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EDWARD JOHN BARKER PENSE AND THE ADDITIONS MADE TO ST. JAMES' ANGLICAN CHURCH, KINGSTON, AND ST. MARK'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, BARRIEFIELD, 1886-1897

PAUL CHRISTIANSON is an emeritus professor of history at Queen's University who has shifted his research interests from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Britain to nineteenth-century Canadian architecture. He has published several articles on Gothic Revival churches built in the Kingston area from 1843 to 1851.

>PAUL CHRISTIANSON

During the late nineteenth century, as the population and wealth of Ontario grew, established institutions like churches pursued a variety of strategies to accommodate the pressures of an increased membership, changing patterns of worship, and the increasing popularity of Sunday schools. Meeting these new demands sometimes involved the demolition of an existing church and its replacement by a new, larger structure. But many churches found it more economical to make additions to the existing buildings. Architects and builders became quite expert at carefully taking down load-bearing walls, replacing them by iron pillars or steel supports, and adding new structures—walls, transepts, galleries, extended chancels, organ chambers—to the old fabric.

This paper will examine the extensive additions made to two Anglican churches in the Kingston area, St. James', Kingston, and St. Mark's, Barriefield. The vestry of the former considered several options, including adding transepts and building a new church, before adopting a plan to replace the side walls with aisles and lengthen the chancel in 1888. The latter received a new extended chancel as a memorial gift in 1897. In both cases, the additions to the chancel enabled a new style of choral worship. The choir and organ moved from a gallery at the back of the nave to the chancel at the front, where they had sat in the Middle Ages and where they could now lead the congregation in its responses during the liturgy and in the singing of hymns. In both parishes, a prominent Anglican layman, Edward John Barker Pense, played



FIG. 1. ST. JAMES' INTERIOR AS PHOTOGRAPHED C. 1884. | LYON, *LIVING STONES*, P. 61.



FIG. 2. ST. JAMES' EXTERIOR AS PHOTOGRAPHED C. 1850. | BY PERMISSION OF THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF ONTARIO ARCHIVES.

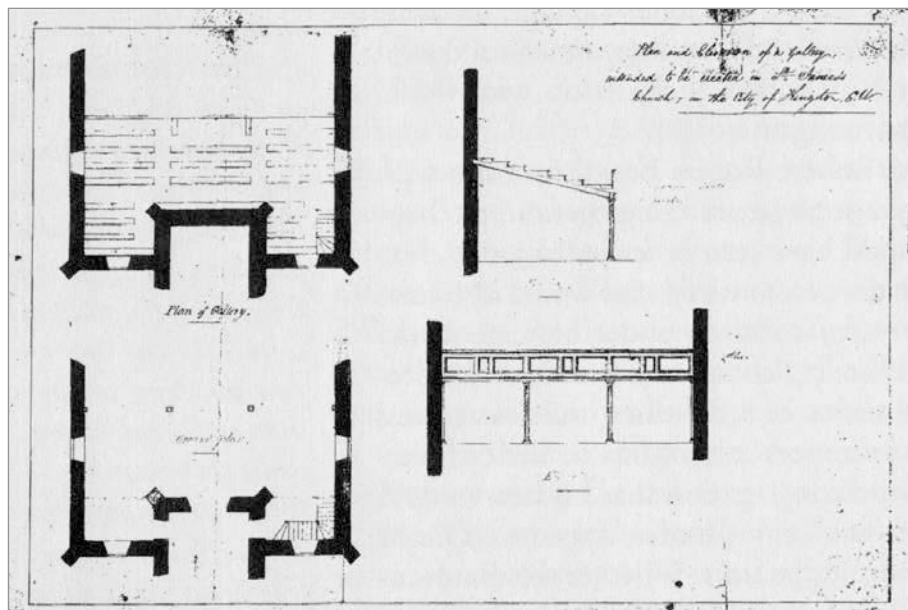


FIG. 3. DRAWING BY WILLIAM COVERDALE FOR THE GALLERY ADDED IN 1855. | LYON, *LIVING STONES*, P. 60.

a leading role in initiating and planning the changes.

The son of Michael Lorenzo Pense, editor of the *Kingston Argus*, and grandson of Dr. Edward John Barker, founder and editor of the *British Whig*, Edward suffered the death of his father in his sixth year. He must have grown up in Barriefield, a village just across the Cataraqui River to the east of Kingston, where his grandfather had lived, for Edward was confirmed on September 25, 1862, at the age of fourteen, along with other young people from St. Mark's, Barriefield.¹ In the same year, Edward went to work for his grandfather at the *British Whig*, and in the next nine years learned through hands-on experience how to run a newspaper. On the last day of 1871, he succeeded his grandfather as proprietor of the *British Whig*, switching it from a conservative to a liberal orientation and "increasing the value and circulation of that paper nearly seven-fold in twelve years."²

By the late 1870s, Pense had become a very prominent member of the Kingston community. He "sat for six years at the Public School Board and was chairman during the years 1878 and 1879. He was president of the Young Men's Liberal Club of Kingston from 1877 to 1884; of the St. George's Society in 1878 and 1882; of the Kingston Lacrosse Club" and "master of the Minden Masonic lodge in 1878 and 1879"; he was elected as an alderman from 1875 to 1880 and as mayor of Kingston in 1881.³ He also served as "a trustee of Kingston Collegiate Institute; a life governor of the Kingston General Hospital; [and] was president of the Canadian Press Association in 1881-1882."⁴ An energetic and intelligent man whom others saw as a leader, Pense clearly participated in many pursuits.

During the same decades, he held positions of responsibility at St. James' Anglican Church, where his future father-in-law, Ray S. Vaughn, served as a warden in 1865-1867.⁵ The first record of

Edward Pense at St. James' appeared in the minutes of a meeting of vestry held on May 16, 1870, signed "E.J. Barker Pense V[estry]. C[lerk]."⁶ He would continue to serve as vestry clerk until 1876.⁷ In 1873, he was elected one of the lay delegates to Synod, a position he held for twenty years.⁸ In 1877, the year after his marriage in St. James' to Cornelia Marcia Vaughn, he was elected as people's warden.⁹ He would serve as one of the wardens of St. James' from 1877-1882 and 1886-1895.¹⁰ Twenty-two when elected vestry clerk and still under thirty years old when first elected warden, Pense moved into leadership positions in that parish at a young age.

The years of Pense's rise to prominence at St. James' came during the incumbency of Reverend Francis W. Kirkpatrick, scion of a prominent Kingston family, who had received his B.A., M.A., and divinity training at Trinity College, Dublin. After returning to Canada West in 1864, Kirkpatrick took up the Anglican



FIG. 4. THE EXTERIOR OF ST. JAMES' FROM THE SOUTH, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF SUMMERHILL TAKEN IN 1865. | WITH PERMISSION OF THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, V28 B-SUMM-3.



FIG. 5. ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, FROM THE SOUTH; NOTE THE CHANCEL ADDED IN 1855 AND THE ORGAN CHAMBER PROBABLY ADDED IN 1878. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

mission on Wolfe Island until he succeeded Reverend Robert Vashon Rogers at St. James' in 1869, and served until his death in 1885.¹¹ One of Reverend Kirkpatrick's last contributions was a major renovation of St. James' in 1882-1883, that included replacing the old box pews with slip pews, installing a furnace, new gas lights, and repainting the interior (fig. 1).¹² After the death of Reverend Kirkpatrick, Pense printed a memorial and distributed copies to members of the congregation. On April 20, 1885, the vestry authorized the churchwardens to spend up to three thousand and five hundred dollars for a memorial to Reverend Kirkpatrick and a year later passed a motion to appoint "a special Committee . . . to consider the propriety and form of a Memorial to the late Rev. F.W. Kirkpatrick."¹³

During the meetings of this committee, the search for a proper memorial for Reverend Kirkpatrick became entwined with the goal of expanding the capacity of St. James' Church. On May 10,

1886, Pense reported from "The special Committee upon building and memorial" that "having considered various plans and proposals for the enlargement of the Church, they are unable to recommend one that will warrant the expenditure of \$4500.00 or \$5000.00 considered necessary in order to secure 150 additional sittings."¹⁴ Arguing that the "age and architecture of the building and the positions of the vestry room and the parochial schoolhouse are obstacles in the way of enlargement," it was recommended that "the vestry and congregation consider the advisability of hastening by a short period the replacing of the edifice by an entirely new structure."¹⁵ After discussion, the vestry adopted this report and appointed a large committee of ten men and seven women to put it into effect. Upon careful examination, the committee must have found the cost of tearing down the old structure and building a new one prohibitive, but it had not decided upon a new plan to recommend by the annual vestry meeting of April 11, 1887.¹⁶

On September 26, 1887, a special meeting of vestry assembled "to consider plans to be submitted by the churchwardens for the erection of a Memorial to the late pastors of the Congregation, the Rev. R.V. Rogers and Rev. F.W. Kirkpatrick and for the increasing of the seating accommodations of the Church."¹⁷ "Mr. Pense addressed the meeting setting forth in a forcible manner the schemes and changes proposed, and also giving a full statement of the financial standing of the congregation and church" and he invited "Mr. [Joseph] Power, Architect," who discussed "three plans with proposed changes, and fully explained the extent of the seating capacity to be obtained thereby, with the estimated costs of the same."¹⁸ After "some discussion," a motion was put forward and carried "that scheme No. 1. for extending the church accommodation by the erection of a double transept and extension of the chancel at a cost not exceeding \$4000 to be carried out under the superintendence, of the Rector, the Churchwardens, and Memorial Committee."¹⁹

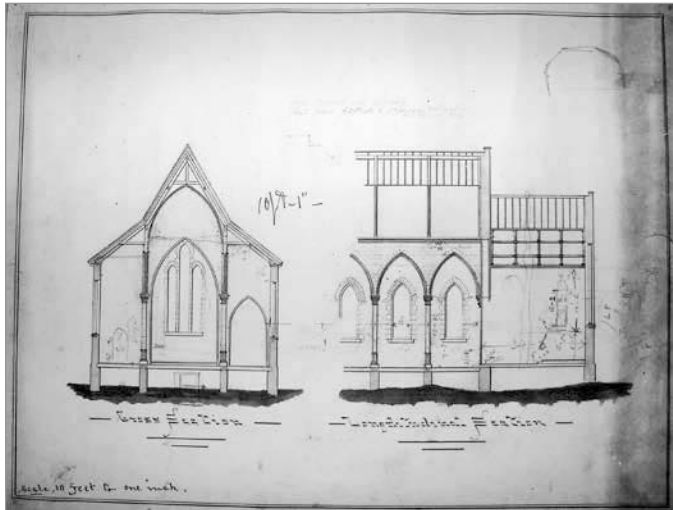


FIG. 6. ST. PAUL'S, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS FOR THE CHANGES OF 1878; NOTE THE OPENING FOR THE ORGAN CHAMBER. | BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA, POWER COLLECTION, NMC 138925.

The drawings for the three plans for expanding the seating and chancel of St. James' that Power presented do not appear to have survived, but the motion passed by the vestry called for new transepts on each side of the nave and extending the chancel. According to the story in the *Kingston News*, on the laying of the cornerstone in 1844, "St. James' Church, when erected, will be a neat Gothic structure, 80 feet in length by 45 in width, and capable of seating 400 persons"²⁰ (fig. 2). As far as one can determine, the external size of the original nave measured forty-two by eighty feet, plus the external extension of the tower and the original chancel. The tower extended into the centre of the nave by about eight feet and the two wood stoves that heated the nave until 1883 took away space for seating. When a gallery was added there in 1855, it provided space above for an organ and several rows of seats that more than held the choir, but had stairs that took up most of the space between the tower and the other external wall²¹ (fig. 3). This meant that the space on the floor of the nave for pews was roughly thirty-eight by sixty-eight feet (2584 square feet). Subtracting

three feet for each of the existing aisles left 2176 square feet in the nave for pews.

In order to provide more seating and to fit on the existing lot, two transepts twenty feet deep by thirty feet wide would have added 1200 square feet of usable space to a nave; subtracting space for aisles, transepts of this size would have added 1080 square feet of seating space. The original chancel was twenty-one feet wide by about twelve feet deep internally (252 square feet), with none of that space available for seating members of the congregation, and stood above the floor of the nave by two steps (figs. 1 and 4). Extending the chancel by fifteen feet would have added 315 square feet; of this, however, only about 168 square feet would have held choir stalls. Added up, the transepts and extension of the chancel would have provided about 1248 square feet of additional seating. Since the existing nave and chancel already contained 2176 square feet of usable space, plus the gallery, the proposed additions would have increased seating by fifty-seven per cent.

This was the first mention of extending the chancel in the Vestry Minutes of



FIG. 7. ST. PAUL'S INTERIOR AS PHOTOGRAPHED C. 1890. | BY PERMISSION OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, POWELL COLLECTION ALBUM.

St. James'. In 1844-1845, the church was built with an externally differentiated chancel about twelve feet deep that still remained in 1887 (figs. 1 and 4) Since the early 1840s, Ecclesiologists had advocated the building of larger chancels in Anglican churches, John Mason Neale contending, in 1841, that "the Chancel should not be less than a third, nor more than the half, of the whole length of the church."²² The perceived need for a deep chancel gained greater urgency in Canada West in 1850, when it became the official policy of the Church Society of the Diocese of Ontario, an organization that made small grants for a host of projects, including the building of new churches and parsonages. The Church Building Committee of the Church Society printed recommendations on "Churches and their precincts" in the official publication of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, *The Church*, in April 11 and 18, 1850, and the Church Society adopted these on September 4, 1850.²³ The relevant sections stated that "Every Church should have a chancel separated from the nave by an arch; and except where the Church is very small it should be narrower and lower than the rest of the church." And that "The chancel should never be

less than twelve feet in internal width nor less than nine feet in length.”²⁴ The original chancel at St. James’ stood well within these specifications.

However, the paragraph on “Choirs” recommended that the clergy sit in the chancel: “In all ancient Churches and in many modern ones provision is made for the accommodation of the Clergy in the Chancel . . . Seats facing each other are accordingly provided for them on each side of the Chancel, at the part nearest to the congregation.” It also suggested that choirs either join them there: “In many churches seats are provided in front of those for the singers.” Or, where this was “not thought desirable, it will be found more conducive to congregational worship to place the singers in seats fronting each other next to the chancel, rather than in a separate gallery at the west end of the Church.”²⁵ This section envisaged clergy and choirs leading congregations in choral services from an elevated position in the chancel or at the east end of the nave. Choirs sitting in the chancel of parish churches had started in England in the 1830s, and had spread somewhat in the 1840s, but in Canada West, in Anglican churches, organs and choirs normally occupied a gallery in the west end.²⁶ The regulations argued that having the choir in the east end better fit historical practice: “Some such arrangement is in accordance with the universal practice in ancient Churches, down to a comparatively recent period.”²⁷

In its recommendations of 1850, the Church Society adopted *de facto* rules that sought to enforce a polemical view of worship and architecture that derived from the works of the Oxford Movement and Cambridge Ecclesiologists in England. Members of these groups sought in various ways to rebuild a sense of continuity between the Anglican Church of the late

sixteenth through nineteenth centuries and the Latin Church of the Middle Ages.²⁸ The early publications of the Ecclesiologists centred on the building of Gothic Revival churches and furnishing them in ways closer to those of the Middle Ages than to Anglican practices of the intervening centuries. They also began to shape worship to fit this vision, including the revival of a sung liturgy and choral services, the translation of Latin hymns into English, the revival of Gregorian chants (to replace the eighteenth-century chants that were commonly used in worship), and the revival of English church music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁹ These ideas and practices came to Canada from books and pamphlets published in Britain, British clergy who moved to British North America, and Canadian clergy who had studied at Oxford, Cambridge, or Trinity College Dublin. Leading Anglican clergy in Toronto and at Trinity College, Toronto, helped to bring new practices of worship to their parishes, synodical meetings, and the pages of the *Church*. For example, Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune, as editor of the *Church*, head of the Anglican seminary in Cobourg, Archdeacon of York, and Bishop of Toronto, fostered these practices from the 1840s onward.³⁰

New practices of worship and ceremony met with strong resistance in many parts of British North America, including the Kingston area, where in 1867 the vestries of St. George’s, St. Mark’s, St. James’, and St. Paul’s all resisted what they saw as “ritualism.” The vestry at St. James’ voted its “irreconcilable opposition” to what it perceived as “incipient Romanism,” while that at St. Mark’s voted that it “deeply deplores the attempts being made at introducing into our Church Services” a “gorgeous and unmeaning ceremonial,” which it saw as a “great and growing evil.”³¹ As late as the major renovation of

St. James’ in 1882-1883, the incumbent and parishioners made little attempt to introduce the ideas of the Ecclesiologists. For example, instead of having a central aisle between two rows of new pews, they were installed in three rows divided by two aisles. What appears to have been a communion table (rather than an altar) rested on the floor at the ecclesiastical east end of the chancel (not upon a raised platform), and had no reredos behind it. The raised pulpit stood on the floor of the nave on the ecclesiastical north side, just outside the chancel arch, while a lectern or reading desk stood on the other side in the same position³² (fig. 1). St. Mark’s did have a central aisle between its new slip pews installed in 1885 (and may well have from the beginning), but apparently received its first altar and reredos in 1895 as a gift from Edward Pense.³³

All Saints Anglican Church, Kingston, a small wooden church built on the southwest corner of Division and York Streets in the 1860s, followed Ecclesiological patterns of worship from the beginning and for this received considerable criticism in the vestry meetings of St. James’ and St. Paul’s in 1867.³⁴ By 1886, it was described by Canon Albert Spencer, Secretary of the Synod of Ontario, as having the following furnishings: “The altar is well furnished with Cross, Candlesticks, vases & the choir in surplices, and the Service as nearly like that of St. John’s, Montreal as can be attained in the present instance.”³⁵ St. Paul’s had a large chancel after the restoration carried out by William Hay in 1855 (fig. 5). In 1878, Joseph Power enclosed the wooden pillars, rafters, and support beams installed by Hay behind a peaked plaster vault, plaster Gothic arches, and plaster covers with capitals for the pillars. At the same time additional changes were made, including a new quatrefoil window placed high on the north wall of the chancel, a new door



FIG. 8. ST. PAUL'S REREDOS DONATED BY REVEREND CAREY IN 1887. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2009.



FIG. 9. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, KINGSTON, INTERIOR C. 1891. | BY PERMISSION OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, POWELL COLLECTION ALBUM.

opened through the northeast wall of the nave, and a new organ chamber added to the south side of the chancel³⁶ (fig. 6). In addition to repainting the interior, the changes made at that time also included a new pulpit, reading desk, lectern, a new bishop's chair, and altar rails, all introduced by the controversial incumbent, the Reverend W.B. Carey³⁷ (fig. 7). The choir may have moved to the chancel at that time, but it may have come slightly later when a new organ was installed, and Reverend Carey completed the transition by placing a carved oak altar and elaborate reredos at the east end of the chancel as a memorial to his mother in 1887 (fig. 8). As a result, St. Paul's became the first of the established stone Anglican churches in the Kingston area to adopt the placement of the choir recommended by the Church Society in 1850.

By the late 1880s, the dispute over "ritualism" seemed less pressing to the younger generation coming into leadership positions in the Kingston Anglican

churches. St. James' was about to adopt a variation on the style of worship practiced at St. Paul's and the other old Anglican churches in Kingston would follow and make the appropriate architectural changes before the end of the century. St. George's added a new dome and an extensive chancel designed by Joseph Power in 1890-1891³⁸ (fig. 9). St. John's completely refitted the interior in 1892, replacing the original box pews with new slip pews, replacing the original long communion table with a new altar and Gothic reredos at the east end of the chancel, and adding a new brass altar rail and lectern, and stalls for the choir at the east end of the nave, probably in the space between the transepts, as mentioned in the recommendations of 1850 (fig. 10). This renewal would be completed before 1905 at St. John's when a member built and donated a new organ for the north transept.³⁹ St. Mark's would finally join the other Anglican churches of greater Kingston with the building of a new, extended chancel in 1897.

The vestry of St. James' took a major step in the planning stage on April 2, 1888, when Edward Pense reported from the "Building and Memorial Committee" that the "plans for transept and chancel additions" ran into "structural difficulties, and also [that] the cost would far exceed the sum voted, \$4000."⁴⁰ After abandoning this scheme, the committee had the architect prepare "another plan . . . for the widening of the church its full length, and providing for 600 sittings, leaving the church as it now exists, intact as a nave, the additions forming side aisles."⁴¹ The difficulty was to find the needed funding of around ten thousand dollars.

On July 30, 1888, "a meeting of the Congregation" was held; in addition to the men who normally made up the vestry, it included "a number of Ladies," whose earlier membership on the building committee in 1886 was now extended into the traditional male confines of a general meeting. Over the years, the women of St. James' had raised considerable funds

for building and other projects, so their increased presence reflected their important contributions. More favourable tenders had been received for accomplishing the work. "Mr. Pense fully explained the whole matter to those present" and moved: "That contracts be at once let for the enlargement upon the plan as presented as approved by the building committee, and based upon the tenders received Thursday, July 19th."⁴² The motion carried and the "contracts and work" were placed "under control" of a committee consisting of "the Incumbent [Rev. McMorine], the Wardens [Pense and Rogers], Messrs. Shore Loynes and James Wilson," who were given powers "necessary for the speedy completion of the church."⁴³ Loynes had served as a warden from 1882-1885 and Wilson had overseen the extensive renovation of the church in 1882-1883, so this decision marked a serious commitment to expansion. After three years of discussion, the work could finally begin and arrangements were made for the congregation to worship in the nearby Frontenac County Court House.

Both John Power and his son Joseph had considerable experience in enlarging existing stone structures in Kingston. John had added new transepts and a chancel to St. John's Anglican Church in 1863; Joseph had enlarged the nave and added a tower to the west end of Christ Anglican Church, Cataraqui, in 1877, built a large addition to the ecclesiastical east end of the First Congregational Church in 1883, extended the nave and added a large transept to Queen Street Methodist Church in 1882-1884, and substantially widened the nave and redesigned the interior of Sydenham Street Methodist Church in 1887.⁴⁴ Although the demolition work was finished, construction moved slowly because of inactivity by the sub-contractors. On October 22, 1888, the



FIG. 10. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, INTERIOR PHOTOGRAPH FROM 1949. | BY PERMISSION OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, GEORGE LILLEY COLLECTION, V25 5-8-181.

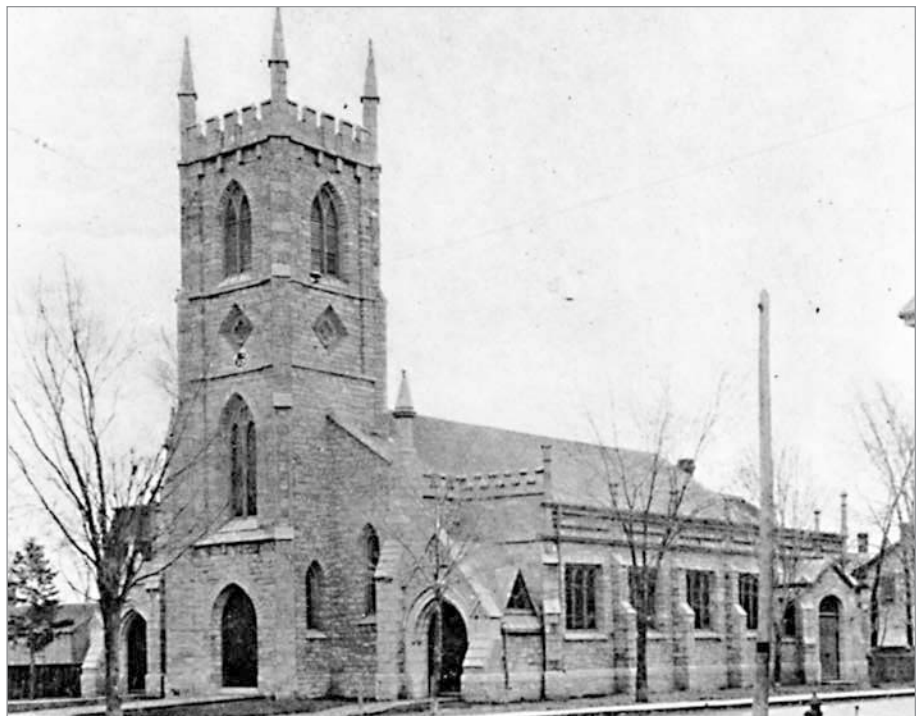


FIG. 11. ST. JAMES' FROM THE NORTHWEST IN A PHOTOGRAPH FROM C. 1894. | COLLECTION OF JENNIFER MCKENDRY.

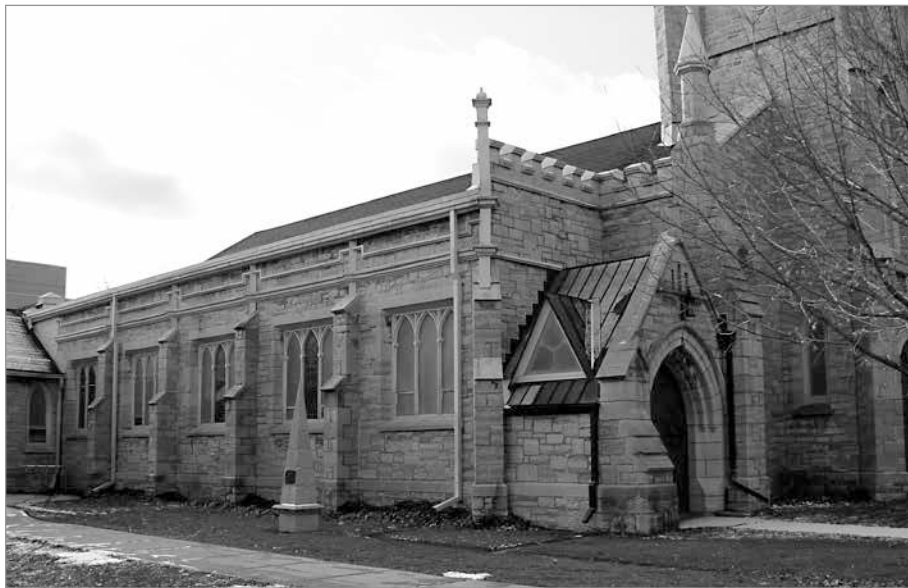


FIG. 12. ST. JAMES' EAST AISLE AND ENTRANCE PORCH FROM 1888-1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

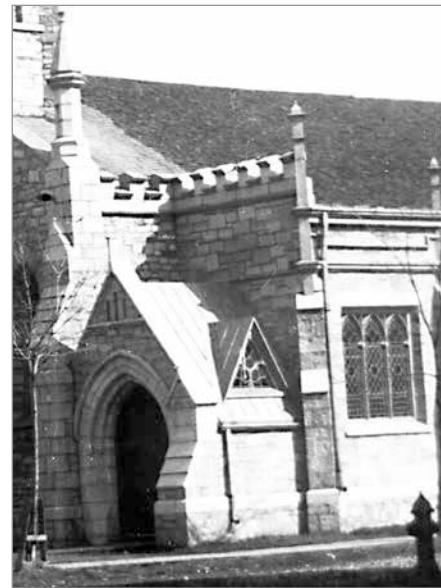


FIG. 13. ST. JAMES' DETAIL OF THE AISLE FROM THE NORTHWEST FROM THE 1890s. | BY PERMISSION OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS, V23 ST. JAMES', 2-1.

"Building and Subscription Committee" met to discuss remedies and voted that "the authorities of St. James'" hold the architect "responsible for the noncompletion of the Mason and Carpenter work according to the specifications."⁴⁵ This must have met with success, for the enlarged building finally opened on March 27, 1889.

At St. James', the new aisles considerably increased the interior space of the nave by adding twelve feet by sixty-eight feet on each side. New entrance porches on the ecclesiastical west end of each aisle and on the chancel end of the ecclesiastical south aisle facilitated more ready access to worshippers and added some gathering spaces. The chancel grew by at least fifteen feet, adding over three hundred and ten square feet of space. A central aisle and two side aisles replaced the earlier two aisles in the nave. After subtracting the area taken up by one of the new side aisles, plus a wider aisle and the altar area in the chancel, these

additions produced at least 1370 square feet of seating space, sixty-three per cent of the previously existing internal seating space on the floor of the nave. This building project successfully created a larger space for worship and provided a more practical solution for the congregation than the transepts designed by the architect in 1887.

In order to incorporate the new aisles into a pleasing exterior design, Power made a series of architectural changes in the design of the building. He decreased the height of the exterior walls by two feet, which produced a slight slope from where the old roof joined those of the aisles. Instead of the five large Early English lancets on each of the side walls of the original nave, the new walls featured rectangular openings separated by substantial buttresses, five large rectangular windows on one side of the nave and four large rectangular openings, plus a smaller window and a door, on the other (fig. 11). Splayed at the sides and sill, the

rectangular openings have single large blocks of ashlar at the top and bottom. Glazing bars divide each of the windows into three lancet shapes (fig. 12). Power probably used coloured glass windows of this shape from the start to provide inexpensive references to the lancet openings of the original building and to let considerable light into the worship space (fig. 13). Since the original lancets still existed in the tower and on the ecclesiastical west wall, this design showed sensitivity to the original fabric. The front and rear corners of the aisles received additional support from substantial buttresses at forty-five degree angles to the walls much like the buttresses from the original building that remained on the four corners of the tower and the western corners of the nave.

The stonework on the new side walls, the organ chamber, and the extension of the chancel has a higher proportion of large stones and a more medieval style of coursing than the original, with some of the



FIG. 14. ST. JAMES' DETAIL OF THE NEW AND ORIGINAL PLINTH COURSES AND STONEWORK. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

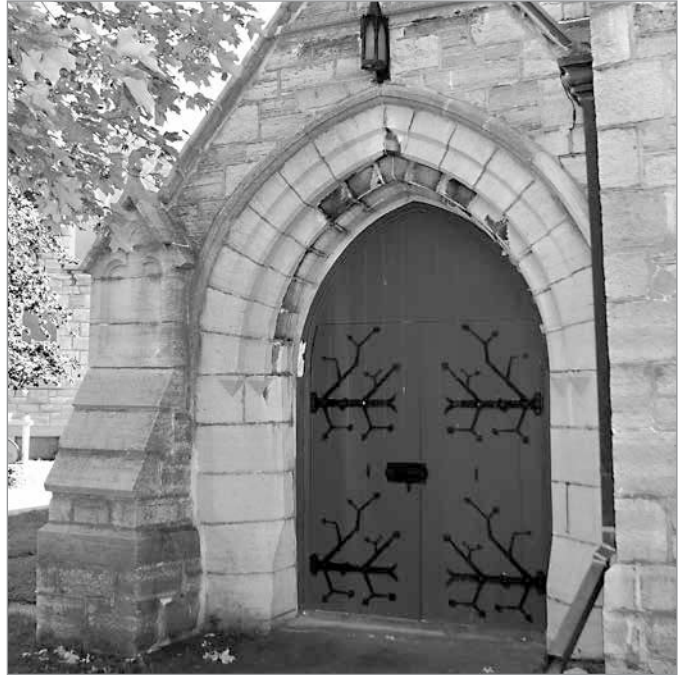


FIG. 16. ST. JAMES' ENTRANCE AT THE NORTH END OF THE EAST AISLE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

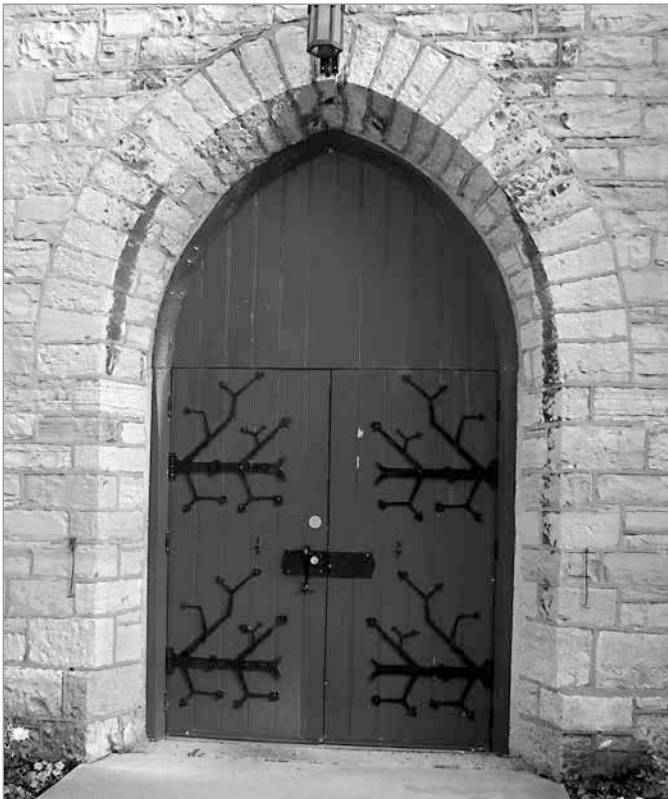


FIG. 15. ST. JAMES' ORIGINAL ENTRANCE FROM 1844-1845. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2010.

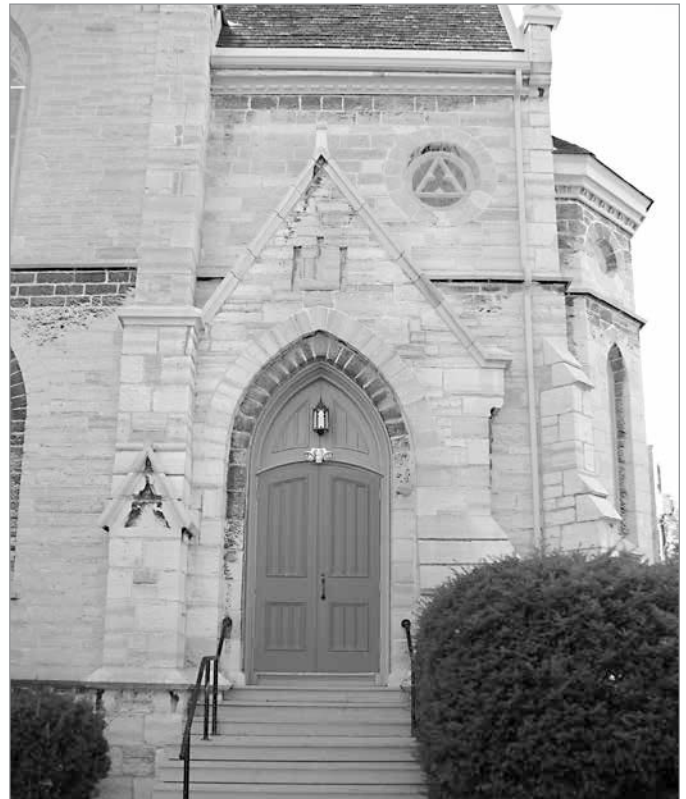


FIG. 17. SYDENHAM STREET METHODIST (NOW UNITED) CHURCH, DETAIL OF THE ADDITION FROM 1887. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

rectangular stones laid vertically instead of horizontally. Most of the stones appear to have been new. Since St. James' had experienced structural problems with the tower and walls over the years, the masons could recycle only carefully selected old stones.⁴⁶ The new walls feature a more prominent plinth course than the original. This course projects two inches from the wall by two feet four inches to two feet eight inches and extends along the walls and around the buttresses (all like the original). However, the new plinth course was finished by a band of very long, more smoothly finished, nine-inch high stones splayed at the top, that set off this course from the adjoining fabric and provide a strong horizontal emphasis (fig. 14).

