

# THE PICTURESQUE GOTHIC VILLA COMES TO TOWN

## The Emergence of Toronto's Bay-and-Gable House Type<sup>1</sup>

> SCOTT WEIR

SCOTT WEIR is a principal at ERA Architects Inc., a firm that specializes in consultation with respect to cultural heritage, with an interest in city building, conserving heritage architecture, and improving the built environment. He also volunteers on the board of the Cabbagetown Heritage Conservation District Committee, who along with the Cabbagetown Preservation Association generously opened their archives for his research. He holds an M.A. in architecture from Carleton University.

Like the New Orleans shotgun house or the Brooklyn brownstone, Toronto's ubiquitous bay-and-gable house type has come to represent the face of the city's neighbourhoods. Beloved in Toronto it remains a highly sought after housing type and versions of this house continue to be used by developers for narrow lots and urban infill.

The success of this type resulted from its pragmatic adaptation of widely published architectural models to first produce custom freestanding large and symmetrical versions for the upper classes, then detached or semi-detached versions for the middle classes, and then mass-produced inexpensive speculative housing for the working classes, from the mid- to late nineteenth century. This housing was popular amongst both builders and occupants because of its efficient management of space, light and air, its employment of local materials and embrace of mass production, and perhaps most importantly, its ability to assign an appealing character solely through minor and inexpensive decorative detailing to a narrow house frontage. A tightly packed assembly of ornamental woodwork, decorative brickwork, and the variation produced by a profusion of gables and bay windows resulted in unique and diverse streetscapes like those of Cabbagetown (fig. 1), whose scale has produced pedestrian-friendly and humane neighbourhoods.



FIG. 1. STREETSCAPE OF BAY-AND-GABLE HOUSES ON METCALFE NORTH OF CARLTON, MOSTLY 1880S. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

This paper is arranged in four parts: the first will introduce the form; the second will trace the evolution and emergence of this typology from British nineteenth-century architectural treatises and built work;



FIG. 2. A SOMEWHAT ASYMMETRICAL PAIR AT 24-26 ELGIN, 1879. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

the third will show how the architectural, economic, and political context fostered Toronto's boom of 1880s speculative housing; and the fourth will investigate the building method that produced it.

## THE BASIC FORM

The semi-detached bay-and-gable house type proliferated in Toronto from 1870 to about 1900, and is essentially comprised of a few common elements. The two-and-one-half-storey front façade is clad in brick and vertically oriented, each side including a ground floor bay window fronting the principal room, and an entrance usually sheltered by a small porch. The second floor façade is generally flat with two or three windows aligned with the doorway and bay below, although occasionally the bay continues upward to the eaves (fig. 2). The roof is oriented with the ridge running from side to side, having a front gable centred over the ground floor bay window.

In plan form, the arrangement includes a side hall plan opening onto two small or one large principal room(s) facing front and back, in many cases with an offset kitchen wing extending to the rear, allowing for light to enter the middle of the house. The plan was adjusted based on budget and width of lot, these lots generally ranging from a very narrow twelve feet to twenty-five feet (figs. 3-6), in many cases having street and alley access. The earliest (and oftentimes largest) houses tended to sprawl across wider lots, affording light and views to be gained in these rooms from three sides, while the majority were designed to face solely to the front and rear due to their situation on narrow lots (fig. 7).

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE TYPE

The obvious starting point to tracing this typology might be Andrew Jackson Downing's "plain timber cottage villa"

widely published in his 1850 book *The Architecture of Country Houses*<sup>2</sup> and bearing a close resemblance to the bay-and-gable type (fig. 8). But earlier signposts underlie this key publication. Scholars<sup>3</sup> have pointed out the influence of John White's book *Rural Architecture*<sup>4</sup> of 1845, and Francis Goodwin's *Rural Architecture*<sup>5</sup> of 1835 on influential residential architects like A.J. Downing, Alexander Jackson Davis, and Gervase Wheeler. Similarly the architectural publishing of the early nineteenth century influenced the British architects who would become the architects of the Toronto region.

Richard Brown's *Domestic Architecture* of 1841 proposes for new suburban estates the Norman Feudal, Lancastrian Embattled, Morisco-Spanish, and Pompeian-Suburban styles along with Elizabethan Gothic<sup>6</sup> in breathless prose sprinkled liberally with poetry. While dismissed by Pevner as "obviously being a bit of a charlatan" while "Charles [Barry] was a serious man,"<sup>7</sup> Brown's description of the "English Antique" defines a type that was a resonant British vernacular.

Every part of decorative architecture which is discoverable in the Tudor mansions before the reign of Elizabeth, was derived from the then prevailing sacred architecture. Our only motive in calling attention to this fact, is the desire of keeping the mind on fixed principles, rather than on modifications. In the reign of Elizabeth, the forms and decorations of the two styles, namely, Gothic and Antique, became so indiscriminately mingled and Italianized, that no true order prevailed, which has rendered it impossible to designate it by any intelligibly expressive epithet.<sup>8</sup>

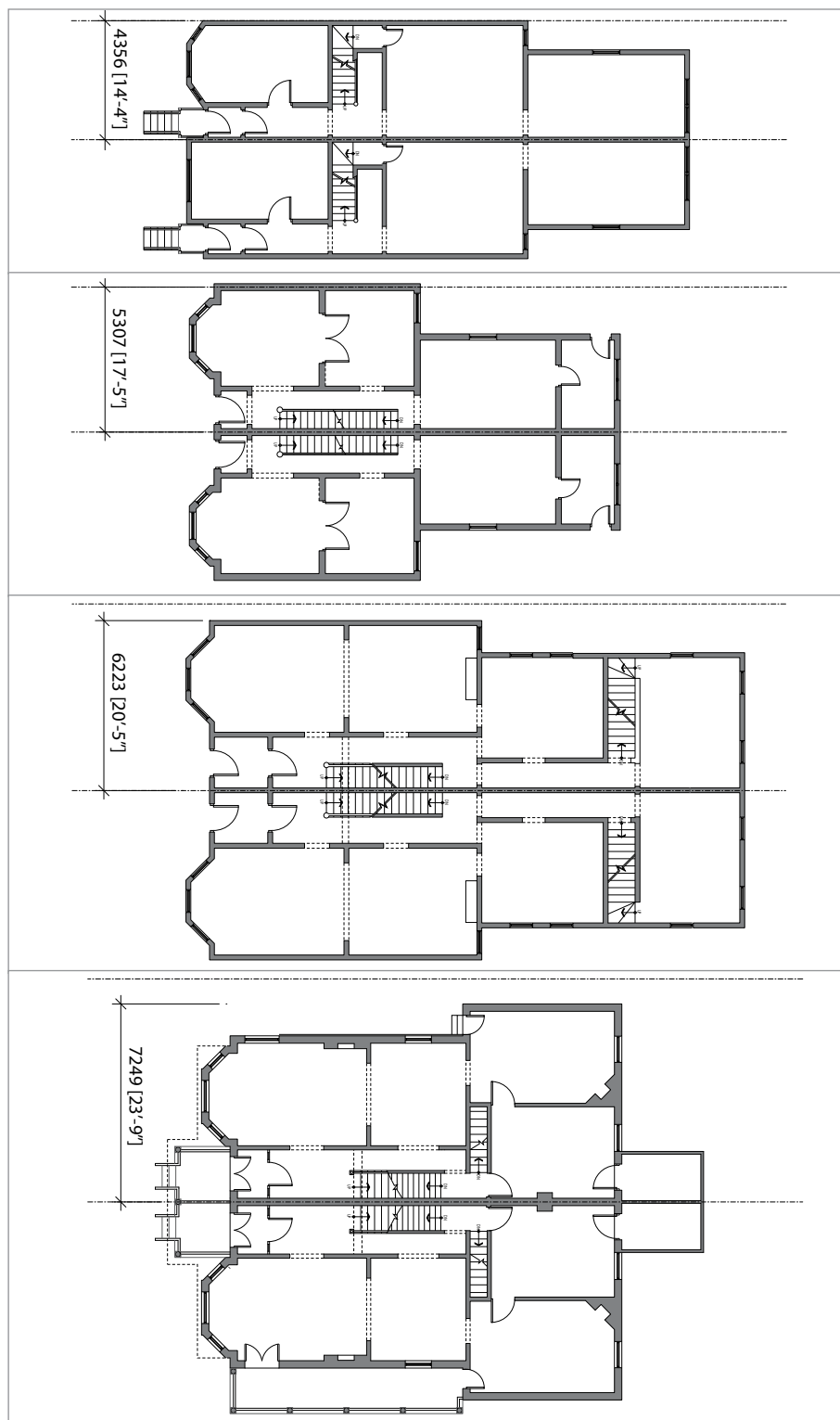
In his widely distributed *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* of 1833 written to "improve the dwellings of the great mass of society," John

Claudius Loudon shows amongst others the “beau ideal villa” (fig. 9), designed for the book by Charles Barry.<sup>9</sup> While this design represents an “English Antique” house on the scale of a small village, it demonstrates the roots of what would become the bay-and-gable type: a symmetrical arrangement of twin gables projecting from a cross gable roof, with bays centred on those peaks, surrounding a central entrance. With a caveat that “the time for such villas is rapidly passing away,” he intended to show “a modern English villa as it ought to be” so that it might be “referred to by Architects to afford hints for smaller villas.”<sup>10</sup>

Evidence of these smaller buildings that directly anticipate the eventual bay-and-gable typology can be traced through a dialogue that was building amongst British pattern books from the early years of the nineteenth century, developing its momentum from the Regency period’s balancing of symmetry and the picturesque in their experiments to find a uniquely British architecture.

Edmund Bartell had in 1804 positioned that the inexpensive but tasteful “cottage orné” was an acceptable and intriguing option for housing the titled classes, rather than a substantial country house (fig. 10). His description of the “design for an adorned cottage” depicts in a single house the basic form that the bay-and-gable semi-detached would become, with a

centre part, which appears of the same size with the parlours, a passage or entrance to them may be taken off transversely, while the back part may be employed as a kitchen; and by carrying one of the wings backward, so as to throw the plan of the house into the form of an L, other conveniences, with an additional chamber, would be obtained.<sup>11</sup>



FIGS. 3. BAY-AND-GABLE TYPICAL HOUSE PLAN FOR THE NARROWEST WIDTH HOUSES. 4. BAY-AND-GABLE TYPICAL HOUSE PLAN OF A SLIGHTLY LARGER HOUSE. 5. BAY-AND-GABLE TYPICAL HOUSE PLAN OF A LARGE HOUSE. 6. BAY-AND-GABLE TYPICAL HOUSE PLAN FOR THE WIDEST HOUSES, WITH OPPORTUNITY FOR VIEWS INTO THE SIDE YARD. | ERA ARCHITECTS INC., 2015.



