In political economy as in architectural culture, the distinct contributions of Canadian practice are obscured by confusions between qualitative and quantitative factors. The particular practice under consideration here is the building of universities, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century. In both Canada and the United States their construction, and expansion, represented conscious campaigns of collective identity constitution. Specifically, these university commissions politicized historic and current design and planning idioms even if they were intended to institute different regime. The building programs served to legitimate respective authority systems and social values—claims to power—as each state completed the consolidation of national boundaries. Each also sought such legitimation through reference to the cultural legacy of the Atlantic-Mediterranean sphere, and in particular to British precedent. One shared purpose was the assertion of the cultural no less than technological or financial right to expropriate indigenous lands and ensure the imposition of ethno-racial hierarchy. But where in the United States such referencing was detached and divergent, in Canada it was deliberate and direct. In the States the British connection was one of social genealogy and political resistance. Whereas in Canada, or perhaps more properly the Canadas, it was one of constitutional continuity and economic utility; indeed it was a method to assert a complex independence within North America as well as the British Empire.

Analysis of the design of one such Canadian university, the University of
British Columbia (UBC), illustrates those larger conditions of practice. In addition it discloses the often overlooked sophistication of governmental and social processes in Canada, not least with respect to the mediation of continental, national, and regional forces within local initiatives. Furthermore, the development of the architectural scheme for UBC 1912-1914 reveals the limits to singular strategies of analysis, whether associative (aesthetic), critical (theoretical), or determinist (sociopolitical), particularly for institutional architecture. The evolution in the UBC scheme over just two years reflects the pragmatism frequently underlying the apparent articulation of ideology and economy through architecture. Coincidentally it also confirms the considerable level of decision accorded the architectural profession in the building up of Canada in the immediate decade before the First World War. Lastly the UBC Commission underscores the need to reconsider the present historiography of university architecture, dominated as it is by American, British, and European perspectives.

Certainly the UBC architectural schemes begun in 1912 confirm Paul Turner’s adept historical analysis of American university design (fig. 1). Nevertheless those schemes reconfigured American Collegiate Gothic and Beaux-Arts paradigms to embody British imperial pedagogy and Canadian cultural dominion in the Pacific Northwest. The iconography and planning reflected a comparable recognition of the Baconian trope of the power of knowledge to assert power through the mental and physical moulding of the citizen. Both also reflect a related belief in benign Manifest Destiny to reconfigure nature and indigene through the application of supposedly superior ethical, cultural, and technical system. But the ideological anchor differed in being constitutional monarchical rather than republican in its mechanisms of material and emblematic regulation as is especially evident in the final scheme of 1914 (fig. 2). The first president of UBC, Frank Wesbrook, indeed looked back to the British varsity origins of both quadrangle and campus; these had been combined by William Wilkins for the layout of Downing College at Cambridge in 1804 several years before Thomas Jefferson americanized the arrangement at the University of Virginia. However, Wesbrook—Canadian born but whose academic career had flourished in the United States—exemplified allegiance to British tradition modified for Canadian ambition. UBC was established at the zenith of Dominion, the term favoured from the late Victorian era to describe the White settler colonies of which Canada was the senior. Historically this period of western Canadian expansion was marked by the foundation of the Prairie Provinces in 1906 and rapid growth of Vancouver as terminal city of the Brito-Canadian Pacific Railway and telegraph system (popularly called “The Thin Red Line” after the tenacious performance of British infantry at the Crimea). It coincided with the confident government of, first Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and then from 1911, Sir Robert Borden. Each sought increased military and naval command, albeit under imperial authority, while, just prior to losing office in 1911, Laurier had predicted that the new century would herald Canadian ascendancy in North America.

That sense of distinct Canadian identity mediated by British prestige and American technique is evident in the public debate leading up to the enactment in 1906 of the University College of
British Columbia under the auspices of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning (McGill University) and, two years later, of the more autonomous University of British Columbia. It was articulated by Dr. Henry Tory, emissary of McGill to those intent upon creating a university in British Columbia. When addressing the Vancouver Canadian Club in August 1907, Tory remarked: “The whole FABRIC OF OUR DEMOCRATIC CIVILIZATION rests upon our schools, and through these directly upon our universities.” Universities might, he was reported in the local press, conserve traditions of learning but were chiefly about instrumental knowledge for societal improvement; from religion as nurturer of community, medicine as “prolonger” of lifespan to the economic benefit of the state, engineering as developer of continental polity, to law as processor of complex modern social and commercial practices as well as protector of citizen against powerful corporations or “craftiness of the educated criminal.” Such positivist and meritocratic ideas of early twentieth-century academe parallel Rooseveltian anti-Trust and British liberal reforms—indicating how the province and its major city depended on United States, central and eastern Canadian plus British financial regime and cultural economy. On those functionally convergent but symbolically divergent regimes would depend the university’s income from the “one million acres of [Crown Lands alienated from First Nations] agricultural, coal, mineral, petroleum and timber lands” voted by the BC Legislature in 1904.