At the ecclesiastical west end of the new aisles Power placed entrance porches that allowed large numbers of people ready access into and out of the enlarged building. During the Middle Ages, the placement of three entrances on the west façade emerged as a common pattern for cathedrals and large churches in Latin Europe where it continued into the nineteenth century. The new porches at St. James' have doors similar in shape to that in the original entrance, but with more elaborate frames. Large blocks of hammer-dressed stone splayed along the inner edge create a plain, but powerful composition surrounding the original entrance (fig. 15). The sides and top of the openings of the aisle entrances on the ecclesiastical west façade consist of even larger blocks of ashlar, splayed along much of the side and top, but finished along the interior portion the upper part by two plain mouldings and topped by a peaked drip rail. The peak above the doorframe consists of hammer-dressed stone, with a string of ashlar outlining the peak and an ashlar pinnacle crowning it. On the outer sides of the aisle doorframe stands a short, but sturdy buttress—made



FIG. 18. ST. JAMES' ENTRANCE PORCH NEAR THE SOUTH END OF THE EAST AISLE BUILT IN 1888-1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

mostly of ashlar—topped by a gablet with a pinnacle on its apex (fig. 16). This derived from the similar, but less elaborate ensemble that Power had designed for the extension of Sydenham Street Methodist just a year earlier (fig. 17). The outer side roof above each of the front porches contains a dormer with a stained glass window. The rear of the aisle on the ecclesiastical south side has an additional entrance porch with buttresses at a forty-five degree angle at the front corners and a broad door opening with a rounded top (fig. 18). The sides of the porch contain rectangular windows with mouldings to make them look like lancets (fig. 19). The coloured glass that they contain today looks like that appearing in the black and white photographs of the church from the 1890s. The short wall of the aisle beyond has a similar window.

The new aisle walls and porches have much more decoration than those of the original fabric. The aisle walls include a prominent moulding and strap-work that run between the top of the windows and the lower edge of the roof. Together with the new plinth course, they provide a strong horizontal emphasis to the side walls (fig. 20). Balancing this, the



FIG. 19. ST. JAMES' DETAIL OF WINDOW FROM THE SIDE ENTRANCE PORCH. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2014.

buttresses of the aisles, with pinnacles above, the reworked buttresses at the leading edge of the original nave, with more substantial pinnacles above, and the buttresses at the back corners of the new aisles, also with pinnacles above, add further decoration and create a vertical thrust (fig. 21). Although the pinnacles above the buttresses at the ends of the aisles remain, those above the side buttresses are no longer in place. They were made from tinplate rather than stone, as were the peaks of the pinnacles at the leading edge of the nave, another cost-saving measure. In addition, Power added battlements at the top of the remaining sides of the old nave and above the entrance porches (fig. 22). The windows, mouldings, strap-work, pinnacles, and battlements of the aisles create a lively visual effect although they clash with the plain but powerful feeling of the remaining portion of the original Early English style building.

While they also share the style of stonework and the plinth course of the aisle additions, the large areas of stone contained in the extended chancel and the attached organ chamber more closely resemble the plain, "rugged simplicity"



FIG. 20. ST. JAMES' AISLE FROM THE NORTHWEST WITH FRONT AND SIDE ENTRANCES ADDED IN 1888-1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

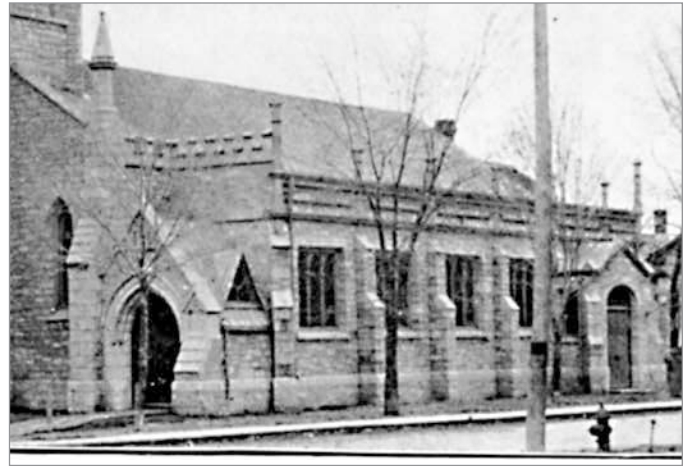


FIG. 21. ST. JAMES' DETAIL OF A PHOTOGRAPH BY T. MCAULEY, C. 1894. | COLLECTION OF JENNIFER MCKENDRY.



FIG. 22. ST. JAMES' DETAIL OF PINNACLES AND BATTLEMENTS ON ADDITIONS OF 1888-1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.



FIG. 23. ST. JAMES' ORGAN CHAMBER AND CHANCEL FROM 1888-1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

of the original St. James'.⁴⁷ These sections have a much higher proportion of wall to glass than the aisle additions. While shorter because of the lowness of the outer wall, the shape and stonework of the paired lancets on the organ chamber even more strongly mirror the lancets on the sides of the tower than the rectangular window openings along the new aisles (fig. 23). The end corner of the organ chamber has a sturdy buttress at a forty-five degree angle to the walls. The last section of the chancel side walls slant inward and combine with the flat end

wall to create a truncated pyramid, which has some of the feel of a rounded apse. A Perpendicular style window, divided into three large sections and ten smaller sections on the exterior by glazing bars, graces the end of the chancel extension (fig. 24). In this case, the Perpendicular window in the chancel reflects the shape of the original chancel arch and forms an appropriate finish to the ecclesiastical east end of the church.

The interior of the enlarged St. James' contains four cast iron pillars per side

topped by six Gothic arches that mark off the aisles and support the roof of the nave. Around 1910, Ella Fraser painted a water colour of the interior of St. James' that provides a number of details not available in other visual sources.⁴⁸ On the Gothic arches between the pillars, it shows smaller plaster columns with capitals from which emerge rounded mouldings that follow the curves of the arches and emphasize their shape. It also depicts fairly plain timber beams resting on corbels on the inside of the external wall as supports for the roofs of the new



FIG. 24. ST. JAMES' OUTSIDE END OF CHANCEL WITH PERPENDICULAR WINDOW. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.



FIG. 25. ST. JAMES' INTERIOR TOWARD THE CHANCEL FROM A WATERCOLOUR BY ELLA FRASER C. 1910, IN THE KINGSTON FRONTENAC PUBLIC LIBRARY, CENTRAL BRANCH. | COURTESY OF JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2013.

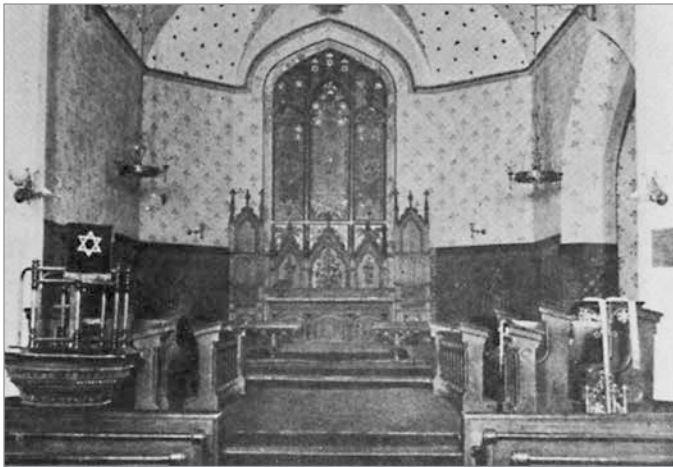


FIG. 26. ST. JAMES' CHANCEL AS PHOTOGRAPHED C. 1900. | LYON, *LIVING STONES*, P. 73.

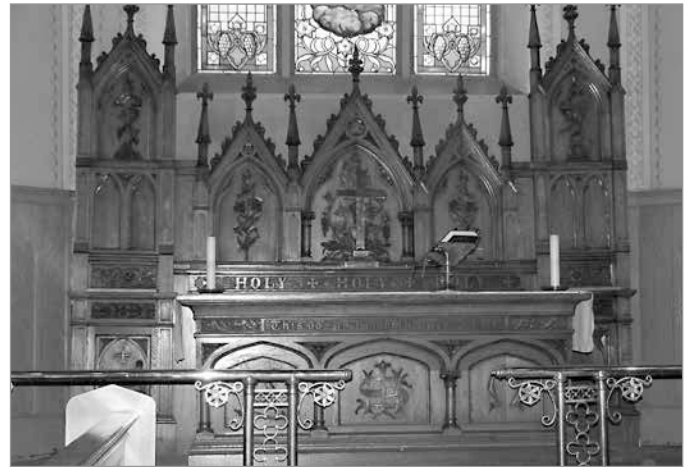


FIG. 27. ST. JAMES' ALTAR AND REREDOS DONATED BY EDWARD PENSE IN 1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

aisles. In addition, it portrays the colours not only of painted plaster ceilings in the aisles and extended chancel, but also of the patterned, painted ceiling of the nave from 1882-1883⁴⁹ (fig. 25).

New Gothic Revival choir stalls graced the expanded chancel and enabled the move of the choir from the gallery at the back of the nave to the front of the worship space (fig. 26). St. James' had always enjoyed a strong musical tradition, but the migration of the choir and organ to the chancel marked a major innovation in

worship. The earlier acrimonious debates over "Romanism" and "ritualism" did not emerge publicly during this change. Indeed, the correspondent for the *British Whig* who covered the reopening of the church in 1889 saw the new location of the choir in practical, rather than ideological terms: "The acoustic qualities of all parts of the building were excellent, the singing being heard with greater effect than it had been from the gallery."⁵⁰

A magnificent carved wooden altar and reredos, with multiple Gothic arches,

and thirteen pinnacles topped by fleurons, stands upon a raised platform at the end of the chancel (fig. 27). Carved into the face of the altar is the command of Christ at the passing of bread and wine during the Last Supper: "This do in remembrance of me." Just above, carved into the face of the reredos are the words: "Holy, Holy, Holy." A lovely Perpendicular style stained glass window depicting Jesus in glory ascending to heaven on a cloud, dedicated to Reverends Rogers and Kirkpatrick, glows above the reredos (fig. 28). The altar and reredos came as a

memorial to his father and mother from the chairman of the building committee, Edward Pense. By this gift and by his major role in building this addition, Pense revealed a devotion to the beauty of holiness so prized by many of the Gothic Revival architects.

The enlargement of St. James' took place after a long, drawn-out process that started with the desire for some sort of memorial to the late Reverend Kirkpatrick in 1885 and that transformed into several proposals to expand the size of the nave and chancel. In 1886, the committee, after considering proposals for additions, recommended the demolition of the existing building and the erection of a new church. In 1887, after a presentation of three plans by the architect, the vestry voted for the addition of transepts and an enlarged chancel to the existing church. This ran into structural problems and finally a plan was devised and adopted in 1888 to lengthen the chancel and add aisles to the nave. From the early stages to the reopening of the church, Edward Pense took a leading role in this whole process. At the annual vestry meeting of St. James' held on April 23, 1889, thanks were voted for many people involved in the enlargement of the church, but the most elaborate came in the form of the following motion:

That for the recently completed improvements of St. James' Church, the special and very hearty thanks of the Congregation are due to Mr. E.J.B. Pense, who perseveringly advocated the undertaking, who carefully and lovingly watched over the progress of the work in all its stages, who gave time, and thought and labor to every detail of the plan, and to whom more than to any other is due under God, the successful completion of the enlargement.⁵¹

Eight years later, in the summer of 1897, Edward John Barker Pense approached the incumbent and churchwardens of St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, with an offer to pay for an extended new chancel and organ chamber for their church, dedicated to the memory of his recently deceased wife, Cornelia Marcia.⁵² On August 23, when this project came before a special meeting of the vestry, Kingston architect Joseph Power presented plans that included adding small lancets to the eastern portions of the walls of the nave, an extended chancel, with a vestry on the north side and an organ chamber on the south. The members of vestry passed a motion

to thank Mr. Pense for his generous offer and hereby agree to carry out the conditions upon which the offer is made so far as improvement to the nave are concerned and further the vestry agrees to carry out the suggestions of Power & sons [sic] in regard to outside repairs so far as may be possible.⁵³

Although he had long been a very active member of St. James' Anglican Church, Pense also had long-standing ties with St. Mark's. His maternal grandfather, Dr. Edward John Barker, sat on the committee that built the church in 1843-1844.⁵⁴ After Dr. Barker died in 1884, the family donated a stained glass window of "Saint Mark and Saint John" for the south nave of St. Mark's as a memorial to Dr. Barker, his first wife Elizabeth, and their three daughters, Charlotte, Elizabeth, and Catherine⁵⁵ (fig. 29). The connection of Edward Pense to St. Mark's grew in the following years. From 1893 to 1909, he served the parish as a lay delegate to the Anglican Diocesan Synod and, in 1896, he contributed a new oak altar and reredos, which may well have replaced the original communion table.⁵⁶ His offer to build an extended chancel fit



FIG. 28. ST. JAMES' CHANCEL WINDOW, 1889. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2014.

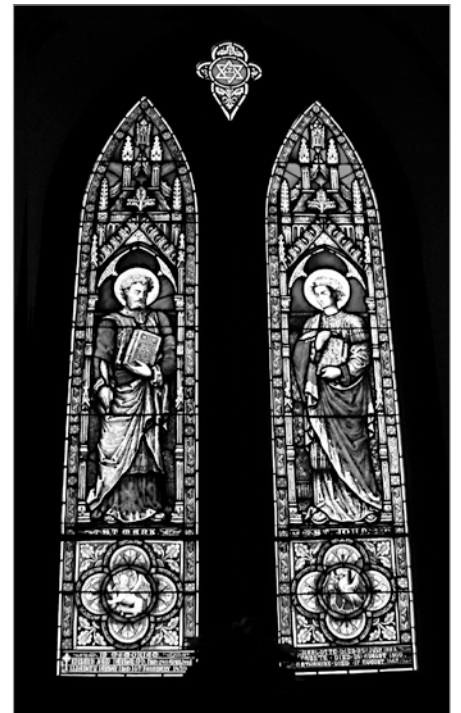


FIG. 29. ST. MARK'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, BARKER MEMORIAL WINDOW OF 1884. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.



FIG. 30. DETAIL OF AN ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING OF ST. MARK'S ANGLICAN CHURCH FROM 1843; NOTE THE SHALLOW EXTERNAL PROJECTION OF THE CHANCEL. | ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF ONTARIO ARCHIVES, PHOTOGRAPHED BY PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.



FIG. 32. ST. MARK'S, DETAIL OF LANCETS IN THE NAVE AND THE ORGAN CHAMBER ADDED IN 1897. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.



FIG. 31. EXTERIOR PHOTOGRAPH OF ST. MARK'S FROM 1897. | PATTERSON, *COURAGE, FAITH AND LOVE*, P. 91.

well within the context of this renewed contact with his home church.

A decade earlier, Edward Pense had gained considerable experience in guiding the process that led to substantial additions to St. James' Anglican Church. Now, he wanted to provide a lasting memorial for his wife and also equip his home church, St. Mark's, for a style of worship in which the incumbent and the choir led the congregation in a choral liturgy from in front of the worshippers, as had become common among Anglicans

in the greater Kingston community. To convert this vision into a working proposal, he turned again to Joseph Power, the experienced Kingston architect with whom he had worked at St. James'. The original St. Mark's had an externally differentiated chancel that extended five feet beyond the east end of the nave with a short peaked ceiling and another five feet into the nave⁵⁷ (fig. 30). This arrangement still existed in 1897. The new plans would eliminate most of the portion that extended into the nave and transform the external chancel into a much longer,

more complex space, twenty-three feet wide by thirty feet long, with an attached organ chamber to the south, and a vestry to the north with a new door from the nave that led into the vestry, and a new external door that led out to the horse sheds (fig. 31).

The exterior of the addition to St. Mark's recycled some of the stone from the original fabric, adding many new stones as well. The design of the organ chamber drew upon that built at St. James', taking the form of a stone shed with two short lancets on the south façade and a buttress along the western edge to replace the buttress that originally stood at the southeastern corner of the nave (figs. 32-33). The vestry had a similar shape, but included a larger, wider window with a curved top, as indicated by the stones in the wall above the current, smaller rectangular window that has replaced it. The vestry also had a large buttress on its western edge (fig. 34). The walls of the chancel extend beyond these structures to the east and end with a flat eastern wall pierced by a large pointed window.

All of the new windows, including the tall lancets added to the eastern end of the



FIG. 33. ST. MARK'S, DETAIL OF THE ORGAN CHAMBER AND CHANCEL ADDED IN 1897. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2006.



FIG. 34. ST. MARK'S, DETAIL OF NEW VESTRY ADDED IN 1897. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2006.

nave, have no external splaying along the sides and top (unlike those in the original church), but have long limestone splayed sills. The stonework on the additions to St. Mark's has a very similar appearance to that on the organ chamber and chancel at St. James'. It mixes large with small stones, like the original fabric, but in less regular courses, with a higher proportion of large stones and some large rectangular stones placed vertically instead of horizontally. The additions lack the horizontal stone moulding that runs around the sides and front of the church just below the window sills. The original architect's drawings portrayed this moulding as running around the back of the church and it was probably built that way. Although less horizontal, the new stonework works well with the original fabric of St. Mark's.

The interior in Power's design for the chancel displays a similar respect for the original building. The architect carefully studied the spaces created by the original hammer beam ceiling in the nave and bent their curved and straight lines into a series of curves and rectangles that created a chancel arch topped by a wooden tripartite screen and complex chancel walls. The lower portion of the chancel walls are flat at the back, but

feature massive Gothic arches near the front (that on the south is recessed to hold an organ). These bend the space and have points that intrude into the curved ceiling. Behind these arches, a chunky moulding divides the straight portion of the wall from a central portion that curves up sharply to another moulding at the height of the top of the ceiling, from front to back, curves gently to a peak. The lines of the chancel ceiling follow similar curves as those of the chancel arch, but extend them into solid surfaces (figs. 35-38). This creates a lively space in the Decorated style, different from, but complementary to the Early English space of the nave.

A colourful stained glass window on the east wall of the chancel contains three scenes depicting the clothing of the naked, quenching of the thirsty, and feeding of the hungry, three of the acts of charity commended in Matthew 25:35-36; an angel holding the sacred heart of Jesus, in the central panel above, completes this composition⁵⁸ (fig. 39). It replaced three graduated lancets, with the larger in the centre and probably filled with a geometrical pattern of stained glass, designed by the original architect. The new window

displays vivid colours, with a wide range of blues, and strong portrayal of the women carrying out these acts of charity. Purchased in Montreal, it bears the inscriptions: "In loving remembrance Michael Lorenzo Pense 1823-1854 / Cornelia Marcia Pense 1849-1897 / Harriet Grace Pense 1824-1892," each name placed at the bottom of one of the three main sections of the window. These were, respectively, the father, wife, and mother of Edward John Barker Pense. "A plain brass tablet on the south arch bears the words: 'To the glory of God, and in loving memory of Clara Vaughn, beloved wife of E.J. Baker Pense. She hath done what she could.'"⁵⁹

This new, deep chancel came equipped with new oak and brass furniture largely purchased by the donor: "a prayer desk, a clerk's desk, pulpit with brass reading desk and brass panels, communion rail, and choir seats" that complemented the "altar and reredos" that Pense had presented a year earlier.⁶⁰ The altar and reredos rested on a platform two steps higher than the floor of the chancel, which stood two steps above the floor of the nave. Fulfilling the spirit of the additions financed by Edward Pense, the congregation installed four new large figurative and two new smaller geometric,



FIG. 35. INTERIOR OF ST. MARK'S FROM THE GALLERY, 1897. | PATTERSON, *COURAGE, FAITH AND LOVE*, P. 92.



FIG. 36. ST. MARK'S INTERIOR FROM THE GALLERY. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2007.



FIG. 37. ST. MARK'S INTERIOR DETAIL OF CHANCEL. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2014.



FIG. 38. ST. MARK'S INTERIOR DETAIL OF CHANCEL SHOWING ORGAN CHAMBER. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2014.



FIG. 39. ST. MARK'S CHANCEL WINDOW. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2007.

stained glass windows that joined those of "St. Mark and St. John" dedicated to Edward John Barker and his wife by his family in 1884, and of "St. Matthew and St. Luke" dedicated to the Reverend Kearney Leonard Jones by his family in 1897. They also had the interior "effectively tinted in light colors" and "the woodwork on the ceiling, gallery, and wall . . . oak grained."⁶¹ These changes made for a more finished, fresh interior.

At the annual meeting of April 11, 1898, the vestry passed a motion:

to place on record its deep feeling of thankfulness to Mr Pense for his generous and beautiful gift. It is the Prayer of the Vestry that Mr Pense may be long spared to fill the prominent place in the hearts of the Community which he has won by his unselfish and straightforward dealings. May the costly memorial he is erected to the

memory of his wife be to him and his [family] a great source of comfort in their loss as it ever will be inspiration to worship to the Members of this Congregation.

to be forwarded to Mr Pense. Carried.⁶²

The enlarged chancel would codify the adoption of a style of worship now common to all of the Anglican churches in greater Kingston, a choral service led

by the choir and clergyman at the east end of the church. This would be further confirmed by the installation of a fine tracker organ in the organ chamber in 1901. No doubt, Reverend Clarendon Lamb Worrell, who had become the new rector in 1892, greatly welcomed these changes.⁶³

The additions made to St. James' and St. Mark's Anglican churches fit into a common process in the late nineteenth century, the enlargement of existing churches to better fit new modes of worship, expanded membership, and other needs perceived by a society with an expanding population and greater wealth. The architect who designed these additions, Joseph Power, had considerable experience in enlarging stone churches in the greater Kingston area. He collaborated with congregations from a number of denominations for many years both before and after these projects, working professionally with the clergy and leaders of these churches, as well as with the contractors and craftsmen who carried out the work. Also key to the projects discussed in this paper, however, was the leadership exercised by Edward John Barker Pense, who helped to renew both of these congregations by transforming the perceived needs of these two churches into new spaces that enabled a style of Anglican worship that would last well into the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives [ADOA] (Kingston, Ontario), St. George's Church (Kingston), fonds, Confirmation Book, St. Mark's, Barriefield, September 25, 1862. I would like to thank Arthur Keats for bringing this information to my attention. I would also like to thank Paul Banfield, the diocesan archivist and the archivist of the Queen's University Archives, for permission to cite documents held in the ADOA and to reproduce photographs from that collection and the Queen's University Archives, and Jennifer McKendry for her helpful suggestions after reading an early draft of this article and for permission to reproduce several photographs in her collection. An earlier, much shorter version of this paper will appear in: 2014, *A Collection of Talks 2013*, Kingston, ON, Pittsburgh Historical Society.
2. Rose, George Maclean (ed.), 1886, *A Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, ON, Rose Publishing Company, p. 448.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Lyon, David, 1995, *Living Stones: St. James' Church, Kingston, 1845-1995: From Stuartville to Queen's Campus*, Kingston, ON, Quarry Press, p. 182.
6. ADOA, St. James' Church (Kingston), fonds, Vestry Minute Book, 1870-1934, p. 2, 4.
7. *Id.* : 4-8, 11, 15-16, 19, 22, 24-26, 28.
8. *Id.* : 6, 8, 12.
9. *Id.* : 31
10. Lyon : 182.
11. *Id.* : 52-54.
12. ADOA, St. James', Vestry Minute Book, 1870-1934, p. 51-56.
13. *Id.* : 73, 76.
14. *Id.* : 78-79.
15. *Id.* : 79.
16. *Id.* : 82-84.
17. *Id.* : 85.
18. *Id.* : 86. Joseph William Power (1852-1925) practiced architecture with his father, John Power (1816-1882), for at least nine years before taking over the firm of "Power & Son" upon the death of his father. See the *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950* under their names [<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org>], accessed September 2011.
19. *Id.*
20. [Kingston] *News*, October 3, 1844; also see the brief notice in the *British Whig*, October 4, 1844.
21. See the drawing for this structure made by Coverdale as reproduced in Lyon : 24.
22. See the anonymously published: [Neale, John Mason], 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders* Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 6.
23. *The Church*, April 11, 1850, p. 145-146; April 18, 1850, p. 149; and October 10, 1850, p. 81.
24. *The Church*, April 11, 1850, p. 146.
25. *The Church*, April 18, 1850, p. 149.
26. See especially, Rainbow, Bernarr, 1970, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, chaps. 1-4; and Yates, Nigel, 1999, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, chap. 2.
27. *The Church*, April 18, 1850, p. 149.
28. For these complex changes, see White, James F., 1962, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press; Yates, Nigel, 1991, *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press; and Faught, C. Brad, 2002, *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times*, University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press.
29. See Rainbow : chaps. 5-7; and Adelmann, Wayne, 1997, *The Contribution of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62*, Aldershot, England and Brookfield, VT, Ashgate.
30. See Thompson, Arthur N., "Alexander Neil Bethune," and Millman, T.R., "James Beaven," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography [DCB] Online*, 2000, [<http://www.biographi.ca/en/index.php>], accessed January 2012. For an attempt to defend Bishop Lewis as a moderate, see Schurman, Donald, 1991, *A Bishop and His People: John Travers Lewis and the Anglican Diocese of Ontario 1862-1902*, Kingston, Anglican Church of Canada, Ontario Diocesan Synod.
31. *Daily British Whig*, April 24, 1867. Disputes of this sort also arose within the Anglican Diocese of Quebec; see the articles on ritualism published in the *Lennoxville Magazine* in January, April, and June 1868, as discussed in Vaudry, Richard W., 2003, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection*, Montreal, QC, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 215-217.
32. These had become common positions for the pulpit and reading desk in early nineteenth-century Anglican churches in England and British North America. Indeed, in England, the Church Building Commission "insisted on separating the reading-desk [for reading the liturgy] and the pulpit, and placing one on each side of the nave" just in front of the

- chancel. Port, M.H., 2006, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission, 1818-1856*, Reading, Spire Books, UK, p. 99.
33. Patterson, William J., 1993, *Courage, Faith and Love: The History of St. Mark's Church, Barriefield, Ontario*, Barriefield, ON, St. Mark's Church, p. 75-77, 88. For an account that shows little sympathy for the congregational vestries in this dispute, see Schurman : chap. 12.
34. See Anderson, Allan J., 1963, *The Anglican Churches of Kingston*, Kingston, ON, pub. by the author, p. 81-83; and the *Daily British Whig*, April 24, 1867. All Saints was not represented on the map of Kingston published by John C. Innes in 1865, but did appear on the Ordinance Survey map of Kingston from 1869.
35. *Id.* : 83. Edmund Wood, the founding priest of St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Montreal, was a leader in introducing "Anglo-Catholic" Anglican worship to British North America. Starting off in a stone mortuary chapel in 1859, building a new church in 1861, and opening worship in the basement of its present building in 1878, Wood received support from Bishop Fulford but had several disputes with his successor, Bishop Oxenden. Starting in the small stone chapel, "the first choral evensong in Montreal, if not in Canada, was sung by Wood on Christmas Eve 1859." Francis, J.P., "Edmund Wood," *DCB Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/index.php], accessed December 2013.
36. ADOA, St. Paul's Church (Kingston), fonds, Vestry Minutes 1876-1883, May 11, 1876, April 22, May 6, May 20, May 27, and July 15, 1878. At the time, Joseph W. Power was an active member of St. Paul's. A careful examination of the drawing for this work reveals that both the door and the opening for the quatrefoil were added to Power's drawing in pencil, while the organ chamber, plaster vault, pillars, arches, and the ceiling of the chancel were drawn in ink. National Archives of Canada, Power Collection, NMC 138925.
37. See Christianson, Paul, 2011, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Kingston, 1844-1856," *A Collection of Talks 2010*, Kingston, ON, Pittsburgh Historical Society, p. 19-20; and *Daily News and the Daily British Whig*, November 11, 1878.
38. McKendry, Jennifer, 1991, *William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston from 1835 to 1865*, Ph.D. thesis, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto, p. 103-105.
39. ADOA, St. John's Church (Portsmouth), fonds, Vestry Minutes 1851-1931, May 9, 1892; and Good, Glenys, 1973, *Saints Among Sinners: St. John's—Portsmouth 125 Years*, Portsmouth, ON, St. John's Anglican Church, p. 16-17.
40. ADOA, St. James', Vestry Minute Book, 1870-1934, p. 90.
41. *Ibid.*
42. . *Id.* : 96-97.
43. *Id.* : 96.
44. See Christianson, Paul, 2013, "St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 16-17; McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, *With Our Past Before Us: Nineteenth-century Architecture in the Kingston Area*, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto Press, p. 76-77, 79-81, 64; 2003, "First Congregationalist Church (Masonic Hall): a Remarkable Gothic Church," *Historic Kingston*, vol. 51, p. 44-54; and 2013, "The Queen Street Methodist Churches of 1864 and 1886, Kingston, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 38, 40-41.
45. ADOA, St. James', Vestry Minute Book, 1870-1934, p. 98.
46. ADOA, St. James', Vestry Minute Books, 1844-1869, January 23, 1855, Easter 1856, August 9, 1856, April 21, 1862, May 5 and 12, 1862, April 6 and 20, 1863, May 11, 1864, and 1870-1934, p. 4, 13-14, 50-54, 56.
47. McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 79.
48. Along with other paintings of hers, it hangs in the Central Branch of the Kingston Frontenac Public Library.
49. The more elaborate supports that now exist stem from the changes to the interior made in 1927; see Anderson : 57.
50. *Daily British Whig*, March 29, 1889, p. 8.
51. ADOA, St. James', Vestry Minute Book 1870-1934, p. 100-102, at p. 101.
52. For her death date and ancestors, see The Gnarini Genealogy Project under Cornelia Marcia Vaughan, born August 29, 1849, in Watertown, New York, and died February 28, 1897, in Kingston, Ontario, [http://www.ralph-vaughan.com/vaughan/gp165.htm], accessed August 12, 2013. In Kingston, the family spelled the name Vaughn.
53. ADOA, St. Mark's Church (Barriefield), fonds, Vestry Minute Book 1876-1917, August 23, 1897. The official name of the firm was Power and Son. See McKendry, Jennifer, 1986, *Selected Architectural Drawings and Buildings of John and Joseph Power of Kingston, Ontario, 1850-1900*, M.Phil. thesis, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto.
54. Dr. Barker was secretary of the Building Committee in 1843-1844 and served as a lay delegate to Synod in 1869-1870 and 1876-1879. See Patterson : 9, 15, 23-24, 36, 44, 60, 88, 218. Also see Spurr, John W., "Edward John Barker," *DCB Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/index.php], accessed August 2011.
55. Dr. Barker and his first wife had thirteen children. At the Easter vestry meeting in 1885, a motion was passed to establish a committee "to draft a resolution expressing a vote of thanks to Mr. Barker for the gift of the memorial window." This was the first memorial window at St. Mark's. ADOA, St. Mark's, Vestry Minute Book 1876-1917, April 6, 1885. A letter to "R.W. Barker Esq." for this purpose was approved at the vestry meeting of April 20, 1885.
56. *Id.* : April 6, 1896; and Patterson : 218-219.
57. See Christianson, Paul, 2010, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 17-30.
58. In the King James translation of the Bible, Matthew 25:35-36 reads as follows: "For I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: I was naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." [http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Matthew-25-35], accessed February 10, 2014.
59. *Kingston News*, December 20, 1897 p. 5.
60. Patterson : 88, 94.
61. *Daily Whig*, Monday, December 20, 1897, p. 6.
62. ADOA, St. Mark's Church, Vestry Minute Book 1876-1917, April 11, 1898.
63. Educated at Trinity College, Toronto, Reverend Worrell also was professor of English at the Royal Military College; he went on to become Bishop of Nova Scotia and Metropolitan and Primate of Canada. See Patterson : 83.

FAÇADES OF CIVILITY AND JURISPRUDENCE: Mapping Classical Tradition and Chimera

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The force of deconstructionist critique has left the modern legacy of the classical architectural tradition relatively unscathed, despite classicism's long association with both humanist thought and European imperialism.¹ Classicism's intrinsic aesthetic appeal and cultural prestige have limited consideration of the conditions of its appropriations. Moreover, the investigation of such appropriation necessarily involves an associative, even speculative, relation of design process to the social processes linked with or operated through the built architecture; even if the reliability of official or personal documentation and the objectivity of historical inquiry can be assumed, there is inevitably an appreciable level of reading into and writing out of archival material on specific architectural commissions. Yet architecture is the most readily appreciated articulation of socio-economic interests and their legitimating ideologies, particularly during the temporally and geographically extensive spheres of the modern era. The elite residential and institutional buildings of expansionist—colonial into imperial—Britain exemplify such articulation through the appropriation of classical iconographical tradition and aesthetic to assert superior status, authority, and regime. Three commissions, linked by the presumed manifestation of civility and jurisprudence but from different chrono-geographical sites, have been selected in order to explore the complex and conflicted relationship between design intention and architectural performance—a hybrid arena of cultural formation nicely figured in the ancient mythic Chimera. Consequently, the analysis draws upon deconstructionist

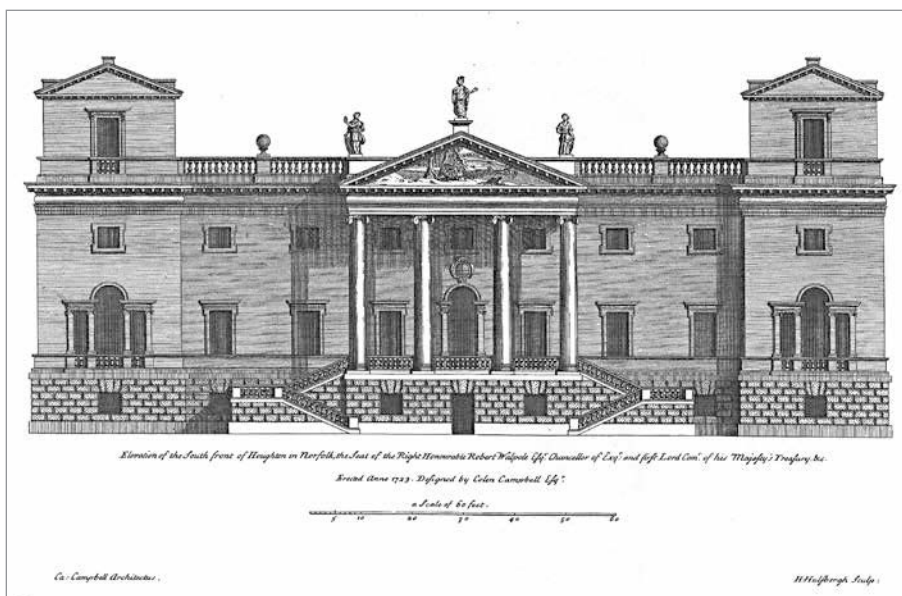


FIG. 1. DESIGN FOR THE MAIN FRONT OF HOUGHTON HALL, NORFOLK, VA, BY COLEN CAMPBELL, C. 1722. | ENGRAVING FROM *NEW VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*.

and affective critical strategies with the objective of clarifying the circumstances and societal impact of design aesthetic.²

The contradictory tasks and values assigned to the classical architectural tradition have been less closely interrogated than its historical and modern ideologies. Notable exceptions are Roger Kennedy's exploration of the harsh economic underpinnings of Italian and Anglo-American Palladian classical architecture in *Architecture, Men, Women and Money in America 1600-1860* and Alan Colquhoun's brief essay on "Classicism and Ideology" in his *Modernity and the Classical Tradition*.³ An indication of the discrepancies between function and claim, and between ethic and aesthetic, are evident in two celebrated commissions that allied neo-classical design and legal profession: Kenwood House by the Adam Brothers for the celebrated judicial reformer Lord Mansfield, 1761-1768, and the Supreme Court in Washington, DC, designed by Cass Gilbert, 1932-1935. If Mansfield's decision in the 1772 James Somerset case heralded a halting turn against slavery among the British ruling order culminating in the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and system in 1834, it did not mark the eradication of racism. Similarly, the monumental portico of the Supreme Court despite the inscription in the entablature, "Equal Justice Under Law," recalled the slavery accepted in ancient Greece and racial segregation largely tolerated in American jurisprudence until the 1960s. To that divergence between cultural constitution and constitutional conduct may be added the fascist, totalitarian, and more recent neo-liberal embrace of classical architectural models that has further trammelled classicism's humanist legitimacy.⁴ This chimerical aspect of architectural classicism is further signified by the titles of two studies of its modern legacy in modern Germany:

David Watkin's *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal* and Alexander Scobie's *Hitler's State Architecture and the Impact of Classical Antiquity*.⁵

SITUATING THE INQUIRY

In seeking to extend investigation of the divergent tasks assigned to classical architectural iconography, the focus will be on episodes associated with the expansion of British jurisprudence both internally and overseas. The episodes deliberately ally individual with collective enterprise especially linked to the enforcement of property and racial policy. Each represents an instance where architectural articulation discloses larger conflicts between aesthetic and ethic—somewhat akin to the ongoing tension between justice and legality.⁶ Consequently this essay will interrogate the appropriation of the classical ideal at three chrono-geographical sites. The first reconsiders a commission prominent in the consolidation of neo-Palladian paradigms in monumental British residential architecture that would influence colonial design conventions. The second re-examines the completion of a series of Palladian-inspired and classically styled courthouses (and government facilities) across South Carolina during the cotton boom and the heightened apologia for slavery; and the third, the place of the Edwardian classical [third] courthouse at Vancouver in the expropriation of indigenous land title and promulgation of racial policy in British Columbia.⁷

Before examining those three episodes, some further introductory remarks are in order. The figure of the Chimera was chosen as one ancient expression of uncertain or deceptive conditions; it also parallels the blurring of causation and association in the analysis of specific commissions within much broader, and not necessarily consistent, societal conditions.