FIG. 7. HOUSES ON LARGER LOTS, LIKE THIS PAIR AT 280-282 CARLTON, HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE IN LIGHT AND VIEWS FROM THE SIDE, BUT MORE COMMONLY WINDOWS WOULD ONLY APPEAR ON THE FRONT AND REAR FAÇADES. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

Subdividing the entirety in two, splitting the hallway into two narrow stair halls, and adding an additional rear wing could describe what would become Toronto's 1880s bay-and-gable.

Robert Lugar's *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings, and Villas, in the Grecian, Gothic, and Fancy Styles of 1815*<sup>12</sup> comes remarkably close to the form that would be mass-produced seventy years later, in a single family format. In describing his "house in the gothic style," he recommends the use of "bay or bow windows, [which] give a pleasing variety to the elevation; and the whole, with the porch, is in true character of an ancient English mansion"<sup>13</sup> (fig. 11).

Thomas London addresses the advantages of semi-detached or "coupled houses" in 1827, stating: "Houses built in couplets are not only attended with less expense in their erection than when detached, but they are

calculated to present an appearance of consequence which singly they might not possess."<sup>14</sup> And although not arranged as a semi-detached, his "parsonage house" in that same book also anticipates the appearance that the bay-and-gable would take.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Peter Frederick Robinson's "alms houses" of 1822<sup>16</sup> test the form in a multi-family dwelling within that façade arrangement, but it was Samuel H. Brooks's "double cottage in Tudor Style" of 1839<sup>17</sup> (fig. 12) that most closely predicted how this type could be transformed into respectable semi-detached dwellings, although he recommended that it be "separated from any other buildings."<sup>18</sup> The appropriateness of arranging this Tudor villa format into the shape of a semi-detached pair of dwellings was similarly explored by others, as can be seen in John White's two versions of "design for a double cottage" of 1845 (figs. 13-14), Thomas Chambers Hine and Robert Evans's "double villa" of 1868, William Audsley's "design for two

semi-detached cottages" of 1870, and Palliser, Palliser and Company's "a pair of cottages" of 1878.

Conjoined speculative housing was being implemented in sites like London's Lonsdale Square, a late 1830s terrace of identical gabled houses designed by church architect Richard Cromwell Carpenter for his father, who had the building lease for most of Lonsdale Square. Carpenter would go on to join the Cambridge Camden Society with Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, primarily interested in designing churches that accurately represented Gothic principles. By 1870, William Wilkinson<sup>19</sup> had published a conjoined set of three symmetrical arrangements of row-houses, as the type was entering production in Toronto.

This early nineteenth-century struggle to define an appropriate architectural style and form is evidenced in Brown's array of options, but is perhaps most telling in the overhaul of classical forms to attain a symmetrical but more "English" type, as can be seen in George Stanley Repton's design for renovations to Kitley House in Devon, 1820-1825.<sup>20</sup> In this case, a simple hip-roofed Georgian building was overhauled to take on an "Old English" appearance that would later be promoted in Barry's "beau ideal villa," creating a symmetrical twin-gabled house with projecting square bays and central entrance directly referencing the Elizabethan or Jacobean period of English architecture. Charles Eastlake would later position Anthony Salvin's Morby Hall of 1828 as a prototype foreshadowing the Elizabethan-Jacobean-Gothic mélange<sup>21</sup> of the 1830s and 1840s, although the roots of this had been experimented with for decades. As early as 1796, John Nash undertook renovations to the north front of Corsham House, Wiltshire, transforming the appearance of a relatively new house from Grecian to what

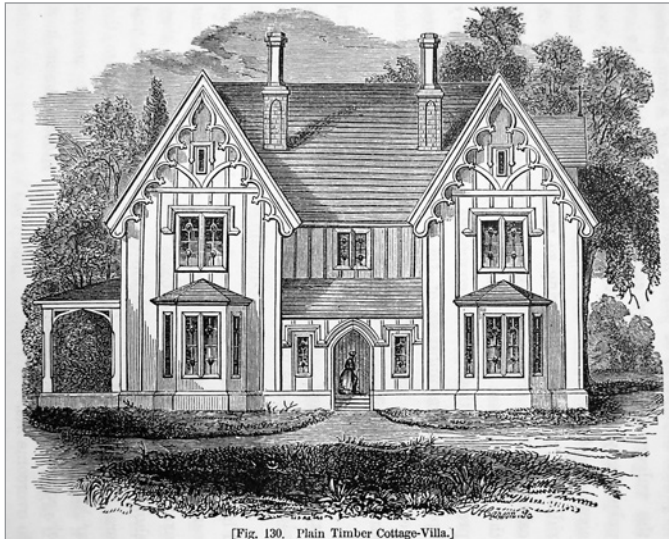


FIG. 8. A.J. DOWNING'S "PLAIN TIMBER COTTAGE-VILLA." | PUBLISHED IN 1850 IN DOWNING'S WIDELY DISTRIBUTED BOOK *THE ARCHITECTURE OF COUNTRY HOUSES*, BASED ON GERVASE WHEELER'S BRODY HOUSE OF 1848-1849, P. 300.



FIG. 9. CHARLES BARRY'S DESIGN FOR "BEAU IDEAL VILLA." THE STATED INTENT WAS TO SHOW "A MODERN ENGLISH VILLA AS IT OUGHT TO BE" SO THAT IT MIGHT BE "REFERRED TO BY ARCHITECTS TO AFFORD HINTS FOR SMALLER VILLAS." | DESIGN PUBLISHED IN LONDON, 1833, *AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF COTTAGE, FARM AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE*, FIG. 1436.



FIG. 10. AN EARLY PRECEDENT FOR THE BAY-AND-GABLE TYPE – EDMUND BARTELL'S "DESIGN FOR AN ADORNED COTTAGE." | PUBLISHED IN BARTELL, 1804, *HINTS FOR PICTURESQUE IMPROVEMENTS IN ORNAMENTED COTTAGES*, PL. 3.



FIG. 11. ROBERT LUGAR'S "HOUSE IN THE GOTHIC STYLE." | PUBLISHED IN LUGAR, 1815, *ARCHITECTURAL SKETCHES FOR COTTAGES, RURAL DWELLINGS, AND VILLAS, IN THE GRECIAN, GOTHIC, AND FANCY STYLES*, PL. XVIII.

he called "Queen Elizabeth Gothic." This assigning of value to "Old English" types had been at play<sup>22</sup> in architectural treatises, with Gothic, "Tudor-bethan," or generally Old English cottage forms being applied to classically symmetrical arrangements since the late eighteenth century.

### WHY ANCIENT ENGLISH?

A root of the reasoning behind why Elizabethan or Gothic might be the most

appropriate construction for the grasping upwardly mobile middle classes lay in the conception that new money tended to have recently built country houses of neo-classical type, while old money had inherited what was at times being described as Gothic or perhaps more vaguely as "English Antique" houses. Decades before, Humphry Repton had noted that employment of the "Queen Elizabeth Gothic" or "House Gothic" style would "imply that the owner is not

only lord of the surrounding country, but of the town also."<sup>23</sup> Classical forms leant themselves to terraced housing, and were of a more recent vintage indicating new money, while "Antient English" was associated with old wealth and political power, as noted in William F. Pocock's 1807 text:

It is unnecessary here to repeat what has been so often said concerning the propriety of adopting the antient English style in Buildings, to which family estates and



FIG. 12. S.H. BROOKS'S "DOUBLE COTTAGE IN THE TUDOR STYLE," AN EARLY PRECEDENT TO THE SYMMETRICAL SEMI-DETACHED BAY-AND-GABLE HOUSE. | PUBLISHED IN BROOKS, 1838, *DESIGNS FOR COTTAGE AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE*, PL. XCIV.

hereditary honours are attached: but if in any case the good taste of a Proprietor is shewn, a Manor House is surely a fit subject to display it, whence his title and property originate.<sup>24</sup>

The idealizing of this Elizabethan architecture was not without its critics, and Benjamin Britton wrote with respect to the competition for the Houses of Parliament:

That the "Elizabethan Style" should be held up for a pattern, as an example to be imitated in the present age, and to be employed in a great mass of buildings devoted to the Houses of Parliament, is most surprising... Every transition or immediate link between two classes or fashions of architecture is commonly defective: and it may be safely affirmed that the mongrel buildings of "the maiden Queen's" reign, are among the blemishes rather than the beauties of art.<sup>25</sup>

The base form of this building type as seen in the Toronto example retains the massing of the Elizabethan villa, with modifications that adopt elements of Gothic and the expressive rustic follies intended to ornament the landscape.

Pugin's *Contrasts* of 1836<sup>26</sup> similarly brought forward an idealizing of the 1400s in Britain, painting a picture of an orderly, beautiful, and moral society architecturally expressed in variously classical (corrupt) and Gothic (just) garb. While true neo-Gothic architecture was experimented with to produce many British country houses, the lancet windows and castellated forms made for a foreboding and dark building. In reference to the gloom of early pointed revival architects, Eastlake describes massive dark buildings such as Eastnor Castle, in which the architect, like "all the admirers of Pointed architecture fell at this time into the

grievous error of supposing that its merits lay in the quaint uncouthness of early necessity rather than in those immutable but ever applicable principles"<sup>27</sup> in choosing narrow windows, massive girth, and dark angry battlements. The emerging "Neo-Old-English" type rather selected decorative elements of the Gothic with the symmetry, light, and air provided by the English Renaissance in full flower, as evidenced in Elizabethan and Jacobean country villas like Burton Agnes Hall, Montacute House, and Wroxton Abbey.<sup>28</sup>