The matter of financing involved a more contentious debate about siting. Real estate investment and speculation were as much drivers of provincial economic as social development, and thereby of patterns of settlement. The major corporations of Confederation, most notably the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and Bank of Montreal, exercised a considerable level of control. This was matched by the rapid emergence of realtors in the main cities: Victoria, Nelson, Rossland, Nanaimo, and Vancouver; at Vancouver the preponderance of professional advertisements in the period after incorporation in 1886 were for real estate agents. Their number reflected the bigger project of appropriating and surveying the topography of the province. The project discounted indigenous customary possession, depending in part upon the supposed superior competency of the settler society as exemplified by such of its institutions as the university and related processes as formal education. Yet, even the placing of the provincial university was entangled in the politics of property and thus regional economy. The debate over the site for the projected university serving the whole province quickly became chiefly concerned with adjacency: that is about which community would
However, the competition for local economic advantage predominated and resulted in the decision to select a site on the Lower Mainland instead of in Victoria, the capital, or on Vancouver Island. The rivalry among the Lower Mainland urban communities also prevented its location in Vancouver. Instead, the decision was to build the provincial university on an approximately three thousand-acre site at Point Grey, outside the city limits of Vancouver but with easier access to the strong and diverse economy developing around its railhead, port, and contiguous Fraser Valley region. Point Grey had been designated as Crown Land so that the matter of prior Musqueam First Nations ownership was not then considered a factor of consequence (fig. 3).

A different dimension of location is manifest in most of the documents associated with the selection of both the site and the design for UBC. This argument concerned the localization of competing national and international interests, including British and Anglo-Canadian anxiety about growing United States and German industrial advantage. The 1910 Site Commission, February 1912 Competition jury reports, and November 1913 “Report on the Comprehensive Design for the Future Development of the Buildings and Grounds of the University of British Columbia” had members from the province but a preponderance of non-resident experts: from eastern Canadian universities. These were from Macdonald College, McGill University’s Agricultural College, Laval University, Queen’s University, and the University of New Brunswick in 1910. In 1912 they brought in two British architects, W. Douglas Caroe and Arthur Cox, and in 1913 they included the celebrated English landscape architect, Thomas Mawson, together with William Laird, professor of architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Montreal-based civil engineer, Richard Durley. One of the three reports of the 1912 jury stressed the ultimate value of British example but also the primacy of expressing British Columbian identity. The aim was, typical of modernity and its imperial purview, a positioning of contemporary institution in a distinct reconfiguration of, suppos edly, enduring historical exemplar. One of the competing architects, Thomas Hooper from Vancouver, best articulated this weave of design intent in the bound portfolio he entered, titled “The Author’s Interpretation of the Promoters’ Instructions” (1912). He had inspected “all the larger universities of Canada, the United States and Great Britain and it has been [his] endeavor to suggest the atmosphere of the older Universities of England, combined with the practical advantages of a modern university.” That modern university he and most contemporaries knew to be an American (and German) phenomenon, somewhat emulated in newer British urban institutions such as Birmingham University (Aston Webb from 1900) (figs. 4a and 4b). Its Edwardian Classical styling may have encouraged Hooper to adapt his own sophisticated Northern Italian Renaissance idiom for UBC as delineated in drawings for the facilities specified for the first phase of construction: “Arts and Science Buildings, Agricultural Building, Residential Buildings and Power House” (figs. 5a and 5b). But their layout followed American principles, and were intended for chiefly American pedagogy and administration. Hooper considered that he had combined “greatest accommodation for modern methods of administration and instruction, with the atmosphere of the older universities... which undoubtedly had a very definite influence upon the young.” His architectural articulation, however, offended the jury which included the well-known Victoria-based Arts and Crafts architect, Samuel Maclure.

