

---

**Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada**  
**Le Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada**



**A Gentleman's Country Villa**  
**James Matthew Whyte, Robert C. Wetherell, and Barton Lodge,**  
**Hamilton, Upper Canada, 1834-1843**

David G. Burley and Ronald Rubin

---

Volume 44, Number 2, 2019

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1069484ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/1069484ar>

[See table of contents](#)

---

Publisher(s)

SSAC-SEAC

ISSN

2563-8696 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

---

Cite this article

Burley, D. G. & Rubin, R. (2019). A Gentleman's Country Villa: James Matthew Whyte, Robert C. Wetherell, and Barton Lodge, Hamilton, Upper Canada, 1834-1843. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada / Le Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada*, 44(2), 56–73.  
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1069484ar>

---

Copyright © SSAC-SEAC, 2020

This document is protected by copyright law. Use of the services of Érudit (including reproduction) is subject to its terms and conditions, which can be viewed online.

<https://apropos.erudit.org/en/users/policy-on-use/>

---

**é**rudit

This article is disseminated and preserved by Érudit.

Érudit is a non-profit inter-university consortium of the Université de Montréal, Université Laval, and the Université du Québec à Montréal. Its mission is to promote and disseminate research.

<https://www.erudit.org/en/>

# A GENTLEMAN'S COUNTRY VILLA: James Matthew Whyte, Robert C. Wetherell, and Barton Lodge, Hamilton, Upper Canada, 1834-1843

DAVID G. BURLEY retired as professor of history at the University of Winnipeg. His research continues to explore inequality in urban social relations and in particular the manifestations of inequalities in the built environments of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Hamilton, Ontario. Publications in this area include: "Winnipeg and the Landscape of Modernity, 1945-1975," in Serena Keshavjee (ed.), *Winnipeg Modern, 1945-75* (University of Manitoba Press, 2006); *Living on Furby: Narratives of Home, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1880-2005* (co-author Mike Maunder; Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 2008); and "Rooster Town: Winnipeg's Lost Suburb," *Urban History Review* (vol. 42, no. 1, 2013).

RON RUBIN, a graduate of Sir George Williams University (Concordia) Liberal Arts Program, is a retired, career human resources professional with multinational experience. His Toronto-based management consultancy specialized in delivery of next gen human resources strategy to global corporations and private companies. Latter years were dedicated to providing expert witness testimony to the Courts and legal community in matters related to human resources and compensation. He is currently researching a story regarding James Matthew Whyte's life in Scotland, Jamaica, and Hamilton and his unheralded accomplishments, which include the 1836 building of a secondary, limestone residence on Murray Street in Hamilton, which the *Hamilton Spectator* has called a "gem."

> DAVID G. BURLEY  
AND RONALD RUBIN<sup>1</sup>

Barton Lodge, even in ruins, was long a landmark on the edge of the Niagara Escarpment above Hamilton, Ontario—on the "Mountain brow" in local parlance. Built in 1835 for James Matthew Whyte [c. 1788-1843], an emigrant from Scotland by way of Jamaica, the Lodge remained in the extended Whyte family until its destruction by fire in 1930. The ruins stood until the land was redeveloped as a subdivision in the 1950s. By no measure as grand as Dundurn, the Hamilton residence of Allan Napier MacNab, which was also finished in 1835, the Lodge displayed a similar appreciation for the picturesque in architecture and landscape. That Lodge and Castle should possess similarities was not surprising, since, as the late Stephen A. Otto suggested in his monograph on Dundurn, the same architect, Robert C. Wetherell [1805-1845], probably designed both.<sup>2</sup> This article adds to Otto's argument.

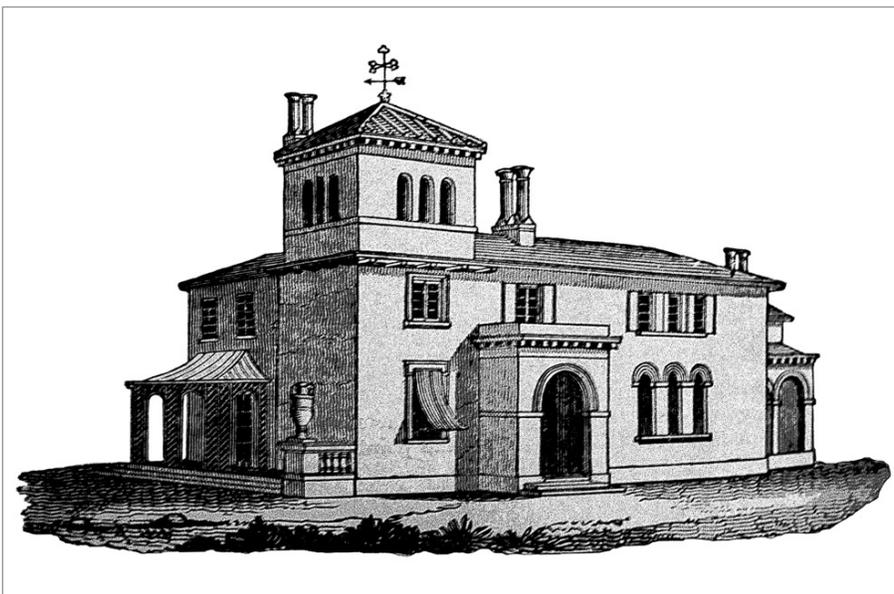


FIG. 1. WILLIAM BARDWELL, A SMALL VILLA, OR PARSONAGE, IN THE ITALIAN STYLE. | LOUDON, J.C., 1846 [1833].  
*AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF COTTAGE, FARM, AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE AND FURNITURE...*, P. 854.

Like MacNab, his business associate, James Matthew Whyte was a gentleman capitalist. A younger son of the Scottish gentry, Whyte had managed and then acquired his father's Jamaican slave plantations, and became one of the island's major plantation attorneys, or managers. With wealth accumulated from the exploitation of enslaved labour working the land, Whyte found new investments in Upper Canada, principally in banking, but also in land and transportation promotions. His country house, Barton Lodge, with its picturesque affects, alluded to an older agrarian landscape, one very different from the West Indian estates from which he prospered or the Upper Canadian

frontier that he and other gentlemen capitalists sought to colonize.

What follows first considers the theories of picturesque architecture that were debated—and followed by people of Whyte’s class—at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, as well as the interpretations that scholars have more recently given to them. Then a brief biography of James Matthew Whyte places his experiences within the legacies of British slave-ownership. The largest section of the article argues for the attribution of Barton Lodge to Wetherell, adapted from a pattern book design of London architect William Bardwell [1795-1890], and discusses the features of picturesque architecture manifested in the building.

Barton Lodge possessed both architectural and social significance. In her article on John George Howard, Jessica Mace has proposed that Holland House, built or remodelled in the Gothic style from 1831 to 1833, was the first residence in Upper Canada to manifest the “associative desire,” that is a building specifically intended to allude to other situations and times and to provoke memories and connections in the consciousness of its beholder.<sup>3</sup> A few years later, Barton Lodge called up associations with the Italian countryside, appearing as the sort of small villa on a hilltop that an English or Scottish gentleman might have seen during his grand tour. The Lodge was also among the first—if not the first—moderately sized Italian villa in North America. Janet Wright believed that Bellevue, built in Kingston in 1843 and later home to John A. Macdonald, was “the first true Italianate villa built in Canada.” Noting the prior construction of Dundurn, Jennifer McKendry amended Bellevue’s designation and offered it as “the first modestly sized Italian villa with tower

in Canada.” American authorities have proposed John Notman’s Riverside (also referred to as Doane House) in Burlington, New Jersey, as the first Italianate building in the United States (built 1837-1839).<sup>4</sup> Both Dundurn and Barton Lodge predated these other Italianate examples and established Wetherell as probably the earliest architect in British North America, if not North America, working in that style.

More important than “a first” is Barton Lodge’s example of how Wetherell worked, taking inspiration from a pattern book, presenting variations to his client, and then seeing his adaptation built in stone and stucco. Wetherell’s changes to William Bardwell’s design were of two sorts. First, the Lodge’s site differed from that imagined by Bardwell and required alterations to the location and arrangement of domestic space. Second, elements of the building—the tower, the roof, the foundation—were simplified, probably for reasons of economy. The finished product remained consistent with Bardwell’s design and fully in keeping with the picturesque ideals that had been well articulated and publicized over the previous four decades.

### THEORIES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PICTURESQUE

“‘Picturesque’ architecture, as the name implies,” Alan Gowans offered, “was inspired by pictures.” Seventeenth-century European painters—especially Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, Gaspard Dughet, and Nicolas Poussin—wanted their landscapes to stir the emotions of viewers. “Their [paintings’] thrill derived in part from pleasing visual combinations of spaces, colors, textures, and ornament; and part from a variety of pleasing nostalgic sentiments derived from associated

ideas of every sort—literary, patriotic, religious.”<sup>5</sup> From the mid-seventeenth century, the English embraced picturesque visual arts, landscaping, and finally architecture.<sup>6</sup> According to David Watkin, picturesque views appealed to a society interested in nature, art, and especially travel, and represented the triumph of illusion and make-believe through which landscapes and the buildings in them, like paintings, were made to stir associations with other places, experiences, and images. Rather than any single style, the picturesque became understood as an aesthetics, or a way of seeing, an affect that showed informed refinement and connoisseurship. The Picturesque became “the English vision” and “the universal mode of perception for the educated class.”<sup>7</sup>

Scholars generally have agreed that in his travelogues, the Rev. William Gilpin [1724-1804] first applied “picturesque” to a natural rather than a painted landscape. However, a consideration of architecture within landscape and the characteristics that made it picturesque was introduced by wealthy landowners and amateur landscape designers Uvedale Price [1747-1829] and Richard Payne Knight [1750-1825].<sup>8</sup> In his 1794 *Essay on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful*, Price argued the Picturesque was a quality inherent in the objects being observed and represented an aesthetic category between Beauty and the Sublime, as Edmund Burke had conceived of them.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the Beautiful, the Picturesque presented the authenticity of roughness and irregularity; unlike the Sublime, the Picturesque lacked greatness, possessed boundaries, and could be light and playful, provoking thought and reflection.<sup>10</sup> Knight rejected the Picturesque as an aesthetic category.<sup>11</sup> Instead, he argued that the things viewed as picturesque were subjective reactions

to objects that provoked associations with previous experiences. The pleasure of something “painterly” depended upon the cultivated familiarity with paintings and the associations they provoked. Thus, only connoisseurs with ideas and experiences could fully enjoy the associations that the picturesque object provoked.<sup>12</sup>

