standardization of wage rates used by contractors for their workers.

²⁷⁵ ibid., p.143.

²⁷⁶ ibid., p.145. See the summary of William Fingland's report earlier in the chapter for details of the work undertaken in the PAO.

recommendation after reviewing the PAO was to abolish it altogether :

I would suggest that the time is at hand when this branch should be abolished, and a building supervisor, a practical man experienced in construction, with a clerk and perhaps three good draughtsmen, should take its place.²⁷⁷

Oxton offered several reasons for the abolition of the PAO and the decentralization of building projects to various architects. Firstly, Oxton concluded the premise of having one architect for all public buildings was inappropriate. Such a situation would, and had resulted in a certain uniformity of the design of buildings expressing the style of the Provincial Architect "... rather than conforming to the surroundings or representing the purpose for which they are erected."²⁷⁸ Oxton chided the federal government's Chief Architect's Branch as having done this through its extensive use of model plans. He did not recognize, however, that Horwood had not made the design choices for public buildings alone. Indeed, the monumental buildings plan established with the amended Manitoba Law Courts Building design, and the design guidelines for the Manitoba Legislative Building competition were developed by both Horwood and Dancer, in consultation with the Minister.

Oxton criticized the PAO for having set itself on the same path as the federal Chief Architect's Branch. Oxton was

²⁷⁷ ibid., p.145.

²⁷⁸ ibid., p.145.

disparaging of the PAO in such projects for not having taken into account the landscape and setting upon which the buildings were to be placed. He perceived both the old and the new Agricultural Colleges as conglomerations of buildings, without having been carefully laid out in a cohesive site plan.²⁷⁹ In fact, Horwood made every effort on the St. Vital project, at least, to take into account the landscape and setting by developing a site plan for the project in 1912, albeit midway through its design. Placing the design on the site and taking the setting into account was one of the tenets of Beaux-Arts design, which Horwood illustrated on a number of projects including: the Manitoba Law Courts Building; the Central Power House; and the design guidelines for the Manitoba Legislative Building competition.

Oxton went on to explain that the situation of the PAO could have been avoided through the delegation of projects to different architects, preferably with the implementation of an extensive program of architectural competitions. Such competitions would also permit professional architects, practising in the province, access to government commissions.

The principle of entrusting one man with the design of all the public buildings is wrong. Anything in the nature of a monumental building should contain the best of combined thought... It is manifestly unfair to architects, competent in their profession, practising in the Province, that they should be deprived of submitting their ideas,

²⁷⁹ ibid., p.145.

either individually or collectively.²⁸⁰

Another reason to abolish the PAO, according to Oxton, was that no "professional" architect would work exclusively for the Province for the salary provided to the Provincial Architect. Independent architects of professional standing made three or four times that amount in private practice.²⁸¹

Oxton levelled considerable personal criticism at Horwood. The implication from the point outlined above was that Horwood was not a "professional" architect. Oxton criticized Horwood on many of his projects, particularly the Manitoba Law Courts building, the Central Power House, and the Manitoba Legislative Building. As an administrator, Horwood was chastised in direct contrast to the praise given to the incoming Supervising Architect, Frank Simon.²⁸² Oxton certainly had grounds for this criticism. Horwood had

²⁸⁰ ibid., p.146.

²⁸¹ ibid., p.146.

²⁸² As Horwood, the outgoing architect, was criticized by Oxton for his lack of expertise, so was Simon praised:

Mr. Simon is particularly, in fact pre-eminently, possessed of the faculty of knowing exactly what he wants. His recommendations are usually well and wisely made after careful deliberation; and, as he holds his professional honor above all else and beyond price, he should, as far as possible, be entrusted with the full conduct of the completion of the building to the smallest detail. (ibid., p.135.)

This praise was offered in direct contrast to Horwood, particularly the statement regarding placing professional honour above price. Horwood was seen as having dishonoured himself through his activities associated with the project.

permitted serious oversights to occur on the project. However, Oxton did not acknowledge the influence and ultimate responsibility of the Ministers, inspectors and contractors in the situation. Additionally, Horwood's testimony was paramount to the discovery of the fraud and the prosecution of Thomas Kelly.

As a designer, Oxton considered Horwood incompetent. Regarding the Manitoba Law Courts Building, he stated : "The interior of the building is so faulty in layout that its utility is seriously impaired."²⁸³ Oxton had even greater criticism for Horwood's coal-handling machinery in the Central Power House :

In the first place, it is a physical impossibility to unload the coal into conveyors, and in the second place, if it were possible to get the coal in, the overhead bunkers are not capable of sustaining the proposed load safely.²⁸⁴

Again, Oxton had grounds for these criticisms but did not allow for the extenuating circumstances Horwood was facing. Regarding the lay out of the Manitoba Law Courts building, Oxton is correct in stating that the orientation of rooms and facilities was awkward. This was Horwood's responsibility, certainly. However, he was revising an extremely awkward lay out developed by Hooper. Horwood was also developing a greater design plan for the complex of government buildings in the area : the Manitoba Law Courts building; the Central Power

²⁸³ ibid., p.136.

²⁸⁴ ibid., p.136.

House; and the Manitoba Legislative Building. While this certainly did not justify Horwood's lack of thoroughness on the Law Courts building floor plans, it did, perhaps, explain it.

As for the design of the coal-handling machinery, Oxton's criticisms were somewhat misplaced. Although Horwood had final authority, and therefore responsibility, for the designs, they were undertaken by the electrical engineer in the PAO, Thomas Fyfe. In the case of this design, Horwood's involvement was not direct. Indeed, his approval was signed on the plans per Fyfe. As such, Fyfe was likely the designer of the plans, certainly much more so than Horwood.²⁸⁵

Oxton also criticized Horwood's choice of steam heating for the buildings, as well as the lack of communication between contractor and architect which resulted in the design of the front steps not being translated properly to their construction.²⁸⁶ Oxton's criticism of Horwood was not justified in this case. Some of Horwood's detail drawings of his revisions note that the "Contractor must take own measurements on site and will be held accountable for

²⁸⁵ for further details, see chapter 2.

²⁸⁶ Indeed, the front steps of the Law Courts Building landed nowhere. The grade level of the building had been raised for some undetermined reason. Oxton's solution was to demolish the bottom five steps and build a parapet wall with curved ramps on either side, extending the existing steps to the parapet walls. ibid., p.135-37.

such."²⁸⁷ As such, Horwood had transferred to the contractor the responsibility of making the design fit the site.

Oxton's general comments regarding the project were no more positive than his specific observations :

It would appear as if everything had been designed to make as lavish an expenditure as possible with a minimum of utility, and the layout can scarcely be called engineering. The whole is a botch and a bungle, and it will require great patience and much alteration to bring it to a state of efficiency such as is not only desirable but necessary.²⁸⁸

Oxton proposed that the PAO be abolished after the completion of the Manitoba Law Courts Building and, perhaps, the Filtration Plant at the Manitoba Agricultural College.²⁸⁹ Clearly, Oxton's perception of Horwood's incompetence was the justification offered to dismantle the PAO. The problem was that Oxton's perception was not necessarily just. Horwood was responsible for all of the activities which occurred in the PAO; but, the extenuating circumstances associated with each of Oxton's criticisms made it obvious that Horwood's situation at the PAO was unfair. Ultimately, Oxton highlighted Horwood's perceived failures in order to justify the dismantling of the PAO. Horwood had been publicly disgraced. Already ostracized, he was an easy target for partisan enmity. The partisan impact would have been considerably less if Oxton

²⁸⁷ Public Buildings Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, GS 0100.

²⁸⁸ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1915, p.137.

²⁸⁹ ibid., p.147.

had explained the context of Horwood's failures.²⁹⁰

Oxton concluded his report for 1915 with the observation that the New Parliament Buildings should be the focus of any future monumental structures as well as the standard of design.

Oxton's recommendation to contract out for new buildings left only certain duties for the proposed Building Supervisor and his staff which would replace the PAO. He suggested that the Building Supervisor would be responsible for the maintenance and repair of public buildings, the planning of minor renovations to public buildings, and the advisement of rural school trustees regarding school buildings. The Building Supervisor would have no role in new construction projects, except to check estimates of proposed costs and to assist the DPW in collecting information to determine the requirements of the Province for new projects.²⁹¹

In 1916, the personnel at the DPW reflected many of the changes proposed by Oxton in his 1915 report. Oxton, himself, had been appointed Deputy Minister; and H.A. Bowman retained the position of Acting Chief Engineer. The Engineering Branch had been extensively decentralized with the appointment of chief engineers for the Good Roads Board, the Central Power

²⁹⁰ for a full discussion of why Oxton wanted the PAO dismantled, see chapter 4.

²⁹¹ ibid., p.146.

House, and Manitoba Agricultural College. Interestingly, L. Bickle retained the position of Mechanical Engineer, but Thomas Fyfe was replaced by J.M. Leamy as Provincial Electrical Engineer. The Provincial Architect's Office was dismantled, replaced by the position of Building Superintendent, occupied by John McCrea.

Oxton's report as Deputy Minister acknowledged that his role changed significantly since his 1915 report. He assured the Minister that, while there was still much to do, the Department was progressing in terms of defining the distribution of duties and the prevention of the duplication of effort. He explained that much of the work of the DPW was being spent on the various investigations of the construction of public buildings being undertaken by Royal Commissions.²⁹² The Royal Commissions investigating the New Parliament Building and the Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House projects were still in progress. In 1916, an additional Royal Commission was called, mandated with the investigation of the construction of the Manitoba Agricultural College at Fort Garry. Oxton reiterated his recommendation in his 1915 report that Royal Commissions were too expensive for such investigations. In light of this, Oxton explained that investigations into construction at the institutions in Brandon, Selkirk and Portage La Prairie were not effective

²⁹² Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Annual Report for 1916, Winnipeg, King's Printer for Manitoba, 1917, p.3.

since the expense of such investigations would outweigh any possible restitution.²⁹³ In any case, there would not be much opportunity for restitution in the work associated with these institutions since most of the projects were small scale and, often, handled through the DPW and day labour.

Regarding his previous recommendation that the maintenance of buildings be made a focus for the DPW, Oxton explained that the importance of cleanliness to maintenance had been accepted by DPW staff. Oxton proposed that the coordination of maintenance be handled under a new Department of Construction and Maintenance, consisting mainly of the remnants of the PAO staff, i.e. three draughtsmen, two clerks, and the Building Superintendent. Additional staff could be acquired as needed, on a project-by-project basis. With the addition of the services of the Provincial Electrical Engineer, this department could be responsible for minor upkeep of public buildings as well as designing and supervising the remodelling of government buildings.²⁹⁴

In his 1916 report, Oxton again expressed disappointment at the state of the operation of the power plants. He reported that the individual power plants for various public buildings were being brought up to standard.²⁹⁵ Oxton's proposal for a Bureau of Labour had been fulfilled. His 1916

²⁹³ ibid., p.4-5.

²⁹⁴ ibid., p.7.

²⁹⁵ ibid., p.7-8.

report stated that the Bureau was doing good work but recommended that its duties should be expanded to include all inspections.²⁹⁶ Despite Oxton's suggestion in 1915 that the administration of all educational institutions be transferred to the Department of Education, work continued in the DPW on such institutions as the Manitoba School for the Deaf, and the Normal Schools at Brandon, St. Boniface, and Winnipeg.²⁹⁷

The Office of the Building Superintendent was established in 1916, as recommended by Oxton. As Deputy Minister, Oxton explained that the duties of the Building Superintendent and his staff had remained somewhat unclear.

Owing to the fact that Mr. McCrea has had to devote practically his entire energy on investigation work, we have been unable to bring these loose ends together as we would have wished...²⁹⁸

Oxton outlined his view of the role of the Building Superintendent and his staff as being in charge of building maintenance and renovations under the title of Department of Construction and Maintenance.

The Buildings Superintendent's own report explained that the Provincial Architect's Office went out of existence on May 1, 1916. The Acting Provincial Architect, William Fingland, was replaced by the Building Superintendent, John McCrea. The

²⁹⁶ ibid., p.9.

²⁹⁷ ibid., pp.131, 141-2. See the reports of J.M. Leamy, Provincial Electrical Engineer, and L. Bickle, Mechanical Engineer.

²⁹⁸ ibid., p.7.

staff of the PAO had been reduced from thirty-three under Horwood, to thirteen under Fingland, to five under McCrea. McCrea's staff consisted of three draughtsmen and two clerks. The workload had changed significantly, being almost exclusively alterations and repairs, with a few small utilitarian structures.²⁹⁹

McCrea reported that work was continuing to complete the Manitoba Law Courts building. Specifically, the interior had been completed and a scheme had been drawn up to remedy the problem with the main entrance steps. All work was done under the supervision of a Mr. Denne, presumably the architect or contractor for the project.³⁰⁰

Small projects continued on the Central Power House and Old Law Courts Building. McCrea reported that iron ladders and gangways were added to the front of the boilers in the Central Power House. In addition, some interior renovations were to provide office space for site personnel. The interior of the Old Law Courts Building was renovated to suit usage by the University of Manitoba.³⁰¹

The Office of the Building Superintendent also renovated the Old Agricultural College on the St.James site for use by

²⁹⁹ ibid., p.134.

³⁰⁰ ibid., p.134-5. Mr. Denne does not appear as one of the senior officials of the DPW. He would likely be the site supervisor for the project, whether a contractor or architect is unclear.

³⁰¹ ibid., p.135-6. Here, again, reference is made to the work being done under the supervision of Mr. Denne.

the School for the Deaf. The Dairy Building which had been left unfinished when the Agricultural College had moved to the St. Vital site was converted to a new dormitory. Additionally, renovations were made to the former Administration Building and Roblin Hall.³⁰²

Work on other sites such as the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital, the Brandon Hospital for the Insane, and other existing public buildings consisted of utilitarian structures such as outbuildings, renovations and repairs. Work of this fairly mundane nature was generally supervised by the Office of the Building Superintendent but undertaken by contractors.³⁰³ A notable exception to this type of work was the Court House in The Pas. This was a new construction project, for a monumental or landmark building. In this case, the plans and specifications were done by an external architect, Mr. Taylor, with assistance provided by the Office of the Building Superintendent.³⁰⁴

McCrea also reported some other anomalies outside the scope of duties defined for the Building Superintendent. A design was done on behalf of the Department of Immigration and Colonization for a model farm for a building exhibit in Toronto. The design was not, however, that of John McCrea. The design was done based on the instructions from a Mr. Kon,

³⁰² ibid., p.136-7.

³⁰³ ibid., p.137-9.

³⁰⁴ ibid., p.139.

from outside the Department.³⁰⁵ Despite Oxton's previous objections to similar designs used for buildings in different settings, as was done by the federal Chief Architect's Branch, McCrea reported doing plans and specifications for rural school and latrine #13 and #14. These buildings were frame construction on concrete foundations with two classrooms, a teacher's room, and cloak room. The plans were done following the instructions provided by the Minister of the Department of Education.³⁰⁶ Since these would not have been considered monumental structures, the cost effectiveness of the model plans might have appealed to Oxton.

Clearly, the major difference between the Office of the Building Superintendent and the Provincial Architect's Office, besides the obvious change in staff size, was the issue of creative input. Any designs for structures beyond the most utilitarian ones, such as barns and poultry sheds were undertaken either by an external architect or through the instructions of another individual.

With the dissolution of the PAO, the work of the Electrical Engineer ceased to be channelled through it. The 1916 report illustrates that the Provincial Electrical Engineer, J.M. Leamy, began working directly with the project architects. Leamy stated that he had made a report to Frank Simon describing the proposed electrical plan for the Manitoba

³⁰⁵ ibid., p.140.

³⁰⁶ ibid., p.140.

Legislative Building. He went on to complete the specifications with the list of quantities and advertise the work for tender.³⁰⁷

After the PAO

In 1917, T.H. Johnson, the Minister for the Department of Public Works, was replaced by George A. Grierson. S.C. Oxton remained Deputy Minister. The responsibilities of the former PAO were represented by two reports submitted by the Office of the Building Superintendent : that of the Building Superintendent, John McCrea; and that of Frank Simon, Supervising Architect, Manitoba Legislative Building project.

Oxton's report praised John McCrea for his services as a principal witness for the Crown in the Royal Commission Investigation into the construction of the Manitoba Agricultural College. Oxton also reported on the status of the civil action of the Crown against Thomas Kelly & Sons Company, Limited for their actions on the construction of the Manitoba Legislative Building project. He stated that the judgment had been rendered in favour of the Crown; and that this judgment ended any involvement of the DPW in the situation.³⁰⁸ Oxton also explained that work on the completion of the Manitoba Legislative Building project was continuing. The plans for completion had been considerably

³⁰⁷ ibid., p.133.

³⁰⁸ ibid., p.4-6.

altered to reduce costs. The contract had been tendered and awarded to James McDiarmid Company, Limited.³⁰⁹

Two new public buildings had been constructed in 1917 : the Court House and Gaol, at Dauphin; and, the Court House / Community Building, at The Pas. The Dauphin Court House had been designed by a local architect, J.H. Bossons, with the assistance of the DPW. Of the building, Oxton commented :

(The building) reflects credit on Mr. Bossons' ability as a designer, well though out (sic), well executed and not only eminently suited for judicial purposes, but is pleasing to the eye, and a notable addition to the architecture of that community.³¹⁰

The commission for the design of the Court House for The Pas had been undertaken by another local architect, George N. Taylor. Oxton offered similar praise for Taylor's design as for Bossons'.³¹¹

A new building was under construction towards the end of 1917. The Town Building at Emerson had recently been destroyed by fire. The reconstruction was being initiated by the Town of Emerson, with the Province defraying half the expense and providing advice. The commission had been awarded John D. Atchison, architect, of Winnipeg.³¹²

Oxton also commented on the new practice of commissioning

³⁰⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Annual Report for 1917, Winnipeg, King's Printer, 1918, p.6-7.

