

ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN CANADA WEST

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In 1849, Anglicans began to organize the building of a small church in Portsmouth Village (now a part of Kingston, Ontario), Canada West. Very little contemporary evidence has survived on its construction.¹ The last of four Gothic Revival stone Anglican churches built in the greater Kingston area in the 1840s, it arose with little fanfare, just a laconic notice in the annual report of the Midland and Victoria District Branch of the Church Society for 1851: "The Rev. E. Patterson is now resident in Kingston, and his ministrations extend to Wolfe Island as well as to Portsmouth. A stone church has been erected at Portsmouth during the past year, in which two services are performed every Sunday, by the Rev. W.M. Herchmer and E. Patterson."² Neither *The Church* nor the local *Daily British Whig* contained accounts of any ceremonies that may have taken place for laying the cornerstone and the opening of St. John's, as they had for the Anglican churches built earlier in the decade, nor was the name of the architect recorded.³ Despite this quiet entry, however, St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth—a stone church modeled in part on St. Michael's, Long Stanton (Cambridgeshire, UK)—made a contribution to the development of the Gothic Revival ecclesiastical repertoire in Canada West.

On April 8, 1844, an initiative for Anglican expansion in Kingston received support when the vestry of St. George's Anglican Church appointed a committee to raise funds in Britain and Canada West for building two new churches, what became St. James', Stuartville—now in Kingston—(1844-1845), and St. Paul's,



FIG. 1. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, FROM THE NORTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.



FIG. 2. ST. MICHAEL'S, LONG STANTON (CAMBRIDGESHIRE). | BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1848, PARISH CHURCHES, BEFORE P. 33.



FIG. 4. ST. JAMES THE LESS EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1846-1847), PHILADELPHIA (PA). | [HTTP://WWW.LDC.GOV/PICTURES/COLLECTION/HH/ITEM/PA1153.PHOTOS.137987/PRESOURCE].



FIG. 3. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL, (1846-1847), FREDERICTON (NB). | JOHN LEROUX, [HTTP://WWW.FACEBOOK.COM/PHOTO.PHP?FBID=162093103835830&SET=A.162093057169168.32368.114666508578490&TYPE=3&PERMPAGE=1].

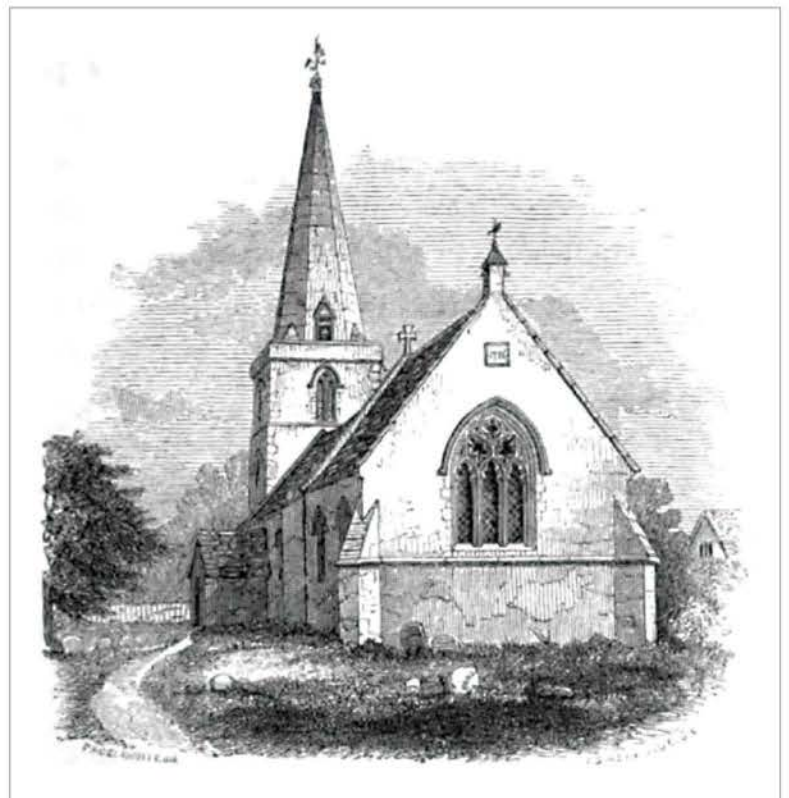


FIG. 5. ST. GILES', NEWINGTON (OXFORDSHIRE). | OXFORD SOCIETY, 1846, A GUIDE TO THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES... , P. 321.

Kingston (1845-1846). Two of the named committee members, the Reverend William Macaulay Herchmer, the assistant minister at St. George's, and Mrs.

Harriet Dobbs Cartwright, the widow of the Reverend Robert David Cartwright (Herchmer's predecessor), would also get involved with plans for a church in

Portsmouth. Reverend Herchmer was appointed because of his contacts in England and Mrs. Cartwright because of hers in Ireland.

A recent graduate of Oxford University, Reverend Herchmer came from an established United Empire Loyalist family based in Kingston. In 1843, he made a generous contribution of one thousand pounds for the renovation and expansion of St. George's. In the following years, he probably contributed to the construction of St. James', St. Paul's, and St. John's, as well. Reverend Herchmer certainly sought funding for St. John's from the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto in 1850, which resulted in a grant of twelve pounds ten shillings in 1852. He also held services there in the early days and would later donate a building lot to the parish for a parsonage.⁴

A granddaughter of the Anglican Dean of Connor and daughter of the Chancellor Judge of the Court of Chancery, Dublin, Mrs. Cartwright grew up in a gentle Anglo-Irish family, got a good education, including training in drawing and painting, and became very active in charitable organizations after settling in Kingston in 1833. After the death of her husband in May 1843, her brother-in-law, John Solomon Cartwright, built North Cottage for her near Rockwood, his country home just to the west of Portsmouth. She moved there with her family and rented out her house on King Street in Kingston. She and her children became active members of St. John's and her older brother, the Reverend Francis William Dobbs, became the incumbent there in 1852.⁵

By 1849, Portsmouth had grown from a small settlement on Hatter's Bay of Lake Ontario into a village with a variety of residents and occupations, including people involved in the recently built Kingston Penitentiary, immediately to the east. Just along on the way to Kingston stood Alwington House, the home of governors general of the Province of Canada

from 1841 to 1844. Other aristocratic and prosperous bourgeois villas, strung out along the shore road that became King Street, along the road to the north that became Union Street, and along the lanes that ran between the two roads, housed some of the wealthy families who would become associated with St. John's. However, most of the potential parishioners earned their living as professionals, artisans, small merchants, workers, and farmers. Some, such as members of the Grass family, came from United Empire Loyalist stock, while others were more recent immigrants.

The early chaplains at Kingston Penitentiary, the Reverends Herchmer and Robert Vashon Rogers (who became the incumbent at St. James'), probably held services for local Anglicans in Portsmouth on an irregular basis in the 1840s. In 1851, the Portsmouth congregation wrote to the Kingston Branch of the Church Society:

When we look back but a year or two, and bear in mind the unpromising commencement of the Church in this village—the inconvenient room in which the solemn assembly met to worship God after the manner of our Fathers—the two or three that were gathered together to offer up their feeble supplication at the throne of grace—and consider the improved state of all things, we should be indeed unworthy of the benefits we enjoy if we did not feel thankful to the Father of mercies who has crowned our labours with his blessing.⁶

As the size, wealth, and prestige of the Anglican community grew in western Kingston and Portsmouth, momentum increased to build a church there. Decisive was a gift of land, lot 4 and part of lot 3, by Richard Scobell on July 6, 1849, with the proviso that his descendants would receive a pew in perpetuity in return.⁷

Designed by an anonymous architect (probably William Coverdale of Kingston), St. John's opened for worship in 1850 (fig. 1). Coverdale had already designed three Gothic Revival churches, St. John's Anglican, Peterborough (1835-1836), St. James' Anglican, Stuartville (1844-1845), and Chalmers Free Presbyterian, Kingston (1847-1849).⁸ He had firm connections with Reverend Herchmer and the Cartwright family. From 1839 to 1846, Coverdale supervised the building of the extension, tower, and portico on the ecclesiastical west end of St. George's, Kingston, where Mrs. Cartwright's husband was the assistant minister until his death in 1843, when Reverend Herchmer succeeded him.⁹ In 1843, Coverdale designed Willow Cottage on the shore road leading from Kingston to Portsmouth for Reverend Herchmer and the North Cottage just west of Portsmouth for Mrs. Cartwright.¹⁰ In 1853, he would design the rectory of St. John's for Mrs. Cartwright's brother on a lot contributed by Reverend Herchmer.¹¹ As well as these connections, similarities of design also support the attribution of Coverdale as the architect of St. John's.

