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ROBERT FINDLAY AND THE MACAULAY FAMILY ARCHITECTURE

Hazel Power

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in partial fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
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ABSTRACT

Robert Findlay and the Macaulay Family Architecture

Hazel Power

The thesis discusses the key factors sustaining the success and longevity of a specific example of architectural patronage in Montreal at the turn of the century, a period during which, one of the pleasures and opportunities afforded by affluence was to build. Two generations of the Macaulay family, Robertson (1833-1915) and his son, Thomas Bassett (1860-1942), second and third Presidents of Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada had embraced the idea with enthusiasm. Under their patronage, the apprentice trained Scottish-born architect, Robert Findlay (1859-1951) designed a series of prestigious buildings for the family, several of which survive to the present. Of the commissions, the styles of the new head office building (1891) on Notre Dame Street, the Calvary Congregational Church (1911) (Greene and Dorchester, now demolished) and the several domestic commissions in Westmount designed between 1891 and 1914, looked to the past and to European precedent for inspiration. Robert Findlay's interpretation of the mid-century Domestic Revival style promoted by the English architect, R. Norman Shaw and his followers exactly suited the Macaulay's preference for moderation in their commercial and domestic architectural undertakings.
Findlay became the family's architect of choice after winning the design competition for the Notre Dame Street head office for Sun Life in 1889. It was an association that spanned three decades. His modern steel framed building conceived in the Tudor Gothic style was the neophyte architect's first major architectural project and established his reputation in the city. A maturing style, characterised by the practical and personalised synthesis of revivalist form, attention to detail and standards of excellence made Robert Findlay's practice one of the most respected in Montreal.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In retrospect, I am bound to admit that this thesis took the road "less travelled." With that in mind, I acknowledge with gratitude all those whose contribution led to a successful conclusion and who cheered it and the author along the way. In particular my thanks go to Irone Pachowski who listened and encouraged, and especially to Professor Ellen James, whose enthusiasm for the subject initiated the study and whose guidance as well as that of Professors Brian Foss and Laurier Lacroix kept it on track.

I am forever in the Macaulay family's debt for granting me unlimited access to private papers, and in Norman Galey's, whose welcome to the Sun Life Corporate Archives in Scarborough made researching in that complex resource such a rewarding experience.
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ABBREVIATIONS

MFP. Macaulay Family Papers
FFP. Findlay Family Papers
SLA. Sun Life of Canada. Corporate Archives. Scarborough, Ontario.
UCA. Archives. United Church of Canada.
CCAA. Archives. Canadian Centre for Architecture.
CWA. Archives. City of Westmount.
C.A.B. Canadian Architect and Builder.
INTRODUCTION

When he commented in 1889 on "the desirableness of deciding on an architect for the new building"¹ Robertson Macaulay (1833-1915), Managing Director of the newly incorporated Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada unknowingly took the first step toward a long lasting patronage of the young, Scottish-born, apprentice trained architect, Robert Findlay (1859-1951). The building to which the Managing Director, an immigrant from Scotland himself, referred was Sun Life's proposed new head office on the corner of Notre Dame and St. Alexis Streets in the financial heart of Montreal. Shortly after the comment was made, a design competition was announced and in December 1889, Robert Findlay, the author of the winning design, was invited to "form the acquaintance of the Directors [who] requested him to proceed at once to get contracts out."²

In the midst of unprecedented industrial and commercial growth in the city, insurance companies were experiencing their share of profitability. Sun Life's decision to build a new multi-storey head office building followed that taken by other successful companies. Such office blocks often


² SLA. Extracts from the Minutes "Folio 5/108".
occupied, and were designed to dominate corner sites. In Montreal, the New York Life Insurance Company building on St. James Street, completed in 1889, (architects: Babb, Cook and Willard) embraced the typology, as did Robert Findlay's winning design for the five storey Sun Life building commenced the same year (fig.1).

The Sun Life project not only introduced Robert Findlay's work to the community but was his first major commission in a long and highly successful career. For his part, Robertson Macaulay was well satisfied with the new head office; his satisfaction stemming in part from the ability of his architect to select and work with competent staff.\(^3\) Another, no doubt, was the style of the building, a link between craftsmanship, art and industry made possible by Findlay's openness to new methods of construction. However, despite a willingness to innovate in certain of their business activities, Robertson Macaulay and his eldest son, Thomas Bassett Macaulay, who was then Secretary of Sun Life, were cautious idealists; their values firmly entrenched in Old

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\(^3\) Called on to provide a testimonial for Thomas Johnston, clerk of the works for the building, Robertson Macaulay wrote "It is nearly three years since it [Notre Dame Street head office] was completed, and during that time there has been neither settling of the walls nor shrinkage of any kind throughout the entire structure . . . I can recommend you most conscientiously to anyone requiring similar services." MFF. R. Macaulay to Thomas Johnston. Montreal, 20 February, 1894.
World dogma. T.B. Macaulay would take a more liberal approach to corporate and private concerns as he matured, but would not waiver from one firmly held belief. Under the Macaulay's direction and well into the 1930's, Sun Life hired only Scottish born and trained actuaries. In this context, the kindred spirit factor was clearly one of the reasons for nominating Findlay their architect of choice from 1889 until the mid 1910's. For the same reason, the styles of the facades and interiors of two domestic commissions, a villa in upper Westmount designed by the architect for Robertson Macaulay at 3228, Cedar Avenue (1911) (fig.2) and one for T.B. Macaulay at 3233, The Boulevard (1911-14) (fig.3), departed very little from European precedent.

The Cedar Avenue residence for the older Macaulay had a restrained appearance; the curving lines of its slightly outmoded bay window elements complemented by a single expression of Baroque elegance, the semi-circular, columnated main entrance porch. In contrast, the stone villa on Westmount Boulevard for T.B. Macaulay was a stylish, symmetrical rendition of currently popular Italianate form,

4 Robertson Macaulay had introduced the revolutionary "Unconditional Policy" an innovative move which had invigorated not only Sun Life but the insurance industry as a whole. See Joseph Schull, The Century of the Sun; the First Hundred Years of Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada (Toronto; Macmillan, 1971) 24.

5 Gerald Clark, Montreal; the New Cité (Toronto. McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 57.
achieved without the use of extraneous decoration; a formal characteristic of Colonial revivalist idiom. The generalised historical references placed both houses well within the tradition of the architects who promoted the Arts and Crafts movement in England; notably Ernest Newton (1856-1922) and W.R. Lethaby (1857-1931) who had founded the Art Workers Guild 'Handicraftsmen and Designers in the Arts' in 1884 and had studied under Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912).  

Robert Findlay's maturing style, like that of the Arts and Crafts founders, was characterised by the practical synthesis of revivalist form. He became one of Montreal's most sought after architects, producing a body of personalised architecture, appropriate not only to the aspirations of the individual client, but also to each building's function and location. The linear massing of form in his facade-directed, urban houses suited their confined lots. For example, the Daniel Stroud house (2115, Mountain Street, 1892) (fig.4) and the W.A. Molson house (892 Sherbrooke, 1905) (fig.5) restated the stacked bay motifs and terra-cotta friezes of his earlier Sun Life building. His approach to civic architecture employed the same build up of revivalist form. Fractured

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brickwork and 'Queen Anne' touches enliven the exterior of his Westmount Library (4574, Sherbrooke, 1899) (figs. 6, 29).

Twenty years ago, Findlay was described as a "dull architect. . . who pandered to the whims of Montreal's reigning establishment. . ."8 While there was a tendency then to discount the work of Findlay's generation of architects, identifying in its formal qualities, the aesthetics of affluence,9 and remarkable only for a poverty of new ideas, this is no longer the case. Now Findlay's work is regarded as "delicate and decorative", and his ability to work "in many styles, each of them adapted to the particular fancies of his clients" is freely acknowledged.10 François Rémillard suggests that "Findlay était alors considéré comme un spécialiste du style édouardien d'inspiration gothico-Renaissance anglaise."11 He is also recognised as being sensitive to the "goût du jour"12, designing when called upon

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11 François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal: le mille carré doré 1850-1930 (Montreal: Meridien, 1987) 175.

12 Architecture domestique Communauté urbaine de Montréal, 1. Les résidences xxiii.
not only in the Beaux-Arts manner but also producing "one house in the Frank Lloyd Wright idiom."  

Recent investigation into the work of Percy Nobbs (1875-1964) and Edward (1867-1923) and William Maxwell (1874-1952) as well as the applied art of The Bromsgrove Guild celebrates "the unique and memorable elements of Canadian architectural design. . ." and presents a varied and substantial inventory of structure and form. Research is currently shedding new light on the architectural practices of A.F. Dunlop (1842-1923) and John S. Archibald (1872-1934).

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13 3303, Cedar Ave. (1908) see Gubbay and Hooff, *Montreal's Little Mountain* 103.


ensuring that the long underexamined work of these men will receive the appreciation hitherto denied it.

Many extant and well-known examples of Robert Findlay's work have been photographed, listed and described in various publications. But in common with other practices active at the turn-of-the-century, irreplaceable architectural records were destroyed or lost when the practice closed in the early 1940's. This loss to scholarship of plans, blueprints, working drawings and pay books is one of the principal reasons that his importance as one of Montreal's leading architects has not so far been adequately evaluated.

A valuable source of information concerning Findlay's oeuvre however, is a private Montreal collection of correspondence, contracts and accounts as well as letters exchanged between the Macaulay family and the architect. While the family papers do not include blueprints and architectural and measured drawings, they retain many hand and press copies of letters written throughout the period 1885-1930, and scrapbooks dating from 1910-1930; a telling record

of taste, fashion, manners, social conscience and social standing. Particularly interesting are documents relating to the conception and construction of buildings designed under the patronage of the family. In addition, the Sun Life Corporate Archives in Scarborough, Ontario retain a complete collection of the architect's floor plans for the Notre Dame Street head office as well as minute books, annual reports and runs of in-house journals covering its construction period.

Thus, while an exhaustive study of his architectural practice is not yet possible, Findlay's development as a fashionable and accomplished architect can be explored in the discussion of three surviving buildings constructed under Macaulay patronage; the Notre Dame Street head office for Sun Life, and the private Westmount villas (figs.1,2 and 3).

This study will focus on key factors contributing to the success and longevity of the Macaulay/Findlay relationship. The family papers give clear indication of the client's purpose; precisely what was intended and what message the buildings should convey. Robertson Macaulay's preference, for example, for a head office that was "modest, not pretentious . . . in keeping with the company's character"\(^{21}\) was a challenge for the young architect; their common background his most valuable tool for deciphering his patron's concept of

\(^{21}\) Schull, The Century of the Sun 33.
unpretentious architecture. Later, T.B. Macaulay's instructions regarding his Westmount villa were more quantitative than philosophic. "The cost should be anywhere from $12 to $18,000," he wrote to Findlay, "I want windows - large - to be a special feature."22

If one of the key elements sustaining this client/architect relationship was a shared value system, Findlay's aptitude for creating appropriate architecture within a framework of individual taste should prove to be another. It was an asset surely nurtured by the quality and extent of his training and experience.


Robert Findlay was born in Inverness in 1859 (fig.7). His training for a career in architecture was managed under the system of pupillage. At the age of seventeen, he was apprenticed to the architect, John Rhind, whose Inverness practice was involved at the time in large scale civic and domestic commissions, specifically public libraries funded by the Carnegie Foundation, as well as mansions for the Scottish nobility. After five years of apprenticeship, Findlay followed the usual custom of seeking an appointment with an established practice, and moved to Glasgow to become an assistant to the architect, John Burnet Sr. (1813-1901).23

A city of contrasts with narrow cobbled streets, slum tenements, Scottish Baronial and revivalist architecture, Glasgow had been almost completely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, its builders subjecting it to "tower mania. . . a common feature of the Glasgow street corner."24 Nevertheless, the Victorian city was a rich environment for the assimilation of popular taste in architecture; abundant visual evidence of the Victorian architect's search for style. The elaborate Ionic towers, porticos and arcuated iron facades of Alexander


'Greek' Thompson's mid-century Greek Revival churches rose in stylistic confrontation with Sir Gilbert Scott's University of Glasgow's High Victorian Gothic spires (1870).

Findlay's Glasgow experience also brought him in contact with Beaux-Arts teaching, the disciplined, harmonious academic style that emphasised clarity, planning and historical precedent. Burnet's son, John James Burnet (1857-1920) had studied in Paris at the atelier of Jean-Louis Pascal (1837-1920) and at the École des Beaux-Arts. In 1878 he submitted the winning design for the Classical Revival Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts (now demolished). It is likely that Findlay would have seen the plans and possibly worked on the project with his young associate. Findlay's own mature work would revive motifs drawn from all aspects of his training; Scottish traditional, Victorian Glasgow, an understanding of Beaux-Arts theory and probably outside his Glasgow experience, develop preference and admiration for R. Norman Shaw's consummate Free Classic architecture.

In the 1870's in England, there were heated exchanges in the architectural press on the merits of the "passion for Late Elizabethan work"²⁵ popularly known as 'Queen Anne'. Shaw's design for what is generally considered to be that style's

²⁵ Mark Girouard, Sweetness and Light: the Queen Anne Movement, 1860-1900 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ., 1977) 57.
first appearance, his New Zealand Chambers (1873) (fig. 8) in London was critically appraised, discussed and analysed in periodicals such as Building News and The Builder. In the late 1880's the work of Shaw's pupils, Lethaby, Newton and Horsley appeared regularly in The Architect. By that time Findlay had left Glasgow, but while he worked there and later in Montreal, where he eventually settled, he would almost certainly have had access to those and other widely distributed publications. The dissemination of plans and drawings through the literature was a long recognised form of publicity for new and established practices. In fact, the Scottish born architect, J. J. Stevenson (1831-1908) who was a committed advocate of the 'Queen Anne' style published House Architecture in 1880, a work which has been described as "a transparent apologia for the Queen Anne movement," and which was apparently intended for architects to show to their clients. 26

Findlay would find that 'Queen Anne' was already an enormously popular style in North America when he arrived in Montreal in 1885. Although true to Shaw's exquisitely decorated facades which combined eighteenth century English ornamentation and Dutch gables, in North America the polychrome patterning of brickwork bonding characteristic of

its European following was in many cases mixed with or replaced by dressed ashlar or rock-faced masonry. Derived in part from the style developed for predominantly wooden buildings, the structural exigencies of the 'Stick' style and Richardson Romanesque meant that North American 'Queen Anne' was, according to Mark Girouard, "both more adventurous and more exciting."