³¹⁰ ibid., p.9-10.

³¹¹ ibid., p.10.

³¹² ibid., p.10.

independent architects for new buildings :

The wisdom of the abolition of the Office of Provincial Architect is made apparent in the three above named buildings, which are the product of the brain of three different Architects, and represent three distinct individualities, and have gotten "out of the rut" and produced something different from the usual run of Public Buildings.³¹³

While the designs for these three buildings were distinct - clearly produced by three different architects - they were not as inspired as Oxton implied. They did, however, provide him with an opportunity to support his position of contracting out new designs. In fact, until the completion of the Manitoba Legislative Building project, there were no comparably monumental buildings being undertaken by the DPW. As such, there was no basis to compare the relative value of projects before and after the Provincial Architect.

Oxton's report regarding the maintenance of buildings explained that, since the end of the Royal Commission Investigations, the Building Superintendent, John McCrea, devoted himself to the ongoing care and renovation of existing buildings.³¹⁴ McCrea's own report was extremely short, providing little detail on the work accomplished in 1917. McCrea explained that the first few months were spent with the Manitoba Agricultural College Investigation. He reported that "... a great amount of repair work was carried out to the various buildings throughout the Province..." and that

³¹³ ibid., p.10.

³¹⁴ ibid., p.11.

competitive figures had been obtained for the work. McCrea outlined his staff for 1917 as consisting of a stenographer, two draughtsmen, a clerk, the mechanical engineer, and the chief building inspector. He reported that he worked with various Provincial government departments and provided assistance with materials and prices.³¹⁵

Frank Simon's report as the Supervising Architect for the Manitoba Legislative Building project outlined all of the work accomplished on the project for that year, all contracts awarded and the tender prices.³¹⁶ The detailed report by Simon did not infer any assistance provided by the staff of the Office of the Building Superintendent. However, since his report was offered from the Office of the Building Superintendent, it is likely that support in some form was provided. Such support could not have been any more than at the most rudimentary level or it would have warranted mention either by Simon, McCrea or Oxton.

The replacement of the Provincial Architect's Office by the Office of the Building Superintendent ended the era of the government architectural firm. The removal of creative input from the staff transformed the architectural firm to an administrative office, in support of contracted architects.

³¹⁵ ibid., p.55. The project-based detail of the work of the Office of the Building Superintendent was outlined by Oxton under Maintenance of Buildings.

³¹⁶ ibid., p.49-54.

Where the PAO had undertaken maintenance and renovation of buildings as a secondary activity, it became the core of the Office of the Buildings Superintendent. Creative input through design was left to the independent architectural firms.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the Decline

In order to understand the full scope of the Provincial Architect's Office of Manitoba and its impact on the surrounding community, it is important to look at its various phases comparatively. Within a short period of time (1904-1917), the PAO experienced significant shifts in size, direction, and authority. The provincial architects and Oxton had great influence over these shifts. While the PAO in its various phases was very different, certain broad categories evident in each incarnation permit comparison : leadership; administrative structure; and project work.

During Hooper's tenure as Provincial Architect, the practice of architecture went through the tremendous transition from a haphazard collection of skills to a formalized profession. The full realization of the profession was not to occur until after Hooper's death; but, he was part of the early development of the professionalism movement. Hooper's involvement in this development architectural practitioners included his contribution to the establishment of the RAIC and its creation of a system of standardization for all architects across Canada. He was also instrumental in the development of the MAA, on a local level.

As an architect in Manitoba, Hooper was one of the first

generation of trained architects who arrived during the preliminary boom of the late nineteenth century. His training was undertaken through an unstructured apprenticeship experience. His style was based in the picturesque eclecticism of the Victorian era. His experience in the building trades prior to becoming an architect gave him the practical perspective of a tradesman. Hooper also had the vision of an entrepreneur, building a prosperous business and two successful architectural practices beyond his impressive work as Provincial Architect. He was among the wave of immigrants to the area at this time whose successes were often self-made, and who became the professional elite of Manitoba. This served Hooper well in terms of his leadership of the PAO. His extensive experience in business and architectural practice gave him a strong base to administer and provide creative leadership as Provincial Architect. His knowledge of the building trades allowed him to design with a sense for the technical complications of construction.

Horwood's tenure as Provincial Architect covered the period when the profession established standardization and registration of architects through certification and had begun the development of a program of study at the School of Architecture at The University of Manitoba. Horwood took part in these activities through his continued involvement with the Manitoba Association of Architects. Personally, he assisted in the training of students through his lectures on

architectural topics.

Horwood was representative of the second-generation of trained architects in Manitoba, incorporating new styles and techniques. He had a sense of internationalism evident in his training and his designs. Where Hooper understood the building trades, Horwood understood design. The latter's training and talent for design meant that he could work in several different styles quite successfully. Where Hooper was an entrepreneur, Horwood was a teacher. Throughout Horwood's life, during and after his architectural career, he played an important role in teaching. His series of articles in professional journals and popular magazines were almost always of a didactic nature, adjusted to the level of expertise of the reader. He assumed a more direct training role when he lectured to students on architectural topics. With the rise of professionalism in architecture, Horwood's high profile in the architectural community fit the prestige of the Provincial Architect in an era of prosperity and optimism.

Horwood's design sense and Beaux-Arts training served the PAO well since his designs were akin to those of the new internationally-trained architects in eastern Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. With the increased importance of Manitoba, and Winnipeg in particular, on the international scene, monumental public buildings in the range of those in Chicago, Ottawa, and Montreal were considered appropriate.

The evolution of leadership in the PAO was from Hooper,

an architect who had several business interests, the last of which was the position of Provincial Architect; to Horwood, an architect for whom the PAO was definitive of his career. Hooper's leadership was that of a professional architect with a practice in the provincial bureaucracy. As the nature of the work of the PAO shifted away from design and toward administration, the leadership also changed. Horwood's role was equally that of an administrator and of an architect. After the re-structuring of the DPW by Oxton, the Office of the Building Superintendent focused almost exclusively on the administration of maintenance and renovation projects for existing public structures. Hence, the leadership developed from the role of an architect to strictly that of an administrator.

The different styles of leadership of the Provincial Architects and the differing circumstances surrounding the office resulted in changes in the structure and administrative procedures. The PAO under Hooper was managed similar to most other architectural firms at the time, and likely similar to Hooper's own private practices. Hooper functioned as the main designer and leader of the Office. He employed draughtsmen to render copies of drawings and, perhaps, some detail work. Since most firms took on a training role, it is likely that the PAO did also, particularly in light of the fact that such government offices were thought to be the ideal

setting for apprenticeship. Hooper's PAO worked independently, but in consultation with the engineers of the DPW. Occasionally, the engineering components of the project were contracted outside of the DPW. The work of the PAO was blended with that of the DPW, but as a distinct office. The division of labour was based on the type of task in a project. As such, the Engineering Branch of the DPW undertook such things as sewerage and drainage plans, and electrical and mechanical plans of a project. The PAO undertook the overall conception of the project, including structural plans, ground plans, and exterior and interior finishing. The impression left of Hooper's PAO was that of an architectural office like most other private architectural offices, but dedicated to the projects of the provincial government, with the Minister of Public Works as the exclusive client.

The structure and administration of the PAO under Horwood changed significantly from that of Hooper. Despite Horwood's relative inexperience running an architectural practice, his PAO was larger and more complex than Hooper's. Under Horwood, the PAO became more insular, incorporating electrical and mechanical engineers and taking full responsibility for all aspects of projects except for roadwork, and trenches for drainage and sewers. With the onset of the major projects that dominated Horwood's tenure, there was an increased need for specialization of staff. The PAO incorporated the mechanical and electrical engineers of the Engineering Branch.

The division of labour shifted from a task-based model to a project-based one. Rather than going outside the PAO, either to the Engineering Branch or to private engineering firms, the expertise was integrated within the PAO. An effect of the increased staff and responsibility of the PAO was the growth of administrative hierarchy. Under Hooper, there were only two levels: architect, and draughtsman. Increased specialization under Horwood meant that there were several levels of expertise and authority : architect, engineer, inspector, and draughtsman. Horwood was accountable for the work of all these levels of staff even if he did not have the training or expertise in the new specialized areas.

The supervision of projects for Hooper was a relatively uncomplicated endeavour. The majority of projects, even the larger ones such as the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles, were smaller in scale than those of Horwood, very seldom requiring more than one contractor. The supervision of electrical and mechanical contracts was handled by the appropriate engineer in the Engineering Branch of the DPW. With the expansion of the PAO under Horwood to include the engineers, the supervision of all aspects of the project became the Provincial Architect's responsibility. This, complicated by the greater number of large-scale projects being commissioned by the Minister, necessitated the introduction of the various inspectors. This pattern of administrative development occurred in comparable government

offices and functioned adequately. There were two issues which caused the system at Horwood's PAO to fail : his relative inexperience in the operation of a complex architectural practice handling large scale projects; and the pressures placed on him by his superiors who did not want the supervision of certain projects to be administratively thorough. It is impossible to determine from the evidence currently available the level of collusion, if any, on Horwood's part regarding the latter issue. It is clear that administrative "laxity" existed in the PAO during the work on the major projects. How much of this was due to Horwood's intent or simply his lack of experience cannot be defined without extensive further research.

The administrative structure of the PAO was completely dismantled by Oxton in 1915. The size of the office was cut to one-third of its complement under Horwood. William Fingland was brought in to oversee the execution of the remaining major and minor projects. It became clear that the restructured model for the PAO that Oxton had in mind would not require the full-time services of a registered architect. The new Office of the Building Superintendent (OBS) lacked the creative component central to the PAO before it. Indeed, the creative component which involved new building and significant renovation designs, was what justified the need for a staff architect. Instead, the DPW resolved to contract out all important projects which warranted the creative and technical

expertise of an architect. The OBS administered these contracts and the continued maintenance requirements of the now extensive network of public buildings. The OBS was tightly integrated into the DPW, with the Deputy Minister adopting the supervisory authority previously held by the Provincial Architect during Horwood's tenure. The Deputy Minister supervised all of the offices and senior staff of the DPW directly; the OBS was simply one of these offices. Where the new project administration of Hooper's PAO was task-based and Horwood's was project-based, it was site-based under Deputy Minister Oxton. Each of the major building projects had a site supervisor; either an architect or engineer, as appropriate to the site. The OBS had no substantive role in these projects; except, perhaps, in terms of administrative or clerical support.

The size of the PAO also changed drastically over the years. The original PAO, under Hooper, was very small consisting of himself, one or two draughtsmen and likely some secretarial support. During Hooper's tenure, it remained at this level until 1909, at which time the PAO warranted its own administrative budget allocation.³¹⁷ This occurred once the office had reached a certain level of workload, with new projects and maintenance of public buildings, and had moved

³¹⁷ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Second Session of the Twelfth Legislature (1909), Supplementary Supply Act, Chapter 71, p.201.

into its own office space in the Government Telephones Building. The PAO grew in terms of staff complement, budget allocation, and capital project expenditures. These increases were not, however, any greater than those occurring in other government departments. With the onset of the major building projects in 1911, the PAO grew substantially in all these areas. The PAO's budget jumped suddenly from \$7,500 to \$19,000 excluding the salary of Hooper and the new salary commitment to Horwood, as Assistant Provincial Architect.³¹⁸ Under Horwood, the budget increased substantially again (\$29,651) and had a new allocation to travel.³¹⁹ By 1913, the PAO budget had levelled out at approximately \$32,000.³²⁰ The expansion of the PAO was due to the project-based administration of the office, whereby all services and expertise required were brought into the PAO rather than contracted out. As such, there was a need for increased and specialized staff as a result of the increased workload of the major projects in addition to the less significant new projects and continued maintenance commitments.

Horwood's office retained many more staff than Hooper's.

³¹⁸ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Thirteenth Legislature (1911), Supply Act, Chapter 61, p. 332-3.

³¹⁹ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Second Session of the Thirteenth Legislature (1912), Supply Act, Chapter 88, p.284.

³²⁰ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Third Session of the Thirteenth Legislature (1913), Supply Act, Chapter 77, p.222.

With the widespread initiation of standard programs to train architectural students, it is likely that Horwood's staff was also better trained, with less turn over as a result of apprenticeship. Horwood's PAO, at its height, employed thirty-three people. It is unlikely that Hooper retained more than three or four. When the PAO was turned over to William Fingland, and then restructured by Oxton into the OBS, almost the entire general staff of the PAO and DPW was discharged.³²¹ This may have been due, in part, to a broad desire of the new Liberal government to drastically cut government spending. This was especially the case with the DPW which had been, consistently, the most expensive government department. It was also due to the scandals surrounding the major projects of the PAO. Public outrage regarding these projects likely motivated the new government to "clean house" in the DPW and PAO. Politically, this served the Liberals well since it underscored the impact of the mishandling of the projects under the previous Conservative government. It also positioned the new Liberal government as the morally heroic party who appeared to remedy the situation. The budget for the OBS was half of that of the PAO. Ironically, almost every position which was cut in 1916, was added the following year. Indeed, the salary allocations for the OBS, integrated into the newly staffed DPW (\$50,540) was

³²¹ Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the First Session of the Fifteenth Legislature (1916), Supply Act, Chapter 105, p. 375-6, 389.

almost identical to the salary allocations for the PAO (excluding senior staff) and the DPW general staff during Horwood's tenure (\$48,010).³²² Clearly, this was a political and not a cost-saving measure.

As an office of the provincial government, the PAO was in a unique situation. It handled commissions exclusively for the provincial government.

As the priorities of the government and the world around the PAO changed, so did the types of projects being undertaken. Initially, the PAO was responding to the province-wide need for infrastructure, as the population increased rapidly. New building projects were equally rural and urban (i.e. Winnipeg) and were service-oriented or public structures such as Land Titles Offices, Municipal Halls, and schools. Additionally, many of the Province's institutional buildings were constructed under Hooper's PAO. He was responsible for the establishment of a network of buildings in all regions of the growing province. Generally, the new building projects and the continued maintenance and renovation projects for existing structures were given equal attention by Hooper.

Under Horwood, the focus was on large-scale, urban, monumental building projects, in response to the new

³²² Manitoba, Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba ... being the Second Session of the Fifteenth Legislature (1917), Supply Act, Chapter 89, p. 292-3.

international status of Winnipeg. While smaller scale, rural projects and renovation/maintenance projects were certainly still undertaken, they were of considerably less importance. The projects of Horwood's PAO clearly had two tiers : first, the major projects (Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital; Manitoba Legislative Building; Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House); then the smaller new building projects (Brandon Normal School; St. James Telephone Exchange; Superintendent's Residence, Brandon Hospital for the Insane) and renovation/maintenance projects.

With the re-organization of the DPW and PAO under Oxton, all new projects were halted until the conclusion of the various inquiries on the major projects. Certain small projects, such as the St. James Telephone Exchange, were completed under Fingland. The projects of the OBS were strictly utilitarian, such as outbuildings, or renovation and maintenance work. There was very deliberately shifted from monumental projects to those with no "meaning" or creative message. Hence, an important distinction was made between types of projects : those buildings which had more than a utilitarian function (i.e. those which held importance due to the message they conveyed) required the creative design talent and training of an architect; those which only served a utilitarian function did not and could be designed by the OBS. This distinction between utilitarian and "designed" structures was directly taken from the professional developments in the

architectural community.

The projects designed by Hooper were of a specific and recognizable style, based on Victorian tenets. Certain motifs were readily attributable to Hooper. He expressed monumentality through the symbolism associated with historical styles, rather than through the Beaux-Arts use of scale and formality. Indeed, Hooper's monumentality was smaller in scale - human-sized - and accessible rather than colossal and intimidating. Hooper's style in association with the network of projects spread across the Province had a great impact on a broad cross-section of people in Manitoba. The consistency of Hooper's style created evenly across the Province a distinctive image of the government. This image provided a consistent identity throughout the Province, unifying the various communities. One was likely to recognize the same building features in Winnipeg as in Brandon or Portage or Morden.

Horwood's style was less recognizable by features. Rather than being based in a specific historical style, Horwood designed in a number of styles, sometimes historically identifiable, sometimes not. Horwood's style was based on his design method rather than typical motifs. Horwood's designs always included a Beaux-Arts sense of monumentality, expressed through the impact of grand scale. They illustrated a more expansive, and formal quality than Hooper's. Although Horwood

designed fewer monumental buildings than Hooper, they were also more deliberate. The design process for Horwood involved significantly more research, by travelling to comparable projects elsewhere (Manitoba Legislative Building), and by consulting with those who would be utilizing the building (Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital). The greatest impact of Horwood's vision of monumentality was in the development of a general plan for the building complex which included the Legislative Building and Law Courts Building. Although it was not fully implemented, the design plan clearly reflected the outlook of the elite of Manitoba, especially in Winnipeg. It was designed in association with the Deputy Minister and the Minister³²³ and conveyed an image of prosperity, prominence, and imperial grandeur. Hooper's monumentality was not intended to represent or unify the populace. Rather, it was used to create showpieces of modern style, which could be held in comparison with buildings in any other metropolitan centre. The impact on the general public of these structures was to instill a sense of pride in the accomplishments of the city which had risen from a fort

³²³ The Deputy Minister, Charles H. Dancer, took Horwood to visit the Saskatchewan and Alberta Legislative Buildings. He was also directly involved in the development of the design competition guidelines for the Manitoba Legislative Building project. See Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1911, p. 5. The Minister approved all project designs before they were undertaken. In the case of the Manitoba Legislative Building project, the assessor in the design competition was instructed to work with not only the Provincial Architect and Deputy Minister, but also the Minister and the Premier. See Baker, op.cit., p. 30-2.

settlement to an international centre of trade and transportation. Horwood created this design plan which was best executed by more experienced architects such as those who had competed for the Manitoba Legislative Building project. His own interpretation of this - the Manitoba Law Courts Building - was smaller scale and not nearly as successful. Horwood was far more successful at the artistic renderings of his designs than the actual construction of them. While, theoretically, he understood the design principles and new materials and technologies, he did not have the expertise of Hooper in translating his ideas to the construction site.