As in the case of the Anglican churches erected in greater Kingston in the 1840s, the fundraising and construction were probably initiated and supervised by a committee of dedicated laymen. However, no record survives of their names. The original church was constructed of local limestone and had a nave with interior dimensions of forty-two feet by twenty-eight and a half, making it the smallest Anglican church in the Kingston area.¹² The design took a serious and pleasing step away from the previously ubiquitous model of historically derived North American Gothic Revival churches, with their main entrances situated in the ecclesiastical west façade, by drawing inspiration from St. Michael's, Long Stanton, advocated by the Cambridge Camden Society in 1845 as one of three



FIG. 6. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, FROM THE SOUTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

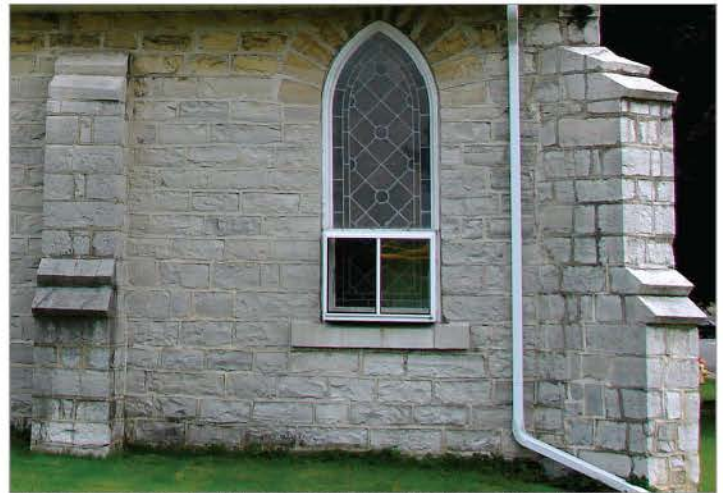


FIG. 7. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, DETAIL OF STONEMWORK OF WALLS AND BUTTRESSES ON THE NORTH FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.



FIG. 8. ST. MARK'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, BARRIEFIELD, DETAIL OF STONEMWORK ON THE SOUTH FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

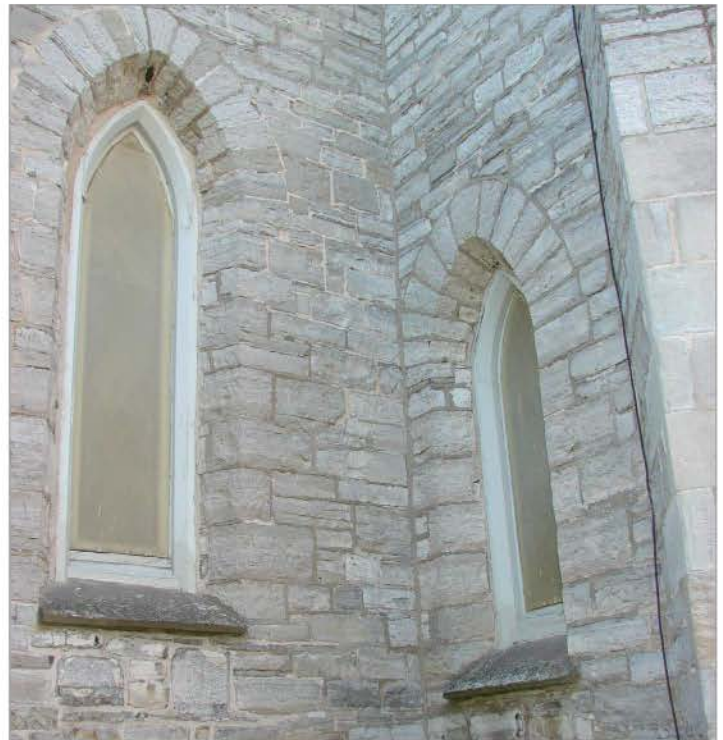
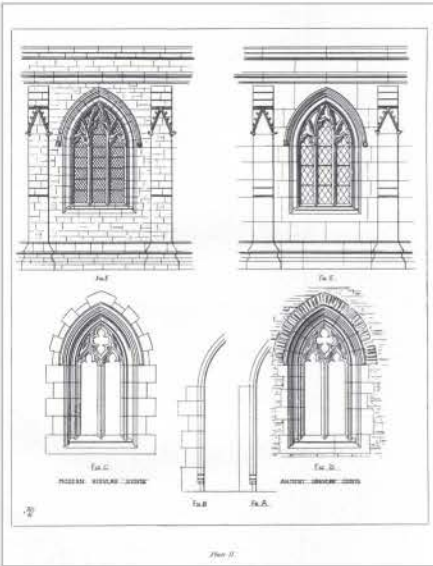


FIG. 9. ST. JAMES' ANGLICAN CHURCH, STUARTVILLE (KINGSTON), DETAIL OF STONEMWORK FROM THE ENTRANCE FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

medieval English models for parish churches for the colonies (fig. 2).¹³ Descriptions and plates illustrating the exterior, interior, and floor plan of St. Michael's had appeared in Raphael and Joshua Arthur Brandon, *Parish Churches* (London, 1848).

In 1849, only two examples of small parish churches of this sort existed in North America. St. Anne's Anglican Chapel in Fredericton, New Brunswick, commissioned by the Right Reverend John Medley, Bishop of New Brunswick, and

designed by English architect Frank Wills, was an original composition based upon medieval elements (fig. 3).¹⁴ An illustration and description of it would appear in Frank Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*.¹⁵ St. James The Less,

FIG. 10. PUGIN, *TRUE PRINCIPLES OF POINTED...*, PLATE 2.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1846-1847), was commissioned by Robert Ralston, who received detailed tracings of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, from the Cambridge Camden Society and modified aspects of the south porch and other details in consultation with English ecclesiologists and John E. Carver, his contractor and architect (fig. 4).¹⁶ A fairly detailed description and review of St. James The Less appeared in the section on "New Churches" in the first issue of the *New York Ecclesiologist*—edited by Wills—in October 1848.¹⁷ This account may have had an impact upon the architect of St. John's.

The exterior of St. John's, with its entrance porch on the south side, its three Early English lancet windows (separated by solid stepped buttresses) along the north and south sides, its sturdy stepped buttresses at forty-five degree angles on the west corners of the nave and the south corners of the entrance porch (and, perhaps, originally on the east end of the nave, as well), its stone fabric, and its relatively low walls and high pitched roof, drew inspiration from illustrations



FIG. 11. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, DETAIL FROM THE NORTHWEST CORNER. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

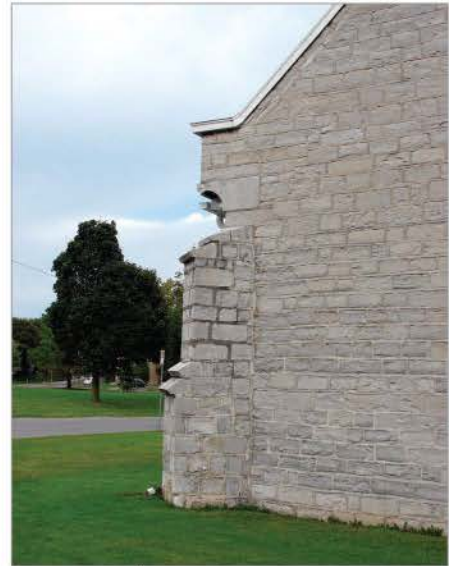


FIG. 12. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE AND NORTHWEST BUTTRESS. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

of medieval English churches, such as St. Michael's, Long Stanton, and the chancel of St. Giles', Newington (Oxfordshire) (figs. 2 and 5).¹⁸ Originally, St. John's may well have included an externally differentiated chancel with buttresses on the east corners and an open timber roof, as well, which would have made it even closer to the medieval model.¹⁹ At St. John's, the walls rise directly from the ground without a wider foundation course. The height of the walls on the north and south façades takes up less than one half of the overall height of the nave, a higher proportion of roof to wall than normal in Canada West, and comes close to the proportions of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, and even closer to those of the chancel of St. Giles', Newington (fig. 6).

