THE SHAMROCK AND THE MAPLE LEAF: THE IRISH ROOTS OF GEORGE BROWNE'S CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE

IN MEMORIAM SIR JOHN NEWENHAM ("COOLMORE") SUMMERSON (1904-1992)

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> J. DOUGLAS STEWART

George Browne died in Montreal on November 19, 1885.[1] Having been born in Belfast, Northern Ireland, on November 5, 1811,[2] he is said to have been the son of an architect of the same name, but no trace of either has been found in Ireland. Indeed nothing is known about George Browne from his birth to his arrival in Quebec City in 1830, but we need not doubt his Irish birth since it is stated in two independent sources. However, he might have been taken from Ireland at a tender age. Only Browne's Canadian buildings demonstrate an Irish architectural background.

There has been a great spate of publications on Irish architecture over the last decades, among which are the writings of Irish architectural historians Mark Bence-Jones, Maurice Craig, the Knight of Glin, Edward McParland, Alistair Rowan, and others. But Irish architecture is inseparably linked to that of Great Britain. Hence there have been important contributions from British architectural historians, notably the present and past doyens of that field, Sir Howard Colvin and the late Sir John Summerson.

The Middle Ages in Ireland saw the construction through the land, *inter alia*, of the characteristic tall "Tower" houses, which continued to be built until the end of the seventeenth century. "Classical" Irish architecture began with Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (c1699-1733), who travelled to Italy and on his return became the father of Irish Palladianism. Yet Pearce loved massive, weighty forms; not for nothing was he related to Sir John Vanbrugh! The greatest Irish "neoclassical" architect

FIG. 1. CASTLEGAR, COUNTY CORK, BY SIR RICHARD MORRISON, 1801. | J.D. STEWART

FIG. 2. HALES COTTAGES, 313 KING STREET, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. | J. NOLEN PAPERS, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

James Gandon (1743-1823) was born in London, of Huguenot extraction, and became a pupil of Sir William Chambers (1723-1796). The latter was the rival of the Adam brothers, who revolutionized English and Scottish architecture from the 1760s, making Palladianism in those lands seem heavy-handed and old-fashioned. But Gandon, who came to Ireland in 1781, in the words of Sir Howard Colvin, "rejected what he regarded as the meretricious elegance of the current Adam style and looked to French neoclassicism [...]. French influence [...] is apparent in many features of his public buildings in Dublin. [...]" Furthermore, as Sir John Summerson observed, Gandon, unlike Chambers, "could open his mind to Wren," which makes Gandon's "Liffey-side buildings [the Customs House and The Four Courts] infinitely more powerful than [Chambers's Thames-side] Somerset House." Thus, despite his neoclassicism, Gandon, like Pearce, had a strong Baroque element in his style.[3]

The architecture of George Browne (whose large library of architectural books included John Woolfe and James Gandon's 1767 continuation of *Vitruvius Britannicus*) shows a love of massive Baroque forms.[4] Browne also had a strong penchant for Irish architectural motifs, for example the Wyatt window. It was supposedly first used at Doddington Hall, Cheshire, by Samuel Wyatt in 1776. It is actually the old Palladian, or Venetian window, or Serliana, modified by abolishing the central arch, and carrying a straight lintel across the top of the three openings. Although invented in England, the Wyatt window became especially popular in Ireland,[5] for example on the façade of Sir Richard Morrison's Castlegar, County Cork (begun 1801; fig. 1).[6]

The Wyatt window is perhaps the commonest motif in George Browne's Kingston work. He used it in virtually every design he made there, even if it did not always appear in the finished building.

The city hall has nine: two on the front corner pavilions, two inside the entrance "tunnel," and five at the back.[7] Wyatt windows also appear in profusion on the original five front façades of the Hales cottages (1841; fig. 2).[8] At Rockwood Villa (fig. 4), there is a Wyatt window on the left side, and two at the back. At St. Andrew's Manse (fig. 3), it appears twice on the west side. At Ashton (Canadian National Institute for the Blind, 826 Princess Street), a variant on the design of the Manse, there is a large Wyatt window in the centre of the main façade.[9] Otterburn's façade has French-window versions of Wyatt windows.[10]

Browne's St. Andrew's Manse (fig. 3) displays another Irishism, the gathering of chimney flues into one, or at most two, central stacks, linked together, rather than incorporating them in outside walls. According to Maurice Craig in Ireland, from the eighteenth century "in a remarkably high proportion of houses" the flues are treated in such manner, despite the arguments of theorists (like the Rev. John Payne) against the practice, because twisted flues soot up more readily and are more difficult to clean.[11] Examples of centrally gathered flues are Francis Johnson's 1808 designs for Phoenix Park Lodge (engraved 1819) and Sir Richard Morrison's 1807 Bearforest, County Cork.[12]

Browne used his St. Andrew's Manse central chimneystack (substituting a window for the panel) in his 1848 Montreal villa, Terra Nova, for John Molson, Jr., the documents for which were discovered by Robert Lemire.[13] More recently, Lemire discovered a photograph taken around 1914 by architect Robert Findlay, of Belleview Hall, the Mussen residence, which once stood on Dorchester Street, Montreal. As Lemire noted,[14] Belleview Hall had the same kind of chimney as Terra Nova. Also, Belleview Hall's hipped roof,

FIG. 3. ST. ANDREW'S MANSE, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. REAR VIEW. | J.D. STEWART

FIG. 4. ROCKWOOD VILLA, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. OBLIQUE VIEW OF FAÇADE. | JOHN BREBNER

Tuscan brackets, corner pilasters, and wide stringcourse are all reminiscent of Browne's 1841 Rockwood Villa at Kingston (fig. 4). Between the Belleview Hall chimneystacks, there is a Wyatt window and that motif also appears on the main façade. Lemire's attribution of Belleview Hall is entirely convincing, and an important addition to George Browne's oeuvre.

In 1977, I identified four architectural drawings in Queen's University Archives as designs for the Kingston branch of the Bank of Montreal at King and William Streets (now the Frontenac Club Inn; fig. 5).[15] I attributed the drawings and the building to George Browne.[16] The building had been given to "MR. CRANE, Architect, Princess Street," who advertised for tenders for "the erection and Joiner's Work of a BUILDING, 52 x 42 feet; in King Street [...]," in the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette of February 19, 1845.