In Glasgow, Findlay would certainly have been aware of the new building techniques of steel cage construction and masonry curtain walls, but it was probably not until his arrival in North America that he would fully realise their potential for modern design. Curiously slow to respond to the possibilities of the new techniques, it was not until the first North American architects who had trained in Europe returned, that the concept of steel frame construction gained credibility in their homeland, and specifically in Chicago. When it did, they went further and faster with it than anyone else. They made the completely articulated steel frame skyscraper, clothed in non-structural skin, together with the

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installation of elevators and the techniques of fire-proofing completely their own.

In 1885, Findlay was travelling through Montreal on his way to Mexico, when the engineering contract he was about to take up there was cancelled.\textsuperscript{29} There is no clear explanation for his decision to settle in the Northern city,\textsuperscript{30} except perhaps the realisation that at that time Montreal offered a promising and open work environment. There was also a significant Scottish presence in the city; the vigorous and prestigious St. Andrews Society having been formally constituted in 1834.\textsuperscript{31} For the moment, the demand for architectural services in the city was high. Just over a decade after Findlay's arrival, a chair of Architecture would be inaugurated at McGill University, but then, with no locally trained architects to satisfy the need, and a growing number of upper middle class patrons supplying the demand, Findlay's training and experience were invaluable assets. He found employment with several established architectural firms during

\textsuperscript{29} see biographical notes (Helen Findlay). The reason given for cancellation is the death of the Scottish construction engineer for whom Findlay was to have worked.

\textsuperscript{30} His fiancée, Jane Fleming joined him, and they were married in Galt, Ontario in June 1887.

\textsuperscript{31} By the 1880's, members of the St. Andrew's Society, the inhabitants of the city of Scottish origin or descent, represented the "vigour of Victorian opulence." Edgar Andrew Collard, Montreal Yesterdays (Toronto: Longmans, 1963) "The Traditions of the St. Andrew's Society" 204-221.
the next few years, one of which was with A.F. Dunlop, who appointed him superintendent of works for the neo-Gothic St. James Methodist Church project (1887-1888). In 1889, his thirteen years of training and work experience bore fruit. When Sun Life announced its competition for a new head office, his submission of a set of designs to the directors of the company, placed first (fig.1).

There had been only one item on the agenda for the special meeting of the directors of Sun Life held on September 12th, 1889, Robertson Macaulay presiding. The discussion that day on "Who shall be the Architect and the kind of building to erect" resulted in the decision to "advertise for designs - Board to employ disinterested architect to aid in determining awards." Two months later, at the board's weekly meeting on the 15th of November, the minutes stated:

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32 see Robinson, "An Architect Rediscovered: the Work of A.F. Dunlop", and biographical notes (Helen Findlay). Miss Findlay also notes that her grandfather later worked with the Wright brothers - possibly Wright and sons, architects and valuators of St. James Street. see Frederick Terrill, A Chronology of Montreal and of Canada from A.D.1752 to A.D.1893 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1893) 367.

33 It is unclear whether Findlay submitted his design under the pseudonym 'Well Considered' or if the phrase was assigned either by the directors or by Knox, Elliott and Jarvis, the adjudicators. The latter's report states that out of fifteen designs, they selected four to receive awards. "1st. "WELL CONSIDERED" (Mr.Robt. Findlay of Montreal.)" "Sun Life Assurance Co. Building Competition Experts Report," Canadian Architect and Builder Jan. 1890 3:5.

34 SLA. Minutes of Special Meeting, Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, Montreal, 12 September, 1889.
Fifteen designs submitted under marks which did not reveal the name of the architect, were received and examined and ordered to be sent to a firm of architects in Toronto to act as experts.\footnote{SLA. Extracts from the Minutes "Folio 5/105."}

Engaging the Toronto architectural partnership of Knox, Elliott and Jarvis to comment on the entries and make recommendations was a wise move. The firm was well qualified to adjudicate, having won a similar contest for the construction of Confederation Life's head office in Toronto the same year (fig.9).

By the 30th of November, the selection had been made, the Toronto firm signing their names to the report published in the \textit{Canadian Architect and Builder} in January 1890. A reproduction of the winning perspective drawing appeared in the same source in May 1890.\footnote{The original perspective watercolor is now in the Corporate Archives, Scarborough, Ontario.} The reasons given for choosing Findlay's design were primarily based on his skilful arrangement of interior space. By the careful placing of offices, board room, elevator and tenant space the judges determined that he had utilised the barely 4000 sq.ft. of irregularly shaped land to full advantage. The simplicity of his design for the elevations elicited few comments other than that the building had a "rich and handsome aspect,\footnote{Results of the competition were published in the \textit{Canadian Architect and Builder} Jan.1890 3:5. An illustration of the entry appeared in the same source, May 1890: sup.}"
apparently dismissing the elegant facade as a secondary consideration in coming to a decision.

Robert Findlay was appointed architect for the project, with an agreed professional fee of four per cent of total cost. His design met Robertson Macaulay's wish for a 'modest' building, and T.B. Macaulay would remember "how proud we were of that beautiful little building."38 Architectural patronage was a new experience for the Macaulays. The style and structure of any type of building, commercial or otherwise had played only a minor role in their lives to that point.

38 SLA. Draft of President's address at laying of Corner Stone of extension to Head Office Building, July 27, 1923. The extension referred to here was for the new head office building on Dominion Square (architects: Darling and Pearson) which superseded Findlay's Notre Dame Street building in 1918, relegating the latter to branch office status. In 1923, T.B. Macaulay was the Sun Life's third President.
CHAPTER II - The Patrons - Robertson and Thomas Bassett Macaulay

Robertson Macaulay emigrated to Canada from Scotland in 1854 at the age of twenty-one. Austere, hard-working and with self-taught mathematics, he took up an appointment as accountant with the Canada Life Assurance Company in Hamilton, then Canada West, and later became Secretary of Mutual Life (fig.10). Within a few years, he was joined by his fiancée, Barbara Reid. They were married in 1859, and Thomas Bassett Macaulay, their eldest son was born the following year (fig.11).

The family lived on a farm outside the city of Hamilton. Writing to T.B. Macaulay many years later, a family friend recalled the pleasures of childhood in the unspoiled countryside of Upper Canada:

My dear Tom [T.B. Macaulay]. . . . Do you remember the good times we had as schoolboys on Saturdays when the Macauley (sic) boys, Willie Bruce. . . . and Willie Aitchison used to play in the lane between the MacAulay and Bruce farms, riding on the back of a big Newfoundland (sic) dog, and on a raft in the deep ditch by the side of the Bruce fence when it was flooded in early summer.39

Quite apart from the spiritual benefits of a home in the country, the advantages of living away from industrial smokestacks and the diseases associated with over-crowding in urban centres were well-known. But it was a pleasure that

inevitably took second place to urban reality once the Macaulay family moved to Montreal and management of Sun Life permeated their private and public lives.

The move to Montreal followed Robertson Macaulay's appointment as Secretary of Sun Life in 1874, commanding "a salary of $2500 per annum, to be increased to $3000 if he lasted a second year."\(^{40}\) His son, T.B. Macaulay who was then fourteen years old, finished his education at the Montreal High School. Graduating in 1877, he was second in his year and the recipient of a governor-general's medal. He went immediately to work for his father and was named Actuary in 1880. The following year, he married Henrietta Bragg, a young American woman whom he had met in Hudson Heights, the community to the west of Montreal, where both families rented summer cottages (fig.12). In following the lead of other members of Montreal's affluent classes whose seasonal escape from the city's summer heat took them to communities along the Ottawa River to the west of the city, and as far as Murray Bay to the east, the Macaulays continued to indulge a fondness for rural life. Their preference for living at some distance from the city also influenced their choice of urban accommodation.

Surrounded by open fields and characterised by streets lined with row housing and interspersed with small commercial

\(^{40}\) Schull, *The Century of the Sun* 16.
enterprises, the newly developing borderland suburb of Côte St. Antoine (Westmount) to the west of Montreal must have had uncommon appeal for the two Macaulay families. Consequently, following his marriage in 1881, T.B. Macaulay and his father moved their families into adjoining houses at numbers 222 and 224, Greene Avenue. But as the financial fortunes and social standing of both men reflected the vigorous growth of Sun Life, they purchased land on the corner of the fashionable Dorchester Boulevard and Atwater Avenue in Westmount in 1889, with the intention of building new and larger homes. Writing to the vendor of the land, George Durnford, Robertson Macaulay informed him that they intended building their new homes "at the same time as those in your adjoining property with similar bay windows." In addition the letter to Durnford clearly outlined the protocol concerning the party wall and the expectation that he would be granted the "full right to build against the wall of the adjoining house to the west, as a joint division wall. . . ." Once again the Macaulays opted

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41 T.B. Macaulay may have owned both houses. They were sold in 1890. MFP. Wm. Rodden to T.B. Macaulay, Montreal 20 April, 1890. Rodden complains about flooding in the basement of number 224 Greene which he had just purchased from T.B. Macaulay. MFP T.B.M. sold 222, Greene to James Richardson in August 1890.

42 MFP. R. Macaulay to George Durnford. Montreal, 14 January, 1889. The Durnford firm described themselves as 'accountants, auditors and estate agents.'
for adjoining row houses, but this time they would be architect designed and in a more fashionable location.\footnote{43}

Involved in what may have been his first encounter with architectural practice, Robertson Macaulay kept a close watch over the construction of both houses. His comment on the galvanised iron used by George Reed, the roofing contractor, presumably to cover a turret or gable, which he wrote was "altogether out of place and entirely out of character with the building" was biting and to the point.\footnote{44} It was a flimsy piece of work, he admonished, and more like the fishing sheds on the wharf. The frugal Scot deplored the cost of iron supports for the windows, and the omission of sawdust deafening for the party walls, which he reminded the architect was "provided for in the specifications."\footnote{45} He was an irascible man, easily discomfited and quick to reprimand.

\footnote{43}{Much row housing especially in urban areas was built as rental property. Some was speculative building, while others like the pair commissioned by the Macaulays were probably built to standardised plans modified by the architect to meet his clients particular needs and taste. The Macaulays commissioned their houses at 1277 and 1279 Dorchester Boulevard from the local architect, Jean-Baptiste Resther. The Classified Business Directory of the Cities of Hamilton, London, Montreal, Ottawa and Ontario (Toronto: Mighty Directory Co., 1895) 138. J-B. Resther et fils are listed under Montreal - architects. Their business address given as 107, St. James St. Montreal.}

\footnote{44}{MFP. R. Macaulay to George Reed. Montreal, 22 July, 1880.}

\footnote{45}{MFP. R. Macaulay to Mr. Resther. Montreal, 8 October, 1889.}
Moving into their new homes was not an unmixed pleasure for either family. Few adequate services were in place, and when water pipes froze in the winter, a hole was driven through the basement wall to tap into the neighbours supply. When in turn those pipes froze, homes were without water for weeks. An irate Robertson Macaulay wrote to the Montreal Water and Power Company in 1893 concerning their inability to supply him with running water:

All you do is to supply a few pailfuls of water at the door entailing the labour of the servant of seeing to its distribution as best she may... You are thus waiting for Providence to do by modifying the weather as Spring opens what you yourselves ought to attend to at once. 46

The Dorchester Boulevard terrace houses were under construction and under his scrutiny at the same time as the new head office for Sun Life on Notre Dame Street. During the construction of the buildings, Robertson Macaulay had become President and Managing Director of the company. There had been advancement for T.B. Macaulay as well, who had added Secretary to his title of Actuary. The building therefore marked career milestones not only for its architect, Robert Findlay, awarded his first major commission, but for the clients also. Not unexpectedly the newly appointed President was as vigilant and demanding about his head office as he was about the residences on Dorchester Boulevard, but his

46 MFP. T.B. Macaulay to George Keith, Secretary, Montreal Water and Power Company. Montreal, 4 March, 1893.
subsequent patronage of Robert Findlay was founded on respect for the architect's competence, and the pleasure he derived from the finely crafted head office building.
CHAPTER III - New Head Office for Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada.

When Robertson Macaulay first joined the staff of Sun Life in 1874, the company's offices at 164, St. James Street occupied rooms on the ground floor of the recently completed Barron Block (fig.13). The elevations of the grandiose building, in the Venetian Renaissance style, were capped by an ornate ornamental iron balustrade. Across from the Barron Block, the new 'Second Empire' post office designed by Henri-Maurice Perrault (1828-1903) was under construction. Further east, on Place d'Armes, stood John Wells's (1789-1864) Greek Revival Bank of Montreal (1845) (fig.14). None of the architectural styles in the vicinity of his Barron Block office tempted Robertson Macaulay to imitate their elaborate form in his new head office building. From the start, he had directed Sun Life as a family business, and in fact throughout his life referred to the workforce as the Sun Life family. At the end of the 1880's, the growing numbers of staff made it necessary to look for larger quarters, but Robertson Macaulay made it understood that his preference was for a business house rather than a 'business palace.' In view of the styles currently in vogue for commercial architecture, the concept presented his architect with a stylistic challenge.

There were certain rules to be observed in designing a corner-sited office building, particularly one for an
insurance company. For such companies the form of architectural decoration and prominence of the corner elements promised promotional as well as aesthetic advantages. Unlike banking transactions, insurance was purchased through outside agencies; potential customers walking past rather than into the head office building of an insurance company.47 A 'sliced-off' corner would have seriously weakened the visual and commercial impact of the design.

There were other concerns. Designs for head offices usually featured naturally-lit executive suites, a feature that Findlay would find difficult to plan on such a small site, without the side lighting provided by substantial bay windows. He had therefore to undertake the provision of adequate lighting, determine the degree of ornamentation and present the corner to advantage. Each factor was a potentially problematic opposition to his client's 'business house' concept, where the overall presentation would have to minimise what Andrew Saint terms the "swagger of the insurance building."48 To achieve these ends, inspiration came from the English Domestic Revival style; the 'Queen Anne' architecture of Shaw and Webb. A little over a decade before, Shaw's New Zealand Chambers (1873) in London, had proclaimed the new

48 Saint, Richard Norman Shaw 141.
style's "truly middle-class domesticity"\footnote{Taylor, \textit{Monuments of Commerce} 63.} (fig.8) and while that particular building cannot be considered a formal antecedent for Findlay's Sun Life, it was a philosophical one. Highly adaptable, North American 'Queen Anne' was a fashionable and popular style among Canadian architects. There are no records to suggest that Robertson Macaulay preferred one style over another, although perhaps it was taken as read that using modern techniques, the new Sun Life building should be stylish.