Besides, Coverdale did not attempt to copy all of the details of the medieval parish churches. The west façade did not include the central tall stepped buttresses of St. Michael's, the architect of St. John's substituted a plain wooden belfry for the stone one of St. Michael's, and a plainer tripartite window on the west façade

for the Decorated one on the chancel of St. Giles', Newington. If St. John's originally had a chancel, it probably would have been proportionally shorter than those in the medieval English parish churches. Internally, the nave lacks the aisles of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, as does that of St. Anne's, Fredericton, and many other Gothic Revival churches built to this pattern in the nineteenth century. In addition, the stonework of St. John's consists of medium-sized, hammer-dressed rectangular blocks of limestone laid in relatively uniform courses (fig. 7). These contrast with the mixture of large and small stones seen at St. Michael's, Long Stanton, and St. Giles', Newington, and favoured by the leading early theorist of the Gothic Revival in England, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin.²⁰ The stonework on the nearby St. Mark's Anglican, Barriefield (1843-1844), and Coverdale's St. James', Stuartville—Gothic Revival Anglican churches built before St. John's—employed the mixture of smaller and larger stones recommended by Pugin (figs. 8-9). The use of hammer-dressed rectangular stones, like

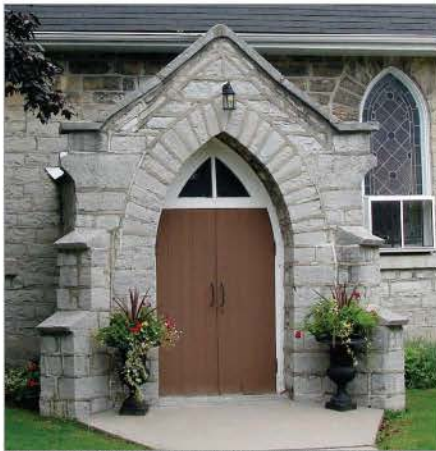


FIG. 13. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, DETAIL OF ENTRANCE PORCH FROM THE SOUTH. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.



FIG. 14. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, WEST FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

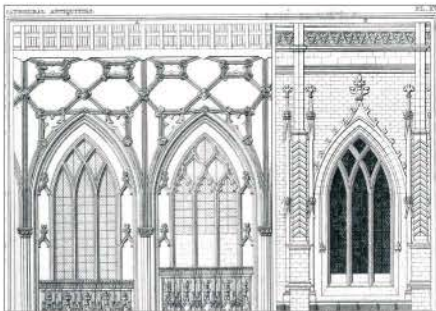


FIG. 15. WELLS CATHEDRAL, INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR VIEWS OF THE UPPER WINDOWS IN THE CHOIR. | BRITTON, 1836, *CATHEDRAL ANTIQUITIES*, VOL. 4, PLATE XV.



FIG. 16. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, EAST END OF THE CHANCEL OF 1863-1864. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

those at St. Paul's, Kingston, built as a memorial to Mrs. Harriet Cartwright's husband, was probably deliberate. The architect clearly drew inspiration for St. John's exterior from medieval English parish churches, but did not attempt to replicate them.

The stonework around the windows at St. John's is not splayed externally, but does use smaller stones around the peak and irregular stones along the sides of the openings as recommended by Pugin (fig. 10). All of the windows at St. John's are set in wooden frames—a standard practice in Canada West before the arrival of William Hay—and have unusually long ashlar sills that extend into the walls

beyond the sides of the openings. The porch and buttresses are constructed of hammer-dressed rectangular stones like the rest of the fabric, but also use smaller rectangular stones in the narrower portions of the buttresses. However, the courses of the porch and the buttresses are not entirely regular with those of the adjoining walls. Much of the awkward integration of the porch and buttresses into the fabric of the walls seems to derive from later repairs. Indeed, the vestry minutes contain no mention of adding buttresses at a later date, nor did John Power include buttresses on his additions of 1863. Despite some difficulties, then, the buttresses and porch appear to be original. The buttresses

along the sides and at the corners of the western façade of St. John's feature large, slanting, finished capstones in two stages both at the top and at the lower step (fig. 10). These contrast with the single-stage capstones at the narrowing and top of the buttresses standing at forty-five degree angles to the corners of the south entrance (figs. 11 and 13).

Near the upper corners of the west façade, large finished stones with a semi-circular arc reach beyond the wall below to provide support for horizontally extending the top four courses of the wall on both sides by two feet (fig. 12). In addition, very long hammer-dressed rectangular stones above and below provide added support. Visually, this solves the problem of including wide buttresses on a small church without having them overpower the balance of an end façade. Similar large stones with a curving outer edge extend a few inches to perform this function on a diminished scale for the façade of the south entrance (fig. 13). A plinth caps the peak of the west façade topped by a simple wooden belfry that would come to hold the bell donated by a benefactor to the parish in 1856.²¹

The west façade of St. John's contains a large window with wooden glazing bars that divide the bottom two-thirds into three equal lancets and then continue on the same arc to divide the upper third into three diamond-shaped panes (fig. 14). Although intersecting glazing bars were very common in the pointed tops of Regency Gothic Revival fenestration, those at St. John's followed a variation on an archaeologically correct thirteenth-century Gothic style of tripartite window.²² The architect could have found taller visual examples of this pattern in several publications, including a plate of windows from the choir of Wells Cathedral in John Britton's study, and an

illustration of the exterior of the chancel of St. Giles', Northfield (Worcestershire), in John Henry Parker's *Glossary* (fig. 15).²³ A window of slightly smaller size with the same glazing pattern also appears on the east façade of the chancel of 1863, designed by the architect John Power of Kingston (fig. 16). Power probably moved it there from the east wall to that of his new chancel. The original St. John's may well have ended at the east wall of the nave or it may have had a shallow separate chancel. Externally differentiated chancels were strongly advocated by Ecclesiologists and became increasingly common in Anglican churches built in Canada West in the 1840s. For example, two of the three Anglican churches designed and built by Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane in Toronto, St. George the Martyr (1844-1845), and Holy Trinity (1846-1847), and at least three from the same time in the greater Kingston area, St. Mark's, Barriefield, St. James', Stuartville, and Trinity Anglican, Wolfe Island (1845), had externally differentiated chancels.²⁴ In April 1850, the importance of chancels received official support when *The Church* published detailed new recommendations from the Building Committee of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, which included the firm statement 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 added that: "The chancel should never be less than twelve feet in internal width nor less than nine feet in length."²⁵ Power's chancel of 1863 measures eighteen feet wide by fourteen feet four inches long internally and needed a wall of that width to hold its substantial window. The fact that other features of St. John's, such as the south entrance porch and the high pitched roof, also appeared in the recommendations of 1850, put some pressure on the architect to include a chancel, as well.



FIG. 17. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, FONT. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2013.

On the whole, the interior of the original St. John's featured an intimate, well-lighted, whitewashed, plain, largely auditory space that suited the largely evangelical leanings of the congregation.²⁶ Coverdale was a Methodist, not an Anglican, and he probably had little appreciation of many of the strictures of the Ecclesiologists, although his work was beginning to reflect some of their architectural ideas. More conventional than the exterior, the interior of St. John's included old-fashioned box pews, a long communion table, and probably a modest pulpit and lectern near the east end of the nave. An organ stood in the west end as early as 1852, which was traditional in the early nineteenth century.²⁷ However, this interior also included an entry from a south porch and may have included a chancel. The existing large stone font also arrived at an early date and may well have stood originally just to the west of the entrance (fig. 17).²⁸



FIG. 18. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, INTERIOR OF NAVE TOWARD THE WEST END. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.