The usual meaning of chimera derives from the form of the fabulous monster of Greek mythology described by Homer as having a goat's body with a lion's head and dragon's tail. Thus, in the Concise and Current versions of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it bespeaks hybridity and illusion, or an unrealistic idea or hope. E. Cobham Brewer's *Dictionary* termed it an "illusory fancy, a wild incongruous scheme."⁸ Here it specifies the sense of dichotomy between the architectural aesthetic and the societal functions of buildings serving, or associated with cultural-cum-political agenda.

The contradiction, or chimera, is especially obvious, albeit by default, in the preface to the poem *Hellas* penned by Percy Shelley: "We are all Greeks, Our laws, Our literature, Our religion . . . [have] their roots in Greece."⁹ His subconscious wording of class, cultural, economic, and privilege—the We—would be challenged in the socially conscious poetry of William Blake, who also railed against the academic system and its connoisseurship of the classical tradition.¹⁰ Shelley was practicing a form of literary *noblesse oblige* assuming that his privilege entitled him to speak for his similarly advantaged audience. And here it might be noted that such presumption of authorial power was a feature of the hegemonic cultural activity critiqued by, among others, Edward Said and Homi Bhabha.¹¹ But insufficiently recognized is the condescending inclusion built into the exclusionary process of "Othering." Shelley's preface is quoted by Richard Jenkyns in the Introduction to *The Legacy of Rome*.¹² Jenkyns presents a nuanced summation, including the oppressive and vicious elements of its republican and dictatorial eras; and he nicely accounts for the authoritarian yet also revolutionary potentiality of both its ideological and aesthetic patrimony. Of particular

significance is his acknowledgement of the instrumental and legitimating components of the Roman classical legacy: the high language of its arts operating as a “political tool, used to smooth away the harsh edges of cruelty and deceit.”¹³

One anecdotal recognition of such disparity of aesthetic and ethic within the visual language of classical architecture was articulated by the British Graecophile architect, William Wilkins—interestingly playing out the theme of blackness/darkness invoked by the three sites under study. When at Athens in 1802, Wilkins was perturbed by evident traces of polychromatic decoration on the Propylaea and Erechtheion because, as he intimated in his later antiquarian tract *Atheniensi* (1816), these confounded his formal and aesthetic conception of ancient classical architectural ideal.¹⁴ A genealogy of pure or “white” classicism was built into the humanist tradition upon which mid and later modern Euro-American culture was fabricated from a positivist reading of ancient practice.¹⁵ As noted, this concept is a factor in, and component of, the political conventions and aesthetic idioms at work in each of the sites under scrutiny. The English language and Anglo-Saxon literary and artistic tradition from before the Elizabethan Renaissance equated ancient ideal with Caucasian (British) rule.¹⁶ However poorly comprehended and partially appropriated, the classical armature increasingly present in British culture became a factor in the justification and encouragement of colonization, and thereby the “Peculiar Institution [of slavery]” and alienation of indigenous land title.¹⁷ British and European colonial architecture relatively quickly embodied Renaissance-filtered classical repertory and latterly monumental Roman pedigree, reaching a short-lived apogee in the massive imperial seat of power at New Dehli (which Edwin Lutyens had wished

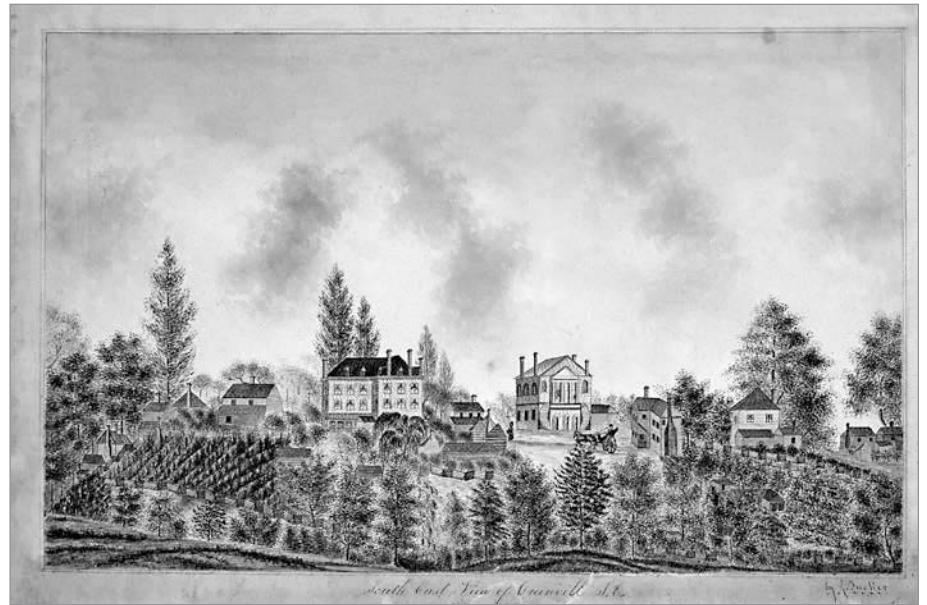


FIG. 2. “SOUTH EAST VIEW OF GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA,” BY JOSHUA TUCKER, 1825. THE COURTHOUSE WAS DESIGNED BY ROBERT MILLS, C. 1821. | THE ABBY ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER FOLK ART CENTER, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

to be frankly classical and bereft of native idiom).¹⁸

A closer reading of the ethical dimensions of architectural aesthetic—allowing for consideration of the policy accompanying the choice of formal stylistic features—can emerge from modification of both the complicit and the detached interpretations of cultural expression argued from different perspectives by Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* and Richard Etlin in *In Defense of Humanism*, or, with closer respect to the classical tradition, by George Hersey in *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, and Indra McEwan in *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*.¹⁹ Reflecting lines of inquiry by Anthony Vidler’s aptly titled *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, these authors accept the potency of literary and visual articulations in the imposition of regime, even if acknowledging that aesthetic qualities can exist in varying degrees independently of the ephemeral instrumental purposes assigned to their

formal bearers.²⁰ Interestingly, an earlier, less critical discourse of associative legitimation was especially evident among those British antiquaries and scholars who cemented the Anglo bond with classicism; and it continued into the more academic and transatlantic iteration during the final period examined in this essay.

The association had attained clear if contested national political potency by the time of the Elgin Marbles Parliamentary Select Committee of 1816: “no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the Schools of *Phidias*, and the administration of *Pericles*.”²¹

The association of classical architectural tradition and British cultural polity persisted for many decades, as instanced by John Summerson’s *The Classical Language of Architecture*. Writing for a broad audience, Summerson defined classicism as comprising “rational procedure controlling—and initiating invention.”²² Upon that incipient paradox—classical design



FIG. 3. UNION COURTHOUSE, SOUTH CAROLINA, DESIGNED BY ROBERT MILLS IN C. 1821. | [HTTP://WWW.ROOTSANDRECALL.COM/UNION/BUILDINGS/UNION-COUNTY-COURT-HOUSE/](http://www.rootsandrecall.com/union-buildings/union-county-court-house/).

being immutable yet inspiring innovation—stands a good deal of more traditional (formal/aesthetic/biographic/descriptive) architectural history. The designed object remains isolated from the underlying conditions of its production (including ethos in the functional social sense) and is thus comprehended chiefly through its stylistic and iconographic attributes. The genre is represented by the title and contents of Giles Worsley's *Classical Architecture in Britain. The Heroic Age*.²³ Yet, even in such more traditional architectural history, the political—and thus matters of deeper social ethos—is implied. For example, in *Palladian Style*, Steven Parissien begins the main text by printing an illustration from Inigo Jones's copy of Sebastiano Serlio's

Tutte l'Opera d'architettura e prospetiva (1619).²⁴ Underneath that illustration are printed the celebrated lines from James Thomson's *Alfred* (1740) that became the quasi-British national anthem, *Rule, Britannia!* Nevertheless, Parissien's examination of the everyday environment fashioned by Palladian idiom only touches upon the contemporary political order.

CLASSICAL LORE AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF CIVILITY AND LEGALITY

The British Isles

"Britannia Romana" was the name given the large bas-relief adorning the monumental Stone Hall in Houghton Hall,

Norfolk, England, designed by the triumvirate of architects, amateur and professional, building a classical fabric for the burgeoning imperial edifice of Britain: Lord Burlington, Colen Campbell, author of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (published from 1715), and William Kent²⁵ (fig. 1). Their patron, and in Burlington's case, lesser peer, was Robert Walpole. As prime minister, Walpole helped develop both party politics and political oligarchy parading as democracy.²⁶ He bolstered his political ambition through cultural appropriation as, indeed, would those who came to oppose his political leadership, most notably Viscount Cobham.²⁷ During the three years after becoming prime minister in 1720, Walpole commissioned Campbell to commence building his country seat (1722) and oversaw the rapid passage of the most draconian legislation in British parliamentary history. This was the *Waltham Black Act* that received royal assent on May 27, 1723, and created fifty new capital offences. It was prompted by concerted action by powerful secular and religious landowners against increased poaching in traditionally accessible parks and forests. In the words of Edward P. Thompson, the Act coincided with Walpole's political ascendancy and released a "flood-tide of eighteenth-century retributive justice suggestive of some complicity between the ascendancy of the Hanoverian Whigs and the ascending of the Gallows."²⁸

The core purpose, anticipating British strategic colonial and capital-commercial expansion, was the acquisition and protection of property. Houghton, dressed in the garb of ancient monumentality and glamour, signalled Walpole's endeavour to elevate his social status into the landed aristocracy via construction of its major cultural artifact, the country house.²⁹ In Walpole's upper-class Britain, private property constituted the anchoring of

social authority and societal order. Its outcome included the *Enclosure Acts* and, in North America, the erasure of indigenous land title.³⁰ The *Waltham Black Act*, moreover, reflected, *pace* neo-Roman British virtue, the interests of a complacent and corrupt legislature whose members Thompson classed as “men who formed habits of mental distance and moral laxity towards human life.”³¹

The *Waltham Black Act* has not been referenced by historians of British Palladian architecture, but it is a component of the privileged, classically inclined mentality of the day. The jurisprudence it constructed cannot be divorced from the ancient aesthetic logic and lineament of the 1722-1723 scheme for Houghton Hall, drawn chiefly by Campbell (fig. 1). The symmetrical arrangement of pedimented wings, Palladian [Serlian] windows, ascending staircases, and central Ionic-ordered temple-portico visually project the social ordering built into the *Act*: putative democratic iconography masking, beautifying, a harsher oligarchical regime. The appropriative claims to superior agency, across many dimensions of socio-economic-political activity, operated bodily and visually; for instance the visitor’s drive up to the Hall followed by the ascent up into the portico and the main floor, or the ground floor used by family and close friends but predominantly assigned to service functions and servant accommodation.³² The hierarchical organization continued into the layout of rooms defining public status and private significance. The accompanying visual messaging comprised the all-the-while manifest classical architectural language of structural scale and composition plus ornamented features. The point of transition from external mass to internal volume in the Hall is commanded, as noted, by a bas-relief in the ancient mode depicting *Britannia Romana*. The classically derived

visual logic and high-minded symbolism—embodying the essential design forms of triangle, rectangle, and circle later theorized by the aesthetically radical but politically conservative pre-Revolutionary French neo-classical architect Charles-Nicolas Ledoux—articulated a civility and social order that effected quite opposite values and regulations.

A non-architectural figure of this discrepancy between outward appearance and inward action exists in the contemporary Royal Navy, the chief instrument of British colonial capital and commercial expansion, as well as of its parallel antiquarian expedition and scientific enterprise.³³ Aboard its ships—frequently named for the heroes of the ancient mythology and narrative read by its officer class, such as, just among the first letter of the alphabet, *Achilles*, *Agamemnon*, or *Ajax*—arguably the most serviceable members of the crew were the “powder monkeys” (young boys) running between the magazine and gun decks, all but invisible in the visible ritual and regimen of British naval power.³⁴

The American South

The chimerical role of classical architectural models was even more pronounced in the history of the first United States Republic, terminated in 1861 by the Civil War. A particular locus of chimerical classical appropriation emerged in the short-lived South Carolina cotton boom of the early 1820s, specifically in the series of twenty-eight courthouses-cum-government offices and jails erected across the state to standard designs drawn up by Robert Mills when acting commissioner of Public Works (1821-1822), superintendent of Public Buildings (1822-1824), and then in private practice.³⁵ These carried forward the Palladian mode, codified in part by Houghton Hall, but with a

heightened classical emphasis. While republican American classicism can be regarded as a part of the political and cultural reform, the courthouses, quite literally, reveal the dark side of its social *praxis*. The Afro-Americans whose labour underpinned cotton production and Internal Improvements—the infrastructure of canals, roads and institutions built across South Carolina during the 1820s—were excluded from the common spaces of social activity and ceremony, in part through the visual and regulatory agency of such classical Palladian courthouses as Mills designed.

The paradigmatic models for Mills’s judicial architecture were the ancient temple, and most likely the *Maison Carrée*, or Roman temple at Nîmes, so admired by his patron and mentor, Thomas Jefferson, together with the regional neo-Palladian idiom typified by Drayton Hall, 1738, and the fine mansion the slave trader Miles Brewton built for himself at Charleston, 1765-1769.³⁶ The bulk of the sixteen courthouses proper erected to Mills’s standard designs repeated the Palladian composition of raised basement with central entrance archway penetrating a projected central portico rising almost to the full height of the pedimented building, and flanked by side staircases. This visual orchestration of ancient and modern classical conventions is exemplified by his courts at Greenville (fig. 2), Union (fig. 3), and York, begun in 1821, or at Orangeburg, commenced in c. 1825. The formula reached an aesthetic and functional zenith with his County Record, or as more usually named, Fireproof Building, in Charleston, 1822-1828. The internal arrangement of circulation and bureaucratic facilities echoed the proportional sequence of dimensioned space evident in the plans of villas Andrea Palladio published in his celebrated *Quattro Libri*³⁷, which Mills had studied avidly.

Consideration of the aesthetic and functional qualities of those judicial-cum-bureaucratic buildings—their visibility—has predominated over consideration of the less civilized policy enabled and legitimated through their design form and referencing—their visuality. The main disjunction obviously applied to the racial, but also more generally socio-economic segregation within the Southern society. Mills struggled, even more perhaps than Jefferson, with the Peculiar Institution. In his *Internal Improvement of South Carolina* (1822) and *Statistics of South Carolina* (1826), he questioned the economic and moral legitimacy of slavery, anticipating how the slower rate of technical and industrial development in his native state would prove to be a major factor in the defeat of the Confederacy.³⁸ But he followed the American convention of regarding slavery as part of the British regime the Republic sought to reform; and he continued to depend upon domestic slave labour until his death in 1858. Nevertheless, and illustrative of the chimeras invoked herein, his South Carolina jails and courthouses effected improvements in the physical and legal treatment of those accused and convicted of criminal activity, and accompanied the adoption of less harsh punishment that included the classification of criminality and the possibility of rehabilitation. Similarly, and notwithstanding the continued suppression of Afro-American and indigenous peoples, Mills fabricated a remarkable range of monumental classical revival institutions of modernizing and democratizing government in Washington and at ports along the New England seaboard.

The chimerical nature of Mills's republican classicism was not unique. It had been manifest in the configuration of his mentor Jefferson's modern classical-Palladian villa at Charlottesville. Most obvious was Jefferson's placement of

his individuated and quasi-aristocratic accommodation atop the terrace fronting the main entrance and bounded at the lower level by slave quarters.³⁹ The arrangement reflected the deeper disparities between ideal and practice embedded in cultural tradition, and the temporal lag within policy reform. One example was the location of the Capitol Building in the District of Columbia which Mills repaired and hoped to enlarge. The chief material signification of American republican democracy stood atop Breed's Hill overlooking a slave market, only finally closed upon the introduction in April 1862 of President Abraham Lincoln's bill to outlaw slavery.⁴⁰ Further disparities would emerge in post-Civil War Reconstruction and, now, increasingly impinge upon indigenous Americans through the outcomes of the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny.⁴¹ Such deep discrepancy between political action and cultural pretension would not be restricted to the United States, but become a feature of European and British imperial regime in, usually, unreflexive reference to ancient Roman civilization. Moreover, a comparable procedure of idealization and disconnection operated across the gamut of revivalism. One British exemplar would be the romanticized, indeed exoticized historicism embraced by the Third Marquess of Bute and his architect William Burges in rebuilding Cardiff Castle (1868-1881), quite literally on the backs of underpaid miners working the unstable seams of anthracite coal in the not far distant valleys of South Wales.⁴²

The chimerical workings of historical iconography deserve further consideration with respect to Mills's classicized judicial architecture. By being constructed in smaller settlements connected with the dispersed plantation system or efforts to increase productive agricultural and

resource development, the buildings, in being non-denominational, likely realized a clearer formulation of local community identity than even churches. They were generally the most prominent structures in the central area through which all types of local population passed. To the educated and more mobile, they would recall elevated cultural tradition and its expression in the architecture of regional social privilege and its dominant economic centre at Charleston. In the quotidian scene, local inhabitants and visitors of all ranks would have registered themselves to some extent against their understanding of Mills's architectural articulation and iconography. At the simplest level of response, the scale and increased compositional complexity of the courthouse would have registered the importance of its function positively or negatively according to viewer status and experience. The symbolism of classical order was doubtless apparent in varying manner to everyone, social status notwithstanding, but the chimerical nature of that reality would not necessarily have been acknowledged, let alone challenged—demonstrating the remarkable sequential fixity yet also fluidity of the messaging of which architecture is capable. Indeed, the scenarios evoked by Mills's South Carolina courthouses would be writ large in the hyper-classicism mobilized in the twentieth century to celebrate Jefferson and Lincoln as icons of the superior political and cultural system. Each also incorporates a complex, and chimerical, architecture of constitution, construction, signification, and performance. The Lincoln Memorial was both a site of continued racial segregation and a locus of desegregation as well as radical protest. And, as Christopher Thomas has shown, its completion in 1922 owed considerably to the automobile and real-estate development lobbies intent upon profiting from construction of the Lincoln Memorial Highway linking Gettysburg and the Capital.⁴³

The Imperial West

The third instance of chimerical classicism lies at Terminal City. This is the soubriquet that was accorded to Vancouver in British Columbia on the western edge of Canada during the economic and cultural zenith of the British Empire.⁴⁴ Its development from the 1880s in conjunction with the completion of the transcontinental railway was an outcome of the *British North America Act* that had established the Dominion of Canada in 1867. The *Act*, through written text, architecture, and infrastructure construction, literally articulated contemporary British, and Canadian, imperial claims to authority over nature and indigenous peoples that were being implemented through colonial-imperial expansion.⁴⁵ The surveyor's traverse and technical projection of both topography and land title—whether national, corporate, or individual—ran parallel to architectural infrastructural embodiment of social ordering.

During the later Victorian and, more so, the Edwardian era, when the final building under scrutiny was erected, architecture played a particularly potent role in marking settlement and the institution of colonial then local regimes. The negotiations leading up to the enactment of the Canadian Confederation, for example, included the commissioning in May 1859 of a competition for a federal Parliament complex at Ottawa.⁴⁶ Architecture was tasked with the consolidation of the weak political structure of the Union of Canada concluded in 1841 through the construction of monumental buildings to house Parliament, government offices, and residence for the governor-general. Their scale and styling (neo-Gothic) were required to distinguish, materially and symbolically, Canadian nationhood in relation to Britain and French heritage, but in reaction to the United States



FIG. 4. COURTHOUSE, VANCOUVER, BC, DESIGNED BY FRANCIS M. RATTENBURY, 1906-1911. | PHOTOGRAPH C. 1912, FROM LISCOMBE AND BARRETT, 1983, FRANCIS RATTENBURY AND BRITISH COLUMBIA..., FIG. 6.2.

system. Larger residences and facilities of either governance, such as customs and post offices, or of community, such as churches and schools, celebrated settler legitimacy as well as reconfigured the landscape of the supposedly un-ordered and un-peopled territory being expropriated for the Canadian Confederation. These constructions became the visible infrastructure of the many processes that the Canadian economic historian Harold Innis investigated in 1950 in *Empire and Communications*; incidentally, that same year he published *Roman Law and the British Empire*.⁴⁷ The cultural epistemology of architectural iconography acted to emphasize the cultural ontology embedded in the architectural fabric.

The political authority exerted by significant colonial buildings is obvious in media illustration of important public ceremonies. One such was the visit to Vancouver in 1912 of Queen Victoria's son, the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, when he was governor-general. He arrived not long after the completion of the third courthouse. This had been erected to designs,

still following a Palladian tripartite plan system, by Francis Mawson Rattenbury (fig. 4).⁴⁸ On that occasion, militia and officials were lined up in patent reflection of the columnar order regulating the main longitudinal façades. The regular cadence of the two orders of attached columns and their supporting ornamentation, together with the central dome raised on an octagonal drum for heightened elevation, clearly coalesced elite and popular allegiances. An economic migrant from the volatile late nineteenth-century textile economy of the English Midlands, Rattenbury selected fashionably grandiloquent classical vocabulary, as against his own Scots Baronial/Chateau, Arts and Crafts, or eclectic free Renaissance idioms. His contemporary correspondence indicates that he sought to validate the presence of both Anglo-Saxons and Canadians in British Columbia—veritable colonial outpost of both Empire and colonizing Confederation—and to participate in the province's increasing replication of the paraphernalia of cosmopolitan urban environment. The visibility of the courthouse and the visibility of its architecture

thus served to accommodate and legitimize the regulations of provincial and municipal governments.⁴⁹

The readily apprehended classical magnificence of the third courthouse legitimized less high-minded functions taking place within the fabric. The classical motifs articulating the façades thereby entailed a further chimera, for the architectural classicism was inevitably colluded with legal enforcement of preferential property and racial “rights” through the expropriation of aboriginal land title and elevation of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity. The building housed not only the courts, which regularly upheld the inferior classification of Chinese and Japanese immigrants whose cheap labour was essential to the provincial economy and the tacit exclusion of South Asian people, but it also housed the Land Registry that operated processes that implemented erasure of First Nations’ traditional land title and economy.⁵⁰ The grand allusion in the classical articulation of the courthouse furthermore embodied the attitudes and actions of the dominant settler society that outlawed the Potlatch ceremonies in 1918, denied citizenship (federally) to Aboriginal Canadians until 1961, and undermined their claims to title (and a legitimate history) until well after the British Columbia Supreme Court decision in the *Delgamuukw* case in 1997.⁵¹ Significantly, the decision to reject indigenous land title rested on the dubious assertion that the absence of written and illustrated history negated their socio-cultural legitimacy.

Nevertheless, the design of the Vancouver Courthouse manifests a greater level of material architectonic contradiction, or obvious chimera, than the previous two commissions (fig. 4). The contradiction is apparent in Rattenbury’s misuse of

ancient classical convention with respect to the order of columns spanning its major, northern frontage. Their capital is a hybrid of the Roman Ionic and their shaft is repeated at two different scales between main projected, entrance portico, and flanking bays. In particular, this repetition of differently scaled Ionic columns between the portico and wings inadvertently discloses the inter/disruptions between application and appropriation of classical exemplar at Edwardian Vancouver. The incorrect columniation can also be regarded as inadvertently corresponding with the inequities of the colonial regime. Moreover, Rattenbury’s superficially resplendent classicism materially represented the type of British Imperial *hubris* given popular cultural expansion in [William] Gilbert and [Arthur] Sullivan’s operettas, the verse of Sir Henry Newbolt, or the narrative of Rudyard Kipling—one of the many to invest in the real-estate boom that accompanied rapid, largely British, immigration into Vancouver (1906-1911).⁵² Like the imperial project, the classical ambition of the Vancouver Courthouse was flawed: a slipshod attempt at such grander assertions of Edwardian superiority as Lanchester, Stewart and Rickard’s Civic Centre at Cardiff (1898-1910), which fronted the crude, even cruel, social economy of the coal trade contributing to underpin British global, naval, and commercial enterprises.⁵³

CONCLUSION

This selective analysis has mapped the appropriation of ancient classical design iconography to reveal the agency of architecture in social regulation during the mid-modern era. It has underscored the prestige accorded to the classical tradition during the consolidation of British, and North American, colonial authority. The widespread appropriation of its

architectural patrimony, both ancient and modern, has been shown to involve a divergence between aesthetic and ethic, here likened to the deceptive hybridity of the ancient Chimera. Further, the inquiry reveals that the aesthetic distinction of ancient and modern Palladian classical architecture has generally limited attention to its work in protecting elite interests or projecting exclusionary regime. Additionally it has been shown that those aesthetic qualities helped validate and even palliate the often-repressive functions performed within the building: the visible formal attributes and visual rhetoric not infrequently diverging from the attitudes and practices enacted within the building. The analysis demonstrated that such contradictions, or chimeras, were particularly evident in the compounding legal and institutional regulation anchored in social privilege, property ownership, and the projection of authority. Lastly, the foregoing analysis of commissions associated with the assertion of civility and jurisprudence through architecture indicated the value of further interrogating two aspects of the mobilization of classic (and more broadly historical) design tradition. The first is the sectionalist, counter idealist nature of historicism at work in the constitution of modernity. The second is the complex interplay of assumption and presumption, mentality and materiality, operating in the appropriation of historical cultural iconography.

NOTES

1. The best anthology of deconstructionist critique in relation to architecture remains Leach, Neil, 1996 [and later reprints], *Rethinking Architecture*, New York, NY, Routledge. The broader reconsideration of classical values in terms of social ethos perhaps commenced notably with Rosenau, Helen, 1970, *Social Purpose in Architecture: Paris and London Compared, 1760-1800*, London, Studio Vista,

- and was carried forward by, among others, Potts Alexander, 1994, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press; and Levine, M. Joseph, 2008, "Why Neoclassicism? Politics and Culture in Eighteenth-century England," *Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies*, vol. 25, p. 1-27.
2. Particular reference is intended to Louis Althusser's 1971 essays in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Toward and Investigation," *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, New York, NY, Monthly Review Press; and to Jacques Derrida's book *Of Grammatology* [trans. Gayatri Spivak], 1976, Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press. Other important strategies derive from the work of Michel Foucault, Walter Benjamin, and Nigel Thrift. Foucault's major contributions include *The Order of Things. An Archeology of the Human Sciences* ([trans. Alan Sheridan-Smith], New York, NY, Routledge, 1970); and *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* ([ed. Colin Graham], New York, NY, Pantheon Books, 1980); see also Rabinow, Paul (ed.), 1984, *The Foucault Reader*, New York, Pantheon Books. Benjamin, in *The Origins of German Tragic Drama* ([trans. J. Osborne], London, UK, Verso, 1985 [1973]), makes a useful distinction between the allegorical—that which eludes exact representation or articulation—and the symbolic—that which is sufficiently articulated to become represented knowledge. There is also relation to the interpretation of ideology as a sense of contradiction between present, deficient, and future ideal states, argued by Jürgen Habermas toward the end of the third chapter of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1989). I owe this reference and other valuable critique to Marc Grignon of Laval University. Thrift's insights on the affective register of space is exemplified by his *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect* (London, UK, Routledge, 2008).
 3. Kennedy, Roger G., 1985, *Architecture, Men, Women and Money in America, 1600-1860*, New York, NY, Random House; Colquhoun Alan, 1989, *Modernity and the Classical Tradition. Architectural Essays 1980-1987*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, p. 201-212. See also Palgrave, Harry F., 1996, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, including discussion of Semper's idea of the communicative force of architectural articulation or dressing.
 4. Comparable ruptures are explored by Buck-Morss, Susan, 2009, *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History*, Pittsburgh, PA, University of Pittsburgh Press.
 5. Watkin, David and Tilman Mellinghoff, 1987 [1st ed.], *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal*, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press; and Scobie, Alexander, 1990, *Hitler's State Architecture and the Impact of Classical Antiquity*, published for the College Art Association of America by Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA. See also Silver, Kenneth, 2010, *Chaos and Classicism: Art in France, Italy and Germany, 1918-1936*, New York, NY, Guggenheim Museum.
 6. British legal development during this period is discussed in Oldham, James, 2004, *English Common Law in the Age of Mansfield*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press. See also: Whittington, Keith, Daniel Kelemen and Gregory Caldiera (eds.), 2008, *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press; Hay, Douglas, 1975, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-century England*, London, UK, Allen Lane; and Hay, Douglas and Nicholas Rogers (eds.), 1997, *Eighteenth-century English Society: Shuttle and Swords*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press. For the influence of Roman Law, see Ibbetson, David and Andrew Lewis (eds.) 1994, *The Roman Law Tradition*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
 7. The approach in this essay compares with John Barrell's 1980 seminal re-examination of English landscape art in *The Dark Side of the Landscape*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press; see also Deamer, Peggy (ed.), 2014, *Architecture and Capitalism: 1845 to the Present*, London, UK, Routledge.
 8. Brewer, E. Cobham, 1923 [new ed.], *A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, London, UK, Cassells, p. 172. Another interesting usage occurs in Ricoeur, Paul [trans. Charles Kelbley], 1965, *History and Truth*, Evanston, IL, Northwestern University Press, when writing of work: "It is a chimera which withdraws from us, it fails to consider the full scope of the human" (p. 199). The *Oxford English Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2005 [4th ed.], proposes (p. 148): "impossible to achieve; unrealistic." Other ancient sources for this contradictory and hybrid element are the story of the man-woman Hermaphroditus in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IV, and the critique of contradictory or incongruous articulation—an origin of the late modern concept of hybridity—in Horace, *Ars Poetica*.
 9. Ferber, Michael, 1993, *The Poetry of Shelley*, London, UK, Penguin.
 10. Blake's aesthetic and social politics are most effectively reviewed in Ackroyd, Peter, 1995, *Blake*, London, Sinclair-Stevenson; and Lindsay, Jack, 1978, *William Blake. His Life and Work*, London, UK, Constable.
 11. Most notably in Said, Edward W., 2003 [1994], *Orientalism*, London, UK, Penguin; and 1993, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, NY, Knopf; also in Bhabha, Homi K., 1994, *The Location of Culture*, London, UK, Routledge; and 1990, *Nation and Narration*, London, UK, Routledge.
 12. Jenkins, Richard, 1993, *The Legacy of Rome. A New Appraisal*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press. In his *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance* (1991, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press), Jenkins justly judges that the Victorians were "zealous hero-worshippers who used both the Middle Ages and classical antiquity to serve their purpose" (p. 19).
 13. Jenkins, *Legacy of Rome* : 12.
 14. Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 1980, *William Wilkins, 1778-1859*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 103.
 15. Among later notable and much reprinted exemplars of this fabric of ideas and images associated with architectural design are Scott, Geoffrey, 1980 [1st ed. 1914], *Architecture of Humanism*, London, UK, Architectural Press; and Wittkower, Rudolf, 1949, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, UK, Warburg Institute; carried forward in such data-driven compendiums as Curl, James, 1992, *Classical Architecture: an Introduction to its Vocabulary and Essentials*, London, UK, Batsford; or Rowans, Alistair, 2003, *Bob the Roman: Heroic Antiquity and the Architecture of Robert Adam*, London, UK, Sir John Soane Museum; such aesthetically framed histories as Ackerman, James, 1966, *Palladio*, Harmondsworth, UK, Penguin; and 1986, *Architecture of Michelangelo*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press; or Blunt, Anthony, 1953, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700*, Harmondsworth, UK, Penguin, coll. "Pelican History of Art"; social contextual studies such as Scully, Vincent, 1962, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*, 1962, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press; and his 2003 essay, "The Nature of Classical