benefit by the financial advantage that should accrue through its construction and operation. This issue was partially obscured by reference to contemporary discourse on education that promoted the ideal of natural rather than urban setting as means to protect the physical and moral health of undergraduates.
Most of the nineteen competitors—all practising in Canada but several with experience elsewhere in the British Empire—opted for “a free rendering of late Tudor or Elizabethan or Scotch Baronial,” which had readier British association despite extensive use in the States. Indeed, in their second, confidential, report the jury pondered recommending a second competition requiring the “freer and flexible Northern styles” to be “open to architects practicing in the British Empire” and not merely the Dominion of Canada. There was anglicized American precedent in William Burges’s scheme for the elite anglophiliac Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut, begun in 1873 (fig. 6). Yet other republican American institutions, from Henry Ives Cobb’s University of Chicago (1893) to Walter Cope and John Stewardson’s buildings at Princeton (1897-1903; continued by Ralph Adams Cram for the Graduate College, 1906-1911), followed this stylistic precedent (figs. 7a and 7b). No doubt those architects were motivated by its academic heritage as well as by what might be termed, in adaptation of Pierre Bourdieu, current professional habitus in design. The stylistic mix matched the ideological claims for British societal modernity: as seat of democracy and scene of, among other framers of emergent transoceanic mindset, Shakespeare and Darwin. The Tudor age was reified as the harbinger of British expansion, enterprise, experimentation, and power.

There is a further explanation. Public opinion in British Columbia resisted the influence of McGill—and more so that of Montreal financial power—while by 1906 accepting the necessity of its involvement in founding a provincial university. This conflicted attitude disclosed the internal colonial structure of the Dominion, in which Montreal, as headquarters of such corporations as the CPR, Bank of Montreal, and Macdonald Tobacco, exercised considerable control over the daily regimen of British Columbia. In 1905 Sir William Macdonald had guaranteed funding of five thousand dollars per annum over three years to establish the McGill University College at Vancouver. The several recent buildings Macdonald had donated to McGill—including the Physics Building (Sir Andrew Taylor, 1893) where Tory had assisted Ernest Rutherford on atomic research—were Scots Baronial, adding to the earlier mainly Classic Revival edifices forming the U-shaped McGill campus (figs. 8a and 8b). Thus the Gothic decoration and axial plan selected by the jury in 1912 represented an effective combination of autonomy with currency. In the 1912 “Instructions and Regulations of the Competition for University Buildings for the Provincial Government of British Columbia,” such localization was articulated in these sentences: “it is not desired to erect blocks or palaces […] Rather should the effect be sought by picturesque outline and simple detail, culminating at various vistas with some buildings made a work of art.”

The winning architects, George L. Sharp and Charles Thompson of Vancouver, attained that compromise by simplified Gothic dressing axial planning; and by intelligently accommodating what the “Instructions” interestingly denominated “The Problem” (fig. 9). That was the request for a comprehensive scheme worthy of the aspiration of the Province, and Dominion, but only through limited initial construction: Liberal Arts and Science Facilities, Dormitories, School of Mines, Administration, and Power House. Their listing of specific disciplinary units was lengthier and ranged from Fine Arts to Agriculture. Both the architects and the jury heeded Macdonald’s insistence that his support must result in a non-sectarian, progressive, and practical pedagogy. A Roman Catholic turned secularist and highly successful entrepreneur, Macdonald, through Dr. Henry Tory, influenced the BC Minister of Education, Henry Esson Young, to accept the McGill model: an emphasis on functional curriculum favouring the sciences, no religious affiliation, a single provincial university,
and admission of women. Higher education in the Maritime Provinces, and in Quebec and Ontario, had been bedevilled by Christian denominational rivalry and by institutional proliferation. Nonetheless, and notwithstanding British scientific acumen, the Protestant tradition, and especially the Church of England, had become entrenched in educational curriculum as well as in the populist mythology of Empire. The Christian churches provided a reliable source of funding and enrolment in such a numerically small nation state as Canada. So without exceeding the “Instructions,” Sharp and Thompson introduced a chapel (at the southern end of the main campus) and a “Theological Square” (on the west flank). In fact, the provision of theological space would increase over the ensuing two years of plan development for the Point Grey campus.