Picturesque landscapes required the appropriate architecture and, as a result, according to John Macarthur, “in the picturesque, for the first time, architectural projects were considered in terms of their visual appearance,” within their landscaped setting, rather than their conformity to an ideal.<sup>13</sup> Price thought that the same general principles that explained picturesque landscape did so too for architecture, and others agreed. Buildings and landscapes, regardless of style, should present variety, but with a unified effect, and views should be framed by vegetation or hills. Lights and shadows should play across weathered surfaces that showed their age.<sup>14</sup> The movement of light, valued by architects Robert Adam [1728-1792] and James Adam [1732-1794], and what John Soane [1753-1837] termed “the poetry of architecture,” depended on “the visible secondary qualities of objects,” rather than the style or form of objects.<sup>15</sup> Macarthur has outlined a “caricature” of secondary qualities: irregularities, discontinuous wall surfaces, directionality or the way a building faces the landscape, differing back and front, long perimeters and extensions across the rise and fall of the landscape, the ability to view some areas of the building exterior from inside, a visible roof suggesting the building’s depth, a roof plan that differed from the floor plan—a “caricature,” because picturesque architecture ideally should appear to have followed no plan or rules, but to have developed a unique appearance over time.<sup>16</sup>

If the objective form did not in and of itself determine picturesque effects, then any architectural style could be picturesque.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, Price disputed whether the purity that his contemporaries attached to specific style ever existed in practice and he preferred a mix and combination of styles that displayed buildings as products of history.<sup>18</sup> Humphry Repton [1758-1818] thought that the landscape suggested architectural style: vertical Gothic towers complemented rounded trees, while horizontal, classical lines suited tall trees.<sup>19</sup>

Repton, on his own and for a time in partnership with architect John Nash [1752-1835], offered clients picturesque designs integrating buildings and grounds.<sup>20</sup> This approach, according to Macarthur, expressed Repton’s belief that picturesque design should declare his clients’ appropriation of space, and hence their success. Repton wrote: “Every individual who possesses anything, whether it be mental endowment, or power, or property, obtains respect in proportion as his possessions are known.”<sup>21</sup> Educated spectators recognized picturesque elements in landscape and building design and appreciated their owner’s connoisseurship and imprint upon the land. Like Raymond Williams, Macarthur argued that appropriation of land for landscape also severed the land from its productive functions, which constituted its economic value, and as parkland rather than farmland, it showed the owner’s ability to forego production in favour of aesthetic experience.<sup>22</sup>

Ann Bermingham argued that picturesque landscapes and architecture created “an illusionary account of the real landscape” that distracted from the profound changes affecting rural society. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the landowning class transformed

agriculture, engrossing large tracts of land, introducing new crops, changing livestock breeding, and deploying new technologies and practices to increase agricultural production; in the process agriculture changed from a “labor-intensive to a capital-intensive pursuit.” She claimed that

although the picturesque celebrated the old order—by depicting a pastoral, pre-enclosed landscape—some of its features—class snobbery, the distancing of the spectator from the picturesque object, and the aestheticization of rural poverty—suggest that at a deeper level the picturesque endorsed the results of agricultural industrialization.<sup>23</sup>

The apparent disinterest in the productive value of one’s own landed property, recognizable to all those with cultivated taste, demonstrated an independence of mind that qualified the landowner to act politically in the interest of the nation. Drawing on John Barrell’s discussion of the eighteenth-century concept of the “republic of taste,” Macarthur contended that “the ability to judge art, or more precisely, to have judgements of art that can be displayed and negotiated, was thought to require the same faculty as political judgement.”<sup>24</sup> The picturesque reconstruction of nature and the buildings within it thus became a means for social and political elites to constitute themselves.

In British North America, as Janet Wright explained, the elites and those genteel British immigrants—government officials, professionals, businessmen, men and women with some means, and numerous ex-military officers—who aspired to become an elite, arrived with an appreciation of the picturesque.<sup>25</sup> Colin M. Coates has explained in his study of one such family in Lower Canada that immigrants

to British North America, as in other settler and planter colonies of the British Empire, tried to recreate familiar landscapes of the homes they had left.<sup>26</sup> As Tony Hughes-d'Aeth has argued, ever since Gilpin's eighteenth-century travelogues, the picturesque offered travel writers touring the colonies an aesthetics by which to interpret unfamiliar landscapes. Too wild, too sublime, was intimidating; too beautiful, too ordered, impossible in lands new to the European gaze.<sup>27</sup> According to Marilyn J. McKay, "painterly" views, for example as captured in Robert Whale's views over Hamilton from the Niagara Escarpment in the 1850s, civilized the land and brought it comfortably within the understanding of European colonizers.<sup>28</sup> Yet, the picturesque associations were not necessarily accurate transcriptions of the British homeland. Some genteel Upper Canadian colonizers, as Janet Wright has reminded us, recognized more general colonial settings in some landscapes and architectural features, such as the verandah, which they associated more with Africa, India, or the West Indies than England.<sup>29</sup>

As a transportable aesthetics, the picturesque preserved memories of home untainted with social tensions, idealizing what had been left behind and forgetting the social forces that in many cases had made emigrants redundant and encouraged their own departure. Requiring a familiarity with aesthetic ideas and a collection of experiences to support associations, picturesque architecture marked the connoisseurship of its owners and their pretensions to leadership.

### JAMES MATTHEW WHYTE

James Matthew Whyte was one such immigrant. Moderately successful by colonial standards, his wealth would not have distinguished him had he returned

to Scotland from Jamaica. In Upper Canada, he could expect greater prominence and opportunity. He arrived in Hamilton in the summer of 1834 from Jamaica by way of New York City. With the abolition of slavery coming into effect that year, Whyte had sold his few remaining slaves and wound up his business as attorney, or manager, for several large plantations in the eastern part of Jamaica. In his forty-sixth year, the "expatriate old bachelor," as he described himself, was ready for new challenges.<sup>30</sup>

Born about 1788 in Old Cumnock, Ayr, Scotland, Whyte was the youngest of three sons, and third of four children of James Whyte and Esther Craufurd. James Whyte of Newmains, County Ayr, and later of Upper Stroquhan, County Dumfries, owned several properties in Ayrshire, Dumfries, and North Lanarkshire, as well as three plantations and slaves in Jamaica. James Matthew's elder brothers, Thomas and John, had been born in Jamaica in 1781 and 1782, while their parents had managed their Cave Bottom, Craig Head, and Windhill estates in the Blue Mountain Division of the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. A few years later, the Whytes returned to Scotland, unenthusiastic about their experiences and, in 1786, were more than willing to advise a young Robbie Burns about taking a position on a plantation in Jamaica.<sup>31</sup>

Neither wealthy nor straitened, the Whytes lived a comfortable, if indebted life.<sup>32</sup> Their social and financial standing enabled their daughter to marry well. In 1808, Janet Esther married her distant relation, William Houison Craufurd, heir to the estates of Craufurdland and Braehead, laird of which he became in 1823.<sup>33</sup> As the youngest son of well-connected but minor gentry, James Matthew's future was less easily secured than his sister's. He must have enjoyed a sound education

since he later held positions requiring a sophisticated literacy and his very large library attested to a love of books.<sup>34</sup> As for other younger sons of the gentry, military service attracted Whyte. In 1806, he became a lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> King's Dragoon Guards and a captain in 1812. Three years later he resigned his commission, missing his unit's distinction at the Battle of Waterloo.<sup>35</sup>

Returning to civilian life, James Matthew Whyte was indebted to his father for the sum of £3200. His eldest brother, Thomas, would inherit their family's Scottish property. However, James Matthew had some expectation of inheriting part of the Jamaican properties under the terms of his father's testament disposition of 1814, and so took on the management of his father's Jamaican estates, Windhill, Craighead, and Cave Bottom in the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. He arrived in Jamaica in late 1815 or no later than early 1816, since he was appointed captain in the Blue Mountain Troop of the Surrey Regiment of Horse, a militia unit, on March 2, 1816. As well, in 1816 he was appointed a magistrate for the Precinct of St. Thomas-in-the-East and St. David.<sup>36</sup>

Inheritance considerations complicated ownership of the three estates. In 1814, James Whyte had planned to convey Windhill to Thomas and Craighead and Cave Bottom to John and James Matthew. The properties were encumbered, however, with debt and, in 1817, the elder Whyte changed his mind. He now would leave Windhill to John and James Whyte and leave Thomas the balance realized from the sale of Craighead and Cave Bottom after his debts had been cleared. In 1820, the *Jamaica Almanac* listed James Matthew as sole owner of Cave Bottom and joint owner of Windhill with John.<sup>37</sup> By 1828, James Matthew paid £1825 to creditors of his father's estate and gained

clear titles to Cave Bottom and Windhill. The Whyte estates were not large individually, but together Windhill, Craighead, and Cave Bottom worked 215 enslaved people when James Matthew took over their management in 1816.<sup>38</sup> Over the next dozen years, Whyte sold off almost half of the enslaved workers. Sometime after 1830—perhaps after the rebellion of enslaved people in 1831-1832, perhaps in anticipation of the abolition of slavery—Whyte sold his estates and remaining enslaved workers, except for several servants.

As well as a slave owner, James Matthew Whyte was an attorney for absentee plantation owners. Not a lawyer, the so-called attorney held power of attorney, that is, legal authority to administer the assets and manage the estates of his clients. The day-to-day operations were left to an overseer, while the attorney, who hired the overseer, attended to the planning of production, buying and selling of assets (including the enslaved), marketing of crops, paying obligations, and a myriad of commercial and industrial considerations. Historian B.W. Higman has argued convincingly that the managerial responsibilities and skills of the attorney were much more complex than those of estate managers in Great Britain and the scale of productions and operations under his authority exceeded all but the largest British manufacturing enterprises well into the nineteenth century. Whyte's practice ranked among the largest in Jamaica. Among the two hundred attorneys in 1832, his eight estates ranked him twenty-second and the 1978 enslaved persons under his authority were more than the enslaved of all but sixteen attorneys.<sup>39</sup>

According to the database of *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, between 1820 and 1832 Whyte was attorney or receiver for seventeen estates. His was

a specialized and well-connected business. With just one exception, all of the properties were estates of deceased owners. Only one was the estate of an owner living in Jamaica at the time of death, the rest were English residents, and all were complicated with bequests and debt encumbrances, in some cases involving prominent firms, families, and individuals.<sup>40</sup> An attorney in Whyte's position needed to hold the confidence of individuals with often differing interests and he seems to have succeeded. His largest client, acquired in 1820, was the estate of Thomas Hercey Barritt (d. 1817), which comprised five properties and over a thousand enslaved people in 1832.<sup>41</sup> Rather than the heirs, Whyte was really working for the London banking firm of Reid, Irving and Co., which held a mortgage of £38,000 against the properties. His other major client, from or perhaps before 1829, was the estate of John Inglis of Mark Lane (d. 1822), which in 1832 consisted of three plantations and 390 enslaved persons. Inglis was partner with Edward Ellice in Inglis, Ellice and Co., a major trading, slave-owning, and mortgaging company in the West Indies, as well as suppliers to Montreal fur-trading companies, before failing in 1823. Two of the estate's trustees, John Deacon and Charles Campbell, were partners in the resilient London banking firm of Williams, Deacon, Labouchere and Co.<sup>42</sup> Connections to London banking favoured Whyte later when he arrived in Upper Canada.