In the era of Oxton and the OBS, there was no design plan or general design policy as there had been during Horwood's tenure. Indeed, there was not even the ad hoc design plan of Hooper's tenure resulting from his distinctive style. Under Oxton's plan, different architects designed public buildings. The intention of this action was to diversify the government building styles, thereby making them more representative of all regions and all sectors of the Manitoba populace. Oxton planned to let design contracts to architects within the region of the project site, thus creating a regional identity rather than a provincial one. Oxton was particularly critical of Horwood on this point; but, in fact, Hooper was far more guilty of a uniform style. A profusion of architects, at least theoretically, would have resulted in an inconsistent image of the government, making it impossible to communicate

a specific message about the government that built the structure. In reality, there was no true test of Oxton's theory, since no monumental building projects comparable to those during Horwood's tenure were undertaken for many years. Some of the less significant new building projects designed by various architects do, however, display variability of style; although it is difficult to determine a regional identity in them.

Having established the evolution of the PAO in terms of leadership, administrative structure and project work, the questions that remain are : why did it close?; and, how did it fail? Let us address the latter question.

First, was the Provincial Architect's Office of Manitoba, in fact, a failure? The initial response is yes. It was the vehicle for fraudulent activities; therefore, it was a failure. Upon closer examination, however, it is clear that "failure" is a relative term. For the era of the PAO - the Roblin era - the rules of conflict-of-interest and the understanding of improper gain from the privileges of government were very different than they are now. T h e Provincial Architect's Office was established at a time when the social/political/economic elite of Manitoba greatly influenced the provincial government. It was common practice at this time to make government appointments as a reward for party loyalty or for particular political favours. It was

equally common that positions in the inside service were awarded through influence rather than equitable hiring practices.³²⁴ Personal gain was obtained by political figures through their access to privileged information. As the PAO matured as the Province's own architectural firm, it became a tool for the questionable practices of the politicians and top civil servants of the era.

In the PAO, and the DPW more generally, impropriety took many forms. Indeed, the understanding of improper behaviour on the part of an elected official is relative to the values of the times. In turn-of-the-century Manitoba, where an elite dominated political, economic and social circles, nepotism and patronage were not only common practice, but almost inevitable. This group was highly interconnected through family, friends, and business. Within the building industry, the small circle became smaller with the assistance of fraternal organizations such as the Masons, and the Odd Fellows. These organizations encouraged informal fraternization among individuals with similar interests which ultimately promoted such practices as nepotism and patronage.

Donnelly describes the Roblin government :

The Premier and his cabinet were closely in touch with majority opinion at all times and were able and willing to take the decisive action when it was necessary. Party advantage and provincial interest could and did come together on many occasions. On the other hand, Roblin and his

³²⁴ M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba, Toronto, 1963, p. 121.

lieutenants took too much advantage of the day and allowed the growth of a political machine that became scandalously corrupt and eventually made them all its victims.³²⁵

These practices were largely accepted, or at least tolerated, through all levels of government.³²⁶ Clearly, the boundary of acceptability of such behaviour was where the legislative members, themselves, might accept compensation in some form for actions taken pertaining to any legislation or decision.³²⁷ This boundary was crossed in the context of the PAO's major projects.

On the Manitoba Agricultural College project, the Provincial Secretary, Joseph Bernier, received compensation for a contract won by a sub-contractor in the form of an addition to his residence.³²⁸ The then provincial Minister of Public Works, Robert Rogers, was found to have conspired to defraud the government on this same project by using

³²⁵ Donnelly, op.cit., p.48.

³²⁶ In this paper, I use the terms nepotism and patronage in the following manner : Nepotism is the practice of hiring or influencing the hiring process in order to benefit a particular person with whom there is a previous relationship. Patronage is the practice of doing business in such a way as to advantage one person or company for the benefit of the recipient and the giver. This generally will benefit the individual or party offering the contract.

The federal Chief Architect, T.W. Fuller, was appointed as a result of the intervention of Sir Hector Langevin on his behalf. (Archibald, op.cit., p.7.) A later Chief Architect was similarly appointed by then federal Minister of Public Works, Robert Rogers, who had previously held the comparable portfolio in Manitoba. The Chief Architect was Edgar Horwood, brother of Victor Horwood.

³²⁷ Donnelly, op.cit., p.87.

³²⁸ Galt, op.cit., p.43-45.

privileged information for personal financial gain. Rogers acquired large portions of land around the, as yet unannounced, location of the new Agricultural College at St. Vital, in the knowledge that the college would make the land significantly more valuable.³²⁹ While the Provincial Architect was not found to have directly defrauded the Province on this project, he was found to have participated in the conspiracy by permitting administrative oversights to occur in terms of overpayment and site inspections.³³⁰

At Thomas Kelly's trial over the Manitoba Legislative Building project and in the Royal Commission Reports, it was shown that the general contract and additional contract work were awarded to Thomas Kelly & Sons, Limited, as a result of partisanship rather than fair price. While the overall bids of Kelly and his nearest competitor, Peter Lyall & Sons Company, were not very far apart, there were large and obvious disparities in the detailed bids. The Manitoba Legislative Building architect, Frank Simon, had suspicions due to these disparities and cautioned the Province accordingly.

³²⁹ ibid., p.45-6.

³³⁰ ibid., p.47. The impression left by Galt's findings was that Horwood was forced to take such actions :
An atmosphere of laxity was to be created by the Hon. Robert Rogers in his Department of Public Works, and such instructions were to be given to Victor W. Horwood, the Acting Provincial Architect, as would insure acquiescence by him and by the various Government Inspectors, and the officials of the Department, including the Architect's Office, in the progress estimates of contractors, without checking up or verifying the propriety of such estimates. (p.46.)

Regardless of this, the Legislative Assembly passed an Order in Council accepting Kelly's tender, even though the significant adjustment for the structural design change from reinforced concrete to structural steel had not been included.³³¹ The patronage involved in this case went beyond the biased awarding of contracts in return for party loyalty. It ultimately led to channelling of government funds through the contractor in the form of inflated bids to the party's campaign fund via donations by the contractor. As investigations continued, it became clear that such fraudulent deals were made on a number of different large and small contracts. The Royal Commission inquiries associated with the PAO projects outlined explicitly what had been speculated for ten years previously.³³² The daily transactions of the Roblin government included nepotism and fraud.

In the Royal Commission inquiry into the Manitoba Legislative Building project, Horwood was more directly implicated in improper behaviour. Regarding the additional work let to Thomas Kelly & Sons, Limited, for the foundation

³³¹ Baker, op.cit., p.52. Baker outlines the specific bids offered by Kelly and Lyall. The impression that is left is that the Lyall bid has been costed out for each section of the contract, while the Kelly bid has used the overall figure, and divided it more or less equally between the areas.

	Lyall bid	Kelly bid
footings, foundations,		
walls	\$ 77,000.00	\$224,641.50
reinforced concrete	445,000.00	229,040.60
carpenter & joiner	162,000.00	277,112.40
TOTAL	\$2,863,000.00	\$2,859,750.00

³³² Donnelly, op.cit., p.50.

and structural steel, Kelly provided as evidence to the Royal Commission a letter to him from Horwood offering him a lump sum contract for the caisson foundation work. A lump sum contract rather than one based on yardage would make it difficult for overcharging to occur. The Royal Commission agreed that Horwood's letter had not been written at the time of the awarding of the contract, and was part of a plan to cover up the real events.³³³ Again, the role assigned to Horwood was facilitating the fraud. It is unclear whether or not Horwood was involved in the planning of the overcharges or if he benefitted financially. What is clear is that he was not only aware of the fraudulent activities occurring around the major projects, but also assisted in their successful completion and, upon their discovery, their concealment.

Hooper's role in all of these proceedings was understood to have been minimal. The scandals associated with the Manitoba Legislative Building and the Manitoba Law Courts / Central Power House projects occurred after Hooper's death. Hooper's actions were discussed, however, in the context of the new Manitoba Agricultural College project. The major contract for the College was awarded to Carter-Halls-Aldinger Company. The Royal Commission inquiry found that once all of the tenders for the contract were in, Carter-Halls-Aldinger, whose bid had been significantly lower than the others, were given an opportunity to submit a second, higher bid with

³³³ Baker, op.cit., p.73-4.

knowledge of the other bids submitted. Once the second bid was accepted through an Order in Council, and the work was under way, the Conservative Party Treasurer approached the contractor for significant campaign contributions in return for this preferential treatment.³³⁴

The submission of the tenders for the project occurred under Hooper's tenure as Provincial Architect. The Royal Commission inquiry took place after Hooper's death, so there was no clarification available regarding his role. Rogers, however, testified that Hooper had advised him to call Carter of Carter-Halls-Aldinger regarding a second bid and was present when Rogers made the call on approximately August 1, 1911. The Royal Commission found that this could not have occurred since Rogers had been out of town from July 28 to August 12, 1911. Also, evidence had shown that Carter, Hooper, and C.H. Dancer, the Deputy Minister, were unaware of any increase in the bid as late as August 16, 1911. Rogers then altered his testimony that the call had been made on Hooper's advice, with Hooper present, after August 16. This was refuted by the fact that Hooper had taken ill on August 13 and could not work. Also, Rogers had processed the increased bid before August 24, 1911, when his recommendation to Council was drawn up.³³⁵ Rogers continued to change his testimony in order to implicate Hooper. Ultimately, it was found by the

³³⁴ Galt, op.cit., p.45.

³³⁵ ibid., p.42.

Royal Commission that Hooper could not have been present when the offer was made to Carter to increase his bid; and that for Rogers this was "... merely a desperate attempt to escape from an awkward dilemma."³³⁶

The role of Horwood and the staff of the PAO was consistently facilitative, but not criminal. The Office, itself, was the mechanism for much of the improper activity during the Roblin era.

The Liberals were by no means altruistic either. A Royal Commission was called to investigate their actions while sitting as the Provincial Opposition. On June 24, 1915, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the charges that had been made by C.P. Fullerton regarding the New Parliament Building project: 1) that prior to the previous sitting of the House, an agreement had been made between the Roblin Government and the Liberal Opposition for the Government to give the Opposition \$50,000 on the condition that all election protests be withdrawn; 2) that on May 15, 1915, an agreement had been made between members of the Roblin government and certain cabinet members of the new Liberal Norris government that the Roblin government should resign on the following terms : a) that the Liberal party representatives present would dictate the form of letter of resignation of then Premier Roblin; b) that the proceedings before the Royal Commission be stifled and civil action be brought against the

³³⁶ ibid., p.43.

general contractor, Thomas Kelly of Thomas Kelly and Sons, Ltd.; c) that the balance of the \$25,000 due under the first agreement be paid upon the dissolution of the Royal Commission; and d) that the members of the Roblin government should resign and their places be taken by Liberals who should be returned in the election unopposed.³³⁷

Alexander Innes Inglis describes in detail the impropriety of the Liberal Opposition's approach to the Lieutenant-Governor to force a Royal Commission inquiry into the Manitoba Legislative Building. When the Liberal Opposition was pushing for the inquiry, it was voted down by the Conservative majority. Afterwards, a contingent of Liberals circumvented legal process by lobbying the Lieutenant-Governor to call the inquiry. The Lieutenant-Governor granted the request, thereby overstepping his constitutional authority.³³⁸

Finally, allegations of patronage were made against the Liberals just after they took the reins of the Government. W.H. Reeve, Fair Wages Officer of the DPW, made a scathing report alleging interference in the resolution of complaints connected to the lack of compliance with the government's Fair

³³⁷ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1915, p.3. The Commission found that the charges in the petition were unfounded. However, the specific nature of the charges implies that there was likely some truth to them.

³³⁸ Inglis, op.cit.

Wage Schedule. Reeve had been instructed by the Minister to certify claims made against the stone plant of Thomas Kelly, which supplied stone to the Legislative Building project through the general contract let to Thomas Kelly & Sons, Ltd. He was instructed to pay the claimants upon receipt of their pay envelopes. In two cases where the claimants had not kept their pay envelopes, Reeve refused to certify their claims. The Minister, T.H. Johnson, overruled him, however, since these men were serving on Johnson's election committee; and Reeve was told to "keep it quiet". Once the Liberals were returned in the election following Roblin's resignation, Reeve charged, Oxton obstructed the certification by refusing any claim made.³³⁹

The PAO cannot be deemed a "failure" strictly on the basis of the fraudulent activities that it facilitated. It must be judged on its own terms. The major duties of the PAO were to design, supervise, and administer the new buildings commissioned by the Province; and to maintain the buildings under the care of the DPW. The importance of these duties fluctuated depending on the direction of the PAO. Under Hooper, both duties were given equal importance. The direction of the PAO was, simply, to build and maintain a province-wide network of public buildings. Hooper

³³⁹ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1915, p.75.

successfully performed the duties of the PAO, but was never challenged by the complex projects and growing administrative structure as was Horwood. Under Horwood, the balance of duties was complicated by the addition of the major building projects. Maintenance and small new building projects were lower priorities than the major building projects. This new function of the PAO necessitated an intricate administrative structure; and the PAO grew to accommodate the need. The complex administration of the major projects was too much for Horwood to handle effectively. His lack of experience and expertise with large-scale projects resulted in a focus on them and his neglect of the other duties of the PAO. Superintendents of institutions requested basic maintenance work several times before it was approved and done. Once the work was approved by Horwood, it was delegated to staff and undertaken through the Superintendent, most often using day labour and staff engineers for supervision.³⁴⁰

If the PAO failed in its duties at any time, it was due to the addition of the substantial workload of handling the major building projects. It was unreasonable to expect Horwood, with his relative lack of expertise to handle such a greatly increased area of responsibility. An architect with Horwood's design training and Hooper's business acumen would have been best suited for the new configuration of the PAO.

³⁴⁰ Manitoba, Department of Public Works, Report ... 1913, p.111; Report ... 1914, p.92

Alternately, if Hooper had not died; and both he and Horwood were heading the PAO, all of the responsibilities might have been met. This would not necessarily have precluded the fraudulent activities, however. Clearly, Hooper's PAO facilitated Rogers' activities related to the St. Vital site of the new Manitoba Agricultural College. But, the PAO would have, in all likelihood, fulfilled its duties to new projects and to the maintenance of public buildings, even if the priority of the maintenance role had changed due to new directions for the PAO.

In terms of its ability to fulfil its duties, the mechanism of the PAO was not a failure; the leadership of Horwood was. It could have worked, even with the new direction of the major building projects. But Horwood could not handle it on his own.

The direction of the PAO was determined by the Minister of Public Works, with the advice of the Deputy Minister and, presumably, the Provincial Architect. The direction of the PAO changed distinctly over its rather short lifetime. During Hooper's tenure as Provincial Architect, the Minister of Public Works was Robert Rogers (1900-11). The projects initiated by Rogers were meant to create the network of public buildings across the Province, as its territory was growing. A government presence in all regions of the Province was imperative in order to expedite settlement and express

authority.³⁴¹ Hence, many of the first projects undertaken by Hooper were Land Titles Offices.

At the end of his tenure as Public Works Minister (1911), Rogers initiated the major building projects with Hooper and Horwood. This new direction continued under the next Minister, Colin Campbell (1912), after Rogers moved on to the federal Public Works portfolio. Under Campbell, comprehensive design plans were developed beginning with the Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital project; the design plan for the monumental buildings complex was made; the design for the Manitoba Law Courts Building was revised by Horwood to fit that design plan; and the design competition for the Manitoba Legislative Building project took place. The implementation of these projects occurred under Minister W.H. Montague (1913-15). With the settlement of the expanded Province well in hand, the direction of the PAO turned towards an appropriate expression of the new international status of the Province, in general, and Winnipeg, specifically.³⁴²

³⁴¹ Trevor Boddy explains that the imposition of government presence on the relatively unsettled landscape is a common pattern across the prairies. Trevor Boddy, "Introduction..." in Prairie Forum, p. 125-6.

³⁴² Jackson, op.cit., p.184; Friesen, op.cit., p. 349; Baker, op.cit., p.25.

Baker explains that the new monumental building projects were initiated in direct response to the grand new legislative building completed in Regina, Saskatchewan. Baker also cites the monumental private buildings cropping up in downtown Winnipeg as an inspiration - in particular, those buildings like the Bank of Montreal Building (1911) by McKim, Mead & White (New York), that were designed in large, eastern cities and executed in Winnipeg.

Since these changes in direction were controlled by the various Ministers, each would have considered the PAO a success in his own terms. The PAO also accommodated "change in Ministerial direction" when it came to the fraudulent activities associated with these projects, by permitting them to occur. Each Minister achieved, through the PAO, what he wanted to achieve, whether that was infrastructure, boosterism, or fraud.