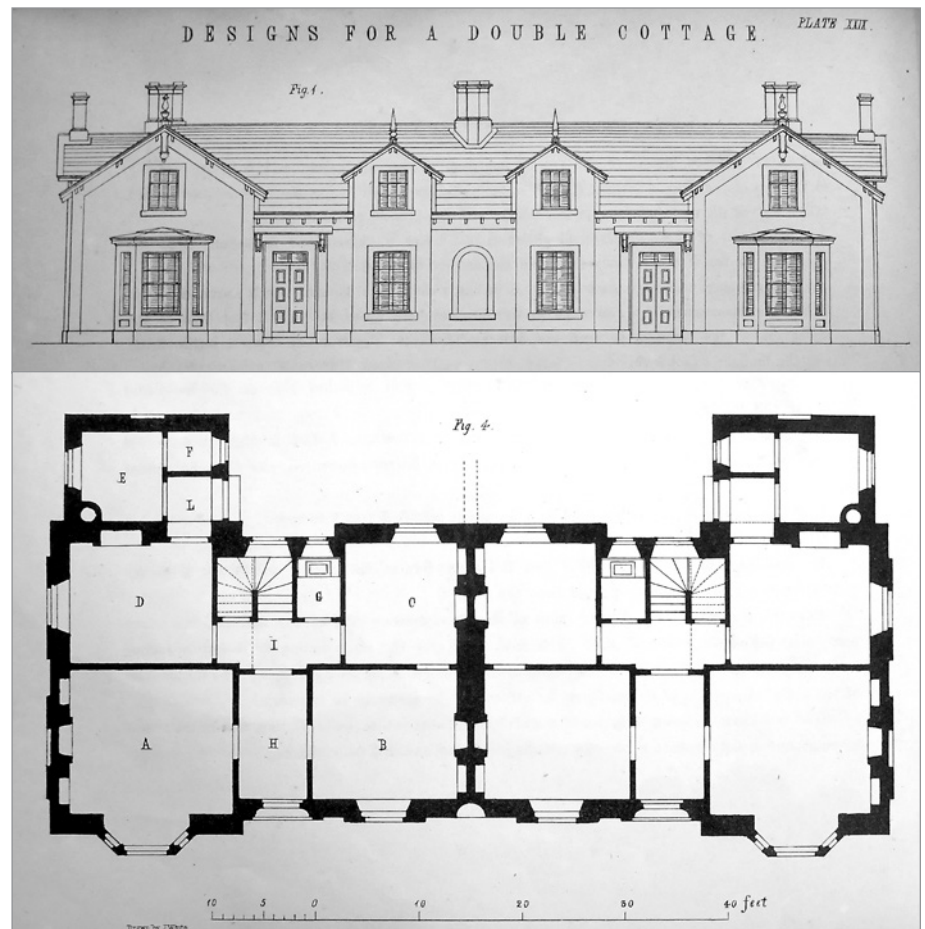
Goodwin's work of 1833<sup>29</sup> also conjoins the Old English massing and light with elements of the "cottage orné," understated and refined in John B. Papworth's beautiful *Rural Residences* of 1818<sup>30</sup> and becoming more elaborate as the century progressed. The later cottage orné traded the parapet gable of the Old English for an ornamented gable with carved barge-board in a manner can be seen throughout Toronto. The gable peak finials and ornamented gable boards that became a common feature were evident in Thomas London's 1828 parsonage house. By the late 1820s and 1830s, pages of construction details of these neo-Gothic gables were being included in Robinson's<sup>31</sup> (fig. 15), White's<sup>32</sup> (fig. 16), Brooks's,<sup>33</sup> and Downing's<sup>34</sup> books alongside their versions of these villas.<sup>35</sup> Robinson notes that "these give a peculiar air of richness to a gable, and as the bargeboards are merely cut off a deal two inches in thickness, the expense is not a material consideration, unless the pattern is very intricate."<sup>36</sup> White's "Design for a Villa After the Gothic Style... suitable for a gentleman of moderate fortune" shows details for bargeboards, pendants, and angle brackets at the gable ends, "the tracery and ornamental parts of which may be wood, but for durability cast-iron would be preferable."<sup>37</sup> Downing's description suggests the potential for faux finishing exterior woodwork to appear to

be oak, and warns against a reductionist approach to ornament that might be designed by an amateur carpenter rather than an architect, as it could produce an “emaciated shadow of the rural Gothic cottage, not its bold, picturesque, and striking reality.”<sup>38</sup> This then is balanced by his advice that a simple smaller cottage should avoid “ornate vergeboard, which properly belongs to a villa,” opting instead for a simplified model that can be easily executed “without fear of its falling into the gingerbread character.”<sup>39</sup>

The relationship of the Gothic style or even a vaguely Old English connotation to British and Canadian political identity cannot be overlooked. A portion of the founding people of Canada were United Empire Loyalist, who had been relatively recently turfed from their homes in the cities and farms of the previously British colonies to the south as a result of their loyalty to the king during the American Revolution, and English-speaking societies in Upper Canada (now Ontario) looked in particular to all things British for their cultural allegiance. It is not coincidental that the Canadian Parliament buildings of 1859 are powerful embodiments of Ruskinian Gothic rather than Greek Revival, and that the rapidly expanding Toronto would adopt a vaguely “Old English” type as its public face. The Toronto bay-and-gable house type sidesteps Ruskin’s *Seven Lamps of Architecture*,<sup>40</sup> choosing instead to follow an earlier decade’s Regency reinterpretation of symmetrical Old English.

## TORONTO CONTEXT

The context of Toronto’s urban domestic architecture leading to the middle of the nineteenth century was one primarily of Georgian terraced row-houses of two or (rarely) three stories, with a few villa exceptions.



FIGS. 13. JOHN WHITE’S “DOUBLE COTTAGE” (ELEVATION). 14. JOHN WHITE’S “DOUBLE COTTAGE” (PLAN). | FROM WHITE, 1845, *RURAL ARCHITECTURE*, PL. XXIX.

Berkeley House (fig. 17) was a particularly influential early example in this city of a symmetrical Old English villa, and rare in its gabled deviation from the Georgian and Regency houses. Likely erected between 1805 and 1813, the house was described as “one of the usual low-looking domiciles of the country, with central portion and two gable wings, somewhat after the fashion of many an old country manor house in England.”<sup>41</sup> Its main section followed the form of a symmetrical H-plan Old English villa, with roof of low pitch but Gothic windows referencing voussoirs. Berkeley House followed a construction method that later became common in nineteenth-century Toronto, employing a lime stucco

over wood lath, ornamented with wooden elements. It eventually included thirteen rooms, the largest two measuring eighteen by forty-five feet. The house precedes but closely resembles published work of British architect John White (whose *Rural Architecture* was published in 1845).

Berkeley House, the first of Toronto’s Old English villas, had originally been erected by Major John Small who had come to Canada from Gloucestershire as clerk of the Crown under the direction of Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. His son, Charles Coxwell Small (1801-1864), is credited with enlarging



FIG. 15. P.F. ROBINSON'S 1833 DESIGN FOR A "GATEKEEPER'S LODGE," WITH A DEEPLY ORNAMENTED GABLE INCLUDING CARVED GOTHIC BARGEBOARD AND PENDANT. | PUBLISHED IN ROBINSON, 1833, *DESIGNS FOR LODGES AND PARK ENTRANCES*, PL. V.

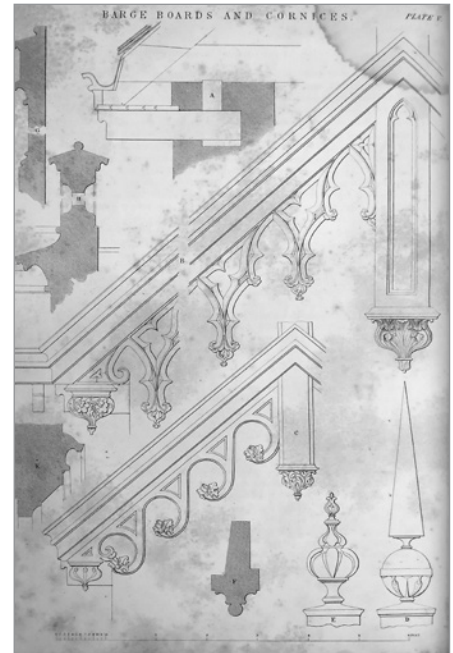


FIG. 16. JOHN WHITE'S DETAIL FOR BARGEBOARD, PENDANT, AND FINIAL. | FROM WHITE, 1945, *RURAL RESIDENCES*, PL. V.

the mansion in 1849 and returning it to being a lively society house, popular amongst the wealthy "family compact" that set the tone for Toronto. Berkeley became "one of the great social centres and few indeed are the members of the old aristocracy who have not danced or dined beneath its roof,"<sup>42</sup> and we would assume that the associative value with its architecture was high. Beyond this, the architectural context of residential buildings primarily followed a neo-classical or Regency model until the arrival of architect William Thomas in 1843.

It is perhaps Thomas's humble upbringing and route toward becoming an architect that influenced the built form of Toronto in such a manner. Thomas was raised the son of an innkeeper in Stroud, UK, in a double gabled "Old English" public house. While not of the intellectual elites, he and his two brothers all became recognized in life for their artistic pursuits, his brother Robert a landscape painter, and

his brother John a highly regarded stone carver, significantly having collaborated with Charles Barry<sup>43</sup> and A.W.N. Pugin on the British Houses of Parliament in 1836, as "carver in chief"<sup>44</sup> and "second only in importance to Pugin among those working for Barry at Westminster."<sup>45</sup>

Significantly Thomas's architectural education was begun through his familial association to Barry and Pugin, but also through apprenticeship to the emerging categories of contractors, builders, and surveyors. In a profession previously open only to members of the middle and upper classes, Thomas had the rare opportunity to attain this position by working up through the trades (rather than through formal education) as carpenter/joiner, then builder, surveyor, developer of speculative housing for the middle class, real-estate agent, and finally architect, which for the British was an opportunity only afforded within the context of the industrial revolution.<sup>46</sup>

His work in the United Kingdom in the early 1830s demonstrated a preference for Old English architecture, and his work shows direct precedents to what would become the bay-and-gable house of Toronto. Thomas's first large commission was the renovation of Radford Hall in 1835-1837, which like G.S. Repton's work at Kitley House, took an asymmetrical seventeenth-century multi-gabled façade and reorganized it into a symmetrical Gothic elevation,<sup>47</sup> a close match to Robinson's published design for Dunsley Manor. His new design for Endwood Court, in 1839, directly anticipated the forms that would later become Toronto's bay-and-gable. His speculative housing work for developers on Upper Holly Walk of Leamington Spa paralleled the contemporary work of R.C. Carpenter in Lonsdale Square,<sup>48</sup> employing an Old English façade to appeal to upwardly grasping middle-class purchasers. This would later influence the founding of the profession and emergence of a development class in Toronto.





FIG. 17. BERKELEY HOUSE, PHOTOGRAPHED IN 1925 BEFORE DEMOLITION. | TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, VIRTUAL REFERENCE COLLECTION, [HTTP://STATIC.TORONTOPUBLICLIBRARY.CA/DA/IMAGES/LC/PICTURES-R-2487.JPG], ACCESSED SEPTEMBER 2015.



FIG. 18. OAKHAM HOUSE BY ARCHITECT WILLIAM THOMAS, FOR HIS OWN RESIDENCE, 1848. NOW PART OF RYERSON UNIVERSITY'S STUDENT CENTRE AT 55 GOULD STREET. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.



FIG. 19. THE BLAIKIE AND ALEXANDER HOUSES AT 404 JARVIS STREET, BY ARCHITECTS GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, CONSTRUCTED BY SMITH AND BURKE, 1864 (SHOWING THE UNALTERED LEFT PORTION OF THE HOUSE MIRRORED TO REPLACE THE CURRENT ELEVATION WHICH WAS LATER ALTERED.) THIS BUILDING IS THE EARLIEST REMAINING SEMI-DETACHED EXAMPLE OF THE BAY-AND-GABLE IN TORONTO. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.