FIG. 19. CHALMERS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (1847-1849), KINGSTON, PHOTOGRAPH OF THE GALLERY AND CEILING TOWARD THE WEST. | *ONE HUNDRED YEARS...*, 1947, P. 5. FROM THE COLLECTION OF JENNIFER MCKENDRY.

Large fonts were still uncommon in British North America in 1845 when Mrs. Cartwright donated one in white marble to St. Paul's, Kingston, in memory of her husband and his twin brother. The Ecclesiological programme mandated a large stone font placed near the main entrance to a church and the Church Society made the following recommendation in 1850:

The Font is required by the Canons to be of stone, and to be placed "in the ancient usual places"; that is near the principal entrance of the Church, as already described. It should not be less than one foot ten inches in internal diameter, nor more than three feet four inches in height from the place on which the minister stands.²⁹

The grey marble, hexagonal font at St. John's fulfilled this regulation. The mixture of traditional and Ecclesiological



FIG. 20. ST. JAMES', KINGSTON, PHOTOGRAPH OF INTERIOR FROM 1884. | LYON, DAVID, 1995, *LIVING STONES, ST. JAMES CHURCH, KINGSTON, 1845-1995: FROM STUARTVILLE TO QUEEN'S CAMPUS, KINGSTON*, QUARRY PRESS, P. 61.



FIG. 21. ST. MARK'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, BARRIEFIELD, INTERIOR FROM THE GALLERY TOWARD THE EAST END. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2007.

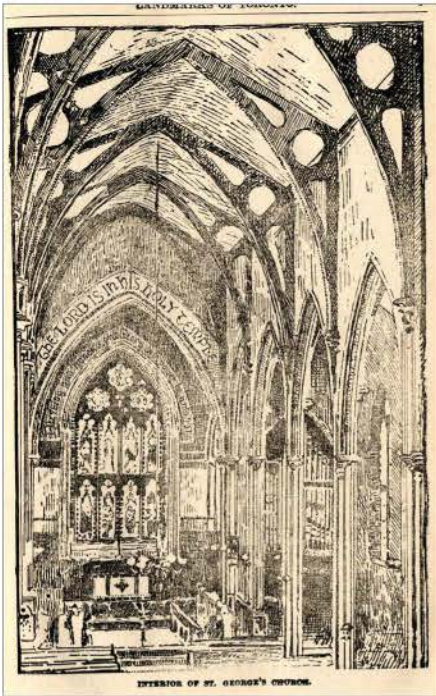


FIG. 22. ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR ANGLICAN CHURCH, TORONTO, INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | ROBERTSON, J. ROSS, 1904, *LANDMARKS OF TORONTO: A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE OLD TOWN OF YORK FROM 1792 UNTIL 1837 AND OF TORONTO FROM 1834 TO 1904*, TORONTO, J.R. ROBERTSON, VOL. 4, P. 9.



FIG. 23. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL, FREDERICTON, INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | [HTTP://WWW.FACEBOOK.COM/PHOTO.PHP?FBID=162094793835661&SET=A.162093057169168.32368.114666508578490&TYPE=1](http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=162094793835661&set=A.162093057169168.32368.114666508578490&type=1).

in the interior of St. John's had also characterized both the design and the built interior of St. Mark's, Barriefield, and—no doubt—other Anglican churches built in Canada West before the recommendations of 1850 came down heavily in favour of Ecclesiological principles. In part, it also reflected the eclectic nature of Coverdale's design, which joined some

of the recommendations of the Church Society with the more conservative views of many of the members of St. John's.

The existing interior has a shallow elliptical plaster ceiling that masks the steep pitch of the roof. In its present configuration, it stems from the Power additions of 1863, but Power could easily have

extended an existing ceiling of this configuration into his new spaces (fig. 18). Very heavy mouldings mark the junction of the ceiling and the side walls of the nave, transepts, and chancel. Coverdale had used this combination of chunky mouldings with a shallow elliptical plaster ceiling shortly before, in his design for Chalmers Free Presbyterian Church, Kingston (1847-1849), a Gothic Revival stone church with a roof with a much more shallow pitch than that at St. John's, and he could have applied this model to St. John's (fig. 19).³⁰ This type of plaster ceiling varied from the peaked one at St. James', Stuartville, but fit comfortably under the scissor beams supporting the higher pitched roof at St. John's (fig. 20).

Although plaster ceilings were much more common than open timber roofs in British North America, the latter were coming into use. In the 1840s, St. Mark's, Barriefield, its twin, St. George's Anglican, Trenton, St. George the Martyr Anglican, Toronto, and St. Anne's, Fredericton, led the way (figs. 21-23). In 1848, the Ecclesiologist Frank Willis strongly expressed a preference in print for timber rather than plaster ceilings:

There is nothing which generally gives more beauty and solemnity to a building than the height of ceiling. In ancient Churches, the inside of the roof was, in fact, the ceiling; and the beautiful specimens of timber work still remaining in every part of England, put to shame, by ingenuity, honesty, delicacy of carvings, and yet perfect strength and simplicity of construction, all the modern lath and plaster groining...³¹

Plenty of medieval precedents existed. The plate of the interior of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, in the *Brandons' Parish Churches*, showed a wooden beam roof open to the rafters, while that of Christ

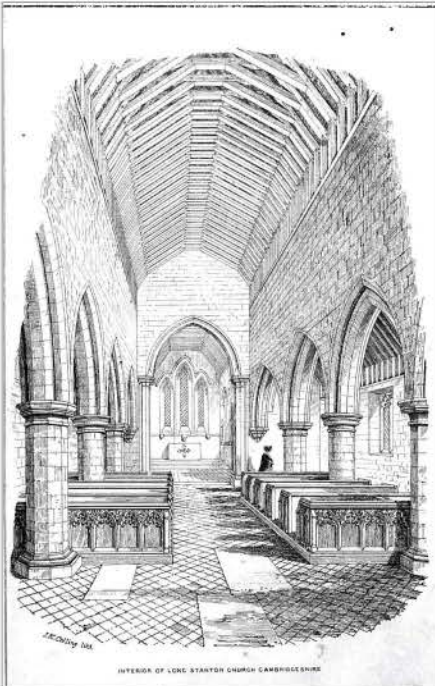


FIG. 24. ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LONG STANTON, INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1848, *PARISH CHURCHES*, BEFORE P. 33.

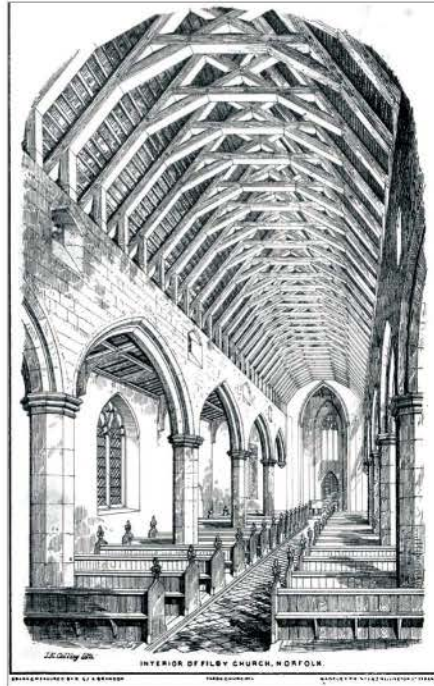


FIG. 25. ALL SAINTS ANGLICAN CHURCH, FILBY (NORFOLK, UK), INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1848, *PARISH CHURCHES*, BEFORE P. 37.



FIG. 26. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, ROOF AND SCISSOR BEAMS BETWEEN THE PLASTER CEILING AND THE ROOF TOWARD THE EAST. | FRED CRAVEN, 2011.



FIG. 27. ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, KINGSTON, ROOF AND SUPPORT BEAMS TOWARD THE EAST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2010.

Church, Filby (Norfolk, UK), illustrated a roof supported by open wooden scissor beams (figs. 24-25).³² However, both of these medieval structures contained more substantial beams and braces than those at St. John's.