- Art," in his *Modern Architecture and Other Essays*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press; or Anderson, Christy, 2007, *Inigo Jones and the Classic Tradition*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press; and cultural analyses such as Hershey, George, 1988, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture. Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press; or Rykwert, Joseph, 1986, *The Dancing Column. On Order in Architecture*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.
16. One dramatic instance was Shakespeare's characterization of Caliban in *The Tempest* (c. 1603). The dating, sources, and recent bibliography, including reference to the play's reflection of late Elizabethan cultural attitude, are examined by Stritmatter, Roger and Lynne Kositsky, 2007, "The Spanish Maze and the Date of the Tempest," *The Oxfordian*, vol. 10, p. 8-19. For the literary and cultural origins of colonial "othering," see Lockey, Brian, 2006, *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
 17. The history of slavery, including its cultural dimension, is examined in Draper, Nicholas, 2010, *Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press; and Paquette, Robert and Mark Smith (eds.), 2010, *The Oxford Handbook of Slavery in the Americas*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.
 18. These monumental assertions of cultural as well as political hegemony are studied in Irvin, Robert G., 1981, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
 19. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, op. cit.; Etlin, Richard, 1996, *In Defense of Humanism*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press; Hersey, op. cit., McEwan, Indra K., 2003, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.
 20. Vidler, Anthony, 1987, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press; and with respect to the capacity of architecture to convey ideas and values, Colomina, Beatriz, 1997, "On Adolf Loos and Josef Hoffman: Architecture in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Max Risselada (ed.), *Raumplan Versus Plan*, Delft, NL, Delft University Press, p. 65-77.
 21. Quoted with discussion in Liscombe, *William Wilkins, 1778-1839* : 91; see also Liscombe's 1979 article, "Richard Payne Knight: Some Unpublished Correspondence," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 61 no. 4, p. 604-606.
 22. Summerson, John, 1964, *Classical Language*, London, UK, Methuen, p. 46.
 23. Worsley, Giles, 1995, *Classical Architecture in Britain. The Heroic Age*, published by Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.
 24. Parissien, Steven, 1994, *Palladian Style*, London, UK, Phaidon Press.
 25. Harris, John, 1996, "Architecture of the House," in Andrew Moore (ed.), *Houghton Hall: the Prime Minister, the Empress and the Heritage*, London, UK, Philip Wilson.
 26. Stark, Jeremy, 1990, *Robert Walpole and the Nature of Politics*, Houndsmill, UK, Macmillan.
 27. At Stowe, Cobham commissioned James Gibbs to build what became dubbed the Temple of Liberty, 1739-1740, in the Gothic[k] mode as demonstration of his superior command of democratic process. Friedman, Terry, 1984, *James Gibbs*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
 28. Thompson, Edward P., 1975, *Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act*, London, UK, Penguin, p. 23.
 29. In a paper given at the 2008 Universities Art Association of Canada, entitled "The Repository of Glamour: Ackermann, Brummell, Nash and Visual Enticement," Liscombe argued that the constituents of late modern glamour originated in eighteenth-century elitist chattel purchase; see also Grundle, Stephen, 2008, *Glamour: A History*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.
 30. For enclosure see Burt, Richard, 1994, *Enclosure Acts; Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press. Interestingly, Edmund Burke, in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* ([1790, 1st ed., J.G.A. Pocock], 1993, Indianapolis, IN, Hackett Publishing), stated: "The power of perpetuating our property in our families is one of the most valuable and interesting circumstances belonging to it, and that tends the most to the perpetuation of society itself" (p. 36).
 31. Thompson : 197. There is an uncanny resemblance to the etymology, and thus ontology, of Blunt's (1954) description of Poussin's classicism in his elitist (ironically, given his supposed Soviet affiliation) summation of elite French art and architectural practice. Poussin's classicism possessed, Blunt wrote, a "mobile-like detachment and also its coldness, which at some moments comes near to lack of life," a quality that compounded in later work wherein the artist "mould[ed] his imaginative conceptions with forms of perfect clarity which should, further, conform to certain canons derived from classical art . . ." (p. 193 and 195). Anthony Blunt's thought and scholarship form the subject of Luke Nicholson's 2011 doctoral dissertation, "Anthony Blunt and Nicholas Poussin: A Queer Approach," Montreal, QC, Concordia University.
 32. This passage engages with the work of Nigel Thrift (see note 2) and of Thomas Markus, particularly his 1993 *Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origins of Modern Building Types*, London, UK, Routledge.
 33. See, for example, St. Clair, William, 1967, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press; and Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 2000, "Deconstructing William Wilkins," in David Watkin (ed.), *The Age of Wilkins: The Architecture of Improvement*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 35-53.
 34. Lavery, Brian, 1989, *Nelson's Navy; the Ships, Men and Organization, 1793-1825*, London, UK, Conway Heritage Press.
 35. Waddell, Gene and Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, 1989, *Robert Mills's Courthouses and Jails*, Easley, SC, Southern Historical Press; and Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 1994, *Altogether American: Robert Mills Architect and Engineer*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, esp. p. 111-117.
 36. Waddell, Gene, 2003, *Charleston Architecture 1670-1860*, Charleston, SC, Wyrick & Co., p. 93-94; and Poston, Jonathan H., 1991, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture*, Columbia, SC, University of South Carolina Press, p. 228-230.
 37. An Italian treatise on architecture by architect Andrea Palladio, 1508-1580: *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [The Four Books of Architecture].
 38. Liscombe, *Altogether American...* : 109-110; and Waddell, Gene, 1980, *Mills's Atlas of the State of South Carolina*, Easley, SC, Southern Historical Press; see also Bryan, John M., 1989, *Robert Mills Architect*, Washington, DC, American Institute of Architects.
 39. Gene Waddell (1987, "The First Monticello," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 46, March, p. 5-29) relates the design to Thomas Jefferson's remarkable intellectual capacity but rather underplays

- the gap between his pronouncement and his actions, personal and political, with respect to slavery. See also Howard, Hugh, 2003, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, New York, NY, Rizzoli. Richard Etlin (1999, *In Defense of Humanism*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press) discusses Monticello in personal and cultural terms (p. 48-54 and 187-188). See also Kennedy, Roger, 2003, *Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery and the Louisiana Purchase*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press.
40. Scott, Pamela, 1983, *Buildings of the District of Columbia*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, arguing that Mills intended his public buildings to serve as exemplars of building types.
 41. Henrietta, James and David Purdy, 2010, *America. A Concise History*, Burton, MA, St. Martin's.
 42. Cook, J. Mordaunt, 1981, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, esp. p. 79-83, 85-91, 119-123, 146-162, and 250-251, concentrating on the aesthetic rather than socio-economic conditions.
 43. Thomas, Christopher, 2002, *The Lincoln Memorial and American Life*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press. See also Rahe, Paul, 1992, *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press; and Foner, Erik, 2010, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*, New York, NY, W.W. Norton.
 44. Barman, Jean, 2007, *The West Beyond the West. A History of British Columbia*, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto Press.
 45. Summarized in McNaught, Kenneth, 1988, *Pelican History of Canada*, London, UK, Penguin.
 46. Young, Carolyn, 1995, *The Glory of Ottawa*, Montreal, QC, and Kingston, ON, McGill-Queen's University Press.
 47. Respectively published at Toronto by the University of Toronto Press and at Fredericton by the University of New Brunswick.
 48. Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor and Anthony A. Barrett, 1983, *Francis Rattenbury and British Columbia. Architecture and Challenge in the Imperial Age*, Vancouver, BC, University of British Columbia Press.
 49. Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 2004, "Fabricating Legalities of State in the Imperial West. The Social Work of the Courthouse in Late Victorian and Edwardian British Columbia," *Law - Text - Culture*, vol. 8, p. 57-82.
 50. The processes with respect to Aboriginal Peoples is related by Harris, Cole, 2002, *Making Nature Space: Colonialism, Resistance and Reserves in British Columbia*, Vancouver, BC, University of British Columbia Press; see also Barman, *op. cit.*; and Macdonald, Robert, 1996, *Making Vancouver: Class Status and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913*, Vancouver, BC, University of British Columbia Press.
 51. Persky, Stan, 1998, *Delgamuukw: The Supreme Court of Canada Decision on Aboriginal Title*, Vancouver, BC, Greystone Books.
 52. The temporal aspect of cultural mindset is examined in an article by Liscombe, Rhodri, 2010, "Henry Newbolt in Canada: The Time of Meaning," *The Clifton Magazine*, p. 131-134.
 53. The scheme is contextualized in Service, Alastair, 1977, *Edwardian Architecture: a Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914*, London, UK, Thames & Hudson; and Fellows, Richard, 1995, *Edwardian Architecture: Style and Technology*, London, UK, Lund Humphries.

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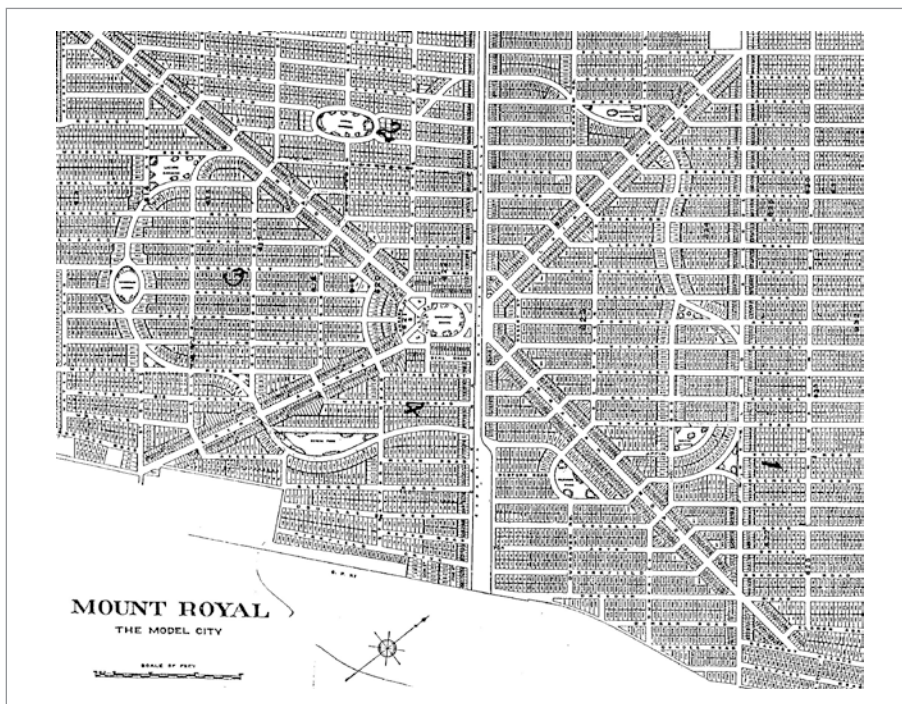
ÉMERGENCE DE LA PRATIQUE DU DESIGN URBAIN À MONTRÉAL : entre urbanisation traditionnelle et composition savante, le cas de la Ville de Mont-Royal de 1912 à 2014¹

> FRANÇOIS RACINE

Détenteur d'un doctorat en aménagement, FRANÇOIS RACINE est architecte et urbaniste. De 1993 à 2014, il a enseigné la morphologie urbaine, le design architectural et urbain à la Faculté de l'aménagement de l'Université de Montréal. De 2001 à 2014, il a été l'un des associés principaux de l'Atelier B.R.I.C. architectes + urbaniste, firme spécialisée dans les études morphologiques et patrimoniales et dans l'élaboration de projets de design urbain. Ses recherches et ses travaux professionnels ont porté sur le processus de formation et de transformation des milieux bâtis et ont concerné, plus particulièrement, l'articulation entre l'analyse typo-morphologique et les projets d'intervention. Son engagement à titre de professeur en urbanisme et en design urbain au Département d'études urbaines et touristiques de l'Université du Québec à Montréal et son implication au sein de la Chaire de recherche du Canada en patrimoine urbain l'ont amené à concentrer ses recherches plus spécifiquement sur l'émergence et le développement de la pratique du design urbain à Montréal.

Entreprendre cette recherche sur la forme urbaine particulière de la Ville de Mont-Royal est impératif dans un contexte où il existe un consensus sur la nécessité de définir de nouveaux types de tissus qui répondent à l'exigence contemporaine du développement durable. Ces nouveaux tissus ne doivent plus être uniquement modulés en fonction des déplacements véhiculaires, mais être pensés selon des trames plus serrées permettant la mise en place d'une desserte en transport collectif². Cette réflexion doit émerger dès le début du processus de conception du projet urbain comme elle l'a été dans le travail fondateur de l'architecte-paysagiste et urbaniste Frederick G. Todd en 1912 pour la conception de la Ville de Mont-Royal (Ill.1), travail de composition urbaine que l'on peut rattacher à l'art de bâtir la ville de Camillo Sitte³ et à l'art de dessiner les plans de villes de Raymond Unwin⁴.

Les expériences actuelles d'aménagement de type TOD (*transit-oriented development*)⁵ au Québec et au Canada sont trop souvent caractérisées par un degré minime de définition spatiale et morphologique et par une faible qualité des espaces libres devant encourager les déplacements à pied et à vélo vers la desserte en transport collectif. De fait, la question des déplacements en voiture est encore centrale dans la conception des nouveaux quartiers ou dans la transformation d'espaces urbains existants. L'aménagement d'immenses aires de stationnement aux abords de gares de transport collectif résulte en la présence d'espaces vacants au centre des agglomérations desservies par le train



ILL. 1. PLAN DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL, FREDERICK G. TODD, 1912. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL

de banlieue⁶. Cet article propose de faire un saut dans l'histoire afin de revenir plus en profondeur sur un projet qui a contribué à l'émergence de la pratique du design urbain à Montréal⁷. Mais les enseignements du travail instaurateur de Todd ont-ils tous été mis en lumière? Comme l'écrit André Corboz, « Le champ reste donc largement ouvert à de nouvelles hypothèses, lesquelles pourraient conférer à la Ville de Mont-Royal un intérêt insoupçonné⁸. » Notre recherche inscrite dans le domaine de la morphologie urbaine offre un angle d'analyse nouveau sur ce projet phare⁹. L'exemple de la Ville de Mont-Royal va nous permettre d'éclairer les choix formels et spatiaux d'un designer urbain de renom, Frederick G. Todd¹⁰, et d'étudier la mise en place effective de la vision de Todd à travers le temps sur un territoire situé à proximité du flanc nord du mont Royal.

Il est pertinent de revenir sur la définition de design urbain employée pour les fins de notre recherche : « processus de conception et de réalisation d'arrangements physiques permettant de maîtriser l'organisation formelle de la croissance urbaine à travers permanences et changements¹¹ ». Le design urbain n'est donc pas un outil théorique de connaissance, mais une démarche de conception adaptée à la création d'un objet de grande échelle : la ville. Il est intéressant pour les urbanistes et les designers urbains d'étudier les formes urbaines planifiées afin de comprendre par quelles opérations cognitives sont passés les concepteurs pour concevoir un environnement bâti complexe à l'échelle d'un quartier, d'une ville.

La présente recherche axée sur l'analyse diachronique et synchronique des données liées à la forme urbaine doit nous permettre de comprendre le processus de conception, de formation et de transformation du cadre bâti de la Ville de

Mont-Royal. Pour ce faire, nous devons tout d'abord aborder la question de la dialectique entre le processus spontané, vernaculaire d'édification qui régit la croissance de la ville traditionnelle et celui de la composition savante dont est issue la conception du plan de la Ville de Mont-Royal. C'est cette dialectique qui explique la forme particulière de certaines parties ou de quartiers de l'île de Montréal dont fait partie la Ville de Mont-Royal. Cette dialectique est souvent annonciatrice des mutations qui vont se produire dans le processus de fabrication du tissu et de développement continu des typologies architecturales. Le choix du designer urbain lors de la conception et de la formation d'un nouveau tissu est au cœur de ces mutations de la forme urbaine. Comprendre le processus de formation et de transformation de la forme urbaine, saisir le « rôle de chacune de ses caractéristiques (site, réseau viaire, trame parcellaire, espace bâti et espace libre) peuvent être fort utiles pour comprendre, et donc pour savoir comment aborder, les problèmes des quartiers anciens, qu'il s'agisse de la préservation du patrimoine ou de son évolution, voire de son remplacement »¹². Ajoutons que les recherches en morphologie urbaine sont essentielles pour comprendre les règles de formation des tissus planifiés afin d'appréhender les méthodes et les pratiques du design urbain.

Que se passe-t-il si un designer urbain choisit un mode de structuration en opposition avec les règles syntaxiques courantes d'une localité et d'une culture bâtie données? Si un concepteur se voit offrir une plus grande liberté d'action dans l'élaboration de son projet d'aménagement et n'est plus soumis aux règles de structuration courantes dans l'édification des tissus urbains traditionnels? C'est précisément cette problématique qui peut générer un degré de discontinuité

morphologique dans la croissance des tissus¹³ que nous étudions dans cet article. Il s'agit d'une discontinuité sur le plan horizontal lors de la constitution des couches successives de croissance d'une ville, soit le phénomène de formation du tissu. Avec le cas de la Ville de Mont-Royal en particulier, nous allons examiner le passage du processus de formation courant des faubourgs de Montréal à l'émergence de nouvelles façons de faire issues de la composition urbaine savante, annonciatrice des modes de structuration du tissu suburbain.

Il est nécessaire d'examiner et de comprendre le processus spontané et vernaculaire d'édification des villes québécoises et canadiennes, car, selon l'hypothèse adoptée dans la présente recherche, plus le concepteur connaît les caractéristiques courantes du tissu de son époque, plus il travaille à partir d'une réinterprétation de la syntaxe de celui-ci, plus son projet de tissu est susceptible d'atteindre un degré de continuité et de s'arrimer à la forme existante de la ville. Comme nous allons le voir, le concepteur doit se positionner par rapport au processus traditionnel d'édification du tissu urbain. Il va naturellement aussi se situer par rapport aux grands courants de pensée nationaux et internationaux qui ont contribué à façonner la discipline de l'urbanisme depuis la création du terme par Ildefonso Cerda en 1859¹⁴.

LE PROCESSUS D'URBANISATION TRADITIONNEL DES VILLES

Le processus d'urbanisation traditionnel dit spontané est le processus d'édification des établissements humains qui repose sur un savoir-faire acquis et développé par de multiples générations de bâtisseurs sur une longue période historique. Ce processus tend à s'adapter à un contexte géographique et culturel donné. Habituellement

et afin d'assurer la croissance des formes urbaines, les couches successives se greffent à l'image des anneaux de croissance d'un arbre. L'illustration 2 montre le processus courant de formation des villes québécoises et canadiennes : il y a tout d'abord la présence d'un noyau d'origine (A), premier stade de formation de l'urbain dans un site spécifique, puis une deuxième strate autour du noyau (B) et, enfin, l'agrégation de la couche de croissance périphérique (C). Si nous examinons, par exemple, la croissance des villes italiennes, nous pourrions constater la mise en place de diverses strates de croissance (Antiquité, Moyen Âge, Renaissance, période classique, moderne, etc.). Au Québec et au Canada, il est possible généralement de repérer les trois strates principales résultant de la mise en place simultanée du type bâti et du tissu, soit : le bourg (A), le faubourg (B) et la banlieue (C).

Notons qu'il s'agit d'un schéma idéal sans indication des déformations induites par le site d'implantation d'une cité. De plus, la répartition uniforme des strates de croissance ne tient pas compte de la conjoncture particulière et localisée dans laquelle se développe une ville. En effet, dépendant des cycles économiques et de la localisation géographique de l'entité urbaine, des couches peuvent être moins étendues que d'autres. Pour l'exemple de Montréal, le boum des faubourgs a fortement influencé la forme urbaine au tournant du dix-neuvième siècle, de sorte que ce type de tissu constitue une large partie de la forme urbaine de la ville.

Suivant la morphologie et la phase de formation de la Ville de Mont-Royal, il s'agit d'un tissu suburbain, soit de type C (ill. 2). Toutefois, bien que la ville fasse partie actuellement de l'agglomération de Montréal, ce projet de tissu a d'abord été imaginé, à cause de la présence de la

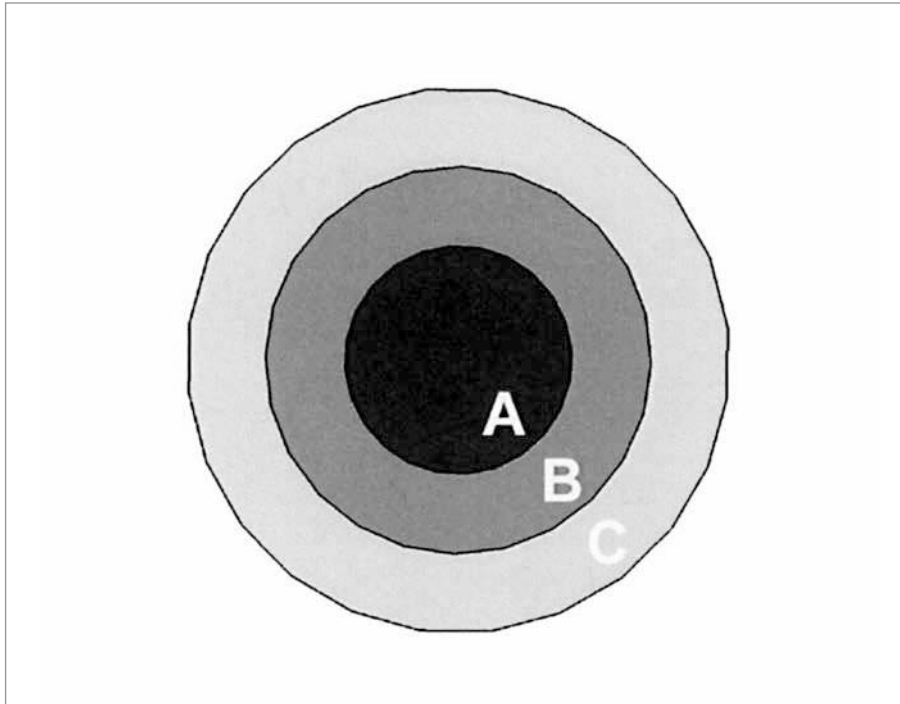
montagne, comme une entité autonome, une cité implantée à distance du noyau de Montréal et des premiers faubourgs¹⁵. Cette première discontinuité dans la croissance de Montréal est induite aussi par une volonté, une vision urbanistique que l'on peut associer aux mouvements hygiénistes du début du vingtième siècle et à la volonté des tenants de ce discours d'éloigner les populations du cœur des villes, jugé malsain à cette époque. Le mouvement des cités-jardins n'est pas étranger à cette nouvelle vision de la croissance urbaine et Ebenezer Howard, un de ses plus ardents défenseurs, a été l'un des premiers à encourager la mise en place de ces cités dans un cadre naturel afin de « soigner » les populations urbaines¹⁶.

La fondation de la Ville de Mont-Royal s'inscrit dans les courants d'idées introduits en Amérique du Nord prônant le retour à la nature et une mise à distance des établissements humains de la ville en phase de croissance faubourienne, au début du vingtième siècle¹⁷. Au cours de la révolution industrielle, le mouvement urbanistique des cités-jardins s'oppose à la ville industrielle où le développement semble incontrôlé. Il s'oppose également à la campagne comme lieu d'établissement, parce qu'elle est considérée comme trop éloignée des villes et des lieux d'emplois des masses laborieuses. Dans son livre paru en 1898 (*To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*) et réédité une première fois en 1902 (sous le titre *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*), Howard¹⁸ présente un diagramme pour illustrer ce concept d'agglomération imaginée à distance de la ville, reliée par un réseau ferroviaire qui entoure et circonscrit la cité-satellite (ill. 3). De grands boulevards convergent vers un jardin central autour duquel sont disposés les équipements publics.

La cité-jardin représente un premier niveau de rejet du mode de croissance

traditionnel de la ville prôné par les tenants de la pensée culturaliste¹⁹. Elle est annonciatrice des conceptions plus radicales des courants progressistes qui vont marquer la pensée et les théories sur la ville au vingtième siècle²⁰ dont l'objectif est l'élimination pure et simple de la ville traditionnelle et son remplacement par le modèle de la ville fonctionnaliste. Le modèle de planification proposé par Howard privilégie l'établissement d'une ville comme une entité autosuffisante, implantée à distance du bourg et des faubourgs dans un territoire dominé par l'agriculture²¹. Son utopie de type socialiste suppose l'acquisition des terres au profit de la collectivité et la mise en commun de moyens de production. Dans la cité-jardin, les lieux de travail sont séparés des quartiers résidentiels paisibles (ill. 3). De grands boulevards convergent vers le centre de l'espace public majeur de la cité nouvelle. Howard mentionne que son principe d'organisation doit s'adapter au terrain, qu'il s'agit d'un guide, plutôt que d'un modèle à reproduire, et qu'il vise la combinaison de la vie urbaine et de la campagne dans une ville où le foncier est de propriété collective.

En ce qui concerne l'aménagement de la Ville de Mont-Royal, le contexte social, économique et politique est moins marqué par l'utopie socialiste. La stratégie d'acquisition massive des terrains en vue de la constitution d'une nouvelle cité s'apparente à celle imaginée par Howard; toutefois l'opération réalisée par la Canadian Northern Railway (CNR) n'est pas pour le bénéfice de la municipalité et de sa population. C'est une opération urbanistique capitaliste inscrite dans une optique d'implantation d'une ligne de chemin de fer par la CNR qui désire concurrencer la Canadian Pacific Railway. Le réseau ferroviaire de la CPR, implanté sur le flanc sud de la montagne bloque toute tentative d'installation du réseau concurrent de la



ILL. 2. SCHÉMA DES COUCHES DE CROISSANCE DES VILLES QUÉBÉCOISES. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.

délimitant des îlots rectangulaires où sont implantées des constructions mitoyennes. L'ensemble de cette structure typique des faubourgs montréalais est issu du découpage initial des rangs agricoles. La terre agricole est l'unité de base du lotissement des faubourgs. Ces opérations procèdent par le tracé d'une rue au centre d'un lot agricole et par le découpage systématique de parcelles de part et d'autre de cette nouvelle voie. Les ruelles se superposent aux limites des terres agricoles et font la jonction entre les différents lotissements. Ces ensembles fonciers se juxtaposent spatialement et définissent une trame orthogonale de rues et d'îlots rectangulaires orientés nord-sud. Ce mode d'organisation simple assure un degré de continuité dans l'établissement des tissus des faubourgs où le percement de voies de raccordement permet une bonne perméabilité du tissu.

Bien qu'il découle d'une vision d'une cité planifiée géographiquement séparée du centre de Montréal par la montagne, le plan de Todd est partiellement en continuité avec la tradition d'édification des faubourgs. À l'instar du lotissement des faubourgs, Todd s'occupe de tracer les découpages parcellaires sans dessiner aucune masse bâtie sur son plan d'ensemble. De plus, il établit son projet à partir d'une trame orthogonale avec des îlots résidentiels de forme allongée, avec ou sans ruelles, qui se comparent aux îlots montréalais. Toutefois, les îlots résidentiels du plan de Todd pour la Ville de Mont-Royal ne comportent pas systématiquement des têtes, c'est-à-dire des parcelles orientées sur chacune des quatre voies qui délimitent l'îlot. Les têtes d'îlots sont présentes lorsque les îlots bordent les voies majeures du plan comme les boulevards. À la différence des plans de lotissement des faubourgs, le plan de Todd est inscrit dans un espace isotrope où le contexte limitrophe est absent.

CNR. Les profits de l'opération foncière doivent financer un projet d'envergure : le percement d'un tunnel sous le mont Royal pour faire passer le réseau ferré de la CNR afin d'accéder au centre-ville de Montréal²². C'est à ce moment qu'entre en scène un concepteur de renom désigné pour établir le plan d'ensemble d'une nouvelle ville.

LE CONCEPT D'AMÉNAGEMENT DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL

Maintenant que nous avons expliqué le processus courant de formation des tissus à Montréal, montré en quoi le projet de la Ville de Mont-Royal s'en détache et décrit comment il se distingue des fondements sociaux de la cité-jardin, observons le plan d'ensemble du projet imaginé par Todd en 1912 pour étudier en détail ses éléments constitutifs (ill. 1). L'analyse du plan d'aménagement de Todd fait ressortir

qu'il articule de manière cohérente quatre modes de structuration de l'espace :

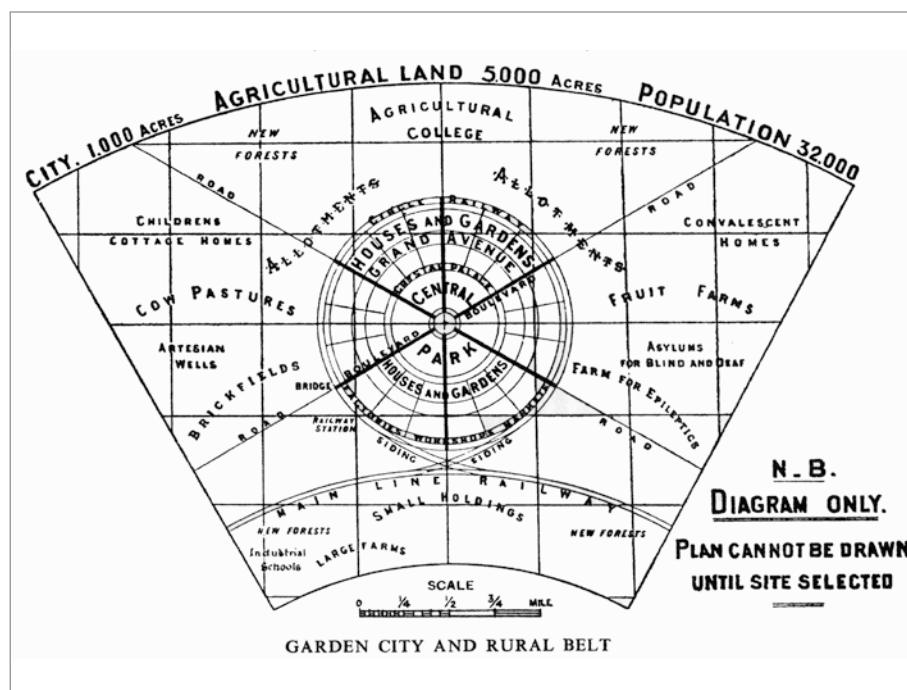
1. un souci d'établir une continuité avec les modes traditionnels d'édification à Montréal;
2. une révision de ces modes selon des considérations fonctionnalistes du mouvement moderne;
3. une poursuite de l'art de la composition urbaine repris du mouvement City Beautiful;
4. l'adoption du modèle anglais de la banlieue-jardin comme milieu de vie idéal.

1. Le mode traditionnel d'édification au Québec

L'organisation spatiale des faubourgs au tournant du dix-neuvième siècle est établie à partir d'une trame orthogonale de voies

En termes de hiérarchie du découpage du parcellaire, Todd prévoit des lots plus étroits aux abords de la place publique centrale, le long des boulevards et le long de l'emprise ferroviaire. La dimension typique de ce parcellaire est d'environ neuf mètres et demi de largeur par trente mètres de profondeur. Le mode de découpage retenu est plus large que celui des faubourgs montréalais où les parcelles ont habituellement sept mètres et demi de largeur et trente mètres de profondeur. Toutefois les découpages parcellaires de neuf mètres et demi indiquent la volonté de Todd de favoriser la construction de bâtiments mitoyens contribuant à la définition de l'espace urbain, à l'image de ceux de la ville traditionnelle. Pour les autres parcelles du projet, le lot type est d'environ quinze à dix-huit mètres de largeur sur trente-cinq mètres de profondeur. Cette dimension de parcelle favorise l'implantation de bâtiments pavillonnaires ou jumelés et assure la présence de marges avant, latérales et arrière plantées.

En ce qui a trait à la relation du tissu au réseau ferroviaire, Todd utilise la voie ferrée comme élément principal de composition urbaine, ce qui diffère du rôle qui lui est habituellement conféré dans la structuration des faubourgs. Bien qu'elle soit le catalyseur du développement du tissu de faubourg et de ses quartiers, la voie ferrée est généralement installée à la périphérie du tissu. Elle y engendre une barrière ou, à tout le moins, une limite d'urbanisation entre les quartiers. Ici, Todd choisit de se servir de la linéarité du réseau, qu'il inscrit comme axe de composition principal découpant symétriquement son projet en deux parties. Le chemin de fer est un élément majeur dans la structuration de ce tissu et confère un équilibre au plan d'ensemble (ill.1). Plutôt que d'être un élément périphérique et secondaire, il influence le paysage de la cité et fixe la hiérarchie de



ILL. 3. ORGANISATION PROPOSÉE POUR LA CITÉ-JARDIN. | HOWARD, GARDEN CITIES OF TO-MORROW.

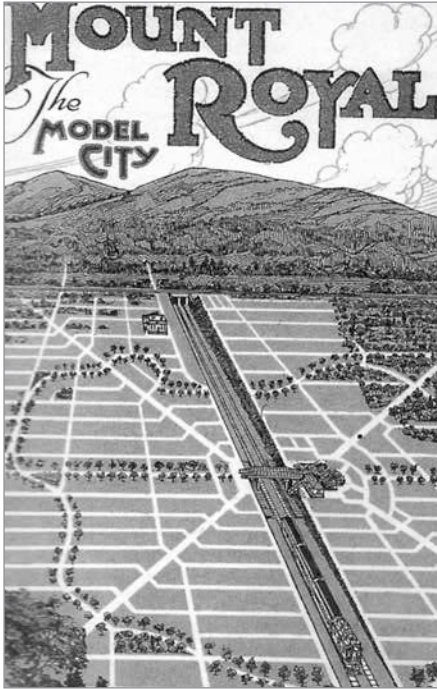
ses espaces publics et de son réseau viarie. La voie ferrée est la véritable colonne vertébrale du concept d'organisation spatiale de Todd.

2. Considérations fonctionnalistes du mouvement moderne

La trame du plan de Todd a une parenté morphologique avec le mode de structuration des îlots traditionnels montréalais, mais le concepteur choisit de pivoter la trame orthogonale de quatre-vingt-dix degrés afin d'assurer un ensoleillement optimal. Cela est possible dans la logique d'établissement d'une cité qui n'est plus liée morphologiquement au bourg existant de Montréal et où le tissu n'est plus déterminé par les limites du cadastre agricole et son orientation nord-sud. Le remembrement préalable d'un ensemble de lots agricoles permet une telle intégration des conditions de répartition

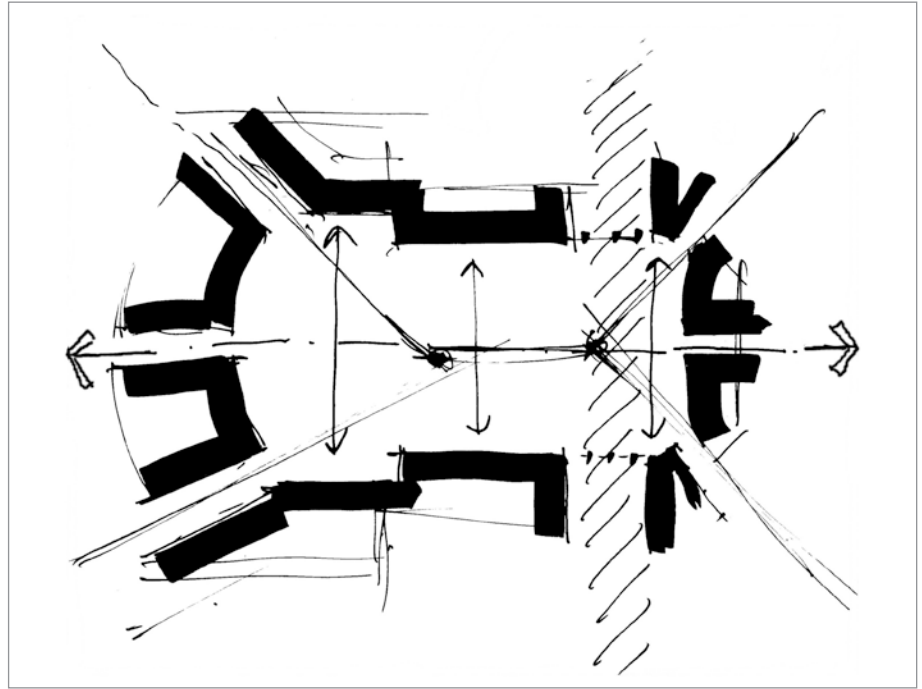
de la lumière sur les habitations dans le concept d'aménagement de Todd. L'orientation de la trame suit les préceptes hygiénistes et fonctionnalistes qui sont diffusés au début du vingtième siècle en urbanisme. En cela Todd est un homme de son époque. La distribution équitable de la lumière est une des considérations de design urbain au centre de l'élaboration de la Cité radieuse de Le Corbusier proposée plus tard, dans les années 1920²³. Todd ne va pas jusqu'à éliminer la ville traditionnelle, mais il propose des moyens d'améliorer les conditions de vie dans les nouvelles agglomérations.

Un autre élément de la pensée fonctionnaliste, associé aux exigences de la circulation, est la présence d'un mode de transport collectif au centre de l'organisation spatiale de cette cité-satellite. Todd choisit clairement de se distancier de ce qui est proposé dans le schéma



ILL. 4. IMAGE PUBLICITAIRE DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL, 1911. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.

de Howard (ill. 3) où le chemin de fer se situe à la périphérie de la cité-jardin. Le fait que son client est une compagnie de transport ferroviaire n'est pas étranger au choix de cette option de design. L'organisme urbain imaginé par Todd est relié par un réseau ferré accessible en son centre et non périphérique comme proposé dans le schéma d'organisation privilégié par Howard, option qui se rapproche davantage de sa position dans les faubourgs. Le tissu de la Ville de Mont-Royal est situé de part et d'autre d'un chemin de fer. La gare, à proximité d'un viaduc, agit comme point focal symbolique et confère son identité particulière à la structure urbaine. La trouvaille de Todd dans le développement du plan de sa cité est d'avoir adopté une position axiale centrale de la voie ferrée pour situer cet « organe » de circulation majeur au cœur de la cité. L'encaissement dans le sol de la voie ferrée et son émergence graduelle du sous-sol au sortir du tunnel



ILL. 5. CROQUIS MONTRANT LA FIGURE BASIQUE DE LA PLACE. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.

de la montagne jusqu'au point central qui relie les deux parties de la ville diminue l'impact et l'effet de coupure d'une telle infrastructure (ill. 4).