FIG. 20. 206 GERRARD, BY BUILDER JAMES SMITH, 1875, AN EARLY ADOPTER OF THE BAY-AND-GABLE, IN THIS CASE A DETACHED FINELY BUILT HALF-GOTHIC VILLA. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

Following the economic crash of the late 1830s, the enterprising Thomas noted that booming Toronto only listed three practising architects for a population of fifteen thousand, and relocated his family to Toronto. Contextually the face of Toronto was a Georgian City of mews housing,<sup>49</sup> with some significant others like Berkeley House.<sup>50</sup>

His skills of surveyor, architect, engineer, speculator, land developer, landscaper, and landlord in an expanding city in collaboration with others like John Howard set the tone for the construction industry in Toronto. The most refined work of this early period in Toronto was at the hands of three architects, William Thomas, John Howard, and Scottish Gothickist William

Hay. Many architects of the following period were trained by them.

By 1848, Thomas had built his own residence, Oakham House, a symmetrical Old English villa (fig. 18). In the same year, Henry Bowyer Lane constructed the very similar Homewood nearby, with a projecting eave form more suited to the harsh

Canadian climate and “the bold, picturesque and striking reality”<sup>51</sup> of a Gothic villa, an exuberance that would later be appropriated by Toronto’s developers at a reduced scale. Concurrent to Oakham and Homewood, British architect Gervase Wheeler designed the similar Brody House in Maine in 1848-1849, which Downing later widely distributed to America in the form of the “plain timber cottage-villa”<sup>52</sup> (fig. 8). The path was set.

The earliest local precedent of the semi-detached symmetrical bay-and-gable remains in the south half of the 1863 Blaikie and Alexander houses at 404 Jarvis Street, by the firm of Gundry and Langley (fig. 19). With refined red Flemish bond brickwork and Gothic sandstone ornament, these houses represent a grandly scaled version of the form, more akin to the British precedents than the later examples of this type from the 1880s. By the early 1870s, Langley and other architects like Grant and Dick were producing substantial but simplified white brick versions of single (one half) bay-and-gable houses for the finer streets of the grid. The area around Allan Gardens is particularly rich with large white brick single bay-and-gable houses like the one built by James Smith at 206 Gerrard Street (1875)<sup>53</sup> (fig. 20). The earliest semi-detached bay-and-gable houses of a reduced scale accessible to the burgeoning middle class appear to be the now altered neo-Gothic pair of houses from 1871 at 33-35 Elm Street, and a remaining relatively unaltered pair from 1875 at 30-32 Lowther Street by the firm of Grant and Dick (figs. 21-22). Further examples of these early buildings with variations derived from a distant Canadian understanding of Elizabethan and Gothic architecture can be seen in Yorkville, the Annex, and Cabbagetown.<sup>54</sup>

These original 1870s versions were well-built solid masonry houses,<sup>55</sup> large and

commodious, primarily designed by architects as custom houses for the upper middle class. These unique buildings were at the forefront of architectural style at a crucial point in Toronto’s architectural history, forming a model for the mass development produced for the working classes that would follow.

### THE EMERGENCE OF DEVELOPMENT IN TORONTO

The Boulton map of 1858 shows the buildings extant in the City of Toronto that year. Cabbagetown at the time was sparsely populated with both suburban villas and working-class cottages,<sup>56</sup> with the land surveyed and ready for development, much like the other areas of the inner suburbs. This suburban band is where most of the houses of the bay-and-gable type can be found.

Following a period of mid-nineteenth-century immigration, population growth rapidly led to a housing shortage in the city.<sup>57</sup> Toronto increased in population from about thirty thousand in 1851, to fifty-six thousand in 1871, eighty-six thousand in 1881, and then one hundred and eighty-one thousand in 1891.<sup>58</sup> *The Globe* reported on a renewed real-estate boom in 1868, stating that the demand for houses was not met by supply, and that houses with six, eight, twelve, and even fourteen rooms were most in demand, and were being leased when they were half completed.<sup>59</sup> Construction trades wages had increased, and bricks in Toronto were scarce and more expensive than in London, Brantford, and other cities, leading to the construction of rough-cast houses. It is not coincidental that a period of speculative housing construction came into full force in the 1880s, particularly noted in what then was referred to as St. David’s Ward, the area now known as Cabbagetown.<sup>60</sup> While the majority of the buildings in this

area date from the nineteenth century, the map (fig. 23) points out the bay-and-gable house types with their date of construction, showing that once surveyed the area was built up in a piecemeal fashion. About half of these three thousand house-form buildings were constructed as a variant of bay-and-gable.

In Cabbagetown, most of the bay-and-gable type houses of semi-detached or row-house form were developed with multiple buildings being originally possessed by one owner. This speculative model was unfolding because the economic context was ripe for their development. During this period of expansion, an 1857 recession had led to the collapse of the Canadian banks. Torontonians accustomed to investing their money in bank stock looked to opportunities with better returns like the railways, and in Toronto increasingly in development. Newly formed building societies<sup>61</sup> in Toronto allowed investors to back small-scale developments ranging from two to ten or even more buildings. In a deep recession year these still yielded a twelve and a half percent per annum return.

Cabbagetown within this city context provided a fertile development opportunity. Adjacent to public sites such as the Toronto General Hospital and its associated colleges, and cemeteries like the Necropolis of 1872, the location on the edge of the developing city and adjacent to the rapidly increasing population of Irish immigrants allowed for a piecemeal level of development to be accessible to small-scale landowners, ranging from larger villas to small cottages, resulting in a neighbourhood of about three thousand remaining contiguous buildings over a period of about twenty years.

Significantly, changes to laws with respect to tax exemptions between 1874 and

1890 made it more difficult to hold fallow land. An 1872 Wadsworth and Unwin map of real estate in Toronto showed that \$10,126,825 worth of property, or one seventh the value of all property in the city, was exempt from tax, including amongst other categories one quarter being Church and ecclesiastical property and one tenth a vague contested category named “lawns and gardens” (or “land not used for urban purposes”).<sup>62</sup>

An Assessment Committee was struck in City Hall in 1873 to review these properties, and in 1884 and “Anti-exemption Association” lobbyist group agitated for the abolition of all tax exemptions. Large swaths of land that had been granted to members of the “family compact” in the form of park lots were becoming subject to taxation through this review process and large quantities of land on the perimeter of the city became available for development. Two examples include the return of \$8,683,259 worth of property to taxable status by a Mr. S.G. Ridout in 1874, and real estate valued at \$12,779,608 by commissioner Maughan in 1878.<sup>63</sup> This shift pressured landowners to sell their properties with rapidity, and freed up vast areas of land for small-scale development by new landowners. Speculators drew on tested housing types from the 1870s like the semi-detached bay-and-gable, with the expectation of renting or selling them upon completion.

*The Globe* reported in 1881 on an exemplary case in which a “minister of regular standing but (with) no regular charge,” Reverend William Muir, may have been attempting to use his tax exemption afforded to the Clergy to assist in the profitability of his development business: “Rev. Wm. Muir assessed for \$2100, claimed the usual exemption... A vote being taken only Ald. Baxter voted in favour of it. The exemption was disavowed.”<sup>64</sup> Muir’s

housing development is somewhat typical of those that popularized the bay-and-gable and is worth some review.

In the case of Muir’s cluster at 8 Howard Street, 2 Glen Road, and 6-16 Glen Road, the buildings were constructed in 1883 and 1884 after the establishment of Glen Road in 1881. They were designed and constructed by builder Arthur Coleman, as a commission for Reverend Muir as the investor, who completed a handful of building clusters of slightly differing façade design, all variants on the bay-and-gable type. These buildings on Glen were first rented and later sold. Early occupants were families of skilled professionals and business owners representing the city’s middle class. They included a pharmacist, the owner of a horse-trading business, and the family of a land surveyor. Some of the early tenants purchased the house they occupied. Others bought the houses as rental properties. Thomas Speight, for example, bought number 6 in 1888, and rented it for some years before living there after 1911. We know that Muir and Coleman jointly sold one of these properties—dimensioned twenty-four feet and eight inches by one hundred and twenty-nine feet—to Nina Gordon Grand for one thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars in 1887.<sup>65</sup> Arthur Coleman’s family retained the house at 2 Howard until the late 1950s. Muir seemingly had problems making the financial equation balance as is shown in one of his later sites. He developed Pine Terrace in 1887, a row of seven bay-and-gable houses, most of which he sold rather than rented. By 1894 two of these newly built houses had been foreclosed upon.<sup>66</sup> He held until 1892<sup>67</sup> six other houses at 41-51 Salisbury.<sup>68</sup>

The availability of surveyed plots opened the opportunity for small-scale investors. The late 1870s to the early 1880s saw individual sets of paired buildings spring

up throughout the developing suburbs, and assessment rolls for Cabbagetown indicate that these might be lived in on one side by the owner/developer, and the other side rented. In Cabbagetown, roughly half of the buildings constructed were bay-and-gable. Developers had seen the opportunity afforded by this inexpensive but expressive façade model, and by 1876, terraces and clusters of this type were being developed.<sup>69</sup> Following initial construction, the house was in many cases inhabited by a series of short-term tenants, followed by longer standing residents who might become owners.<sup>70</sup> In some cases, the buildings were first rented and later sold, while in others they were held and rented long-term.

The moment of transition from unique-architect-designed properties to spec building can be seen in a set constructed by John Holmes, responsible for a particularly fine cluster at Carlton and Berkeley Streets.<sup>71</sup> Holmes was a new convert to the building industry. *The Globe* reported that a John Holmes had sold his successful boot and shoe business in June of 1878<sup>72</sup> (presumably to enter the developer business), a poetically short-lived venture it would appear since seven years later *The Globe* also reported that a “John Holmes... engaged in house building, was killed by a beam falling upon him.”<sup>73</sup> His refined work on the north side of Carlton employed the model set by the architect-designed white brick houses on Sherbourne Street but in a speculative framework, still finely crafted but built as a cluster of similar designs rather than as uniquely designed structures.

The relationship between developers and public boards was a close one. On an adjacent street to the Holmes buildings, an elaborate row of four identical white brick bay-and-gable houses was built in 1878 by Francis Richardson.<sup>74</sup> Their articulated

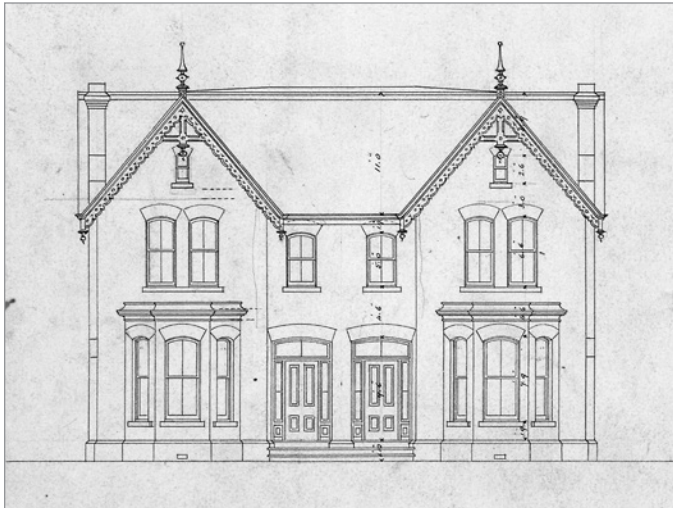


FIG. 21. THE STRUTHERS / ROSS HOUSES AT 30 AND 32 LOWTHER BY GRANT AND DICK, 1875 (ELEVATION). | THE J.C.B. AND E.C. HORWOOD COLLECTION, PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, HORWOOD 433.