The Church Society recommendations of 1850 did not insist on open timber roofs, but saw them as a potentially attractive option: "The timbers of the roof may to a great extent be permitted to appear internally; and with proper management may be made highly ornamental."³³ The existing rafters (which include a number of peeled tree trunks) and scissor beams that now reside between the ceiling and the roof boards at St. John's hardly seem "highly ornamental" (fig. 26). Even the sawn beams and rafters look rough when compared with those in the open timber roof installed by William Hay during his restoration of St. Paul's, Kingston, in 1855 (fig. 27). In a sketch from his notebook

and in the first church that he built with a timber roof, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Newburgh (1854-1858), Coverdale produced much more finished and "ornamental" designs than the timbers between the ceiling and the roof at St. John's (fig. 28).³⁴ Since Coverdale used plaster ceilings in four of his first five Gothic Revival Churches, it seems most likely that he did the same at St. John's, and the slight bump in the mouldings on both sides of the chancel end of the original nave might indicate the place where the original mouldings and those of the Power addition joined.

The attribution of St. John's to William Coverdale depends not only upon his connections with influential people and his later work for the church, but also upon a comparative examination of the details of its design with those of other contemporary churches in Kingston and Canada West. The stonework at St. John's, Portsmouth,

has a strong affinity to that of two Kingston churches, St. Paul's, designed by Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane, and Sydenham Street Wesleyan Methodist (now United) Church (1851-1852), designed by Coverdale.³⁵ Since Lane left Canada and returned to England in November 1847, Coverdale looks like the most likely candidate on the basis of the stonework. However, since St. Paul's, Kingston, was built as a memorial to Reverend Cartwright, the late husband of Mrs. Harriet Cartwright, aspects of its design may have had an impact upon that of St. John's.

The original stonework of St. Paul's may still be observed on the sides of the nave and on the west façade; that of Sydenham Street remains, for the most part, in the central portion of the entrance façade (figs. 29-30).³⁶ All three used hammer-dressed, medium-sized rectangular stones for the walls, stonework common on contemporary houses in Kingston. All three



FIG. 28. WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH, NEWBURGH (IN), INTERIOR TOWARD THE WEST. | MCKENDRY, 1995. WITH OUR PAST BEFORE US, P. 82.



FIG. 30. SYDENHAM STREET UNITED CHURCH (1852), KINGSTON, STONEWORK OF THE ENTRANCE FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2006.



FIG. 29. ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, KINGSTON, DETAILS OF STONEWORK OF THE NORTHWEST CORNER. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2009.



FIG. 31. ST. PAUL'S, KINGSTON, DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE WITH BUTTRESS. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2009.

also had double-stage capstones on the upper portions of the side buttresses and St. Paul's also had large finished stones at the upper corners of the walls of west façade. The buttress capstones and large stones at the upper corners of the wall on the west façade at St. Paul's have different shapes from those at St. John's, but serve a similar function (fig. 31). Since St. John's was considerably smaller than either St. Paul's or Sydenham Street Wesleyan Methodist and probably built on a tighter budget, its less elaborate stonework hardly would cause surprise.³⁷

Coverdale's claim as the architect of St. John's also rests on one more stylistic comparison. In 1852, he submitted a presentation drawing for a new St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Gananoque, but the congregation wanted a more conventional design (fig. 32).³⁸ The drawing includes the west and south façades and ground plan of St. Andrew's and incorporates details common to St. Michael's, Long Stratton, and St. John's, Portsmouth, such as the sturdy buttresses at forty-five degree angles to the corners of the nave, the entrance porch, and the low vestry on

the east end. From St. John's, however, come the large stones with a semi-circular arc where the west wall meets the roof, the plinth at the peak of the west façade, and a taller, more elaborate version of the large pointed window with glazing that divides it into three lancets and three diamonds on the west façade.³⁹ It has the proportions of the window from the choir of Wells Cathedral rather than that from the west façade of St. John's (fig. 15).

There would have been differences, as well. St. Andrew's would have had much higher walls (likely to include galleries in the nave) and a lower pitched roof than St. John's. A tall tower with a spire on the south side of the building would have provided a more dramatic entry and reflected the impact of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists on Coverdale's design. The presentation drawing for St. Andrews shows the skill that he had developed through years of practice. Like other nineteenth-century architects, Coverdale drew upon a range of visual models in his designs, including representations of buildings printed in books, journals, and newspapers. The plans of both buildings combine a variety of visual sources in an eclectic, rather than an ideologically committed manner. However, that of St. John's had a strong impact upon the design of St. Andrew's. Either Coverdale learned quickly from another architect or, more likely, he designed both churches.

In comparison, Frank Wills designed two additional Anglican churches based upon the model of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, in the early 1850s for parishes in Canada West. Both of these, St. Paul's, Glanford (1851?), and St. Peter's, Barton (1852), showed a greater consistency with Ecclesiological ideals—especially in their interiors—than St. John's.⁴⁰ Born and trained in England, Wills had become an advocate of the ideas of Pugin and

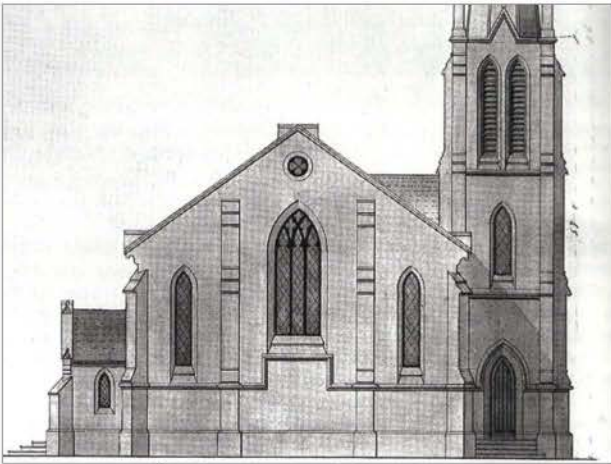


FIG. 32. ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GANANOQUE, DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE FROM WILLIAM COVERDALE'S DRAWING OF ORIGINAL PROPOSAL (C.1852). | MCKENDRY, 1995, *WITH OUR PAST BEFORE US*, P. 78.



FIG. 33. ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH (1852), BARTON, ANONYMOUS PAINTING NOW IN THE HALL OF ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, GLANFORD (ON). | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2012.

the Ecclesiologists at an early age and had worked with Bishop Medley to put them into effect in New Brunswick in his designs for St. Anne's Chapel and Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, Fredericton.⁴¹ By 1848, he had established a practice in New York City and had become the official architect of the New York Ecclesiological Society and coeditor of its journal, the *New York Ecclesiologist*. The first issue of this publication printed his paper on "Reality in Church Architecture" quoted in part above. In 1850, he published his views on church architecture at length in *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*.⁴² His writings would have a major impact on Anglican church design throughout North America.⁴³

St. Peter's, Barton, with a nave of fifty by twenty-seven feet, compared roughly in size with St. John's, Portsmouth, which had a nave of forty-two by twenty-eight feet, and a chancel of eighteen by fourteen feet, compared with a possible chancel of similar dimensions at St. John's (fig. 33). Both were built of stone. Externally, St. Peter's had the south entrance porch, Early English windows on the sides, and sturdy buttresses along the sides of St. John's. In addition, it featured the two additional

tall buttresses on the west façade, a simplified stone belfry, and an even more highly pitched roof than that of St. Michael's, Long Stanton. Unlike that medieval English church, however, it had double buttresses on the corners of the nave and a graduated set of three lancets on the wall of the west façade. Its externally differentiated chancel had such Ecclesiologist fittings as "three sedilia" (seating built into the wall) and a "Credence Table" inside the railing in front of the "Communion Table," and three sedilia on the nave side of the railing.⁴⁴ In addition, the pulpit stood at the chancel end of the nave and the lectern on the first step of the chancel. In comparison with these fittings for the revival of a "medieval" style of worship, most of those at St. John's would have seemed deliberately protestant.