As one of the first fire-proof, steel frame buildings constructed in the city\footnote{George H. Harris, \textit{The President's Book: the Story of the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada} (Montreal: Sun Life, 1928) 141.}, Sun Life's clock tower and exuberant roofline contrasted with the dignity and distinction of its three intermediate storeys conceived in the stylish Tudor Gothic mode. The articulation of shallow oriel windows and decorated string cornices owed much to Shaw's Free Classic architecture (fig.15).

\textbf{Notre Dame Street site}

Notre Dame Street was a narrow cobblestone street-car route, lined with multi-storey office and department store blocks, many of which had been built within the previous twenty years in a variety of medieval revival styles, from
Romanesque to Tudor. The Claxton Building (1874) one block west of the Sun Life site was capped by an exaggerated cornice, its highly ornamented main entrance framed by grouped columns and decorated archivolts (fig.16). Almost directly opposite, alternating Corinthian pilasters and arched windows embellished the Italianate facade of the Shaw building (1869). Such a wealth of imposing stonework and sculptural detail provided ample occasion to introduce contrast. Sun Life's steel frame construction supplied the opportunity for variation in the smooth finish of its finely dressed masonry elevations. The transparency of window-veil fenestration presented an overall sense of lightness. In drawing on the principles of the English Renaissance and 'Queen Anne' revivalist idiom, Findlay had exploited an advantageous swing of the pendulum of fashion and in giving the building a modern facade announced presence without excess.

Facade design

The ground floor of the building expressed an entirely different mood from that of the Tudor Gothic storeys above; a fanciful dialogue between baroque, medieval and classical vocabulary. Crowned by a flattened elliptical arch and with

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the central pier in the guise of a decorative terra-cotta caryatid half-figure, a double window was positioned immediately adjacent to the main entrance (figs. 17, 18). The unique sequence substituted admirably for a grand approach which, given the nature of the streetscape, would have proved inappropriate and unworkable. In an elegant allusion to Renaissance vaulting, the recessed entrance may be the first appearance of the motif in Findlay's work. It was a recurring element in Shaw's larger town houses, particularly at 180, Queen's Gate, where his combination of recessed, arcuated porch and Tudor style stacked bays found formal expression in the Sun Life building\textsuperscript{52} (fig. 19).

The architectural decoration of the ground floor of the main facade of Sun Life was a moderate example of what Nicholas Taylor, referring to its overuse as architectural enrichment, ruefully describes as the "Reign of Terracotta."\textsuperscript{53} But for those committed to Arts and Crafts theory, terra-cotta sculptural decoration signalled a return to medieval standards of hand craftsmanship.\textsuperscript{54} Findlay had engaged the English born sculptor, Henry Beaumont (1853-1909) well-respected for his work in the medium, to carry out the bas-relief friezes, bead

\textsuperscript{52} See Saint, Richard Norman Shaw 233.

\textsuperscript{53} Taylor, Monuments of Commerce 63.

edging and corbel decoration.\textsuperscript{55} Massing the ornamentation in the archivolt of the main entrance and on the corbels of the false oriel, confined much of the embellishment to the lower storeys and was done for a purpose. It set up textural and organic contrast with the linearity of masonry piers and cornices articulating the superior storeys.

Robertson Macaulay had stipulated "Imported stone for Notre Dame & St. Alexis Sts. - similar to that employed in Bank of Montreal St. Cath. St."\textsuperscript{56}(fig.20). The masonry of the newly completed branch bank had made an impression on the President, although he was apparently referring to the physical stone rather than to the manner in which it was dressed and laid. For all intents and purposes, neither the Richardsonian Romanesque masonry nor style of the bank had any bearing on the Sun Life building, except in the bank building's slight references to 'Queen Anne'; Dutch gables and bell-capped tower. In fact, similar imported Scottish red sandstone was used for the exterior faces of the Sun Life building, but it was finely dressed ashlar and laid in regular courses. To refute the bank building connection even further

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{SLA. Pamphlet} "Vieux Sun Life". In the 1980's the Notre Dame Street head office was completely renovated. The renovations are described in the pamphlet put out by the architectural firm, Papineau and O'Keefe. "The architectural sculpture that enhances the building's facade is the work of Henry Beaumont, a well-known 19th century sculptor."

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{MFP. Minutes}, 12 September, 1989.

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the builder, Peter Lyall, used gilsonite, an asphalt derivative which never dried out, as a bonding medium, with the result that the joints were rendered virtually invisible. None of the great sandstones touched and an illusion was created of stonework draped lightly round the supporting frame.\(^{57}\)

The stacked Tudor Gothic style bays of the upper storeys increased the illusion of folds in drapery. In the strictest sense, the style derived from English Renaissance architecture, and specifically from Hampton Court Palace (1515-1519). Motifs drawn from this historic source appeared on turn-of-the-century buildings throughout Montreal. For example, displaying an urbane version of the style, Robert Findlay's W.A. Molson House (892, Sherbrooke St. West, 1905) was closely related to the unique source\(^{58}\) (fig.5). While the intermediate storeys of the Sun Life building may be the first instance of Findlay's use of Tudor Gothic, in softening the formality of the style by the introduction of motifs related to European 'Queen Anne', he turned away from direct

\(^{57}\) Robert Wilson, "He's Mr. Clean to the Outer World," Star [Montreal] 22 Oct. 1969: np. J.J. Rabow, President of Allied Building Services described cleaning the building. "When it was built," he reported, "the company brought material from every country where it had a branch, limestone, coarse and polished marble, granite and sandstone."

quotation. In particular, Findlay seems to have been influenced by the terrace houses at 63-73, Cadogan Square in London (1885-6) designed by the Scottish architect, J.J. Stevenson (1831-1908)\textsuperscript{59} (fig.21).

The rhythm of the Sun Life facade, implicit in the repeating pattern of tall multi-paned windows inset from wide masonry piers, accentuates at the corner tower; the tower itself formed by an impressive stack of curving single-storey bay windows. Continuous cornices across the facade of Stevenson's Cadogan Square terrace trace out the curves and angles of the bay windows in wide horizontal bands, uniting the row of individual houses in an homogeneous architectural block. In a similar fashion, the bracketed cornice of the Notre Dame Street facade forces a horizontal note, momentarily halting the disunity created by tall masonry piers. The boldly stated cornices of Sun Life also serve as an announcement of the \textit{piano nobile} and the suites of executive offices positioned behind the windows of the first floor.

The crown ornamentation of the Sun Life building which includes among other classical references a triumphal arch, a Greek temple portico, and a 'tourelle' as well as two levels of balustrade, presents something of a conundrum. The over

\textsuperscript{59} see Hitchcock, \textit{Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries} 212.
abundance of revival motifs are dauntingly substantial, set above the lightness of the window walls immediately below. The motive for such an abrupt change between the fourth and attic storeys is unclear and with few records in support, any explanation is speculative. Despite his client's wish to the contrary, Findlay may well have felt the necessity of incorporating something of the "swagger" of the insurance company building or, and equally likely, the array and variety of attic storey ornamentation was intended as a proving ground for his talent. In any event, the essence of the building is less in the contrast between storeys than it is in the homogeneous and harmonious massing of the structural elements of the intermediate floors. Findlay's blend of Tudor Gothic and 'Queen Anne' was essentially the adaptation of domestic styles to a commercial building and was an imaginative response to his client's desire for a business house; a comfortable and attractive place in which to work. Without ever having entered the building, the exterior design conveys a clear sense of high ceilings and spacious, well-lit rooms (fig.22).

Interior

At the September 1889 special board meeting held to decide the kind of building that was needed, the minutes record the board's request for the placement of the main
entrance to be left "for the architect to decide." There is no evidence to suggest that Robertson Macaulay required alterations to any part of the exterior design. This did not hold true for the architect's plans for the interior however. The minutes record only one formal request regarding interior arrangements:

It was also decided that Companys own offices should be on first story (sic) - not on ground floor. But the President's unfailingly polite although unequivocal belated requests for changes to interior planning must have exasperated his architect on occasion.

Barely three months before completion of the head office, President Macaulay instructed Findlay to install electric bells and speaking tubes:

One system should be sufficient, and we could arrange it so that one bell would always indicate the Manager - two the Secretary. . . . and a lift or small elevator 6 inches deep and 18 inches wide should come up from the general office below to the general office above outside the secretary's and Board room offices.

60 SLA. Minutes, 12 September, 1889.

61 SLA. Minutes, 12 September, 1889. Urban lettable space was limited. It was good business sense to let office space whenever possible. The Union Bank of Canada occupied offices on the ground floor of the Sun Life building.

A postscript was despatched the same afternoon, requiring a further bell and speaking tube "alongside the lift." It can not have been an easy task for the architect to make alterations so far into the project and so close to completion. Nevertheless, there are no grounds for suspecting that however awkward the request, it was ever countermanded.

Findlay's plans included the installation of an electric elevator. Perhaps it was the sight of the young lawyer, David Ross McLeod\textsuperscript{63} climbing the stairs to his office on the fourth floor of the Barron Block that prompted Macaulay to specify an elevator be installed in the new head office. Moving slowly between floors, and operated by a permanent attendant, it was located in an open shaft lined with ornamental grille-work. Encircling the shaft, a flight of marble stairs lead to the first floor and the spacious offices and private facilities of the President and Secretary.

\textit{Offices for the Management}

Beyond the large marble counter, cashier's cage and a group of junior clerks perched on high stools was Robertson Macaulay's office, overlooking the Notre Dame and St. Alexis

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{SLA.} \textit{Statement by A.G. Howell (abt.1926) "On the fourth floor was a young lawyer David Ross McCord [1844-1910], son of Hon. Mr. Justice John Samuel McCord of the Superior Court of Lower Canada. He had even then [c1874] begun the collection of priceless Canadian and other historical articles. . ."}
corner. T.B. Macaulay's office was adjacent to his father's, and also faced on Notre Dame Street. While the executive offices had the full benefit of large windows, the inner offices, lit by a two storey central well and windows facing on St. Alexis Street, had very little natural light or ventilation. For that reason all offices had been fitted with 'incandescent' light fixtures. Prior to his decision to build the new head office, Robertson Macaulay had already made enquiries into the possibility of having an electric light system installed in his Barron Block offices because,

... gas being so faulty with continued escape into the atmosphere inhaled by the clerks.64

The board room was situated on the second floor at the north-west corner of the building, and like the President's private office below, occupied a particularly well-lit space. Finished in "solid cherry in bank style, with every modern luxury and convenience" all the offices were designed to impress.65 An employee recalled how well the board room in particular was furnished:

On the second floor and facing Notre Dame Street was our Board Room which contained a huge elaborately carved table which must have come from some foreign country. It was jet black in colour and had serpents or dragons as its motif. There

64 SLA. Extracts from the Minutes "Folio 4/213."

65 Schull, The Century of the Sun 33.
were high backed chairs to match.\textsuperscript{66} (fig.22).

The 1890's were fascinated with Oriental art and culture, a fashion which seems to have influenced board room decor as well. For a Tudor or Gothic Revival domestic interior an Oriental scheme would include one or more ebonised cabinets to serve as shelves for Oriental porcelain. Judging from the description, it seems that the board room furniture was constructed of ebonised wood imported from the Far East. Robertson Macaulay's understanding of what was appropriate in a commercial setting was a carry over from current domestic style. It was Findlay's task to ensure that the decor complemented the furnishings and his design called for floor to ceiling wood panelling and carved trim, a scheme based on English Renaissance Revival interiors. His extensive use of luxury woods and refined joinery strongly suggests a debt to the British Arts and Crafts architects and their return to the values of craftsmanship. He had recognised, in the all embracing international Domestic Revival style, an approach compatible with the needs of his client.

Cabinetry design came within the domain of the architect, but not exclusively. In this area, Findlay sought the

\textsuperscript{66} SLA. W.A. Smart - oral history (handwritten notes, undated). Smart died in 1958. The notes were probably written close to that date. His recollections covered the early years of the twentieth century. His description of the executive furniture matches that of a small table from the period now in the Corporate Archives (fig.23).
guidance of his client. Responding to his architect's request for instructions regarding the kind of mantels for the executive offices, the President found merit in American precedent:

I think that of the Y.M.C.A. of Detroit looks the neatest for an office. Of course without any cabinet on top. You might vary a little the Secretary's.\(^{67}\)

His choice may have been made from a pattern book possibly of made-to-order fixtures, perhaps limited to American products. Or, and typical of contemporary architectural practice, Findlay may have maintained a file of reproducible examples. Whether it was the architect's intention to order mantels or have his contractor copy them in place is hard to tell. But implicit in Macaulay's response is his understanding of the subtlety of style. The President did not request a smaller or less expensive mantel for the Secretary's office, simply a variant form.

Hierarchy in the management structure of Sun Life was also implied by the size and position of private offices. Less sensitively upheld, was the social gulf between management and staff. In stark contrast to the amenities provided for management, the staffroom for the clerks was a small room in the basement, filled with packing cases, without

\(^{67}\) SLA. Robertson Macaulay to Robert Findlay. Montreal, 3 April, 1891.
chairs "and an old pail for an ashcan." Architectural practice had not yet been forced by external events to include the workplace in the ethics of good design and provide for adequate lighting and ventilation. Out of Robert Findlay's control, it was an internal matter of patronage and the will of the client.

Sun Life was a closed, stable and paternalistic society. The Macaulays were, however, responsible employers and in line with their ideology, treated the office staff with respect and generosity. They delighted the workforce with an extra month's salary as a Christmas bonus, set reduced working hours during the summer months and hosted picnics at T.B. Macaulay's summer estate in Hudson Heights (fig.24). In return they received, for the most part, the staff's undivided loyalty. In May 1891, the twenty-two members of the company's head office staff moved out of the Barron Block and into the Sun Life family's first real home. The janitor's quarters and the library were on the top floor. Offices on the third floor were let to P.S.Ross, a firm of chartered accountants, but with the exception of this company and the Union Bank, Sun Life occupied the rest of the building.

Critical reception for the building was generous. In 1891, the *Dominion Illustrated* reported that:

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68 SLA. Mr.W.A. Smart - oral history.
. . . for the Sun Life Assurance Company's Building on Notre Dame Street. . . all his [Findlay's] work is the very best and unsurpassed in design and taste in this city.  