3. Art de la composition urbaine

Todd puise aux sources de la tradition européenne dans la composition des espaces publics de cette cité. L'introduction d'une place, tout comme la superposition de deux boulevards diagonaux qui y convergent, structurent également le plan. Bien qu'elles pourraient s'étendre, ces voies diagonales s'interrompent aux limites du projet dessiné par Todd. Le plan montre que le concepteur a travaillé avec doigté et simplicité le raccordement géométrique entre les boulevards et la trame orthogonale de rues. Les boulevards qui convergent vers un espace public central sont une configuration empruntée à la tradition baroque d'aménagement urbain. Nous

pouvons aussi y voir une parenté avec le schéma de Howard (ill. 3). Les sources de cette organisation urbaine en patte d'oie remontent au dix-septième siècle. La place du Peuple de Rome est le prototype de l'un des motifs des cités baroques : les voies rayonnantes dont la convergence est ordonnée par rapport à un foyer significatif. Cette place, au centre de laquelle se trouve un obélisque, constitue la porte d'entrée à la ville sainte. Versailles est la version française et grandiose de cette configuration visant à mettre en perspective le château et, ce faisant, affirmant le pouvoir monarchique. Cette tradition baroque d'aménagement urbain a été introduite dès 1791 en Amérique avec le plan de la ville de Washington réalisé par Pierre Charles L'Enfant²⁴. Ce motif a aussi été utilisé dans le plan de Chicago par Daniel Burnham en 1909. Nous pouvons imaginer l'attrait d'une telle figure urbaine pour une compagnie ferroviaire qui veut promouvoir un projet immobilier



ILL. 6. PLACE DES VOSGES À PARIS. | GOOGLE EARTH.



ILL. 8. PHOTO ILLUSTRANT UNE RUE TYPIQUE ET LA PLANTATION D'ARBRES DE RUES. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 7. ROYAL CRESCENT À BATH. | GOOGLE EARTH.

d'envergure. La connexion directe au centre-ville de Montréal par le train est un atout important pour la commercialisation de cette cité-satellite.

Pour la ville modèle de Mont-Royal, c'est la gare et la place qui deviennent les éléments focaux de convergence des grands boulevards diagonaux Laird et Graham et des avenues Cornwall et Portland, issues de la trame orthogonale. La forme même de la place centrale renvoie à un autre archétype par excellence de la période baroque, celui de la basilique (ill. 5). En effet, le dix-septième siècle consacre l'église comme le bien le plus noble que puisse posséder une cité. À la Ville de Mont-Royal, la place centrale rappelle, par son empreinte au sol, la forme basilicale avec ses trois parties : son parvis (partie commerciale à l'est), sa nef (aire récréative au centre) et son abside en hémicycle (jardin public à l'ouest).

Le plan de 1912 de la place Connaught montre que le découpage parcellaire de Todd se plie à cette forme ou figure idéale. L'étroitesse des parcelles suggère un front bâti continu de façades afin de bien circonscrire l'espace public. L'orthogonalité des parois de la place des Vosges à Paris (ill. 6) et l'aspect curviligne du Croissant royal à Bath (ill. 7) peuvent donner l'effet d'une telle disposition réalisée dans le contexte d'une intervention autoritaire du pouvoir monarchique sur le milieu urbain. Nous verrons dans la section suivante de cet article qu'à la Ville de Mont-Royal, les aléas économiques et fonciers ont donné un front bâti d'une autre nature aux abords de la place Connaught.

4. La banlieue-jardin comme milieu de vie idéal

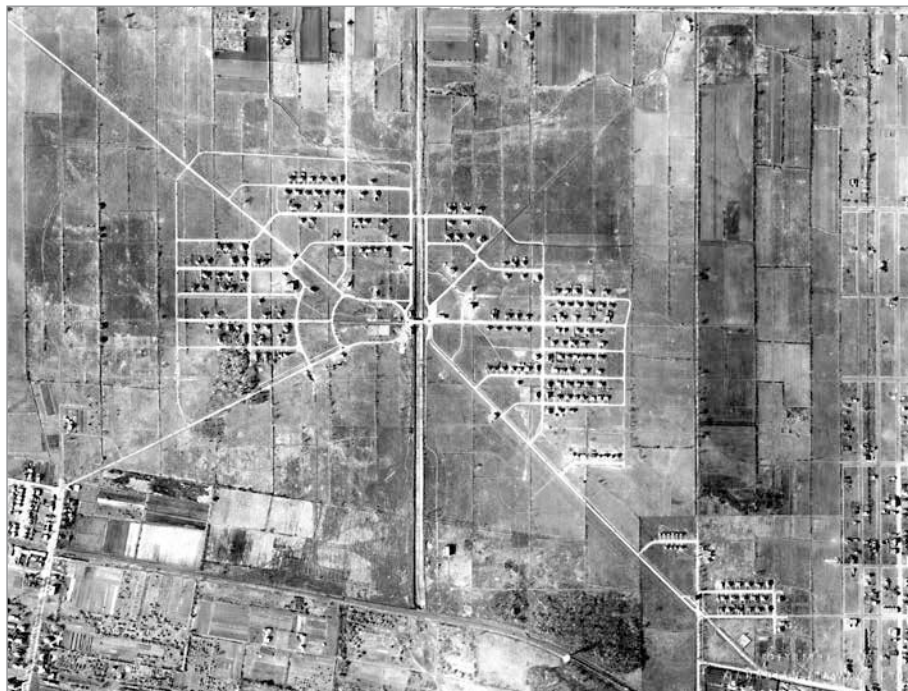
Une autre influence dans le travail de conception et de structuration du tissu urbain de la Ville de Mont-Royal est le modèle de la banlieue-jardin anglaise (*garden suburb*)²⁵. La formation en architecture de paysage de Todd n'est pas étrangère à cette vision pittoresque qui caractérise le plan de la ville. Cette influence paysagère est visible de deux manières. Premièrement, Todd ajoute au plan de la ville une promenade en contrepoint à la trame orthogonale d'ensemble. Il s'agit d'une rue sinueuse tracée à l'image d'un sentier dans un jardin pittoresque. Les accidents que ce tracé engendre dans

la trame orthogonale donnent l'occasion au concepteur d'aménager un chapelet de jardins de quartier.

Deuxièmement, cette vision paysagère est aussi fortement lisible dans le gabarit des rues du plan d'ensemble de Todd. Ce dernier apporte un soin méticuleux à la définition des voies publiques avec une plantation régulière d'arbres de rue, ce qui confère une qualité exceptionnelle à l'espace construit de la ville. Les rues résidentielles ont une largeur de six mètres sur une emprise totale de vingt mètres. L'étroitesse de la partie carrossable de l'emprise doit donner au promeneur l'impression de traverser une grande allée de jardin (ill. 8). Le paysage est un facteur de cohésion de la morphologie de la ville avec l'aménagement d'emprises de rues étroites, car, comme nous le verrons en abordant le processus de formation de la Ville de Mont-Royal, malgré le renouvellement des typologies architecturales qui s'opère dans le temps, le gabarit typique des voies bordées par une plantation d'alignement demeure un très fort facteur d'unité spatiale. Cet aménagement de grande qualité de l'emprise publique du plan d'origine de Todd traduit les idéaux de la banlieue-jardin. Nous allons voir plus en détail la mise en place effective de la vision de Todd dans la partie suivante, soit l'analyse diachronique des phases de formation et de transformation de ce projet précurseur du design urbain à Montréal.

Analyse des phases de formation

Maintenant que le concept d'organisation spatiale du projet de Todd a été mis en lumière, nous allons observer en détail comment ce concept se met effectivement en place sur le territoire en bordure du flanc nord du mont Royal. Notre recherche, effectuée à partir de photos aériennes trouvées aux archives de la



ILL. 9. PHOTO AÉRIENNE DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL EN 1924. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL

Ville ainsi que de visites et de relevés de terrain, nous a permis de recenser quatre grandes phases de formation du tissu de la Ville de Mont-Royal :

- phase 1 – 1912-1935 : installation de la gare et établissement des premiers tracés viaires,
- phase 2 – 1935-1955 : consolidation de la place Connaught et des grands boulevards,
- phase 3 – 1955-1975 : modification du plan d'origine de Todd,
- phase 4 – 1975-2014 : réaménagement du centre et protection patrimoniale.

Nous allons pour chaque phase examiner les composantes du tissu, soit le site, le réseau viare, le parcellaire, les espaces libres et le cadre bâti, et faire ressortir les traits architecturaux et les modes d'implantation des types bâtis les plus courants.

Phase 1 de 1912 à 1935 : Installation de la gare et établissement des premiers tracés viaires

Le site

La photo aérienne de 1924 montre que la Ville de Mont-Royal prend place sur un site plat, dépourvu de toute dénivellation (ill. 9). Le territoire est structuré par un système de rangs doubles avec des terres agricoles disposées de part et d'autre de la Côte-de-Liesse, chemin le long duquel sont implantées des maisons de ferme, visibles au nord sur la photo aérienne (ill. 9). La présence d'un plateau explique le découpage régulier en grands lots agricoles; seules les limites sud des terres sont affectées par la présence de la colline qui marque le début de la topographie de la montagne. À cette époque, le site est défriché dans son entièreté et la présence végétale suit les fossés de drainage délimitant chacune des terres. L'orientation nord-sud des terres a eu un effet sur le tracé du chemin de fer en

tranchée qui apparaît sur la photo aérienne de 1924, aménagé à la limite de deux terres agricoles. La voie ferrée émerge progressivement du sous-sol offrant le dégagement nécessaire au passage des trains sous le pont de la Ville de Mont-Royal. Cet unique point de liaison entre les deux parties de la ville est construit durant cette première phase de formation.

Le réseau viare

Lors de la première phase de formation s'étalant de 1912 à 1935, l'élément ordonnateur et catalyseur du développement est en place, soit la ligne de chemin de fer de la CNR. La photo aérienne de 1924 montre que le boulevard Graham est tracé, il rejoint au sud-est l'urbanisation de Montréal et au nord le chemin de la Côte-de-Liesse. Le boulevard Laird est quant à lui tracé dans le quadrant sud-ouest et se lie à l'urbanisation du quartier Côte-des-Neiges. Les boulevards diagonaux assurent une connexion au tissu urbain existant au sud, bien que le projet ait été pensé en fonction d'une desserte principalement ferroviaire. Malgré la volonté de Todd de constituer une cité autonome, l'urbanisation des faubourgs de Montréal s'est propagée jusqu'au site de la banlieue-jardin. De plus, le rôle fondamental de la liaison ferroviaire pour cette nouvelle cité est atténué par la présence des grands boulevards offrant une liaison véhiculaire privilégiée entre la cité et le centre de Montréal. À mesure que va s'imposer la voiture comme moyen de transport individuel dans les années 1920 et 1930, la concurrence entre desserte ferroviaire et véhiculaire va s'atténuer au profit du transport individuel : la voiture. Cette tendance est typique dans le phénomène d'émergence du tissu suburbain nord-américain. Nous verrons dans les phases suivantes les effets de cette tendance sur la mise en place du tissu de la banlieue-jardin de la Ville de Mont-Royal.

Plusieurs rues est-ouest sont aménagées et définissent les premiers îlots. C'est là que l'on trouve les premières parcelles à être construites. Ces îlots ne sont pas hiérarchisés, les parcelles et les bâtiments donnent généralement sur les rues est-ouest. Nous aurons l'occasion de revenir sur les traits volumétriques et le langage architectural des premières maisons construites dans la ville plus loin dans cet article. Élément intéressant à noter, il est possible de remarquer la présence de ruelles dans les îlots primitifs, stigmates hérités de la ville spontanée et incongrus dans le cas d'îlots avec des implantations pavillonnaires, donc n'ayant pas une couronne continue de bâtiments mitoyens. L'implantation pavillonnaire rend les cours arrière facilement accessibles à partir de la rue. Cela dénote un phénomène de persistance à l'œuvre dans les établissements humains. Un nouveau mode de structuration ne s'impose pas immédiatement, il passe auparavant par de multiples adaptations et des retours possibles aux modes de structuration précédents.

Le parcellaire

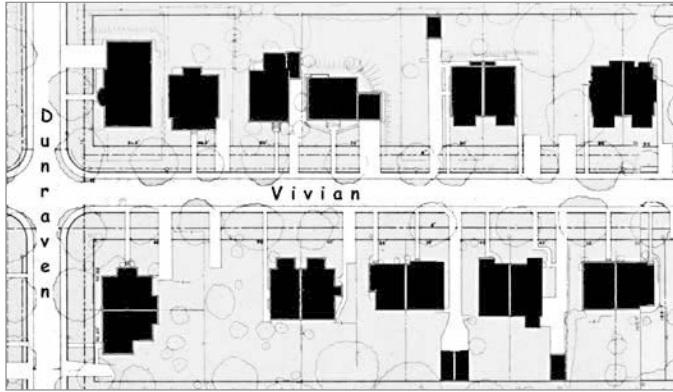
La photo aérienne de 1924 est révélatrice de la présence de deux types de tissus aux logiques d'organisation distinctes (ill. 9). À l'est, l'urbanisation traditionnelle typique de la formation des faubourgs montréalais marque de son empreinte uniforme le territoire. Les lotissements se juxtaposent spatialement, définissant de longs îlots rectangulaires orientés nord-sud. La mise en place du projet d'aménagement de Todd est le résultat d'un autre mode d'urbanisation qui préfigure la définition du tissu suburbain, au début du vingtième siècle (strate C, ill. 2). Cette stratégie débute par le remembrement de vingt-cinq terres agricole acquises par la Canadian Northern Railway²⁶. Cette échelle de conception dépasse l'unité régulatrice



ILL. 10. GARE ET CASERNE DE POMPIERS EN 1928. | ARCHIVES DE LA CNR.

de la formation des faubourgs, la terre agricole. L'élaboration et la mise en place d'une vision de composition urbaine sur un territoire montrent la superposition d'un plan, d'un ordre nouveau, qui est l'amorce d'une discontinuité planifiée dans la croissance du tissu urbain de Montréal. Du degré de continuité assez grand présent dans la croissance du bourg et des faubourgs de Montréal, on assiste avec le projet de Todd à l'émergence d'un nouveau type de tissu dont les éléments d'organisation diffèrent de l'édification spontanée codifiée durant le dix-neuvième siècle. Ce système diffère également des projets de tissu réalisés à Montréal par des concepteurs du siècle précédent, par John Ostell notamment. Ce dernier travaille à partir de domaines religieux et opte habituellement pour le système de structuration des faubourgs en l'adaptant et en y ajoutant des éléments d'embellissement urbain, les squares par exemple²⁷.

Le plan de 1924 montre bien que le système de découpage agricole n'est plus opérationnel dans la définition du tissu urbain qui se déploie sur une toile libre de toutes contraintes. Pour des raisons hygiénistes et d'ensoleillement que nous avons expliquées au début de cet article, l'orientation de la trame et des îlots est perpendiculaire à l'orientation traditionnelle des îlots montréalais. Les îlots rectangulaires sont découpés en parcelles de quinze mètres de largeur par trente mètres de profondeur afin de permettre des implantations de type pavillonnaire, en accord avec la vision du retour à la nature propre au mouvement cité-jardin et reprise par Todd pour son projet de la Ville de Mont-Royal. Les lots autour de la place Connaught sont peu construits à cette époque. La photo aérienne montre que seulement deux bâtiments mixtes mitoyens sont implantés sur le parcellaire étroit de neuf mètres et demi de largeur ceinturant la place. Les îlots en



ILL. 11. PLAN DU MODE D'IMPLANTATION DES UNITÉS JUMELÉES. | ATELIER B.R.I.C.



ILL. 12. MAISON DE TYPE FAUBOURIEN. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 13. MAISON DE TYPE CITÉ-JARDIN. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 14. MAISON DE TYPE FAUBOURIEN. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.

formation sont situés à distance du nœud central de la place donnant accès à la gare ferroviaire.

Les espaces libres

La voie ceinturant le jardin public central est en place avec l'aménagement dans la partie est de l'espace de deux bâtiments pavillonnaires emblématiques de la cité – la gare et la caserne de pompier – qui dialoguent entre eux sur le plan architectural (ill. 10). Notons que la position stratégique de ces deux pavillons fait en sorte qu'ils forment les aboutissements visuels des boulevards lorsqu'on circule en provenance du sud-est ou du nord-est du territoire. La tour de séchage des boyaux

de la caserne fait office de repère visuel dans l'axe du boulevard Laird.

Le cadre bâti

Le cadre bâti de la première phase de formation est constitué des maisons faubouriennes en brique, à toit plat avec parapet décoratif, reprises des types courants trouvés dans les faubourgs de Montréal. Toutefois leur mode d'implantation diffère : ces maisons souvent jumelées sont implantées en retrait de la voie (ill. 11). Elles comportent des perrons comme ceux que l'on retrouve habituellement à l'avant des maisons de campagne (ill. 12). L'influence du mouvement Arts & Crafts donne l'essor à une nouvelle typologie, la

maison de type cité-jardin, qui est un nouvel apport stylistique dans la composition architecturale des bâtiments de la Ville de Mont-Royal. Les toitures des maisons de type cité-jardin sont à pans multiples et elles enveloppent davantage le volume d'habitation (ill. 13). Dans certains cas, la composition est asymétrique. L'influence du mouvement anglais des cités-jardins se traduit également dans l'emploi des nouveaux matériaux de parement, soit l'insertion de stuc et de colombage en bois au niveau de l'étage et des pignons des maisons²⁸. Ces traits stylistiques font référence aux maisons médiévales de la campagne anglaise, exemples pittoresques par excellence pour les tenants

du mouvement des cités-jardins. Les traits stylistiques des maisons cités-jardins vont influencer la conception des bâtiments de faubourg, les modèles construits à la fin de cette phase incorporent de plus en plus des toitures à double ou à quatre pans avec ou sans pignons (ill. 14).

Le nouveau mode d'implantation pavillonnaire offre aux premiers bâtisseurs une liberté volumétrique qui s'exprime dans la composition architecturale des bâtiments construits durant cette phase. Le cadre bâti est marqué par une prédominance d'unités jumelées comportant souvent des entrées latérales. Ces habitations jumelées sont composées comme une grande maison unitaire (ill. 14). Il existe fréquemment des bâtiments de service en fond de cour accessibles par une allée latérale étroite ou une ruelle. La courte largeur de l'allée menant vers la cour arrière, le caractère verdoyant et planté des marges avant, latérales et arrière et la présence d'arbres d'alignement confèrent une grande qualité paysagère et contribuent au pittoresque des ensembles construits lors de la première phase d'édification. L'architecture des premiers bâtiments, influencée par le mouvement Arts & Crafts anglais²⁹, participe à l'ambiance champêtre de cette ville.

Phase 2 de 1935 à 1955 : Consolidation de la place Connaught et des grands boulevards

Le site

En comparant la photo aérienne de 1924 (ill. 9) à celle de 1941 (ill. 15), nous remarquons que, lors de la deuxième phase de formation du tissu, la portion ouest du projet se développe plus rapidement que la partie est. Le territoire à dominance agricole se mue progressivement en banlieue-jardin avec la plantation systématique d'arbres d'alignement le long des rues et le long de l'allée centrale du parc



ILL. 15. PHOTO AÉRIENNE DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL EN 1941. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.

Connaught. Un large terre-plein apparaît au centre du boulevard Laird, confirmant son statut de voie majeure. À l'extrême est, des terres agricoles marquent encore, à l'époque, la séparation entre l'urbanisation de la Ville de Mont-Royal et celle des faubourgs limitrophes. Ces terres ont toutefois été aménagées en terrain de golf (qui a cessé ses activités à la fin de la période). Au nord, la Côte-de-Liesse est encore un élément marquant du paysage, même si plusieurs maisons de ferme ont perdu leur vocation première. L'ensemble de la plantation d'alignement le long des rues de la Ville de Mont-Royal confère un caractère boisé à la ville qui contraste avec l'aspect dénudé du territoire agricole environnant et traduit la vision de banlieue-jardin imaginée par Todd une trentaine d'années plus tôt.

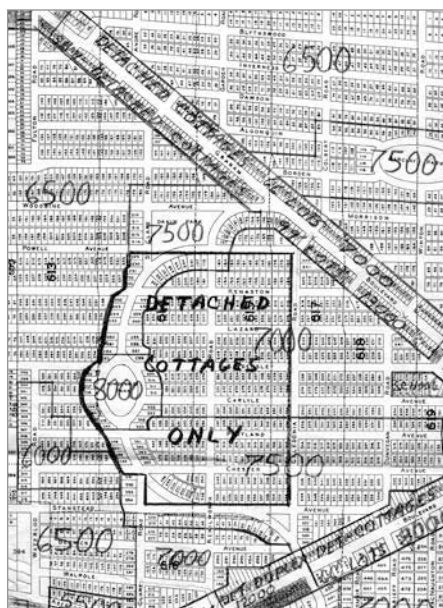
Le réseau viaire

Un élément marquant du projet de Todd se matérialise durant cette deuxième phase de formation. Il s'agit d'une promenade, voie sinueuse imaginée par l'architecte-paysagiste et urbaniste le long de laquelle sont aménagés des parcs de voisinage et qui doit, à terme, ceinturer

l'ensemble de la ville. Ce dispositif assure la distribution équitable d'un chapelet de parcs aux abords des différentes unités de voisinage du quartier. Ces parcs de forme ovoïde ou triangulaire induisent des irrégularités dans la trame d'îlots rectangulaires du plan d'ensemble du projet. La promenade et son ensemble de jardins sont les éléments de valorisation foncière qui assurent la croissance du quartier ouest de la ville durant la phase de 1935 à 1955. La partie de la promenade située à l'est de la voie ferrée n'est pas encore complétée en 1955.

Le parcellaire

L'espace urbain défini par la promenade est un élément de valorisation foncière. La présence de parcs fait en sorte que les parcelles limitrophes ont une valeur supérieure à celles situées le long des rues courantes. De plus, Todd a prévu aux abords de la promenade un découpage plus organique avec des parcelles donnant sur la promenade et ses parcs. D'ailleurs, un plan dit de « zonage » de 1946 montre bien l'effet de valorisation foncière associé au passage de la promenade. Les lots en bordure de la voie



ILL. 16. PLAN DIT DE « ZONAGE » DE 1946. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.

et des parcs ont un prix de vente généralement plus élevé que ceux alignés le long des rues orthogonales. Les îlots types de cette période de formation sont dépourvus de ruelle. La parcelle type est de vingt-deux mètres et demi par trente-cinq mètres de profondeur. Le plan de 1946 (ill. 16) confirme que le concept général de Todd sert toujours d'élément ordonnateur à la forme urbaine, bien que les planificateurs de l'époque essaient de favoriser la construction de maisons unifamiliales dans certaines parties de la ville. Les prix fixés pour les terrains qui longent les boulevards sont d'ailleurs supérieurs et on y favorise la construction de bâtiments plus denses, tels les duplex isolés ou jumelés et les cottages jumelés, poursuivant ainsi la volonté de Todd d'établir un front bâti plus soutenu le long des boulevards.

Les espaces libres

La photo aérienne de 1941 (ill. 15) est aussi révélatrice des adaptations que va connaître le plan de Todd à travers le temps. La vocation des îlots situés au



ILL. 17. HÔTEL DE VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.

sud du parc Connaught va se transformer en plaine de jeux, interrompant la promenade. En comparant la photo aérienne de la ville (ill. 15) au plan de 1912 (ill. 1), nous constatons que trois îlots sont regroupés afin d'aménager une plaine de jeux réunissant terrain de football et piste d'entraînement. La plaine de jeux située au sud de la place Connaught est progressivement ceinturée de bâtiments publics monumentaux : l'hôtel de ville construit en 1946 (ill. 17), la nouvelle caserne de pompier édifée en 1950 et le centre communautaire. Une école est également installée en 1949 à la limite sud du terrain de jeux. Il s'agit d'un vaste îlot carré avec une couronne de bâtiments publics nécessaires à la vie municipale. Les édifices partagent des traits communs comme un vocabulaire architectural d'influence Art Déco ou néoclassique, l'utilisation de la brique de teinte chamois. Des insertions de pierres soulignent les traits horizontaux et verticaux des bâtiments, accentuant ainsi leur monumentalité et affirmant leur caractère civique.

Le parc Connaught combine équipements de loisir, terrain de tennis, une pelouse de boulingrin et une pelouse de croquet. Dans les années 1950, les activités de loisir et de sport sont au cœur du projet d'aménagement de la Ville de Mont-Royal. Ces équipements favorisent le dynamisme de la vie communautaire du quartier. Le centre géographique de la cité s'affirme comme le lieu de connexion aux infrastructures de transport, mais aussi comme le lieu de vie sociale en accord avec le modèle d'aménagement de la cité-jardin prôné par Ebenezer Howard. Notons que la place centrale n'est pas encore complètement circonscrite et qu'un front bâti de deux étages borde la partie est de l'espace, tandis que des immeubles de quatre étages et demi définissent la partie ouest du parc. L'espace public est ainsi marqué par les deux premières phases d'édification de la Ville de Mont-Royal.

Le cadre bâti

En ce qui concerne le front bâti autour de la place Connaught, une photo aérienne de 1949 montre une transformation du



ILL. 18. PHOTO AÉRIENNE DU PARC CONNAUGHT EN 1949. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.



ILL. 19. IMMEUBLE COLLECTIF AVEC COUR DONNANT SUR LE PARC CONNAUGHT. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.



ILL. 20. MAISON DE TYPE MANOIR ANGLAIS. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 21. MAISON DE TYPE NOUVELLE-ANGLETERRE. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.

plan d'origine (ill. 18). Le nouveau type qui apparaît durant cette phase est l'immeuble collectif, principalement autour de la place Connaught. Les parcelles prévues par Todd de neuf mètres et demi de largeur ont été regroupées afin de mettre en place des bâtiments collectifs de quatre étages pourvus de marges latérales visant à assurer un bon ensoleillement des unités de logements. Ce front bâti ménage des respirations spatiales tout en étant plus imposant que celui constitué de bâtiments mixtes mitoyens de la période précédente. Ces bâtiments collectifs sont implantés aux abords du parc Connaught ponctuellement ou avec une volumétrie en forme de « U » afin

de délimiter des cours avant ou centrales (ill. 19). Les halls d'entrée sont directement accessibles de la place ou situés en retrait dans les marges latérales. Les entrées sont généralement situées au-dessus des socles de stationnement, élément nouveau qui s'intègre à ces immeubles de type conciergerie. Malgré leur caractère austère, ces immeubles ont des caractéristiques intéressantes, tels un socle en pierre englobant les balcons, des appareillages de brique soulignant leur couronnement, des portiques d'entrée monumentaux et des ramparts de fer forgé élaborés. Des bâtiments au gabarit très imposant apparaissent également durant cette phase le long des boulevards

Graham et Laird, principalement dans la portion sud du projet.

En ce qui a trait aux typologies résidentielles, les influences stylistiques se diversifient. L'influence anglaise se fait toujours sentir avec l'apparition du type manoir anglais qui intègre des éléments Arts & Crafts au niveau des matériaux. Toutefois, les maisons de cette phase sont imposantes et empruntent librement au vocabulaire de l'architecture médiévale en introduisant ici et là des tourelles et des ouvertures en meurtrières (ill. 20). La volumétrie fait ressortir la disposition plus irrégulière des pièces de la demeure. L'autre type qui apparaît



ILL. 22. MAISON DE TYPE CANADIEN. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.

durant cette deuxième phase de formation témoigne de l'influence de l'architecture de la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Le trait distinctif de cette typologie est la position des lucarnes, ces dernières faisant la jonction entre le mur de la façade et la toiture (ill.22). Ces maisons de type Nouvelle-Angleterre reprennent un trait régional des bâtiments de la côte est des États-Unis, un léger débord de toiture, caractéristique de l'architecture maritime. Enfin, l'architecture résidentielle de cette phase est marquée par un autre emprunt à l'architecture régionale. Les maisons de type canadien constituent une réinterprétation de la maison québécoise du dix-huitième siècle (ill. 22). La proportion plus accentuée de certains éléments comme les lucarnes et l'introduction du garage à la volumétrie montrent le caractère presque caricatural de cette réinterprétation.

Les trois typologies dominantes répertoriées pour la phase de 1935 à 1955 forment les secteurs d'habitation principalement localisés à l'ouest du territoire de la Ville de Mont-Royal, où l'habitation unifamiliale isolée est la plus répandue. Notons que ces types partagent des traits communs, comme la présence de garage couramment adossé ou intégré au volume d'habitation. De ce fait, les maisons s'étirent davantage en largeur sur

leur parcelle; les parcelles sont généralement plus larges que celles de la période précédente, permettant la plantation de haies ou d'arbres dans les cours latérales (ill. 23). Les marges avant importantes des habitations et la présence de la plantation d'alignement engendrent un brouillage de la distinction entre les espaces publics et privés, renforçant ainsi le caractère verdoyant des ensembles bâtis construits lors de la deuxième phase de formation de la banlieue jardin.

Phase 3 de 1955 à 1975 : Modification du plan d'origine de Todd

Le site

La photo de 1959 (ill. 24) montre que c'est lors de la troisième phase que le tissu de la Ville de Mont-Royal est entièrement construit, soit après un processus de formation s'étant étalé sur trois phases et sur une cinquantaine d'années. C'est la partie est de la ville qui a connu la plus grande croissance au cours de cette phase 3. La photo montre également les profonds bouleversements que connaît le territoire limitrophe de la cité. La construction de l'autoroute Métropolitaine constitue une forte limite au nord de la ville et provoque la disparition définitive de la plupart des maisons de ferme implantées le long de

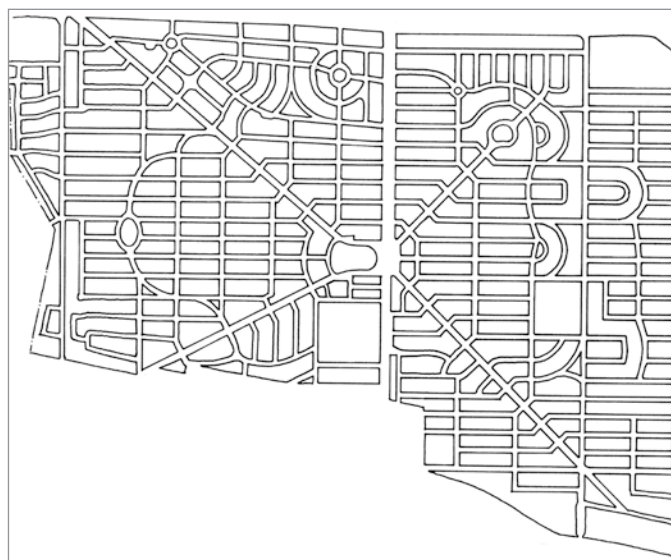
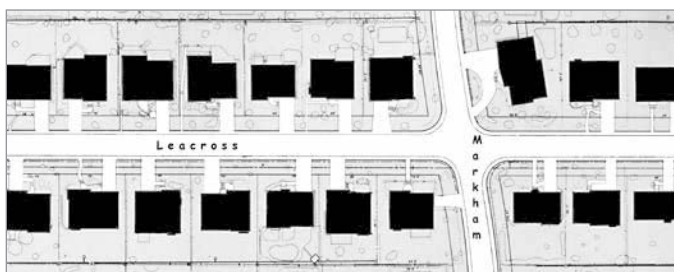


ILL. 23. PLAN DU MODE D'IMPLANTATION DU BÂTI LE LONG DE LA PROMENADE. | ATELIER B.R.I.C.

l'ancien chemin de la Côte-de-Liesse. À l'est, l'ancienne limite constituée par la présence du golf se dissipe au profit de la poursuite de l'urbanisation de la Ville de Mont-Royal avec une trame qui prend certaines libertés par rapport au plan orthogonal de Todd (ill. 24). La disparition du golf ne permet toutefois pas de suture avec le tissu adjacent des faubourgs, car, comme nous l'avons vu au début de cet article, les deux trames urbaines sont disjointes, l'une relevant de la croissance traditionnelle nord-sud des quartiers montréalais et l'autre d'une cité-satellite structurée en son centre par la voie ferrée. L'urbanisation de Montréal encercle maintenant le tissu de la Ville de Mont-Royal, le territoire agricole a disparu. La phase est marquée par la croissance du tissu suburbain des points est et ouest de l'île de Montréal, croissance qui va avoir des impacts sur la morphologie de la banlieue-jardin. La formation du tissu suburbain à l'échelle de la métropole durant la période ne se fait pas comme celle imaginée par Todd, en relation avec le système ferroviaire, mais au profit du réseau autoroutier qui se déploie à l'échelle de la grande région de Montréal. Cela permet la migration des populations de plus en plus loin du centre de Montréal pour rejoindre les banlieues dortoirs.



ILL. 24. PHOTO AÉRIENNE DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL EN 1959. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.



ILL. 25. PLAN ACTUEL DU RÉSEAU VIAIRE. | ATELIER B.R.I.C.

< ILL. 26. PLAN DU MODE D'IMPLANTATION DES TYPES DE BÂTIS DE LA PÉRIODE DE 1955 À 1975. | ATELIER B.R.I.C.

Le réseau viaire

L'influence des nouvelles façons de faire des tissus suburbains des années 1960, avec la systématisation des tracés curvilignes et des ronds-points afin de dissuader la circulation automobile, ont des conséquences dans la mise en place du projet imaginé par Todd au début de vingtième siècle. Nous avons vu lors de la phase précédente que la promenade se bute à la plaine de jeux de la municipalité, empêchant la poursuite de cette voie de la cité. Durant la période s'étalant de 1955 à 1975, le tracé de la voie sinueuse est définitivement abandonné au profit de voies en boucles et en culs-de-sac. La comparaison du plan de Todd (ill. 1) avec le réseau viaire actuel (ill. 25) montre que la continuité des deux grands boulevards est atténuée par l'aménagement d'un rond-point dans la portion nord-est du boulevard Laird. Les modifications réalisées durant cette période font en sorte que ce boulevard se termine sur une

simple voie résidentielle étroite, affectant de ce fait la hiérarchie du réseau viaire du plan d'origine.

Le parcellaire

Cette phase est marquée par la mise en place de parcelles beaucoup plus larges afin d'accueillir des habitations aux dimensions plus imposantes au fur et à mesure que les standards de surfaces habitables par famille s'accroissent. Les maisons résidentielles occupent une grande partie des parcelles de vingt mètres de largeur sur trente mètres de profondeur. Compte tenu de la grande largeur des bâtiments, les marges latérales ont tendance à rétrécir, limitant la présence végétale. De plus, la partie avant des parcelles est occupée par une grande part de matériaux minéraux, telle l'allée de garage, souvent de double largeur (ill. 26). Par rapport à l'implantation du bâti des phases précédentes, le bâtiment occupe presque la moitié de la superficie de la parcelle (ill. 26).

Les espaces libres

La place Connaught est maintenant entourée d'un cadre bâti continu. La place, telle que réalisée, est circonscrite par un ensemble d'immeubles mitoyens de deux à quatre étages, à l'est, et par un ensemble d'immeubles d'appartements isolés de quatre étages, du côté ouest. Il s'agit d'un conglomérat d'immeubles faubouriens des années 1920, d'immeubles locatifs des années 1950 et d'édifices plus récents d'influence moderniste. Un bâtiment au gabarit monolithique monolithique imposant de quatre étages est construit sur l'ensemble d'un l'îlot en pointe de tarte situé au coin nord-est de la place, le Laird Canora Building.

Les ronds-points intégrés dans la partie nord-est du projet de Todd forment de nouveaux espaces libres à l'échelle du voisinage, comparables à ceux situés le long de la promenade.