As Malcolm Thurlby has demonstrated at length, Wills could make some compromises with local Anglican traditions in designing churches—hence the lack of a chancel screen in both St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the smaller size of the chancel at St. Paul's. However, Wills insisted on having present what he conceived of as the essential elements of what he called Christian pointed

architecture: a nave, an externally differentiated and raised chancel with an arch to separate it from the nave, slip pews, an entry porch or tower (preferably on the south side), a high pitched roof (preferably with the supporting beams visible on the interior), a pulpit, sedilia, and an altar rail, all in a consistent Gothic Revival style. Wills clearly led the way in providing concrete architectural solutions imbibed with the interpretations of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists in North America. This was true both in major buildings and in such small projects as St. Peter's and St. Paul's. Both his buildings and his book helped to spread this interpretation of Gothic Revival architecture. The reforming vision of Coverdale as the architect of St. John's lacked such consistency and zeal.

The ideas of the Ecclesiologists entered Canada West by a variety of paths, some direct as in the work of Wills, and others indirect and incomplete as in the works of Coverdale and others. The direct impact came initially through clergy who had adopted Ecclesiologist ideas, such as Reverend Robert Norris Merritt, who commissioned St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, from Frank Wills.⁴⁵ The detailed recommendations published



FIG. 34. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, WITH ADDITION BUILT BY JOHN POWER IN 1863-1864, FROM THE NORTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.



FIG. 36. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, CHANCEL AND NORTH TRANSEPT OF THE ADDITION OF 1863-1864. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.



FIG. 35. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, ADDITION OF 1863-1864, FROM THE NORTH. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

by the Building Committee of the Church Society in April 1850 and later passed by the Church Society represented a wide-reaching distillation of many of the ideas of the Ecclesiologists. The indirect impact came more through church building committees and architects getting ideas from visual patterns that they saw in a variety of places, including pattern books, other books, journals, as well as from constructed churches that they saw or

visited. Nor were these paths exclusive. An architect, such as Coverdale, could have received the printed recommendations of the Church Society of 1850 and used his imagination to translate aspects of them into a church like St. John's.

When the membership of St. John's grew and space became cramped within the small church, the vestry meeting of April 6, 1863, resolved: "That it is expedient to enlarge the Church of St. John's to meet the growing wants of the population of Portsmouth." Initially, a committee consisting of Reverend Dodd and the two churchwardens, Dr. John Palmer Litchfield and Mr. J.C. Clark, were appointed to oversee this task, but before the end of the meeting, the four sidesmen, Charles Grass, J. Carter, Eli Baiden, and Thomas Smith, Jr., and two other members, Alexander Campbell, Esq., and Mr. David Forbes, were added.⁴⁶ The committee was obviously busy because on April 20, 1863, when the vestry next met, "plans for alteration of Church submitted and the Building Committee were directed to have specifications made out by the Architect." In addition, eight persons—Messrs. Atkins, Baiden, Carter, Cartwright, Clark, Grass, Scott, and Smith,

Jr.—were appointed to solicit funds from people in "Kingston," "the Village," "the Country," and "the Asylum."⁴⁷

The parish engaged John Power to design and build an addition that included an extension of the nave to the east, transepts to the north and south, and an extended chancel further to the east (fig. 34).⁴⁸ The interior space of the transepts and extension to the nave was eighteen feet long by forty-seven and a half feet across and that of the cancel was eighteen feet wide by fourteen and one third feet deep. This nearly doubled the interior space of the church from about one thousand two hundred and one to two thousand three hundred and sixteen square feet. Power extended the roof of the nave at its original pitch to the east wall of the transepts. However, the transepts have higher walls, lower pitched roofs, and different stonework than the original. The peaks of transept roofs join the extended nave at a point at least a foot lower than its peak. Each transept features a large pointed opening on the end divided into two lancets by wooden glazing bars that curve like a "Y" to create a diamond shape under the point of the frame. The north transept has a

narrower single lancet on the east façade (figs. 35-36). The exterior of the chancel is slightly narrower and lower than the nave and includes on the east façade a slightly smaller version of the window on the west façade of the original nave.

The stonework on the addition is not consistent with that of the original church, but instead mixes larger and smaller stones together in the walls and employs large stones to strengthen the corners. The rectangular stones from the east façade of the original church probably found their way into the walls of the addition, but other stone was quarried on the spot or purchased from a local quarry.⁴⁹ Despite their size difference, the windows of the extension use stonework similar to that of the original nave, with no external splaying, regular smaller stones around the point, and irregular stones along the sides of the openings. In addition, the walls rise from their foundation without a wider foundation course, as in the original. However, the addition includes a basement for the furnace that heats the church. Originally an external door under the window on the east wall of the chancel provided the entrance to this basement. In great contrast to the original nave, the walls and corners of the addition have no buttresses. Indeed, some of the stones that probably came from buttresses that stood on the east corners of the original nave were reused in the chimney of the addition. The nature of the addition, especially of the basement under the chancel, would have made it difficult to design buttresses for that part of the building. However, the changes to the configuration of St. John's made by Power resulted in a less rugged and more conventional external masses than those of the original.

In short, though the addition continued many of the characteristics of the nave, the match between the external façades

was not seamless. The higher walls and the lower pitch of the roofs on the transepts and chancel subverted two of the most adventurous aspects of the original design. However, the addition of the extended nave, the transepts, and the chancel—even a chancel smaller than advocated by the Ecclesiologists—created more space for worshipers, a special space for the baptismal font, and opened the way for a future restructuring of worship. An advertisement appeared in the *Daily News* of December 23, 1863, announcing that: "We are pleased to state that the enlargement of St. John's Church, Portsmouth, has been completed and that the church will be re-opened for divine service on Christmas morning at half-past 10 o'clock."⁵⁰ The overall floor plan of St. John's now looked much more like that advocated anonymously by John Mason Neale in *A Few Words to Church Builders* in 1841, but the interior remained far from the Ecclesiological ideals.⁵¹

Even with its larger space, the interior of St. John's remained conservative. The old square pews with attached lighting fixtures continued in use in the original nave, while new seating was added in the north transept and presumably in some portion of the extension of the nave between the transepts.⁵² The new chancel was differentiated from the rest of the interior by a round chancel arch and a floor raised three steps above that of the nave and transepts (fig. 37).⁵³ A chancel arch had become common in the 1850s and followed the firm recommendations of the Church Building Committee of the Diocese of Toronto. The Norman shape of the chancel arch in an Early Gothic building would not have bothered Frank Willis, who noted in his comments on medieval English parish churches that it "was not infrequently of an earlier date than the Nave, being spared by the ancient builders of the temple as a memorial of the past."⁵⁴



FIG. 37. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, CHANCEL AND CHANCEL ARCH FROM THE NAVE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

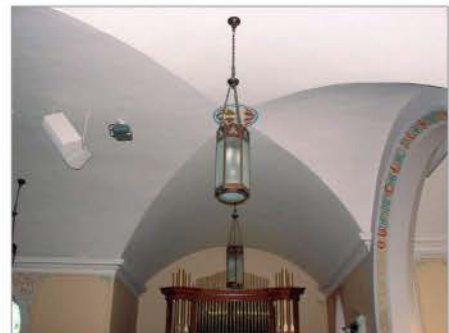


FIG. 38. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, THE SPOT WHERE THE ELLIPTICAL CURVES OF THE VARIOUS CEILINGS MEET. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2010.

At St. John's, it compliments the curves of the elliptical plaster ceilings. These meet at one spot in the middle of the space between by the transepts and the chancel (fig. 38). The congregation moved the large stone font to the south transept, probably moved the pulpit and lectern to positions between the transepts on the nave side of the chancel arch, and placed the old, long communion table at the east end of the chancel.⁵⁵ In other words, the new interior added considerable space for additional seating, but largely allowed the congregation to continue its accustomed manner of worship.