The major attorneys, administering substantial assets and owning property themselves, like Whyte, were prominent within the Jamaican elite, often enjoying a higher status than resident plantation owners, whose continuing presence in the colony could connote failure and late development in some minds.<sup>43</sup> Of necessity they also were inextricably involved

in the operation of a coercive system of enslavement. As Trevor Burnard declared, "planters were violent people . . . The large integrated plantation was born in violence."<sup>44</sup> Whyte typified the way that managerial control of capital translated into the political, judicial, and military power needed to protect capital.

Whyte held civil appointments as magistrate and judge of assizes.<sup>45</sup> In 1824, he was appointed to the seven-member Legislative Council by the Governor, William Montague, Duke of Manchester. That he was believed to be useful in that capacity is significant. As the British debate over the abolition of slavery intensified, the Jamaican Legislative Assembly vigorously defended the plantation system and often disagreed with the governors, the British Parliament, and the Colonial Office. As Higman has explained, governors tried to moderate the Assembly's influence with appointments of sympathetic attorneys to the Council, who with their connections to influential absentee owners and creditors in Britain could provide different perspectives on the economy and governing policy.<sup>46</sup> For Whyte, being an Honourable Councillor afforded another way to become useful to the financial interests supporting the imperial economy.

Even if attorneys like Whyte did not administer violence personally, they did exercise institutional control that violently enslaved, disciplined, and punished people of African descent.<sup>47</sup> Enrolled in the militia, like all white males, Whyte advanced in the Surrey Regiment of Horse from captain in 1816 to major in 1823, and later lieutenant-colonel.<sup>48</sup> Whyte probably saw active service during the slave rebellion of 1831-1832. The uprising broke out and was concentrated in the western end of the island, but fears among the planters in the east and strikes

by enslaved workers in St. Thomas-in-the-East and Manchioneal resulted in all militia units there being called out to patrol.<sup>49</sup> After the revolt's suppression, attorneys-militiamen who were magistrates were in a position to exact vengeance for damages and humiliation. Losses in St. Thomas-in-the-East were second lowest on the island, but still courts martial and the civil courts held seventeen trials and ordered the execution of three of the enslaved.<sup>50</sup>

The abolition of slavery, legislated by the British Parliament in 1833 and implemented in 1834 with compensation to owners and a transitional apprenticeship period for the formerly enslaved, gave Whyte the chance to leave Jamaica. By 1834, he owned just three enslaved personal servants whom he sold in April 1834 to Mary Hamilton for the nominal sum of ten shillings.<sup>51</sup> Hamilton had a special relationship with Whyte. When he left Jamaica, he conveyed a life interest in his house in Morant Bay, for her to live in and to hold in trust for his "reputed son," John Whyte, who was identified in baptismal records in 1823 as mixed race. With the compensation of £158 13s 2d that she received in 1836 for the freedom of seven enslaved people, Hamilton had some assets, although Whyte may have settled additional income on her to look after his son. He did remember John in his will, giving him 200 acres in Harwich Township, Upper Canada, 20 shares in the Gore Bank, and £300 cash.<sup>52</sup> Having settled his family affairs, Whyte left Jamaica and entered the Port of New York on June 13, 1834.<sup>53</sup>

Whyte chose Hamilton, Upper Canada, for his new home. Even before his departure from Jamaica, he had started investing in land in Upper Canada, in Cayuga, and in Harwich Township.<sup>54</sup> He must have made connections and used a local agent whose judgement he trusted.

Was it Allan Napier MacNab? The Harwich purchase had been a grant to a veteran of the War of 1812, John M. Bates, who lived in Saltfleet Township and with whom MacNab was surely familiar. Soon after his arrival in Hamilton, Whyte became MacNab's business associate. Not only did he buy Hamilton lots from MacNab, he also invested in several of the same companies in which MacNab took positions, including the London and Gore Railway, the Grand River Navigation Company, and most notably the Gore Bank.

The promotion of the Gore Bank had begun the year before Whyte's arrival in Hamilton, but he soon became fully committed to it. In September 1836, he chaired a meeting for interested investors to open the stock subscription books, and in November, he and Hamilton merchant Colin C. Ferrie were authorized to apportion stock and organize the election of the first board. Whyte himself subscribed for 40 shares, valued at £500.<sup>55</sup> Elected to the bank's first board in 1836, he was chosen president by the other directors in preference to Ferrie. He served until 1839. The presidency required Whyte's daily attention, for which he received a salary of £300 a year.<sup>56</sup> Besides the financial and administrative skills, developed through years of managing very large slave plantations, an important contribution was his ability to secure supportive relations with other financial institutions and investors. The Bank of Upper Canada gave up its agency in Hamilton and sold its local notes to the new bank; its manager, Andrew Steven, became the Gore's cashier. As well, for a time the Bank of Upper Canada acted, at the Gore's request, as a clearing house for notes drawn on Upper Canadian banks. Whyte enjoyed the confidence of the Bank of Upper Canada's president, William Proudfoot, and its cashier, Thomas G. Ridout, and exercised their proxies as investors in

the Gore Bank.<sup>57</sup> Most important were his good relations with London bankers, Reid, Irving, and Co., with whom he had dealt when a Jamaican attorney. That bank remained the London correspondent for the Gore because of its confidence in Whyte.<sup>58</sup>

Associated as he was with MacNab, Whyte achieved less success in holding together rival local factions competing for the bank's discounting of notes. The mercantile faction, led by Ferrie, objected to the preference given to MacNab and attempted unsuccessfully in 1838 to force Whyte out of the presidency. Dissension among directors, in public, in the press, and in the courts, grew over the following year, such that the mercantile faction elected a majority of the directors at the 1839 annual meeting. Re-elected, Whyte declined to serve as president and resigned from the board.<sup>59</sup> The new board and its president, Colin C. Ferrie, proved no more immune to charges of preferential dealing than the previous. In 1842, rumours about the bank's stability resulted in Whyte serving on a shareholders' committee tasked with drafting recommendations for changes to the bank's charter that would prevent the excessive indebtedness of board members.<sup>60</sup> Nothing more than discord came from the affray, but Whyte did reduce his investment in the Gore Bank to £100 by the time of his death in 1843.

Whyte's Gore Bank shares were only a small part of his substantial estate. He held almost £2000 in shares and unclaimed dividends of the Bank of Upper Canada, as well £320 in shares of the British American Fire and Life Assurance Co., and over £1000 in personal notes from various individuals. In addition to these financial holdings totalling approximately £3400, Whyte owned considerable real estate. Besides his property in

Jamaica, he owned his town and country residences in Hamilton with attached lands, and land in Harwich Township and Picton, Upper Canada.<sup>61</sup> Like many others, several on a much grander scale, James Matthew Whyte had accumulated his wealth in the slave plantation economy of the West Indies and transplanted it to new opportunities in a new place while still participating in the transatlantic economy.<sup>62</sup>

### BARTON LODGE

Not long after arriving in Hamilton in the summer of 1834, Whyte began looking for land upon which to build his residence. No doubt impressed, as others were, by MacNab's Dundurn, he too sought a site with a view. Dundurn already occupied the ideal picturesque location, on Burlington Heights at the west end of the bay, high enough to look over the wharves and port activity of the growing town, but still low enough to have the view framed by the wooded shores nearby and the escarpment in the distance.<sup>63</sup>

Below the escarpment, any place would also have been below Dundurn, but no one had yet developed a spot on the edge of the Niagara Escarpment, to the south of Hamilton. That it was less accessible and less visible from a distance than Dundurn did not bother Whyte, who perhaps appreciated the privacy. True, the expanse of the view, extending across the horizon, was too grand by picturesque standards. Both Richard Payne Knight and the Rev. William Gilpin discounted the picturesque possibilities of "Ontario's endless coast . . . [and] boundless water," although the latter did consider its sublime possibilities.<sup>64</sup> Still, in extent and spectacle the views from the mountain brow were equal or superior to those from Burlington Heights, if somewhat

lacking in the subtlety appreciated by the picturesque.

Whyte decided upon part of lot 18 in concession 4 of Barton Township, 30 acres in all, which was considered the appropriate extent at the time for a landscape garden.<sup>65</sup> Others had taken some interest in the land that drew his attention. The original 100-acre farm lot had changed hands several times since its patent and had already been severed twice. William Tewksbury had purchased 20 acres in 1812 and Harmaunus Smith had purchased just less than 10 acres in 1820. The price that Whyte paid in December 1834—£200 for Tewksbury's tract and £50 for Smith's—suggests that they had done little to improve the property. Perhaps they appreciated the view and had plans that never materialized.<sup>66</sup> Whyte purchased their two-part lots in December 1834.<sup>67</sup> Shortly thereafter, he bought from Peter Hess additional land in lot 17, less than an acre, that gave him access to a pathway descending the escarpment into Hamilton.<sup>68</sup>

Construction on Barton Lodge began in 1835 and was probably finished by the end of the year or early in the next. Thomas Rolph, in his 1836 account of travels in the West Indies, the United States, and Upper Canada, remarked on Whyte's "fine stone mansion . . . surrounded by an excellent and extensive park fence, and embracing most comprehensive views of the lake, Burlington canal, Toronto harbour, and a splendid woodland valley beneath [it]." The Lodge might not have been completed when Rolph observed it, since in final form stucco covered its stone.<sup>69</sup>

In the absence of any attribution of the plan by patron or client, stylistic similarities and contextual factors between Barton Lodge and Dundurn build the

case for the same architect. Stephen A. Otto, in his study of Robert Wetherell and Dundurn, has offered that Barton Lodge was "almost certainly from Wetherell's hand, judging from its appearance."<sup>70</sup> The two buildings possessed similarities—their Italianate towers, bracketed eaves, rounded windows, and stuccoed exterior. Whyte also belonged to the social elite that patronized Wetherell and recommended his services. His commission from Allan Napier MacNab for Dundurn, completed in 1835, gave his practice a particular cachet, which was enhanced by the acceptance of his 1835 design for Anglican Christ Church, the building committee of which MacNab was a member. Otto suggested that in 1836–1837 Wetherell designed another small, two-storied picturesque villa in Toronto for Attorney General Robert Jameson. Like Whyte, Jameson had recently arrived from the West Indies and was acquainted with both Rolph and MacNab. As well, Otto identified the suburban villa of Colin Campbell Ferrie, an ambitious merchant and Whyte's associate on the Gore Bank's board, as another Wetherell project.<sup>71</sup> Whyte then was part of a social network of prominent Upper Canadians who were aware of Wetherell's talents and patronized him.

