THOMAS JOHN RUTLEY: A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH DESIGNER

> CANDACE IRON[1]

CANDACE IRON is currently a PhD student in Humanities at York University, studying under the supervision of Dr. Malcolm Thurlby. She is primarily interested in 19th century Canadian religious architecture and its provenance. Candace has presented several conference papers on T.J. Rutley's religious architecture and hopes to continue research on his public buildings in the future. Her non-academic interests include reading, scuba diving and of course, as any good architectural historian, snooping through buildings.

Thomas John Rutley (1847-1910) was a Canadian architect of the late nineteenth century who designed the core buildings of Chatham, Ontario. In Canadian architectural history Rutley has been largely ignored, although his designs were informed, exciting and monumental in scale.

In Chatham, Rutley was able to design many buildings in various styles to ensure that his creations best suited the needs of his patrons. Of his Chatham creations, Rutley's monumental First Presbyterian Church (1894-1895) located in the heart of Chatham's downtown was his greatest feat, garnering him subsequent commissions for nonconformist churches in the Chatham area, as well as in Paris, Ontario. Rutley's First Presbyterian Church was influenced by the neo-Romanesque work of the American architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886). However, far from being a weak imitation of Richardson's designs, Rutley's church is creative, innovative, and most importantly practical in design. The success of Rutley's design laid the foundations for his later church buildings, including Paris Presbyterian Church (1894), a structure whose progressive design evolves from his work in Chatham.

FIG. 1. TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS., 1872-77, H.H. RICHARDSON (ARCHITECT) – EXTERIOR. | CANDACE IRON

THOMAS JOHN RUTLEY – THE DESIGNER OF CHATHAM

Chatham was the home to three architects who shared the name Rutley: Thomas John, on whom this paper will focus, William Frederick, Thomas John's brother, and W.A. Rutley, who arrived in the Chatham area in 1858.[2] Thomas John

(T.J.) Rutley was born in Chatham, then often referred to as "The Maple City," in 1847.[3] He, along with his younger brother William Frederick, formed a practice in Chatham in the 1870's. The partnership of Rutley & Rutley lasted until the mid-1880's, when Thomas John began practicing on his own. Thomas John's educational background was not recorded, but the designs he produced during his lone practice demonstrate a level of sophistication that one would expect to find in larger urban centres.

It was during this latter period that T.J. became an important architect in the history of Chatham, and from that point onward he would garner many of the architectural contracts within Chatham's downtown core.

Rutley, a man from a small city in Southwestern Ontario, earned the right and the respect to be placed alongside Toronto architects such as Edmund Burke (1850-1919), E.J. Lennox (1855-1933), William George Storm (1826-1892), and Joseph Connolly (1840-1904); in fact, all of the aforementioned were members enrolled in the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) on the same date. Not only was Rutley placed in the same league as those important Canadian architects in the Association, but he was placed first on the list that was published in *The Canadian Architect and Builder*'s report on the induction of those (and other) architects into the association.[4]

Oddly, although a member of the OAA and an architect who was active in the Canadian architectural community, Rutley's contributions to the Canadian architectural landscape have been largely overlooked. That is most likely due to his heritage. Unlike many of the more popular architects of his day, he was born in Chatham and chose to practice in his hometown. Although he was active in the Canadian architectural community of the nineteenth century, his existence would have been seldom recognized in journals and other means of national remembrance, as his practice was largely localized. Rutley's Richardsonian Presbyterian-church designs were however acknowledged by Ontario Presbyterians, giving Rutley his only opportunity to design outside of the Chatham area.

RICHARDSON AND HIS UNIQUE ROMANESQUE

"Richardson did more than any man who ever lived in this country to found an architectural style."[5]

Henry Hobson Richardson became the leader of American architecture around the year 1870. His talents became known around North America and his building of Trinity Church in Boston (1872-1877) made him an architectural legend and an icon for the nineteenth century. His work influenced the building styles of many architects and, in Canada, Rutley was no exception.

After attending the Universities of Louisiana and Harvard, Richardson left for Paris to study at the École des Beaux Arts. Upon his return to America (in October 1865), Richardson applied a personal Romanesque style to his designs. Utilizing the basic principles of the French Romanesque, which he had encountered in the region of Auvergne,[6] round arches and monumentality, combined with his own elements, squat and heavy arches, multiple surface textures and ribbon windows, Richardson created an entirely new style of architecture.