As the architect of the original St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth, William Coverdale made an original contribution to historically based Gothic Revival church architecture in Canada West. Drawing upon visual or verbal representations of St. Michael's, Long Stanton (perhaps those contained in the publications of the Brandon brothers), a visual representation of the chancel of St. Giles', Newington, and an illustration of a tripartite intersecting tracery window from the plates of several early nineteenth-century books including the Brittons' study of Wells, Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, and the *Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*, and also drawing upon the recommendations of the Building Committee of the Church Society published in April 1850, Coverdale revived for Canada West a common medieval pattern for parish churches by placing the entry through a porch near the western end of the south façade. Combining this with low side walls pierced by small lancets, a steeply pitched roof, very sturdy buttresses, and a plinth for a simplified external, western belfry, he designed a church that felt firmly rooted in the earth but also soared toward the heavens. The relatively low height of the walls on the north and south sides and steep pitch of the roof produced a higher proportion of roof to wall than seen hitherto in Canada West and a close approximation of the proportions of St. Michael's, Long Stanton (at least as illustrated in the *Brandons' Parish Churches*), and the east façade of the chancel of St. Giles', Newington. Creating a small church with these proportions in Portsmouth in 1850 took a leap of architectural imagination of some magnitude, especially for an architect who was not firmly rooted in Ecclesiological ideas.

This new pattern for Gothic Revival parish churches was initiated in North America with St. James The Less Episcopal Church,

Philadelphia, and St. Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, in 1846-1847. As an architect who received commissions in both the United States and British North America, Frank Wills would do more than anyone else to popularize this pattern, publicizing it both in words and illustrations in the pages of the *New York Ecclesiologist* and in his book. Other architects in North America would work out their own variations on the pattern, some moving the entrance back to the west façade but retaining the relatively low walls and high pitched roof of St. Michael's, Long Stanton.⁵⁶ Ironically, the first example of this type of church built in stone in Canada West, St. John's, Portsmouth, came from an anonymous architect, who showed little allegiance to the ideals of the Ecclesiologists in the interior of the church and who worked without fanfare in a small village, just to the west of the former capital of the Province of Canada. An essay published in 1856 described it as "an exceedingly neat little Church, in old English style, with a belfry and a parsonage."⁵⁷ Shortly after finishing his additions to St. John's, John Power would design two additional churches that followed this pattern, Queen Street Wesleyan Methodist, Kingston (1864), and Christ Church Anglican, Cataraqui Village (1869).⁵⁸ St. John's may have gathered little fame outside of the tiny corner of the British Empire where it was built, but its members have enjoyed having a very English-looking church in which to worship for more than a century and a half.

NOTES

1. Although some financial records survive from 1851 onward, the vestry minutes for St. John's begin in 1861. Earlier accounts appear in Anderson, Allan J., 1963, *The Anglican Churches of Kingston*, Kingston, p. 73-75, Good, Glenys, 1973, *Saints Among Sinners: St. John's—Portsmouth, 125 Years*, Kingston, St. John's, p. 9-13, and McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, *With Our Past Before Us: Nineteenth-Century*

Architecture in the Kingston Area, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 75-78. I would like to thank Jennifer for her very helpful comments upon various drafts of this paper, her suggestions of illustrations, and her friendship over many decades.

2. 1851, *The ninth annual report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, for the year ending on 31st March, 1851*, Toronto, Anglican Diocesan Press, p. 16. The annual meetings of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto were held in June and the reports covered events from the previous year.
3. For example, see Christianson, Paul, 2011, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Kingston, 1844-1856," *Pittsburgh Township Historical Society: A Collection of Talks 2010*, p. 8-9. For St. James', Stuartville, and St. Paul's, Kingston, local newspaper accounts contained a good deal of information, including the names of the architects involved.
4. *The Church*, October 10, 1850, p. 81, and October 7, 1850, p. 89; 1852, *The tenth annual report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, for the year ending on 31st March, 1852*, Toronto, Anglican Diocesan Press, p. 21. Herchmer had donated one thousand pounds from his own fortune toward the expansion of St. George's in 1843. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario, St. George's, Kingston, Vestry Book 1835-1849, n.p., April 17, 1843.
5. See Angus, Margaret, 2000, "Harriet Dobbs (Cartwright)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographica.ca], accessed February 2013; Angus, Margaret, 1966, *The Old Stones of Kingston: Its Buildings before 1867*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 38; Anderson : 73-74, Good : 12-33; McKendry, Jennifer, 1991, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston from 1835 to 1865," Ph.D. thesis, Toronto, University of Toronto, p. 87-88; McKendry, Jennifer, 2010 [2nd ed.], *Portsmouth Village Kingston: An Illustrated History*, Kingston, Jennifer McKendry, p. 91.
6. Quoted in Anderson : 74.
7. The deed for this gift, with its provisions, survives in the Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario in Kingston, Ontario.
8. For Coverdale's church designs, see McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : ch. 4; and McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 68-83. Also see Angus, Margaret, 2000, "William Coverdale,"

- Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca]; and "William Coverdale," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org], accessed February 2013.
9. For Coverdale's work at St. George's, see McKendry, Jennifer, 1988, "The Architects of St. George's Cathedral, Kingston," *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 95, p. 699-713; McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : 158-174; and McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 62-66. See also Stewart, J. Douglas, 1991, "George Browne's Influence: The Architectural Heritage of St. George's," in Donald Swainson (ed.), *St. George's Cathedral: Two Hundred Years of Community*, Kingston, Quarry Press, p. 29-63, 278-280. For Herchmer's financial contribution, see note 4 above.
 10. For the North Cottage, see note 5 above. For Willow Cottage, see Angus, Margaret (ed.), 1977, *Buildings of Architectural and Historic Significance, Kingston, Ontario*, 6 vols., vol. 4, Kingston, City of Kingston, p. 125-126.
 11. See McKendry, 2010, *Portsmouth Village* : 67; and Angus, Margaret (ed.), 1975, *Buildings of Architectural and Historic Significance*, vol. 3, p. 101-104.
 12. Excellent local limestone was readily available.
 13. See 1845, "Report of the Thirty-Ninth Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society on Thursday, November 7," *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4, p. 23.
 14. See Stanton, Phoebe B., 1968, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 130-137; and Richardson, Douglas, 2000, "Frank Wills," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca], accessed February 2013.
 15. Wills, Frank, 1850, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, New York, Stanford and Swords, Appendix, p. 109-111, with a plate preceding.
 16. Stanton : 91-135.
 17. An unpaginated version of first issue of the *New York Ecclesiologist* has been reproduced online: [http://anglicanhistory.org/ecclesiologist/ny/1.html], accessed February 2013. A letter to the editor favourably drew to the attention of the readers of *The Church* the publication of the first three issues of the *New York Ecclesiologist*, and the work of Frank Wills. See *The Church*, February 22, 1849, p. 118. This may well have caught the eye of Reverend Herchmer, who had an interest in architecture. In 1845, while raising money for the building of what would become St. Paul's, Kingston, he had written to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, "requesting a plan for a new church at Kingston Canada." Bodleian Library, Oxford Architectural and Historical Society MSS, Dep. D.538, Reports of Committee meetings, April 18, 1845. On May 10, 1845, it was agreed to send "tracings of any church" if sufficient funds had been raised to build. I would like to thank Professor William Westfall of York University for providing me with his notes on this material.
 18. 1846, *A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*, Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Oxford, John Henry Parker. I would like to thank Professor Malcolm Thurlby for drawing this example to my attention.
 19. The similar finished cap stones that appear on the chimney of the addition to St. John's designed by John Power in 1863 may have stood originally on buttresses at forty-five degree angles to the corners of the east façade of the original church. Coverdale's plan for St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Gananoque (1852), had buttresses at forty-five degrees at the east end of the nave and at the east end of what looked like an externally differentiated chancel, but served as a vestry. For this building, see notes 38 and 39 below.
 20. Pugin, Augustus Welby, [2nd ed.] 1853, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London, John Weale, p. 17 and plate 2.
 21. Good : 16.
 22. See MacRae, Marion and Anthony Adamson, 1975, *Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada*, Toronto, Clark, Irwin and Company, p. 287-288, for earlier interlacing glazing bars. Most often these formed the top for windows with six rows of rectangular panes. For the reconstruction of windows with three rows of rectangular panes with a top much like that of St. John's, Portsmouth, see, p. 265, fig. X-46, and for windows with a similar glazing pattern to those at St. John's but with greater height, see p. 270, fig. X-55.
 23. Britton, John, 1836, *Cathedral Antiquities: Historical and Descriptive Accounts*, 5 vols., London, M.A. Natali, vol. 4, Wells Cathedral, plate 15; and Parker, John Henry, [4th ed.], 1845, *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford, John Henry Parker, vol. 2, plate 156. I would like to thank Professor Malcolm Thurlby for raising this issue and for the second of these references.
 24. An early stress on the importance of chancels appeared in [Neale, John Mason], 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 4. Those of St. Mark's and Holy Trinity were shallow externally, but extended at least another five feet into the space of the nave. For St. Mark's, 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, p. 17-30, at p. 25-27. For Holy Trinity, see Arthur, Eric, 1964, *Toronto: No Mean City*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 84, fig. 119. For St. George the Martyr, see the floor plan in Harman, H.M. and W.G. Upshall, 1945, *The Story of the Church of St. George the Martyr of Toronto, Canada*, Toronto, Ross and Mann Press, p. 28. For St. James', see Christianson, Paul, "St. James' Anglican Church, Stuartville, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West, 1844-1849," unpublished paper, p. 11-13. A fairly conventional Regency style Gothic Revival stone church, Trinity, Wolfe Island (which may have been designed by Coverdale), has a shallow externally differentiated chancel. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for drawing this to my attention.
 25. "Recommendations by the Church Building of the Church Society, in regard to Churches and their Precincts," *The Church*, April 11 and 17, 1850, p. 145-146 and p. 149, at p. 146. I am presently writing an article systematically analyzing these recommendations and placing them in their historical and programmatic context. Since these recommendations appeared in print during or before the erection of St. John's and well before Reverend Herchmer (who probably had read them in *The Church*) applied to the Building Committee for a grant, they may well have influenced its design in a number of ways.
 26. In 1858, the vestry paid two pounds to whitewash the church. Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives, St. John's, Portsmouth, Accounts 1851-1868, 5KM1, n.p.
 27. *Id.*, October 16, 1852, n.p.: "Stool for Organ for Miss Barham 4s/6d." According to Good (*op. cit.* : 16), this was a harmonium, a form of pedal reed organ; these could be quite simple or very sophisticated. One can see and hear various performances on nineteenth-century instruments on YouTube.
 28. Good : 16.
 29. *The Church*, April 17, 1850, p. 149. See the classic anonymous tract published by the Cambridge Camden Society: [Neale], 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 14-15.