Furthermore, Wetherell was one of the few local architects—if not the only one—with the knowledge and experience that are evident in the Lodge's design. He had studied and been employed in London before emigrating. In Otto's opinion, he possessed "a better training than that received by all but a few architects in 19<sup>th</sup> century Canada."<sup>72</sup> As a result, he was aware of the architectural trends and tastes that appealed to the gentry. In an 1835 letter seeking government commissions, he stated that MacNab could confirm "that I possess abundant *matériel* for design, in the most elaborate and costly

Architectural engravings, books and published designs, treatises etc.”<sup>73</sup> He definitely would have been familiar with John Claudius Loudon’s recently published *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1833), which had been consciously prepared, according to historian Helen Long, to popularize the work of architects for “men of wealth.”<sup>74</sup> As well, in her consideration of Toronto architect John George Howard, who drew upon designs in Loudon’s book, Jessica Mace has suggested that “it is easy to imagine that this comprehensive volume would have been appealing for an architect working at such a remote distance from the motherland.”<sup>75</sup> In Loudon, Wetherell found inspiration for Barton Lodge.

For the Lodge, Wetherell adapted a villa plan from Loudon’s book that had been drafted by London architect William Bardwell<sup>76</sup> (fig. 1). The villa was a paradigm for the ideology that James Matthew Whyte exemplified. In the country, but not of it, the villa was designed for its owner’s enjoyment and relaxation, not his work.<sup>77</sup> As Loudon described a villa, a portion of the land, that surrounding the house, “is laid out as a pleasure-ground . . . with a view to recreation and enjoyment, more than profit.” In the city, its owner accumulated the monetary surpluses to indulge the possession of land that was non-productive but nonetheless required labour for its development and maintenance. The owner, according to Loudon, “should be a man of some wealth, and either possess taste himself, or have sense enough to call to his assistance the taste and judgement of others, who profess to practice this branch of the art of design.”<sup>78</sup>

In Wetherell, Whyte found such a man of taste, and in Bardwell, he found a reference. Bardwell, described by architectural historian Christopher Webster as “a minor



FIG. 2. [ROBERT C. WETHERELL], BARTON LODGE [1835]. | PHOTO: MALCOLM THURLBY. SOURCE: DUNDURN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE.

but interesting architect,” gained some recognition from the early 1830s through the 1850s as an urban planner and housing reformer, unsuccessful competitor for the design of the Houses of Parliament, and architect of the Norman Revivalist Glenstal Castle in County Limerick.<sup>79</sup> Whyte likely knew little about Bardwell, but Wetherell surely would have and might well have kept Whyte informed about the activities of the Lodge’s designer.

Currently in the collections of Dundurn National Historical Site is a watercolour painting of Barton Lodge in its parkland, a painting which Wetherell might have presented to Whyte to illustrate his adaptation of Bardwell<sup>80</sup> (fig. 2). From the late eighteenth century, illustrations that placed villas and cottages in their landscape grew in popularity because they helped potential clients see their future residence in its setting. The picturesque aesthetics appreciated not just the architecture but also its place in the environment and, as David Watkin explained, architects increasingly presented their ideas in paintings in order to save the expense of constructing models.<sup>81</sup> The painting of Barton Lodge, as was the

fashion with other picturesque representations of buildings and their grounds, presented an angled, rather than a head-on illustration of the façade.<sup>82</sup>

Otto speculated that Wetherell had prepared such a rendering of Dundurn for MacNab, to which some minor changes were made thereafter in the construction.<sup>83</sup> Differences in the details of the Lodge as painted and as shown in a photograph from the 1880s suggest the watercolour was painted before construction (fig. 3). The differences between the two are minor and of the sort that an artist would have had no reason to make if working *en plein air*. The window to the left of the front door is rounded in the painting, but square when built. Above this window, on the second storey, a single double-hung sash replaced the double windows, perhaps casements, in the painting. Similarly, instead of a double window, over the front door was a single double-hung sash. The tower as built had a horizontal string course under the windows, rather than separate sills under each window as in the painting. As well, the rounded tower windows as built lacked the detailed frame and arch shown in the painting and as a result did



FIG. 3. BARTON LODGE [188?]. | HAMILTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, LOCAL HISTORY AND ARCHIVES.



FIG. 4. [ROBERT C. WETHERELL], LABOURERS, DETAIL FROM BARTON LODGE [1835]. | PHOTO: MALCOLM THURLBY. SOURCE: DUNDURN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, LOCAL HISTORY AND ARCHIVES.

not match the detail of the ground floor rounded windows, which were built as represented in the painting. The verandah roof as built had a hipped side unlike the square side in the painting. The chimneys are more ornamental in the painting. So many differences between the watercolour and the photograph suggest some purpose, rather than an inexperienced representation of a built structure. That the painting was by the architect's hand, showing options, seems plausible.

The biggest difference between the painting and photograph is that the watercolour does not portray the extension on the right side of the building. Where the main part of the building meets that extension, the roof line in the painting suggests a gable end, whereas, when built, that end had a hipped roof. The pitch of the roof as built was lower than in the painting and more in keeping with Uvedale Price's preference for low sloping or flat roof.<sup>84</sup> The base of the extension's

façade is visible but trees strategically block most of the view. This part of the building departed significantly from Bardwell's plan. The site, so close to the escarpment edge, may not have allowed the extension to be as long as Bardwell had intended and Wetherell might have left its details for discussion with Whyte, thinking there was no point in designing further if Whyte were to object to the main features of the villa.

If Wetherell were indeed the artist, his painting promoted the villa's setting and the cultural values it expressed as much as the architectural details. The Lodge was shown in a picturesque setting, in parkland at some distance from the foreground. The untended and wilder vegetation of the escarpment edge, on the left of the painting, and the more densely wooded areas in the extreme background contrasted with the slightly undulating lawns, which were groomed by the flock of sheep, humorously perhaps given pride of place in the foreground. (Perhaps the artist was aware of Price's ambivalence to sheep. He found them not particularly picturesque, certainly less so than cows or deer, but he did appreciate how the pathways they wore into the ground and holes they dug added interest to the park.<sup>85</sup>) Wetherell inserted figures in his picture in order to give a sense of scale and proportion. The figures are informal and relaxed. In the foreground are two labourers, apparently in uniforms. Their red coats and black hats have a military appearance, a humorous allusion perhaps to Whyte's cavalry service. Instead of rifles, one carries a shovel on his shoulder, the other a pail. Have they been cleaning up after the sheep—perhaps a joke at the expense of the British army (fig. 4)? In the mid-ground, approaching the Lodge, the master, dressed casually, is shown returning from hunting, with his rifle on his shoulder, and accompanied by his two

loyal dogs (fig. 5). The Lodge seems the perfect gentleman's villa, informal, and an escape from another life.

The portrait of the proposed Lodge, in Bardwell's description, "a small villa, or parsonage, in the Italian style,"<sup>86</sup> was suitably picturesque to communicate this ideal. Price, Knight, and Repton had not preferred any particular style for picturesque effect, but in his *Encyclopedia*, Loudon enthused about "the beau ideal of the Italian style of villa." Loudon's description of the Italianate relied heavily on Gilbert Laing Meason's 1828 book, *On the Landscape Architecture of Great Painters of Italy*. Meason has been credited with coining the term "landscape architecture."<sup>87</sup> As historian Joseph Disponzio has explained, Meason's understanding of the term differed from the meaning later attached to it by "professionals," such as Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux. For Meason, the term referred to the appreciation of architecture in, and as a part of the landscape.<sup>88</sup> In his book he explored in greater depth the characteristics of the architecture in Italian art than Price and others had done. He pointed out the "incidental architecture" in the paintings of Raphael, Titian, Michelangelo, and others—those country residences with irregular profiles that added detail and interest to background areas. Of no particular stylistic period, their asymmetrical and irregular shapes have been "fortuitously formed by additions . . . as suited the convenience or habits of the owners." "No petty ornaments" detracted from the simplicity of light and shadow that decorated the façade as the sun illuminated some areas, while "sudden and unconnected" projections darkened other surfaces. The irregularities and unevenness in the façades and roof lines afforded contemporary architects almost endless possibilities to display their "genius" in reproducing "picturesque



FIG. 5. [ROBERT C. WETHERELL], HUNTER, DETAIL FROM BARTON LODGE [1835]. | PHOTO: MALCOLM THURLBY.  
SOURCE: DUNDURN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE.

effect." According to Christopher Hussey, "with Meason we come as close as we ever do to a picturesque style."<sup>89</sup>

Meason, like others before him, found authority for the merits of irregularities in Joshua Reynolds's "Thirteenth Discourse on Art [1786]," which he quoted on the first page of his book.

Architects [may] . . . take advantage sometimes . . . of the use of accidents; to follow when they lead, and to improve them, rather than always trust to a regular plan. It often happens that additions have been made to houses at various times, for use or pleasure. As such buildings depart from regularity, they now and then acquire something of scenery by this accident, which I should think might not unsuccessfully be adopted by an architect in an original plan.<sup>90</sup>

Loudon believed the Italian style expressed "painter-like effects" and so demanded a more talented architect than other styles. Its appreciation, he claimed

following Knight, required patrons of "more cultivated taste" who could engage their imaginations and associate their building with personal experiences in Italy or with their familiarity with Italian art. Their satisfaction with their residence's style would grow and be sustained by its contrast with other buildings in their area, especially if they lived in "scarcely peopled countries, surrounded by primeval forests or wastes."<sup>91</sup> The setting then was important to the affect: sited on an elevation and viewed from below, as in an Italian painting, was preferred. Barton Lodge on the edge of the Niagara Escarpment met the standard.