On June 1, 1872, Richardson won a competition to design Trinity Church in Boston.[7] That commission represents the point from which his career propelled and marks the emergence of Richardson as one of America's most important architects. He became a point for inspiration to all of those around him and all of those who would come after him in both the United States and Canada. The journals of Richardson's time described Trinity as, "[...] perhaps the most noteworthy American church of the day."[8] Trinity Church became a trademark example of the Richardsonian Romanesque and wide publication of that church in journals made Richardson an instant success.

The utilization of polychrome masonry, coupled with Richardson's use of heavy, squat arches, would become a key aspect of his architecture and that of his followers. Richardson's Trinity Church radiates power and emits a message of architectural authority, which creates a grand sense of presence, qualities that Richardson's followers would admire and attempt to reproduce in their own creations. An architect and designer such as T.J. Rutley, doubtlessly would have been very familiar with Richardson's work in Boston, as it can be found many times in the *American Architect and Building News*. That journal also published a monograph dedicated to Richardson in 1888, which described and illustrated Trinity Church in detail; a publication which came only one year prior to Rutley designing a grand-scale Richardsonian Romanesque block of buildings in Chatham, one of which, First Presbyterian Church, relied heavily on Richardson's plan for Trinity Church.

Although Rutley was a Canadian and Richardson's work was not published in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, Rutley would more than likely have had access to the *American Architect and Building News* via Detroit. Rutley was familiar with Detroit, its buildings and/or publications, as his Presbyterian Church plans

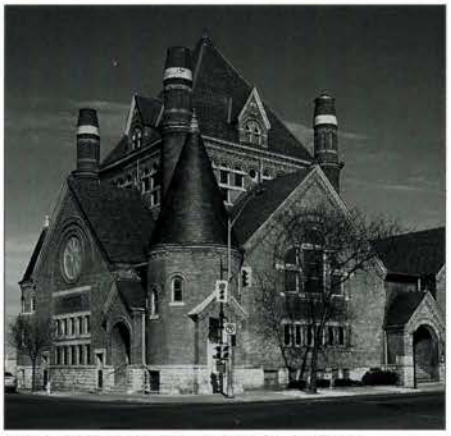

FIG. 2. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHATHAM, ONTARIO, 1894-95, T.J. RUTLEY (ARCHITECT) – EXTERIOR. | MALCOLM THURLBY

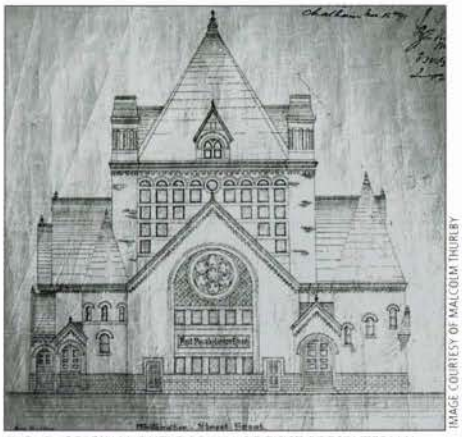

IMAGE COURTESY OF MALCOLM THURLBY

FIG. 3. ORIGINAL RUTLEY PLAN OF FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHATHAM.

were based on a church from that city. Moreover, Chatham, then a resort town, was a common stopover point for Americans (and Canadians) who were traveling on The Great Western Railroad (later the Grand Trunk Railroad System). As a result, it is likely that Rutley, as a designer, felt a need to be up-to-date with American architectural practices.

First Presbyterian Church, Chatham

First Presbyterian Church was Rutley's most influential design, created to meet the requirements of a large and ever-growing Protestant population. It is important to note that the Presbyterian population in Chatham grew enough in the nineteenth century that it assisted the town of Chatham to be classified as a city in 1850.

The earliest record of a Protestant Church service in Chatham dates from July 1834. At that time the services were held in private homes. In 1837, a lot was chosen on which the Church wished to build a church for the Protestants of Chatham and, on September 18, 1837, the Crown issued the land deed so that the structure could be erected. The United Presbyterian Church of Chatham was begun in 1842 and was completed two years later, in 1844. The population of Protestants continued to grow in Chatham and, eventually, the different forms of Protestantism joined to commission the First Presbyterian Church that stands today and was built as part of a Richardsonian Romanesque grouping designed by T.J. Rutley.