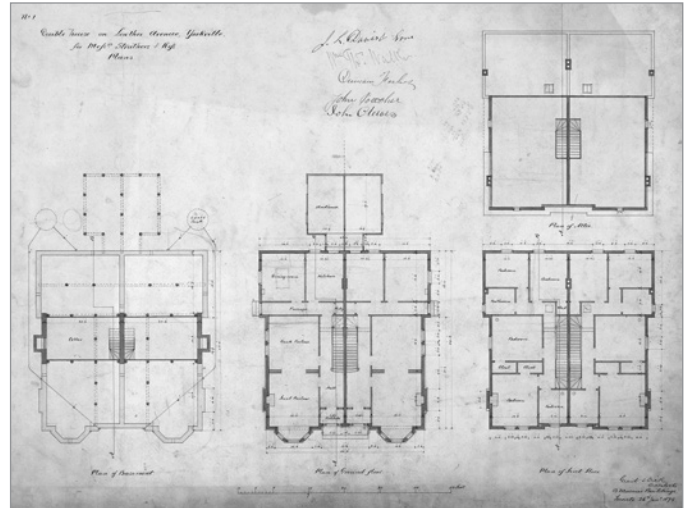


FIG. 22. THE STRUTHERS / ROSS HOUSES AT 30 AND 32 LOWTHER BY GRANT AND DICK, 1875 (PLAN). | THE J.C.B. AND E.C. HORWOOD COLLECTION, PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, HORWOOD 433.

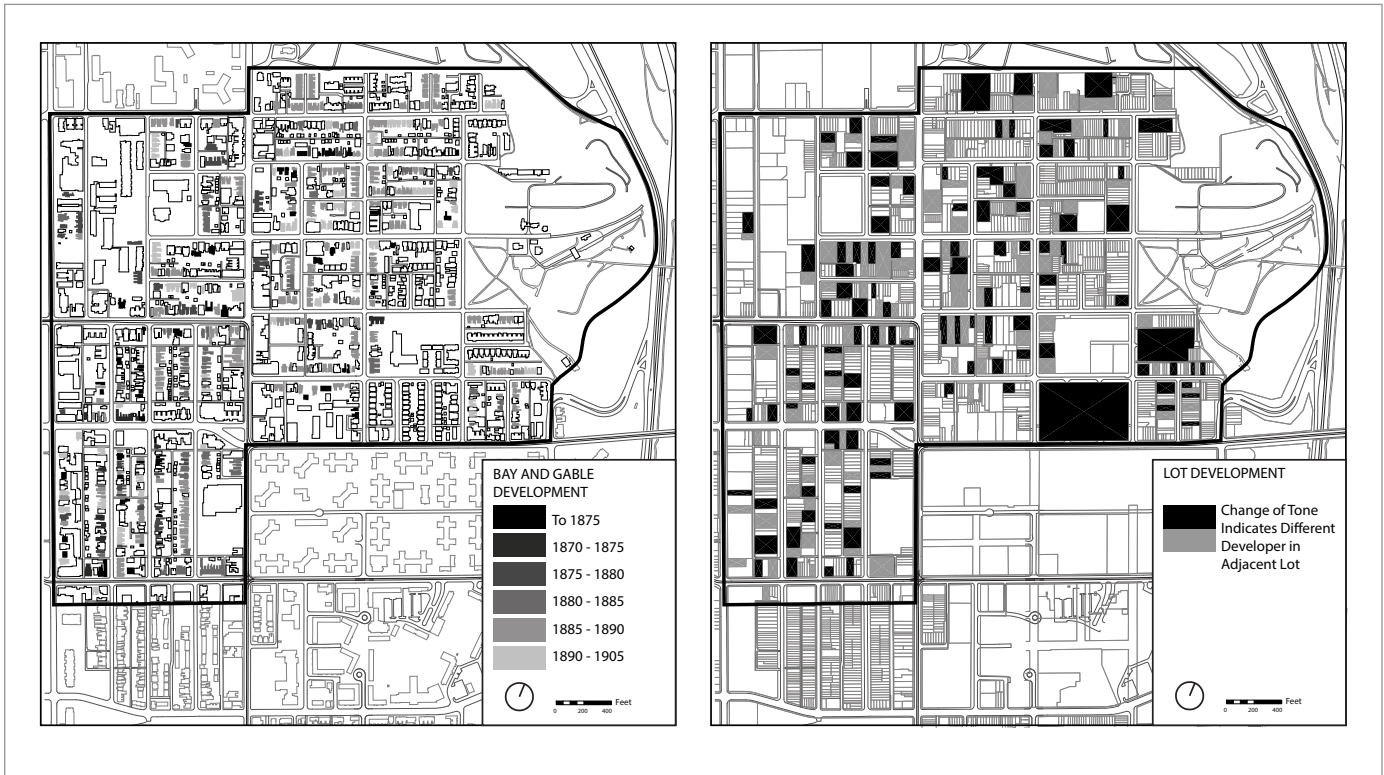


FIG. 23. MAP OF BAY-AND-GABLE DEVELOPMENT IN CABBAGETOWN (ALSO SHOWING PRE-1875 STRUCTURES). SHADED LOTS SHOW GROUPINGS OF HOUSES ORIGINALLY UNDER A SINGLE OWNERSHIP, INDICATING SPECULATIVE DEVELOPMENT. | SANFORD RILEY AND CALLAN WILSON, ERA ARCHITECTS INC., 2015.



FIG. 24. 418-420 SACKVILLE, 1888, WITHIN A COMPLEX OF SIX PAIRS (TWELVE HOUSES TOTAL) OF POLYCHROMY RED BRICK WITH WHITE DETAIL HOUSES CONSTRUCTED BY JAMES NURSE AS PART OF A DEVELOPMENT BY ARTHUR LEPPER, ONE OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE EASTERN OMNIBUS LINE, A STREETCAR LINE SERVING CABBAGETOWN. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.



FIG. 26. IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS OF THE BAY-AND-GABLE IN CABBAGETOWN, THE LATE GEORGIAN ROW-HOUSE TYPE AND THE GOTHIC COTTAGE: 134-136 AMELIA STREET (1884) AND 138 AMELIA (1878). ALTHOUGH NEARLY IDENTICAL IN PLAN TO A BAY-AND-GABLE, 134-136 HAVE THE FLAT FAÇADE OF AN OLDER HOUSE. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.



FIG. 25. A ROW OF EIGHT SUBSTANTIAL HOUSES AT 410-432 DUNDAS, 1884, CONSTRUCTED IN SERIES RATHER THAN PAIRED MIRROR IMAGE UNITS. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

surfaces, decorative brickwork, and gable woodwork expressing a faux hammer-beam structure is indicative of the higher target value of these properties. Toronto directories indicate that these were sold to owners by 1880, rather than held as rental properties. Richardson's work in Cabbagetown straddled multiple means through which to build a business targeting the upper middle class. *The Globe* in 1858 lists him with six others as directors of the Ontario Building Society,<sup>75</sup> as a politically active builder who co-served with trustees of the "Eastern Omnibus Line,"

which opened mass transit to the eastern part of the city, including Cabbagetown.<sup>76</sup>

Arthur Lepper was also listed as a director of the Ontario Building Society as well as a trustee of the Eastern Omnibus Line. In the late 1880s he developed a large lot at Sackville and Amelia streets, transferring part of the property to James Nurse, a builder.<sup>77</sup> Six pairs of identical polychromy symmetrical bay-and-gable houses were constructed out of this venture on Sackville, of which Lepper retained the house at number 418<sup>78</sup> (fig. 24).

So, the confluence of new rapid transit, the changing of tax laws, its resultant dumping of land onto the property market, and a population boom coincided with the popularity of a modified Old English Gothic house style to produce a bay-and-gable neighbourhood. Some in that period were early adopters of the type. By 1876, Brougham Terrace, including four symmetrical pairs of eight row-houses, red brick with white brick vousoirs, was constructed at 549 to 563 Parliament Street for rental tenancy by builder George B. Stock.<sup>79</sup> A similar set

of five houses by Patrick J. Treahy named Maple Terrace<sup>80</sup> (in this case white brick with red brick quoining and keystones<sup>81</sup>) was constructed at 519 to 527 Parliament Street in 1878. This semi-detached villa format was not necessarily required in later collections; the ambitious row of eight substantial and beautiful white brick bay-and-gable houses on Dundas at Berkeley streets was constructed of identical units in a series format rather than as mirror image pairs<sup>82</sup> (fig. 25).

Other constructions show that 1870s builders were transforming their methods mid-project to match the bay-and-gable format, where rows and individual buildings that had been erected following Georgian form in recent years were being modified with gables to become more Gothic. One example is 115 Berkeley Street, an 1840s Georgian house converted into a pseudo-Gothic villa through the addition of gables to the front of the roof. An 1876 row of four houses at 235 to 241 Seaton Street built by William Carlyle appears to represent a transition from Georgian mews typology to bay-and-gable mid-construction, with 235 and 241 being classic bay-and-gable, while 239 remains a very simple Georgian mews house form. The Carlyle family would later become one of the main builders of bay-and-gable houses in Cabbagetown in large clusters.

Another transitional type can be seen in a semi-detached modification of the Gothic cottage, or Ontario cottage, a significant house type that proliferated in Cabbagetown, in Toronto, and across the face of rural Ontario from the 1850s until the early twentieth century (fig. 26). Present in Davis's and Downing's works in the eastern United States from the 1850s, that house type was popularized in Canada by its publication in the *Canadian Farmer*<sup>83</sup> and then commonly used. In Cabbagetown, streets like Amelia retain

a number of attached rows of 1870s single-storey Gothic cottages, broadly expanding across their twenty-five-foot lots. As the area densified, semi-detached versions of these buildings were constructed, with two-storey examples like the five houses without bays at 319-327 Carlton Street<sup>84</sup> (who may have had their central gables added at a later time) and the more elaborate four pairs of houses at 358 to 372 Wellesley Street<sup>85</sup> (fig. 27). These represent a brief period that favoured a single gable over the central front entrance shared by the two houses, but this façade arrangement was discarded for the dual-gabled bay-and-gable house form by the mid-1880s.

Developers like the Armstrong brothers appear to have started by undertaking piecemeal development of paired buildings in the 1870s, working toward undertaking larger projects. The earliest reference to their work in Cabbagetown is a pair of bay-and-gable houses at 26 and 28 Sword Street in 1880, built by Adam Armstrong for Angus McBean who owned the original forty-one by one hundred and twenty-seven feet lot. The lot was divided and two houses constructed, straddling what had previously been one lot, with Angus McBean then living at number 26. It is interesting that McBean's previous house had been within the same family of architectural style, as it was a Gothic cottage on Amelia.