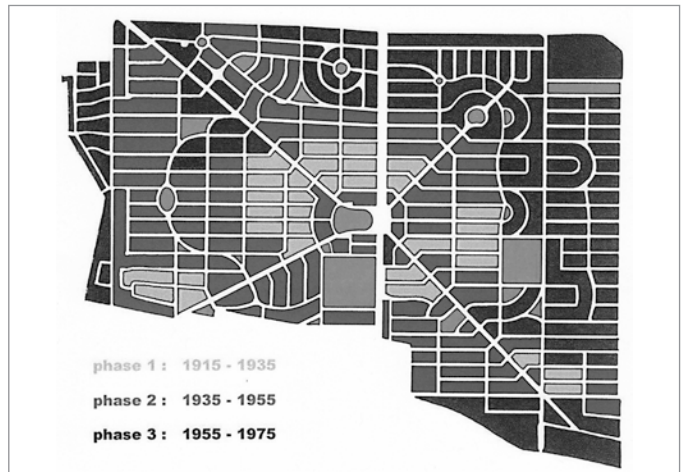
ILL. 27. MAISON DE TYPE BUNGALOW. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 28. MAISON DE TYPE COTTAGE. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 29. MAISON DE TYPE À DEMI-NIVEAUX. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.



ILL. 30. RÉPARTITION DES ENSEMBLES BÂTIS DES TROIS PHASES DE FORMATION. | TIRÉ DU PIAA DES QUARTIERS RÉSIDENTIELS, ATELIER B.R.I.C.

Les principaux équipements publics ne sont pas édifîés autour de la place Connaught comme dans le modèle howardien, mais sont établis au sud de l'espace central de la ville. Notons que l'hôtel de ville, bien qu'implanté sur une rue distincte qui longe la partie nord du grand îlot institutionnel, est visible à partir du boulevard Laird.

Le cadre bâti

Cette troisième phase de formation et de croissance du tissu de la Ville de Mont-Royal voit l'apparition de typologies suburbaines d'influence américaine qui ont déjà commencé à se généraliser

dans les ensembles suburbains situés sur l'île ainsi que sur les rives sud et nord de Montréal. Il s'agit de la typologie bungalow, maison d'un seul étage qui s'étire sur presque toute la largeur de la parcelle et dont la toiture se prolonge jusqu'au-dessus du garage (ill. 27). Le cottage est un autre type de cette période; celui-ci s'apparente au bungalow, mais possède une plus grande superficie habitable avec ses deux étages pleins (ill. 28). Enfin, une innovation architecturale est également fort répandue dans les ensembles bâtis de cette phase, la maison à demi-niveaux (ill. 29). Cette habitation, sorte de croisement entre le bungalow et le cottage,

permet un lien spatial et visuel entre les différents niveaux. Cette stratégie, en plus d'animer la volumétrie de la maison, permet de glisser le garage sous la partie habitable.

Les ensembles de maisons généralement pavillonnaires construites entre 1955 et 1975 se retrouvent aux extrémités est et nord de la Ville de Mont-Royal, là où le tracé orthogonal de la trame de Todd a été délaissé au profit d'une trame de plusieurs rues curvilignes. Les masses bâties sont plus imposantes à cause de la hausse des standards de qualité de vie de l'ère suburbaine et de



ILL. 31. AGRANDISSEMENT D'UNE MAISON JUMELÉE DE TYPE MANOIR ANGLAIS DANS UN ENSEMBLE DE LA PHASE 2 :1935-1955. | SERVICE D'URBANISME, VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL.



ILL. 32. PARTIE EST DE LA PLACE CONNAUGHT RÉAMÉNAGÉE PAR L'ATELIER B.R.I.C. ARCHITECTES + URBANISTE EN 2001. | FRANÇOIS RACINE.

l'importance accrue de la voiture dans les déplacements quotidiens. Malgré la présence de seulement trois typologies courantes construites durant cette phase, il existe une grande variété dans le choix et l'utilisation des matériaux. La partition typique des maisons Arts & Crafts persiste avec des matériaux différents au rez-de-chaussée et à l'étage, mais des matériaux nouveaux apparaissent, notamment la pierre de taille irrégulière et le clin d'aluminium. Bien que les trois typologies soient la norme, chacune des maisons comporte des détails dans la composition architecturale et des variations dans la mise en œuvre des matériaux qui confèrent un degré intéressant d'unité et de diversité à ces secteurs plus récents. Enfin, soulignons que la présence d'arbres d'alignement, de marges avant importantes et l'étroitesse de la chaussée, pour les trois phases, établissent une continuité entre des ensembles construits à une cinquantaine d'années d'intervalle.

Phase 4 de 1975 à 2014 : Réaménagement du centre-ville et protection patrimoniale

L'ensemble résidentiel de la Ville de Mont-Royal constitue un héritage architectural que la municipalité tente de sauvegarder

par l'adoption d'un plan d'implantation et d'intégration architecturale (PIIA)³⁰ en 2001 (ill. 30). Ces mesures poursuivent la tradition de contrôle de la qualité architecturale initiée dès 1912 par la CNR par l'instauration d'un comité d'architecture. Le PIIA permet de gérer les transformations architecturales selon les caractéristiques typo-morphologiques relatives aux mode d'implantation, à la composition architecturale et aux caractéristiques paysagères de chacune des phases de formation du cadre bâti en vue de conserver la cohésion et la qualité de ces ensembles uniques (ill. 31).

En 2001, la municipalité, en association avec un comité de citoyens, a instauré un programme particulier d'urbanisme (PPU) en vue de revitaliser la portion est de la place Connaught. Les connaissances acquises par l'examen des caractéristiques du plan de Todd sont opérationnalisées dans le travail de conception des nouveaux aménagements (ill. 32). Le découpage parcellaire de Todd sert d'élément ordonnateur et de liaison entre les trottoirs élargis attenants aux bâtiments mixtes et la promenade plantée le long de la voie ferrée. La partie asphaltée est minimisée à l'image des rues résidentielles de la ville. L'ajout de terre-pleins et d'une plantation d'alignement restituée

la figure des boulevards au centre-ville. De plus, le rétablissement de la bidirectionnalité des voies permet de clarifier la circulation automobile.

Nous avons démontré dans cet article que l'étude des formes urbaines fournit aux intervenants des outils de travail précieux permettant d'agir de façon lucide sur le tissu urbain existant. Nous avons exposé également le processus d'évolution de l'architecture résidentielle de Montréal de 1912 à nos jours. Ces connaissances permettent d'offrir des pistes de réflexion pour la définition de formes urbaines répondant aux problématiques actuelles d'aménagement. Ce travail de recherche doit se poursuivre dans l'avenir afin de mieux documenter les pratiques québécoises d'urbanisme et de design urbain. Notre étude a permis de mieux comprendre une grande méconnue : la morphologie de nos établissements urbains, soit des formes et des espaces qui nous enveloppent au quotidien, qui constituent notre cadre de vie et qui répondent à nos besoins, des plus collectifs aux plus intimes.

Le cas de la Ville de Mont-Royal s'avère des plus intéressants, car il représente une démarche culturaliste qui rétablit certains

ponts avec les façons de faire traditionnelles de Montréal, tout en relevant d'une démarche de conception et de mise en œuvre novatrice. Son intérêt réside également dans le fait que sa conception a été réalisée au même moment où naît le mouvement moderniste et parallèlement à la diffusion du mouvement des cités-jardins en Amérique du Nord³¹. Le fait de comprendre les décisions formelles de Frederick G. Todd, ses choix, la synthèse qu'il a effectuée est riche en enseignements pour instaurer un savoir-faire relatif au design urbain, pratique encore jeune au Québec. Les connaissances issues de l'analyse des formes urbaines au Québec et, dans ce cas-ci, des formes planifiées, peuvent informer et guider les interventions contemporaines. Afin de bien saisir les tendances ayant influencé le concepteur de la Ville de Mont-Royal, il faut revenir sur les idées qui circulaient au début du siècle, à la croisée des courants qualifiés par Françoise Choay de progressistes et de culturalistes³². À la fois ville-satellite et banlieue-jardin, quartier englobé au tissu urbain montréalais et *transit-oriented development* avant la lettre, la Ville de Mont-Royal est à la croisée de l'édification spontanée et de la composition savante. Cette ville est sans contredit un exemple d'une démarche de design urbain ayant permis la mise en place d'un ensemble de grande qualité. Enfin, notre recherche a montré la flexibilité du plan conçu par Todd et son caractère adaptable à mesure que s'effectuent les transformations de la société québécoise. Comme nous l'avons vu tout au long de cet article, des transformations et des adaptations ont eu lieu à travers le temps sans dénaturer le concept global imaginé par Todd au début du vingtième siècle, ce qui confirme la force de sa vision et ses grandes qualités de designer urbain.

NOTES

1. Soulignons que cette recherche découle en grande partie du travail d'analyse typomorphologique réalisé par l'Atelier B.R.I.C. (François Racine et Cécile Baird) préalable à l'élaboration du Plan d'implantation et d'intégration architecturale des ensembles résidentiels de la Ville de Mont-Royal adopté en 2001 par la Municipalité.
2. Voir les orientations du Plan métropolitain d'aménagement et de développement du Grand Montréal, [<http://pmad.ca/orientations/amenagement/objectifs/orienter-40-de-la-croissance-des-menages-aux-points-d'accès-du-transport-en-commun-metropolitain-structurant/>], et celles du Plan d'urbanisme de la Ville de Montréal, [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=2761,3097358&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL], sites consultés en septembre 2014.
3. Sitte, Camillo, 1989 [rééd. 1990], *L'art de bâtir les villes, l'urbanisme selon ses fondements artistiques*, Paris, Livre et communication.
4. Unwin, Raymond, 1909 [rééd. 2012], *Étude pratique des plans de ville. Introduction à l'art de dessiner les plans d'aménagement et d'extension*, Marseille, Parenthèses.
5. Voir à ce sujet : *Transit-Oriented Development – Canadian Case Studies / Aménagements axés sur le transport en commun – Études de cas canadiennes* (Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement), [http://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/fr/prin/dedu/amcodu/amcodu_007.cfm], consulté en septembre 2014.
6. Voir Beaudet, Gérard, 2014, « Produire l'habitat à la petite semaine et à la bonne franquette », *Revue ARQ*, n° 166, février.
7. Ce terme est utilisé depuis la Deuxième Guerre mondiale en Angleterre et il apparaît dès 1956 aux États-Unis. Raynaud, Michel Max et Pauline Wolf, sous la dir. de Gérard Beaudet, 2012, *Design urbain : approches théoriques, vol. 2, Fondements de l'Urban Design*, Montréal, Trames, Faculté de l'aménagement, Université de Montréal. La notion de design renvoie au dessin, soit à la représentation graphique de l'espace et des formes urbaines, et au dessein de la ville, soit sa représentation idéale, imaginée et désirée par le concepteur.
8. Corboz, André, 2000, « Ville Mont Royal, cité-jardin vitruvienne », *Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada*, vol. 25, n°s 2-4, p. 3-16.
9. Plusieurs auteurs ont traité de Frederick G. Todd et de la Ville de Mont-Royal sous les angles social, économique, politique et historique, mais peu selon la morphologie ou le design urbain. McCann, Larry D., 1996, « Planning and Building the Corporate Suburb or Mount Royal, 1910-1925 », *Planning Perspective*, n° 11, p. 259-301; Meek, Margaret Anne, 1975, *History of the City Beautiful Movement in Canada 1890-1930*, mémoire de maîtrise, Vancouver, Université de Colombie-Britannique, École de planification régionale; Asselin, Vincent, 1995, *Frederick G. Todd. Une pratique de l'aménagement ancrée dans une époque, 1900-1948*, mémoire de maîtrise, Montréal, Université de Montréal, Faculté de l'aménagement; Julien, Barbara, 2008, *Entre la rue et le jardin : l'espace public dans la cité-jardin dans les temps de l'espace public urbain*, Québec, MultiMondes.
10. Formé par la firme Olmstead et Eliot, venu à Montréal en 1898 pour superviser les travaux dans le parc du Mont-Royal, Todd s'y installera définitivement en 1900. Voir Asselin, *op. cit.*
11. Choay, Françoise et Pierre Merlin, 1988, *Dictionnaire de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France.
12. Définition de *morphologie urbaine* dans Choay et Merlin, *op. cit.*
13. Racine, François, 1999, *Degré de discontinuité dans la transformation du tissu urbain, l'influence du modèle suburbain*, thèse de doctorat, Montréal, Université de Montréal, Faculté de l'aménagement.
14. A ce sujet, voir Corboz, *op. cit.*
15. Dans sa thèse, Gabriel Rioux (2013, *Le milieu de l'urbanisme à Montréal (1897-1941), histoire d'une « refondation »*), thèse de doctorat conjoint en études urbaines et histoire, Universités du Québec à Montréal et de Paris 1) présente un plan réalisé par Harold Lawson en 1924 définissant un système de nouvelles voies publiques rayonnantes et de parcs à l'échelle de Montréal visant à mieux intégrer la Ville de Mont-Royal au tissu urbain de Montréal. Il tire parti des capacités de croissance des quatre avenues rayonnantes du plan de la Ville de Mont-Royal.
16. Howard, Ebenezer, 1902 [rééd. 1946], *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, Londres, Faber and Faber.
17. Rioux, *op. cit.*
18. Howard, *op. cit.*
19. Choay, Françoise, 1965, *L'urbanisme, utopies et réalité. Une anthologie*, Paris, Seuil.

20. Voir la classification des courants de pensée en urbanisme dans Choay, *id.*
21. La cité-jardin ne devait pas rester un élément solitaire, mais devait faire partie d'un réseau plus large constitué de cités-jardins identiques, elles-mêmes situées autour d'une cité-jardin plus grande, le tout relié par un réseau de chemin de fer.
22. McCann, *op. cit.*
23. Voir Lucan, Jacques, 1987, *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, Paris, Éditions du Centre Georges-Pompidou.
24. Meek, *op. cit.*
25. Ce modèle se distingue de la cité-jardin puisque nous ne retrouvons pas les idéaux sociaux du modèle de Howard, dont la propriété collective des terrains et le principe d'autosuffisance.
26. Corboz, *op. cit.*
27. Racine, François, 2010, « L'apport de la morphologie urbaine dans une perspective d'intervention sur un secteur historique : Le quartier ouest de l'arrondissement de Ville-Marie à Montréal », *Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada*, vol. 35, n° 1, p. 57-66.
28. Devey, Peter, 1987, *L'architecture Arts & Crafts*, Bruxelles, Mardaga.
29. Ce courant s'oppose à la production industrielle et prône un retour à la culture manuelle artisanale.
30. Atelier B.R.I.C., 2001, *Plan d'implantation et d'intégration architecturale du tissu résidentiel de la Ville de Mont-Royal*, Services techniques, urbanisme et inspection, Ville de Mont-Royal.
31. Voir à ce sujet Rioux, *op. cit.*
32. Choay, *L'urbanisme, utopies et réalité...*, *op. cit.*

PRIX MARTIN ELI WEIL PRIZE

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Le prix Martin-Eli-Weil de la SÉAC récompense annuellement un essai, soumis par une étudiante ou un étudiant, qui explore *le rôle joué par l'environnement bâti dans la société canadienne*. Le prix de 250 \$, accompagné d'un certificat, sera remis à la lauréate ou au lauréat à l'occasion du Congrès annuel de la Société, où il/elle sera invité/e à présenter son essai sous forme de conférence ; en outre, la Société publiera l'essai gagnant. Toutes les étudiantes et tous les étudiants inscrits à un programme conduisant à un diplôme universitaire dans une université canadienne, à temps plein ou à temps partiel, sont admissibles ; les soumissions d'étudiantes et d'étudiants inscrits dans une université étrangère mais portant sur un sujet canadien sont aussi bienvenues. L'essai, en anglais ou en français, peut porter sur un édifice particulier, contemporain ou historique, proposé ou déjà existant ; sur un complexe de bâtiments reliés ; sur un type de bâtiments (examiné d'après son importance historique, fonctionnelle, structurale ou esthétique) ; sur les paysages culturels (les parcs, les cimetières, les fermes, etc.) ; sur la vie d'une personne qui a influencé l'environnement bâti ; ou sur un problème philosophique, sociologique ou historique rattaché à l'environnement bâti. Les projets architecturaux ne seront pas acceptés à moins d'être conformes aux exigences énumérées ci-dessus. Les soumissions, de 3000 à 5000 mots, doivent être transmises sur papier, à double interligne, ou en document électronique de type PDF. L'utilisation de matériel visuel est encouragée si celui-ci, en format imprimé, n'excède pas 20 x 24 cm (8 par 10 po). Les soumissions doivent être accompagnées, lorsque applicable, de notes et d'une bibliographie et étayées par un appareil conceptuel conforme aux règles de l'art. Elles seront évaluées en fonction de l'originalité et du caractère novateur du sujet, de la précision et de la pertinence de l'appareil méthodologique et de la qualité de la langue.

Les essais doivent être envoyés au responsable du concours au plus tard le 20 mars 2015, sur papier ou en format électronique (PDF).

En soumettant son essai au concours, un candidat en accepte les termes. Il/elle s'engage à présenter son essai au congrès annuel de la société et à soumettre son texte au *Journal de la SEAC* pour publication s'il/elle obtient le prix.

The Martin-Eli-Weil prize is awarded annually by the SSAC to a student who submits an essay on *the role played by the built environment in Canadian society*. The \$250 prize and certificate shall be awarded to the winner at the Society's Annual Conference, where he/she will be invited to present a paper on his/her essay. The winning essay shall also be published by the Society in the Journal. All part-time and full-time students registered in a program leading to a university degree in a Canadian university are eligible; submissions from students registered in a foreign university, but dealing with a Canadian subject, are also invited.

The essay, in French or English, may deal with a specific building, contemporary or historic, whether existing or at a proposal stage; a complex of attached buildings; a specific building type (examined for its historical, functional, structural, or aesthetic importance); cultural landscape (parks, cemeteries, farms, etc.); the life of a person who has influenced the built environment; or a philosophical, sociological, or historical issue related to the built environment. Architectural projects that do not strictly comply with the above criteria shall be rejected. Submissions must be presented in hard copy or in electronic format (PDF), double-spaced, and contain from 3000 to 5000 words. The use of visual material is encouraged but their printed format should not exceed 8 x 10 inches (20 x 25 cm). If applicable, submissions must be accompanied by endnotes and a bibliography, and be supported by conceptual framework in accordance with current standards. Essays will be evaluated according to originality and innovative nature of the subject, as well as accuracy, relevancy of methodology, and writing style.

Essays should be sent to the person in charge of the competition, by March 20, 2015, on paper or in PDF.

By submitting an essay, a candidate accepts the terms of the competition. He/she agrees to present his/her paper at the annual conference and to submit the text to the Journal of the SSAC for publication.

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SCOTTISH LITURGICS AND CHURCH ARCHITECTURE: A Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island

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This paper will endeavour to explore the relationship of public liturgy and the use of space in one specific ecclesiastical tradition, the post-Reformation Scottish Reformed Church, and particularly apply this to Prince Edward Island with brief reference to the larger global context. The paper contends that this liturgical practice issued in spacial design between c. 1560 and c. 1860 that was unique and often not fully recognized in church architecture.

LITURGICS AND SPACE IN THE POST-REFORMATION SCOTTISH CHURCHES

Liturgics, or *leitourgia* (Greek), has come over into Christian theology from the original concept of doing public or state duty. Thus in Christianity it has come to mean generally any reference to Christian public worship in a church and more specifically the exact elements or forms of a worship service. Liturgical discussions have often centred on the form of Holy Communion as one specific element of liturgy.² Many have explored how several Christian liturgical forms on communion have influenced the use of built space (Eucharist, or Lord's Supper). For example, in a high-Anglican tradition, the placement of a rood screen, altar, and altar rail all show how a liturgical, theological understanding impacts built space or ecclesiastical architecture. However, less well studied and understood are the Western European Reformed liturgical formularies and their impact on ecclesiastical architecture from the 1550s until the mid-nineteenth century. This three-hundred-year period saw the flowering



FIG. 1. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, ORIGINAL, 1852-1855. | AUTHOR'S PRIVATE COLLECTION.



FIG. 2. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, WITH SPIRE. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

of a unique liturgical tradition and an ecclesiastical architectural style. After the mid-nineteenth century, it almost ceased in its built form as a whole, except for isolated church enclaves.

What was this unique liturgical tradition that flourished for a three-hundred-year period and influenced spacial usage to create a unique ecclesiastical style?

Its roots must be traced to Zurich and Geneva and also to France to a large extent. It is the Reformation branch of churches which have become known as Reformed—the children of Zwingli and Calvin on the continent and the children of Knox in Scotland—the Reformed Church of Scotland. This Protestant branch both inherited buildings and would construct new structures. Often the focus of research has been on iconoclasm and their destroying elements of the medieval interiors they inherited rather than focusing on how the Reformed reoriented the

actual space.³ The common theme that emerged for these Reformed churches was the centrality of the pulpit “and the need to focus the interior on the pulpit.”⁴ The other common feature was the removal of anything that looked like an altar and, on occasion, its replacement with long tables, although these were not always present, a fact not always remembered today. The inherited medieval buildings were generally rectangular and oriented with the liturgical focus at the front on the short wall. Yet, several changed this to reorient to the side, the long wall. As the Reformed began to erect new buildings, there were several innovations of spacial usage—some were built with a circular pattern,⁵ but also clearly many were built with a rectangular plan but often with orientation to the side, the long wall, or in the Tplan, a new emerging pattern. Most of these new rectangular plans or Tplan church buildings set the pulpit on the long wall. In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the rectangular plan began to be oriented with the high

pulpit on the short end wall, but still with communion aisles. Thus what emerged within the grouping of the Reformed in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Hungary, Scotland, England and Wales, and New England roughly after 1560 were Reformed church buildings generally with high pulpits centred on the long wall.⁶

Since our focus is Scottish in this paper, let us summarize these liturgical and architectural customs from c. 1560 to c. 1860 in Scotland:

- Many of the new churches built post-1560 in Scotland were either rectangular with high pulpits on the long wall, or Tplan with high pulpits on the long wall. (By the end of our period of focus, there were more rectangular churches with high pulpits being constructed on the short wall.) The larger could accommodate three-sided galleries/lofts.⁷
- Musical instruments were in none of these newly built post-1560 buildings. Precentors led the singing and generally they stood near the pulpit, often just at the foot of the high pulpit at a table/desk (or without table/desk). Often the elders were in this area (i.e., in front of the pulpit) with their own seats, or adjacent to the high pulpit (to one side and looking toward the pulpit).
- Elaborate baptismal fonts were almost never found in these churches but rather often a bracket was attached to the woodwork of the pulpit and a bowl was placed in the bracket.
- All communion services were held with the communicants sitting at long tables either inside the church in a communion aisle or outdoors to accommodate the



FIG. 3. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, HIGH PULPIT ON LONG WALL WITH ELDERS'/ PRECENTORS' AREA. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 5. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, CARVING DETAIL ON FRONT OF HIGH PULPIT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 4. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, DOOR INTO HIGH PULPIT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 6. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, CARVING DETAIL ON FRONT OF HIGH PULPIT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 7. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, LONG COMMUNION TABLE. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 8. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, STABILIZING BAR FOR LONG COMMUNION TABLE. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

large numbers. If the service was held in the church and the crowd overflowed to the outside, then the windows would be removed for the people to hear.⁸

- The design of the long tables varied but most were fifteen inches in width and could be ten feet in length, and if two or three were placed end-to-end, then thirty-five to fifty could communicate at one sitting. This necessitated careful planning of the floor space for a communion aisle. Most of these tables were not left “set-up” but were brought into the communion aisle only for the communion season, hence the reference here to “portable long tables” (or trestle tables), some with legs which could fold for storage, others with stabilizing bars with fixed legs that did not fold. Latterly, some long tables were not portable but tables in which pews converted into tables. On occasion churches “rented out”

the long tables and benches for societal gatherings and events. Some churches permanently set up their long tables with benches. Finally, there were three types of long table arrangements: portable, hinged, and fixed.

From c. 1860 to c. 1900 several liturgical changes took place amongst numerous Scottish Presbyterian churches,⁹ which also led to many alternations in existing post-Reformation buildings and in buildings purpose-built in the late nineteenth century. Thus Nigel Yates is correct when he writes: “Very few Scottish Presbyterian churches retain pre-1850 liturgical arrangements intact.”¹⁰ Church buildings were changed from having high pulpits on the long wall to the “front” or short wall with non-centred pulpits and a permanent communion table, often looking more like a rectangular box. Happening at the same time was the introduction of organs, the displacement of the precentor, the introduction of the

five feast days, the move to the individual communion cups served in the pews rather than a common cup at the long tables, the disappearance of oatcakes or shortbread replaced with bread served from a small stationary communion table at the front, the replacement of tokens with communion cards and then no cards, and finally unfermented juice replacing strong wine. These were major changes in liturgy and also in spacial orientation in the second half of the nineteenth century.

These liturgical changes are actually highly complex and defy simplistic labelling. In part some changes were pragmatic and theological (see the Begg/Chalmers discussions, endnote 20); some were influenced by hygiene concerns; some show the influence of the temperance movement; some were also influenced in part by a desire to recover a wider unity with the universal or Catholic Church of all ages (the Scoto-Catholics); and some can likewise be seen as a Lowland/Highland divide and also in part a rural/urban



FIG. 9. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, GALLERY DENTILATION AND BOX FOR CHIMNEY. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 10. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, T PLAN. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

distinction. The purpose of this paper is not to fully analyze all the reasons for the liturgical changes that were taking place in Presbyterianism in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This would be a whole other paper on liturgics and spacial usage.¹¹

Returning now to the three-hundred-year tradition of the Scottish post-Reformation churches, what was its liturgical theology?

The move to large central pulpits dominating the church interiors in Scotland was a theological statement in architecture: the Word of God—*sola scriptura*—was central, declaring the finished work of Christ, not an altar of priestly sacrifice.¹² The people must gather around the Word (the Scriptures of the Bible), hence the people gathering on three sides around the pulpit on the long wall expressed this theological construct visibly. Also, the Word must be heard audibly by all, so gathering around the pulpit was key. The

adornment of the interior was stripped of all extra distractions in the first post-Reformation buildings. The statement was clear: the Word read and proclaimed is sufficient and there was no need of other symbols, images, or things—simplicity was to rule.¹³

Next, the people must commune as the family of God without distinction. Scripturally the move was more in imitation of the Upper Room tables (Luke 22:11-19). But the Scottish Presbyterians had become dogmatic on this liturgical matter and spacial orientation. For three weeks the Scottish delegates debated with the English Puritans at the famous Westminster Assembly. The Scots were insistent in the Directory for the Public Worship of God that their position be honoured. Eventually after three weeks of debate, a compromise was reached and the wording was carefully crafted to please both parties in the Directory: “The table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that

the communicants *may orderly sit about it, or at it*, the minister is to begin the action . . .”¹⁴ (An amazing way of using English!)

The language is that of compromise and yet also reflects two different liturgical practices and hence two different spacial arrangements in church architecture. Both are very close with a central pulpit often on the long wall, but both vary on floor-space for communion. The one allowed for pew communion, the other for long tables with sittings. The one is typical of what would become known as American meeting house style,¹⁵ the other a Scottish post-Reformation style. They truly are “first cousins,” not identical siblings! Nothing was dearer to the Scots than taking Communion at the “long tables.”¹⁶ When the Scottish post-Reformed Church in 1645 accepted at its General Assembly the Westminster Directory of Public Worship, the Scottish Assembly made it explicitly clear that in Scotland communicants would come

forward and sit at the table and serve one another—they would not sit in the pews.¹⁷ The Reformed churches on the Continent had some variables here—some in France and Switzerland had the communicants walk forward and stand around the table, but not be seated, while others in Westphalia and in the Netherlands often had the communicants walk forward and be seated at the tables.¹⁸ This contrasted with most English and American Puritans who had the communicants remain on the pews/benches.¹⁹

The Scottish General Assembly in 1824 condemned St. John's Parish Church in Glasgow for observing pew communion.²⁰ Another church attempted such in 1860 and was not chastised. Thus, we see that between the 1860s and 1890s a liturgical change occurred in the post-Reformation Scottish Reformed Church where a period of transition began; and by the end of the century, the old liturgical patterns and spacial arrangements were in the minority.²¹

In conclusion, we see that the Scottish Reformed had clear theological and liturgical convictions about Word and Sacrament. These were the underpinnings to what became a distinctive architectural style or use of space for approximately a three-hundred-year period. Donald Bruggink's seminal work in the 1960s summarized this position in *Christ and Architecture*: "Church architecture is therefore first and foremost a matter of theology rather than a matter of style."²²

SAMPLES OF POST-REFORMATION SCOTTISH REFORMED CHURCHES

Since a picture truly is worth a thousand words, we will do a very select sample of purpose-built, post-Reformation Reformed churches in Scotland (bearing

in mind the difficulty of finding such buildings in their c. pre-1900s liturgical arrangement).²³ These selections are mainly from village and town churches. This will help be closer to the locations of such churches in villages and towns in Canada and in South Africa.²⁴ The common features will reveal high pulpits on the long wall or high pulpits on the short wall, no elaborate baptismal fonts—if any—three sided galleries if a larger church, and floor spacing for long tables. The last of these is often the most difficult due to the pew upgrades, whereas the central pulpit generally was not as prone to change. Here are five samples of a fairly standard post-Reformation style in Scotland:

- Mochrum Church, Dumfries and Galloway, 1794, Tplan, high pulpit on the long wall and three-sided galleries with external stairs.²⁵
- Croick Church, Sutherland, 1825-1827, from a Thomas Telford design, T-plan, high pulpit on the long wall, long communion table still present which would accommodate about thirty at a sitting, no galleries.²⁶
- Edderton Old Church, Rosshire, 1743, Tplan, two-tiered high pulpit, long communion tables present through pew backs being converted into tables and three-sided galleries or lofts.²⁷
- Iona Church, Iona (original and with changes), 1828, an approved Thomas Telford church, rectangular, original with high pulpit on long wall, and spacially designed for tables, then reoriented in 1939 to hall configuration with stationary communion box table in centre on short wall and low pulpit to one side.²⁸
- Ardchattan Kirk, Argyll (north of Oban), 1836, rectangular, high pulpit on short end wall, precentor's desk, elders' seating area, bracket

for baptismal bowl, permanent long tables in communion aisle (seating for about fifty), horseshoe gallery, organ added in 1935.²⁹

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND THE DIASPORA SCOTS

Immigration of Scots in the great diaspora of the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries can be traced through their contributions in our built heritage. Often a key leader can be found amongst the Scottish diaspora who was influential upon their building programmes. In the case of Prince Edward Island, such a leader was the Reverend Donald MacDonald (1783-1867). Our purpose here is not to carry out a biographical study,³⁰ but to uncover a liturgical practice and its special impact on the ecclesiastical architecture of Prince Edward Island. MacDonald was from Perthshire, Scotland, and came to PEI in 1826. The time period of his life fits well with what was the regular liturgical form and post-Reformation Scottish church building design before the liturgical and ecclesiological changes of the late nineteenth century.

MacDonald's strategy was to see two large churches constructed east and west of the Hillsborough River, plus numerous smaller meeting points. These two central locations were Desable and Orwell. Both of the buildings were virtually identical in size and style. The Orwell Church was dismantled in the early 1970s. It had undergone liturgical and ecclesiological changes in the late nineteenth / early twentieth century. The Desable Church has not undergone these same liturgical and ecclesiological changes and thus remains basically an unaltered post-Reformation Scottish Kirk. There have been changes—for example, new pews on the main floor and removal of



FIG. 11. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, HIGH PULPIT ON LONG WALL, THREE-SIDED SEATING ARRANGEMENT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 12. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, HIGH PULPIT DETAIL. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

chimneys—but nothing that diminishes the overall theme of continuity. Its date, 1852-1855, places toward the end of the three-hundred-year Scottish continuum of post-Reformation buildings.

The building material is not that of stone or ashlar, but wood/timber, showing adaptation to the island context and economic realities.³¹ The building is rectilinear with a tower at one end for the primary entrance, but appropriately the entrance doors are in the side, not in the centre on the tower-end, thus more adequate for the climate and for stair configuration. The central aisle runs from door-to-door lengthwise of the rectangle. The large high central pulpit is on the long wall, and room is left below for the precentor or elders to assist in leading praise. There are no mid-nineteenth-century font and no organ. The main floor seating is three-sided and the gallery is three-sided. The pulpit height is proportioned properly to allow for sighting by all attendants, with seven stairs symmetrically on each

side. The overall ornamentation is plain in the interior except for some adornment on the pulpit front, which interestingly matches to a large extent the tower exterior. The gallery benches are original, as are the long tables for communion, the communion benches, and some of the interior finish woodwork. The interior is consistently post-Reformation Scottish Reformed. It is close to what many refer to as an American meeting house, but, as said earlier, they are cousins once removed. The overall configuration is Scottish Reformed, post-Reformation. Today the church has a small “communion table” below the precentors/elders’ area, but still has the wide communion aisle for placing the long tables, which remain in the building with the communion table benches.³²

The exterior is that of a very plain, Gothic Revival “overall” by way of the windows, which from all indications are original in design. Yet other features, some of which are now gone, include return box eaves

and corner pilasters, more reflective of a Georgian style. The original tower did not have a spire or a thistle, but it was topped off with four pinnacles.³³ The spire and thistle are later additions, reflecting somewhat a William Critchlow Harris imitation and an ethnic, historical identification,³⁴ and parallels the Cape Traverse Church of Scotland (PEI) spire. The spire has Gothic niches with louvers.

Brief mention can also be made of what was an almost identical building to Desable—the Orwell Church of Scotland built in 1864 by Malcolm MacLeod. It virtually had all these same interior and exterior features and elements as Desable, but with a plain spire added to its tower, original to the building. This spire’s round finial was six feet in length atop the spire and was simply circular and without the ornamentation of a thistle. The tower entrance door at Orwell was likewise in the same position to accommodate the staircase for the gallery on the tower side. The 1866 Communion



FIG. 13. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, ELDERS' BENCHES. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

season here had twelve sittings to accommodate the approximately nine hundred communicants.

Typically the high pulpits had ornamentation of some kind in the woodwork in keeping with Reformed theological and liturgical standards. If a Lutheran high pulpit on the long wall depicted biblical scenes or motifs, this was not done by the Reformed; rather the woodworking of the pulpit reflected more care and detail to woods. At Desable the ornamentation on the pulpit is most unusual as a feature. The motif may reflect cables, or plants, or—as some maintain—the thistle, but this is not conclusive. The panels also reflect graining of the wood, as also the original gallery woodwork. Graining is often indicative of using a less expensive wood and one which was more readily available or not imported from the Caribbean.³⁵ The “carving” was executed by a J. Weeks.³⁶ The gallery moulding is done with small blocks, dentils, to form a linear pattern of dentilation more in the

neoclassical tradition. The gallery moulding also included inset panels as with the one original door.

There are two curious boxes in the two central corners of the gallery in the Desable Church. These are where the chimney pipes once went up through and were removed when the building was raised to have a full basement which accommodated an oil furnace. The second staircase by the second entrance door has an original plain bannister and balustrade and newel post. It reflects a dignified plain craftsmen-like detail in keeping with the period, and the liturgical and ecclesiological principles of the post-Reformation period. The original lath and plaster ceiling is still in the building under a suspended acoustical-tile ceiling.

There is uncertainty as to who the “architect” may have been. However we know that the designer and builders clearly understood the principles and proportions for post-Reformation, high-pulpit,

long-wall churches. Interestingly there are still some examples of such buildings left in Perthshire, Scotland. The conclusion seems obvious: Reverend Donald MacDonald of Perthshire and many of the Scots diaspora from Argyll, and other regions, knew this design well; and it reflected their heritage—liturgically, theologically, and spacially—as a place of public worship.