The second structure that Rutley designed for that monumental "block" in Chatham, and the only one that is still standing, is the First Presbyterian Church. The church officially opened on July 1, 1895. The congregations of St. Andrew's Parish and the Wellington Street Parish built the First Presbyterian Church jointly at a cost of approximately $8,000.[9]

Rutley likely based his design for the church on Henry Hobson Richardson's Trinity Church in Boston. The church is composed of four short arms around a central square, following Richardson's centralization of Trinity. Both Trinity and First Presbyterian feature a centralized plan, a massive tower and then four short arms/alcoves below, but the seating arrangements are different in that the ground floor of First Presbyterian Church employed an amphitheatrical plan, with the seating encircling the pulpit and altar, while Trinity has a more traditional seating arrangement of rows of benches. The organ of First Presbyterian is situated in the North alcove behind the pulpit and choir. The other three alcoves are given over to seating for the congregation on the main floor and also in the galleries above. The *Chatham Daily Planet*, the local newspaper in the 1890's, described the plans that Rutley had prepared in the paper for April 9, 1892.

> THE GENERAL STYLE is a combination of Romanesque and Byzantine, blending the best features of each, and the structure when completed will not only admirably accommodate this large congregation but will greatly add to the appearance of the locality opposite Harrison Hall.[10]

The Romanesque, more specifically the Richardsonian Romanesque influences, are obvious and include the round arches and general monumentality, but the Byzantine influences are not as easily identified. The centralization of the plan, which we believe is a Richardsonian influence originating in Trinity Church in Boston, could be seen as a Byzantine element. Many Byzantine buildings, such as St. Irene, Constantinople (532-560), feature a centralized plan.[11] Perhaps the form of lighting used in the church could also be seen as having Byzantine roots. Again, using St. Irene as an example, there is lighting from above the central area, at the base of the dome.[12] In Rutley's church, the lighting originates from above the central portion of the sanctuary directly below the pyramidal roof of the central tower. Those can be interpreted as corresponding, but again we would argue that perhaps that also came from Trinity, as the central tower of Trinity features lights. Byzantine building plans, however, would have likely been accessible to Rutley, therefore making the Byzantine plan a possible option. In 1870, James Cubitt

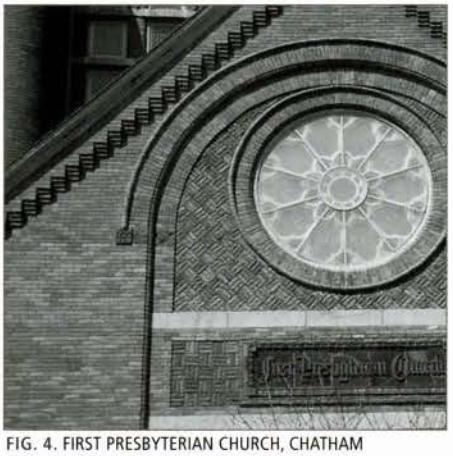

FIG. 4. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHATHAM – EXTERIOR DETAIL. | MALCOLM THURLBY

FIG. 5. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHATHAM – INTERIOR. | MALCOLM THURLBY

published a book, entitled *Church Designs for Congregations: Its Developments and Possibilities*. That book was intended for architects' usage to explore the best possible plans for a nonconformist or Protestant church service. Rutley, attempting to create a design to best suit the Chatham Presbyterians, may have referenced that book or another like it. Interestingly, in Cubitt's book, St. Irene is illustrated as a centrally planned church.

The exterior of First Presbyterian was built with a brick superstructure and Ohio stone ornamentation. That repeats the idea of the usage of different materials to create the surface of a building that was seen earlier in Richardson's Trinity Church. The use of brick by Rutley could be seen as an oddity, as Trinity was made of heavy masonry, but Richardson was known to use brick on several occasions. That can be seen if one looks to Richardson's Trinity Church Parsonage, which was entirely constructed of brick.

The use of the Richardsonian style for that church was not only a progressive decision by Rutley, but it also made a rather pointed statement about the church itself. In Chatham, the Anglican population had a grand Gothic revival structure, Christ Church, erected in 1861, and the Catholics had a truly monumental ultramontane building in their St. Joseph's Church (1886) designed by the architect Joseph Connolly.[13] The Richardsonian, being a "new" style, isolated the Protestants from the papist Catholic and conformist Anglican ideals not only in theory, but also in physical presence.