Following this the Armstrongs reverted to the simplified façade earlier Georgian row-house model at 132-136 Amelia in 1884,<sup>86</sup> returning in earnest to the bay-and-gable with a very large cluster of fourteen houses at Metcalfe and Carlton Streets.<sup>87</sup> Adam Armstrong is listed with Robert and Frank Armstrong as original owners of six houses on Berkeley,<sup>88</sup> and they again appear in 1886 as owners of 356 to 362 Sumach Street. Eight bay-and-gable houses by the

Armstrongs appear at 414 to 428 Wellesley in 1888. And the most impressive grouping, demonstrating a transition from mere development to a refined urban design, can be found in the 1889 cluster of thirty-two houses by Frank Armstrong at Metcalfe and Wellesley streets.<sup>89</sup> This cluster includes a symmetrical and decorative pair of row-houses, twenty-two in total flanking the narrow Laurier Avenue. Entrance to Laurier is achieved between two symmetrical rows on the north side of Wellesley with a narrow gateway formed by the large towers of the end houses. By that period of development, the purity of the earlier symmetrical reference to the Old English villa was diminishing, transitioning into a Queen Anne arrangement.

Other developers remained purer to the type. The aforementioned Carlyle family built uncompromising bay-and-gable houses once they had adopted that model in their work at 235-241 Seaton Street mentioned above. From 1879 to 1884 they constructed a cluster of seven bay-and-gable houses at 92 to 102 Seaton Street, grouped as a single and then three pairs of symmetrical houses. Three further houses at 38-42 Metcalfe Street in 1888 and a symmetrical pair at 154-156 Spruce Street in 1889 continued in that broad width format, but a transition in form occurred in 1890 when they constructed nine narrow houses at 49 to 65 Metcalfe Street in 1890, with three-storey bay windows bringing needed square footage and extra light and air into a reduced interior. They built ten houses of this latter form at 64 to 82 Salisbury Street in 1891. Their market obviously remained flexible to absorb larger houses, as six similar but more substantial and broad houses were then constructed at 62 to 72 Winchester Street in 1893.<sup>90</sup>

By the mid-1880s, larger blocks of these profitable houses were being constructed



FIG. 27. TRANSITIONAL TYPE BETWEEN GOTHIC COTTAGE AND BAY-AND-GABLE TYPE: 366-368 WELLESLEY STREET EAST, 1884. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.



FIG. 28. AN EARLY POLYCHROMY PAIR COMPRISED OF WHITE BRICK WITH RED DECORATIVE ELEMENTS AT 287-289 CARLTON, 1878, BOTH CONSTRUCTED FOR CHRISTOPHER WILSON. BY THE MID-1880S, THE MORE COMMON PALETTE WOULD BECOME RED BRICK FIELD WITH WHITE BRICK DETAILS. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

by either demolishing existing buildings on the sites, assembling surveyed but unconstructed lots, or reorienting houses that were in some cases only twenty years old to infill housing.

## CONSTRUCTION OF THE BAY-AND-GABLE

As stated earlier, the bay-and-gable was arranged through a side hall plan, accessing principal rooms adjacent and a kitchen wing to the rear. In all cases other than the narrowest of houses, a straight flight of stairs leading upward from the front section of hall provided access to the second floor.

This plan form followed the morphology of Toronto's Georgian townhouses with a different façade appearance and a significant plan adjustment. Whereas the kitchen of the Georgian building with its cooking hearth could be placed in the basement, by the 1870s this room was placed behind the house in a slightly reduced wing. In many bay-and-gable houses the ceilings of this wing would be lower than those

of the front, leading to a typical stair configuration that included a straight run up to the landing at this slightly lowered floor height, with a two-step return flight up to the second floor front wing.

The plan was adjusted based on budget and width of lot, generally approximately twelve feet to twenty-five feet, in many cases having street and alley access (figs. 3-6). The earliest (and in many cases largest) houses tended to sprawl across wider lots, affording light and views to be gained in these rooms from three sides. Later houses more commonly were squeezed onto tight lots, with the windows of the principal room facing only front and back.

A struggle is evident in choices between affording ground floor principal rooms of a gracious width, and providing a convenient hall and stairway. In the case of the Armstrong's 26-28 Sword Street, a relatively generous twenty-foot lot allowed for the space of one half of the semi-detached house, plus a narrow passage separating the building from the adjacent

semi-detached house to the south. This provided an interior width of sixteen feet and eight inches to be available, allowing for a hallway width of four feet and eight inches, which needed to include the stair, a five-foot longitudinal structural wall separating that space from the living and dining rooms, and a living room width of eleven feet and seven inches. This width of the hallway required that stairway clearance be reduced to a barely adequate twenty-four feet in order to allow for a more gracious living space in the principal rooms. Other houses chose to favour the functionality of broader stairway and hall, resulting in narrow living rooms, narrowed further by the addition of a projecting mantle.

Lot depths ranged from eighty-nine to one hundred and forty-nine feet, the most common size being eighteen by one hundred and twenty-nine feet. The lengths of the houses studied ranged from forty to sixty feet, formal rooms facing to the front, and privies, laneways, and stables located in the rear. The narrowness of the front room was



FIG. 29. HOUSE ON BERKELEY UNDERGOING FAÇADE RECONSTRUCTION, SHOWING THE WOOD PLANK BACKING OF THE DECORATIVE SINGLE WYTHE BRICK VENEER. THIS FAÇADE'S BRICKWORK HAS BEEN REBUILT TO MATCH THE ADJACENT HOUSE. | SCOTT WEIR, 2015.

made comfortable by providing in many cases ceilings of ten feet or higher, a bay window facing to the front, and a single window facing to the rear.

The great efficiency of these buildings crowded into their narrow lots lay in the fact that the width of the publicly visible portion did not generally exceed twenty feet. With a minimal investment, an owner could purchase a building whose small façade's Gothic references were recognizable and somewhat individualized through a kit of inexpensively interchanged parts, including porch turnings, gable woodwork, bay window configuration, and decorative brickwork. Adjacent houses identical in plan erected by the same builders and closely spaced in age can be found with one faced in Gothic decorative elements and roofline, and the next having a mansard roof or tower element in the same floor plan. Houses with these

differing façade treatments might be considered a variant subset of the bay-and-gable typology. Significant components could assign character affordably, and on such a small façade the doorway, in the early 1870s a custom element based on classical examples, quickly morphed into a mass-produced element whose elaboration through pairing or stained glass signified the quality of the residence.

Nineteenth-century Toronto was a brick city, as almost all bay-and-gable houses were fronted in brick, either white or red (fig. 28), the latter more common after 1880. By the 1880s there were thirteen brickyards operating in Toronto, producing red or white bricks depending on the location. In 1882, Oscar Wilde lectured on aesthetics in Cabbagetown's Allan Gardens and remarked on Toronto's "horrid white brick with its shallow colour spoiling the effect of the architecture,"<sup>91</sup>

surely to the distress of the owners of newly built white brick houses fronting on the park. Many were soon after tinted to a red colour using an applied beer wash dye, penciling in raised lime faux mortar joints, which provided the dual benefit of changing the colour and hiding poor workmanship. While polychrome examples incorporating white, red, and black bricks can be seen on Sackville and Berkeley streets, the most common brick combinations of those that experimented with contrast remained a red brick field with white voussoirs and quoins.

Masonry bonds had greatly changed in the years leading into the emergence of the bay-and-gable. Up to the beginning of the 1860s, the favoured brick for fine buildings was Flemish bond, a complex and expensive method of bonding solid masonry walls that produced a distinct pattern of alternating headers (visible short ends of the brick laid perpendicular to the wall to tie it together) and stretchers (long sides of the brick laid parallel to the direction of the wall face) on the exterior. "Clipped brick" became the most commonly used masonry assembly between the 1870s and 1904,<sup>92</sup> wherein the outward-facing end of the header brick would be cut in a forty-five-degree angle to allow for it to be invisibly concealed in a wall, behind a stretcher brick that had also had a corner removed on a forty-five-degree angle. The clipped brick assembly allowed the visible face of the wall to be comprised of stretcher bond, which could provide a visually uniform field in which to set decorative contrasting elements, like white brick patterns against a red brick field.

Balloon framing represented a particularly efficient means by which to construct speculative housing, and can be found in many houses from the 1870s onward. Mass-produced timber in



standardized sizes combined with mass-produced nails reduced the amount of shaping and handwork required on site by carpenters, increasing the speed of construction while also reducing its cost. Its rigidity made it a good alternative to brick for a solid cheaply built building, and in Cabbagetown brick veneer was in many cases only employed on public façades with the wood-framed side and rear walls buried within the attached row or in detached examples often covered in a lime render or stucco. The wall composition was usually of two by four studs having two-inch-thick boards mounted on the outside, covered in furring strips and then lath and stucco or veneer (fig. 29). A proportionally small expense was devoted to the thin brick façade, decorated with contrasting quoins, string courses, panels, and lintels. In many cases the lime render on the sides was potentially seen as a temporary measure put in place by the builder to carry through until the building was sold, and the side foundations built with an exposed shelf anticipated that the sides could be clad in brick were the new owner able to afford it later.

**Conclusion** The emergence of the bay-and-gable occurred because of a significant confluence of issues impacting the urban form of Toronto. The 1870s popularity of a vaguely “Old English” type following a “Tudor-bethan” massing with Gothic elements was successfully overlaid onto a common Georgian mews house plan type to form a speculative house form that appealed to the working and middle classes. This popular and flexible house form could fit a variety of scales of tight urban lots, and was therefore built in mass quantities to serve the population boom of the 1880s. Perhaps most significantly, a development framework emerged because of the removal of the tax-exempt status on vast swaths of real estate in the suburban areas of Toronto.

The type faded from popularity by about 1895, and some bay-and-gable houses were being substantially renovated at that point to change their appearance. The status of Cabbagetown in the early part of the twentieth century changed significantly, attributed at the time to the number of properties that were rented as opposed to owned (estimated to be half of the buildings in 1901) and the poor upkeep that resulted from absentee landlords. Large swaths were demolished in the 1960s, with Cabbagetown’s primary reason for having been preserved being the quantity of buildings owned by the local public housing authority and converted into rooming houses.

It was only in the early 1980s that this housing type has become almost entirely owner occupied, and the emergence of Heritage Conservation Districts like those of Cabbagetown recognized the value of this house type and drafted guidelines to protect the portions of the buildings that are visible from the street. This has encouraged the restoration of the façades and streetscapes, while allowing significant alterations to occur to the rear and interior of the buildings. In many cases, a restored front façade includes painstakingly restored woodwork, original wood sash windows, and repointed or often partially or fully rebuilt brick façades enclosing an interior that has been opened up to maximize room sizes and flow, with enlarged glazing facing onto the rear garden. It is not uncommon to transition from an accurately restored 1880s façade to an uncompromisingly modern interior.