30. See McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : 189, plate IV-10; and 1947, *One Hundred Years 1847-1947: Chalmers Church at Kingston*, Kingston, Chalmers Church, p. 5. However, the roof at Chalmers had a much shallower peak than that at St. John's.
31. Wills, Frank, 1848, "Reality in Church Architecture," *New York Ecclesiologist*, October, no. 1, n.p.
32. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for bringing the roof at Filby to my attention.
33. *The Church*, April 11, 1850, p. 146.
34. See McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : 193-194, figs. IV-13 and IV-15; and McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 81-83, fig. 42.
35. For St. Paul's, see Christianson, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's..." : 7-23. For Sydenham United Methodist (United), see McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 79-83.
36. The lower window in the illustration of Sydenham Wesleyan Methodist (United) was originally a door, but the change of function did not appear to have any impact upon the stonework of the opening and wall, but only upon the addition of a sill and stonework around the new window.
37. St. Paul's was the most expensive of the four stone Gothic Revival Anglican churches built in the greater Kingston area in the 1840s, in part because of its elaborate stonework, especially the ashlar of the foundation courses and mouldings. Sydenham Wesleyan Methodist (United) featured both ashlar mouldings and ashlar in the upper stages of the tower.
38. For a discussion of St. John's and the drawing for St. Andrew's, see McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 77-82.
39. The central window in the drawing for St. Andrew's, Gananoque, is proportionally taller and narrower than the one built at St. John's, Portsmouth, but that was more appropriate for a proportionally taller wall. Its glazing was also a bit more elaborate.
40. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60.
41. See Stanton : 286-297; and Finley, Greg and Lynn Wigginton, 1995, *On Earth as it is in Heaven: Gothic Revival Churches of Victorian New Brunswick*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Editions.
42. Richardson, "Frank Wills," *op. cit.* In his book, Wills praised Pugin as a "Great Architect" who "first clearly showed us what the true principles of Pointed Architecture were." Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 85.
43. In Canada West, a letter praising the first three issues of the *New York Ecclesiologist*, to which Wills contributed, appeared in *The Church* on February 22, 1849, p. 118. Portions of *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture* were favourably quoted in *The Church*, as early as November 14, 1850, p. 126.
44. *The Church*, December 22, 1853, p. 2, as quoted in Thurlby, "Two Churches" : 50-51. Wills strongly defended pulpits and argued that they should be placed on the north side of the nave, just west of the chancel arch. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 73-74.
45. Reverend Merritt served as an Anglican missionary in the "Gore District." Having received a B.A. from King's College, Fredericton, New Brunswick (where he no doubt became aware of the work of Wills), he studied under Reverend Bethune at the Anglican Diocesan Theological College in Cobourg. He would build three churches, St. Mary's, near Brantford, St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford. For the first, see the description of the opening of St. Mary's in *The Church*, January 16, 1851, p. 193-194. For Merritt, see the 1850, *Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, vol. 2 (1849-1850), New Haven, George Bassett, p. 451. In 1853, Merritt would accept a call to St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Morristown, New Jersey, and would serve as rector there until his death in 1895. See [http://www.stpetersmorristown.org/about_us/parish_history/], accessed September 2012.
46. Anglican Diocese of Ontario, St. John's, Portsmouth, Vestry Minutes 1851-1931, April 6, 1863, n.p. Dr. Litchfield was appointed superintendent of the criminal lunatic asylum and lived with some male patients in Rockwood. Charles Grass came from an established Loyalist family with landholdings in the Kingston area. Thomas Smith, Jr., was a lawyer who held the seat for Frontenac in the Legislative Assembly from 1841-1861 (serving as solicitor general and speaker) and purchased Roselawn in 1851. Alexander Campbell was the law partner of John A. Macdonald during the 1840s. See Rasporich, A.W. and I.H. Clarke, 2000, "John Palmer Litchfield," and Swainson, Donald, 2000, "Sir Henry Smith," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [<http://www.biographi.ca/>], accessed February 2013. At the same meeting, thanks were given to "Mrs. Crookshank [the remarried widow of John Solomon Cartwright] for liquidating the balance due upon the Parsonage debt."
47. *Id.*, April 20, 1863. The Cartwright was most likely Richard John, the eldest surviving son of Reverend and Harriet Cartwright, who had extensive real estate holdings, was elected to the Legislative Assembly for Lennox and Addington in 1863, and would have a successful political career. See Morgan, Cecilia and Robert Craig Brown, 2000, "Sir Richard John Cartwright," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [<http://www.biographi.ca/>], accessed February 2013]
48. Good : 16.
49. The shelf of limestone on which the nave of St. John's rests slopes down a bit from west to east; it was further quarried to create the basement under the Power extension that contained a furnace for heating the church.
50. *Kingston Daily News*, December 23, 1863, p. 2; from January 16, 1864, onward, the times of the Sunday services at St. John's were regularly listed in the *Saturday Daily News*.
51. Reprinted in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, "Temples... Worthy of His Presence": *The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, London, Spire Books, p. 133-168, at plate 1, p. 165. The chancel of the Power addition would have been too short in relation to the nave for Neale.
52. Good : p. 16.
53. See the recommendations of the Church Building Committee of the Church Society cited in note 25 above. A systematic redecoration of the internal spaces of the church took place in 1892. An altar and reredos were added the east end of the chancel and the space of the chancel was extended into the nave by a raised platform that held pews for the choir.
54. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 74.
55. Good : 16-17.
56. Stanton : ch. 6.
57. Cooper, C.W., 1856, *Prize Essay: Frontenac, Lennox & Addington*, Kingston, James M. Creighton, p. 47.
58. McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 76-77 and 83-86. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for bringing these churches to my attention.