The interior of the church also represents a point of separation from the conformist churches of the Anglicans and Catholics. The sanctuary is centralized. One of the most interesting elements of that centralized plan is its amphitheatrical seating. The amphitheatrical plans used in nonconformist churches in the nineteenth century worked on a similar principle to the amphitheatres of ancient Rome. The floor was inclined away from the pulpit and the seats curved to form around the pulpit platform, to provide focus on the pulpit.[14] The galleries of First Presbyterian Church work on the same principle. In nonconformist churches one must remember that the focus was on The Word and therefore that plan, which provided excellent acoustics, was ideal for a nonconformist (in that case Presbyterian) sermon. The amphitheatrical planning of that church indicates that Rutley was looking to a non-Richardson source, as Trinity Church in Boston did not utilize an amphitheatrical seating plan. Again looking to James Cubitt's book of designs that were considered appropriate for nonconformist churches, there is a discussion about the uses of the "theatre plan" and its effectiveness for preaching. That idea of effectiveness in seating arrangements was also expressed in the *American Architect and Building News* on several occasions, where it was noted that "[...] the seats should be set on curved lines so that the listener at the end of a row of seats is as near the speaker as the listener in the centre."[15] That again reflects the importance in Protestant religions of hearing and seeing the preacher, thus making the theatre plan the most successful seating arrangement for such a sermon, as everyone in the congregation has visible and audible access to the pulpit.

In Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, the seating arrangements are not as essential, due to differences in the preaching methods. Protestants (nonconformists) do not believe in a theological proof of God. Rather, they believe that theology is simply an explanation of faith, but not faith itself.[16] Because of that, a church is just a meeting place where people can talk about experiences of God through reading the Bible and speaking about the Christian experience. That kind of sermon necessitates that the congregation is able to hear and see the preacher. If those two necessities cannot be accommodated, then the church building is not successful as a nonconformist structure, as it denies the very function of the church. Through the use of an amphitheatrical seating arrangement in the main auditorium and the gallery levels of his Presbyterian building, Rutley designed a church that was appropriate for the services that would take place in it.

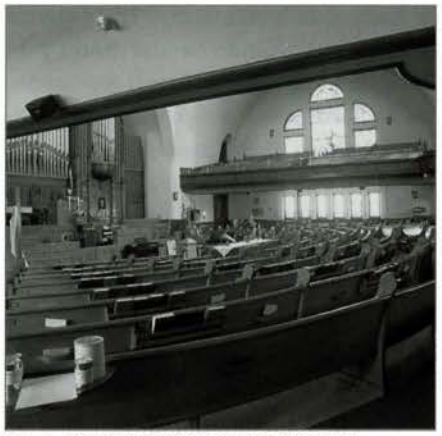

FIG. 6. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHATHAM - INTERIOR. | MALCOLM THURLBY

FIG. 7. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHATHAM – INTERIOR DETAIL. | MALCOLM THURLBY

The main floor of Rutley's church seats 650 people and the galleries allow for another 350. The Sunday school was connected to the church by folding doors and it could accommodate an additional 500 people, thus the total number of worshippers the church could hold at one time was 1500, an impressive number for such a small city. Rutley, recognizing the ever-expanding Presbyterian population, designed the amphitheatrical seating plan so that doors located along the back of the sanctuary (no longer existing) could be opened and the seats in the Sunday school (now the gymnasium) could be used for the congregation without disturbing the arrangement in the sanctuary itself. That again points to Rutley being a designer who not only looked towards progressive styles for his buildings, but also one who was concerned with the practicality of his designs.

Traditional Protestant sanctuary/Sunday school layouts would have the pulpit platform placed in front of a solid wall. That wall would often have small doors on either side of the platform, which would lead one behind the platform wall to a Sunday school area. Such arrangement can be seen in Langley and Burke's Toronto Jarvis Street Baptist Church (1874-1875), considered an important edifice amongst nonconformist churches, as it held one of the first amphitheatrical planned auditoriums in Ontario. The same traditional Sunday school plan can be found in Smith and Gemmell's Wesleyan Methodist Church, Port Hope (1874), as well as Richard Windeyer's Zion Church in Hamilton, of the same date.[17]

Again referring to the April 9, 1892 edition of the *Chatham Daily Planet*, there is an interesting and often overlooked element to First Presbyterian Church; its seating arrangement has been altered from its original state. The article says: "The pulpit is situated at the Wellington street end, with choir and organ loft behind."[18]