Interestingly, with the renewed appreciation of the plan and façade format of the bay-and-gable, this house type again became a common historicist format for new infill construction in urban areas of Toronto in the late twentieth century.

Throughout the core, a modified modernist version of the house, with square bays, contemporary palette of materials, flat roofs with walkouts, and more tightly packed onto their sites, has reinvented this form to suit a city once again undergoing a period of densification.

## NOTES

1. The roots of this paper emerged from a twelve-part series of articles I wrote for the *National Post* in 2007, entitled “What Lies Beneath,” evaluating the vernacular residential architecture of Toronto’s neighbourhoods. I delivered a version of this paper at the Society of Architectural Historians Annual International Conference in Chicago, on April 16, 2015.
2. Downing, Andrew Jackson, 1850, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, New York, D. Appleton and Co.
3. See Hitchcock, Henry Russell, 1954, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, London, Architectural Press, p. 427; and Hussey, Christopher, 1927, *The Picturesque; Studies on a Point of View*, London, Putnam, p. 212.
4. White, John, 1845, *Rural Architecture*, Edinburgh, Blackie and Son.
5. Goodwin, Francis, 1833 [3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1850], *Domestic Architecture*, London, Longman and Co.
6. See Brown, Richard, 1841, *Domestic Architecture*, London, George Virtue, “A Tudor Hall, Elizabethan Style,” pl. XI.
7. Games, Stephen, 2014, *Pevsner: The Complete Broadcast Talks: Architecture and Art on Radio and Television, 1945-1977*, London, Ashgate, p. 146.
8. Brown : 261.
9. Loudon, John Claudius, 1833, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture; Containing Numerous Designs for Dwelling*, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, p. 893.
10. *Id.* : 792 and 790-821 (fig. 1436).
11. Bartell, Edmund, 1804, *Hints for Picturesque Improvements in Ornamented Cottages, and Their Scenery: Including Some Observations on the Labourer and His Cottage. In Three Essays*, London, Taylor, p. 139 and pl. III.
12. Lugar, Robert, 1815, *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings, and Villas, in the Grecian, Gothic, and Fancy Styles*, London, Taylor, pl. XVIII.

13. *Id.* : 22.
14. London, Thomas, 1828, *Retreats*, London, Taylor, p. 10, "Parsonage House."
15. *Id.* : pl. XIII.
16. Robinson, Peter Frederick, 1828, *Rural Architecture: Being a series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages*, London, James Carpenter and Son, pl. 46 and 87.
17. Brooks, Samuel, 1839, *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture*, London, Thomas Kelly, pl. XCIV.
18. *Id.* : 126.
19. Wilkinson, William, 1870, *English Country Houses*, London and Oxford, James Parker and Co.
20. Worsley, Giles, 1991, *Architectural Drawings of the Regency Period*, Washington, DC, The American Institute of Architects Press, pl. 43 and 44.
21. See Eastlake's discussion of the debate over the use of Elizabethan and Gothic that accompanied the New Houses of Parliament competition. He references that John Britton protested those styles as being undefined, where "Elizabethan... might mean anything from Tudor to renaissance." Eastlake, Charles, 1872, *The History of the Gothic Revival*, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., p. 171-172.
22. Britton, Benjamin, 1835, "A History and Description of the Late Houses of Parliament and Ancient Palatial Edifices of Westminster," *The Architectural Magazine*, London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, nos. V-VI, August.
23. See Humphry Repton's discussion of the appropriateness of a "Queen Elizabeth Gothic" south front having been added to the Corsham House by John Nash in 1796, replacing a Grecian front. "A house of Grecian architecture, built in a town, and separated from it only by a court-yard, always implies the want of landed property; because, being evidently of recent erection, the taste of the present day would have placed the house in the midst of a lawn or park, if there had been sufficient land adjoining: while the mansions built in the Gothic character of Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and James, being generally annexed towns, or villages, far from impressing the mind with the want of territory, their size and grandeur, compared with other houses in the town, imply that the owner is not only the lord of the surrounding country, but of the town also." Reprinted from the original, issued between 1795 and 1816, in Repton, Humphry and John Claudius Loudon, 1840, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphrey Repton*, London, Longman and Co., p. 287. See also George Stanley Repton's renovations to Kitley House in 1820, overhauling a classical façade to "house gothic," in Worsley, *Architectural Drawings of the Regency Period*, *op. cit.*
24. Pocock, William Fuller, 1807, *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings, Villas, &c.*, London, Taylor, p. 33-34 and pl. XXV.
25. Britton : 373.
26. Pugin, Augustus W.N., 1836, *Contrasts: Or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day. Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Accompanied by Appropriate Text*, London, Charles Dolman.
27. Eastlake : 79.
28. A list of the published and/or constructed types leading to the Toronto bay-and-gable would include the following precedents:  
1804, Bartell, Edmund, *Hints for Picturesque Improvements in Ornamented Cottages, and Their Scenery: Including Some Observations on the Labourer and His Cottage. In Three Essays*, London, Taylor, "Design for an Adorned Cottage," pl. 3.  
1807, Pocock, William F., *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings, Villas, &c.*, London, Taylor, pl. XXV.  
1815, Lugar, Robert, *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings, and Villas, in the Grecian, Gothic, and Fancy Styles*, London, Taylor, pl. XVIII.  
1818, Papworth, John B., *A Series of Designs for Cottages, Decorated Cottages and Small Villas*, London, Ackerman, "A Gothic Cottage" pl. IX, and p. 37-40; and "A Farmhouse or Ornamented Cottage," pl. X, and p. 41-44.  
1822, 1828, Robinson, Peter Frederick, *Rural Architecture: Being a Series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages*, London, James Carpenter and Son, design no. 12, pl. 46.  
1828, London, Thomas, *Retreats*, London, Taylor, "Parsonage House," pl. XIII.  
1833, Barry, Charles, "Beau Ideal Villa" for Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, fig. 1436.  
1833, Robinson, Peter Frederick, *Designs for Lodges and Park Entrances*, London, Priestly and Weale and J. Williams, design no. 2, "Gatekeeper House Without Family," p. 5 and 7.  
1833, 1850, Goodwin, Francis, *Domestic Architecture*, London, Longman and Co., design no. 5, "Elevations of a Country Inn or Hotel," pl. 9.  
1838, Brooks, Samuel H., *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture*, London, Thomas Kelly, "Double Cottage in Tudor Style," pl. XCIV.  
1841, Brown, Richard, *Domestic Architecture*, London, George Virtue, "A Tudor Suburban Residence," pl. XI.  
1845, White, John, *Rural Architecture*, Edinburgh, Blackie and Son, "Design for a Villa in the Gothic Style," (fig.) pl. XIX; "Designs for a Double Cottage," pl. XXIX (see "Auchmar," built in Hamilton in 1855); "Design for a Cottage," pl. XVIII; "Designs for a Villa," pl. XLI (see "Arlo House," Hamilton 1843); "Designs for a Villa," pl. LXIV.  
1850, Downing, Andrew Jackson, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, "Plain Timber Cottage Villa," New York, D. Appleton and Co., fig. 130.  
1851, Wheeler, Gervase, *Rural Homes*, New York, Geo. E. Woodward, "Summer Lodge," pl. 73.  
1857, Vaux, Calvert, *Villas and Cottages, A Series of Designs Prepared for Execution in the United States*, New York, Dover Publications, design no. 18, "Picturesque Square House," p. 224-230; and design no. 31, "Picturesque Stone Country House," p. 304-309 (see "Hoyt House" in Staatsburgh).  
1868, Hine and Evans, *Villa and Cottage Architecture*, London, Blackie and Son, "Double Villa," pl. XXII.  
1870, Audsley, William, *Cottage Lodge and Villa Architecture*, London, William Mackenzie, "Design for a Small Villa in the Old Scotch Style," pl. M1-M7; and "Design for Two Semi-Detached Cottages," pl. N1 to N4.  
1870, Wilkinson, William, *English Country Houses*, London and Oxford, James Parker and Co., "Almshouses at Witney, Oxfordshire," pl. XLV.  
1878, Palliser, Palliser and Company, *Palliser's American Cottage Homes*, Bridgeport Connecticut, Palliser, Palliser and Co. Architects, design no. 28, "A Pair of Cottages," pl. 18.
29. See Goodwin, *Domestic Architecture*, design no. 5, p. XX, pl. 9, suppl. pt. 1, "A Supplement Containing Designs of Peasants' Cottages."
30. Papworth, John B., 1818, *A Series of Designs for Cottages, Decorated Cottages and Small Villas*, London, Ackerman, "A Gothic Cottage," pl. IX and p. 37-40; and "A Farmhouse or Ornamented Cottage, pl. X and p. 41-44.
31. Robinson, Peter Frederick, 1833, *Designs for Lodges and Park Entrances*, London, Priestly and Weale and J. Williams.
32. White, *Rural Architecture*, "Bargeboard and Cornices," pl. V.
33. Brooks's pl. XLII (in *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture*) delineates gable bargeboard and finial in elevation and axonometric.