"Mr. Crane" was probably Edward Crane, the architect and builder of the 1831-1836 Upper Canadian Academy (later Victoria College), Cobourg (fig. 6). That structure has been aptly described by Katherine Ashenburg as "a movingly pure building with a three-storey Doric portico and two flanking pediments, an elongated cupola and a solitary line of dentils as decoration."[17] Such characteristics are quite unlike the robust masculinity of the Kingston Bank of Montreal designs, or the finished building, with its blockiness and powerful modelling. Rather, this is the style of George Browne. Presumably, Crane advertised for tenders in February 1845 as supervising architect for Browne, who, by that time, had left for Montreal with the capital. Supervision was usual for out-of-town designers: Browne himself had acted as supervising architect for John Howard's Christ Church, Tyendinaga.[18]

The attribution of the Kingston Bank of Montreal branch to George Browne was accepted by Dana Johnson, who also discovered that the commission had been awarded after a competition announced in the May 28, 1843 Kingston Chronicle and Gazette.[19] However, all four drawings appear to be by the same hand, as does the lettering, which appears on two of them (note the very long crossing on the letter "t"). The designs include favourite Browne motifs and there is a clear development in the façade designs, from complex, even decorative forms, towards simple, almost abstract forms. A similar evolution is seen in Browne's designs for the Kingston City Hall, and also those for Rockwood (fig. 12; fig. 4).[20]

What appears to be the first design for the Kingston Bank of Montreal (fig. 7) has the same chimneystack as Browne's St. Andrew's Manse (fig. 3), but the façade is a shortened, flattened version of John Carr of York's 1773 Newark Town Hall (fig. 8).[21] In what appears to be the second design (fig. 9), textural contrasts

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FIG. 5. FRONTENAC CLUB INN (FORMERLY BANK OF MONTREAL), KING AND WILLIAM STREETS, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1845. | GEORGE LILLEY, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES
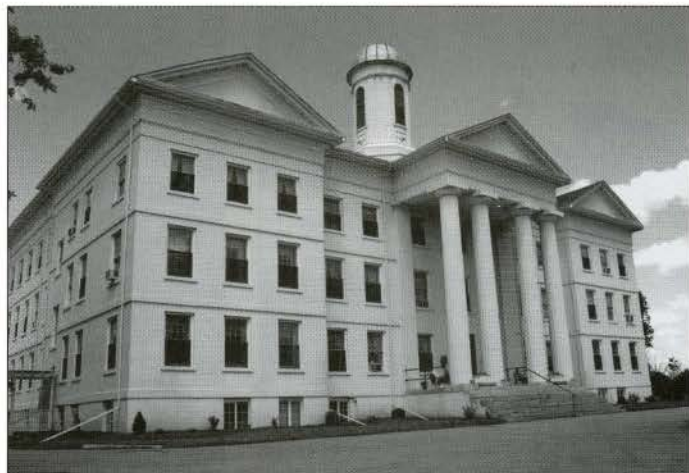

FIG. 6. VICTORIA COLLEGE, COBOURG, BY EDWARD CRANE, 1831-1836. | VENETIA STEWART

are abandoned and, above the main entrance, two Wyatt windows appear. In the building itself (fig. 5), even greater simplicity and severe monumentality are achieved by the uniform use of rectilinear windows, and by employing a Tuscan giant order plus an attic, a motif which echoes the end pavilions of the Kingston City Hall, including the (now destroyed) King Street pavilion then only a few hundred yards away.[22]

A very subtle feature of the order in the Bank of Montreal as built, is that the corner pilasters are set back (unlike those at the city hall, or in the early designs for the Bank); only the uppermost cornice links the King and William Street façades. That arrangement produces "extruded" corners, which create movement and reinforce the distinction between the King Street façade, with its public entrance (whose entablature is topped by a triangular pediment), and the William Street front, which included the entrance to the private quarters of the bank manager on the upper floors. The entablature of the latter entrance is surmounted only by a simple rectangular die, like those above the King Street windows.

Such dies are also found above the side doors on the main façade of St. George's Cathedral, which I have attributed to Browne. My attribution rests partly on the similarities between the façades and the interior first western bays of St. George's, Belfast, and St. George's, Kingston. The latter façade is also indebted to a great exemplar of French neoclassicism, S. Philippe du Roule, Paris, a debt of which francophile James Gandon would doubtless have approved.[23]

The "extruded" corners at the Bank of Montreal are yet another example of Browne's distinctive handling. At the St. Andrew's Manse (1841) (fig. 3), Browne also cut back the wall at the corners; the same feature is also found at Ashton. At the round corner of Wilson's Buildings (now Bank of Nova Scotia) (1841-1842; figure 10),[24] the side façades "extrude" beyond the giant pilasters just as they do at the Bank of Montreal.

Of George Browne's 1864-1866 Molson's Bank, Montreal, Susan Wagg wrote "[...] Browne's edifice follows the mansion-club pattern that had now become standard for Canadian banks and which

he had earlier used in a more restrained fashion for the Bank of Montreal branch in Kingston."[25] While Browne's Molson's Bank certainly follows the "mansion-club" pattern, his earlier Kingston Bank of Montreal seems to have different sources.

The tall block-like character of the Kingston Bank of Montreal is another Irishism, following the Irish "tall house" tradition, which may begin with Mount Ievers, County Clare, of the 1730's. While there are also plenty of horizontal Irish houses (and George Browne also follows the horizontal tradition with e.g. his Kingston St. Andrew's Manse and the Montreal Belleview Hall), the "tall house" continued to be popular through the eighteenth century and beyond, as is seen, for example, at Coolmore, Carrigaline, County Cork of 1788 (fig. 11). Yet, the roots of the tall, blocky Irish country house lie in the actual tower houses of the late Middle Ages, which had persisted through the seventeenth century. The Irish tall house thus had its origins in fortifications. Hence, the Irish tall house would have seemed a very appropriate model for a bank.[26]
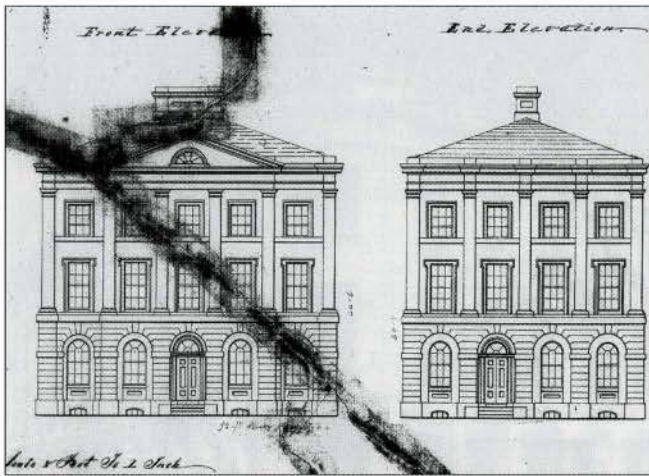
FIG. 7. FIRST DESIGNS FOR BANK OF MONTREAL, KINGSTON BRANCH, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1844. DETAIL. | DRAWING: KAD 17 (IV); 11 7/8 X 19 1/4"; QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES
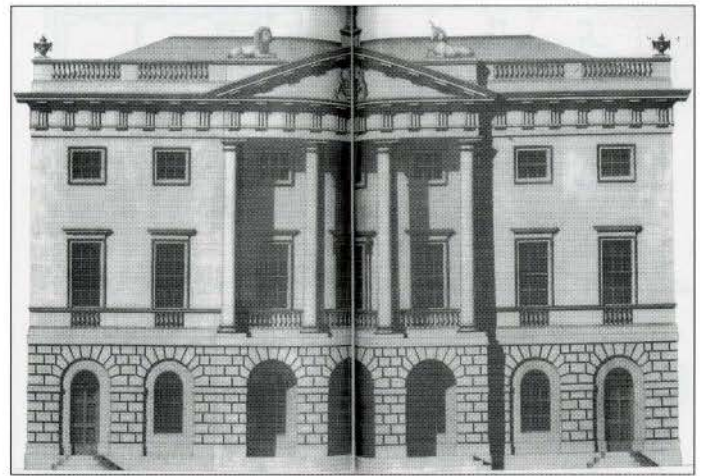