From outside the government looking in, the general public was divided regarding the activities of the PAO. Initially, the PAO under Hooper and Rogers was not the subject of great opposition over any particular project. Indeed, the building projects of the PAO were simply a number among many others during the height of the economic and building boom that lasted until 1913. Several factors changed, however, in the world surrounding the PAO under Horwood, Campbell and Montague : the economy of the Province and Winnipeg had slowed; the population had grown dramatically and with it, the need for social welfare programs; the onset of World War I suddenly shifted the focus of the public away from its boom-era optimism.³⁴³ These events changed the opinion of the

³⁴³ As the economy began to turn around, the demand on resources was greatly increasing. This impacted in a great many areas. People certainly were not building as much. In 1912, the value of building permits for the City of Winnipeg was \$17.1 million. The value for the same one year later was only \$6 million. (Baker, op.cit., p.50.) In a city such as Winnipeg where the services such as water and sewage could not keep up with the

general public towards the DPW and PAO. The thought on most people's minds was not how the major building projects, particularly the Manitoba Legislative Building project, made them proud of their city and their province. Rather, the public expressed cynicism at the cost of the structures, in light of the slowing economy, social welfare needs of the population, and the War.

The developing opposition was exacerbated tremendously by the public's knowledge of the Roblin government's deceit on the projects. From the perspective of the general public, the PAO was not the problem, except in its role in the misappropriation of public funds. The problem was the policy

burgeoning population coupled with the economic downturn and resultant high unemployment, poverty and disease became rampant. The surplus of available labourers and the greatly diminished job opportunities meant that it was not only the poor immigrant that was unemployed, but those who had been previously working. In the rural areas, a number of failed crops and high taxes for grain transport meant that farmers and rural merchants were also affected by the lagging economy. Consequently, a number of reform groups developed. The Liberal party, the Progressives, and the Labour party rose at this time to address their specific concerns, all of which grew from economic and political disparity. (Donnelly, *op.cit.*, p.47.) The Labour party and the Liberal party were supported by the Social Gospel movement maturing in Manitoba. This movement advocated a kind of "practical Christianity" involving charitable work and the legislated solutions to certain social problems such as mandatory primary education and an eight-hour working day. (*ibid.*, p.52.) Organizations associated with the Temperance Movement also offered their support to the Liberal Party.

By 1910, the Liberal Party had developed a strong platform advocating substantive changes to meet the needs of the changing population and economy. (*ibid.*, p.51.) At the same time, the Labour Party was gaining momentum with the support of a number of local unions and trade interest groups. For the first time in many years, the elite of Manitoba society, as represented by the Roblin government, was being opposed by viable political forces, demanding fiscal and political accountability.

of the Roblin Government for dedicating so much of the public purse to monumental building projects when it could have been used to provide social welfare for the needy or to the War effort. It was not that the public was averse to the buildings, but that the government did not respond to the changing priorities of the populace; and that the slowing economy could no longer sustain the government's commitment to these buildings. On the other hand, the building projects, especially the Manitoba Legislative Building project, provided a great many jobs in construction. Indeed, when the Roblin government temporarily stopped work on these projects as a result of the announcement of Canada's entry into World War I, the impact was immediately felt by the workforce.

Architects were more unified than the general public. There was no opposition on the part of the profession to large-scale, monumental building projects. Indeed, it was in the best interest of architects to support these. Where opposition existed was in their collective lack of access to such projects. Protest on this issue was in no way limited to the PAO. It spanned all levels of government. The Manitoba Association of Architects was involved in the issue almost from its birth. Early in the professionalism movement in architecture, government public works offices were presumed to be a lucrative sources of work. Additionally, government commissions were considered by the majority of Canadian

architects to be most appropriately handled through open competition, limited to Canadian architects. For many years, large government building contracts were being let to American or British architects over Canadian architects. When the profession had matured enough to provide equally well-trained and experienced architects as those from the United States and Great Britain, Canadian architects began lobbying for the exclusion of non-Canadians from such competitions.³⁴⁴ As early as 1906, the MAA formally protested the exclusion of private Canadian architects from government commissions. The federal Department of Public Works launched a design competition for the Federal Justice and Departmental Building in Ottawa. After the preparation and submission of designs by several prominent Canadian architects, the federal government decided to withdraw the competition and use an in-house design by the federal Chief Architect. The community of Canadian architects was outraged; and the MAA complained to the Minister of Public Works.³⁴⁵ Opposition to the exclusion

³⁴⁴ By 1904, Percy Nobbs, an ex-patriot Scottish architect, was urging Canadian architects to develop a national style - something recognizable as uniquely Canadian. As the National Style movement grew and found a home in the RAIC and its provincial counterparts, architects realized the suitability of government buildings being designed by Canadian architects. (Crossman, op.cit., p. 140-3.)

³⁴⁵ The MAA's protest stated :
"In our opinion the architectural style characteristic of the country can only be developed when encouraged by the Government and fostered by the nation, and that as it is to the Government that most large undertakings of a monumental nature may be looked for, it can be well understood that the Government's aid in the most

from government building projects, on a local level, became acute when the economy began to slow and building projects became more scarce. The economic downturn, felt acutely in the construction industry, and the increase in professionalism among architects was a potent combination against the PAO, which had, perhaps, the only steady workload in the province. To the local architectural community, the PAO was a failure, not because it facilitated fraudulent activities, but because of its very nature as the office of the Province's staff architect.

Ultimately, the question of the success or failure of the PAO depends on point of view. On its own terms, the PAO succeeded in certain areas and failed in others. Beyond that, the opinion was divided since the Ministers took the PAO in particular directions which did not reflect the changing needs and desires of the public.

Clearly, the PAO was a success in the eyes of its Ministers. This should have protected the PAO from dissolution, despite the changing priorities and opinion of the public. But, several factors came together which resulted in its dismantling.

When the Liberal Opposition realized the scope of the over-expenditures of the Manitoba Legislative Building

liberal spirit, the growth of the national architecture must be materially retarded." ibid., p.141-2.

project, it used the opportunity to discredit the Roblin Government in the eyes of the public. Once the inquiry was made, the fabric of DPW fraud unravelled. All the Opposition had to do was ensure that the inquiry was made. Ironically, the impropriety of the Liberals' actions in getting the inquiry process started was overshadowed by the deceptive activities of the Roblin Government.

The use of public works contracts for personal or partisan gain was certainly not invented by the Roblin Government; and, indeed, was something of a time-honoured tradition in government. The difference in this case was that the Roblin Government got caught.³⁴⁶ The public was enraged by the scope of the deception and the other issues associated with the Roblin Government. When the fraudulent activities became public knowledge, it was enough to bring down the mighty Roblin Government.

The question persists : why did the PAO close? Even though the Roblin Government fell, the deception perpetrated through the PAO was the responsibility of the Ministers and,

³⁴⁶ Jackson, op.cit., p.184-5. Jackson goes on to indicate that Roblin had been "victimized" by his Cabinet and his party regarding these activities; and that Rogers was the "master manipulator" behind the schemes. However, it is not plausible that a savvy politician such as Roblin, particularly in the position of party leader, was not aware of such activities. Indeed, if the Roblin Government's "fault lay in their overconfidence" in the matter, it is highly unlikely that the activities were kept secret from the Premier, unless the Premier did not want to know. In all likelihood, Roblin knew, in a general sense, that Public Works funds were being funnelled into the party treasury but chose to be ignorant of the details.

perhaps, of Horwood, for his complicity. But, this was not necessarily the fault of the structure, itself. When the government changed hands, the Provincial Architect and his staff could have simply been replaced. This was certainly a common practice.³⁴⁷ Instead, the entire structure was dismantled.

The PAO was dismantled for two reasons. It allowed the new Liberal Government to make a dramatic and meaningful gesture of change to the general public by eradicating the vehicle of the fraud. It also took the major projects out of the Province's administrative responsibility which satisfied the architectural community by providing them with access to government building contracts, and put the responsibility for contract fraud, over-expenditures, etc. firmly in the hands of the contracted architect. This would not have eliminated the opportunity for identical manoeuvres to happen under the Liberals; but, they would not be as easily traced back to a government office. Thus, if a similar potentially humiliating experience occurred, the Province was a safe distance away from it.

³⁴⁷ Donnelly, op.cit., p. 121.

Conclusion

The Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office had two very distinct incarnations. Each reflected a different era and completed a particular mission. The PAO under Samuel Hooper (1904-11) was a fairly small and simple office that balanced the duties of new construction projects and maintenance and renovation projects. Hooper was one of the first generation of trained architects who arrived in Manitoba in the late nineteenth century (as opposed to the untrained builders who designed and constructed buildings before the professionalism movement). He was an entrepreneur, with several successful architectural practices and a successful stone quarry. Hooper was a member of the elite group of entrepreneurs who dominated business, social and political life in Manitoba during the pre-World War I period. His architecture reflected this environment : his style was Late-Victorian, small scale and optimistic; his buildings were designed very practically, with an understanding of simple, effective but dated, construction methods; his designs often re-used motifs or full designs in buildings of similar function. Hooper's work in the PAO was like the community at the time : insular, sensible, and optimistic. Hooper successfully fulfilled the mission of the Minister of Public Works, Robert Rogers (1900-11), by constructing a network of public buildings across the province in order to provide services to a rapidly growing population.

The PAO developed into a considerably more complicated structure under Victor W. Horwood (1911-15) that prioritized its duties as : first, major monumental building projects; second, smaller new building projects; and, third, maintenance and renovation projects. Horwood was one of the second generation of trained architects who arrived in Manitoba at the turn of the twentieth century to take advantage of the building boom. These architects were often trained in large eastern-Canadian or American cities or Europe with an understanding of the design principles of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Horwood's strengths were as a teacher and a designer. While he was well-connected in local society, he was a generation behind the "entrepreneurs of the Province". His style reflected his environment: it was expansive and imperial, incorporating many different styles using Beaux-Arts design principles; his buildings were designed artistically, with an understanding of form, and new international developments; his designs were well-researched in terms of functionality. Horwood's work in the PAO was like the community of his time : international, and imperial. Horwood was not as successful as Hooper in fulfilling the mission of the Minister. The Ministers of Public Works, Colin Campbell (1912) and W.H. Montague (1913-5), implemented a plan for a series of major building projects. In addition to the continuing duties of the PAO, these projects proved to be too much for Horwood's business and project management experience. Horwood's

ineptitude coupled with the deception of the Ministers and the Roblin Government resulted in outrageous project over-expenditures.

The role of the Provincial Architects in the scandals of the major projects was facilitative rather than criminal. By permitting the fraudulent activities to occur and attempting to cover them up during the various inquiries, the PAO made the activities traceable within a public office and inadvertently assisted in the fall of the Roblin Government. The vehicle of the PAO made the deception of the government easy to administer; but it also made it relatively easy to trace once the inquiries were made.

The Manitoba Provincial Architect's Office was dismantled by the new Liberal Government of T.C. Norris in order to rectify this problem. Direct project administration was removed from the Provincial bureaucracy. By taking apart the PAO and distributing new building contracts to private architectural firms, the Norris Government distanced itself from such activities without removing the possibility of undertaking them. In the process, the Norris Government was able to appease the local architectural community which was anxious for access to government projects as well as philosophically opposed to government staff architects.

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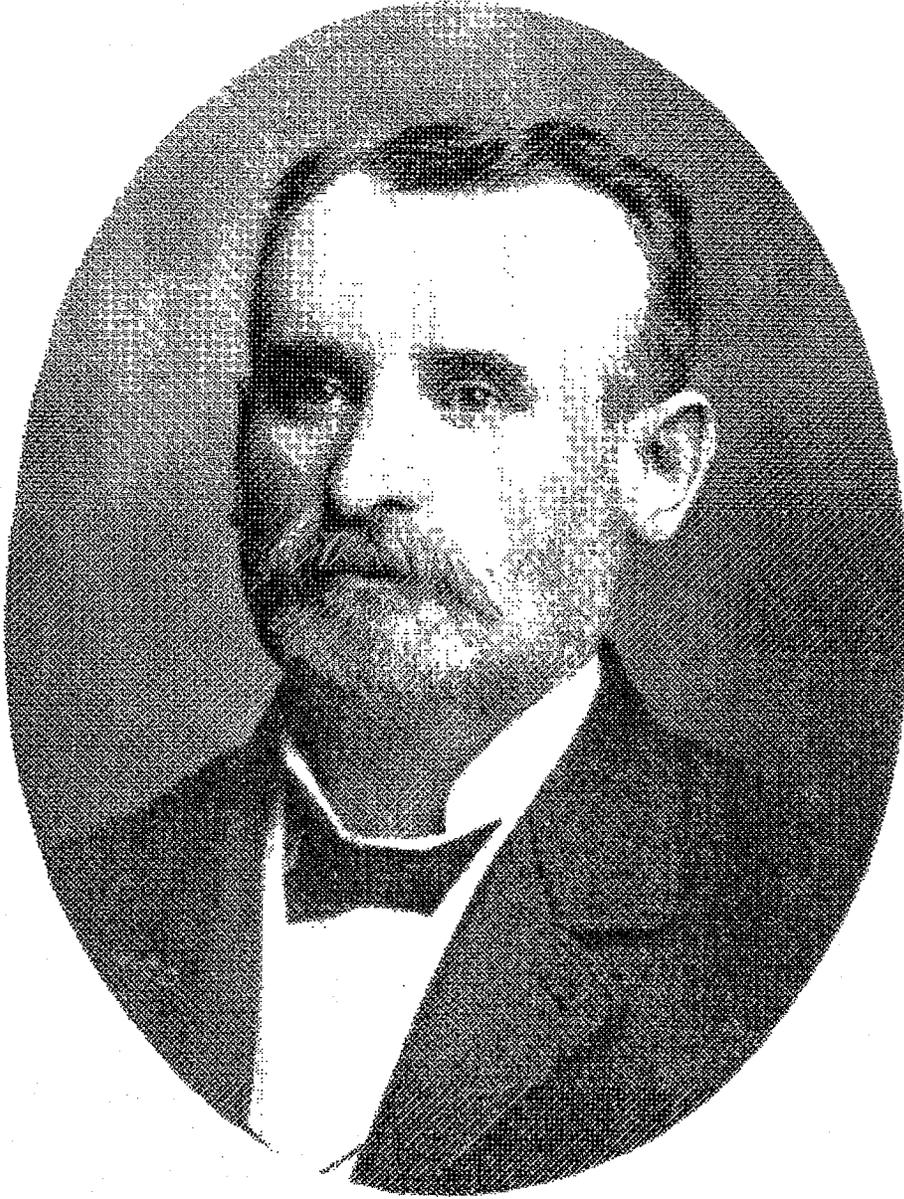