34. See Downing's description and drawings of gable, pinnacle, and pendant, delineating ideal projection depth, material, colour, and arrangement. Downing, Andrew Jackson, 1865, *Cottage Residences*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, p. 47, fig. 13; p. 86, fig. 34; p. 136-138, fig. 58.
35. Robinson, *Rural Architecture...* : pl. 81 and 82.
36. Robinson, notes associated with pl. 81 and 82.
37. White : pl. XXXVII, p. 53; this plate details a highly carved set of bargeboard and finials.
38. Downing, *Cottage Residences* : 137.
39. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* : 104-105 and fig. 29.
40. Ruskin, John, 1849 [1<sup>st</sup> ed.], *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London, Smith, Elder, and Co.
41. Scadding, Henry, 1873, *Toronto of Old*, Toronto, Adam, Stevenson and Co., p. 199.
42. In keeping with the root of romanticism, the house was snubbed by local society following a park lot scandal, whereby Major Small killed the attorney general and his neighbour on Park Lot 4, John White, in a duel which may have been due to an affair between John White and Mrs. Small, or may have just been social climbing and besmirchment gone wrong. See John Small, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, [[http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/small\\_john\\_6E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/small_john_6E.html)], accessed January 2015.
43. Barry met and became friends with both Pugin and Thomas during the construction of the Birmingham Grammar School, an association that would continue through to the Houses of Parliament project in Westminster. Thomas was at that time an "ordinary stone carver" that Barry recognized as having a remarkable talent, and under whose direction "stone carving made a great step" through Barry's projects. See Barry, Rev. Alfred, 1867, *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry*, London, John Murray, p. 132 and 199.
44. "The Late John Thomas, Sculptor," *Illustrated London News*, August 30, 1862, p. 231. As noted in McArthur, Glen and Annie Szamosi, 1996, *William Thomas Architect*, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, p. xiii.
45. Fleetwood-Hesketh, Peter, 1963, "Sir Charles Barry," in Peter Ferriday (ed.), *Victorian Architecture*, London, Jonathan Cape, p. 131. Again as noted in McArthur and Szamosi's excellent book, p. xiii.
46. Like other architects of the mid-nineteenth century, his entry into the architectural profession through this route was just in front of a push for professionalism marked by the opening of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1832, governing architectural education. McArthur and Szamosi : xiii.
47. This matches the design of Robinson's Dunsley Manor House. See Robinson, Peter Frederick, 1838, *A New Series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages and Villas*, London, H.G. Bohn, design no. V. See also McArthur and Szamosi : p. 5, figs. 1.9, 1.10, 1.11; and 1.12 for Thomas's development of this design.
48. Baggs, A.P., Diane Bolton and Patricia Croot, 1985, *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 8, Islington and Stoke Newington Parishes*, London, Victoria County History, p. 24-29.
49. Rowsell, Henry, 1850-1851, *Rowsell's City of Toronto and County of York Directory for 1850-1851*, Toronto, Henry Rowsell, p. 579.
50. Robertson, John Ross, 1894, *Landmarks, Series 1*, Toronto, John Ross Robertson, p. 98. Brenda Dougall identified that "his Cellar dug and the Frame for his House brought there 70 by 26 feet and the greatest part of it put together" and that construction of the house may have been delayed because of adjacency to the new Parliament Buildings. See Dougall, Brenda, 1805, *Upper Canada Land Book F*, p. 359-361; *Library and Archives Canada microfilm C-102*. The entry includes copies of Small's petitions in 1800 and 1801 and the details of the price. See also Dougall, Brenda, 2009, "Historical Toronto, Berkeley Castle and Lost Buildings," Brenda Dougall Merrimen, September 9, [<http://brendadougallmerriman.blogspot.ca/2009/09/historical-toronto-berkeley-castle-and.html>], accessed December 2014. The site of Berkeley House is currently being studied by The Archaeologists Inc. as part of a Stage 2 Archaeological excavation. See also Arthur, Eric, 1986, *Toronto No Mean City*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 18; and Scadding, *Toronto of Old* : 199.
51. Downing, *Cottage Residences* : 137.
52. See design XXV, in Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* : 298-304. This refers to Gervase Wheeler's Brody House of 1849.
53. Other similar buildings from this early period would include: 1877, 188 Sherbourne; 1873, 104 Pembroke (Hughes House); 1875, DB Dick (Lowther semi-detached); 1875, 206 Gerrard (Smith House); 1875, 432 Sherbourne (Pellatt House); 1877, 437 Sherbourne (Sutherland House); 1877, 419 Sherbourne (Brodie House); 1878, 295 Carlton; 1878, DB Dick (Dunn semi-detached); 1878, 284 Sherbourne; 1878, 218, 220, and 222-224 Carlton; 1879, 280 Sherbourne; 1879, 294 Sherbourne (Thom House, demolished); 187?, 402-404 Sherbourne; 1880, 313 Sherbourne (Thorne House: Grant and Dick).
54. Struthers Ross house at 30-32 Lowther was noted as the prototype for the bay-and-gable by: McHugh, Patricia, 1989, *Toronto Architecture: A City Guide*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart; and Ennals, Peter and Deryck W. Holdsworth, 1998, *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 196-198. My research found that the Blaikie and Alexander houses at 404 Jarvis Street from 1864 by Gundry and Langley, constructed by Smith and Burke, is the earliest identifiable Gothic semi-detached bay-and-gable. See *The Leader*, Toronto, January 2, 1864, p. 1. And it is possible that 33-35 Elm Street might have been the earliest remaining middle-class prototype, although its lower floor has been altered (attributed to James Price by the City of Toronto Inventory of Historic Properties). Furthermore, 173 Baldwin of 1873 is lacking bay windows but strives to being a bay-and-gable form; and 49-51 Hazelton of 1875 elaborates on the form with the neo-Elizabethan addition of an octagonal tower over the central entrances.
55. Development maps showing fire protection bylaws governing construction types from 1874 can be found at: *Historical Maps of Toronto* online exhibition, [<http://oldtorontomaps.blogspot.ca/2013/01/1874-hart-rawlinson-city-of-toronto.html>], accessed June 2015.
56. ERA Architects' Exhibition Found Toronto for Harbourfront, June 2009, traced all remaining buildings depicted in the Boulton map, cross-referencing current photos of the sites to the consolidated map and the 1856 City Directory.
57. "Progress of Toronto: Buildings Erected in 1868," *The Globe* (Toronto), December 1, 1868, p. 1.
58. Canadian Census occurred every ten years in the nineteenth century.
59. This was in contrast to the preceding period where the financial crash of 1857 had caused spec built houses to remain empty until the mid-1860s.
60. By 1870, *The Globe* noted: "Nowhere the city shows a more rapid growth than St. David's [now Cabbagetown] Not only are the vacant places in the old streets being filled up with residential, and in many cases elegant buildings, but towards the northern and eastern limits of the city numbers of neat little cottages are springing up on every side." "Building Extension," *The Globe* (Toronto), April 29, 1870, p. 2.

61. "There are so many means of investing capital to advantage during the prevalence of what may be termed 'hard times' that men having cash at their disposal are always exceedingly careful as to the manner in which they employ it. Some prefer bank stock, with a prospect of reaping fair dividends; others, again, invest in railway stock or insurance companies, while a great number of others seem inclined to take shares in permanent building societies, in hopes of securing a larger profit on their investment. It must be admitted on all heads that from a careful observation of all the dividends declared during the past year upon the paid up capital of the various incorporated societies, that the rates have been much higher upon the stock of the latter than upon that of any of the former. In some cases as high as 12½ per cent per annum has, during the past year, been declared upon this kind of stock. As a natural consequence, much anxiety exists among monied men either to secure stock in building societies or form new ones. The cause of this is apparent: the by-laws regulating the management of these societies are so much in favor of the interests of the stockholders, and so overtly adverse to those of borrowers, that the concerns can scarcely be otherwise than remunerative... If they could settle in this country with fair a prospect of being able to support themselves and families, they would naturally enough seek the protection of their own flag and be only too glad to have an opportunity of doing so; and thereby assist in annually increasing the British population here. Were those loyal people to come into our midst instead of having of necessity to remain under a foreign flag, where there is every likelihood of their becoming alienated from the mother country, we might entertain... hopes of building up a grand British Colony on this side of the Atlantic that would be in a position not only to strengthen the empire, but to checkmate the hostile advances of foreign foes, and add dignity to our position as a people among the nations of the world.

The idea of Toronto becoming the capital of the local government of Upper Canada under the terms of the proposed Confederation, may have had something to do with infusing a desire on the part of many of our citizens to invest in buildings during the latter eight or nine months of the past year, in hopes of receiving high rents." *The Leader* (Toronto), January 2, 1865, p. 1.

62. Ganton, Isobel and Joan Winearls, 1984, *Mapping Toronto's First Century, 1787-1884*, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, mounted online by Robert Ng, [<http://oldtorontomaps.blogspot.ca/2013/01/1872-wadsworth-unwin-map-of-city-of.html>], accessed June 2015.
63. Hallam, John, 1890, *A Brief Statement of Municipal Tax Exemptions in Toronto, from 1869 to 1890*, Toronto, Imrie and Graham, p. 1-5.
64. *The Globe*, November 1, 1881, p. 8: "Court of Revision."
65. *The Globe*, January 8, 1887, p. 4: "Real Estate Transfers."
66. Original house owners were documented from the Toronto City Directory by volunteers from the Cabbagetown Preservation Association (CPA) and Heritage Conservation District Committee, on which I currently serve. The files were compiled in support of drafting the six Heritage Conservation District guidelines, and the records are held in the CPA's written archive in Toronto, Canada. Much of the base information has been transcribed to a website with photos of the individual buildings, at [<http://www.cabbagetownpa.ca/styles/property-records>], accessed July 2015. Later footnotes to this archive are noted simply as CPA (they are boxed unnumbered files).
67. CPA.
68. *The Globe*, September 9, 1887, p. 5.
69. CPA.
70. *Globe and Mail*, January 8, 1887, p. 4.
71. See 218, 220, 222, and 224, Carlton constructed in 1878, soon followed by 219 and 221 Carlton, with his houses on Berkeley constructed in 1882. CPA
72. *The Globe*, June 29, 1878, p. 8.
73. *The Globe*, May 12, 1885, p. 1
74. 484 to 490 Ontario. CPA.
75. *The Globe*, December 10, 1858, p. 3: "The Ontario Building Society – Directors, Isaac C. Gilmore; Francis Richardson; Angus Morrison; Arthur Lepper; Alexander Henderson; Thomas Henning; Joseph Dixon."
76. *The Globe*, April 8, 1862, p. 2: "Eastern Omnibus Line – omnibus line to eastern part of the city – meeting at Winchester and Parliament in Lake View House. Contract to John Carruthers, line opened on May 1. Peter Lamb, Arthur Lepper and Charles Pearson with secretary John McCaffrey as trustees."
77. *The Globe*, January 19, 1887, p. 2: "Arthur Lepper et ux [sic], to James Nurse, builder, parts in rear of lots 3 and 4 fronting on Amelia, plan 26... \$1,903."
78. See 414-436 Sackville, 1888. CPA.
79. CPA.
80. CPA
81. Note that a red beer wash was later applied (in 1878) to the white brick of 519 Parliament.
82. 410-432 Dundas constructed in 1884, original owner listed as Trust and Loan Co., with manufacturer Thomas Northey listed as original owner of the three houses at the west end, 410, 412 and 416 Dundas. CPA.
83. Design by James Avon Smith, in the *Canadian Farmer*, February 1, 1864, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 21.
84. Built by Henry Hagan and John Bryce, 1875. CPA.
85. Built by Alexander Wheeler, 1884. CPA.
86. 132-136 Amelia constructed by Robert Armstrong, 1884. Notwithstanding its simple façade, the interior layout of the building was nearly identical to their prior construction at 26-28 Sword, a bay-and-gable house.
87. 6 to 18 Metcalfe and 258 to 270 Carlton, in which he occupied number 258. CPA.
88. 280 to 284, and 292 to 296 Berkeley. CPA.
89. CPA.
90. CPA.
91. *The Globe*, May 25, 1882: "Oscar Wilde: Arrival of the Apostle of Estheticism in Toronto. WHAT HE THINKS OF LACROSSE. His Opinion of Toronto and Toronto Ladies."
92. Item 29 of Toronto City Bylaw 4408 forbids "the clipping of headers" in most circumstances. A set of adjustments to the building code that strove to address construction issues when Bylaw 4408 was enacted disallowing various construction practices, including the use of "clipped brick" or a series of spectacular failures, which we are still repairing today, resulted in this brick being banned for use in Toronto in 1904.