FIG. 8. FACADE OF NEWARK TOWN HALL, BY JOHN CARR OF YORK, 1773. | SOURCE: GEORGE RICHARDSON, 1808, VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS, VOL. 2, PLATES 11-12

George Browne's Rockwood (fig. 4), although not three full storeys, also has the character of an Irish tall house. That results from the house being raised over a basement, the use of emphatic verticals, including the residual pilasters at the corners, and the giant order of Tuscan columns, whose lines are continued by the chimneystacks. The Rev. John Payne had advised against building high in the country ("[...] it is easy to imagine what a ridiculous and aukward [sic] Figure a House of three or four Stories High would make in an open Field"). But Irish builders ignored the injunction, just as they ignored his forbiddance of gathered chimneys. Maurice Craig dismissed economic reasons for the former, i.e. that "a cubical house uses the least materials." Instead, concluded Craig, the practice reflects "[...] more likely, perhaps, some persistence of the tower-house habit [...] at work."[27]

Rockwood's verticalism is emphasized by its isolation from other buildings. In particular, the stables (now demolished but seen in Sidney Farrell's 1854 view; fig. 13) are set at a distance. The isolation derives from the Irish practice of using

tunnels to connect the house and service quarters. Good examples are Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's Bellamont Forest of c1730 (fig. 14) and James Wyatt's Castle Coole of 1789-1795. The latter's Tuscan end pavilions display sunken panels above niches, the motif which Browne employs, albeit fielding the panel, so prominently on the west side of Rockwood.[28]

At Rockwood there is no tunnel, but rather, a deep cutting on the eastern side (fig. 15), which concealed the service entrance to the basement kitchens and also isolated the house from the stable block. Originally, as the Farrell view shows, the cutting allowed one to see beyond to the lake. My photograph of the cutting was taken in the autumn of 1982. Recently, the illusionary effect of the cutting has been completely destroyed by the erection of an iron fence on the parapet of the cutting, and the creation of a car park in front.

While Rockwood has only a cutting, the Kingston City Hall had a large, full-scale tunnel, which originally extended right through the whole building from Ontario Street to King Street. Another very Irish

building feature to be seen at the city hall is the basement. It is, as Maurice Craig notes "[...] a commonplace of English classical architecture [...] but in Ireland it is much more nearly universal." Craig attributes that practice to the necessity for a damp course (because of the climate), the classical aesthetic of the plinth, and finally the persistence of the influence of the round tower house, which had its entrance on the first floor.[29] The cross-section of Browne's early plans for the market shows shops on two storeys, on either side of the tunnel.[30] That is reminiscent of the *galleria* developed in late eighteenth century in France and Italy. However, there is also a very early Irish example, which Browne could easily have known, Home's Royal Arcade, Dublin, of 1819.[31]

Some of Browne's internal planning for domestic architecture derives from Irish sources. For example, Sir Richard Morrison's design for a villa, from his *Useful and Ornamental Designs in Architecture* of 1793, breaks with the traditional Irish single rectangular entrance hall by substituting the sequence of a vestibule and an octagonal tribune.[32] Browne adopts that
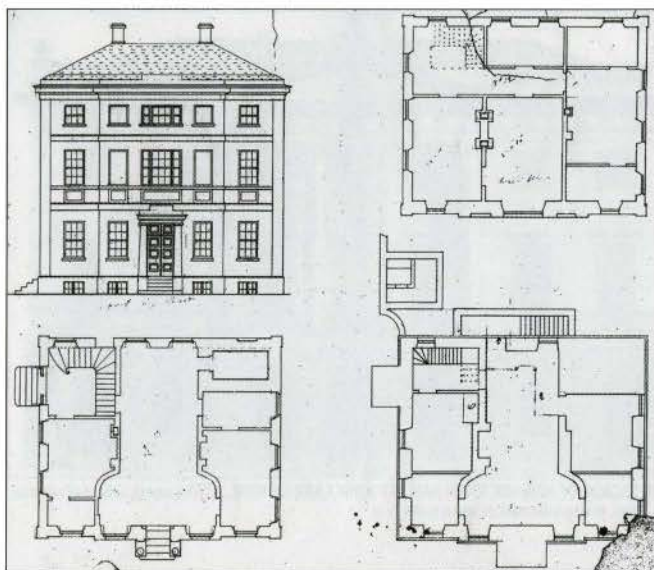
FIG. 9. SECOND DESIGNS FOR BANK OF MONTREAL, KINGSTON BRANCH, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1844, DETAIL. | DRAWING: KAD 17 (I); 15 3/4 X 19 3/4"; QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

FIG. 10. WILSON'S BUILDINGS (NOW BANK OF NOVA SCOTIA), KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841-1842. | JOHN BREBNER

arrangement at Rockwood (fig. 12) but works out the spaces more picturesquely and sculpturally, as Morrison was to do in his later villas.[33] The dished, concave entrance of Rockwood (fig. 4) appears in Morrison's early villas, Bellair and Cangort Park (fig. 20). The concave entrance porch was both functional and very Irish. The Rev. John Payne in 1757 claims that "[...] The Porch taken off the length of the Hall is not one of the least conveniences in a Country house." In that case, Irish builders seem to have taken Payne's advice, albeit at a later date. Maurice Craig, citing that passage, adds that

> hollowing a porch out of the front and robbing it from the inner hall is found in numerous houses in the [Irish] Midlands, especially in Leix and Offaly, though most seem later than Payne's time, and this expedient, which is very well adapted to the Irish climate, was much favoured by Sir Richard Morrison half a century later.[34]