There is one other building remaining on Prince Edward Island with a close affinity to the Desable Church building, built in 1862 and located about seven kilometres away, the Churchill Church. It appears to simply be a scaled-down version of Desable. Its overall design is in complete harmony with the post-Reformation-built Scottish churches. Today one will see that it has undergone a very modest late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century liturgical and ecclesiological change, but very conservatively in contrast to what often was done. The main point of change was to lower the long-wall pulpit and to abandon the long tables and benches, but the overall configuration was not abandoned. The Churchill Church originated as being in connection with the Church of Scotland under Reverend Donald MacDonald’s oversight.

Brief mention should be made of the changes in the orientation of the Kirk of St. James in Charlottetown. The original church interior dates to 1878 with a long-wall pulpit and a three-sided gallery design. This congregation originally was Church of Scotland. This second building comes at the end of the three-hundred-year post-Reformation Scottish Reformed period. This (second) church underwent major alternations in keeping with the liturgical and ecclesiological changes in the late nineteenth / early twentieth centuries. It thus represents well what Nigel Yates says about many of the Scottish

churches—few remain intact in their interiors reflecting the three-hundred-year liturgical style and built form.

In Canada there are very few church buildings which remain that reflect the Scottish post-Reformation approach to liturgy and built space.³⁷ The Desable Church is likely the best example, although more input is welcomed to verify if there might be others. Alterations and a move to “church-hall” built interiors with shorter pulpits and a fixed table became the norm in the second half of the nineteenth century for most Presbyterian church buildings in Canada. This has resulted in little knowledge of former liturgical and spacial orientation in these buildings.

GLEN LYNDEN CHURCH, SOUTH AFRICA

We end our discussion with a brief excursus of the first purpose-built Presbyterian church building on the continent of Africa.³⁸ It opened in 1828 and was built for Scottish immigrants who settled in the Baviaans River area in a “glen” that came to be known as Glen Lynden in the Eastern Cape.³⁹ These were the party of Scottish settlers informally under Thomas Pringle’s leadership, often acclaimed as the first English language poet in Southern Africa. This 1828 church has been preserved with minimal change. The roof is now corrugated iron but was originally thatch, and two large stone buttresses have been added to one wall to prevent further deterioration of the structure. What is most interesting, however, for the purposes of this paper, is the fact that this is a Tplan church and the interior is configured around a long-wall pulpit. Spacially the aisles in front of the pulpit would accommodate long tables. The church furnishings which are left today are benches/pews and the large pulpit with stairs. There



FIG. 14. GREENOCK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ST. ANDREWS, NEW BRUNSWICK, 1822-1824, HIGH PULPIT ON THE FRONT SHORT WALL. | NANCY WHYTOCK.

are no baptismal font, no communion table(s), small or long tables. It would appear that the pulpit is original and the stairs leading up into it as well. The pulpit includes cut volutes into the wood, making an effective linear design in the front corners. There are no galleries as the building is very low, but the configuration is three-sided around the pulpit. The building stone is from the “glen.” The church was replaced by a Gothic Revival structure next door in 1873.⁴⁰

The point about this first purpose-built Presbyterian building in Africa is that it serves as another Scottish diaspora group building a church in a very typical Scottish post-Reformation manner. Over time, this congregation was to become Dutch Reformed officially, yet once again retained a liturgical and built style very similar to that of the Scots. Many of the Dutch Reformed churches of the nineteenth century in Southern Africa were built with long-wall pulpits and three-sided seating arrangements or a Tplan.⁴¹

CONCLUSION

The example of Scottish post-Reformation churches, c. 1560, proves the thesis that a theological, liturgical position did influence Scottish post-Reformed purpose-built churches architecturally. Donald Bruggink’s ideal is met here: “Church architecture is therefore first and foremost a matter of theology rather than a matter of style.”⁴² We have seen here that the theological, liturgical stance was first, the architectural style coming as a result. Other observations are that Martin Luther’s first designed Protestant church in comparison to many of these Scottish churches, c. 1560-c. 1860, was “half-way there.” Luther’s Torgau Church certainly brought the Word to the centre of the people as they stood around it on the long wall, but on the short end wall there was a “table/altar,” elevated, but not for sitting. The Scottish Reformed were more “radical”—all were to gather around the centrality of the Word in worship, but they were to walk and express

their vows openly as they gathered at the long tables. They were to break the “bread” and pass it to the one beside them; they were to pass the cup to the next. This is a statement of the gathering of the universal priesthood of believers. The break with the medieval church was clear both liturgically and spacially. Was this almost the great “love feast” of the Scottish churches? It was not just for one parish but for others as well—rise, walk, sit, vow, sing, pass, sing, rise, and return—the drama was unique.

Examples of this Scottish post-Reformation church are now rare for several reasons—the liturgical changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have altered many historic buildings. Secondly, there have been demographic shifts in communities and awareness of the Scottish diaspora and some of their liturgical customs have been forgotten. In Canada there is literally only a “handful” left of buildings as described in this paper and these need to be recognized for their unique liturgical and architectural qualities of the Scottish post-Reformation church. They may appear the same as American meeting houses, but we have shown that they have added uniqueness. Can others be identified in Canada which conform to this Scottish ecclesiological style of the dominating central high pulpit, usually on the long wall, and spacially proportioned for long tables with a communion aisle?

NOTES

1. I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of the late Dr. Nigel Yates, professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Wales, Lampeter, an internationally acknowledged ecclesiastical historian. I was privileged to have had him as one of my internal examiners for my Ph.D. thesis and to have collaborated with him on one research project. His work in ecclesiastical architecture was prolific, resulting in several published works in

the field. One which I will reference was the work released by T&T Clark, Edinburgh, UK, in the year of his death, 2009: *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors, 1560-1860*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark. This was preceded in 2008 by *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*, Aldershot, Hampshire, UK, Ashgate. Other major works on ecclesiastical architecture and liturgy by Dr. Yates include: *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2000 [1st ed. 1991]; and *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999. Dr. Yates' work fills in a gap as there has not been such a major study undertaken on Scottish churches since George Hay's classic work of 1957, now over fifty years old: *Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches*, Oxford, UK, Clarendon Press.

2. Colquhoun, Frank, 1960, “Liturgy,” in Everett F. Harrison (ed.), *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, p. 325. Also, Provance, Brett Scott, 2009, *Pocket Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, Downers Grove, IL, IVP Academic, p. 79.
3. This typical fascination usually focuses upon the “idols and monuments” only, but does not draw itself to the spacial reorientation which was occurring. See “The Third Head: Touching the Abolishing of Idolatrie,” in James K. Cameron (ed.), *The First Book of Discipline*, Edinburgh, UK, The Saint Andrew Press, 1972, p. 94-95. This must be compared with “The Ninth Head: Concerning the Policie of the Kirk” and the section on “The Reparation of the Kirkes”: “. . . Every Kirk must have dores, close windowes of glasse, thack able to withhold the raine, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpet, a basen for baptizing, and tables for ministration of the Lord's Supper . . .” p. 203.
4. Yates, *Liturgical Space* . . . : 70. See also, in Ralph Turnbull (ed.), *Baker's Dictionary of Practical Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker: Reid, W. Stanford, “Reformed Worship,” p. 386; and Babbage, S. Barton, “Aids to Worship,” p. 402.
5. Calvin's preference was to build “in-the-round” and not in the rectangular. Barraclough, Geoffrey (ed.), 1981, “Calvinism,” in *The Christian World: A Social and Cultural History*, New York, NY, H.N. Abrams, p. 178-179. See, on Dutch and French examples of church architecture in the seventeenth century: Benedict, Philip, 2002, *Christ's Churches Purely*

Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 498-499.

6. Note in this general listing of nations where the Reformed built new buildings post-1600 that there are some differences such as between English/American Puritans and Scottish Reformed Puritans. This will be explored later in the paper.
7. Latterly (nineteenth century), some of these galleries were known as horseshoe galleries.
8. Forrester, Duncan and Douglas Murray (eds.), 1996 [2nd ed.], *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, Edinburgh, UK, T&T Clark, p. 43; Stanley-Blackwell, Laurie, 1997, “Tabernacles in the Wilderness: The Open-air Communion Tradition in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Cape Breton,” in Charles H.H. Scobie and George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, Montreal, QC, and Kingston, ON, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 93-117; see also MacPhail, Andrew, 1994 [1st ed. 1939], *The Master's Wife: Sir Andrew MacPhail*, Charlottetown, PEI, Institute of Island Studies, p. 143 on removing the windows on PEI.
9. The liturgical changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are summarized in two articles: Murray, Douglas M., 1993, “Lord's Supper”; and “Liturgy,” in David F. Wright (author) and Nigel M. de S. Cameron (author and editor), *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, Edinburgh, UK, T&T Clark, p. 489-490 and 495-496. These changes were often referred to as belonging to the “ecclesiological movement,” terminology which is less than satisfactory because of the confusion with the theological subject of ecclesiology. In popular parlance they are often spoken of as “high church” or “Scoto-Catholic,” again a less than precise term.
10. Yates, *Liturgical Space* . . . : 60.
11. Yates, in *Preaching, Word and Sacrament* . . . , summarizes many of these changes and the people behind them in chap. 6, “Liturgical and Architectural Developments since 1860,” p. 111-138. See also Yates, *Liturgical Space* . . . , p. 125 *et seq.* To understand this liturgical period of change in Scotland, the influence of Thomas Leishman and George W. Sprott must be considered for the return to liturgical formularies, etc. See Sprott, George W. and Thomas Leishman, 1913 [9th ed.], *Euchologion: A Book of Common Order*, Edinburgh, UK, William Blackwood.

12. Hume, John, 2005. *Scotland's Best Churches*, Edinburgh, UK, Edinburgh University Press, p. 5.
13. Luther also placed the pulpit on the long wall when he designed a new purpose-built church following the Reformation. A very consistent pattern emerged throughout the Reformed branch of the Western Reformation Church. Yates illustrates this well in *Liturgical Space...* (p. 46, 55, 65, 17); see also Chapell, Bryan, 2009, *Christ-centered Worship*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, p. 15-16. See Hartenfels Castle for the first Protestant built church, 1544, at Torgau: "Effects of the Reformation on Architecture, Art and Music," *Motherland of the Reformation. On The Trail of a World Event*, p. 51, [http://www.sachsen-tourismus.de/fileadmin/userfiles/TMGS/Startseite/Reisethemen/Reformation/Inhalt/TMGS_Luther_Brochure_Engl.pdf], accessed on October 5, 2014. "It is the intention of this building that nothing else shall happen inside it except that our dear Lord shall speak to us through His Holy Word, and we in turn talk to Him through prayer and praise." (Martin Luther, October 5, 1544, the date of the church's dedication). There very well may be some medieval precedents for pulpits or lecterns being on the long walls, as seating was not always fixed in medieval churches/chapels. See also Loveland, Anne C. and Otis B. Wheeler, 2003, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History*, Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press: p. 5-9 on plain, commanding pulpits; and p. 9 on interior of Sandown Meetinghouse, New Hampshire (1773-1774).
14. *The Directory for the Public(k) Worship of God*, 1983 [1st ed. 1645], Glasgow, Free Presbyterian Publications, p. 385. See also Burnet, George B. 1960, *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland 1560-1960*, Edinburgh, UK, Oliver and Boyd, p. 108-110, where the author discusses the controversy at the Westminster Assembly "about where communicants should be seated at the sacrament."
15. See "Architecture," in Horton Davies, 1999 [1990 1st ed.], *The Worship of the American Puritans*, Morgan, PA, Soli Deo Gloria, specifically p. 273 et seq.
16. Chapell : 58.
17. An act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (Uniformity in This Kirk), February 7, 1645, Session 14. This act is very explicit and it affirms the practice before 1645 (post 1560) and what it would be after 1645. This was the common practice until after the 1860s, when it started to decline. The act spoke of singing a psalm as communicants walked to and from the tables. The foundation of all of this liturgical action can be traced back to the 1560 *First Book of Discipline*. See "The Second Head: Of Sacraments," in Cameron, James K. (ed.), 1972, *The First Book of Discipline*, Edinburgh, UK, The Saint Andrew Press, p. 91-92, "But plaine it is, that at supper Christ Jesus sate with his Disciples; and therefore doe we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action . . . That the Minister breake the bread and distribute the same to those that be [sat] next unto him, commanding the rest, everie one with reverence and sobrietie to breake with other, we thinke it neerest to Christs action, and to the perfect practise . . ."
18. Carver, Joel "Uniformity in This Kirk," concerning France, Switzerland, Westphalia, and the Netherlands, [http://www.lasalle.edu/~garver/uniform.htm], accessed April 14, 2014.
19. Davies, Horton, 1997 [1948 1st ed.], *The Worship of the English Puritans*, Morgan, PA, Soli Deo Gloria, p. 207-208, 214, for a summation of the differences.
20. Maxwell, William D., 1955, *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*, London, UK, Oxford University Press, p. 171-172. Also, Begg, James, 1824, *The Use of the Communion Table in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, Glasgow, UK, Maurice Ogle. Begg is very clear in this small book that not sitting at the table is an "innovation in worship" or in liturgical custom. Thomas Chalmers "begged" to differ on this matter. See Sefton, Henry, "Thomas Chalmers and the Lord's Table," [http://www.churchservicesociety.org/sites/default/file], accessed September 26, 2014.
21. Yates, *Liturgical Space...* : 59-60.
22. Bruggink, Donald J. and Carl Droppers, 1965, *Christ and Architecture: Building Presbyterian/Reformed Churches*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, p. 6. The authors assert: "Because the Word is indispensable, the pulpit, as the architectural manifestation of the Word, must make its indispensability architecturally clear . . . this means that there can be no thought of building churches in which an altar, or even a table . . . is given the architectural focus while the pulpit is relegated to a strictly secondary role," p. 80-81.
23. The reader is directed to appendices B, C, and D in Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...*, for much fuller lists and explanations.
24. Stevenson, F.R., "Architecture, Scottish Church," in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and the comment about village and smaller towns or basically the rural churches.
25. "Interior of Presbyterian Church, Mochrum," Royal Institute of British Architects, Kirks Throughout the Ages, [http://preview2-riba.contensis.com/001Oldfolders/], accessed February 26, 2014. Also, "Mochrum Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://www.scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014.
26. "Croick Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://www.scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014; Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...* : 166. See also the general book on the Highlands and Islands – Scotland's Churches Scheme (author), 2011, *Sacred Highlands and Islands (Sacred Places)* (illust. John Hume), Edinburgh, UK, Saint Andrew Press.
27. "Edderton Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014; Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...* : 166.
28. "Iona Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014. Also, "Iona Heritage Centre," [http://www.ionaheritage.co.uk/church/index.html], accessed May 21, 2014.
29. Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...* : 80, 86, 160. Yates incorrectly identifies this church as St. Modan. It is actually the Archattan Kirk and is linked with the second point, being the St. Modan Church.
30. For biographical information on Donald MacDonald, see Lament, Murdoch, 1902, *Rev. Donald McDonald: Glimpses of His Life and Times*, Charlottetown, PEI, Murley and Garnham; and Weale, David, 1966, "McDonald, Donald," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto, p. 480-481.
31. The current colour of the exterior of the church is white. The original paint colour was salmon in tone, which was common for many wooden-clad churches.
32. Smith, Scott, 1994 [1st ed. 1986], *The Historic Churches of Prince Edward Island*, Erin, ON, Boston Mills, p. 78-79. Smith has included an excellent entry on the Desable Church. I demur with him somewhat about his meeting house comment.
33. I am using the term "spire" here as the additional tapered portion added to the tower and take tower and spire together as

- the steeple. See terminology for spire and steeple in: Atkinson, Thomas Dinham, 2004 [1st ed. 1906], *A Glossary of Terms Used in English Architecture*, Almonte, ON, Algrove, p. 253, 254-256. This is the same in Curl, James Stevens, 1999, *A Dictionary of Architecture*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, p. 629, 636.
34. The thistle finial on the spire is at least six feet.
35. This contrasts with the wood used in the high pulpit of the Greenock Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, where there is no graining.
36. Scott : 79; and MacFadyen, Jean, *For the Sake of the Record*, Summerside, PEI: n. pub. [1984], p. 45.
37. For example, possibly the Union Presbyterian Church, Albert Bridge, Nova Scotia, comes close. See Hyde, Susan and Michael Bird, 1995, *Hallowed Timbers: The Wooden Churches of Cape Breton*, Erin, ON, Boston Mills Press, p. 30-31, 40-41. Research into the original communion tables needs to be conducted here. This is in distinction to the Barrington Meeting House, Nova Scotia, which is reflective of a Puritan New England meeting house style, as is the Covenanters' Church, Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, interestingly enough, despite the now popular name which comes from a later period of the church's history. The latter two church buildings are close cousins to the Scottish post-Reformation churches. The Geddie Memorial Church in New London, PEI, has had its high pulpit lowered and changed in the early twentieth century. The best example of a two-tiered high pulpit in Maritime Canada is the Greenock Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, on the front short wall. This pulpit has not been modified and is made of expensive woods, unlike the Desable pulpit. Often referred to as the Scotch Church, it too belonged to the Church of Scotland. This church dates from 1822 and was completed in 1824 after Captain Scott involved himself in its completion. There is no doubt that his involvement resulted in such a well-built and costly high pulpit being constructed. This church also originally used the long communion tables in the aisles. Cockburn, Melville N., *A History of Greenock Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, from 1821-1906*, n.pl., n.pub. [1906], p. 5-10. Further examples need to be studied, particularly in Quebec.
38. The Glen Lynden Church was the first Presbyterian church building to open in Africa in 1828. The next year, 1829, the Scottish Church (latterly called St. Andrew's) opened in Cape Town, and this would be technically the second Presbyterian church to be built in Africa. See Whytock, Jack C., 2014, "1813-2013 - A Forgotten Anniversary: Die Presbiteriannse Moederkerk in Suid-Afrika, The Presbyterian Motherkirk in South Africa," *Haddington House Journal*, vol. 16, p. 31-38. Also, Hofmeyr, J.W. and Gerald J. Pillay (eds.), 1994, *A History of Christianity in South Africa*, Pretoria, RSA, Haum, p. 68-69.
39. The historical plaque on the Glen Lynden Church reads as follows: "Old Glen Lynden Church. This church was built in 1828 by the Government through the influence of Thomas Pringle for the Scottish settlers and their Dutch neighbours. It became a Dutch Reformed Church in 1829 (Erected by the Historical Monuments Commission)." The 1829 date is incorrect; it should read 1831. The 1820 Scottish settlers in Pringle's Party were sent to the Baviaans River area and named the place where they settled Glen Lynden (a Scottish glen). See also Pringle, Thomas, 1834, *African Sketches: Part 2, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, London, UK, Edward Moxen, p. 155-157 for a description of the first Presbyterian worship service held in Glen Lynden on July 2, 1820.
40. The author visited the Glen Lynden churches on February 9, 2014, doing photography there and making notes.
41. For example, the second church building for the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) in Graaff-Reinet, which was in use upon the arrival of Reverend Andrew Murray, Sr., in the 1820s, was of this rectangular configuration. The present church, now the third, is a Tplan building. Visit by the author to Graaff-Reinet in April 2013.
42. Bruggink and Droppers : 6.

ARCHITECTURE AND “ENVIRONMENTALITY” IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Architectural historians have traditionally associated the profound transformations that occurred in Western architecture around the turn of the nineteenth century with a “cult of styles”¹ that began with neoclassicism and quickly expanded into Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, and eclecticism.² Taking into consideration a broader view of architectural production, and shifting away from an approach focused on stylistic labelling, scholars of the last two decades have examined how the architecture of that period established a new relation with history and culture conceived as a whole. Barry Bergdoll portrayed this transformation most clearly when he argued that many important architects from the late eighteenth century attempted to establish a “scientific” relation to historical development, situating themselves on the level of scientists and philosophers.³ But the focus of these studies has remained fixed on a small number of well-known architects-theorists on the forefront of artistic development, and it is not easy to evaluate how their ideas can be used to characterize the period as a whole.

One can argue, of course, that building form depends on a number of ideas and opinions shared by architects and clients alike—ideas and opinions that can generally be associated with identifiable cultural or political trends of the period. Yet, when sources from other areas of culture are taken into account, claims made on that basis often need to be qualified. From this perspective, we will look at literary sources of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in an attempt to circumscribe a conception of architecture that



FIG. 1. CHISWICK CHAP, VIEW OF STRAWBERRY HILL HOUSE FROM GARDEN IN 2012, AFTER RESTORATION. LICENCE CREATIVE COMMONS CC-BY-SA-3.0. | WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

characterized more generally the learned elites of the period—among whom, of course, the largest architectural clientele can be found. For an effective impact on readers, literary fiction has indeed to rely on important assumptions about the way people interact with buildings, and it is quite interesting to observe the convergence between certain literary trends and architectural developments around the turn of the nineteenth century. More specifically, Gothic fiction tends to portray the relation between buildings and their users as a direct emotional response with even a physical dimension.¹ In this article, we will try to show that very modern ideas about the influence of environment on people were being formulated in that period.

Directly relevant to our argument, William Taylor's book *The Vital Landscape* focuses on the Victorian understanding of nature, and he demonstrates the rise of a strong environmental awareness in nineteenth-century Britain.⁴ Taylor also introduces the notion of "environmentality" to talk about these "novel environmental sensibilities"⁵ without identifying them too closely to more recent ecological and environmentalist movements. He specifically argues that in the nineteenth century, "lines of philosophical inquiry into sublime nature and the painterly picturesque conveyed from eighteenth-century literature [became] less topical than questions about the suitability of living species for their environment."⁶ According to him, "Victorians came to position themselves, physically and psychologically, relative to an overarching environmental context."⁷ This argument, in our view, is fundamentally correct, provided the notion of "environment" is properly understood in its historical dimension: not as another word to talk about nature itself, but rather as a concept referring to

the physical elements that surround us, seen as forming some kind of "totality."⁸ For that reason, we see a strong continuity between notions of picturesque, sublime, and the theory of character in architecture, on the one hand, and the Victorian perception that living species need specific environments to flourish,⁹ on the other, even if we otherwise agree with Taylor's characterization of what he calls a "culture of environmentality"—and this continuity will constitute the main subject of our discussion.

We will start with an examination of a few classic examples of Gothic fiction and will try to show how, around the turn of the nineteenth century, architecture was more and more widely understood as a physical context having a direct psychological influence on the occupants of a building. The way this influence was understood constitutes the basis of the theories of the picturesque and the sublime, and, in the second part of this article, we will stress the multi-sensorial dimension of those theories of aesthetics in order to qualify the common definition of picturesque in strictly visual terms, and to argue that it contains the seeds of an "environmental" conception of architecture, although a particular one. We will then transport ourselves to Canada in order to discuss how such a conception of architecture may have been interpreted in that particular context, characterized by a direct encounter with wilderness. In this framework, Canada proves an excellent example to examine the "limits" of a picturesque conception of architecture in terms of "environmentality."

ARCHITECTURE IN GOTHIC FICTION

In a classic study from the 1920s, Eino Railo proposed something that may be considered as an evidence today: the

idea that architecture, in the form of the "haunted castle," plays an essential role in Gothic fiction, "so important indeed that were it eliminated the whole fabric of the romance would be bereft of its foundation and would lose its predominant atmosphere."¹⁰ It is easy to agree with him that haunted castles, abbeys, and monasteries—usually filled with long-forgotten passages and secret underground tunnels—are essential ingredients to this literature. But architecture is not only a literary device: references to buildings and the emotional impact they produce on characters suggest the rise of new ideas about architecture itself during that period. In Gothic fiction, one can indeed find an underlying conception of architecture and the environment according to which they have a determining effect on the mood, psychology, even health (mental and physical) of people—something that signals a major turn in the understanding of the relation between people and their physical surroundings.

The most important authors of Gothic fiction in the second half of the eighteenth century are of course Horace Walpole, with *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Tale* (1764), Clara Reeve, with *The Old English Baron: A Gothic Story* (1777), and Ann Radcliffe, with several novels including *A Sicilian Romance* (1790) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance* (1794). Although varied when we look at the details, the way architecture is used by these authors—and by most authors who tried their hand at Gothic fiction—is quite revealing. In *The Castle of Otranto*, as Railo observed, there is no exterior description of the building that is at the centre of the story.¹¹ Indirectly, Walpole's own house, Strawberry Hill in Twickenham (fig. 1), provides an image of the fictional castle, and it is well known that his residence was an inspiration to the story; Walpole himself described Strawberry Hill as his

“own little Otranto.”¹² But in the text the exterior of the castle remains vague, and the parts that are the subject of a certain descriptive development are interiors, such as tunnels and underground structures, usually in combination with the psychological effects they produce on characters. For example, Walpole portrays Isabella’s flight from Manfred, the illegitimate owner of the estate, in the following manner:

The lower part of the castle was hollowed into several intricate cloisters; and it was not easy for one under so much anxiety to find the door that opened into the cavern. An awful silence reigned throughout those subterraneous regions, except now and then some blasts of wind that shook the doors she had passed, and which grating on the rusty hinges were re-echoed through that long labyrinth of darkness.¹³

This passage is quintessentially Gothic in the oppressive role given to the building; even though in later writings exteriors become more important, the “claustrophobic sense of enclosure in space” remains one of the essential components of Gothic fiction.¹⁴

What is most interesting however is that due to the presence of a ghost—that of Alfonso, the last legitimate owner of the castle, killed by Manfred’s grandfather—the building seems to have a will of its own, as it struggles to return to its rightful heir. Toward the end of the book, the walls, shaken by a supernatural force, fall on Manfred and drive him away: “The moment Theodore appeared, the walls of the castle behind Manfred were thrown down with a mighty force, and the form of Alfonso, dilated to an immense magnitude, appeared in the centre of the ruins. Behold in Theodore, the true heir of Alfonso!”¹⁵

In a short story entitled *Sir Bertrand: a Fragment* (1773), the poet and essayist Anna Laetitia Aikin makes a paradigmatic use of Gothic themes: surprised by nightfall, traveller Sir Bertrand seeks refuge in a “large antique mansion, with turrets at the corners.”¹⁶ The building appears to him at moonlight in a very evocative manner: “It was one of those nights when the moon gives a faint glimmering of light through the thick black clouds of a lowering sky.”¹⁷ The mansion turns out to be inhabited by a particularly nasty ghost who defends it against intruders. And the building also participates in the defense:

The heavy door, creaking upon its hinges, reluctantly yielded to [Sir Bertrand’s] hand—he applied his shoulder to it and forced it open—he quitted it and stepped forward—the door instantly shut with a thundering clap. Sir Bertrand’s blood was chilled—he turned back to find the door, and it was long ere his trembling hands could seize it—but his utmost strength could not open it again.¹⁸

And then Aikin’s story quickly evolves into Sir Bertrand stealing a key from the ghost and delivering the princess held captive in a coffin by some kind of magic...

Following more closely the pattern of *The Castle of Otranto*, Clara Reeve’s *The Old English Baron* also features ghosts who act in order to have the Castle of Lovel restored to its original lineage. Railo credits Reeve for having made a “deliberate use of an empty suite of rooms supposed to be haunted” for the first time.¹⁹ Soon after Lady Lovel’s burial,

[I]t was reported that the Castle was haunted, and that the ghosts of Lord and Lady Lovel had been seen by several of the servants. Whoever went into this apartment were terrified by uncommon noises and strange appearances; at length this

apartment was wholly shut up, and the servants were forbid to enter it, or to talk of any thing relating to it: However the story did not stop here; it was whispered about, that the new Lord Lovel was so disturbed every night that he could not sleep in quiet; and, being at last tired of the place, he sold the Castle and estate of his ancestors, to his brother-in-law the Lord Fitz-Owen, who now enjoys it, and left the country.²⁰

Once again, the building seems to have its own will, acting in perfect harmony with the ghosts of Lord and Lady Lovel. Dressed in armour, the ghost of Lord Lovell scares away the usurpers from the wing in which his body is buried, it protects the legitimate heir of the domain, and, when the moment comes, the castle itself joyfully celebrates the latter’s return: “The moment Osmund entered the hall, every door in the house flew open . . . These doors, said [Joseph, the old servant], open of their own accord to receive their master! This is he indeed!”²¹

In contrast to the earlier texts, Ann Radcliffe’s novels are often seen as moving away from the “true” Gothic genre by providing a rational explanation for everything that might seem to belong to the supernatural. But it is quite significant that in spite of this transformation, architecture continues to affect the characters in exactly the same way as before—however without the proxy of ghosts. As Railo explains, Radcliffe can be credited for the ultimate development of architectural settings: “If . . . Walpole gave us the first features of the haunted castle with the all-important secret passages and trapdoors, and Clara Reeve added the ghost-ridden suite, it was Ann Radcliffe who developed this series of imaginary pictures to the full.”²² Having eliminated the supernatural as such, her novels are based on the assumption that the emotional impact of buildings on people belongs to

the ordinary expectations of an average reader. This postulate obviously confirms our point: that a somewhat deterministic view of the relation between architecture and the mental state of people had become widespread around the turn of the nineteenth century. Radcliffe indeed exploits to the full the psychological effects that buildings can have on her characters. For example, Julia, the heroine of *A Sicilian Romance*, fleeing from her tormentors, approaches “a large ruinous mansion” partly hidden from view by the shades of a forest, “but as she drew near, each forlorn and decaying feature of the fabric was gradually disclosed, and struck upon her heart a horror such as she had never before experienced.”²³ Thus, Julia’s emotions are directly connected to the environment in which she evolves: if the Gothic hall in the castle of Mazzini can inspire horror to all who dare to enter, the view of a monastery calms Julia’s agitated spirits, and a beautiful landscape brings her peace of mind: “The beauty of the scene, the soothing murmur of the high trees, waved by the light air which overshadowed her, and the soft shelling of the waves that flowed gently in upon the shores, insensibly sunk her mind into a state of repose.”²⁴

Most interesting, however, is the fact that right at the beginning of *A Sicilian Romance*, Radcliffe tries to explain in a theoretical manner the psychological effect of objects on people, which she actually sees as unstable. This is the underlying assumption of the book, and it constitutes the general psychological explanation for the way her characters react—a somewhat “basic” understanding of human psychology, to be sure, but one that is indicative of the way in which the relation between architecture and people was understood at the time. In the following passage, the author’s voice interrupts the narration and makes a general claim:

“It is painful to know, that we are operated upon by objects whose impressions are variable as they are indefinable—and that what yesterday affected us strongly, is to-day but imperfectly felt, and to-morrow perhaps shall be disregarded.”²⁵ Objects naturally induce emotions in the minds of people, but such effects may be waning—and this would be a sign that the object itself is somewhat defective. Here, Radcliffe specifically talks about the effect of men on the minds of women, but the claim is more general, as the choice of the word “object” is meant to indicate. And the instability in the effect produced by certain objects may also be due to an agitated or confused state of mind—i.e., the fault may lie in the object as well as in the subject. The general theory according to which objects with certain specific formal characteristics “operate” upon us in a predictable manner thus remains valid: “The evening sun shed a mild and mellow lustre over the landscape, and softened each feature with a vermil glow that would have inspired a mind less occupied than Julia’s with sensations of congenial tranquillity.”²⁶

FROM CHARACTER TO PICTURESQUE

For architectural historians, passages such as these easily recall the eighteenth-century notion of “character,” according to which architects should conceive buildings that possess the capacity of affecting the moods and the thoughts of their users.²⁷ In the words of Étienne-Louis Boullée—if we can make a brief excursion into France: “*Mettre du caractère dans un ouvrage, c’est employer avec justesse tous les moyens propres à ne nous faire éprouver d’autres sensations que celles qui doivent résulter du sujet.*”²⁸ For Boullée, architects need to understand how the formal characteristics of objects affect people’s emotions, and buildings

should be designed according to principles derived from such an understanding. Thus, a building that has character will take control over the beholder’s sensations, and provoke an emotional response appropriate to its function, from admiration and awe in a religious building to light-heartedness and joy in a country residence.

In making this argument, Boullée follows the teachings of his master, French architect Jacques-François Blondel,²⁹ and he develops into a well-structured theory ideas that were previously expressed with a certain degree of terminological confusion—as Blondel was injecting new content into old words such as decorum (“convenance”). According to Boullée, the main condition for an object (natural or man-made) to have character is the unity of the sensations it produces, something that is summarized in the notion of “*tableau*”—which cannot simply be translated as “picture” in this context. When Boullée talks about the *tableau* created by a scenery, he refers to everything that produces a certain sensory experience in the beholder, affecting his/her emotions. For example, each season produces a distinct *tableau*, resulting in a specific effect on the minds of people subjected to its power: winter with its long shadows and barren forms produces melancholy, and spring with its tender colours and abundance of light brings about joy and admiration. It is this kind of *tableau* that architects need to assemble in their buildings in order to give them character: some kind of controlled environment designed to throw the beholder into a specific mood or state of mind.

In the English context, the notion of architectural character developed particularities that make it interestingly different from Blondel’s or Boullée’s, and that correspond even more closely to the role

given to buildings in Gothic fiction. As art historian John Archer demonstrated:

[T]he writer responsible for the first full formulation of character in English architectural theory was the sometime politician and writer on Shakespearean character, Thomas Whately. In his *Observations on Modern Gardening*, first published in 1770, the three principles of central identity, affectivity, and association were first incorporated into a single notion of character in landscape and architectural design.³⁰

Archer thus argues that the English interpretation of character is built around three essential principles: one single and dominant theme should preside over the design of an object; this object should speak to the emotions; and the production of emotions should rely on the association of ideas, rather than conventional symbols and iconography. The two first principles insist on the internal coherence of the design and its emotional dimension, in a way comparable to the French theories, with which Whately must have been familiar. But the third principle differs from the French notion as it builds upon British empiricist philosophy and the concept of associationism,³¹ and foreshadows the important role given to associations in the nineteenth century in English architecture, especially in the picturesque movement.