Reviewing the policies and future prospects of Sun Life, the Montreal Illustrated exclaimed "The company's building is one of the handsomest in the city."  

Over the next decade, Sun Life offered its customers "an impressive picture of strength and growth." Gradually, offices were taken back from the tenants to accommodate the increasing numbers of staff. Eventually the adjoining Waddell Building to the east was purchased and in 1899, the Trafalgar Chambers as well, the latter being approached across Hospital Street by a covered archway joining the second floor of the Findlay building to the top floor of the Trafalgar annexe. Robert Findlay's gracious building had become part of a Sun Life complex (figs.25,26).  

Findlay went on to specialise in domestic architecture. Clients for his residential work who, like the newly successful Macaulays, were members of the affluent middle  

69 Dominion Illustrated 1891 "Montreal number": np.  
classes, commissioned grand houses in the 'Square Mile' and upper Westmount. But during the next twenty-five years there would be only short periods of time when his practice did not have a project-in-hand for either Robertson or T.B. Macaulay.
CHAPTER IV - 1890 -1910

A Variety of Commissions

Residence on Dorchester Avenue.
When the Sun Life building was under construction, T.B. Macaulay commissioned Robert Findlay to design a detached house at the corner of Clandeboye Avenue and Dorchester Boulevard (now 4100, Dorchester) (fig.27). The single family residence was one of the architect's earliest domestic commissions. Conceived in the popular North American 'Queen Anne' style, the Canadian derivation is described as "the mixing of Richardsonian Romanesque motifs from the United States with English Queen Anne."\(^{72}\) In his massing of formal motifs, Findlay's design for the house presents a clear example of Canadian 'Queen Anne.' Implicit in the domesticity of red brick fabric, hints of Richardsonian masonry for the verandah supports, eccentric roofline, asymmetrical massing and stretches of undecorated wall surface is the evidence that Findlay looked both to the United States and Europe for the architectural elements.\(^{73}\)

During this period, architects could adapt designs from pattern books or architectural journals, many of which were in


circulation at the time. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the publishing of plans and elevations both in periodicals and books had become a thriving business and a "volume of attractive designs was always a good advertisement for an aspiring architect. . ."74 There are, for example, similarities between Findlay's Dorchester Avenue house for T.B. Macaulay and some of the compositional features included by the American architect Bruce Price in his design for a large residence, the architectural drawing of which was published in the American Architect and Building News in 1879 (fig.28). Illustrations of the same architect's work were frequently featured in the late 1880's in the Canadian Architect and Builder.75 Such coverage engendered considerable interest among clients and architects, especially since several published and well-known practitioners like Price were active in Montreal during the period. The solidity of masonry and intricate gables of his James Ross house (3644

74 Tausky and DiStefano, Victorian Architecture in London and SouthWestern Ontario 70. The authors list such publications as Shoppell's Modern Houses issued periodically from the 1880's. A complete set of working drawings together with estimates could be obtained from the Cooperative Building Plan Association in New York City. Periodicals such as The American Architect and Builder (1842-) and The Canadian Architect and Builder (1888-) were concerned with "the technicalities as well as the artistic aspects of building. . . as well as analyses of Gothic architecture and illustrations of notable new buildings."

Peel) which was under construction in 1890 cannot have failed to confirm the popularity of the style.

Many unanswered questions surround the Dorchester Avenue commission. T.B. Macaulay's family had only recently moved to the row house at 1277, Dorchester Blvd designed by J-B Resther (1890). What prompted his decision to build a detached house so soon after the completion of the row house remains a mystery, as does the reason for the family's failure to take possession. The detached house was sold in 1899. If it had been intended as an investment property, the probability of its being designed in the highly fashionable 'Canadian Queen Anne' mode or commissioned from Robert Findlay is remote. It was surely originally intended as a symbol of increasing status and was for the family's own use, but in fact social aspirations may provide a partial answer for its non-occupation.

In the 1890's T.B. Macaulay had successfully negotiated the purchase of a large estate in Hudson Heights with the intention of building a summer residence for his family. In

76 The first summer house at Mount Victoria was a log-sided cottage (1901) constructed from timber felled on the estate. At first there were few local services, but once electricity was made available to homeowners in the community, the summer cottage at Hudson Heights became not only a continuing project for its owner but for his architect as well. Robert Findlay designed and replaced outside doors and windows, and over time, added new bathrooms, a laundry room, improved plumbing and a modern anthracite-fired hot air
doing so he had joined a small but growing new class of landowner - the gentleman farmer. As a member of the new generation "professionally trained, humanely educated, believing in their own bourgeois culture," T.B. Macaulay would have been aware of the unwritten rules governing the path to social recognition which, in the interests of his own and the company's prosperity, he could not afford to ignore. One of the terms of membership in Montreal's influential mercantile class was founded on the possession of property. But with substantial mortgages still running for one or more of his town houses he may have found it necessary to reduce the financial burden. Above all else he was a prudent man, and compromise may have been his only course of action. Funding for this new enterprise may be the practical explanation for his non occupation of the new house on Dorchester Avenue.

The Secretary was also an extremely busy man. Sun Life led the industry in enterprise and expansion, but not without

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system. MFP. Correspondence between Robert Findlay and various contractors, (Philip Lahee, electrical contractor and P.J. Sullivan, plumbing, heating and ventilating engineer) 1905-1913.

77 Taylor, Monuments of Commerce 63.

78 MFP. The notarial firm Cushing and Dunton had drawn up deeds of loan for both T.B. Macaulay and his father. T.B. Macaulay's loans in January 1890 were recorded for a total of $7000.
enormous commitment on the part of both Macaulays. The President and his son were away from home for long trips abroad, auditing agencies and promoting new policies. Their business took them far afield, to the West Indies and to the untapped markets and populations of the Far East.\textsuperscript{79} Whatever the reason put forward, the decision made by the family not to move into the new 'Queen Anne' style house postponed their removal from the row house on Dorchester Avenue for another twenty-four years.

In his influential \textit{House Architecture}, published in 1880, J.J. Stevenson suggested that the appeal of 'Queen Anne' was its role in the picturesque portrayal of transition, coming between Gothic revivalism, a style in which his contemporaries were competent and the commitment of the next generation of architects to Beaux-Arts principles. The European trainees would apply the harmony and symmetry of the Beaux-Arts style to both domestic and civic architecture, just as architects like Robert Findlay had found 'Queen Anne' adaptable to a variety of architectural projects.

\textsuperscript{79} In 1895, T.B. Macaulay was in Europe. MFP. Menu, Hôtel de Bellevue-Hôtel de Flandre, Brussels, September, 1895. In 1898, Robertson Macaulay had travelled to India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Yokahama. MFP. R. Macaulay to Hugh Monie, Montreal, 29 July, 1898. "I had no time to visit Honolulu and hurried home direct from Yokahama so as to reach here early in May, and thus allow my son, our Secretary to leave for England, which he did on the 7th of that month."
In Montreal the popularity of the 'Queen Anne' style was at its zenith when Robert Findlay's humanist and comfortably domestic concept for the Westmount Library (4574, Sherbrooke, 1899) was proposed (fig.29). His imaginative interpretation of an essentially domestic style is proof of its adaptability to other architectural projects. He presented the well-known landmark in a form closer to a large and comfortable urban villa than that of its civic function. The library's 'Queen Anne' facade compares with that of the Macaulay house on Dorchester Avenue in its presentation of influences, but makes even greater reference to North American sources than to European precedent.\(^8^0\)

_Lion Fountain on Dominion Square_

The occasion of the Diamond Jubilee prompted Sun Life to commission its own permanent memorial, and present the city with a monument and drinking fountain to be erected in Dominion Square. The monument was to take the form of "a solid granite pile surmounted by the figure of a sleeping lion"\(^8^1\) (fig.30). The recumbent lion was soon abandoned in favor of a copy taken on a small scale from F-A. Bartholdi's

\(^{8^0}\) Illustrations of H.H. Richardson's Romanesque public libraries of the late 1800's must have been well known to Findlay and his civic sponsors. see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, _The Architecture of H.H.Richardson and His Times_ (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1961).

"Le Lion de Belfort" (1870-71). George W. Hill (1862-1934), the young Quebec-born sculptor, was commissioned to fashion the figure of the lion from a single block of greenish tinged Westerley granite from Rhode Island. Hill's sculpture would be installed on a base of New Brunswick stone, designed by Robert Findlay. But critical reception was mixed. The model of the lion was considered to be an overly idealistic portrayal. Somewhat ruffled, the Secretary sought vindication from an impressive jury drawn from Montreal's artistic community and headed by Andrew T. Taylor. The report was encouraging:

At Mr. Findlay's request, I got Messrs. Harris, Brymmer and Capper to go and look at the model of the lion proposed for Dominion Square, in conjunction with myself... It must always be borne in mind that for architectural purposes representations of animals, etc. must to a certain extent be conventionalised. We all thought that, if when completed in granite, it is as good as it is now in the model, it will be the best thing of its kind in the city and a decided acquisition.

For such a charming and minor commission, controversy did not end there. Both sculptor and architect had taken far more time to complete the work than the directors felt necessary. Each received a curtly worded reminder from T.B. Macaulay. In August, 1898 the Secretary wrote again to Findlay, "It is over

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a year now since the Monument was begun and it is still unfinished." Their concern was not unfounded. The monument did seem to have taken an inordinate length of time considering its size and relatively simple form. Despite the problems there was no lingering illwill. Sun Life was justifiably proud of the finished product, choosing the Lion Fountain as one of four exquisitely executed vignettes to decorate an illuminated address presented to Robertson Macaulay in 1906 (fig.31).

The Calvary Congregational Church, Westmount

The Macaulay/Findlay relationship was based on service, courtesy and competence, so that in 1911 it cannot have surprised Findlay to learn that he had been awarded the commission to design a church for the local Congregationalist community in Westmount. It is unclear whether a design competition was held, or whether Findlay was chosen by acclamation, but T.B. Macaulay was the community's most celebrated and influential member. Not only that, he was also its greatest, most unceasing although on occasion reluctant

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84 SLA. T.B. Macaulay to R. Findlay. Montreal, 15 August, 1898.

85 The illuminated address was "Engrossed on vellum, in book form, prepared by Mr. A.H. Hammond, R.C.A." Harris, The President's Book 158. The other miniature paintings were of Findlay's competition entry for the Notre Dame Street head office; the Oriental carved furniture of the board room and a specially formulated heraldic device for Robertson Macaulay's branch of the Clan Macaulay.
benefactor. On paper, it was the church building committee who had awarded the commission and who would deal with the architect, but it was T.B. Macaulay who wrote to Findlay, "The committee of Calvary Church having in charge the construction of our new church building, have appointed you architect thereof."\footnote{MFP. T.B. Macaulay to Robert Findlay. Montreal, 12 June, 1911. There was apparently to be a 'consulting architect' appointed as well. Records do not indicate the name of this individual "... we shall retain one and one-half per cent for the services of a consulting architect or architects, the net commission to be paid to you [Robert Findlay] being thus three and one-half per cent."} Needless to say in his capacity as president of the Congregational Union of Canada, T.B. Macaulay laid the corner stone of the new church at the corner of Greene and Dorchester Avenues on 8 June, 1912 (now demolished).\footnote{MFP. Pamphlet, Laying the Corner Stone of the new Calvary Congregational Church: Corner of Dorchester St. and Greene Ave. Order of Service. Saturday, June 8, 1912.}

The modest church was a sober, perpendicular, sandstone structure. Its recessed entrance and decorated archivolts, representative of Findlay's style, were in keeping with ecclesiastical architecture elsewhere in the city (fig.32). Corner towers were reduced to two-dimensional abstractions. The turret crowned elements articulated the side elevations only, reducing the decoration of the front facade to stepped back masonry and a large arched Gothic window positioned above the western door. Stylistically, the design was very close to Edward and W.S. Maxwell's Church of the Messiah (1491,}
Sherbrooke, 1906-07, destroyed by fire, 1987). In both, the motifs and massing of Tudor Gothic form were handled by reduction and with restraint.  

In 1911, at the same time the church commission was awarded, a villa in upper Westmount, designed by Robert Findlay for the elderly Robertson Macaulay, was already under construction (3228, Cedar Ave.) (fig.2). Later the same year, following his father's example, T.B. Macaulay retained the architect for what would be their last commission together. He would build an equally large and prestigious house a short distance from his father's new house (3233, The Boulevard) (fig.3). T.B. Macaulay explained their perhaps elitist reason for moving away from the Dorchester row houses:

One thing that decided my father to move was that the vacant land immediately to the rear of our houses, has been almost covered now with terraces on each street of three-storey brick houses, put up by Mr. Durnford. . . The houses are not bad, but certainly not of the kind that would increase the value of the property in the neighbourhood, and they almost entirely block our view of the mountain. When my father decided to move there was no reason why I should remain.  

T.B. Macaulay was reacting to the explosive growth in population and housing in the area of Greene, Dorchester and

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89 MFP. T.B. Macaulay to Mrs. Forster. Montreal, 28 September, 1911.
Atwater Avenues in Westmount and described the hillside as being "pretty thoroughly covered with houses now."

The contrast between the Macaulay villas could hardly have been more marked or more indicative of the reason Robert Findlay enjoyed their extended patronage. They provide a very clear demonstration of the architect's innate ability to work in a variety of styles and to adapt them to individual needs; for the two Macaulays the differing but implied aesthetics of moderation.
Robertson Macaulay was nearing eighty years old when he commissioned the house at the corner of Cedar and Mount Pleasant Avenues, well past the usual age when a member of Montreal's affluent classes considered himself ready to build an impressive home in Montreal's exclusive 'Square Mile' or on Westmount's Upper Level. Both Tancrède Bienvenue (1864-1931) and Herbert Molson (1875-1938), the President of Molson's Brewery, were forty-six years old when they commissioned Findlay to design homes in the 'Square Mile'. Evidently there was a plateau of financial and social maturity to be reached before an architect was contacted to design what would probably be the last and largest family home, at least in an urban or suburban setting.