Browne's earliest known villa, Benmore, is very ingeniously planned.[35] It was built in 1834 to the west of Quebec City at a

beautiful site on the St. Lawrence River as "a Cottage in the Gothic style" for (later Sir) Dominick Daly (1798-1868), then Provincial Secretary for Lower Canada.[36] It is very plain outside, with pointed Gothic windows on the ground floor and rectangular windows with hood mouldings on the floor above. Inside there is a vestibule and shallow vaulted hall. The basic plan is a "butterfly" of four octagonal-shaped rooms and hall, with glazed cupboards filling the angles. But the most unusual aspect of the interior is the "state bed chamber" (to quote the "Specification") in a mezzanine floor, in a small projecting wing at the back.[37] Below that bedchamber is a very high kitchen. A very similar rear (though not projecting) mezzanine appears in a series of small houses around Dublin in the early nineteenth century, including Beechlawn, Rathgar, Dublin of c1816, probably designed by Francis Johnston.[38] Because of the similar shape and position of the Benmore mezzanine, it seems likely that those Dublin houses are Browne's source. Yet, in its planning, Benmore is an altogether grander and more complex structure. The "state bed cham-

ber" recalls the grandest English country house planning, which generally includes a set of staterooms intended for visits of royalty. In Ireland, aside from the viceregal staterooms of Dublin Castle, such rooms are rare. But there is a State bedroom at Castle Coole (reputedly designed for a projected visit by George IV, which never took place),[39] a house which, as we saw, Browne probably knew. Benmore's "state bedchamber" is analogous in function, even if multum in parvo, since its owner, as a senior administrator, had to entertain the Governor (the monarch's representative) and other distinguished guests.

Browne's grandest early mezzanine is known only from his 1835 specifications for a villa for the Quebec brewer Colin McCallum. Its central block, forty-five feet square "contained a drawing room, dining room and saloon. A picture gallery on the mezzanine level was lit from above by a lantern."[40] The latter feature is developed from what McParland calls "that characteristic Irish villa feature, the top-lighted centrally placed bedroom lobby which enlivens the spatial interest of so

FIG. 11. COOLMORE, CARRIGALINE, COUNTY CORK, 1788. | HUGH DORAN COLLECTION, IRISH ARCHITECTURAL ARCHIVE

many Irish houses."[41] That Irishism, which seems to have first appeared at Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's Bellamont,[42] is seen at Browne's Rockwood (figs. 16-18).[43]

The McCallum mezzanine design has important progeny. In his first plans for the Kingston City Hall, 1842, Browne used some very ingenious mezzanine planning which enabled him to fit extra floors at the sides in the attics above the Ontario Street wings. (He maintained his exterior elevations by running a floor-line between the semi-circular tops and the lower rectangular parts of his second storey windows.[44]) In the final building, Browne builds above the tunnel what is in effect a mezzanine floor between the second floor and the cupola. There he creates a large windowless, "hidden" room, lit only by glazing at the bottom of the circular staircase in the cupola. The original purpose of that room was similar to the McCallum picture gallery: it housed the Mechanics Institute Museum. Later it became the Alderman's Library.[45] It, together with the staircase and cupola above, which housed the Mechanics

Institute Library and allowed visitors a panoramic view of the surrounding area (including the beginning of The Thousand Islands), remain some of the most brilliant surviving pieces of planning of Browne's career.

Bellevue is Kingston's best-known villa, because it was rented in 1848-1849 by Sir John A. Macdonald, the architect of Confederation and Canada's first Prime Minister. It was attributed to George Browne by Marion MacRae; Margaret Angus challenged this on the grounds that the villa must have been built in 1838, three years before Browne came to Kingston. In 1992, Jennifer McKendry cast doubt on Angus's early documentation and re-attributed Bellevue to Browne; she is supported by Pierre du Prey.[46]

McKendry argued for her attribution partly on the grounds of the canopied balcony at Bellevue, a feature Browne had used on the back of Rockwood. Such balconies were, of course, common in Regency architecture.[47] But the interior planning of Bellevue lacks completely the variety

and excitement of Benmore or Rockwood. Worse still, the upper stairway is poorly lit because its one narrow oblong window seems to be an afterthought: two feet beyond the window is a bank of chimneys! That is a most unlikely design for an architect who was careful to harmonize his exteriors and interiors, and whose upper floors, following Irish tradition, are well lit.

As McKendry noted, Bellevue's first owner, Charles Hales, was an important patron of Browne, having commissioned from him Hales cottages (fig. 2) in 1841 and additions to the Commercial Mart (now S. & R. Department Store) in 1842. But there is also "patronage" evidence against Browne as the architect of Bellevue, viz its description, in letters to his sister, Margaret Greene, by its most famous tenant, John A. Macdonald, as "the most fantastic [concern] imaginable" and "Pekoe Pagoda."[48] It is difficult to believe that Macdonald would have mocked the work of the architect of the city hall (Macdonald had served as Alderman during its construction) and Macdonald's own houses on Brock Street.[49] The likeliest conclusion, given the present evidence, is that Bellevue was designed, after Browne left Kingston in 1844, by an unknown builder.

The Irish sources for the Kingston City Hall façades are extremely interesting. The giant pilastered corner pavilions with attics of the Ontario Street façade and the latter's rooflines recall the front of Theodore Jacobsen's 1752-1759 Trinity College, Dublin (with the updating of Palladian to Wyatt windows).[50] Many years ago, James Gandon's Dublin Customs House was identified as a source for Browne's façade.[51] Both have porticos and corner pavilions; and statues were erected (or at Kingston, Lord Sydenham's was planned to be placed) above their central domes.
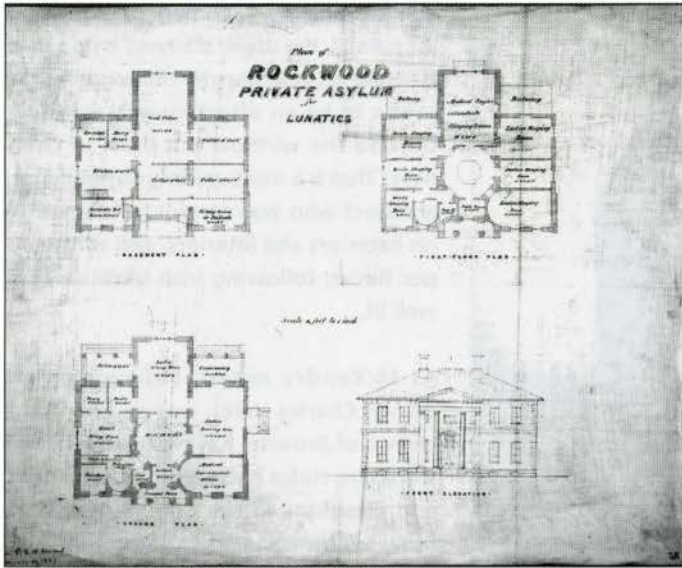
FIG. 12. ELEVATION AND PLANS OF ROCKWOOD, KINGSTON,
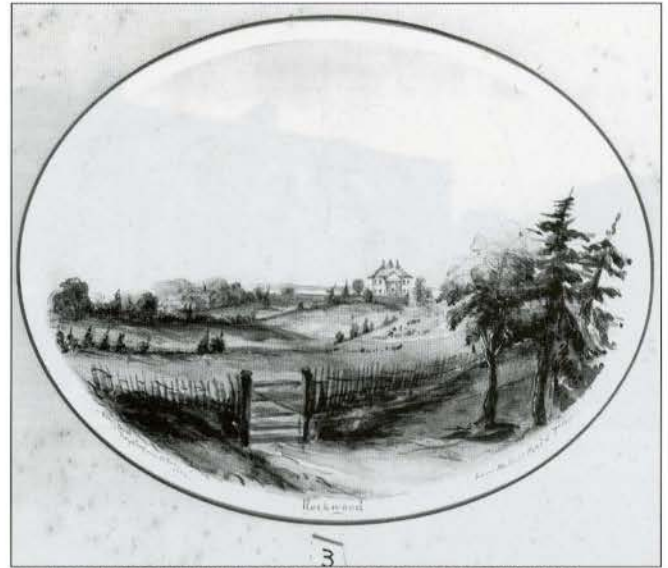BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. | SOURCE: NATIONAL MAP COLLECTION, PAC