FIGURE 1 : Samuel Hooper

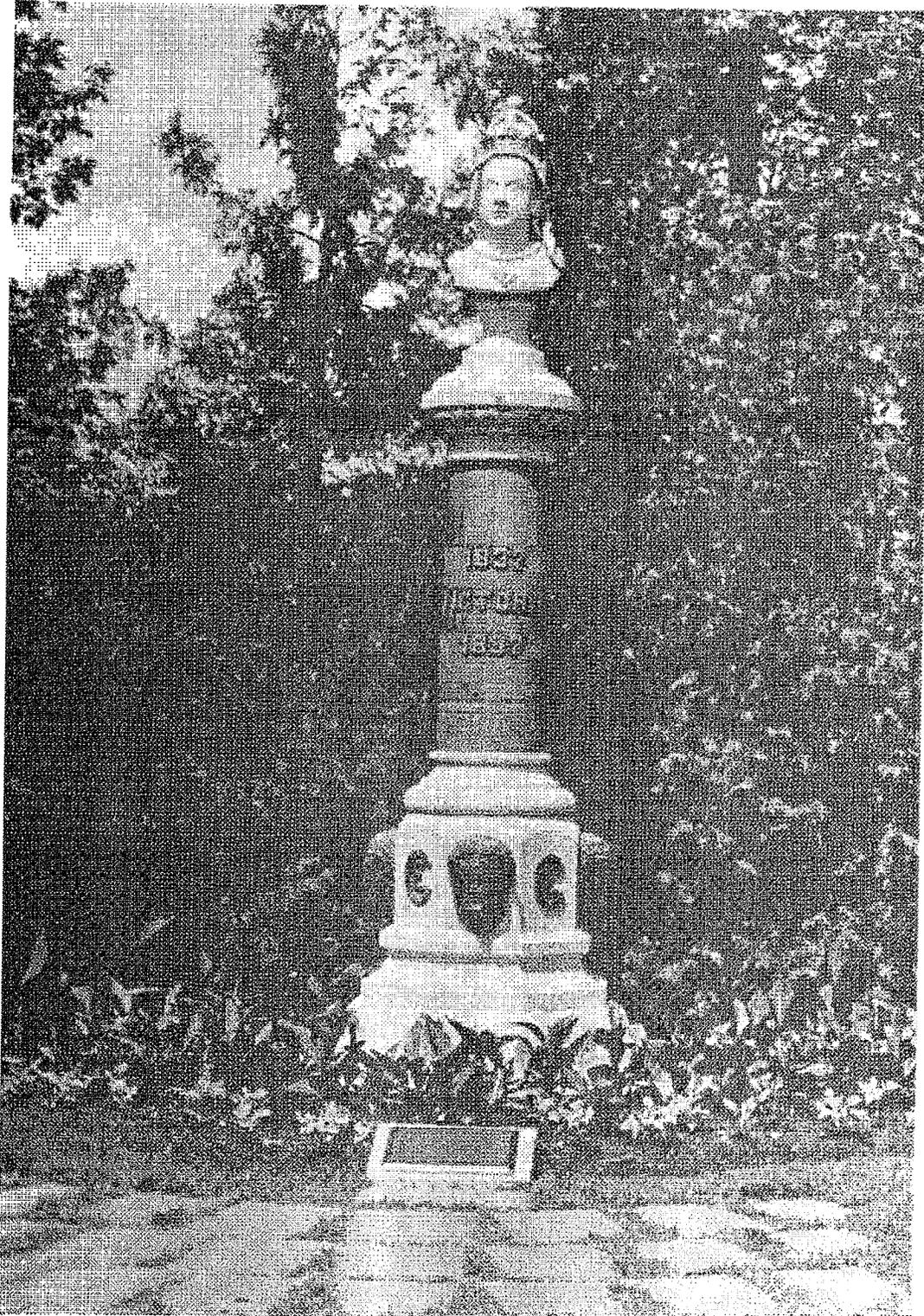


FIGURE 2 : Queen Victoria, ca. 1893, Winnipeg

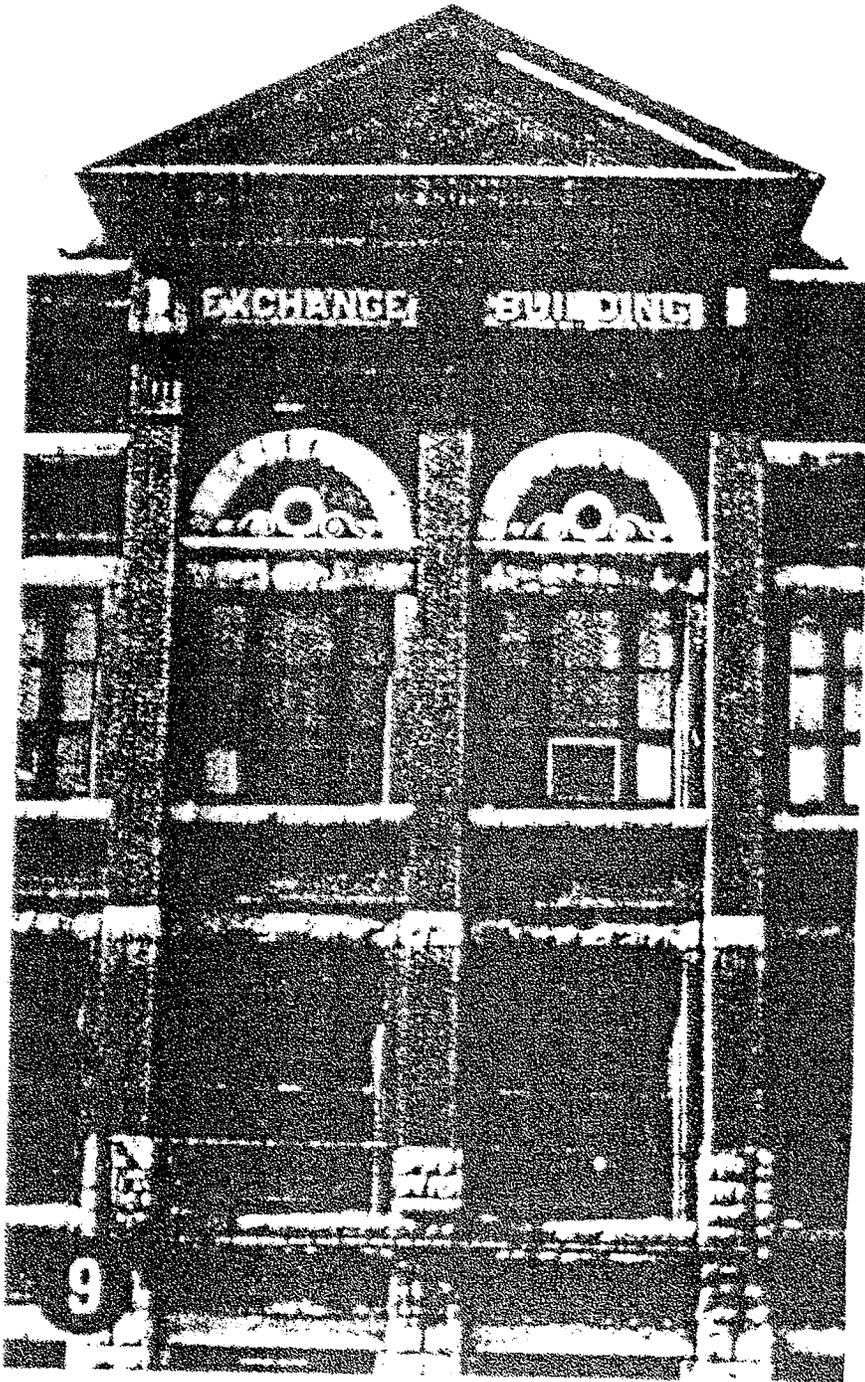


FIGURE 3 : The Grain Exchange Building (1898), Winnipeg

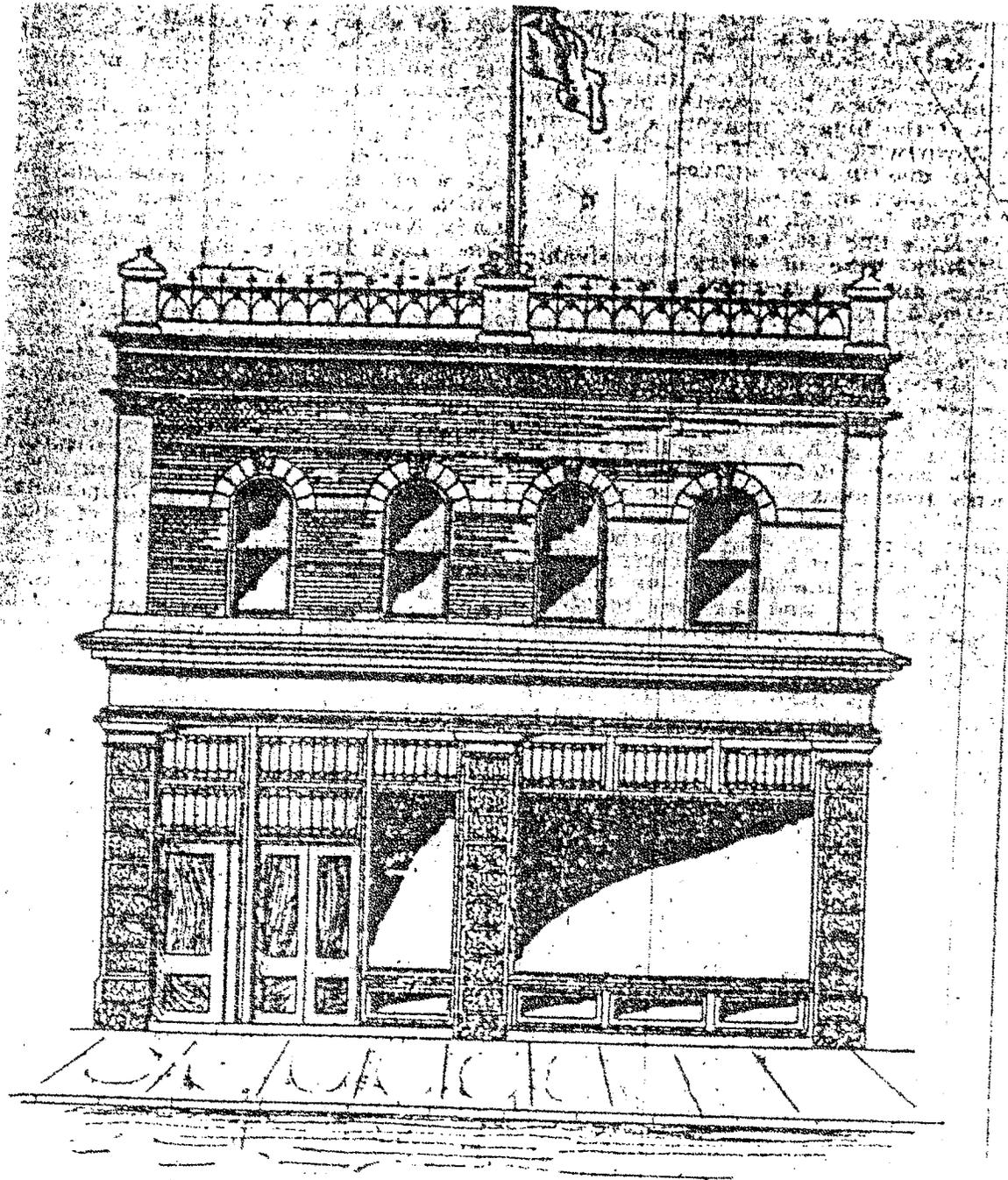


FIGURE 4 : The Holman Meat Market (1903), Winnipeg

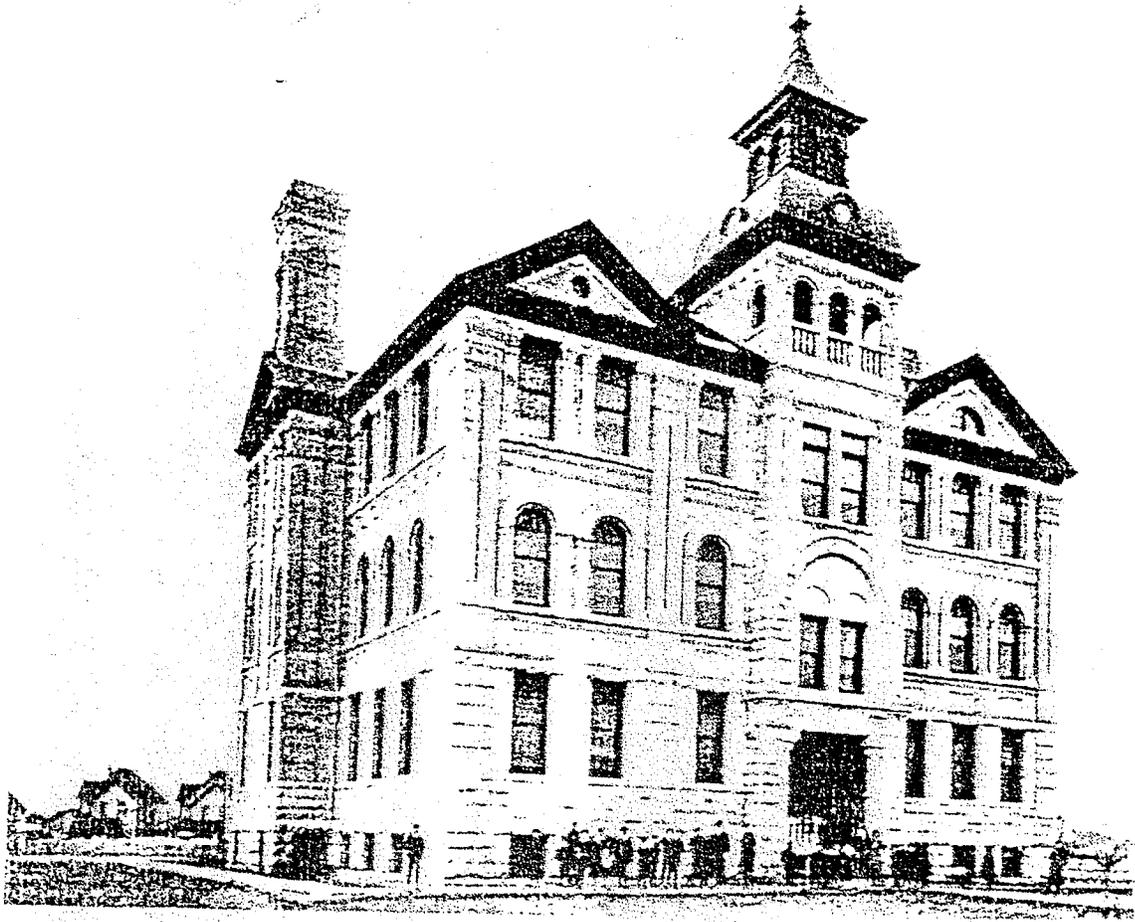


FIGURE 5 : Isbister School (1898-9), Winnipeg

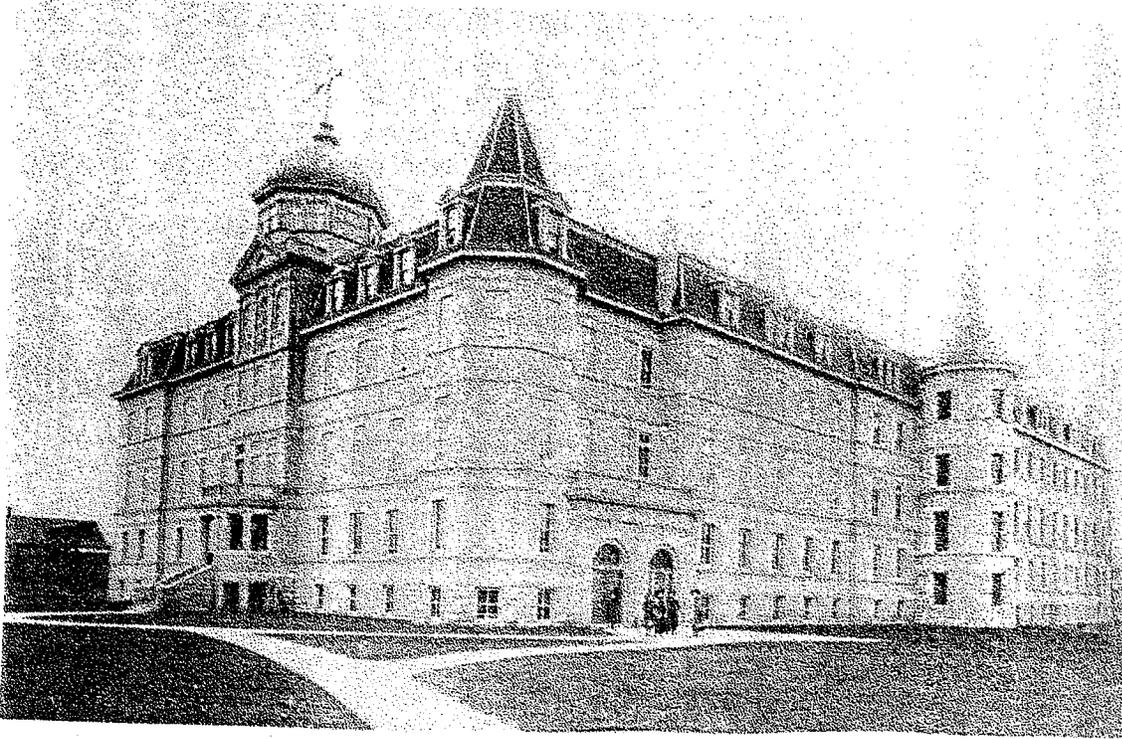
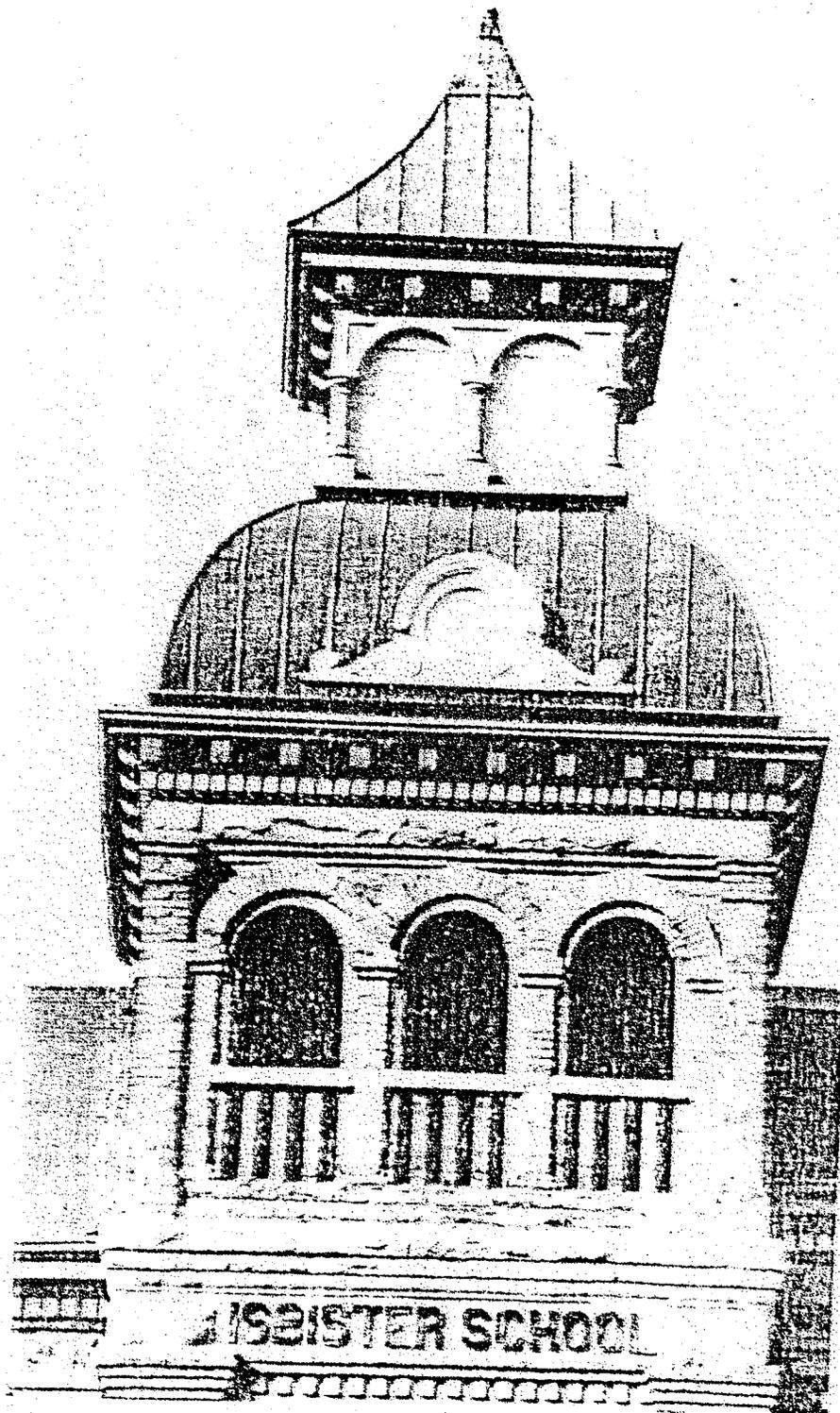