For the President of Sun Life, affluence and status had accumulated in step with the success of his company, which in the first decade of the twentieth century had passed through

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90 3228, Cedar (now 425, Mount Pleasant - Miss Edgar's and Miss Cramp's School) see Architecture domestique Communauté urbaine de Montréal, Les résidences 430.

a period of unprecedented growth.\textsuperscript{92} Matching the company's outstanding performance, President Macaulay's new house was to be built on a lot commanding the "finest view on Upper Level [Westmount]."\textsuperscript{93} Robert Findlay planned the house to take full advantage of the panoramic view, positioning the principal rooms on the south and south-west elevations, overlooking the St. Lawrence River. The house was nearing completion when the owners younger son, Herbert Macaulay, visited the site in March, 1913. He wrote that he was "agreeably surprised to find things in a more advanced condition than I imagined they would be."\textsuperscript{94}

Findlay's design for the villa restated the President's affection for the Tudor or Modern Gothic of the Notre Dame Street head office, the motifs of which had become a recurring theme in Findlay's architecture (fig.33). The choice of medieval revivalist idiom was apt. Robertson Macaulay named his new house 'Ardincaple' after the Clan Macaulay's sixteenth

\textsuperscript{92} Plans were already underway for a new head office in the Beaux-Arts tradition to be constructed on a site facing on Dominion Square. The new building would accommodate 750 clerks "Its design was begun in 1912, and was to be the last absorbing interest of Robertson Macaulay's life." Schull, \textit{The Century of the Sun} 49.

\textsuperscript{93} MFP. Westmount Realties Co. listed Robertson Macaulay's house for sale at '4010, Avenue Road, Westmount' (now the private school, "Miss Edgar's and Miss Cramp's") on 18 December, 1918.

\textsuperscript{94} MFP. Herbert Macaulay to R. Macaulay. Montreal, 11 March, 1913.
century ancestral home in Dumbartonshire in Scotland. Originally a medieval fortified house, it existed in the early 1900's in Victorian reconstruction. Nostalgia then must have played a significant role in the way Findlay designed the house. His client would have become familiar with Scottish Baronial architecture during the many private and business visits he made to his native land. Although he had probably not expected nor sought a replica of his ancestral home it is likely he visualised a romantic semblance of its battlemented style. The original 'Ardincaple', had been destroyed by fire in 1830, and how close, if at all, the ornate 'Jacobethan' revivalist style reconstruction came to the original is impossible to tell. There is a possibility that Macaulay visited the Victorian reconstruction at Helensburgh, in which case it was the formal elements of that 'Ardincaple' which found form in Findlay's upper Westmount villa\textsuperscript{95} (fig.34).

\textbf{Exterior}

In some respects the nature of Findlay's revivalist approach took into account not only the president's stylistic preference but his age as well. The modified buff brick Tudor

\textsuperscript{95} Although a visit specifically to Dumbartonshire and 'Ardincaple' is not recorded, Robertson Macaulay 'cherished the warmest affection' for his native land, making many visits to Fraserburgh, his birthplace. He "ever remembered the home of his boyhood with numberless but unostentatious and kindly benefactions." John Ross, "Early Life in Scotland of the late President Robertson Macaulay," \textit{Sunshine} 1915, Memorial edition. 14.
Gothic elevations of the house betray a slightly old-fashioned, overstuffed sedateness. This was not wholly disguised by the modernity of Arts and Crafts linear simplicity and patterned and fractured brickwork (fig.35). Generous single storey square bays on the side elevations and the Tudor Gothic symmetry of stacked, parapetted, attic-high bays on the garden front are set against stretches of evenly coursed brickwork. Direct 'Jacobethan' quotation is tempered, there is for example elevational symmetry from only one side, while edges of fractured brickwork suggest a modern configuration. Findlay's classical rounded, semi-domed main entrance porch, a motif traditionally positioned to make a bold statement of symmetry, is placed instead to one side of the main facade and in fact accentuates asymmetry. Clearly influenced by Ernest Newton and W.R. Lethaby's work of the same period, Findlay's design for 'Ardincaple' is a retreat from style.

Freely designed medium sized country houses such as Lethaby's 'The Hurst' near Birmingham (1892) (fig.36) and Ernest Newton's 'Steep Hill' (Jersey, 1899) (fig.37) in their highly visual commitment to an unhistorical mix of motifs, have relevance for the design of the Macaulay house. Balancing mass and proportion, Newton set the rounded porch of 'Steep Hill' to one side of the garden elevation. Counterbalanced by a wide hexagonal two-storey bay on the
other, he created harmonious stability, in much the same manner as the massing of elements on Findlay's entrance facade. Equally influential, Lethaby's commonsense blending of classical symmetry and Gothic motifs is evident on the garden elevations of both his 'The Hurst' and Findlay's 'Ardincaple'.

South elevation

The generous full-width verandah on the south elevation of the Cedar Avenue house is a curious and unusual feature, and an unlikely compositional element of Findlay's original design. Its effect is an awkward lateral bisection of an otherwise symmetrical elevation, and appears to have been 'added-on', probably reluctantly by the architect, but certainly commissioned by Robertson Macaulay. The covered verandah was in place when the house was photographed in 1915\textsuperscript{97} (fig.38). Reasons for its construction remain conjectural, but suggest a series of substantial and not uncommon changes of mind on the part of the client.


\textsuperscript{97} 'Ardincaple' was illustrated in the memorial issue of the company's in-house journal, \textit{Sunshine}, published to observe Robertson Macaulay's death in 1915.
Documents relating to the estate confirm that a conservatory and palm room, which were not part of the original plans were designed by the architect only a year or two after the house was completed. Access to the new areas was achieved by breaking through the garden front wall on two levels, work being completed in the summer of 1915, barely three months before the President's death. His lack of hesitation in compromising the symmetry of the facade speaks less of a concern with aesthetics as it does of personal comfort. The verandah addition can perhaps be attributed to exasperation, heightened by poor health and advancing years, over a situation that could not have been readily foreseen.

Set on a south facing slope overlooking the city, 'Ardincaple's' principal rooms would have been flooded with sunlight entering the large windows of the south and west elevations. There were few mature trees to provide shade, no immediate neighbouring buildings and to the amusement of Herbert Macaulay, who had selected the window blinds, "only" 118 windows. Although blinds for the wide bays would shade the interiors and prevent textiles from fading, by tending to trap the heat they must have aggravated the situation. When

98 MFP. McRobert & Gibeau, Builders, Carpenters and Joiners, to Robert Findlay. Montreal, 26 July, 1915. "We the undersigned do offer to erect a Conservatory for Mr.R. Macaulay, Westmount . . . for the sum of $1061.00."
A month later, William Swan, Carpenter and Joiner, was commissioned to enlarge the conservatory and construct a palm room. The roof of the extension was to be sheathed in copper.
Findlay positioned the main rooms on the south side of the house to take advantage of the long view he may not have realised how unbearably hot they would become on a midsummer day. It was not an ideal arrangement for a couple who were neither of an age nor in good enough health to contemplate building a comfortable house in the country to escape the summer heat. The construction of a roomy covered gallery to shade the ground floor reception rooms was probably one of the better remedial solutions open to the architect (fig.39).

Interior

Due to extensive renovations over the years it is no longer possible to reconstruct the arrangement of ground floor rooms with certainty. A hint of the layout and an idea of the spaciousness and modern comfort of the interior can be sensed from the real estate notice prepared when the house was sold in 1918:

Detached pressed buff brick residence with cut stone trimmings, designed by a leading Montreal architect [Robert Findlay] ideally situated on finest corner of Upper Level, 15 extra large bright rooms, large conservatory and forcing room, finest of quartered oak woodwork in main rooms, mahogany in dining room, white enamel in reception rooms and bedrooms, quarter cut oak flooring on Ground floor, and in Upper hall, 8 fireplaces, 4 bathrooms, 2 beautifully tiled with porcelain fittings. . .very large verandah on south side of house commanding finest view on Upper Level. . .

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99 MFP. Westmount Realties Co., 18 December, 1918.

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The main door approached by way of the semi-circular porch led into a spacious stair hall with a window-seated alcove to the right and a grand stone chimneypiece set into one corner immediately ahead. A handsome staircase was enclosed in a cage of uprights, a popular system in English Arts and Crafts interiors\(^\text{100}\) (fig.40). Curving away to a semi-gallery at the left, its ornate balustrade and decorative screen gave greater privacy to the upper floor. With the main north/south axis of the house formed by a panelled hallway leading from the main entrance to the rear of the house, an enfilade arrangement of principal rooms was effectively denied; the main reception rooms then planned to front on two elevations. Given the inclusion of deep ceiling high bays in the spacious room on the west elevation, and some indication of a Georgian style fireplace with decorated overmantel, it is probably safe to assume that the drawing room occupied the south-west corner. The library and dining room were arranged along the south elevation. Framed by wide oak mouldings, semi-circular fanlights set above interior doors carried natural light into the otherwise windowless inner hallway. Refined and skilful use of joinery in the turned banisters, decorative screen on the half-landing, built-in glazed bookcases in the library and low relief carving on window seats and radiator covers

referred directly to the revival of handcrafting over mass produced ornamentation (fig.41).

Findlay's 'Tudorbethan' wood-panelled interior was staid and elegant. Above the mahogany panelling in the dining room, the wall was to be papered in blue to match the tiled fireplace surround. While the client was wintering in Florida it was his son Herbert's task to coordinate with the architect and choose wall coverings. Robert Findlay had arrived one morning with samples of wallpaper from "Morgans, Goodwins and possibly another firm for us to again make a selection from." Two days later Herbert Macaulay reported to his father:

In the drawing room I was not able to get any boarder (sic) such as would harmonise and I have told Findlay to go ahead and do stencil-work in its place.

When it was completed, the decorative stencilling and arched panels and ornament shelf of the high overmantel of the drawing room described Findlay's continuing interest in the work of the upholsters of the Art Workers Guild, architects such as Newton and E. Guy Dawber (1861-1938) who promoted the Arts and Crafts line (fig.42). The fireplace ensemble in the drawing room at 'Ardincaple' reveals the influence of designs

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such as that of Guy Dawber for a chimneypiece at 118, Maida Vale in London (c1910) (fig.43)\textsuperscript{103}.

Findlay was not only the family's architect but their sometime ally. His opinion was sought by Herbert Macaulay, in whose lap the task of making final arrangements for his parent's relocation had fallen. He requested the architect's aid in persuading a reluctant Robertson Macaulay that replacement of some of his aging household furnishings was both a practical as well as an aesthetic undertaking. He wrote to his father:

I had a talk with Mr. Findlay the Architect on this very point this morning, and he agreed thoroughly, and mentioned that when he moved, that his wife, unknown to him, took out two wagons of old furniture, and had it sold at the auction rooms, and that although at the time he was somewhat annoyed at this, that yet in a little while he saw the wisdom of her move.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{103} The Modern Home: a Book of British Domestic Architecture for Moderate Incomes ed.Walter Shaw Sparrow (London: Hodder and Stoughton, nd.) 110. Shaw Sparrow was a widely read contemporary author on the architecture and taste of the period. Pattern books illustrated currently fashionable styles as well as richly ornamented if stylistically regressive styles for overmantels. The brick and tile fireplace surround in the drawing room at 'Ardincaple' was in fact more in keeping with a style generally reserved for a dining room. For a comprehensive study of interior styles see, The Elements of Style: an Encyclopedia of Domestic Architectural Details. Also see A. Stuart Gray, Edwardian Architecture; a Biographical Dictionary (London: Duckworth, 1985).

\textsuperscript{104} MFP. Herbert Macaulay to R. Macaulay. Montreal, 12 March, 1913.
There is no evidence to suspect that Findlay's anecdote carried any weight with the owner however. Herbert Findlay had been against "carting to a new house furniture which when there would be so out of harmony in the new surroundings,"\textsuperscript{105} not so much out of concern for his father's comfort, as for his own convenience. Moving heavy furniture up slush covered slopes would have been no easy task at a time when Montreal's winter was "breaking up." Reason must have prevailed however, since the drawing room at 'Ardincaple' was stylishly furnished with oriental carpets and a walnut parlour set.\textsuperscript{106}

\textbf{Controversial issues}

Not all the Macaulay/Findlay dialogue was as amicable. On his return from Florida in April, 1913, Robertson Macaulay was prevented from moving into his house as planned. A misunderstanding between the architect and the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company had delayed underground pipework connecting the house to the gas main. Robertson Macaulay's

\textsuperscript{105} MFP. Herbert Macaulay to R. Macaulay. Montreal, 12 and 14 March, 1913. Herbert Macaulay was firm. He was not inclined to move bureaux or wardrobes up the hill "for with the cupboard accommodation in the new house, in which there are very capacious drawers, bureaux will be quite unnecessary and only take up space."

\textsuperscript{106} MFP. Commencing at the residence of the said late Robertson Macaulay no.4010 Avenue Road in the said City of Westmount. Household Furniture and Effects. 17 January, 1916. The valuation carried out by R.H.Barron and Colleague, lists among other elegant pieces of furniture consistent with current fashion and comfort ". . . a rosewood etagere, a cabinet - ormolu mounted and forty bronzes."
complaints to the manager of the company were caustic and petulant:

I have been pressing Mr. Findlay each day since the 18th., and day by day he has assured me that you are just about to start. . . This morning, the grounds are being sodded, and my entire house is kept in extreme disorder awaiting gas connections. For about two weeks, my entire household have had to board outside, and now are doing things in a very primitive style.\textsuperscript{107}

Friction between architect and client worsened over an entirely different matter. In August of the same year, Robertson Macaulay threatened Robert Findlay with legal action in,

. . . the matter of the plumbing at my house. . . I employed you as a competent architect to plan, engage Contractors and superintend or see that work as the building progressed was done in accordance with the plans and the specifications. . . As soon as my solicitor comes in I mean to commit the law against you as the party responsible.\textsuperscript{108}

The President was nothing if not single-minded, but whether he intended to proceed with court action on this occasion and did in fact do so, remains in doubt. The long lasting patronage association, from which both had benefitted, operated on a system of unwritten contracts binding both sides to mutual standards of behaviour, trust and loyalty. It seems likely that the problem was resolved between them without resort to litigation, since Macaulay's anger had subsided sufficiently

\textsuperscript{107} MFP. R. Macaulay to John Stewart Morris. Montreal, 29 April, 1913.

\textsuperscript{108} MFP. R. Macaulay to R. Findlay. Montreal, 11 August, 1913.
by the summer of 1915 to feel confident in employing his architect to design the palm room and conservatory at 'Ardincaple'.