FIG. 13. ROCKWOOD, BY SIDNEY FARRELL, 1854; WATERCOLOUR, 8 X 11 1/4"; SIGNED
AND DATED LOWER LEFT: *SIDNEY FARRELL / ROYAL ENGINEERS / 22 MARCH 1854.* |
SOURCE: AGNES ETHERINGTON ART CENTRE, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

FIG. 14. BELLAMONT FOREST, COOTEHILL, COUNTY CAVAN, BY SIR EDWARD LOVETT PEARCE, C1730.
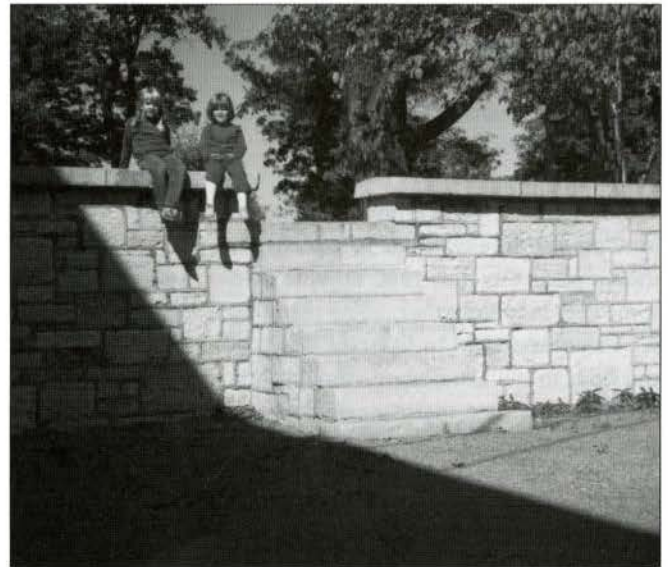VIEW OF REAR WITH TUNNEL ENTRANCE. | J.D. STEWART

FIG. 15. ROCKWOOD VILLA, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. VIEW OF CUTTING
FROM BELOW. | J.D. STEWART, 1982

Another link with Gandon can be seen in the Dublin Four Courts, which include one of his favourite motifs, the triumphal arch.[52] The Four Courts Liffey front has two of them, the type with a high arch in the middle and two small ones, one to each side. George Browne's city hall also had two triumphal arches with similar openings: one under the Ontario Street portico and the other on the King Street pavilion, which was destroyed by fire in 1865.[53]

The 1863 Molson Mausoleum, at Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, is Browne's signed masterpiece of a very Irish genre: as Maurice Craig observed, "in proportion to Ireland's much smaller population [mausoleums] are relatively, and perhaps even absolutely, more numerous than in England."[54] The Molson vaults have ribbed vaulted ceilings, reminiscent of the vestibule of St. George's and the city hall's Council Chamber and Memorial Hall. Like the upper floors of Irish houses, the Molson vaults are top-lit, the light coming from beneath the hollow cast-iron
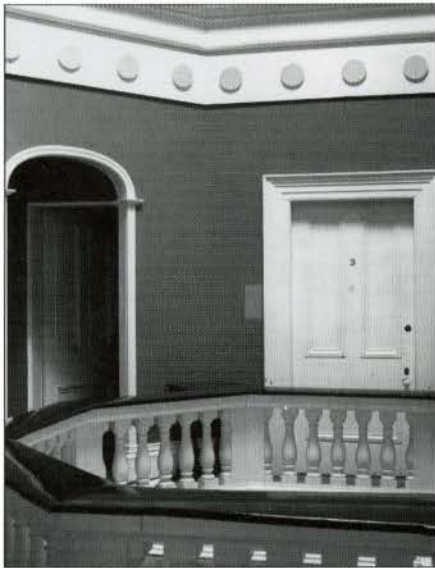
FIG. 16. ROCKWOOD VILLA, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. FIRST FLOOR, VIEW ACROSS TRIBUNE TO MASTER BEDROOM. | JOHN BREBNER
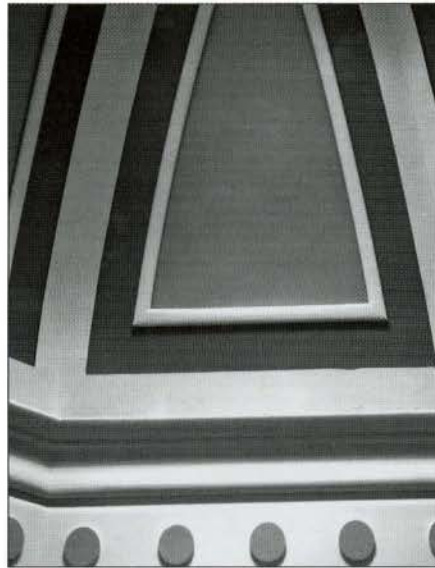