The Wellington Street side of the church is the south side and, as mentioned earlier, the organ is now located on the north side of the church. Originally the choir, organ, and pulpit faced north, but were situated on the south side of the church. On the south side of the church, there is a large rose window and on the north side there are an auditorium and offices. Supposedly, the worshippers found the light that was let in through the rose window to be so strong and bothersome that the plan was switched, so that the congregation faced an interior wall and the minister faced the window. That is not something that can easily be proven, as there are no apparent traces of the change in the sanctuary itself. However, upon close examination, that change can be discovered. The folding doors, which once led into the Sunday school, had to be removed when the plan was changed. Although there is now no evidence of the doors that once stretched across the North alcove, there is a decorative pilaster that is topped by a capital. That is the only capital and pilaster in or on the entire building. Its situation, running vertically down the North alcove wall, suggests that it was originally not a pilaster, but a pier. It would have run vertically to act as the centre of the folding doors. When the doors were open, that pier would have appeared as a support element, when they were closed it would have allowed for a "tidy" finishing to the non-permanent wall.

The basement preserves more evidence of the change of plan. In the basement of the church is the reception hall, required by any true nonconformist community, and behind that hall is a utilities room where there are brick supports that reinforce the upper level and assist in the creation of the elevation for the seating in the amphitheatrical plan. Timbers were at some point placed on top of some of those brick piers to increase the height of the floor above when the plan was changed.

The rearrangement of the seating did not disturb the effect that Rutley had created; it merely moved one alcove to another. However, the ingenuity of the Sunday school having the ability to house an additional 500 people was destroyed.

PARIS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Once Rutley had made his mark in Canadian architecture with his First Presbyterian Church, his talents became known among Presbyterians. As such, he was

FIG. 8. PARIS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PARIS, ONTARIO, 1894, T.J. RUTLEY (ARCHITECT) – EXTERIOR. | CANDACE IRON

FIG. 9. PARIS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH – INTERIOR. | MALCOLM THURLBY

commissioned to create a design for a Presbyterian Church in Paris, Ontario. For the committee of Paris's congregation, Rutley was an ideal designer, as one could travel via the Grand Trunk Railway System a short distance to see his first great church in Chatham. The Paris Presbyterians of the 1890's needed a building that would have the capacity to seat 1000 people, a large number in a town that had a population of only approximately 3000.[19] The Paris branch of the Presbyterian religion went to Chatham and viewed the church that Rutley had created there and ordered a smaller version of the design.

The building that Rutley designed for Paris was erected in 1894 at 164 Grand River Street North. It is a large redbrick structure with tall towers, turrets, pitched roof and dormer windows. Redbrick is a "find spot" or feature that is often used in Ontario architecture and the Paris church is no exception. The brick, which Rutley had already used in Chatham, is highly ornamented in Paris. Terracotta plays an important role in the ornamentation of the Paris church. In Chatham, where terracotta is also employed, the ornamentations are very small and mainly consist of carved or moulded tiles. In Paris, Rutley uses much larger terracotta pieces. Since Rutley not only designed the churches, but, as indicated by his Chatham drawings and plans, also all of the fittings and decorative elements for the churches, it is probable that Rutley would have been responsible for the terracotta designs used on that church, making him a complete designer responsible for every aspect of his buildings.

The dormer windows that Rutley incorporated into the plan for Paris Presbyterian Church (as well as First Presbyterian in Chatham) are in the true Richardsonian tradition. They are placed at the roofline and are incorporated into the roof, rather than being placed higher up in the central portion of the roof, as would be found in other (Victorian) styles of architecture. The incorporation of the dormers into the roofline can be found in many of Richardson's building, including Trinity Church in Boston.

The repeated use of the round arch helps to relieve the verticality of the monumental pyramidal roof of the centralized plan. Those arched fenestrations are also used on First Presbyterian and are a variant of Richardson's ribbon windows. The angle-roll moulded orders of the round-arched entranceways refer to medieval Romanesque architecture. The exterior of Paris Presbyterian demonstrates that Rutley created a fantastic and monumental Richardsonian building, while making reference to the medieval structures that Richardson ultimately looked to as primary sources.