The senior Macaulays had only a few scant years to enjoy their new home. On October 1, 1915, Robertson Macaulay's funeral procession left 'Ardincaple' and wound down the hill on its way to the Calvary Congregational Church. The architect designed house, a gracious symbol of status and success, was sold a few years later. The Macaulay/Findlay association had also come to an end. When T.B. Macaulay, who would succeed his father to the presidency of Sun Life, had finally moved the year before into his own new villa 'Cairnbrae' on The Boulevard, the large and comfortably appointed Italianate Colonial Revival house, designed by Findlay, was the ultimate expression of a mature and productive relationship.
CHAPTER VI - 'Cairnbreae' - Villa for T.B. Macaulay on Westmount Boulevard

On the early Spring morning in 1913 when Herbert Macaulay and Robert Findlay were choosing wall coverings for 'Ardincaple', T.B. Macaulay brought his wife to inspect his father's new house. Herbert Macaulay spoke of his brother's assessment with some amusement,

... T.B. and wife came in, and it was amusing to hear T.B.'s comment on the library. He wandered about it - looked at it from all points, and every now and again would come out with a little explosive exclamation, to the effect that he wished his library could be something like yours.100

But it would be a year before the shelves of T.B. Macaulay's own fumed oak panelled library were ready to receive his books. 'Cairnbreae', his new house on the Boulevard, was not nearly ready for occupancy. There had been many delays since he had first proposed the commission to Robert Findlay in the summer of 1911. Some were due to the inevitable changes of mind during the course of construction and some must be attributed to Robert Findlay's heavy workload during the period. The architectural practice was engaged in the construction of at least three other major commissions, substantial villas designed in the Free Classic style, all


within a short distance of each other in upper Westmount (fig. 44). Among the Macaulay papers, two small sketches reveal much about the busy, creative atmosphere in Findlay's office at 10 Phillips Place. On the reverse of a letter from T.B. Macaulay is a Rococo line drawing, the caption reads "Knobs for Mrs Macarow's door to lounge" (fig. 45). Similarly, at the end of a job list for the Macaulay house, is a hastily drawn diagram of a Renaissance motif of square pier coupled with a free-standing Doric column (fig. 46). Modified and altered in scale, "he favored motif was restated throughout Findlay's architecture during this period. It found form as an ornate entrance porch for the Bienvenue house and in more humble circumstances, as a pine surround for the fireplace in the attic sewing room at 'Cairnbrae'.

Some years before, and taking on some of the responsibilities of the practice, the McGill trained, native born architect, A.J.C. Paine (1886-1965) had been engaged to

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III Under construction for Tancrède Bienvenue, Director General of the Provincial Bank of Canada, was a sober brick and stone house with distinct Tudor Revival elements (now 498, Mount Pleasant Avenue). The Bienvenue house was situated just around the corner from the Robertson Macaulay house in the early stages of construction at the corner of Avenue Road and Mount Pleasant Avenue (now 3228 Cedar Avenue). The Charlotte R. Harrison (Macarow) house (now 3661 Peel) resplendent with monumental pilasters marking the corners, Italianate returned eaves and stone balustrades was nearing completion when T.B. Macaulay's house (now 3233 the Boulevard) was in the planning stages. See Architecture domestique Communauté urbaine de Montréal, Les résidences.
work alongside Robert Findlay's son Francis (Frank). On graduation from the University of Pennsylvania in 1912, Frank had joined his father in the practice and had been working for him, at least part-time, for several years before that. The two young architects would not only bring the discipline of modern academic training to the practice, but Frank Findlay's sojourn in the United States would give the practice direct access to precedents other than those of European origin.

Proposal

When, in 1911, the proposal for a new house came from T.B. Macaulay, it was Frank Findlay's task to respond, on his father's behalf, to the client's peremptory request for samples of New Brunswick olive sandstone. The request had come in a letter written from California:

Will you kindly mail to me as soon as possible any views or published drawings (exterior views and also interior arrangements) that would help me to decide on the plans for my own new residence which

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112 Paine would leave Findlay's practice in 1913, at T.B. Macaulay's request, to join Sun Life and begin a successful career as 'staff architect' with the company.

113 FFP. University of Pennsylvania, Yearbook, 1912. Frank Findlay's name appears coupled with that of his father's for the design of the two flanking wings of the Charles Meredith residence at Ste. Anne de Bellevue. (1909). See Architecture domestique Communauté urbaine de Montréal, Les résidences 488.

114 FFP. Frank Findlay to T.B. Macaulay. Montreal, 18 July, 1911.
I intend to build on the Westmount Boulevard. I wish to discuss them with a friend here.\textsuperscript{113}

Without waiting for a response, three days later T.B. Macaulay had written again:

If you can with perfect convenience, and without delaying the specimen of olive stone, send me also a tiny specimen of the red sandstone. . . or any other particularly nice stone you have on hand, I will be obliged.\textsuperscript{116}

The friend he had alluded to was Margaret Allen, the Englishwoman who, in 1912, would become his second wife (fig.47). The death of T.B. Macaulay's first wife several years before from a long illness had left him bereaved and with additional motivation for moving away from the Dorchester Avenue address. In accepting the new commission, Robert Findlay would find he was answerable to the needs of both T.B. Macaulay and his new wife, who had architectural interests of her own. Moreover, Margaret Macaulay's special needs would make a significant difference to interior planning. Curiously enough for someone who had witnessed his first wife's struggle with chronic illness, T.B. Macaulay had chosen a companion who suffered from crippling arthritis. The space normally allotted to a large living hall and sweeping staircase in a house of this size and period had to be reduced and rearranged

\textsuperscript{113} T.B.Macaulay to R.Findlay. Alhambra, Calif., 8 July, 1911.

\textsuperscript{116} MFP. T.B. Macaulay to R. Findlay. Alhambra, Calif., 11 July, 1911.
to include the installation of an electric elevator for Margaret Macaulay's comfort and convenience.

**Construction**

T.B. Macaulay's original intention was to start construction in the fall of 1911 "so as to have it finished next year."\(^{117}\) For whatever reason, perhaps pressure of business, certainly a severe bout of gallstones slowed the client down, his architect did not apply for water service for the site until December, 1911 and then only for the residence he was 'about' to erect "on the N. East corner of Braeside and Westmount Avenue."\(^{118}\) The formal contract to prepare the foundations, awarded to John Stewart & Co., was dated February of the following year. But preliminary excavation work was well in hand when Archibald Currie, the City of Westmount building inspector, approved Findlay's plans and signed plumbing and building permits on March 18, 1912.\(^{119}\)

The house on Westmount Boulevard and Braeside Place was constructed of some of the most prestigious materials

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\(^{117}\) **MFP.** T.B.M. to R.F. Alhambra, Calif., 11 July, 1911.

\(^{118}\) **MFP.** Robert Findlay to The Montreal Water & Power Co., Montreal, 12 December, 1911.

\(^{119}\) **MFP.** Corporation of the City of Westmount. City Surveyors Office. Building Permit (1326), Plumbing Permit (139) and Permit Notice (1326) made out to R. Findlay, 10 Phillips Place, Westmount, 28 March, 1912. For "One detached Residence, Braeside Place, North."
available to Montreal builders; Miramichi sandstone for the exterior faces, dull red ceramic roof tiles from the Ludowici-Celadon Company of Cleveland, quartered oak finish in the hall and staircase and fumed oak for the library. Findlay's theme for the exterior was one of classicising formality (fig.48). It was uncluttered, cubic and linear. Conceived in the Progressive Eclectic mode, the dramatic effect of strong shadows cast by bracketed Italianate cornices, heightened the contrast between the red sandstone regularly coursed masonry of the walls and olive green painted flat window sashes, evenly spaced across a symmetrical neo-Colonial facade. The precise masonry of the elevations and the building's command of the site were generalised references to the Medici villas on the hillsides outside Florence. For the owner, Findlay's synthesis of elements was a visual expression of status, an inherent benefit the villas of Europe had bestowed on the gentry since the Renaissance. Even the vocabulary of construction supported the iconology. The builder, John Quinlan's account rendered to Robert Findlay included a charge for the facing masonry of the "South Piazza" and for alterations to the "East Piazza", referring to the balustraded verandah of the main elevation and the open terrace to the east.\textsuperscript{120} Margaret Macaulay herself was caught up in the

\textsuperscript{120} MFP. John Quinlan & Co. General Contractors to T.B. Macaulay. Montreal, 27 February, 1913. Account rendered. Items included, "Additions to South Piazza" and "To Miramichi Sandstone, East Piazza."
terminology. "I had thought of putting the piano near the folding doors to the dining room - half across the door to the piazza." 121

Writing to a relative, T.B. Macaulay expressed pleasure with the site of his new house. "I really think I have one of the choicest situations in the entire city." 122 It had presented difficulties for his architect however. In his design for the south elevation, Findlay was obliged to dispense with a full-width porch, a frequent and elegant element of Colonial revivalist idiom. The steepness of the slope and the fall of the land to the west was such that a wide gallery would need to be firmly supported. There were several options, a series of piers or a large and distracting retaining wall or, and possibly too advanced a concept, cantilevering the gallery out over the south slope. Findlay may have considered the latter unworkable, either for his conservative client or for the style of house, and in fact avoided the issue altogether. Instead the difficult western slope was overcome by incorporating open, single storey flanking wings to create illusion rather than substance. Recessed from the south facade and built to the height of an ample but half-width centrally positioned pillared and


122 MFP. T.B. Macaulay to Mrs. Forster. Montreal, 28 September, 1911.
galleried porch, the wings were equal in mass but differed in function; a porte cochère to the west and an open air sitting area to the east. In this way and with the construction of a flight of wide stone steps leading up to the porch, he was able to dispense with a full width, fully supported verandah, and still retain ground floor density and elevational symmetry. Findlay's compositional flair with a broad range of eclectic motifs, corner pilasters and Baroque alignment of central porch, second storey three-light bay window and large attic dormer on the main facade presented a clear description of domestic utopia.

**Interior**

Entered through the porte cochère, a modern convenience for the owner who maintained an automobile, the main door opened into a wide living hall; the space planned as the principal east-west axis of the house. Currently a fashionable feature of grand houses, the most important function of the decor of a living hall was to present a favorable first impression of the interior. In practical terms it provided a leisurely transition from the outside to the main reception rooms. While a classical Adamesque fireplace was often the focal point, the pivotal feature of the space and one most indicative of the kind of household was usually a wide, beautifully carved, balustraded hardwood
staircase. Leading to a half-landing the staircase would be lit by a window containing leaded, stained-glass sections.

In the Macaulay house, the living hall was somewhat smaller than the size of house suggested, but was otherwise as functional and informative, although less dramatic. The staircase curved round behind the shaft of the electric elevator and was not as monumental a feature of the space as in many of Montreal's High Victorian and Edwardian villas.\textsuperscript{123} Space did allow the architect to include a staircase window in the plans though, complete with the Clan Macaulay heraldic crest in colored glass. The color of the stained glass was the cause of some concern to Margaret Macaulay who discovered that the new green tapestry on the wall brought "out the very unsatisfactory red - a kind of faded blood-stain red - of the glass." As she told Findlay, her preference was for "a good, rich, honest crimson - a full deep colour."\textsuperscript{124} The elevator was carefully disguised, the ornate ornamentation of the door giving little hint of the mechanism inside. Its sunflower patterned bronze door knob was possibly a small caprice on the part of the owner (fig.49).

\textsuperscript{123} See Rémillard and Merrett, \textit{Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal}.

\textsuperscript{124} MFP. Margaret Macaulay to R. Findlay. Viger Hotel, Montreal, 21 March, 1914.
Constructed of buff Ohio sandstone, the fireplace in the living hall was furnished with grey Flemish iron andirons and a heavy brass wire spark screen 125(fig.50). Findlay's decorative scheme for the hall matched the embellishment of the chimney breast with the architectural character and finish of wall panelling and staircase, so that moulded trim and abstract capital forms supporting the narrow mantel shelf restated the classical restraint of the handsome woodwork. In a handwritten note to A.J.C. Paine requesting precise instructions for balusters and newel posts for the staircase, Robert Brown, 'decorator and designer interiors - furniture' also asked if he might consult Findlay's copy of "Strange's book of Furniture etc (Red cover)." 126 The book in question was a detailed and fully illustrated guide to the work of Inigo Jones, Sheraton, Hepplewhite and Chippendale. Brown's note included a sketch of the main beam across the ground floor stairway, one that can still be seen (figs.51,52). Undoubtedly, many of the decorative details of the interior joinery for the principal rooms, Corinthian pilasters, chimney


126 MFP. Robert Brown to W. Payne (sic). Montreal, 19 June, 1913. "Book with red cover" was T.A. Strange, English Furniture, Woodwork, Decoration etc. During the 18th Century, (London: McCorquodale & Co., nd.). Although the publication date is not given, it appears to be a contemporary work or at least one recently available in Montreal. The MacDonald College Library copy was accessioned in November 1912.
pieces and built-in bookcases derive from the line drawings accompanying Strange's text.

In all respects, the richly detailed woodwork of the principal enfilade was worthy of the great English eighteenth century interiors described in the literature. But there was contradiction and for good reason Findlay had to find a decorative middle ground. Tempering the classical motifs of the joinery with ornamental plasterwork commissioned from the Bromsgrove Guild (Canada) Ltd.,¹²⁷ he found the balance between classical formality and craftsmanship necessary to harmonise with his client's choice of furnishings. Unlike his father, T.B. Macaulay intended to refurnish the new house, and in this domain the normally conservative client was in the vanguard of contemporary taste. He had expressed interest in the work of the English Cotswold group of skilled craftsmen working in the spirit of William Morris and promoting the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement. To this end, Macaulay chose furnishings from firms such as Russell & Sons,

¹²⁷ For a detailed account of the activities of the Bromsgrove Guild (Canada) Ltd., see Pepall, Building a Beaux-Arts Museum: Montreal 1912 75-82.
MFP. Specifications of Work required to be done in the erection of residence on Braeside Avenue, Westmount for T.B. Macaulay Esq., from plans and specifications prepared by Robert Findlay Esq., architect, Montreal, March 1912. Item #10 - CORNICES AND ORNAMENTAL PLASTERWORK "All ornaments to be modelled by the Bromsgrove Guild Co." Findlay's specifications for tender were precise and clearly stated. In this instance, the contractor was required to use 'Rocalite' wall plaster "as supplied by Alex. Bremner Ltd."