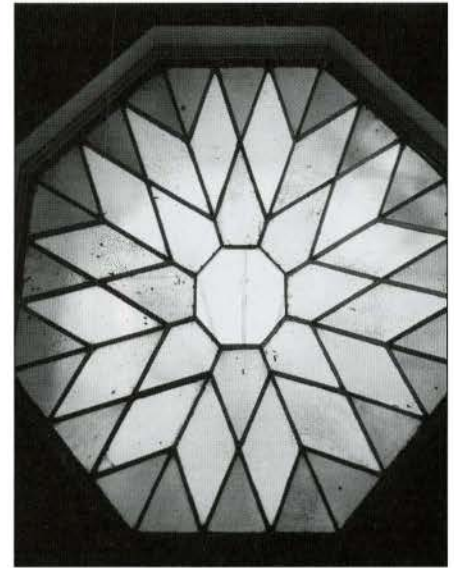FIG. 17. ROCKWOOD VILLA, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. TRIBUNE VAULTING. | JOHN BREBNER

FIG. 18. ROCKWOOD VILLA, KINGSTON, BY GEORGE BROWNE, 1841. TRIBUNE SKYLIGHT. | JOHN BREBNER

sarcophagi above. The vaults have elaborate cast-iron doors set in "dished," concave entrances (fig. 19), miniature versions of the entrance to Morrison's Cangort Park (fig. 20). In 1991, I suggested that the two winged females holding a seven-stringed harp in the roundels at the top of each door might be "grotesques." Those figures can be now identified as the sirens apostrophized by Milton in his 1645 *At a Solemn Musick*:

Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of Heav'ns joy,

Sphear-born harmonious Sisters,
Voice, and Vers[e],

Wed your divine sounds and mixt
power employ

[...] present

That undisturbèd Song of pure content,

Ay sung before the saphire-colour'd throne.[55]

In the *Odyssey*, sirens were beautiful but evil singers; later, they also became beneficent figures. Christian allegorists pictured sirens singing "celestial music drawing souls upwards to heaven."[56] Milton follows the allegorical tradition. Since George Browne possessed a library of over 5000 volumes, he almost certainly knew his Milton.[57] The Molsons were also keenly interested in English literature: they endowed McGill University with a chair in that subject in 1856.[58] However, it must have been Browne the artist who designed and drew the "Blest pair of sirens," giving them a seven-stringed harp (a reference to the known number of planets[59]) and placing them in a circle, alluding to them as "sphear born."

A shamrock pins the swags below the Molson name. Hope is part of their family motto (*Industria et Spe*), and Cesare Ripa gave Hope (*Speranza*) the shamrock (*trifolgie*). The plant is an ancient emblem of Salvation, because of Pliny's claim that it was an anecdote for snakebite. To demonstrate the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, St. Patrick used the three-leaf clover, or shamrock, thus it became Ireland's emblem[60]; and there is Trinitarian symbolism in the ground plan of the Molson Mausoleum. George Browne's use of the shamrock demonstrates his command of symbolism and his continuing feeling for the land of his birth.

Uncovering Browne's Irish sources establishes his architectural heritage. Hence I must now qualify my 1976 statement that the "neo-baroque" elements in Browne's style were "in tune with the most up-to-date ideas of London and Liverpool [...] closely related to architects [...] such as Harvey Lonsdale Elmes, Sir Charles Barry, and C.R. Cockerell."[61] We can now be sure that, because of his Irish background, Browne was pre-disposed to adopt the 1840's Neo-Baroque ideas of London and Liverpool. Like James Gandon, Browne could "open his mind to Wren."[62]

But the discovery of Browne's Irish heritage has even deeper significance. Seeing how Browne adapted his Irish heritage to his new Canadian environment helps us to assess what is original about his architecture. Why did Browne so frequently employ the Wyatt window in Canada? Its

FIG. 19. MOLSON MAUSOLEUM, MOUNT ROYAL CEMETERY, MONTREAL, BY GEORGE AND JAMES BROWNE, 1863. VAULT ENTRANCE. | J.D. STEWART

FIG. 20. CANGORT PARK, COUNTY OFFALY, BY SIR RICHARD MORRISON, 1807. FAÇADE. | J.D. STEWART

form was both grand and functional. It had a noble ancestry in the Serliana-Palladian window; yet the Wyatt window's rectilinear shape made it easier to construct. Above all, its triple openings of different sizes gave it flexibility for ventilation, an important consideration for Canadian climate, which varies greatly.

Climate was doubtless also a factor in Browne's use of the concave porch and vestibule at Rockwood. Anything that can be done to mitigate the wintry blast at the front door is welcome in a country where winter lasts four months and more. Furthermore, at Rockwood, the development of the Irish top-lit bedroom lobby into a two-storey "tribune" must have provided cooling ventilation for the house during hot summers. Presumably to avoid direct lighting, Browne also adapted the traditional Irish top-lit bedroom lobby for a picture gallery in the McCallum Villa designs. Later, at the Kingston City Hall, Browne used circular top lighting for the Mechanics Institute Museum, brilliantly surmounting it with the spiral staircase and viewing cupola. At

the Molson Mausoleum, the top lighting and ventilation of the vaults through hollow cast-iron sarcophagi is extremely ingenious.

In other cases Browne's Irishisms are essentially stylistic. The gathering together of chimneystacks at the Kingston Presbyterian Manse (and elsewhere) increases the building's mass and compactness of silhouette. Browne's Rockwood and the 1845 Bank of Montreal Kingston branch were based on the Irish "Tower House;" the latter adaptation seems to be a unique Irish-Canadian solution to the problem of nineteenth-century bank design. The simplicity, massiveness, and monumentality of Browne's Kingston buildings also derive in part from his Irish predecessors, from Sir Edward Lovett Pearce to James Gandon and beyond. Those stylistic features underlie Browne's greatest Kingston achievement: his heroic, primitive style, which reached its apogee in the Kingston City Hall and Market. It was a powerful personal style, which also reflected the confidence and optimism of the era when Kingston was capital of that "vast portion

of the British Empire"[63]—Lord Sydenham's Union of the Canadas—, which, within little more than a generation, would widen into Sir John A. Macdonald's 1867 Dominion of Canada. That year also saw the publication of Alexander Muir's unofficial Canadian anthem: *The Maple Leaf Forever.*

NOTES

1. This is the first part of « In Memoriam George Browne, Architect, Obiit November 19, 1885: His Irish Roots and Canadian Influence », a lecture sponsored by the Frontenac Historic Foundation, at Memorial Hall, Kingston City Hall, on November 19, 1985. (The second part of that lecture will be published by the University of Toronto Press in 2007 in a *festschrift* for Professor Douglas Richardson edited by Stephen Otto and Malcolm Thurlby.) A more developed version of the 1985 lecture was given as a paper, « An Original Provincial Architect: George Browne of Belfast and the Canadas », In *Regionalism: Challenging the Canon*, Association of Art Historians 16th Annual Conference, Trinity College, Dublin, March 25, 1990 (« Abstracts », p. 30). For recent Browne bibliography, see Stewart, J. Douglas, 1998, « The Kingston 'Palladio': Civic and Imperial 'Virtue and Grandeur' at George Browne's *Forum Regiopolis* », *Journal of the Society for the Study*

of Architecture in Canada, vol. 23, no. 3, p. 81. I wish to thank Mary Stewart and Venetia Stewart for reading the present manuscript and for their helpful suggestions.