FIGURE 6 : St. Mary's Academy (ca. 1900), Winnipeg



City of Winnipeg, 1900

FIGURE 7 : Bell Tower, Isbister School (1898-9), Winnipeg

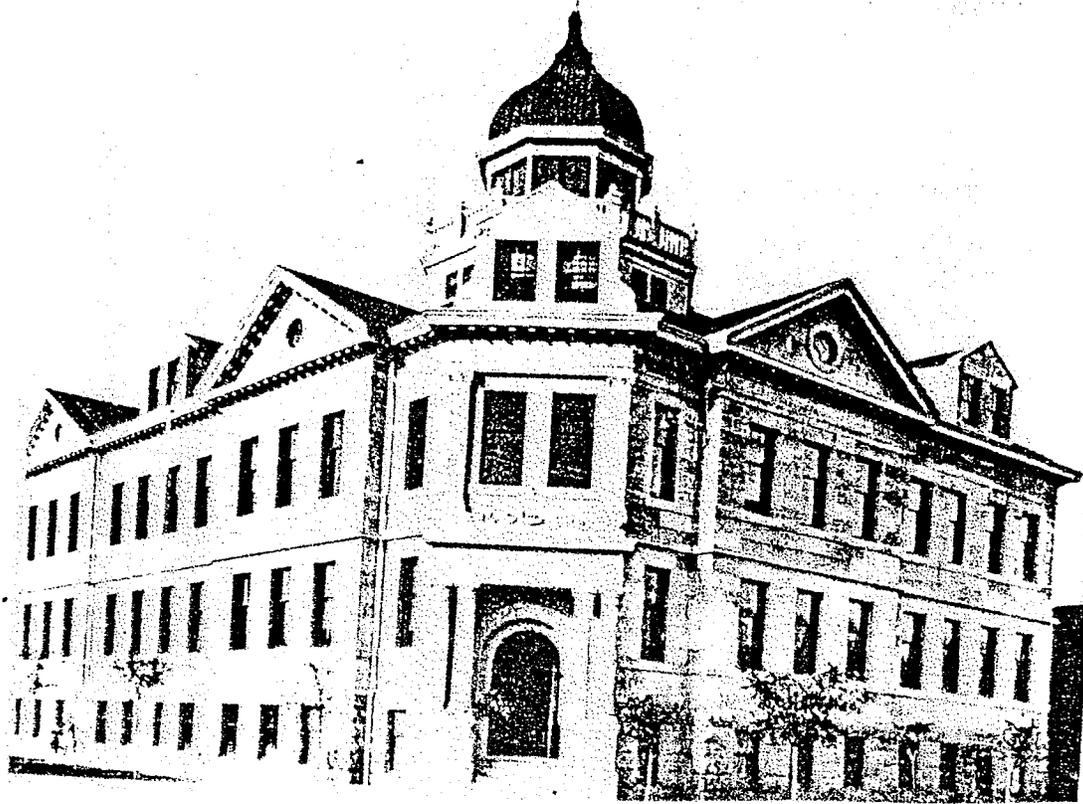


FIGURE 8 : The Provincial Normal School (1903-6), Winnipeg

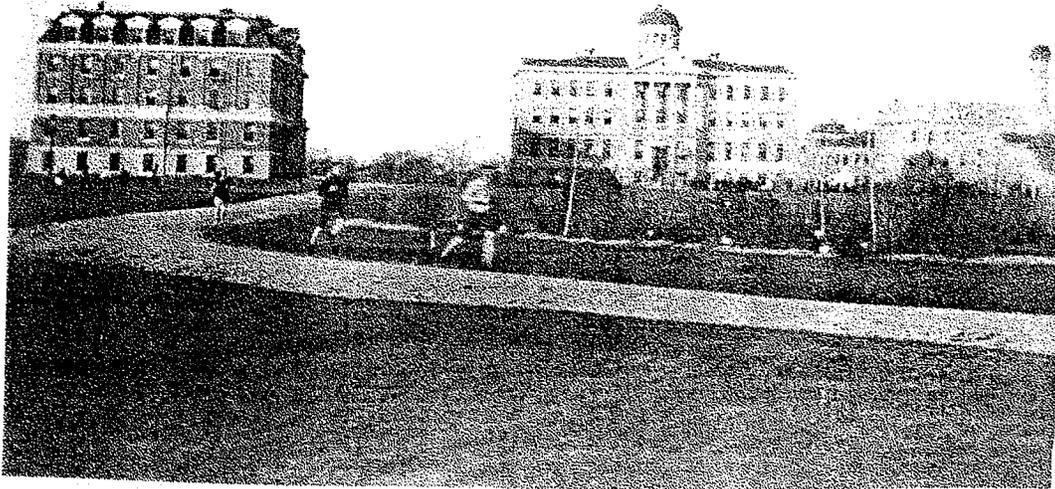


FIGURE 9 : The Administration Building,
The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles site
(1904-10), Winnipeg

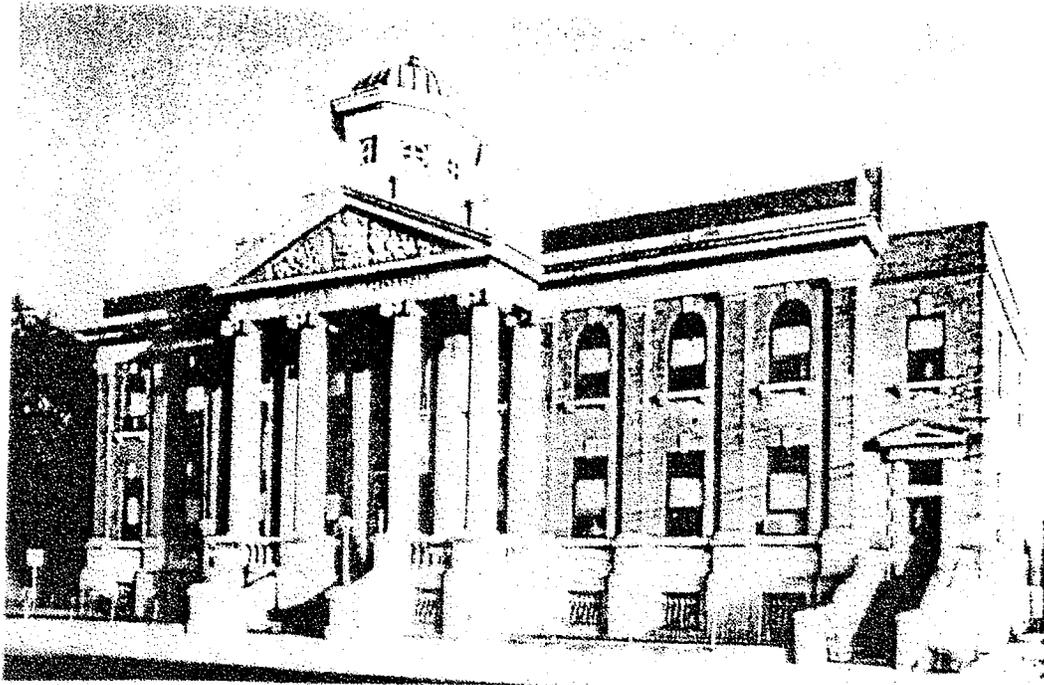


FIGURE 10 : The Western Judicial District Court House and Gaol
(1908-10), Brandon

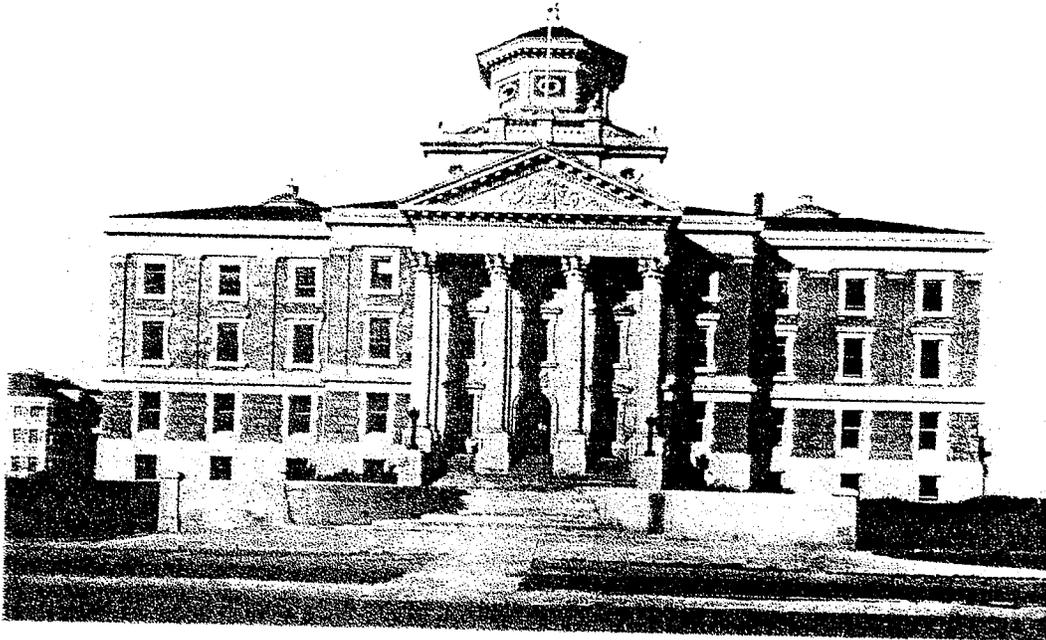


FIGURE 11 : The Administration Building,
The Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site,
(1911-16), Winnipeg

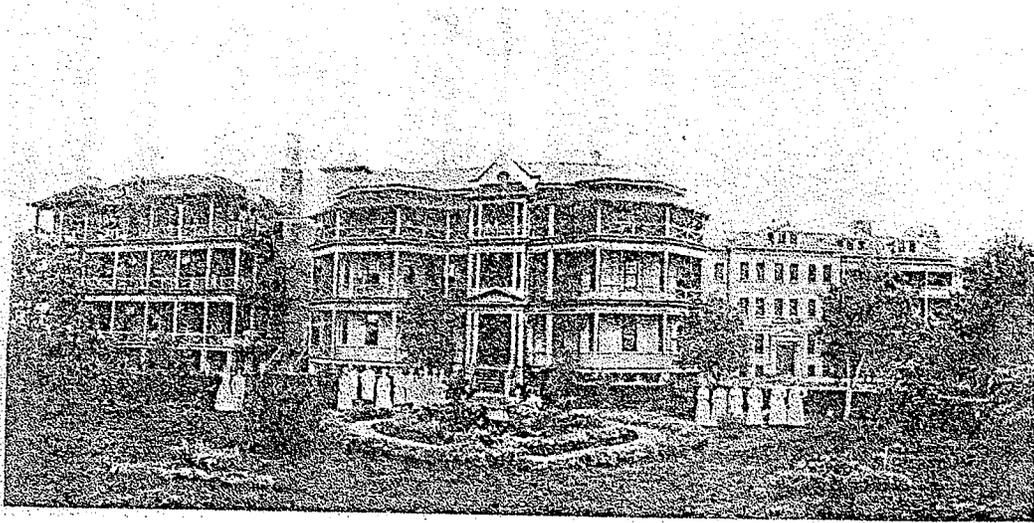


FIGURE 12 : Home for Incurables and Old Folks' Home
(1908 / 1910-12), Portage La Prairie



FIGURE 13 : The Empress Hotel, (ca. 1909), Winnipeg Beach

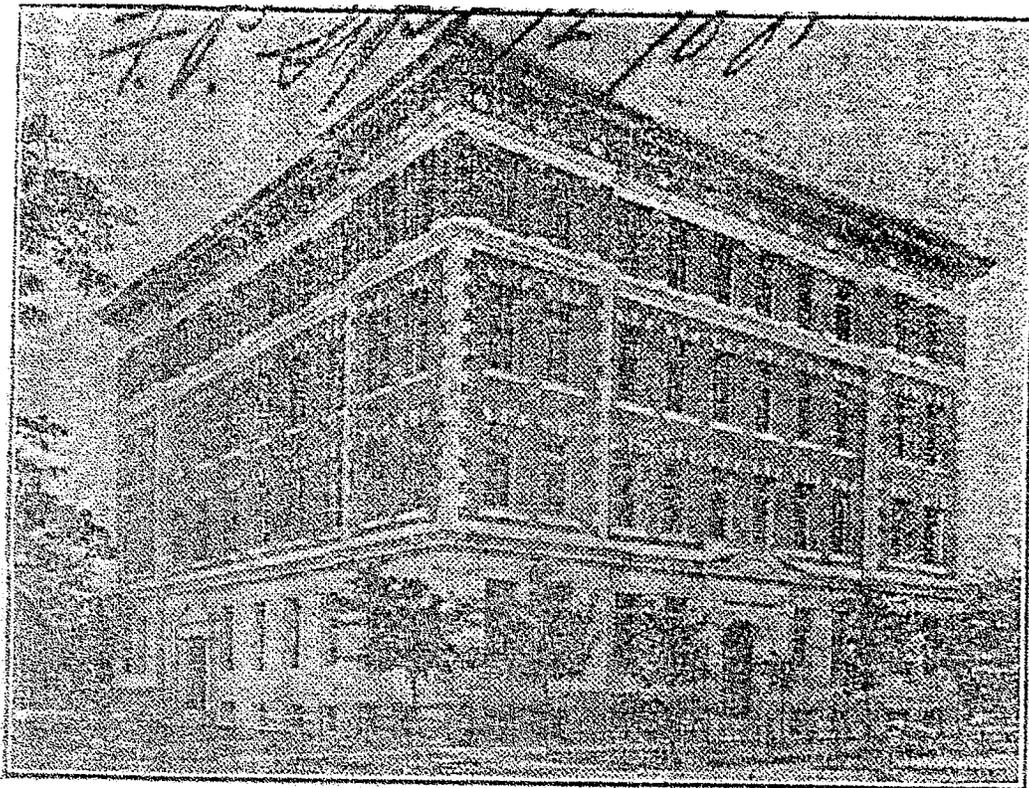


FIGURE 14 : Provincial Telephone Exchange (1907-8), Winnipeg



FIGURE 15 : The Manitoba Land Titles Building (1903), Winnipeg

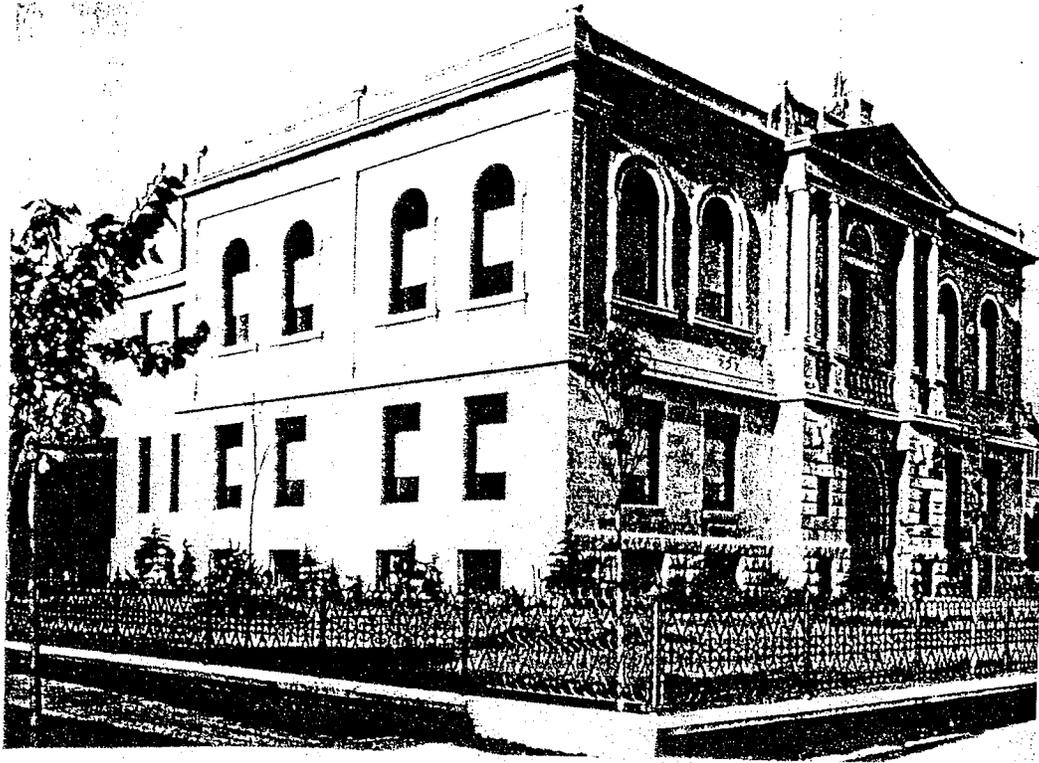


FIGURE 16 : Carnegie Library (1903-5), Winnipeg

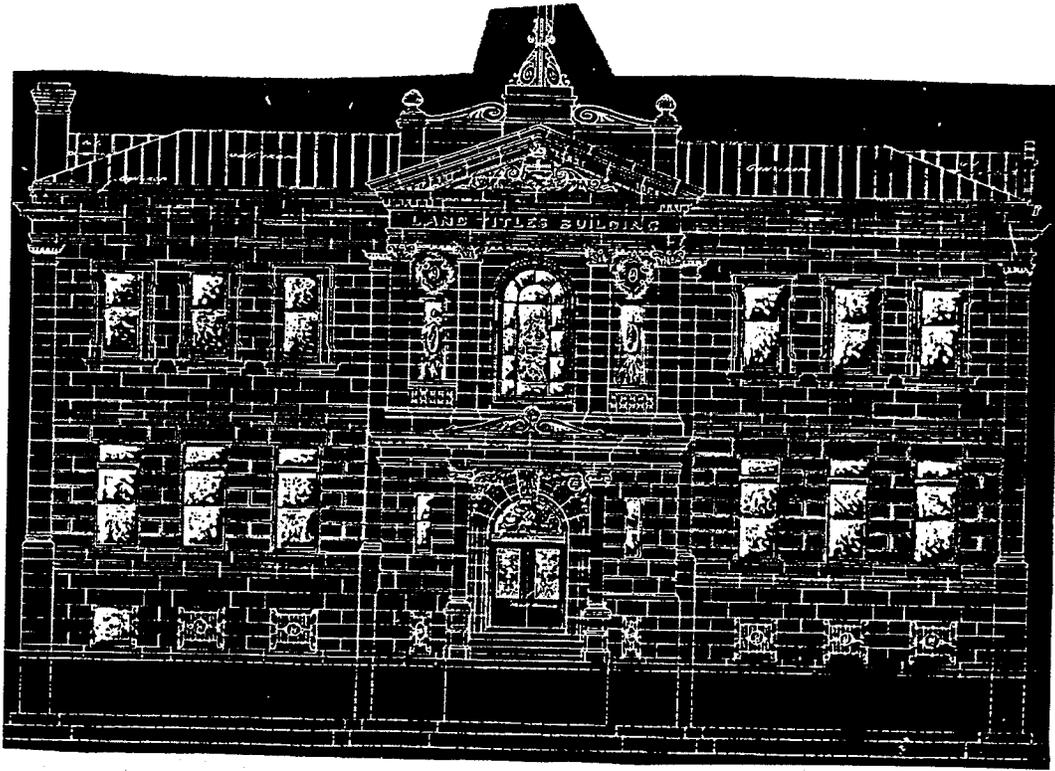


FIGURE 17 : "Drawings of Proposed Land Titles Building,
Winnipeg, Man.", (1903)