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whose fine quality work epitomised the simple lines and utilitarian intent of the revival of craftsmanship.\textsuperscript{128} Placing an order through the Montreal branch of the English firm Waring and Gillow, he was assured that the furniture made expressly for export would not fall to pieces in 'our climate.'

The Macaulay drawing room was the central entertaining area of a three room enfilade on the south elevation. Interconnected by double doors, the library was positioned to the west and the dining room to the east, nearest the kitchen and service areas (fig.53). According to a modern theory of the traditional English domestic interior:

The idea behind the planning of English houses was separation of function: every activity should be allocated a special room for it to be performed in.\textsuperscript{129}

For a room to be functionally defined, it was essential that the decor was appropriate to the definition. The drawing room at 'Cairnbrae' had the stiff formality and generous proportions of a stylish salon eminently suited to its traditionally genteel purposes; discussion, piano recitals and entertaining. After all there were specific rooms for other

\textsuperscript{128} Some years later, T.B. Macaulay was approached by S.B. Russell to invest in the company. MFP. S.B. Russell to T.B. Macaulay. Broadway, England, 12 September, 1927. Letter outlines the aims of the "Russell Workshops." "Knowing the interest you have always taken in our work at Broadway...."

\textsuperscript{129} Clive Aslet, \textit{The American Country House} (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ., 1990) 105.
activities; smoking and billiards in the basement and the library for private study. Findlay had specified an overall Neo-Classical scheme for the room. The water-leaf ornamentation of the Bromsgrove Guild beams and soffits complemented classical fluted pilasters and panels of Adamesque Greek vase and swag motifs on the communicating doors at each end of the room.

The golden grain of Prima Vera strapwork on the ceilings was repeated in the fireplace surround and in the ochre veined Siena marble of the facing and hearth. Choosing complementing green and gold tapestry for the walls from "a selection of wall papers and tapestry wall hangings. .." Findlay assured his client that he believed they "would suit your home very well."\textsuperscript{130}

Natural light from the large windows flooded the room by day, while at night the same room was lit by the luminescence coming from ten mother-of-pearl, triple-bell, Tiffany glass wall-bracket fixtures (fig.54). The spacious panelled salon was a model of popular ideals of refinement (fig.55). Textural contrasts and complementary colors, the idiomatic

\textsuperscript{130} MFP. Robert Findlay to T.B. Macaulay, Montreal, 7 November, 1913. Findlay was a diplomatist. "The selection I have made at Mr. Duncan Fraser's Store, the Decorator, #51 Victoria Street... I would like you or Mrs. Macaulay to take a run up there tomorrow and look over the selection I have made... Their stock is exclusive and is suited for a house such as yours."
mixing of classicising architectural elements and modern ornamental art and craftsmanship matched the architect's skill with the client's taste.

Both parties were involved in the organisation of kitchen appointments, especially Margaret Macaulay. In fact she voiced her opinion on many matters outside those directly related to the service areas, although as far as Findlay was concerned, her domain was limited. For him Domestic Revival may not have signified domestic revolution. His letters were almost always directed to her husband. On the rare occasion when the architect wrote directly to her, it was in connection with domestic apparatus and below stairs facilities:

I would like to have an idea of what shelving will be required in the closet off the basement kitchen. I would suggest that all shelving possible be put in to accommodate such articles as bottles, pans and dishes, also that space be left for one or two flour barrels and butter tin nets as well.\textsuperscript{131}

She did not share his narrow view. Having a keen sense of color she had on several occasions insisted that accessories were exchanged until a tone was matched. Labor-saving and modern appliances were installed. At her insistence the Canadian Jewett Refrigerator Company was required to submit blue-prints before she would accept their six foot high ice-box for the Boulevard house (fig.56). These were not trifling

\textsuperscript{131} MFP. Robert Findlay to Mrs.T.B. Macaulay. Montreal, 10 September, 1913.
issues, but rather matters in her life over which she exercised control.

Paintings for the walls

Very few activities connected with design and decor fell outside the range of Robert Findlay's responsibility. It did not include however, for these clients, the selection of paintings to hang on the walls. Expressing a lack of interest in the arts, T.B. Macaulay's upbringing nevertheless bound him to the Victorian attitude "Put up a picture in your room immediately and in all your rooms no matter what the cost provided it gives us pleasant and comfortable thought."\textsuperscript{112} Freely acknowledging his lack of expertise he solved the problem by having a relative acquire close to thirty paintings for him in London, England. He expressed his appreciation:

\begin{quote}
I again thank you for your great kindness to us in this matter, and feel sure that as a result of your efforts we will have a much more beautiful house.\textsuperscript{113}
\end{quote}

In the collection was a small Millais, a Landseer, and The Sweep by Daniel Maclise, but he ranked a pastoral scene by George Vicat Cole together with William Widgery's Devon landscape as among the best of the group. "Like the rich man in the Scriptures, I am now troubled with the problem of where

\textsuperscript{112} Schmiechen, "The Victorians, the Historians and the Idea of Modernism" 310.

\textsuperscript{113} MFP. T.B. Macaulay to Dr.J. Lawson Forster. Montreal, 4 March, 1914.
to bestow my goods." He overcame the problem with the help of Mr. Heaton of the art dealers, Scott & Sons. The two favorite paintings were hung in the library, enabling the owner to enjoy the rich foliage colors of the Widgery against a background of buff colored tapestry chosen for the room (fig.57).

**Delays and completion**

There were many delays during construction of the Boulevard house, unfortunately resulting in the Macaulay's having to live in the Viger Hotel for several months. They finally moved into the still unfinished house in April 1914. During that time, T.B. Macaulay corresponded with his architect on a near daily basis. On one side there was indignation and on the other justification. He was unhappy with the arrangements for ventilation and humidification in the house and voiced his displeasure in a letter to Findlay:

... I wish to say in a kindly way that if an architect does not show his client the specifications, or does not, which would be better,

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134 MFP. T.B. Macaulay to the Rev. J. Lawson Forster. Montreal, 10 June, 1914. William Widgery was an artist of "great local repute" his work concentrating on the landscapes in the West of England. The Macaulays were unadventurous patrons of the arts, already owning "quite a number of watercolours, many of them representing scenes in England with which Mrs. Macaulay or I, or both of us, are familiar." Some of the larger paintings may have been presented, either at the time or eventually, to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. See Appendix for complete transcription of letter.

give him a written summary of the work he proposes to do, the client has no opportunity of knowing whether an item he wants is being omitted or not, and the architect must bear the responsibility for any omission.\textsuperscript{136}

The causes for delay were entirely different from the architect's perspective. In one instance, his clients had decided at the last minute on a two storey rather than a one storey garage. Informing T.B. Macaulay that he had had to instruct the contractors to remove the work which was designed and for a building of one storey and was now unsuitable, he could not resist a mild rebuke of his own:

I trust that your last decision is final and that no further changes will be made, as Contractors become so unsettled and indifferent when changes are made.\textsuperscript{137}

Robert Findlay was dealing with a couple who, often for sound reasons, either changed or took time making up their minds. The exact shade of stained glass had to be obtained for the heraldic motif, and a prolonged discussion was necessary to settle whether bronze as opposed to brass was suitable for andirons. Built-in and already in place glazed Chippendale style book cases were redesigned and made larger because T.B. Macaulay had miscalculated the linear feet of shelving required (fig.58).

\textsuperscript{136} MFP. T.B. Macaulay to R. Findlay. Montreal, 18 February, 1914.

\textsuperscript{137} MFP. Robert Findlay to T.B. Macaulay. Montreal, 9 March, 1914.
If on one day, a formal reminder concerning the poor quality of material lining the elevator shaft came from the client, it also included a note with favorable comments:

You would be surprised at the number of flattering comments I have heard on the architecture of the building. Mr. Simpson of Simpson and Peel told me hundreds had spoken to him of it. He called it a "masterpiece." Others have spoken of it as the best appearing house in Westmount.\textsuperscript{138}

But on the next day, a further three page litany of complaints arrived at Findlay's office deplored the tardiness of the work, the non-arrival of such items as a grille for the front door and with some agitation, the absence of a ventilation system:

I like my house very much and think it is a great credit to you, but I am intensely disappointed at the omission of one of the things about which I am most particular. I have now to look forward to living for probably the rest of my life in a house no better ventilated than the one I have been living in in the past.\textsuperscript{139}

The architect's response as always was restrained and courteous "I enclose herewith two schemes for grilles to the Entrance door. . . Would you kindly decide on which one you prefer and I will have them put in hand immediately."\textsuperscript{140}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[139] MFP. T.B. Macaulay to R. Findlay. Montreal, 18 February, 1914.
\item[140] MFP. Robert Findlay to T.B. Macaulay. Montreal, 24 February, 1914. Whether the ventilation problem was adequately addressed or the issue avoided is not recorded. T.B.M wrote to Findlay again later the same year "The question of ventilation of my house is again to the front." MFP. T.B. Macaulay to R. Findlay. Montreal, 23 November, 1914.
\end{footnotes}
Landscaping the grounds

Delays were not only confined to the house. Although the site was steeply sloped, the grounds were not extensive and yet the layout of the hanging terraces leading from the house to the Boulevard became a contentious issue. In 1912, the landscape architect, Rickson A. Outhet was contacted by Robert Findlay and requested to submit designs and quote for planning and planting the grounds. The work was still incomplete and the problems that had arisen still unresolved in 1914.

T.B. Macaulay was not a fractious employer. He was meticulous and forthright and not a little vain. It seems likely that if he had not learned from someone whose opinion he valued that the "terraces are too high for the house - viewed from the Boulevard, the house is dwarfed"\(^{141}\) he might have let the matter pass. As it was he felt obliged to criticise the height of the upper bank, to instruct that it be lowered and to insist that Frank Findlay, who was dealing with the matter on his father's behalf "talk it over with Mr. Outhet."\(^ {142}\) No doubt the defect was corrected. But three

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Apparently the owner had developed the habit of keeping double windows open "an inch or two, as one would naturally wish in cold weather." He complained of cheap and poor catches and this apparently could not be done. "We may as well have no double windows at all."

\(^{141}\) MFP. T.B. Macaulay to F.R. Findlay. Montreal, 24 October, 1913.

\(^{142}\) MFP. T.B. Macaulay to F.R. Findlay. Montreal, 24 October, 1913.
months later in a detailed letter to Robert Findlay and demonstrating a clear understanding of architectural principles T.B. Macaulay explained his reasons why the two flights of steps leading up from the Boulevard should be designed by the architect and not the landscape architect:

... the characteristic of the house should be carried on through the main walk to the street. Any variation or inconsistency between the entering steps and the house would be disastrous, and the person to see that there is no such inconsistency is I think the architect who designed the house. 13

He continued "As Mr. Outhet prefers that you shall take the matter in hand, I hope you will kindly do so." T.B. Macaulay was out of patience. Three years had elapsed between his proposal and the completion of the house. His letter was straightforward. It included a detailed description of the exact pitch and width of the steps, the style of balustrade, pillars and the kind of material, rough faced sandstone, to correspond with the walls and pillars of the house. Two weeks later Macaulay sent a sketch of the steps as well (fig.59). All that was left for either the architect or the landscape architect to do was to make working drawings, order materials and pay the labourers. In this case, and perhaps out of frustration with continual delays, the client effectively put the creative process out of reach of the practitioners. On the other hand it was perhaps the best solution. He had had the benefit of years of experience landscaping the unyielding

acres at Hudson Heights, enough to formulate his own solution for the terraces and steps leading up from the Boulevard.

On completion of T.B. Macaulay's house and the conservatory and palm room additions for Robertson Macaulay at 'Ardincaple', the Macaulay/Findlay association ended. On what terms they parted is not known, but no doubt amicably, since Robert Findlay was called in several times afterwards: on one occasion to act as Sun Life's intermediary in the purchase of a parcel of land adjoining their new Dominion Square Head Office. In contracts as complex as these had been, the indications are that despite the unavoidable friction and irritation, the association had offered generous rewards for both parties in terms of prolonged patronage for Robert Findlay's practice and the personalised architecture of public success and private comfort for the Macaulays.

The association had got off to a good start; both Robertson Macaulay and Robert Findlay sharing values common to their heritage and emigrant status. It prospered because throughout they were ambitious men, committed to a course of hard work, service and courtesy. But the significant factor contributing to the extended relationship was undoubtedly the quality of Robert Findlay's training. His apprenticeship during the appearance of the Domestic Revival style in Britain, exposed him to the work of men like R. Norman Shaw.
and J.J. Stevenson, who had brought the suburban ideals of the eclectic 'Queen Anne' style within the range of both domestic and commercial architecture. Furthermore Findlay's appreciation of the ideals of the Art Workers Guild architects, Lethaby, Newton and Dawber, whether by direct contact or through their published work was a key factor in the vibrancy of the patronage association.

T.B. Macaulay himself represented the new generation of mercantilists; well-educated, confident and open to modern ideas. The freely designed compositional elements and motifs of the Domestic Revival style had enabled his architect to adjust style and scale and offer the Macaulays their perception of what was fashionable and appropriate in design and architecture for a successful and prominent Montreal family at the turn-of-the-century.
EPILOGUE

T.B. Macaulay retired from Sun Life in 1934 at the age of seventy-four to live at his country estate, Mount Victoria in Hudson Heights (fig.60) until his death in 1942. He was less inclined than his father to employ authoritarian means in the architect/client relationship, but on the other hand he wanted more from the architect. But it had been a convenience for both Macaulays to announce shrewd leadership in a public forum through the medium of architecture. One of the extant expressions of that intention, Findlay's Notre Dame Street head office for Sun Life has been completely renovated, its masonry walls still rising tall above the narrow streets, once one of the premium addresses in the bustling financial heart of the city.

The row houses occupied by the Macaulay families on Greene Avenue and Dorchester Boulevard have since been demolished, as has the Calvary (Congregational) United Church. But surviving to the present are the Westmount villas designed for them by Robert Findlay. The two located in Westmount's prestigious Upper Level neighbourhood passed first into private hands and then became private schools, with all the alterations in compliance with current fire and safety codes entailed. An oak staircase was removed not long ago to comply with city fire regulations. Windows have been replaced and modern extensions built, yet enough of the original fabric
remains to catch a glimpse of the dignity of the architect's designs and methods, of the Arts and Crafts woodwork and the attics and basements of a former era.