2. Stewart, J. Douglas, 1991, « Great Princes Affected Great Monuments: George Browne's Molson Mausoleum and Its Antecedents », Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin, vol. 16 no. 4, p. 99, 109, note 6.

3. Craig, Maurice, 1982 [3rd ed.], The Architecture of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1880, London, Batsford; McParland, Edward, 1985, James Gandon: Vitruvius Hibernicus, London, Zwemmer. For Pearce and for the quotation on Gandon, see Colvin, Sir Howard, 1995, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 745-746, 386. Accounts of Pearce and Gandon are also found in Summerson, Sir John, 1993 [9th ed]., Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 350-353, 412-415 (the quotation is from p. 414).

4. Stewart, 1998 : 81, note 46; Stewart, J. Douglas, 1976, « Architecture for a Boom-Town: The Primitive and the Neo-Baroque in George Browne's Kingston Buildings », In G. Tulchinsky (ed.), To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 37-61, 346-351.

5. Bence-Jones, Mark, 1978, Burke's Guide to Country Houses, volume I: Ireland, London, Burke's Peerage, p. xvi; Robinson, John Martin, 1979, The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty, Oxford University Press, p. 31.

6. The Architectural Archive, 1989, The Architecture of Richard Morrison (1757-1849) and William Vitruvius Morrison (1794-1838), Dublin, p. 60-64. The cement pediments over the Wyatt windows were added 1896-1898.

7. The two-storey bridge over the entrance tunnel in its original form (for the bridge in plan, see Stewart, 1998 : fig. 4) was set well back inside the façade. The 1973 restoration of the City Hall saw the abolition of the two side entrances under the main portico and their replacement by a single entrance where the tunnel and bridge had been. For the Wyatt windows now inside the present entrance as well as those on the back of the City Hall, see Wilson, Ian, (ed.), 1974, Kingston City Hall [official guide book], Kingston, Corporation of the City of Kingston, p. 16, 18, 23 and back cover.

8. I am indebted to the late Dr. Shirley Spragge for information about the early photographs of the Hales cottages in the John Nolen papers at Cornell University. I am also grateful to Gillian Sadinsky for showing me over her own Hales cottage, and for identifying the photographs as no. 313 King Street West. For documentation on the Hales cottages see Stewart, 1996 : 348, note 14.

9. City of Kingston, 1985, Buildings of Architectural and Historic Significance, Kingston, vol. 6, p. 204. I attributed Ashton (then Bowes & Cocks Ltd.) to Browne in Stewart, J. Douglas, and Ian Wilson, 1973, Heritage Kingston, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, no. 175. It was built for Major John Metcalfe, Royal Engineers (born England 1801; died Kingston 1867). Metcalfe named his new house after his former home in England. There are no records of when the new Ashton was built, or about its architect. However, stylistically it can confidently be attributed to Browne. I am indebted to Mrs. Mary C. Fraser for that information about her great grandfather and her former home (letter to the author, June 28, 1976).

10. Wright, Janet, 1984, Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 68, 72-73.

11. Craig, Maurice, 1976, Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size, London, Architectural Press, p. 18.

12. Craig, 1976 : 163; The Architectural Archive : 29-30.

13. de la Ruffinière du Prey, Pierre, 1983, « Four Cardinal Points of a Villa » and « Eight Villas on Mount Royal », ARQ / Architecture / Québec, October, p. 19-20, 22, note 11. For early plans for Terra Nova, see Wright : 118-119.

14. Letter to the author, March 31, 2000. I am most grateful to Mr. Lemire for his generosity in communicating his discovery to me.

15. Drawings KAD 17 (i)-(iv). They are from the collection of Andrew Drummond, architect, who later took up banking, eventually becoming manager of the Kingston branch of the Bank of Montreal. That may explain how the drawings came to him (see Stewart and Wilson : 116-117). Drawings KAD 17 (i) and (ii) are water-marked J. Whatman / 1841. I am most grateful to Paul Banfield, Queen's University Archivist, for obtaining photographs of these drawings.

16. In a lecture entitled « From Quebec City to Montreal Cemetery (via Kingston Triumphant): New Light on the Architecture of George Browne », sponsored by the Frontenac Historic Foundation. See also Douglas, J., and Mary Stewart, 1979, « John Solomon Cartwright: Upper Canadian Gentleman and Regency 'Man of Taste' », Historic Kingston, vol. 27, p. 76, note 39; and Stewart, J. Douglas, 1982, « George Browne (1811-85) », Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. XI, Toronto, Ontario, University of Toronto Press, p. 119.

17. Guillet, Edwin C., 1948, Cobourg 1798-1848, Oshawa, Goodfellow Printing Co. Ltd., p. 45; Greenhill, R., et al., 1974, Ontario Towns, Oberon Press, plate 17; Maitland, Leslie, 1984, Neoclassical Architecture in Canada, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 63; Katherine Ashenburg, 1996, Going to Town: Walking Tours in Southern Ontario, Toronto, Macfarlane Walter & Ross, p. 17.

18. MacRae, Marion, and Anthony Adamson, 1975, Hallowed Walls, Toronto, Ontario, Clarke, Irwin, p. 102-104.

19. Johnson, Dana H., and C.J. Taylor, 1976-1977, Manuscript Report Number 261: Reports on Selected Buildings in Kingston, Ontario, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 503-519. The attribution to Crane is maintained in McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, With Our Past before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 104, 215, note 4.

20. Stewart, 1976 : 55-58, 348-349, note 21.

21. Richardson, George, 1908, The New Vitruvius Britannicus, London, vol. 2, plates 11-12 (elevation) and 13-14 (plans). The plan of the Newark Town Hall was identified as the source for the T-shaped plan of the Kingston Town Hall (Macrae, Marion, and Anthony Adamson, 1983, Cornerstones of Order, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, p. 80). However a T-shaped plan, derived from Yorkshireman William Coverdale's plan, was one of the requirements specified for the new City Hall by Common Council, July 5, 1842 (see Wilson : 5).

22. Stewart, 1998 : figs. 2, 3 and 9.

23. 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. 45-48.