Bardwell had thought that the villa would be best situated "on a gentle eminence, in the neighbourhood of a small village," from which its front façade would have been visible<sup>92</sup> (fig. 6). Barton Lodge's site required some reorientation of that plan. The best views of lake, woods, and village from the escarpment promontory required that the house be so close to

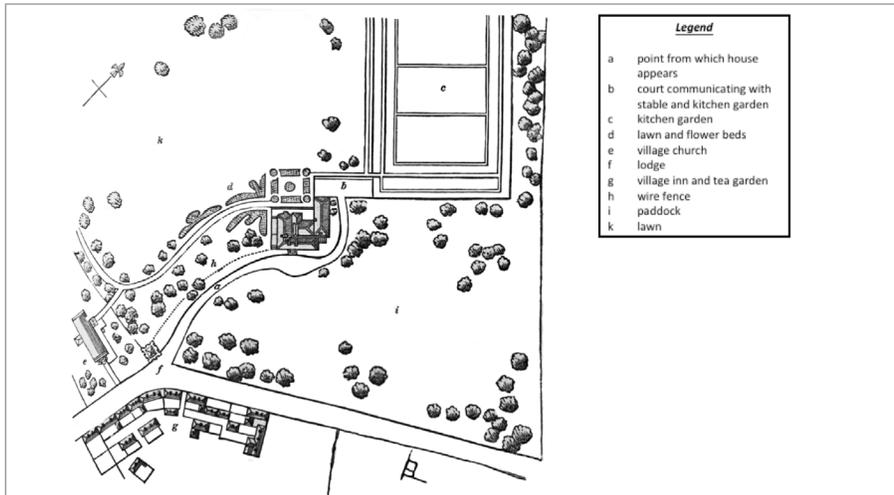


FIG. 6. WILLIAM BARDWELL, SITUATION FOR A SMALL VILLA, OR PARSONAGE, IN THE ITALIAN STYLE. | LOUDON, J.C., 1846 [1833], AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF COTTAGE, FARM, AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE AND FURNITURE... P. 853.



FIG. 7. BARTON LODGE VIEWED FROM BECKETT DRIVE, C. 1899. | HAMILTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, LOCAL HISTORY AND ARCHIVES.

the edge that little room was left for a drive. Wetherell therefore reversed Bardwell's siting so that the Lodge faced away from the town and fronted instead onto a park, while the back and side overlooked Hamilton and Lake Ontario. A photograph from 1899 shows just how close the rear open terrace was to the edge of the escarpment (fig. 7).

The best photograph extant of Barton Lodge, from the 1880s perhaps, was taken

from almost exactly the same angle and projection as Loudon's illustration<sup>93</sup> (fig. 3). The Lodge differed from Bardwell's plan in several ways, none of which concealed the inspiration that Wetherell took from the pattern book.<sup>94</sup> That the Lodge was derived from Bardwell is clear. The front façade is a true copy, with the asymmetrical placement of windows—three narrow windows to the right of the entry porch, arched on the ground floor and squared on the second, are not matched by the

broader and squared windows to the left, while on the watchtower the three slender windows are arched. Loudon explained the effect: "The Italian manner of placing windows close together in series, and, alternating with these large blank space without any openings produces a result which, in building, may, to a certain extent, be considered analogous to the effect of light and dark in painting."<sup>95</sup> The front entry appears to be about the same in size, proportions, and details. Exposed rafters on the entry repeated the pattern of the eaves, though spaced more closely, and supported a low parapet, which enclosed a small space under a window and provided an allusion to a balcony. The head of the front door frame was an exposed rustic stone arch, visually supported by a raised band of stone—detailing too fine for Loudon's illustration, although the arch closely resembles another figure in his book.<sup>96</sup>

The side of the Lodge differed from the illustration in Loudon. The watchtower in the illustration extends by a small distance of a foot or so beyond the side wall, whereas the Lodge's watchtower was flush with that side wall. Lost in the Lodge's iteration is the illusion that the tower is a separate component from ground to roof, but the change simplified construction of the foundation and roof and probably saved some money. Without the protrusion of the tower, a third window was added to the second floor and the verandah was extended across the width of the house. In order to frame views—both from the outside into the valley below and from the inside through the verandah and beyond—all three representations of the Lodge show the verandah with trellised columns, a decorative touch that Repton immodestly claimed to have popularized. (Price enthused about climbing plants, which had "so much beauty arising either from their flowers,

their foliage, or from their loose and flexible manner of growing.”<sup>97</sup>) The window added to the end wall disturbed the symmetry of the illustration in which the door to the terrace and window beside it had been matched by two windows on the second floor. Both Wetherell and Bardwell did follow Meason’s guidance in setting the proportions of the tower: its elevation and dimensions should be suited to proper and useful rooms. Price would have approved of “its simple unvaried, unornamental state, [which] always strikes and pleases the eye.”<sup>98</sup>

As well, in the plan, the rear corner of the building and the roof—on the left when entering from the front—were rounded, as was the drawing room inside (fig. 8). As built, the corner and roof of the Lodge were square (as was the drawing room inside, presumably), no doubt for reasons of economy. Wetherell also simplified Bardwell’s design for the chimneys on the roof. The latter offered chimneys with round chimney pots resting on plinths. Square cornices were intended to encourage swallows to nest under their shelter. At first, in his watercolour, Wetherell proposed wide chimneys with arched openings between square flues, as preferred by Price.<sup>99</sup> As built, the chimneys were rectangular with narrow cornices, built of what appears to be brick or stone, stuccoed over with deep ornamental grooves to mark the flues. The picturesque effect remained, however, and the Lodge’s simpler chimneys still did “rise boldly,” as Loudon recommended.<sup>100</sup>

The projecting roof provided shade for the upper storey. As revealed in a photograph of the Lodge in ruins, cantilevered ceiling joists with simply detailed exposed ends supported the roof rafters and offered an unadorned bracketing,<sup>101</sup> which was more obviously a structural part of the roof than the decorative cornices that became

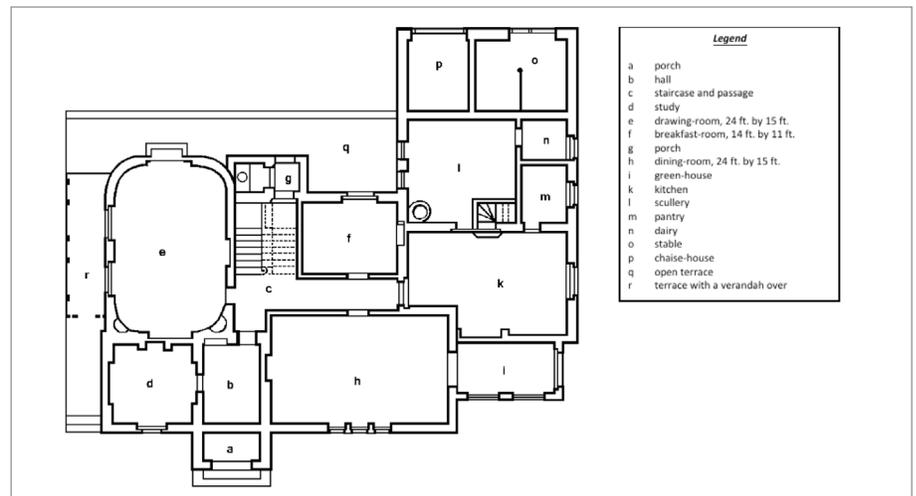


FIG. 8. WILLIAM BARDWELL, FLOOR PLAN FOR A SMALL VILLA, OR PARSONAGE, IN THE ITALIAN STYLE. | LOUDON, J.C., 1846 [1833], *AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF COTTAGE, FARM, AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE AND FURNITURE...*, P. 854.



FIG. 9. BARTON LODGE REMAINS, 1942. | PHOTO: GEORGE LAIDLER. HAMILTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, LOCAL HISTORY AND ARCHIVES.

fashionable in mid-century designs (fig. 9). For shade, second storey windows were positioned high, close under the eaves, another feature of the Italian style, according to Loudon.<sup>102</sup> Bardwell anticipated the villa would need additional shade and showed an awning over the ground floor window by the entrance. Barton Lodge lacked an awning there, but appears to have had awnings on the second floor windows of the same sort as illustrated in Loudon’s book.

The inward-opening casement windows on the ground floor were protected by shutters that opened outward. On the second floor, double-hung windows and awnings did not permit outward-opening shutters and so the shutters were inside and opened inward. Loudon associated inward-opening windows with the Italian style: they let in so much air, but double-hung sashes, he conceded, were more appropriate, if stylistically incompatible and somewhat *déclassé*, in

colder climates.<sup>103</sup> About shutters, Loudon had mixed feelings as well. They should preferably open inward and have an ornamental effect, but, if economy and climate required outward opening shutters they should be painted to blend in with the façade rather than to stand out in a different colour. He would not have approved of the Lodge's shutters.<sup>104</sup>

Wetherell simplified the rear of the Lodge. In Bardwell's drawing, the drawing-room with rounded exterior end corners had extended to the rear of the building, probably by several feet beyond the façade of the breakfast room. The corner thus created was filled with an enclosed porch. Midway up the stairs, at the landing where the stairs turned, the balcony also provided space for a toilet. The rear wall of the Lodge as built was straight, with no protrusion from the drawing room, no porch, and no extended domestic service space. Again, the changes probably saved construction costs and were more suitable to the site.

Wetherell departed substantially from Bardwell in designing the extension. Rather than setting it back from the front façade, he extended it several feet in front of the façade, and rather than a hipped roof, he gave it a flat roof, a change that greatly simplified construction and saved expense.<sup>105</sup> As in Bardwell's plan, the extension suggested age, a villa that had grown as its inhabitants' needs had changed. Even though the photographs of the Lodge postdated its construction by decades, both components of the Lodge probably were built at the same time. Had the extension not been part of the original construction, the villa would have had no kitchen, scullery, servants' quarters, and other space necessary for its domestic functioning.<sup>106</sup> Wetherell also simplified the foundation. In Bardwell's floor plan, the interior arrangement of

space (as in Knight's Downton Castle) did not correspond to what one would expect from outward appearance: from the outside, the two sections of the building appeared separate, while inside the space was integrated with the kitchen and scullery extending into the main section. Wetherell's adaptation simplified the foundation, by replacing its right-angled corner with a straight bearing wall that fully separated the two parts of the building. (The bearing wall can be seen on the right-hand side of the photograph of the Lodge in ruins.) To compensate for any loss of space resulting from these changes, as shown in a photograph taken from below the Lodge, Wetherell made the extension wider, thus altering the proportions of the extension to the main section as viewed from the front. As well, a small one-storey addition, set back from the front and back façades, appears on the side of the extension, probably providing a service entrance. Another structure, almost at the top of the escarpment's rise, might have been a stable, while farther from the Lodge there appears to have been a wooden barn (fig. 7).