One of Robert Findlay's foremost strengths was his ability to recognise that paramount in the client/architect relationship was the client's perception of what was appropriate. Because of this and because of his facility in a wide range of styles, his practice became one of the most respected in the city. He received the first Medal of Merit issued in 1938 by the Province of Quebec Association of Architects. Prior to that, in 1933, together with his son Frank, he had won an Honourable Mention in the annual competition held by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada for the exterior of a country residence for W.W. Ogilvie. ¹⁴⁴

In the 1930s private patronage, as typified by the Macaulay architecture, diminished; the individual vision replaced by that of the developer, the public corporation and suburban sub-divisions. The mix of condescension, loyalty and interpretive skills that characterised patronage associations such as that established between the Macaulays and Robert Findlay flourished for only a brief period of time.

¹⁴⁴ Canadian Homes and Gardens. Dec. 1934. also biographical notes prepared by Helen Findlay.
Discussion of that association has described a unique era at the turn-of-the-century when the social climate encouraged ambition. Affluent mercantilists and a talented practitioner combined to produce an imaginative variety of commercial and domestic architecture designed specifically to satisfy personal needs and aspirations; quality and comfort, status and sophistication.
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Sunshine 20.5 1915: "Memorial number".


APPENDIX
The text of the letter from T.B. Macaulay to the Rev. Forster (June 10, 1914) has been transcribed from the letterbook press copy in full and without correction.

Rev. J. Lawson Forster, D.D.,
Hatherley
Brondesbury Park,

June 10th, 1914.

My dear doctor,

After many delays the pictures have at last arrived and been unpacked. They are now standing around the walls of the parlour and another room, and we have had a chance to examine them, though, of course, not as carefully as I yet intend to. Mr. Drysdale, the old bookseller whom you perhaps remember, who is now a Customs official, and is something of an art critic, made an excuse to come up and look them over, and was very emphatic in his praise. It is very evident that you took a great deal of time and trouble in making your selections, and you have got together enough to make a good start at a small Art Gallery! I do thank you most sincerely, and as I look in years to come at these beautiful paintings, I shall constantly think of you and of your kindness.

You will perhaps be interested to know just how I have been impressed by the various paintings, Naturally tastes differ, and my choice might be quite different from yours, and moreover my choice might be quite different from that of a connoisseur.
The picture of the Emigrants, by Faed, is a particularly charming one. If a vote of the whole family were taken, I rather think it would be chosen as the favorite of the whole lot. It is beautiful, and I may put it over the mantelpiece in the drawing-room.

The picture by Sir John Millais is small but delightful. I am particularly pleased to have it. The Landseer is also exceptionally nice. How can I be sure it is by him, however? Mary Queen of Scots is good. Queen Anne is no doubt a very valuable painting, but she has not a face that is particularly attractive. If she lived nowadays, and was one of our neighbours, I do not think I would choose her as a special friend. The Scotch Lassie, by Gilbert; the Sweep, by Maclise, are both charming. The Victory, by Stanfield, is very nice. The two other views by him are rather large for my individual taste, and it hardly seems to me that the background of the one is really Gibraltar. It looks more like chalk cliffs. The Landscape by Vicat Cole is one of the most beautiful and attractive of the whole lot; we rank it among the very best. The same is true of the Landscape in Devon, by Widgery. Both of these pictures have evoked much enthusiasm. The old lady meditating, or "Memories", by Tolley, is greatly appreciated. The copy of Rafael's picture is, of course, admirable. The Cherry Orchard is good, but the Child's Head almost seems disproportionately large. The Mill Stream, by
Docree, is somewhat indistinct; in fact I can hardly see the stream. The Landscape by Both has become rather dark through lapse of time, but its very age makes it interesting and valuable. There are two Vernet pictures; one with the name of Joseph Vernet, which probably represents a French harbour for it has a large lighthouse; and another with the name of H.Vernet, which apparently represents a Greek harbour. I do not know how there are two of these pictures. The Greyhounds, by Ferneley, are lifelike and striking. Cooper has undoubtedly a great reputation as an animal painter, but I am afraid my agricultural experience has made me a little critical, and I hope you will forgive me if I say that I never saw a cow of just that shape. I am afraid farmers in the road would stop and look at such an animal in the field. Mr. Drysdale was enthusiastic about this picture. Old Temple Bar is very interesting. Romeo and Juliet is beautiful and striking - a great picture in two senses. The Hunting Scene was picked out by one visitor as one of the gems of the collection. I have not been able to satisfactorily identify the Landscape by Naysmith. Is it the one representing the Canal Lock and Barge? That seems very good. The Garden of Pleasure, of course, speaks for itself; it is a fine painting, and would command notice anywhere. It is, besides, appropriately and beautifully framed.
I wish to repeat again my thanks for all the trouble you have gone to. The pictures clearly show that they have been selected by one who has the eye of a collector and critic.

Like the rich man in the Scriptures, I am now troubled with the problem of where to bestow my goods. Such a painting as Romeo and Juliet, for example, requires a large wall space to show it off as it deserves. There is no room for it between the mantelpiece and the cornice, either in the hall or in the drawing-room. I might perhaps put it on the side wall over the main staircase, but it would be to the exclusion of everything else there. Had the pictures been smaller, I could have utilised them more easily.

I am waiting till the rods are in place to hang the pictures. I have arranged with Mr. Heaton, of Scott & Sons, the Art Dealers, to send one of his best men to do the hanging.

I most sincerely thank you for your kindness in sending me the engravings. They are fine, and I deeply appreciate your thoughtfulness. Again, thank you.

By the way, I do not expect to be able to put any of your pictures upstairs, apart from those that can be worked into the hall. We have quite a number of watercolours, many of them representing scenes in England with which Mrs. Macaulay or I, or both of us, are familiar. Then, too, we have other pictures to provide for. Those two
which you sent me long ago, representing a lion and a tiger, are among the most lifelike and striking that I possess, and I would like to give them a position of some prominence, but at present do not know where to place them. There are others besides. You will see that the problem before me is not an easy one.

The amount due is, I think, as follows:-

Account for pictures......... 270. 3. 0d.
Paid on account.............. 150. 0. 0d.

Balance........... 120. 3. 0d.
Harvey's Account............ 16. 6. 3d.

Total............. 136. 9. 3d.

For this amount I enclose herewith cheque on London.

When Mr. Drysdale called, only about one-half of the pictures had been unpacked. He was very strong in his expressions of wonder at the lowness of the prices paid. He certainly was very complimentary to you in this regard. If there are some that I absolutely cannot use I think I will either sell them to Mr. Heaton, or present them to the Art Gallery. Such pictures as Romeo and Juliet, the two large sea-scapes by Stanfield, the large landscape by Smith of Chichester, the Cattle by Cooper, would be very striking additions to our Art Gallery, and really require large spaces of that kind to do them justice. I will come to no decision, however, until I find how I can manage to hang them.
My very kind regards to dear Mater. I do hope she is keeping well. With renewed thanks and good wishes to yourself.

Sincerely yours

T.B. Macaulay.
Fig. 1. Sun Life Building, Notre Dame St. (1891) competition entry. Architect: Robert Findlay (1889-91). Reproduced from C.A.B. (1890).
Fig. 3. T.B. Macaulay residence, 3233, The Boulevard, about 1916. Architect: Robert Findlay (1911-14).
Photographer unknown: MFP.
Fig. 5. The W.A. Molson residence, 892, Sherbrooke Street W., Montreal 1986. Architect: Robert Findlay (1905-6). Reproduced from Les résidences (1987).
Fig. 6. Postcard view of Westmount Library about 1900. Architect: Robert Findlay (1897). Collection: author.
Fig. 7. Robert Findlay (1859–1951) photographer and date unknown. FFP.
Fig. 9. Confederation Life Building, Toronto. Architect: Knox, Elliott and Jarvis (1889). Reproduced from Toronto, No Mean City (1986).
THE LATE PRESIDENT ROBERTSON MACAULAY
1874
in which year he became Secretary of the
Sun Life of Canada.

Fig. 10. *Robertson Macaulay (1874).* Reproduced from
Sunshine (Memorial edition, 1915).
MR. T. B. MACAULAY,
Managing-Director, Sun Life of Canada.

Fig. 11. Thomas Bassett Macaulay
(1896). Reproduced from the
Sunshine (1896).
Fig. 12. Henrietta Macaulay, about 1890. Photo: Notman & Son. MFP.
Fig. 13. The Barron Block – the Sun Life's first head office 1871-1891. Reproduced from Canadian Illustrated News (1870). Architect: unknown. (Destroyed by fire about 1891.)
St. James Street, Looking West

The Broadway of Montreal and the principal center of the commercial life and activity of our city. Here stands the famous bank of Montreal, the strongest financial institution on the continent of America, with a capital and reserves of $18,000,000. The Imperial Life Insurance Buildings, Post Office, Royal Bank and Canadian Bank of Commerce, Canada Life Insurance Co., and New Merchants Bank are among the principal buildings on this busy thoroughfare.

Fig. 14. St. James Street, Looking West, about 1895. Reproduced from Montreal in Halftone (about 1914).
Fig. 17. Entrance, double window and caryatid figure, Sun Life Building, Notre Dame St.
Fig. 18. Facade, Sun Life Building, Notre Dame St. 1988
Photo: author.
Fig. 22. Board room furniture, handcarved in China from teak, 2nd. floor, Sun Life Building, Notre Dame St. Reproduced from Sunshine (1900). SLA.
Fig. 23. Small ebonised table from board room, c1891. Notre Dame Street Head Office. Photo: author.
Fig. 24. Sun Life picnic at Mount Victoria, Hudson Heights, Quebec. about 1910. 
Photographer unknown. SLA.
Fig. 25. Simplified lot plan - Sun Life Building and annexes.
Fig. 26. Illustration of Head Office complex, Notre Dame St. 1906. Reproduced from illuminated presentation book, designed and engraved by A.H. Hammond, R.C.A. SLA.
Fig. 27. T.B. Macaulay residence, 4100, Dorchester Blvd., 1984.
Fig. 29. Public Library,
Westmount, Quebec. Architect:
Robert Findlay (1897).
Reproduced from C.A.B. (1899).
Fig. 30. Proposed form of Diamond Jubilee Fountain, Dominion Square. Reproduced from *Sunshine* (1897). SLA.
Fig. 31. Illustration of Lion Fountain, Dominion Square. 1906. Reproduced from illuminated presentation book, designed and engraved by A.H. Hammond, R.C.A. SLA.
ORDER OF SERVICE

Laying the Corner Stone

OF THE NEW

Calvary Congregational Church

Corner of Dorchester St. and Greene Ave.

Rev. JOHN J. MARTIN, Ph.D., Pastor.

SATURDAY, JUNE 8th, 1912,
At 7 p.m.

Fig.32. Calvary Congregational Church. 'Laying the Corner Stone'. Architect: Robert Findlay (1911-1913).
Reproduced from pamphlet, 'Order of Service,' June, 1912. UCA.
Fig. 33. The Robertson Macaulay residence, Cedar and Mount Pleasant, about 1920. Architect: Robert Findlay (1910). Photographer unknown. SLA.
Fig. 34. Postcard view of Ardencaple (sic) Castle, Helensburgh. About 1900. MFP.
Fig. 35. Main Entrance on Cedar Avenue, Robertson Macaulay residence. 1988. Architect: Robert Findlay (1910). Photo: author.
Fig. 36. "The Hurst",
(c1900 now demolished).
Reproduced from Small Country Houses of To-day (1983).
Fig. 37. Steep Hill, Jersey.
Architect: Ernest Newton
(1899). Reproduced from The
Architectural Outsiders
(1985).
Fig. 39. Garden
Fig. 44. Location of selected Findlay residences in course of construction, 1912, Upper Westmount and the "Square Mile."
Fig. 45. Sketch of 'knobs for Mrs. Macarow's doors to lounge'. about 1912. MFP.
Residence J.B. Macaulay

1. Outside chimney.
   Fire up Potom, of Plunge Room & low.
   Close adorning.

2. Close door leading to S. & Low room.

3. Place to be placed in Senor Room?

4. Area size of must mandr to library room.

5. Indicates from house to main floor.

6. Door leading up main arch of rooms 1st floor.

7. ... Halft. Stair, East.

8. ... East.

9. ... NE bedrooms.

10. Corners, Stair.

11. Door from Hall to S.E. bedroom.

12. Area above in ... above.

Fig. 46. Sketch at end of job list for residence.

T.B. Macaulay. about 1912. MFP.

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Fig. 47. Margaret (Allen)
Macaulay, about 1913.
Photo: Rice, Montreal. MFP.
Fig. 48. The T.B. Macaulay Residence, The Boulevard and Braeside Place. about 1920. Architect: Robert Findlay (1911–1914). Photographer unknown. MFP.
Fig. 49. Door knob, elevator.
'Cairnbrae,' T.B. Macaulay
home, Westmount. 1908.
Architect: Robert Findlay
Fig. 50. Fireplace in living hall. 'Cairnbreae'
T. B. Macaulay home, Westmount.
'Photo: author.'
Fig. 51. Sketch of pilaster, decorated capital and main beam. 1913. MFP.
Fig. 54. Type of triple bell Tiffany wall-bracket. Reproduced from Distinctive Homes of Moderate Cost (1913).
Fig. 56. Blueprint for refrigerator, T.B. Macaulay residence, Westmount. 1913.

MFP.

PROPOSED REFRIGERATOR FOR THE RESIDENCE OF T.B. MACAULAY, ESQ., WESTMOUNT BOULEVARD, MONTREAL, QUE., ROBERT FINDLAY, ARCHITECT.

THE CANADIAN JEWETT REFRIGERATOR CO. LTD.
BRIDGEBURG ONT.

Scale—\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch = 1 foot

May 1, 1913.

No. 3018
Fig. 57. Library, 'Cairnbrae,'
T. B. Macaulay residence,
Westmount. Architect: Robert
Findlay (1911–1914).
Reproduced from Canadian Homes
and Gardens (1929).
Fig. 58. Bookcase,
Unit has been moved from original location in library.
Photo: author.
Robert Findlay Esq.,
Architect,

#10 Phillips Square
City.

Dear Sir:-

Fig. 59. Sketch of flight of steps leading up to the house from The Boulevard, T.B. Macaulay residence. 1914. MFP.
Fig. 60. Mount Victoria, Hudson Heights. T. B. Macaulay's country house, about 1930. Architect: A. J. C. Paine (1829). Photographer unknown. AFP.