24. Stewart, 1976 : 41 (fig. 5).

25. Wagg, Susan, 1990, Money Matters: a Critical Look at Bank Architecture, New York, McGraw-Hill, p. 60.

26. For the tall Irish house and its origins in the tower house, see Girouard, M., 1962, « Mount Ievers, County Clare, Eire: The Home of Squardron-Leader N. L. Ievers », Country Life,

vol. 132. p. 1152-1155; and Bence-Jones : xx-xxi, 91, 214. Coolmore was built for W.W. Newenham (Bence-Jones : 91) and was the seat of Sir John Summeron's mother's family. In the 1930's Summerson sometimes used the pseudonym "Coolmore" for his articles (Obituary, *London Daily Telegraph*, November 13, 1992). I am indebted to Elizabeth Gibson of Queen's University Library for corroborating that reference.

27. Craig, 1976 : 21 (including the Payne quotation).

28. Craig, 1976 : 21; and Edward McParland, 1981, *Castle Coole* [guidebook], The National Trust, opposite 6. Browne probably knew Castle Coole, which is less than 100 miles from Belfast, his birth-place. The house is illustrated in Richardson, G., 1808, *The New Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, vol. 2, plates 65-70.

29. Craig, 1976 : 19.

30. Stewart and Wilson : no. 166.

31. Craig, 1982 : 306-307.

32. McParland, Edward, 1973, « Sir Richard Morrison's Country Houses: The Smaller Villas I », *Country Life*, vol. 153, p. 1462-1463, fig. 2.

33. For Morrison's early and later villas, see The Architectural Archive, *op. cit.*

34. Craig, 1976 : 41. One of the ultimate English sources for that motif may have been the *porte cochère* of Montagu House, Bloomsbury, London, built in the 1670's by an unknown architect and destroyed in the nineteenth century. It is illustrated in Godwin, George, 1850, *Buildings and Monuments, Modern and Mediaeval*, London, The Builder, p. 51, a volume which Browne owned, and which is now in Queen's University Library.

35. Gagnon-Pratte, France, 1980, *L'architecture et la nature à Québec au dix-neuvième siècle : Les villas*, Québec, Musée du Québec, p. 97-100, 199-201 (with earlier references). I am very grateful to Janet Wright for providing me in July 1980 with a copy of the contract for "Carpenters and Joiners work" (Québec, Archives nationales du Québec; Greffe E.G. Cannon; Marché de construction, October 8, 1834, no. 16).

36. See his biography by Elizabeth Gibbs in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 1976, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, vol. IX: 1861-1870, p. 189-193. Daly was Irish (and a Roman Catholic) and that may have been one reason why he employed George Browne, who, although Presbyterian, was clearly no bigot. Daly was apparently born at his mother's family house, Ardfry, Orenmore, County Galway (for the house see Bence-Jones : 9). Daly also employed Browne to build two town houses in Quebec City, and was in touch with him socially when the capital moved to Kingston. There Daly rented a house belonging to J.S. Cartwright (see Stewart, 1991 : 99 and note 12).

37. For a ground plan and an illustration of the (modernized) staircase and landing leading to the "state bed chamber," see Gagnon-Pratte : 99, 201. I am most grateful to Madame Gagnon-Pratte for arranging for my visit to Benmore in April 1984, and to Mother Superior Bellanger of the Soeurs d'Afrique for her kindness during my visit.

38. See Craig, 1976 : 13, 114-117, 164.

39. Bence-Jones : 65. For a colour illustration of the Regency bed, see Guiness, Desmond, and William Ryan, 1971, *Irish Houses & Castles*, London, Thames & Hudson, p. 174.

40. Wright : 118 and note 43.

41. See McParland, 1985 : 134-135.

42. Guiness and Ryan : 41; Craig, 1982 : 86.

43. Stewart, 1976 : 46.

44. Stewart and Wilson : nos. 160, 165.

45. MacLennan, Neil, 1974, « Kingston City Hall Today », In Wilson, *op. cit.* : 26 (with illustration). The room is described by "Leo" in 1843: "The attic floor is intended for the Mechanics Institute, having a large room 50 feet by 25 for a Museum: this is lighted by a splendid lantern of ground glass […]" (See Stewart and Wilson : 143)

46. McKendry, Jennifer, 1992, « 'A Residence fit for any Gentleman in the Country': Three Kingston Villas by George Browne », *RACAR / Revue d'art canadien / Canadian Art Review*, vol. 19, p. 74. (I see Roselawn as by Coverdale rather than Browne; Stewart, 1991 : 45, 47); de la Ruffinière du Prey, Pierre, 1994, *The Villas of Pliny from Antiquity to Posterity*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p. 18-19.

47. Pilcher, Donald, 1947, *The Regency Style*, London, Batsford, p. 43-44.

48. *The Papers of the Prime Ministers: Volume I: The Letters of Sir John A. Macdonald 1836-1857*; J. K. Johnson, ed., 1968, Ottawa, Public Archives of Canada, 148-149.

49. Angus, Margaret, 1984, *John A. Lived Here*, Kingston, Frontenac Historic Foundation, p. 12-13.

50. Craig, Maurice, 1984, *Georgian Dublin: Twenty-Five Colour Acquatints by James Malton*, Mountrath, Portlaoise, Dolmen Press, no. 3.

51. Angus, Margaret, 1966, *The Old Stones of Kingston*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 22. See also Maitland : 7 and 23 (illustrating the two monuments).

52. McParland, 1985 : 162.

53. However, Browne's arches have an attic storey and derive from the Arch of Constantine; see Stewart, 1998 : 74. On November 8, 1996 at the UAAC / Universities Art Association of Canada Conference, McGill University I gave a paper entitled « Constantine's Arch at Kingston City Hall: 'Neo-classical gesture' or British Imperial Panegyric? » (« Abstracts » : 57).

54. Craig, Maurice, 1975, « Mausoleums in Ireland », *Studies*, winter, p. 410 (quoted in Stewart, 1991 : 99).

55. Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur (ed.), 1948, *The Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1918* [new ed.], Oxford University Press, p. 317. I am very grateful to Mary Stewart for identifying the Milton quotation.

56. Hornblower, Simon, and Anthony Spaworth (eds.), 2003, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* [3rd ed. rev.], Oxford University Press, p. 1413. The mysterious objects at the bottom of the Molson Mausoleum doors may be "Pompeian" hourglass shaped mill-stones (Hornblower and Spaworth : 981).

57. Stewart, 1998 : note 46.

58. Stewart, 1991 : 106.

59. Winternitz, Emanuel, 1967, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*, London, Faber, p. 97.

60. For shamrock symbolism at the Molson Mausoleum, see Stewart, 1991 : 104.

61. Stewart, 1976 : 39.

62. Browne owned James Elmes's *Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren* (London, 1823). The volume (signed on the title-page G Browne / Architect) belongs to the Fraser-Hickson Institute Library, Montreal, part of the gift of George C. Browne, 1921. The bulk of that donation is now at Queen's University Library, Kingston, Ontario.

63. Governor-General Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart, quoted in Stewart, 1998 : 78.