The configuration of front windows in the main part of the building suggests that Wetherell retained much of Bardwell's floor plan for the ground floor of the main section. Since, as Loudon explained, guests could expect to wait a few minutes before being received, the enclosed front entry offered shelter and gave way to a reception hall.<sup>107</sup> From there, a visitor with business to discuss might be received by the master in his study and, as Loudon recommended, not intrude on the interior living and entertaining spaces.<sup>108</sup> The reception hall led to a passageway connecting to the drawing room, dining room, and breakfast room, and to the staircase to the second floor. The extent of entry, hall, passages, and staircase was consistent with Loudon's ideal of the Italianate: "There is, no doubt,

a good deal of room occupied by porches, hall, staircase, and central passage: but extension, and not concentration, is a characteristic of the Italian style."<sup>109</sup> That the Lodge had both a dining room and a breakfast room distinguished between spaces reserved for formal and informal activities. Loudon did not consider separate rooms for different meals necessary, except for very large houses, which Barton Lodge was not.<sup>110</sup> But the smaller and more intimate breakfast room—in Bardwell's design measuring 14 by 11.5 feet compared with the larger dining room of 24 by 15 feet—did mark sophistication and an association of comfort with informality.<sup>111</sup>

The layout of the bedrooms on the second floor is unknown, although their doorways probably opened on to a gallery around the stairwell. They would probably have been separated by a doorway from the servants' quarters on the floor above the kitchen. Another staircase within the tower led to the observatory at the top of the tower.

Rather than offering Whyte his own design, Robert C. Wetherell adapted a plan of William Bardwell that had been published in J.C. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. Whyte was the sort of client whom Loudon had hoped to inspire, someone wanting to make a statement about both their success and their good taste. Barton Lodge was inspired by the aesthetics of the picturesque and was intended to call to mind the more settled landscapes and architecture of Europe that James Matthew Whyte had left behind.

## CONCLUSION

On James Matthew Whyte's death in 1843, Barton Lodge and the rest of his estate passed to his brother, John Lionel Whyte. The latter's heirs retained ownership of the property after the Lodge was

completely destroyed by fire in 1930. The land passed through several hands before its development as a suburban subdivision.

Barton Lodge was both socially and architecturally significant. For its owner, James Matthew Whyte, the Lodge's picturesque effects suggested a landscape more developed and Europeanized than what immediately came into view in Upper Canada. After almost two decades in the tropics, extracting wealth from the labour of enslaved workers, Whyte could enjoy a landscape in which the relations of rural production remained undisclosed. The gardeners and labourers tended parkland and the orchards and gardens that their employer cultivated out of interest and curiosity rather than pursuit of profit.

In Whyte, Robert Wetherell served another client who aspired to membership in the Upper Canadian elite. As for his other contracts, Wetherell provided an Italianate design, this one based on William Bardwell's plan and adapted to its setting. The modest Italian villa on an escarpment overlooking the lake and wooded valley, broken by an ambitious village, contributed to a cultural landscape of colonization.

## NOTES

1. The authors are grateful for the assistance of a number of individuals in advancing this project. Lisette Lacroix in Ottawa, Canada, and Sonia Baker in Edinburgh, Scotland, contributed invaluable research. In Hamilton, Ontario, Marnie Burgess of Burgess Historical provided research assistance. Comments from Paul Grimwood pointed aspects of the inquiry in a fruitful direction. Ken Heaman, chief curator of Dundurn National Historical Site, made the watercolour painting of Barton Lodge available for study. Malcolm Thurlby of York University offered encouragement, insight, and advice, as well as photographs of the painting of Barton Lodge. Finally, the

authors appreciate the willingness of the late Stephen A. Otto to share his knowledge and expertise on several matters.

2. Otto, Stephen A., 2004, *Robert Wetherell and Dundurn: An Architect in Early Hamilton*, Hamilton, Heritage Hamilton Foundation.
3. Mace, Jessica, 2016, "Monuments to the Motherland: The Lost Gothic Houses of John George Howard (1801-1890)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 41, no. 1, p. 27.
4. Wright, Janet, 1984, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada*, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 80; McKendry, Jennifer, 1992, "'A Residence Fit for Any Gentleman': Three Kingston Villas by George Browne," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review*, vol. 19, nos. 1-2, p. 78; Whiffen, Marcus, 1981, *American Architecture, vol. 1: 1607-1860*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, p. 186; Reiff, Daniel D., 2000, *Houses from Books. Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950: History and Guide*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 70; Lancaster, Clay, 1952, "Italianism in American Architecture before 1860," *American Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 137-138.
5. Gowans, Alan, 1992, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression*, New York, HarperCollins, p. 172; Summerson, John, 1954, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 291; Scalbert, Irénée, 2004, "A Real Living Contact with Things Themselves: Landscape Painters and Architects," *A.A. Files*, no. 50, p. 21-26.
6. Hussey, Christopher, 1927, *The Picturesque Movement: Studies in A Point of View*, London, G.P. Putnam Sons; Pevsner, Nikolaus, 1944, "Genesis of the Picturesque," *Architectural Review*, vol. 96, p. 139-146.
7. Watkin, David, 1982, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape, and Garden Design*, London, J. Murray, p. vii-x.
8. Debate has arisen over Gilpin's thought on the picturesque, with Michasiw rejecting Hussey's notion of a progressive development of ideas from Gilpin to others and instead asserting Gilpin's distinctive and different contribution. Michasiw, Kim Ian, 1992, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *Representations*, no. 38, p. 76-100; Macarthur, John, 2007, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust, and Other Irregularities*, London, Routledge, p. 3-13; Ballantyne, Andrew, 1992, "Genealogy of the Picturesque," *British Journal of Aesthetics*, vol. 32, no. 4, p. 320-329; De Bolla, Peter, 2003, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-century Britain*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, p. 119-122.
9. Watkins, Charles and Ben Cowell, 2012, *Uvedale Price (1747-1829): Deconstructing the Picturesque*, Woodbridge, UK, Boydell Press, p. 61 ff. Also see: Watkin, *The English Vision*, op. cit., p. 73-80; Batey, Mavis, 1994, "The Picturesque: An Overview," *Garden History*, vol. 22, no. 2, p. 121-132.
10. Price, Uvedale, 1796, *An Essay on the Picturesque... A New Edition*, London, J. Robson, p. ix, 84, 90, 92, 99-100, 103-106.
11. Watkin, *The English Vision*, op. cit., p. 78.
12. Marshall, David, 2002, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-century Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, p. 428-430; Van Eck, Caroline, 2000, "'The Splendid Effects of Architecture, and Its Power to Affect the Mind': The Working of Picturesque Association," in Jan Birksted (ed.), *Landscape of Memory and Experience*, London, Spon, p. 245-248; Jaus, Steven A., 2006, "Associationism and Taste Theory in Archibald Alison's Essays," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 64, no. 4, p. 415-428.
13. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust*, op. cit., p. 52.
14. Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque...*, op. cit., p. 47-50, 159; Hussey, *The Picturesque Movement*, op. cit., p. 189.
15. As Meeks explained, the appreciation of movement in architecture departed from the standard of planes in classical design. Furrán has noted that the picturesque in Soane's Lincoln's Inn Field home was "largely a manipulation of the temporal . . . : by day it is overtly picturesque . . . and by night . . . sublime." Meeks, C.L.V., 1950, "Picturesque Eclecticism," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 32, no. 3, p. 227; Furrán, Helen, 2011, *Glorious Visions: John Soane's Spectacular Theater*, Abingdon, Routledge, p. 110-117; Stroud, Dorothy, 1961, *The Architecture of Sir John Soane*, London, Studio, p. 25; Kondo, Ariyuki, 2016, *Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment*, London, Routledge, p. 88-90.
16. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust*, op. cit., p. 156; Hussey, *The Picturesque Movement*, op. cit., p. 215-217.
17. Price, for example, rejected Gilpin's view that Palladian or Grecian architecture lacked the picturesque appeal of the Gothic. Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque...*, op. cit., p. 46-47.