The Point Grey topography included a prominent ridge running west of north-south, which the jury also judged George L. Sharp and Charles Thompson to have best exploited. The jury report nonetheless required careful reconsideration of several aspects of their proposal (estimated to cost one million seven hundred thousand dollars). That led to the compilation of the “Report on the Comprehensive Design for the Future Development of the Buildings and Grounds of the University of British Columbia.” It was published in November 1913, some six months after Sharp and Thompson had published their—slightly revised—plan, plus accompanying description in the June 20 issue of the Building News (fig. 10). They also added a perspective of the “Arts Quadrangle” showing off their “Free Tudor style,” which the jury had found to contain “too much hardness and regularity” (fig 11). The synthesis of American with British precedent is even more evident in the revised plan. The grand axial plan and quadrangular ordering of administrative and academic facility correspond with the similarly topographic/vista-driven scheme Albert Doyle devised in 1912 for another Pacific Northwest academy, Reed College at Portland, Oregon; an earlier, smaller, exemplar is the campus Cope and Richardson designed in 1899 for Washington University at St. Louis, Missouri, harking back to the original open-ended quadrangle at the University.
of Virginia (figs. 12a and 12b). Sharp and Thompson were certainly aware of the differently styled if more rigorously ordered campus plans for Berkeley, Stanford, UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles), or the Rice Institute at Houston, Texas (figs. 13a and 13b). However, and most obvious in the first of their revisions, a block plan inscribed “No. 2,” Sharp and Thompson’s more compact quadrangles advance northward astride a broad Mall (fig. 14). This wide mall engages the magnificent maritime/mountain scenery in a sequence of symmetrically placed structures: still central Chapel; Dormitories on the college model; Administration Building with Assembly/Convocation Hall again in a central position; Agriculture, Biology, Fine Arts, and Pedagogy (east) and Medicine and Physics (west); Library and Museum either side of the main university square; Arts and Languages (east) and Chemistry (west); School of Engineering plus Power House (east) and School of Mines (west); ending with diminutive cruciform buildings for Philosophy (east) and Law (west). To the southeast lay the Athletics Field and, further away, the two-hundred-acre farm, with, moving down the east side of the campus, a Drill hall, Parade Ground and Stadium, Women’s College, “Theological Square” (their placement switched from the 1912 competition plan), plus a circular precinct for university workers’ cottages. To the west on the Building News’ plan, and replacing the fan of five theological buildings on the 1912 plan, housing for Faculty and the University president.

Buoyed by demographic and economic growth, despite the 1913 South American railway stock crash, the architects and commissioners imagined an even grander and more comprehensive scheme (fig. 15). To those ends the Commissioners divided their description of the modified “Block Plan” into sections headed: “FUNCTION, SOLUTION, MATERIALS & STYLE, IMMEDIATE BUILDING PROGRAMME, SOLUTION OF TOPOGRAPHICAL OR LANDSCAPE PROBLEM, TRANSIT, and ENGINEERING & SERVICE.” They also arranged all the disciplinary and academic units by tract—precincts—from Administration, Library, Museum, and Convocation Hall, to Faculty Residences and “Future Dormitories.” The organization is much more formal while the scale is frankly monumental. The southerly anchor is no longer a chapel but the Student Union and Faculty Club. With the exception of the dormitories, the major disciplinary quadrangles revise the open campus plan type William Wilkins had inaugurated; and these afford enlarged accommodation for law and for commerce. The northern, English Bay front is still commanded by Engineering and Mining. The eastern public entrance is aligned to projected streets running from Vancouver quite opposite to the protective moat of faculty housing and ancillary facilities envisaged in the original Sharp and Thompson competition plan. That access leads into a spacious formally landscaped square dominated by the Administration Tower and Convocation Hall.

The other major change is tremendous increase in the medical complex and introduction of a large pavilion-type hospital placed on the east flank together with an even bigger array of theological buildings. The political culture of provincial and Canadian social economy has become inscribed in that element of imaginary structure. It is not just a matter of the significance of the Christian denominations, but also the religious and secular enthusiasm for medicine, preoccupation with the practical application of knowledge, and allegiance to Dominion Militia. All those factors resonate with contemporary McGill policy and the conceptual strategy for the universities under development.
The revised UBC solution is thoroughly North American while being Canadian through conscious reference to the cultural genealogy of British Empire (fig. 15). Its increasingly anxious ontology but active hubris is evident in the 1913 text. The Modern Tudor was held to “express and perpetuate the traditions of British scholastic life”, like its industry, outstripped by American and German praxis. That figuration of architectural style matched both the idea of Dominion partnership in Empire and of the consolidation of Confederation. Each localized bureaucratic and municipal renewal occurring in Britain anchored about the scientific modernization of still essentially feudal cultural tradition. Hence the provisions in the 1913 scheme to “link the University to the City.” Underlying the plan development was the argument—proto-propaganda—of democratic imperial legitimation: the British Empire as the authentic site and source of democratic civil society. The notion of Dominion leadership in enactment of superior British societal principle was a component in nascent Canadian nationalism and differentiated North Americanism.