The interior of the church is again very similar to that found in Chatham. It uses the same "four-alcove" planning and amphitheatrical seating arrangement with galleries. The Sunday school area of Paris Presbyterian presents a point of divergence from Rutley's church in Chatham. The Sunday school in Paris does not open up to create extra seating, as intended at Chatham. Here, the Sunday school is located to the side of the church and is accessible by both the main and second floors of the sanctuary. The main floor of the Sunday school was a meeting area for children and teachers; they would then break up into smaller groups and separate into classrooms, which were located on the second floor of the Sunday school area. The classrooms of the upper level have been modified from their original design, but the general plan is genuine, as exemplified by the mouldings around the doors and ceilings that are an exact match to those found in the rest of the church.

In Paris, Rutley constructed a smaller version of the church that he had built in Chatham. Although the general design was the same, he gave the Paris church some features that separated it from its predecessor and created an environment that best accommodated the needs of the Paris congregation. The seating arrangement was suited for a large congregation. In Chatham, church populations would increase and decrease due to tourism, thus necessitating extra seating in some seasons. Consequently, Rutley designed a Sunday school that was practical and

FIG. 10. PARIS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH – SUNDAY SCHOOL AREA. | MALCOLM THURLBY

FIG. 11. PARIS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH – SUNDAY SCHOOL CLASSROOM. | MALCOLM THURLBY

FIG. 12. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, 1889-91, GEORGE D. MASON (ARCHITECT) – EXTERIOR. | CANDACE IRON

could be given over to extra seating; however, in Paris, this extra seating was not needed and therefore Rutley was able to create a Sunday school that was more conducive to Sunday school instruction.

It is obvious that Rutley's plans for his churches were influenced greatly by Richardson and his plans for Trinity Church, Boston; however there is a church located in Detroit that provides another point of probable inspiration for Rutley. Although the ornamentation, layout and materials of Rutley's designs are undoubtedly Richardsonian, the Detroit First Presbyterian Church demonstrates a place of origin for Rutley's designs.

First Presbyterian Church, Detroit

In January 1819, a census was taken in Detroit, which reported that there was a population of 1110; there were 142 dwellings, 131 shops and public buildings, two Catholic priests and one Protestant Minister, John Montieth. When Montieth arrived in Detroit (in 1816), the main source of organized religious worship was provided by Father Gabriel Richard, one of the two Catholic priests from St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church, who also owned the only Bible in the city.[20] Montieth established the first Protestant church group in Detroit. The first Protestant church in the city was constructed in 1818; a church was later built on Larned and Woodward Avenues; that church was sold and a new church was built on the Williams lot at the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue at Edmund place.

According to several Canadian reports, Rutley's designs were utilized for the construction of the church.[21] It has been suggested that the presbytery had been so impressed with Rutley's Chatham plans that he was asked to design the Detroit church.[22] American sources, however, attribute the church and its design to George D. Mason, of Mason and Rice.[23] The dating of the two structures ensures the latter claim to be true, therefore indicating that Rutley looked to Mason's church for inspiration in his own.

In the nineteenth century, Detroit was on its way to becoming one of the wealthiest cities in America due to the success of the transportation industries that were "booming" at that time. First Presbyterian was positioned in one of the wealthiest areas of Detroit and was surrounded by mansions (which still exist, but are in a state of decay). Chatham, as a resort town and a growing area, which had close ties to the United States, would have looked to Detroit for models of wealth; as such it is not surprising that the wealthy and ever-expanding Chatham Presbyterian population would look to Detroit for a model for its own building.

First Presbyterian Church was at that time the most expensive ever built in Detroit. The lot cost $40,000, the church then cost $125,000 and an additional $70,000 was needed later to finish it. The grand total of $235,000, at that time, was quite the price for a building.[24] The richness of the church in Detroit explains the monetary value, as the Detroit Presbyterians spared no expense on their building. The materials and ornamentation employed for the Detroit church were of the best quality and highest expense.

The exterior of that church is characterized by turrets, round arches, and its main characteristic is the pyramidal central tower, flanked by smaller turrets, all features originally found at Trinity Church and employed by Rutley. The interior displays amphitheatrical seating and galleries, similar to those found in Chatham and Paris. The difference one finds in Detroit is the Sunday school, which is actually a

somewhat (pre-existing) combination of what is found at Chatham and Paris. The Detroit Sunday school is situated behind the sanctuary of the church and is referred to as the "Renaissance Room." It is located directly behind the façade of the church and was therefore used as the entrance into the sanctuary. At this entrance there are stairs that lead up into the galleries. At the top of the stairs there is also an entrance into the area of the Sunday school that held the schoolrooms. Therefore, there was an open area on the main floor and separate schoolrooms on the upper level, similar to the Paris plan; however, there is a set of sliding or folding doors at the back of the sanctuary on the first floor leading into the "Renaissance Room" that could be opened and the Renaissance room could be used for extra seating, similar to the Chatham plan.