18. Knight, Richard Payne, 1805, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London, T. Payne and J. White, p. 157; Ballantyne, Andrew, 1989, "Downton Castle: Function and Meaning," *Architectural History*, vol. 32, p. 105-130; Ballantyne, Andrew, 1997, *Architecture, Landscape and Liberty: Richard Payne Knight and the Picturesque*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Summerson, John, 1954, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, op. cit., p. 292.
19. Repton, Humphry, 1806, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening*, London, J. Taylor, p. 76; Wright, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada*, op. cit., p. 15.
20. Crowley, John E., 2001, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press; Daniels, Stephen, 1999, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*, New Haven, Yale University Press; Hussey, Christopher, 1984, *English Country Houses: Late Georgian, 1800-1840*, Woodbridge, UK, Antique Collectors' Club, p. 17.
21. Loudon, John Claudius (ed.), 1840, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton*, London, Longmans and Co., 1840, p. 113-1144, 601-602.
22. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust*, op. cit., p. 176-188; Williams, Raymond, 1985, *The Country and the City*, London, Hogarth Press, p. 124-125.
23. Bermingham, Ann, 1986, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p. 75-76, 83. Bermingham's work offers perhaps a more measured interpretation than the earlier studies of John Barrell and David Solkin who argued that painters recognized the need of their clients to possess paintings of improved landscapes that removed from view the social problems to which they had themselves contributed. Katey Castellano, who has seen a romantic conservatism in the appreciation of idealized traditional landscapes, has essentially agreed that agrarian capitalism altered social ecologies and formed new aesthetics. The contention that painters chose not to represent the earlier unimproved landscapes, the commons, Waites has shown, failed to appreciate the extent which some artists remained attached to the unenclosed common fields. Barrell, John, 1980, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Solkin, David, 1982, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction*, New Haven, Yale Center for British Art; Waites, Ian, 2010, "The Common Field Landscape, Cultural Commemoration, and the Impact of the Enclosure, c. 1770-1850," in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (eds.), *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1850*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 20-23; Castellano, Katey, 2013, *The Ecology of British Romantic Conservatism, 1790-1837*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 7-8, 88, 667, 122.
24. Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust*, op. cit., p. 74; Barrell, John, 1986, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: "The Body of the Public"*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
25. Wright, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada*, op. cit., p. 32; Mace, "Monuments to the Motherland," op. cit., p. 26.
26. Coates, Colin M., 1993, "Like 'The Thames near Putney': The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 79, no. 30, p. 317-343.
27. Of Gilpin's numerous writings, see "On Picturesque Travel," in Gilpin, William, 1792, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; On Sketching Landscape*, London, R. Blamire, p. 41-58. Also Hughes-d'Aeth, Tony, 1997, "Pretty as a Picture: Australia and the Imperial Picturesque," *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 53, p. 99-107; Tobin, Beth Fowkes, 2005, *Colonizing Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters, 1760-1820*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
28. McKay, Marilyn J., 2011, *Picturing the Land: Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Painting, 1500-1950*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 48-49, 51, 55, 58, 60-62, 67-68, 75, 286; Crowley, John E., 2005, "'Taken on the Spot': The Visual Appropriation of New France for the Global British Landscape," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 86, no. 1, p. 4-6, 28.
29. Wright, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada*, op. cit., p. 50; Auerbach, Jeffrey, 2004, "The Picturesque and the Homogenization of Empire," *British Art Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 47.
30. J.M. Whyte to Isabella Whyte, 18 Mar. 1827, James Matthew Whyte papers, MG24 D18, Library and Archives Canada.
31. Wilkie, George Scott (ed.), 2011, *Robert Burns: A Life in Letters*, Glasgow, Neil Wilson, p. 50; Graham, Eric J., 2009, *Burns and the Sugar Plantocracy of Ayrshire*, Ayr, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, p. 12-13; Morris, Michael, 2014, "Robert Burns: Recovering Scotland's Memory of the Black Atlantic," *Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3, p. 343-359.
32. James Matthew Whyte's father had adopted the Whyte surname on inheriting his Jamaican holdings. Esther Craufurd, the daughter of a physician who was connected four generations previously to the Craufurds of Craufurdland, had brought a settlement into the marriage sufficient to lend her son John £1000. Ross, Victor, 1920, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*, vol. 1, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 177-179; Burke, John, 1835, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland...*, London, Henry Colburn, 1835, vol. 2, p. 233; Will of James Whyte, December 10, 1825, Dumfries Sheriff Court Records, vol. SC15/41/4, National Records of Scotland.
33. Through the Houisons of Braehead, William assumed the responsibility of Washer of the Sovereign's Hands, a feudal obligation now understood to require the holder to wash the monarch's hands whenever he (or she) should be in Scotland. The ceremony was revived in 1822 through the initiative of Sir Walter Scott when George IV attended a reception in Edinburgh in 1822. The folklore around the position had already figured in some of Scott's writings. Burke, id., p. 230-235; Stevenson, David, 2004, "'The Gudeman of Ballangeich': Rambles in the Afterlife of James V," *Folklore*, vol. 115, no. 2, p. 195-196; Anderson, William, 1867, *The Scottish Nation; or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Abe—Cur), Edinburgh, A. Fullerton and Co., p. 702.
34. "A Full True and Perfect Inventory of the Personal Estate of the Late James Matthew Whyte," James Matthew Whyte, Probate Court Records, RG22 Series 6-1, Archives of Ontario.
35. Whyte is not listed among the officers of the 1<sup>st</sup> King's Dragoon Guards who served at Waterloo. Dalton, Charles, 1904 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.], *The Waterloo Roll Call*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, p. 52; Burley, David G., 1988, "Whyte, James Matthew," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. VII (1836-50), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 908-910.
36. "1817 Jamaica Almanac, Militia: Surrey and Cornwall," *Jamaica Family Search Genealogy Research Library*, [<http://www>].

- jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/AL1817\_07.htm]; and "1817 Jamaica Almanac, Parochial Lists: Surrey," *Jamaica Family Search Genealogy Research Library*, [http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/a/AL1817\_03.htm], sites accessed March 9, 2018.
37. "1820 Almanac: St. Thomas-in-the-East," *Jamaica Family Search Genealogy Research Library*, [http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/AL20p10.htm], accessed November 23, 2018.
  38. Cave Bottom Accounts, James Matthew Whyte Papers.
  39. Higman, B.W., 2005, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy*, Mona, University of West Indies Press, p. 8-11, 15-16, 57-68, 83-84. Also see Rosenthal, Caitlin, 2018, *Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
  40. "James Matthew Whyte," *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633502], accessed March 16, 2018.
  41. "Thomas Hercey Barritt," *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632224], accessed March 16, 2018.
  42. "John Inglis of Mark Lane," *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1343723246]; "John Deacon," *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/12503]; "Charles Campbell," *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642687], accessed March 16, 2018.
  43. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Burnard, Trevor, 2004, *Mastery, Tyranny and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, p. 61.
  44. Burnard, Trevor, 2015, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p. 6.
  45. "1824 Jamaica Almanac, Civil Lists: Surrey, Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East," *Jamaica Family Search Genealogy Research Library*, [http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/1/1824alm8.htm], accessed March 17, 2018.
  46. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
  47. *Id.*, p. 51.
  48. "1824 Jamaica Almanac: Jamaica Militia," *Jamaica Family Search*, [http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/AL24mil3.htm], accessed March 15, 2018).
  49. Hart, Richard, 2002, *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Blacks in Rebellion*, Mona, Jamaica, University of West Indies Press, p. 296-297.
  50. Reckford, Mary, 1968, "The Jamaican Slave Rebellion of 1831," *Past and Present*, no. 40, p. 120-122.
  51. J.M. Whyte to Mary Hamilton, Conveyance of Slaves, April 22, 1834, Liber 795, Folio 2, Department of Registrar General, Jamaica.
  52. John Whyte Baptism, Parish Registry for St. Thomas-in-the-East, Ref. 18/11/8/14/2, p. 132, Baptism of Whites, Coloureds, and Slaves, Jamaica Archives and Records Department; "Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880," *Family Search*, [https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VHD8-TNH], accessed August 9, 2017; "Jamaica St. Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey 486, Claim Details," *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15678], accessed April 12, 2018; Will of James Matthew Whyte, Probate Court Records.
  53. Thomas Edgar to J.M. Whyte, 3 Oct. 1833; and Licence granted to J.M. Whyte to leave Jamaica, James Matthew Whyte Papers; "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1891," database with images, *Family Search* [https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVFX-5NNB], accessed March 11, 2018. J.M. Whyte, 1834; citing NARA microfilm publication M237, Washington, DC, National Archives and Records Administration, n.d., FHL microfilm.
  54. John M. Bates to J.M. Whyte, Bargain and Sale, December 23, 1833, reg. no. 465, Harwich Township, Kent Land Registry; Land Record Index, Ontario Archives.
  55. Ross, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*, *op. cit.*, p. 177-179.
  56. Gore Bank Votes, 1 Aug. 1836; and Resolution of the Directors of the Gore Bank, 7 Aug. 1837, James Matthew Whyte Papers.
  57. W. Proudfoot to J.M. Whyte, 31 July 1839; and T.G. Ridout to J.M. Whyte, 25 Sept. 1839, James Matthew Whyte Papers; Ross, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*, *op. cit.*, p. 180, 183; Baskerville, Peter, 1987, "Introduction," *The Bank of Upper Canada A Collection of Documents*, Toronto, Champlain Society, p. lxxxiii; Burley, David G., 1976, "Steven, Andrew," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. IX (1861-1870), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 745-746.
  58. Reid, Irving, and Co. to J.M. Whyte, 19 Sept. 1839, James Matthew Whyte Papers.
  59. Ross, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*, *op. cit.*, p. 204-208.
  60. *Id.*, p. 210-214; A.N. MacNab to J.M. Whyte, 1 Oct. 1842; Mr. David Thompson's Report of Gore Bank, 1 Feb. 1842; and Report of the Committee of the Legislative Assembly on Petition of Directors of the Gore Bank, 25 Sept. 1842, James Matthew Whyte Papers.
  61. Will of James Matthew Whyte, Probate Court Records.
  62. Hall, Catherine, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington, and Rachel Lang, 2014, *Legacies of British Slave-ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
  63. Bouchier, Nancy B. and Ken Cruikshank, 2016, *The People and the Bay: A Social and Environmental History of Hamilton Harbour*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, p. 11-12.
  64. Knight, Richard Payne, 1795 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.], *The Landscape. A Didactic Poem*, London, W. Bulmer, p. 37; Gilpin, William, 1809, *Observations on Several Parts of the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex*, London, T. Cadill and W. Davies, p. 158; Michasiw, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *op. cit.*, p. 86-87, 99; Phibbs, John, 2008, "The View-Point," *Garden History*, vol. 36, no. 2, p. 216-217.
- On the sublime rather than picturesque appeal of Niagara Falls, see Jasen, Patricia, 1991, "Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier, 1790-1850," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 72, no. 3, p. 286-290.
- On the difficulty encountered in incorporating the North American landscape into the "Picturesque," see MacLaren, Ian S., 1985, "The Limits of the Picturesque in British North America," *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 97-111.
- 65. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 66. Neither Tewksbury nor Smith appear to have had significant business or professional connections to the village of Hamilton when they purchased the land. The future of the small village below the mountain remained uncertain and both Dundas and Ancaster were

more important commercial centres. Smith, a medical doctor, did accumulate wealth over his lifetime, but not from his practice, which in 1820 was just getting started, and he likely had little money to develop the mountain brow property. Roland, Charles G. and Bohodor Rubeshewsky, 1988, "The Economic Status of the Practice of Harmaunus Smith in Wentworth County, 1826-1867," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, vol. 5, p. 29-49; Spack, Vivian M. and T. Roy Woodhouse, 1964, "The Story of a Pioneer Doctor—Harmaunus Smith," *Wentworth Bygones*, vol. 5, p. 10-13.