The imperial American solution became more pronounced in the resulting final plan of June 1914 (fig. 17). First, the road links are doubled to Vancouver and its growing regional economy—then rivalling the US Northwest following the completion of the second transcontinental Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. Second, the chiefly quadrangular pedagogical and administrative or service facilities have been rationalized, partly through contraction. Third, the modern engines of Empire and Dominion—religious, cultural, and scientific—have been further consolidated in the eastern precinct. It is much more prominent, almost matching the architectural mass of the main campus to which it stands in remarkable contiguity yet distinction. That physical relationship can be regarded as a figure of Canada’s positioning between the British Empire and the United States of North America. So also is the type and placement of its institutional features. At the more prominent northern section—visible to maritime traffic and Vancouver—is an interconnected sequence of Theological Colleges. Their quasi-quadrangular layout denotes common religious patrimony but connotes

for Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta (figs. 16a and 16b). Interestingly, the campus at Edmonton, Alberta, was conceived in a similarly cross-axial, if more Renaissance mode, by Percy Nobbs, Head of the School of Architecture at McGill.
divided liturgical system and social force. But the Christian denominations, and especially the Established (Anglican) Church of which the sovereign was (and is) defender, were essential to the work and face of Empire: justification for colonization and its many appropriations and impositions, and often agent of its “civilizing” educational and medical mission. Locally, as indicated, the Churches could assure steady enrolment, endowment, and general support for the university’s purpose and organization. Next come an enlarged Drill Hall and Parade Ground alongside the now quite monumental Stadium, representing the alliance of sporting with military disciplining of the body so prevalent at the British Public (private) Schools that officered Empire. Thereafter stand the Women’s College and Medical-Hospital complex as respectively the third and fourth scaffolds of Empire; the one guarantor of dynastic/racial advantage, and the other of healthy administrators.

The architectonic fabrication of modern Canadian academic and state authority at the University of British Columbia was thus imperial and American. The architectural visage, even upon limited realization 1923-1925, recalled British antecedent but mirrored American practice (fig. 18). The simplified Gothic idiom of the only two original edifices to be built (foundations dug in 1914), the Library and Science Building, recalled Ralph Adams Cram, Bertram Goodhue, and Frank Ferguson’s 1910 designs for the United States Military Academy at West Point (figs. 19a and 19b). And the University of British Columbia (at Point Grey) derived from initiatives mooted during the 1880s when the British Prime Minister William Gladstone had predicted the transfer to the United States of British imperium. The actual moment of that transfer would occur as a consequence of British expenditure, social as well as economic, in the Great War. The conflict stopped work on the construction of the Collegiate Gothic/City Beautiful scheme conceived for UBC between 1912 and 1914. The university’s modern American yet imperial British purpose was reiterated at the inaugural meeting of the Senate on July 3, 1915, when its ultimate allegiance became clear in the main resolution: “The members of the Senate were unanimous in their belief that compulsory military training should be demanded of all men students who were physically fit.”

NOTES

1. I gratefully acknowledge the help and advice of Christopher Hives, University archivist at UBC, and his staff, as well as Professor Peter McNally, official historian of McGill University. The text is based upon a paper presented at the 2009 annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians at Pasadena.

SOURCES

The main documentary sources for this article reside in the University Archives at UBC and primarily in the President’s Office Fonds, box 8. This includes the designs and plans, Bill for the University together with the original University Act of 1890 and the McGill sponsored institutions, plus the reports of the committee charged with selecting the site and deciding upon both the specifications and competition for the University as well as its successive modifications (notably in files 8, 9, 10, and 11). The 1913 Building News article...
is in box 6 of the President’s Office Fonds, and the article on p. 848-849, issue no. 3050, June 20, 1913. The various designs and plans are archived together with the folio Report Accompanying the Plans and Designs entered by Thomas Hooper. The designs and some of the documentary materials are reproduced on the UBC Library and Archives website: [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/early_docs.html]. The website also includes reference to a specific graduate research project, “Recovering the University Fabric,” including one component by Emma Norman, for “Pre-University: First Nations and Early Commercial Presence.”


The revised 1923-1925 scheme for UBC was published in the September-October 1923 issue of the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, p. 173-179, interestingly with a separate article on the University of Alberta, p. 159-164.