The Sunday school similarities, originating with Mason's plans and not Richardson's, indicate that Rutley was influenced by Mason's work; however, Rutley utilized Mason's ideas in manners that were most suitable for the congregations he was serving. Rutley's consideration of his patrons' needs demonstrates that he was a creative and practical designer. He did not employ expensive materials or elaborate ornamentation, but instead designed churches that were effective for Presbyterian worship.

T.J Rutley's ecclesiastical architectural designs were adaptations of Richardson's Trinity Church in Boston and Mason's First Presbyterian in Detroit. Where Mason's work provided Rutley with a primary point of inspiration, Richardson's style, ornamentation, and planning gave Rutley a foundation to work from and reference. It is impossible to say whether Rutley obtained most of his Richardsonian knowledge via Richardson or Mason, but it is not necessarily critical. Rutley absorbed architectural information, likely from multiple contemporary designers, and amalgamated them into a functional style that can now be recognized as his. Through his involvement in the Canadian architectural community and (likely) reviewing of architectural journals, books, and articles, Rutley was able to create designs that could rival those of American and Canadian architects. His work has been largely disregarded by architectural historians, an unfortunate occurrence, as his contributions were immense and not only demonstrate the importance of function in planning, through the creation of designs according to church service needs; his work also demonstrates the transfer of architectural styles and ideas throughout North America and the cross-border ties that existed in the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. I would like to extend my gratitude to York University, specifically to the Art History Graduate Program, which transformed me from a student to a scholar and allowed me to grow as both a researcher and an academic.

   I would also like to express my sincerest appreciation to Professor Malcolm Thurlby for his expert supervision and constant support. In addition, I wish to thank Prof. Thurlby for his indispensable advice, obliging nature and photographic tutelage. – Thanks Malcolm.

2. For summary information regarding Chatham architecture and its architects, please refer to Charles and Rylett, 1979, *Windfall At The Forks: An Architectural book on the City of Chatham*, Chatham, Mercury Press Ltd., p. 5.
3. For biographical information regarding Canadian architects, please reference the Ontario Association of Architects' electronic database consisting of biographical sketches. «Rutley, Thomas John (1847-1910)», in biographical sketches produced by the OAA.
4. «Ontario Association of Architects», *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, 1889, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 40.
5. *The Inland Architect and News Record*, September 1893.
6. For information regarding the (Romanesque architecture of the Auvergne region) architecture that Richardson was referencing, see Craplet, Bernard, 1992, 6th ed., *Auvergne Romane*, La Pierre-Qui-Vire, Zodiaque.
7. O'Gorman, James F., 1987, *H.H. Richardson: Architectural Forms for an American Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p. 39.
8. «The New Trinity Church», *The American Architect and Building News*, 1877, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 49.
9. Charles and Rylett: 6.
10. *The Chatham Daily Planet*, April 9, 1892.
11. For information regarding Byzantine architecture, please refer to Krautheimer, Richard, 4th ed., 1986, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, p. 249, ill. 209.
12. According to Mathews, Thomas F., this section of the church was added in 564 after a fire (1971, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 79-81).
13. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2004, «The 'Roman Renaissance' Churches of Joseph Connolly and Arthur Holmes and their Place in Roman Catholic Church Architecture», *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, p. 27-40.
14. More information regarding amphitheatrical seating plans can be found in Carr, Angela, 1995, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.
15. «Notes on Modern Church Building», *The American Architect and Building News*, 1880, vol. 8, no. 8, p. 89.
16. For information regarding religions and their practices in Canada, see Gowans, Alan, 1958, *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 124.
17. Carr : 28.
18. *The Chatham Daily Planet*, April 9, 1892.
19. Ashenburg, Katherine, 1996, *Going to Town: Architectural Walking Tours in Southern Ontario*, Toronto, Macfarlane Walter & Ross, p. 106.
20. Anon, 1918, *100th Anniversary Celebration: First Presbyterian Church, 1918*, Detroit, First Presbyterian Church, Detroit.
21. «Rutley, Thomas John (1847-1910)», in biographical sketches produced by the OAA.
22. Charles and Rylett : 22.
23. Anon, *op. cit.*
24. Anon, *op. cit.*