Local Hamilton historian Marjorie Freeman Campbell stated that work on Barton Lodge started around 1820 when, shortly after arriving in the area, Whyte purchased the property from the Crown grant holder. Construction proved difficult and the Lodge was not finished until 1825. The dates are wrong. Elsewhere Campbell erroneously claims that Whyte left Jamaica in 1830. She did correct some details in later writing, dating the land purchase to 1834 and the completion of construction to 1836. McMaster University, Special Collections and Archives, Marjorie Freeman Campbell Papers, Notes, vol. 1, p. 259; Marjorie Freeman Campbell, 1965, "Did Queen Victoria Have the Evidence Destroyed? The Odd, Elusive Riddle of a Royal Romance," *Hamilton Spectator*, October 30, 1965.

67. Harmaunus Smith to J.M. Whyte, Bargain and Sale, December 13, 1834, reg. no. H-2021; and William Tewksbury to J.M. Whyte, Bargain and Sale, December 13, 1834, reg. no. H-2022, Barton Township, Wentworth Land Registry Office.

68. J.M. Whyte to Peter Hess, Agreement, May 27, 1835, reg. no. H-2153; Peter Hess to J.M. Whyte, Bargain and Sale, July 14, 1835, reg. no. H-2195, Barton Township, Wentworth Land Registry Office.

69. Internal evidence suggests Rolph completed his manuscript by the middle of the summer of 1836. Rolph, Thomas, 1836, *A Brief Account, together with Observations, Made During a Visit in the West Indies, and a Tour through the United States of America, in Parts of the Years 1832-3; Together with a Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, Dundas, UC, p. 213.

70. Otto, *Robert Wetherell and Dundurn*, op. cit., p. 29-30.

71. *Id.*, p. 25-30; Otto, [n.d.], "Robert Jameson's Villa: An Early House in the Wellington Place Neighbourhood," *Wellington Place Neighbourhood Association: History*, [<http://www.wellingtonplace.org/history/jameson-villa.php>], accessed September 7, 2018; Blackwell, John D., "Jameson, Robert Sympson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. VII (1851-1860), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 426-427; Thurlby, Malcolm, 2017, "Christ's Church, Hamilton, Ontario, and the Changing Image of the Anglican Church – 1835-1875," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 42, no. 2, p. 22-23.

72. Otto, *Robert Wetherell and Dundurn*, op. cit., p. 2; Crook, J. Mordaunt, 1969, "The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism and Patronage," *Architectural History*, vol. 12, p. 62-78.

73. Cited in Otto, "Robert Jameson's Villa," op. cit.

74. Long, Helen C., 2002, *Victorian Houses and their Details: The Role of Publications in their Building and Decoration*, Oxford, Architectural Press, p. 47; McMordie, Michael, 1975, "Picturesque Pattern Books and Pre-Victorian Designers," *Architectural History*, vol. 18, p. 43.

75. Mace, Jessica, 2015, *Nation Building: Gothic Revival Houses in Upper Canada and Canada West, c. 1830-1867*, Ph.D. dissertation in art history, York University, Toronto, p. 46.

76. The authors thank Paul Grimwood for the reference to Loudon. Loudon, John Claudius, 1846 [1833], *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture...*, London, Longman, Green, Brown, and Longmans, p. xxiv, 853-855.

77. Ackerman, James, 1986, "The Villa as Paradigm," *Perspecta*, vol. 22, p. 11; and Ackerman, James, 1990, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, Princeton, Princeton University Press; Watkin, *The English Vision*, op. cit., p. 99.

78. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, op. cit., p. 763.

79. Colvin, Howard M., 1954, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p. 57-58; Webster, Christopher, 2012, "'Diminishes Sweetly by Elegant Degrees': The Tower of Holy Trinity, Leeds and an Episode in Early-Victorian Wren Revival," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 45, p. 11-12; Dennis, Richard, 2012, "Victoria Street in Theory and Practice: Scenes from the Governmentality of Nineteenth-century

London," in Matthew Davies and James A., Galloway (eds.), *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keane*, London, Institute of Historical Research, p. 291-292, 296, 301, 303, 306; McGarry, Marion, 2010, "Creating a Noble Past: The Design of Glenstal Castle, 1836-61," *History Ireland*, vol. 18, no. 2, [<http://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/creating-a-noble-past-the-design-of-glenstal-castle-1836-61/>], accessed June 30, 2017; Bardwell, William, 1839, *Westminster Improvements. A Brief History of Ancient and Modern Westminster, with Observations on Former Plans of Improvement and on the Objects and Prospects of the Westminster Improvement Company...*, London, Smith and Elder, Fraser, Weale, Williams, and Reid; and Bardwell, William, 1854, *Healthy Homes and How to Make Them*, London, Published for S.A. Gilbert by Dean and Son.

80. The provenance and accession details are unknown for this watercolour. The City of Hamilton acquired Dundurn in 1899 as a museum. As Terry has explained, the museum committed itself to cultivating "Britishness" and Whyte's descendants might have donated the painting as a document of the city's colonial heritage. Otto did reproduce a cropped, black and white image of it in his book on Dundurn without comment. Terry, Andrea, 2015, *Family Ties: Living History in Canadian House Museums*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 36; Otto, *Robert Wetherell and Dundurn*, op. cit., p. 29.

81. The watercolour in the Dundurn collection was not painted by the most expert hand and its perspective is off. As Tait noted, however, not all architects could draw and so artists might be employed to prepare perspective views. Such talent might not have been available to Wetherell in Hamilton. Tait, A.A., 1971, "The Picturesque Drawings of Robert Adam," *Master Drawings*, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 161. Also Watkin, *The English Vision*, op. cit., p. x; Long, *Victorian Houses and their Details*, op. cit., p. 23; Blutman, Sandra, 1968, "Books of Design for Country Houses, 1780-1815," *Architectural History*, vol. 11, p. 30.

82. Mace, "Monuments to the Motherland," op. cit., p. 32.

83. Otto, *Robert Wetherell and Dundurn*, op. cit., p. 13.

84. Price, Uvedale, 1810, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful...*, vol. 2, London, J. Mawson, p. 233, 337-339.

85. Price admitted that he could not imagine "a more beautiful foreground" to a landscape than one populated with small groups of sheep, some grazing, some lying on the grass, some seeking shade in small caverns. But he judged that "no animal indeed is so constantly introduced in landscape as the sheep, but that . . . does not prove superior picturesqueness." Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque...*, *op. cit.*, p. 35, 40-44, 72.
86. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv, 853.
87. Born in 1769 in Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands, Gilbert Laing was the second son of Robert Laing of Strynzie. He took the surname Meason on inheriting the estate of his cousin, Gilbert Meason of Moredon. An Edinburgh merchant, he indulged in various scientific pursuits, including mineralogy and horticulture, and was elected to fellowship in the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He and his wife enjoyed considerable wealth, which they spent on their estate, Lindertis, in Forfarshire, Scotland. John Preston Neale (in 1819, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. 2, London, Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, n.p.) described the castellated house, built 1815-1818 to the plans of Archibald Elliot of Edinburgh, as having an interior in "a handsome, but not florid Gothic style." He had accompanied his friend Sir Walter Scott on a trip to Italy in 1831. The following year (1832) he died in Venice, where he and his family were temporarily residing.
- Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. 777; Meason, Gilbert Laing, 1828, *On the Landscape Architecture of Great Painters of Italy*, London, D. Jacques; Turner, Tom, 2005, *Garden History: Philosophy and Design, 2000 BC – 2000 AD*, London, Spon, p. 376; Smith, Henry L. Norton, 1902, *A Collection of Armorial of the County of Orkney*, Gallashiels, The Author, p. 98; [No author] 1827, "Analysis of Scientific Books and Memoirs," *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, vol. 7, p. 174; Meason, Gilbert Laing, 1828, "Forest and Ornamental Trees," *The Gardeners' Magazine*, vol. 3, p. 313; Lockhart, John Gibson, 1837, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. 7, Edinburgh, Robert Cadill, p. 347; Turner, T.H.D., 1982, "Scottish Origins of 'Landscape Architecture,'" *Landscape Architecture*, vol. 72, no. 1, p. 52-55.
88. Disponzio, Joseph, 2014, "Landscape Architecture: A Brief Account of Origins," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, vol. 34, no. 3, p. 196-197; Laird, Mark, 2014, "John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) and the Field's Identity," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, vol. 34, no. 3, p. 248-253.
89. Meason, *On the Landscape Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Hussey, *The Picturesque Movement*, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
90. Johnson, Edward Gilpin (ed.), 1891, *Sir Joshua Reynolds's Discourses*, Chicago, A.C. McClurg, p. 324; Hussey, *The Picturesque Movement*, *op. cit.*, p. 189-192.
91. Humphry Repton also considered good taste to be founded in a liberal education, travel, and observation. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. 80, 93, 777, 963, 1123; Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
92. Loudon, *id.*, p. xxiv, 853.
93. As Mace observed, it was the "fashion of the time, to show a picturesque view that did not include a head-on illustration of the façade." Mace, "Monuments to the Motherland," *op. cit.*, p. 32.
94. As Meeks remarked about American architects using British sources, whole plans were seldom copied; inspiration not transcription was the norm. Meeks, "Henry Austin and the Italian Villa," *op. cit.*, p. 146.
95. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. 1119.
96. Figure 1690 (c), in Loudon, *id.*, p. 961.
97. Carter, George, 1984, "Humphrey Repton at Hare Street, Essex," *Garden History*, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 121; Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful...*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
98. Meason, *On the Landscape Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Price, *id.*, p. 359-360.
99. Price, *id.*, p. 229.
100. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
101. As Hussey noted, once architects became accustomed to imagining the look of their buildings from a distance, ornamental mouldings and other details became unimportant—an aesthetic judgement forgotten in Italianate buildings in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Hussey, *The Picturesque Movement*, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
102. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
103. *Id.*, p. 47, 88.
104. *Id.*, p. 268-269.
105. Figure 6, which illustrates Bardwell's imaginary site for the villa, provides an aerial view of several hipped roofs covering what appear to be two L-shaped structures nested together like pieces in a game of Tetris. The illusion was of two separate structures built at different times but connected.
106. Loudon was quite clear about separating the domestic areas from the living spaces, even to the point of recommending double doors from the kitchen "to prevent smells from penetrating." Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage*, *op. cit.*, p. 854.
107. *Id.*, p. 793.
108. Loudon (*id.*, p. 800) preferred the gentleman's study to be near to the back of the residence to limit even more the possibility of business visitors intruding upon family life.
109. *Id.*, p. 854.
110. *Id.*, p. 800.
111. Berman, Leslie Susan, 1997, *The Evolution of the Nineteenth-century American Dining Room: From Sitting Room to Separate Room*, M.A. thesis in historic preservation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, p. 10-13, 58-59.