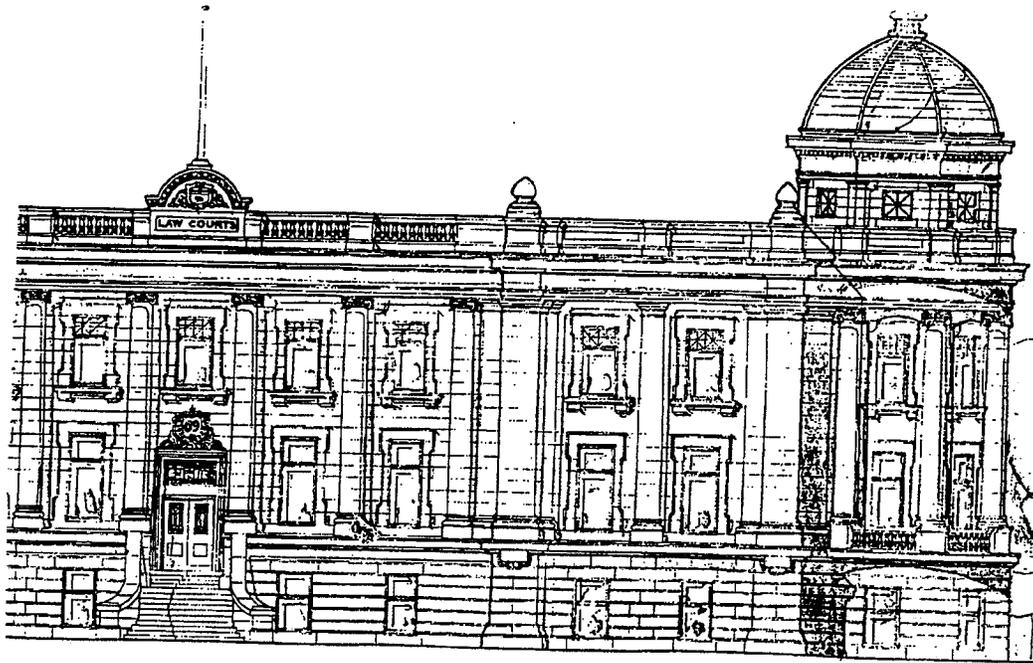


FIGURE 18 : "Elevation to Broadway",
Manitoba Law Courts Building (1909), Winnipeg



FIGURE 19 : Victor W. Horwood

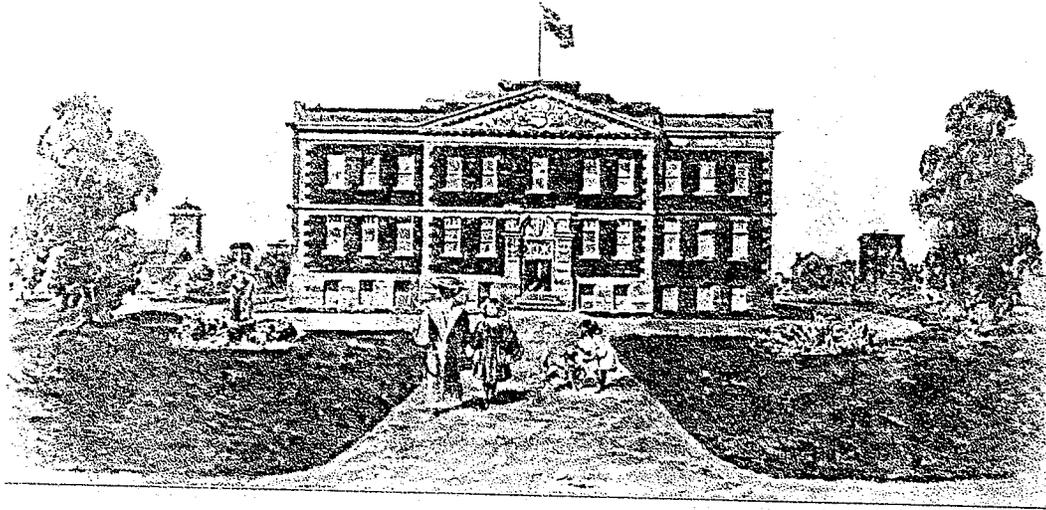


FIGURE 20 : "Normal School, Brandon" (1912)

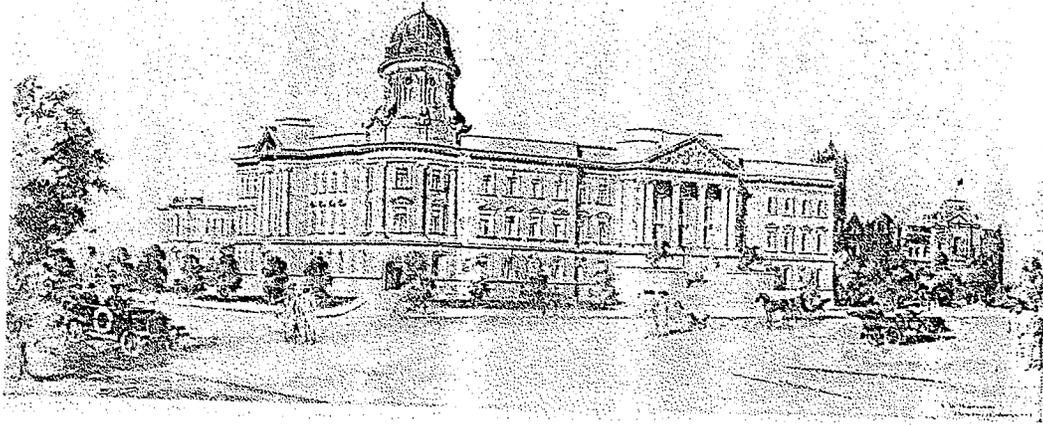


FIGURE 21 : "Perspective View of New Law Courts, Winnipeg" (1912)



FIGURE 22 : Principal's Residence,
Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site (1913), Winnipeg

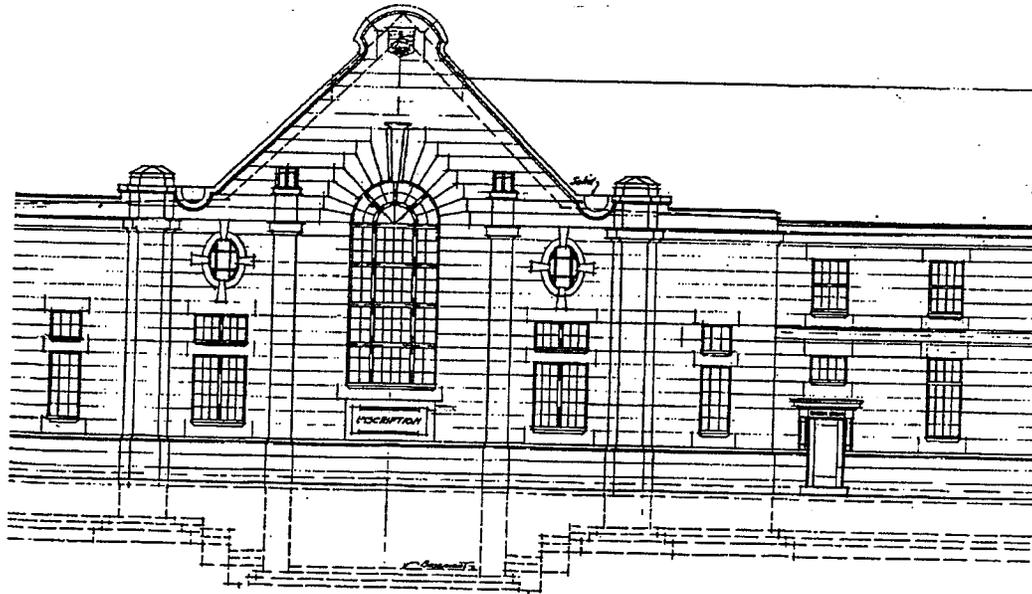


FIGURE 23 : "Western Elevation, Central Power House, Winnipeg",
(1913-16)

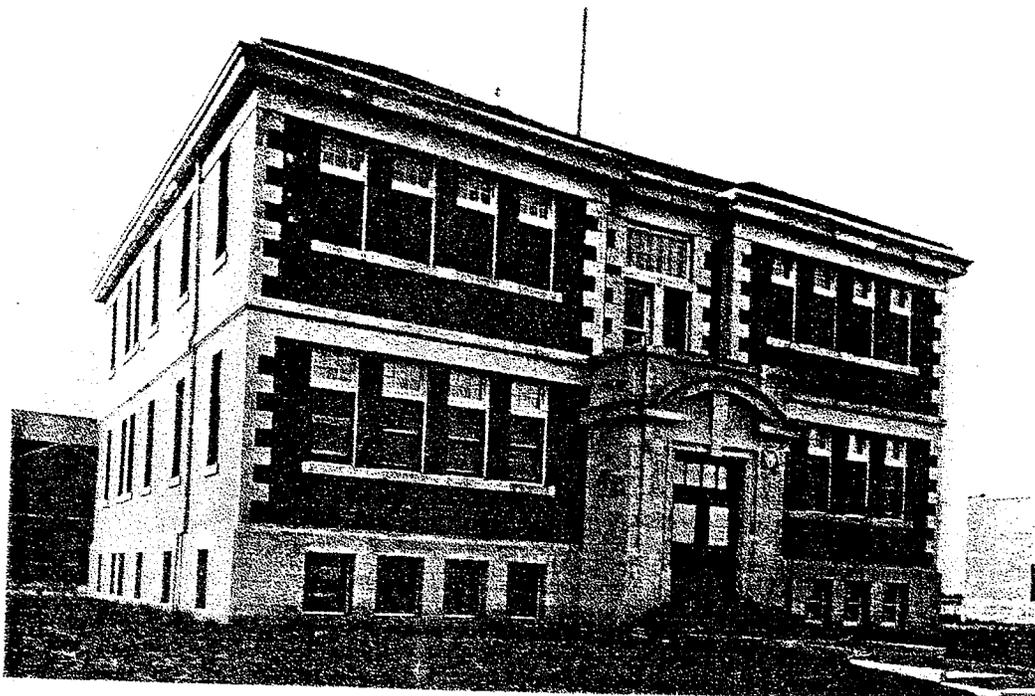
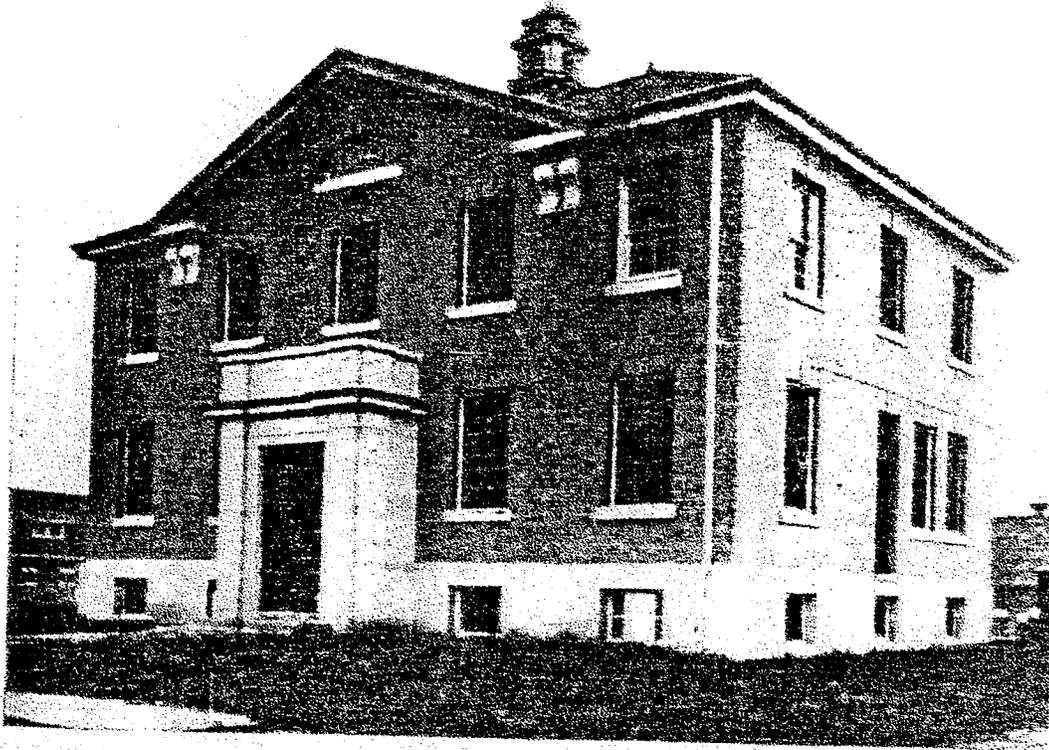


FIGURE 24 : Dairy Science Building, (1913)
Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg



Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg

FIGURE 25 : Poultry Building, (1913)

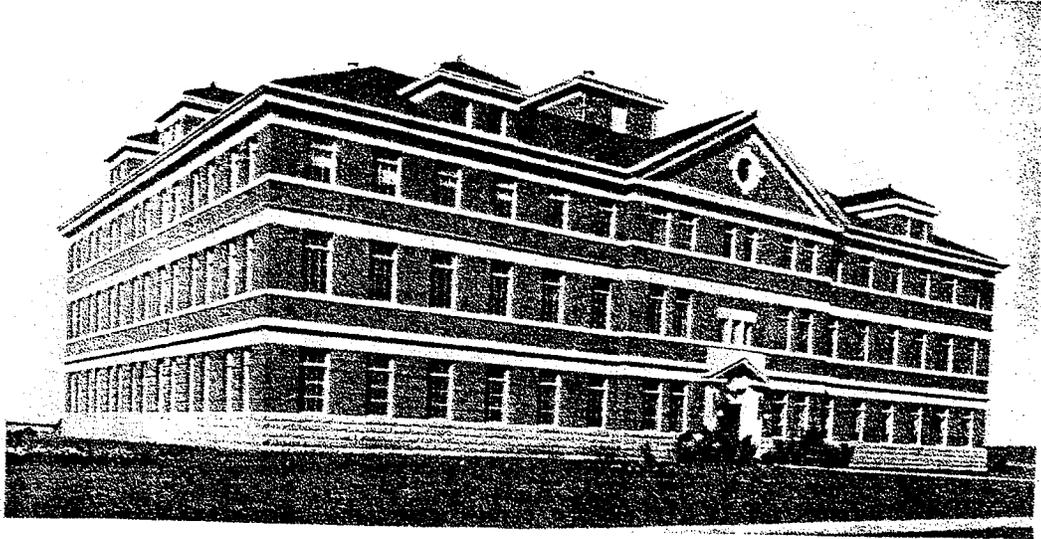


FIGURE 26 : The Engineering Building, (1913-16)
Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg

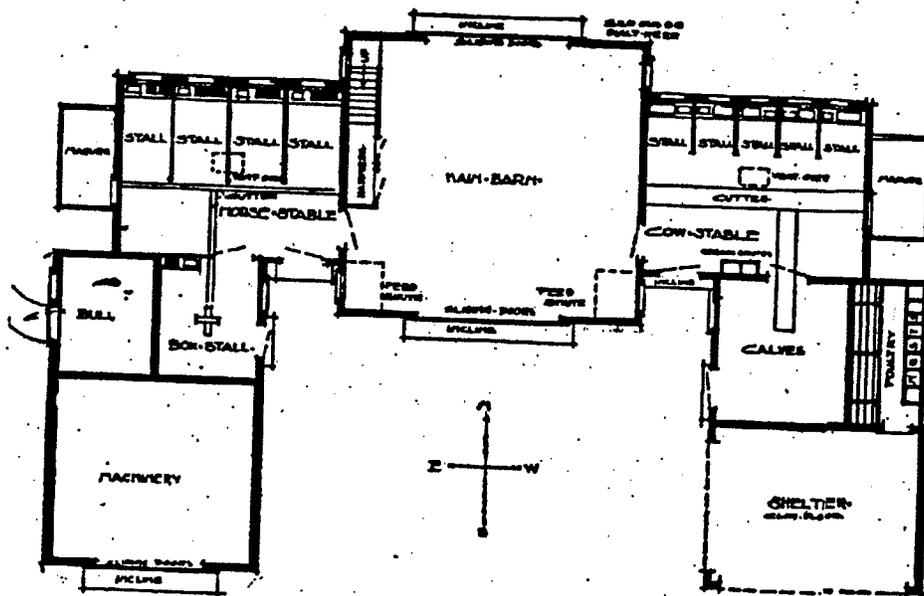


FIGURE 27 : "Designs for Stable", (1906)

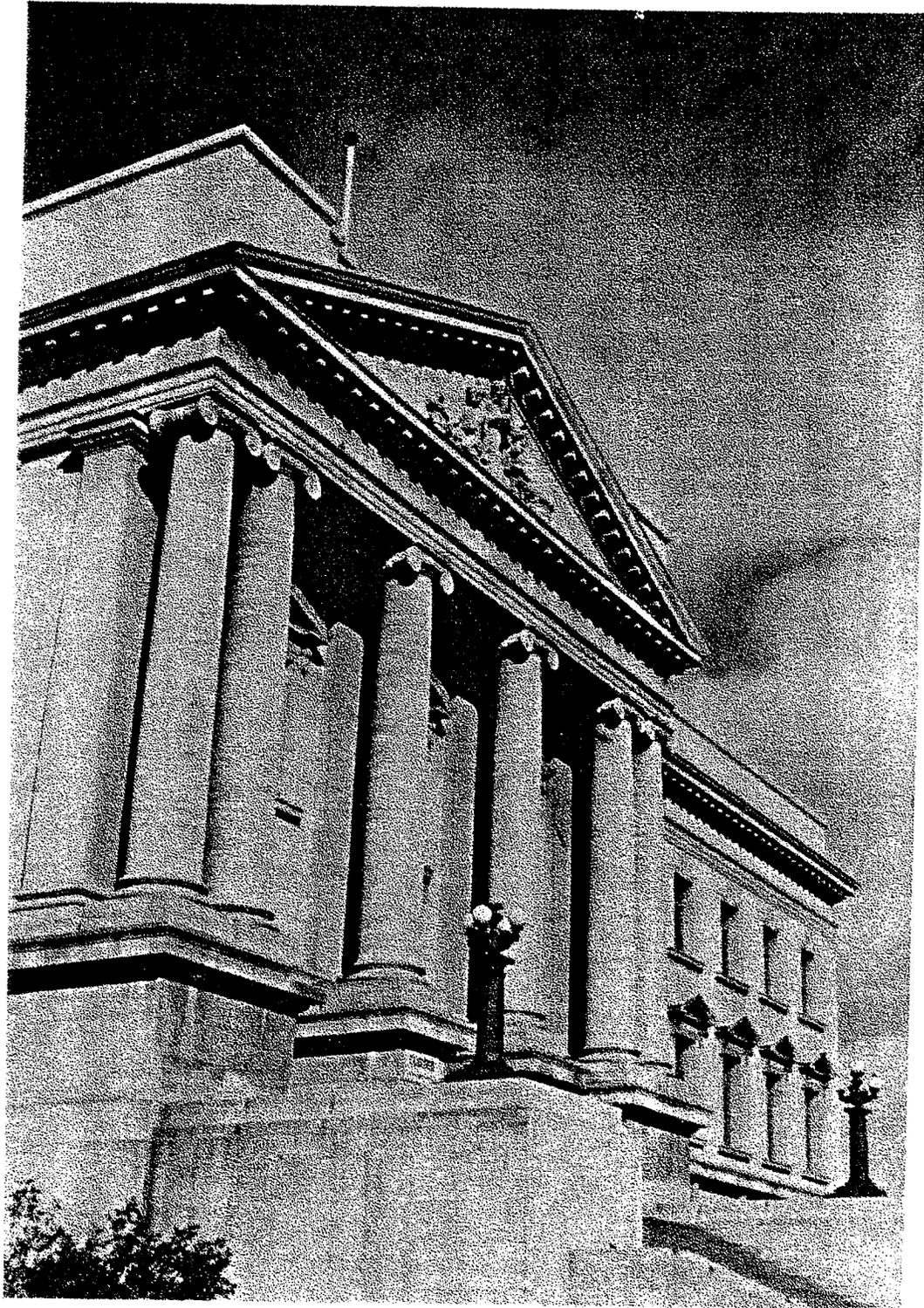


FIGURE 28 : Kennedy Street Entrance,
Manitoba Law Courts Building (1911-16), Winnipeg

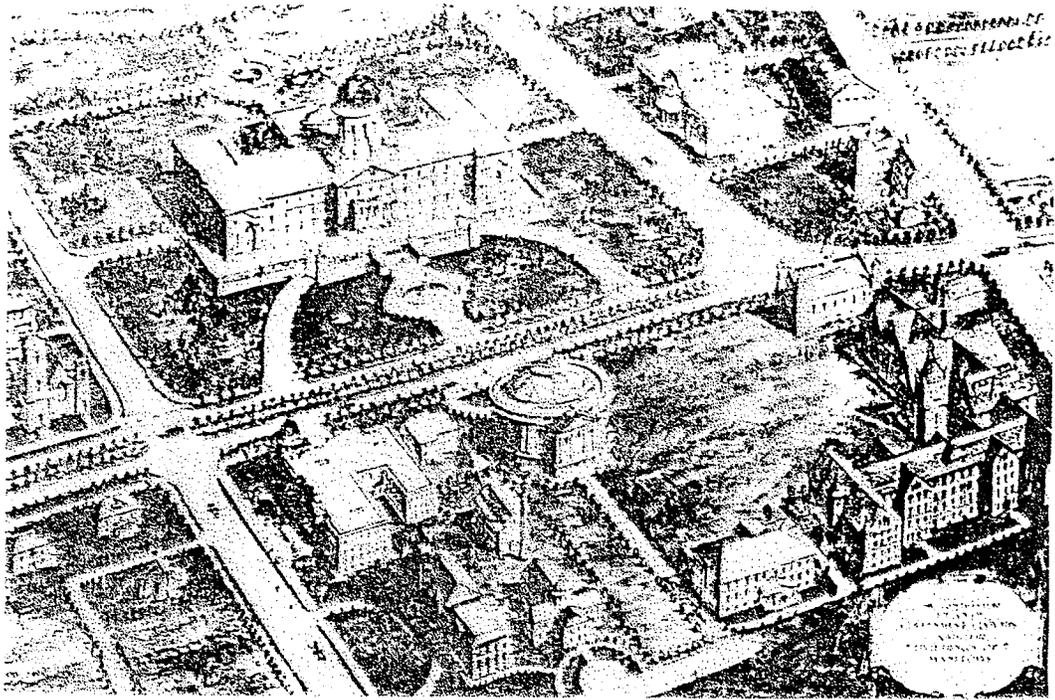


FIGURE 29 : "Suggestion for Plan of Government Grounds and for Buildings of Manitoba", (1912)

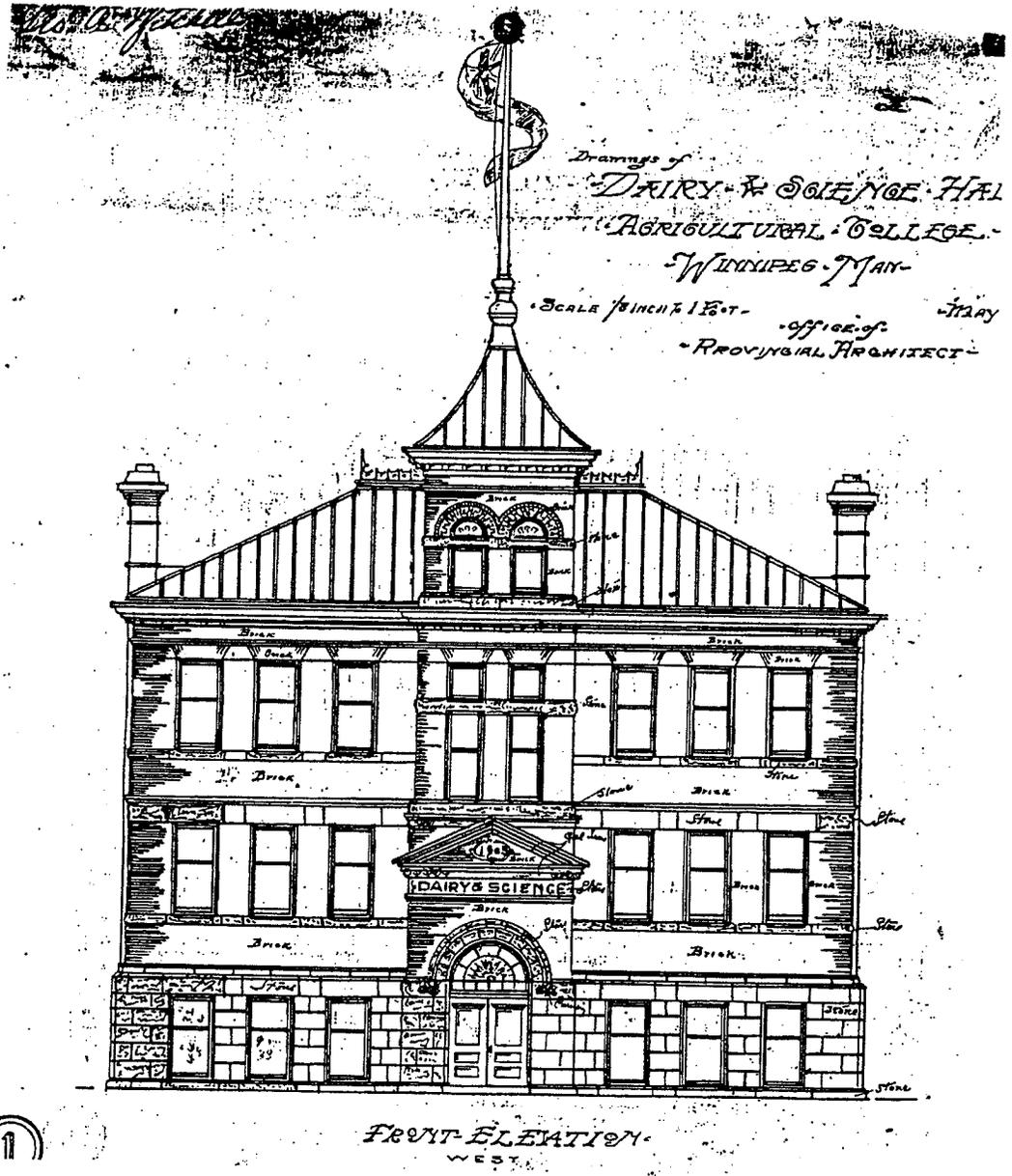


FIGURE 30 : "Drawings of Dairy and Science Hall, Agricultural College, Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Charles site (ca. 1904), Winnipeg"

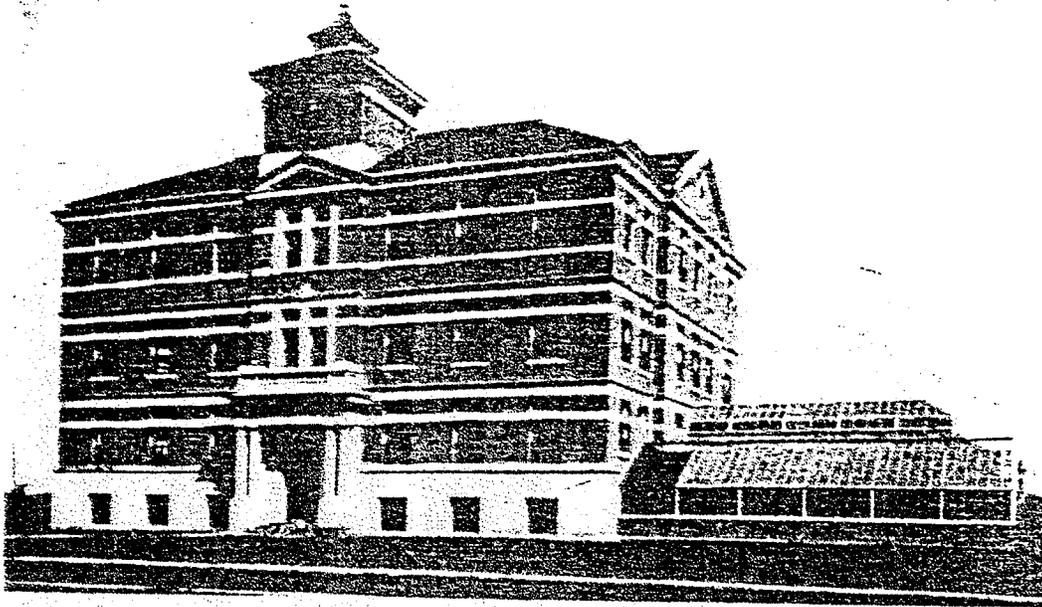


FIGURE 31 : Horticulture and Biology Building (1911-13),
Manitoba Agricultural College, St. Vital site, Winnipeg

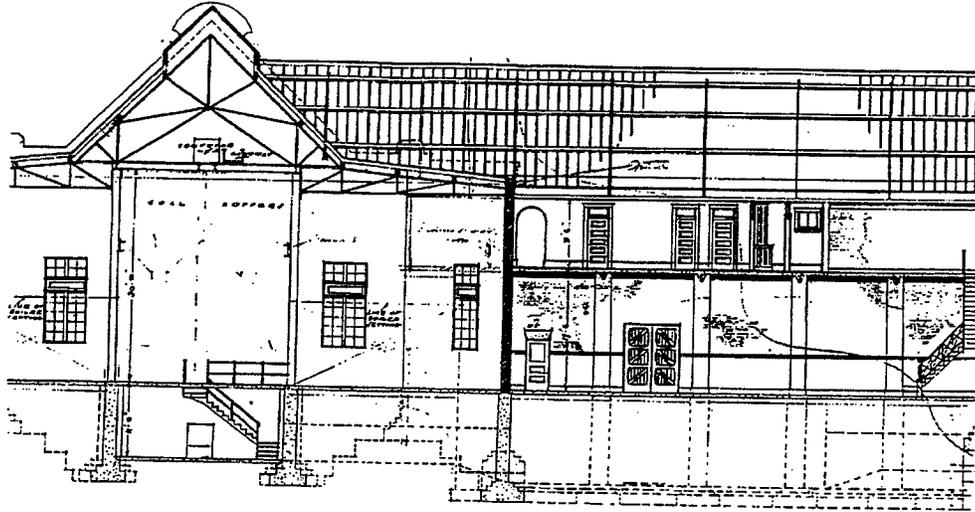


FIGURE 32 : "Longitudinal Section",
Manitoba Central Power House, (1913-16), Winnipeg

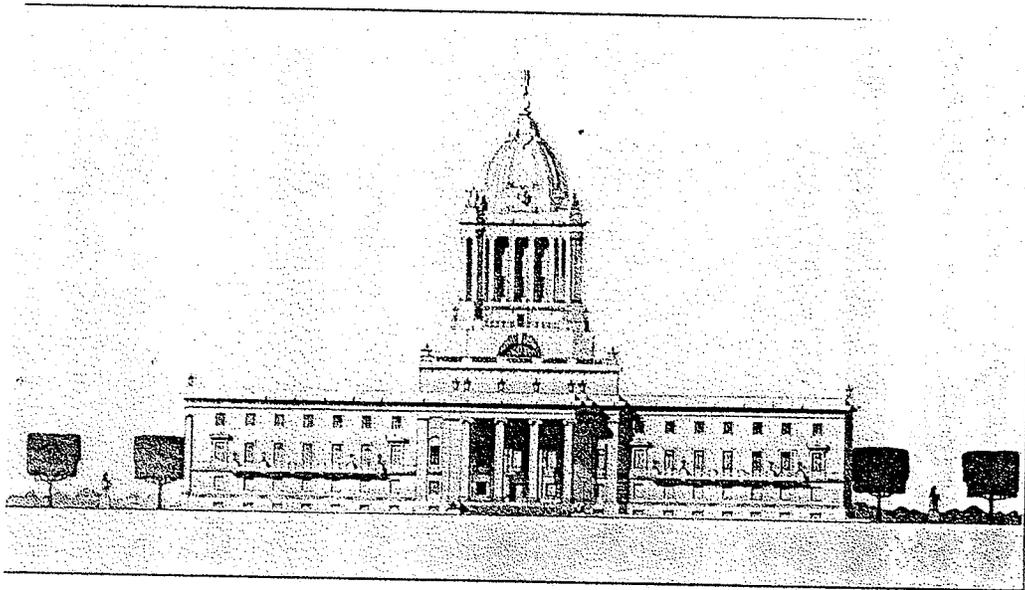


FIGURE 33 : "Legislative and Executive Building, Winnipeg
- South Elevation", (1912)