This last principle also makes the experience of character in a building or a garden something more personal, since it depends on memory and past experiences. This is one of the particularities that give the English notion of character its greater proximity to Gothic fiction. Already when writing about the older notion of decorum, English theoreticians noticeably had a more personal and individual way of formulating their prescriptions to architects. Of course,

decorum, as the architectural expression of the rank and social status, is a notion quite different from the idea of character, which refers to the capacity of a building of any type to have an impact on the emotions of its spectators.³² But for English authors, decorum does not simply refer to an abstract expression of social rank; already in Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), or in Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725), as Archer explains, respect for decorum requires that a building should exhibit some personal traits of its owner.³³

The most fascinating illustration of this personal dimension attributed to decorum and afterward to character in the Anglo-Saxon context can probably be found in Edgar Allan Poe's *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1839), in which the identification of the house to its owner is absolute. Paying a visit to Roderick Usher, a former friend with whom he had lost touch, the narrator feels the gloom of his estate immediately upon arrival: "I know not how it was—but, with the first glimpse of the building, a sense of insufferable gloom pervaded my spirit."³⁴ This overwhelmingly oppressive ambiance pervades everything from the building itself to the surrounding vegetation, water, and air. In one passage, the narrator tries to explain the strange congruence he witnessed between the physical environment and Usher's personality:

It was this deficiency [*i.e.*, the lack of any other branch to the family], I considered, while running over in thought the perfect keeping of the character of the premises with the accredited character of the people, and while speculating upon the possible influence which the one, in the long lapse of centuries, might have exercised upon the other—it was this deficiency . . . which had at length, so identified the two as to merge

the original title of the estate in the quaint and equivocal appellation of the "House of Usher"—an appellation which seemed to include, in the minds of the peasantry who used it, both the family and the family mansion.³⁵

And, as we all know, the short story ends with Roderick Usher dying in horror exactly at the moment his mansion collapses and all is swallowed by water: "mighty walls rushing asunder—there was a long tumultuous shouting sound like the voice of a thousand waters—and the deep and dank tarn at my feet closed sullenly and silently over the fragments of the 'HOUSE OF USHER.'"³⁶

The second particularity that makes the English notion of character so close to the architecture of Gothic fiction is the multi-sensorial dimension of the experience it is meant to propose. This point is visible all over Whately's treatise, which is based on the principle that the designer should not impose abstract plans on a landscape, but should work with what is there, in accordance with the genius of the place, or *genius loci*: "But in this application, the genius of the place must always be particularly considered; to force it is hazardous; and an attempt to contradict it is always unsuccessful."³⁷ The first part of the treatise examines separately the different components of a garden: the ground, the wood, the water, the rocks, and the buildings. In these discussions, it is clear that Whately understands the perception of a garden as a multi-sensorial experience. This general point appears clearly in his discussion of water, as a pool, a pond, or a lake, all producing distinct atmospheres: "a deep stagnated pool, dank and dark with shades which it dimly reflects befits the seat of melancholy."³⁸ And from the murmur of a rill to the roar of a torrent, the senses are constantly stimulated:

A gently murmuring rill, clear and shallow, just gurgling, just dimpling, imposes silence, suits with solitude, and leads to meditation: a brisker current, which wantons in little eddies over a bright sandy bottom, or babbles among pebbles, spreads cheerfulness [*sic*] all around: . . . the roar and the rage of a torrent, its force, its violence, its impetuosity, tend to inspire terror; that terror, which, whether as cause or effect, is so nearly allied to sublimity.³⁹

Although he does not use the term “picturesque” often, Whately obviously discusses ideas that have a direct echo in the theories of the picturesque developed at the turn of the century by Richard Payne Knight, Uvedale Price, and a few others.⁴⁰ In Price’s *Essays on the Picturesque* (1796), especially, an environmental conception of garden design appears in several places. Just as for Whately, Price insists that the *genius loci* should be “consulted” before bringing any transformation to a park or a garden.⁴¹ Criticizing his predecessors Capability Brown and William Kent for the ease with which they get rid of existing elements, his argument considers scenery as providing an immersive experience, as when he describes the seasons:

This leads me to observe, that it is not only the change of vegetation which gives to autumn that golden hue, but also the atmosphere itself, and the lights and shadows which then prevail. In September and October the sun describes a much lower circle above the horizon than in May and April; and consequently the lights and shadows, during a much larger portion of the day, are broader, and more resembling those, which in all seasons are produced at the close of it. The very characters of the sky and the atmosphere are of a piece with those of the two seasons; spring has its light and flitting clouds, with shadows equally flitting and uncertain; refreshing showers, with gay and

genial bursts of sunshine, that seem suddenly to call forth and to nourish the young buds and flowers. In autumn all is matured; and the rich hues of the ripened fruits, and of the changing foliage, are rendered still richer by the warm haze, which on a fine day in that season, spreads the last varnish over every part of the picture.⁴²

Similarly to every author discussing the notion, Price says that a good understanding of the picturesque can only be developed through the study of painting. This recommendation, however necessary, is nevertheless insufficient: the picturesque is “no less independent of the art of painting” than the beautiful or the sublime,⁴³ and Price’s way of defining it can easily recall Whately’s own warning against the reduction of garden design to pictorial composition.⁴⁴ But he also goes further than Whately and explicitly refers to sensory experience as a whole. The term “picturesque,”

. . . (as we may judge from its etymology) is applied only to objects of sight, and indeed in so confined a manner as to be supposed merely to have a reference to the art from which it is named. I am well convinced, however, that . . . the qualities which make objects picturesque, are not only as distinct as those which make them beautiful or sublime, but are equally extended to all our sensations, by whatever organs they are received.⁴⁵

For Price, a well-conceived garden constitutes a controlled environment capable of providing an immersive experience of similar intensity to literary fiction, and in one passage he explicitly compares his “improver” to an author: “the improver should conceal himself, like a judicious author; who sets his reader’s imagination at work, while he seems not to be guiding, but to be exploring new regions with him.”⁴⁶ Another significant passage can

be found in Price’s discussion of avenues, where the literary device of moonlight transports the beholder into a fictional world:

All the characteristic beauties of the avenue, its solemn stillness, the religious awe it inspires, are greatly heightened by moonlight. This I once very strongly experienced in approaching a venerable, castle-like mansion, built in the beginning of the 15th century; a few gleams had pierced the deep gloom of the avenue; a large massive tower at the end of it, seen through a long perspective, and half lighted by the uncertain beams of the moon, had a grand mysterious effect. Suddenly a light appeared in this tower—then as suddenly its twinkling vanished—and only the quiet, silvery rays of the moon prevailed; again more lights quickly shifted to different parts of the building, and the whole scene most forcibly brought to my fancy the times of fairies and chivalry.⁴⁷

This passage could easily be the opening of a Gothic novel. It clearly shows how the environment of a park or a garden has the capacity of transporting a beholder into an imaginary space, by means of the ideas it suggests and the emotions it produces.

THE PICTURESQUE IN LOWER CANADA

Let us now turn to Canada: it is the establishment of a new British colony in the wake of the Seven Years’ War that makes its situation particularly relevant to our discussion. In the article quoted earlier, William Taylor included among the factors that contributed to the development of the Victorian sense of “environmentality” the multiplication of British communities worldwide, which brought a variety of experiences that “helped convey particular perceptions of urban and natural landscapes as providing contexts for living species (especially humankind) to



FIG. 2. ROBERT SPROULE, VIEW OF THE ESPLANADE AND THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC WITH PART OF THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY, 1832. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. R9266-1176, PETER WINKWORTH COLLECTION OF CANADIANA.

adapt and evolve, thrive or wither."⁴⁸ One interesting set of such experiences can obviously be found in Canada, with the particularity that it was taken from the French in 1759, and that the St. Lawrence valley was well settled by the time the British took over.

In an article about "The Limits of the Picturesque," Ian S. MacLaren argues that finding the picturesque in Canada was something important for artists of British origin, because "[t]he picturesque sustained the sojourning Briton's sense of identity when travelling beyond European civilization."⁴⁹ A picturesque environment was considered the most appropriate for British culture and way of life to thrive in the new lands. MacLaren interestingly shows how, in Canada, picturesque aesthetics was confronted to multiple situations that tested its applicability. In many

areas, artists encountered difficulties in portraying the landscape with picturesque conventions, and they had to considerably rearrange what they observed.⁵⁰ Developing this idea further, Marilyn J. McKay argues that Canadian landscape often showed resistance to familiar aesthetic categories, and that the distinction between the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime was not always easy to establish. Canadian landscape could be confusing to British eyes, as features that belonged to the picturesque confronted others belonging to the sublime—and this confrontation created hesitations and tensions within the artworks themselves.⁵¹

Behind these difficulties and hesitations, however, lays a more general idea about the sensitivity to one's environment. Taking an example that McKay uses herself to show how the categories of the

beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime also confronted each other in literary works, a closer look at Frances Brooke's epistolary novel *The History of Emily Montague*—which is often considered the first novel written in Canada—reveals how the ability to respond emotionally to one's environment could in itself be valued as a human quality. In several places, the colourful character Arabella Fermor makes a clear distinction between people who are sensitive to the beauty of Quebec's surroundings and the emotions it can produce, and those who are not. For example:

The French ladies never walk but at night, which shews their good taste; and then only within the walls of Quebec, which does not: they saunter slowly, after supper, on a particular battery, which is a kind of little Mall: they have no idea of walking in the country, nor the least feeling of the lovely scene around them; there are many of them who never saw the falls of Montmorenci [*sic*], though little more than an hour's drive from the town. They seem born without the smallest portion of curiosity, or any idea of the pleasures of the imagination, or indeed any pleasure but that of being admired.⁵²

Through the eyes of Arabella, the author here observes the *Ancien Régime* practice of ambulating on urban promenades—such as the Esplanade in Quebec City (fig. 2)—with a preoccupation of seeing and being seen, and all the required decorum.⁵³ She opposes this practice to the simpler excursion into the countryside and the accompanying "pleasures of the imagination," which she prizes most. Thus, the ability to perceive the beauty of a landscape and to feel the emotions that a picturesque scenery may provide constitutes, for Arabella, an important criterion in her appreciation of the people she encounters—and it is interesting to see that this kind of sensibility to nature

permeates the views of Quebec City produced by British artists around the same time (fig. 3).⁵⁴ If the previous quote is aimed at the coquetry of “French ladies,” Arabella applies the same kind of judgment to George Clayton, whose attention to rank and decorum makes him a rather insipid person to her eyes. She thus sets out to discourage her friend Emily from marrying Clayton, and is thrilled when Emily’s heart finally leans toward the more romantic personality of Edward Rivers.

Unsurprisingly, George Clayton is also incapable of feeling the aesthetic qualities of the countryside—and this opinion is confirmed by Edward Rivers, who travelled with him on one occasion:

I study my fellow traveller closely; his character, indeed, is not difficult to ascertain; his feelings are dull, nothing makes the least impression on him; he is as insensible to the various beauties of the charming country through which we have travelled, as the very Canadian peasants themselves who inhabit it. I watched his eyes at some of the most beautiful prospects, and saw not the least gleam of pleasure there.⁵⁵

In a way that can be compared to Ann Radcliffe’s theory, therefore, Brooke does not see the capability of “objects” to affect thoughts and emotions as an inescapable force, but rather as dependent upon the receptiveness of the beholder. The capacity of applying the aesthetic categories of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque to natural context is clearly dependent on such receptivity. In Bella’s descriptions, the Montmorency Falls obviously correspond to the sublime, but Canadian thunderstorms, on the other hand, are almost beautiful: “We have much thunder and lightning, but very few instances of their being fatal: the thunder is more magnificent and awful



FIG. 3. JAMES PEACHY, VIEW OF THE CITY AND BASIN OF QUEBEC, 1784. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1989-217-4.



FIG. 4. WILLIAM OGLE CARLILE, QUEBEC FROM SPENCER WOOD, C. 1873. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1992-616-1.

[sic] than in Europe, and the lightning brighter and more beautiful; I have even seen it of a clear pale purple, resembling the gay tints of the morning.”⁵⁶ The novel thus offers a generally optimistic view of the possibility for the British to settle in

Canada, even though the main characters return to England at the end of the book.

In order to conclude this essay, it seems appropriate to make the jump from fiction to reality, and to examine descriptions of



FIG. 5. JULES-ERNEST LIVERNOIS, SPENCER WOOD, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, PA-023553.



FIG. 6. JAMES PATTISON COCKBURN, MR. SHEPPARD'S VILLA AT WOODFIELD, C. 1830. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1989-260-9 A042-01.

some of the suburban domains developed by the British elite around Quebec City.⁵⁷ In James Macpherson Lemoine's famous *Picturesque Quebec* (1882), it is possible to understand how these domains were perceived, and it becomes clear that such

picturesque locations were also conceived as controlled environments, meant to have a multi-sensorial effect on their visitors. *Picturesque Quebec*, as we know, is structured as a promenade around the city and its surroundings, and it associates

historical information and anecdotes with comments about the scenery, thus filling the landscape with numerous historical associations. Approximately half of this five-hundred-page publication is thus given to the surroundings of the city, from the Montmorency Falls to the Chaudière River. The most impressive of these suburban estates, according to Macpherson Lemoine, was Spencer Wood (today Bois-de-Coulonge), with its multiple views on the St. Lawrence River and Quebec City (fig. 4)—a place that Lemoine knew through different periods, before and after the fire that destroyed the original villa in 1860. Recalling the times when the merchant Henry Atkinson was the owner, he says:

It was then a splendid old seat of more than one hundred acres . . . —enclosed east and west between two streamlets, hidden from the highway by a dense growth of oak, maple, dark pines and firs—the forest primeval—letting in here and there the light of heaven on its labyrinthine avenues; a most striking landscape, blending the sombre verdure of its hoary trees with the soft tints of its velvety sloping lawn.⁵⁸ (fig. 5)

Lemoine's description of these suburban estates does not fail to register every feature that would support the immersive quality of the environment, such as flowers, fountains, pavilions, and *chaises perdues*:

[Spencer Wood] had also an extensive and well-kept fruit and vegetable garden, enlivened with flower beds, the centre of which was adorned with the loveliest possible circular fount in white marble, supplied with the crystal element from the Belle-Borne rill by a hidden aqueduct; conservatories, graperies, peach and forcing houses, pavilions picturesquely hung over the yawning precipice on two headlands, one looking towards Sillery, the

other towards the Island of Orleans, the scene of many a cosy tea-party; bowers, rustic chairs *perdues* among the groves, a superb bowling green and archery grounds.⁵⁹

Descriptions of other domains—such as Woodfield (fig. 6), Catarqui, and his own Spencer Grange—although less extensive, also give hints of the multi-sensory experience for which these parks and villas were appreciated. Lemoine mentions the smell of flowers, the singing of birds, and so on, almost as though these elements were there by design. About Rosewood, “a tiny and unostentatious cottage buried among the trees” that had been the property of merchant James Gibbs, he writes: “You can also, as you pass along, catch the loud notes issuing from the house aviary and blending with the soft, wild melody of the wood warblers and robin [*sic*]; but the prominent feature of the place are flowers, sweet flowers, to charm the eye and perfume the air.”⁶⁰

Lemoine also pays close attention to the existence of greenhouses—a building type most representative of the Victorian “culture of environmentality,” if any, because they constitute the perfect expression of the vital relationship between an environment and its inhabitants.⁶¹ In this regard, the most interesting description of a greenhouse in *Picturesque Quebec* may be the following one, about Catarqui. This is a domain that Lemoine knew at the time of Henry Burstall, who had a villa built according to the plans of Edward Staveley in 1850-1851, and a greenhouse by the same architect in 1856 (fig. 7).⁶² His comment establishes a sharp contrast between the winter scene outside and the tropical vegetation inside:

We had the pleasure on one occasion to view, on a piercing winter day, from the

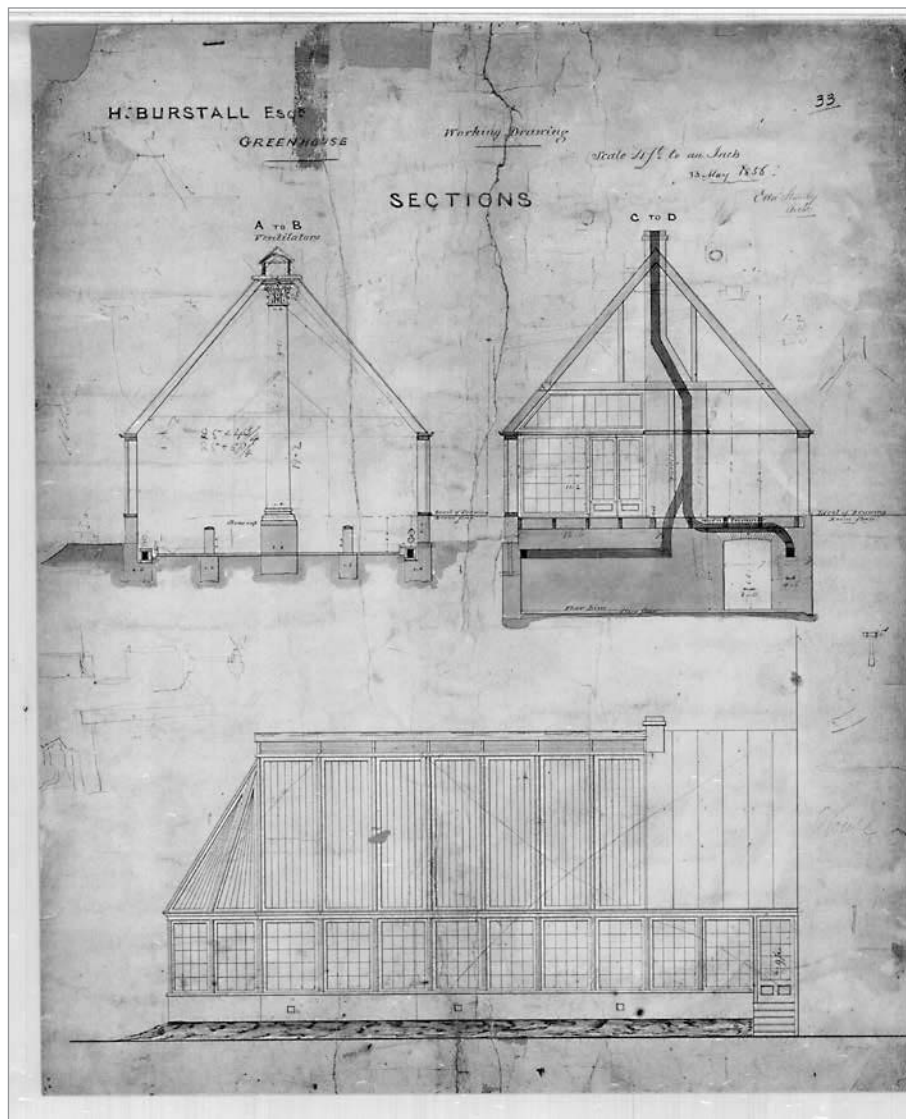


FIG. 7. EDWARD STAVELEY, DESIGN OF A GREENHOUSE AT CATARAQUI FOR H. BURSTALL, 1856. | BIBLIOTHÈQUE ET ARCHIVES NATIONALES DU QUÉBEC, CENTRE D'ARCHIVES DE QUÉBEC, FONDOS STAVELEY, P541.D33.

drawing room of Cataracoui [*sic*], through the glass door which opens on the conservatory, the rare collections of exotics it contains—a perfect grove of verdure and blossoms—the whole lit up by the mellow light of the setting sun, whose rays scintillated in every fantastic form amongst this gorgeous tropical vegetation, whilst the snow-wreathed evergreens, surrounding the conservatory waved their palms to the orb of day in our clear, bracing Canadian atmosphere—summer and winter combined in one

landscape; the tropics and their luxuriant magnolias, divided by an inch of glass from the realms of old king frost and his hardy familiars, the pine and the maple.⁶³

The paradigmatic character of greenhouses as an expression of the relationship between living things and their environment, however, appears most clearly in the comments about Spencer Wood, whose greenhouse was rebuilt after the fire of 1860, and destroyed



FIG. 8. JULES-ERNEST LIVERNOIS, SPENCER WOOD, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, PA-023535.

again in 1966 (fig. 8). In Lemoine's opinion, the heydays of Spencer Wood were the years when the domain was the property of merchant Henry Atkinson, from 1835 to 1854, and when the gardens and original greenhouses were in the care of Peter Lowe, the Scottish gardener brought by Atkinson:

Mr. P. Lowe, during many years in charge of the conservatory, furnished us with the following note:—"The hot-houses belonging to Henry Atkinson, while in my charge, consisted of pinery, stove and orchid house. In the pinery were grown specimens of the Providence, Enville, Montserrat and Queen pines—a plant of the latter variety, in fruit, being exhibited at the Horticultural Exhibition, Montreal, in September, 1852, the fruit of which weighed between five and six pounds, being the first pine-apple exhibited of Canadian growth, but not the first grown at Spencer Wood; it was noticed in the *Illustrated London News*."⁶⁴

As we can see from these few quotations, Macpherson Lemoine shows a keen

interest in the multi-sensorial quality one could experience in the parks of these private domains. He has thus clearly assimilated the sense of "environmentality" associated with English gardens and the theories of the picturesque. At the same time, his fascination for greenhouses, for the control they give over the environment and for the exotic species they allow to grow, reveals another side to this story. Since the eighteenth century, the increasing awareness of the relation between living species and their environment has been regularly accompanied by attempts at controlling this relation through design, and greenhouses should be seen as consistent with this preoccupation.

In conclusion, we therefore must underline the profound ambiguity of the Victorian "culture of environmentality." It is clear that the nineteenth-century sense of nature as environment is only partly related to the environmental awareness of today. Sources essential for understanding the historical sense of "environmentality" can be found in

literary fiction and in late-eighteenth-century architectural theory. In both cases, human subjects are portrayed as responding more or less automatically to features of their surroundings—some authors giving more importance to the receptivity of the beholder, others less. The theory of character in architecture renders quite explicit the will to control the emotions and ideas of the users of a building. At times, literary fiction makes such control happen in a quasi-absolute manner, while in other cases, a certain amount of freedom in human subjectivity is recognized. The creation of picturesque estates, appealing to similar "environmental" principles, is obviously based on more realistic expectations, but the desire to push the limits of environmental control is clearly expressed in the omnipresence of greenhouses. Thus, the nineteenth-century sense of "environmentality" has to be understood in its multi-faceted complexity, as a prelude to both twentieth-century environmentalism and ecological awareness, on the one hand, and the modern desire to create totally controlled environments, on the other.

NOTES

1. The expression comes from Summerson, John, 1991 [1953], *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, London, Penguin Books, coll. "The Pelican History of Art," p. 447 *et seq.*
2. This article is part of a research project financed by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (with Martin Bressani as principal investigator, Jodey Castricano, Nicholas Roquet, and myself as co-applicants). I would like to thank my research assistants Mathilde Bois and Agueda Iturbide-Kennedy, students in the history of art program at Université Laval, for their most useful work.
3. See Bergdoll, Barry, 2000, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, Oxford University Press, Oxford History of Art Series, chap. 1; Bergdoll, Barry, 2001, "Romantic Historiography and the Paradoxes of Historicist

- Architecture," in *L'architecture, les sciences et la culture de l'histoire au XIX^e siècle*, Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, p. 145-164.
4. Taylor, William, 2004, *The Vital Landscape. Nature and the Built Environment in Nineteenth-century Britain*, Burlington, VT, Ashgate.
 5. Taylor, William, 2012, "The Culture of 'Environmentality' and the Exceptionality of the Countryside," in Martin Hewitt (ed.), *The Victorian World*, New York, Routledge, p. 260.
 6. *Id.* : 260.
 7. *Id.* : 261.
 8. The second definition of the word "environment" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* reads: "That which environs; the objects or region surrounding anything" (I am using the 1971 *Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, Toronto, Oxford University Press). On the use of the word in the nineteenth century, see also Spitzer, Leo, 1942, "Milieu and Ambiance: An Essay in Historical Semantics (Part 2)," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 204-206.
 9. Taylor, "The Culture of Environmentality..." : 261.
 10. Railo, Eino, 1964 [1921], *The Haunted Castle*, New York, Humanities Press, p. 7.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. The point is regularly made in the comments about the house, beginning with: Clark, Kenneth, 1974 [1962], *The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste*, London, Icon Editions, p. 57. See also: Reeve, Matthew M., 2013, "Gothic Architecture, Sexuality, and License at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 95, no. 3, p. 411-439.
 13. Walpole, Horace, 1993 [1764], *The Castle of Otranto*, London, Everyman's Library, p. 24.
 14. This aspect being combined with "a fearful sense of inheritance in time." See Baldick, Chris, 2009, "Introduction," in Chris Baldick (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. xix.
 15. Walpole : 100.
 16. Aikin, Anna Laetitia, 2009 [1773], "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," in Baldick, *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*, op. cit., p. 4.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Railo : 8.
 20. Reeve, Clara, 2003 [1777], *The Old English Baron*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Series "Oxford World's Classics," p. 29.
 21. *Id.* : 115.
 22. Railo : 9.
 23. Radcliffe, Ann, 1993 [1790], *A Sicilian Romance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Series "Oxford World's Classics," p. 111.
 24. *Id.* : 42.
 25. *Id.* : 20.
 26. *Id.* : 171.
 27. See Szambien, Werner, 1986, *Symétrie, goût, caractère : théorie et terminologie de l'architecture à l'âge classique 1550-1800*, Paris, Picard.
 28. Boullée, Étienne-Louis, 1979, "Essai sur l'art," in Françoise Fichet (ed.), *La théorie architecturale à l'âge classique*, Bruxelles, Mardaga, p. 479.
 29. These teachings are collected in Blondel, Jacques-François, 1771-1777, *Cours d'architecture*, Paris, Dessaint.
 30. Archer, John, 1979, "Character in English Architectural Design," *Eighteenth-century Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, p. 339-340.
 31. *Id.* : 363. See also: Archer, John, 1983, "The Beginnings of Association in British Architectural Aesthetics," *Eighteenth-century Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3, p. 241-264.
 32. See Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie, 1989, *Histoire de l'architecture française*, Paris, Mengès / Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, p. 407-408; and Szambien : 169-173.
 33. Archer, "Character in English Architectural Design" : 354.
 34. Poe, Edgar Allan, 2009 [1839], "The Fall of the House of Usher," in Baldick, *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*, op. cit., p. 85.
 35. *Id.* : 86.
 36. *Id.* : 101.
 37. Whately, Thomas, 1777, *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Descriptions*, London, T. Payne and Son, p. 256.
 38. *Id.* : 62.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. Only one short chapter is dedicated to "Picturesque Beauty." See Whately, *id.* : 146-150. His importance in relation to the picturesque is however recognized by Christopher Hussey in his classic study: 1967, *The Picturesque. Studies in a Point of View*, Hamden, CT, Archon Books, p. 152-153.
 41. Price, Uvedale, 1796, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, London, J. Robson, p. 348.
 42. *Id.* : 201-202.
 43. *Id.* : 49.
 44. See Whately's above-mentioned chapter on the picturesque (note 37).
 45. Price : 53.
 46. *Id.* : 389.
 47. *Id.* : 271-272.
 48. Taylor, "The Culture of Environmentality..." : 261.
 49. MacLaren, Ian S., 1985, "The Limits of the Picturesque in British North America," *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 100. A similar argument about the political dimension of the picturesque is made in Parent, Alain, 2005, *Entre empire et nation. Les représentations de la ville de Québec et de ses environs, 1760-1833*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval.
 50. MacLaren : 100.
 51. McKay, Marilyn J., 2011, *Picturing the Land. Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art, 1500-1950*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 51.
 52. Brooke, Frances, 1769, *The History of Emily Montague*, London, Dodsley, letter XVI (Internet: *The Gutenberg Project*, [http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/search/?query=The+History+of+Emily+Montague], accessed September 18, 2014).
 53. For an interesting discussion of this practice, see Girouard, Mark, 1985, *Cities and People. A Social and Architectural History*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 166-167.
 54. This view can be compared to the following passage, in a letter by another of Brooke's characters, Edward Rivers: "Nothing can be more striking than the view of Quebec as you approach; it stands on the summit of a boldly-rising hill, at the confluence of two very beautiful rivers, the St. Lawrence and St. Charles, and, as the convents and other public buildings first meet the eye, appears to great advantage from the port. The island of Orleans, the distant view of the cascade of Montmorenci, and the opposite village of Beauport, scattered with a pleasing irregularity along the banks of the river St. Charles,

add greatly to the charms of the prospect” (Brooke : letter II). This description establishes a clear relationship between the viewing position, the city itself in the middle ground, and the elements visible in the distance. The way it is structured typifies the picturesque mode of representing Quebec City from the 1760s until late in the nineteenth century. See Grignon, Marc, 1999, “Comment s’est faite l’image d’une ville : Québec du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle,” in Lucie K. Morisset, Luc Noppen and Denis Saint-Jacques (eds.), *Ville imaginaire. Ville identitaire. Échos de Québec*, Quebec, Nota Bene, p. 99-117.

55. Brooke : letter XVII.
56. *Id.* : letter X.
57. The main study on the subject remains Gagnon-Pratte, France, 1980, *L’architecture et la nature à Québec au dix-neuvième siècle : Les villas*, Quebec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles. See also Wright, Janet, 1984, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada*, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 105-136; Williams, Ron, 2014, *Landscape Architecture in Canada*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, p. 80-184.
58. Lemoine, James MacPherson, 1882, *Picturesque Quebec: A Sequel to Quebec Past and Present*, Montreal, Dawson Brothers, p. 336.
59. *Id.* : 336.
60. *Id.* : 382.
61. This point is taken from Taylor : “Prevailing interest in creating exotic worlds in glass-houses and conservatories were coupled with growing awareness that of the environmental conditions within public buildings and residential districts, in the countryside and places further afield” (“The Culture of Environmentality...” : 260). In his earlier book (*The Vital Landscape...* : xvi), he also writes: “While these concerns were prefigured by the study of plant life in the closed world of the conservatory, they encouraged new modes of environmental awareness in other spheres of human interest such as the Victorian house and garden.”
62. Smith, Frédéric, 2001, *Cataraqui. Histoire d’une villa anglaise à Sillery*, Quebec, Les Publications du Québec, p. 16-21.
63. Lemoine : 380-381.
64. *Id.* : 335.

ARCHITECTURE IN AU CANADA

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* is a bilingual refereed publication whose scope encompasses the entire spectrum of Canadian architecture from all historical periods and all cultural traditions. In addition to historical, cultural, and aesthetic inquiries, the *Journal* also welcomes articles dealing with theoretical and historiographical issues generally relevant to the study of Canadian architecture and architectural practice. Discussions of current methodological issues, for example, fall within the scope of the *Journal*, as do critical issues of preservation and restoration.

Articles should be original and provide a new contribution to scholarship, whether they are mainly factual and documentary or whether they develop a new interpretation on a specific theme. It is the aim of the *Journal* to forward the understanding of Canadian architecture in as many ways as possible.

Submissions to the *Journal* are encouraged and welcomed from SSAC members and non-members alike. Please send proposed articles, relevant to the study of Canadian architecture, to:

PROF. LUC NOPPEN, EDITOR

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Authors should send to the editor a copy of their manuscript, prepared according to the guidelines of the *Journal*. Although articles in the "Analyses" section usually comprise 7000 words and fifteen to twenty illustrations, shorter or longer articles may be considered for the other sections: "Essays" can comprise 2500 to 3500 words and five to ten illustrations. Reports may vary in length as they are preferably published integrally. The necessary permission to publish must have been secured from the organization for which reports were intended.

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All manuscripts are submitted for review to the SSAC's Editorial Review Panel who reports to the editor. The editor informs authors of the decision, no later than sixty days after initial submission; the editor also ensures that the requested modifications have been made before the final acceptance and proposition of the publication date. Authors will receive three copies of the issue in which their article is published.

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Le *Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada* est une revue bilingue avec comité de lecture dont le champ englobe l'architecture canadienne de toutes les périodes historiques et toutes les traditions culturelles. En plus d'articles de nature historique, esthétique, ou culturelle, le *Journal* accepte aussi les textes traitant de questions théoriques ou historiographiques pertinentes à l'étude de l'architecture et de la pratique architecturale au Canada. L'examen des questions méthodologiques d'actualité, par exemple, fait partie du champ couvert par le *Journal*, tout comme les débats de conservation et de restauration.

Les textes soumis au *Journal* doivent apporter une contribution scientifique originale, que ce soit par le biais d'informations factuelles jusqu'alors inconnues ou encore par le développement d'une nouvelle interprétation concernant un thème particulier. L'objectif du *Journal* est de promouvoir une meilleure compréhension de l'architecture canadienne par le plus grand nombre de voies possibles.

Le *Journal* invite tous les chercheurs en architecture canadienne, qu'ils soient membres de la SÉAC ou non, à soumettre leurs articles. On peut soumettre un article en l'envoyant à :

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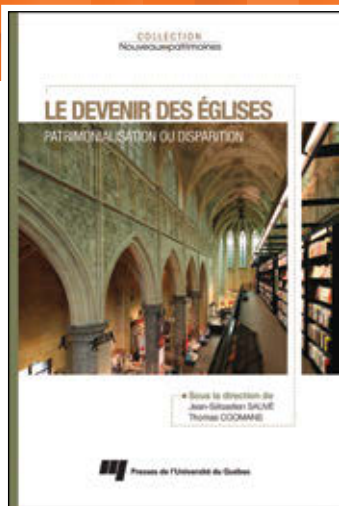
Les auteurs doivent faire parvenir au rédacteur un manuscrit présenté selon les règles de la revue. Habituellement, un article de la section « Analyses » compte environ 7000 mots et de quinze à vingt illustrations; pour la section « Essais » on pourra cependant considérer des textes de longueur différente: 2500 à 3500 mots et de cinq à dix illustrations. Par ailleurs, la longueur des « Rapports » peut varier puisque la revue les publie, de préférence, intégralement. Les rapports doivent être soumis avec l'autorisation de l'organisme à qui ils ont été destinés.

Les textes sont soumis en format électronique (sur support informatique ou transmis par courriel). Les illustrations doivent être soumises en même temps que le manuscrit. Ce sont des photographies ou des diapositives ou, de préférence, des fichiers numériques (résolution 360 ppp au format minimal de 10 x 15 cm, format TIFF ou EPS), sur CD-ROM. Les photocopies et les fac-similés ne sont acceptés que pour les dessins au trait. Les auteurs doivent fournir des illustrations libres de droits; le cas échéant, il leur appartient d'obtenir les autorisations nécessaires et de défrayer les droits de publication. La SÉAC et le rédacteur de la revue déclinent toute responsabilité en cette matière. Toutes les illustrations doivent être accompagnées d'une légende comprenant, normalement, l'identification du sujet, la date, le nom de l'architecte, l'auteur ou la provenance de l'image. Les illustrations seront retournées aux auteurs.

Tous les manuscrits sont évalués par le comité de lecture qui fait rapport au rédacteur. Le rédacteur transmet l'avis du comité aux auteurs, au plus tard soixante jours après la soumission initiale; il s'assure que les modifications requises sont apportées avant d'accepter le texte et de proposer une date de publication. Les auteurs recevront trois exemplaires du numéro de la revue dans lequel leur texte est publié.

NOUVELLES PUBLICATIONS

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Sous la direction de Jean-Sébastien Sauvé et Thomas Coomans

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La Neuvième Rencontre internationale des jeunes chercheurs en patrimoine, dont est issu cet ouvrage, s'est penchée sur le devenir civil des églises ainsi que les stratégies de passage qui l'étaient.

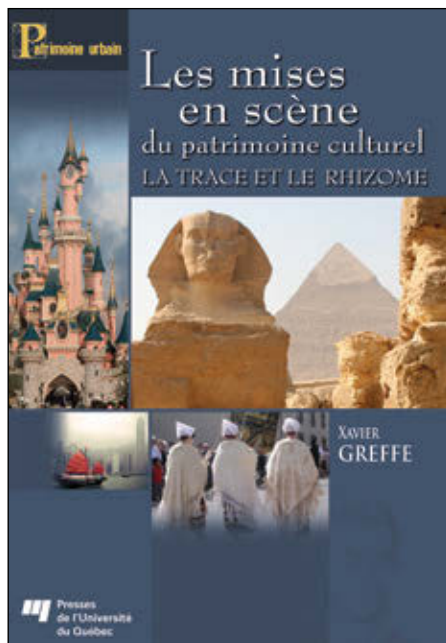


ACTUALISER LE PATRIMOINE PAR L'ARCHITECTURE CONTEMPORAINE

Alexandra Georgescu Paquin

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D'objet-relique, le patrimoine s'est transformé en un projet dynamique, auquel on peut insérer des éléments d'architecture contemporaine. L'auteure décompose ce phénomène d'actualisation pour comprendre comment celui-ci contribue à reformuler le sens des sites patrimoniaux métamorphosés.



LA TRACE ET LE RHIZOME LES MISES EN SCÈNE DU PATRIMOINE CULTUREL

Xavier Greffe

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Le patrimoine culturel n'est pas qu'une simple trace du passé. Il tire sa valeur des différents usages que l'on peut en faire, voire des liens qu'il permet de tisser entre les personnes; il est rhizome. Examinant cette interdépendance croissante entre mémoires, pratiques et expériences, l'auteur analyse le fonctionnement du patrimoine culturel selon trois perspectives, soit la délimitation de son champ, sa mise en scène et ses valeurs.