The "Kingston Palladio": Civic and Imperial "Virtue and Grandeur" at George Browne's *Forum Regiopolis*

J . D o u g l a s S t e w a r t , Q u e e n ' s U n i v e r s i t y

The city hall at Kingston (**Figures 1, 2, 3**), designed by Belfast-born George Browne, arose in the 1840s when the town was the capital of the newly united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (Ontario and Quebec after 1867), in size comparable to British India. The building is the cynosure of Kingston's harbour front, like those two earlier Irish riverfront masterpieces to which it is indebted, James Gandon's Dublin Customs House and the Four Courts.[1] Canadian architectural historians have hailed the city hall as "an architectural triumph" and as "George Browne's Kingston masterpiece." Because of its quality — and as a great but unrecognized British Imperial monument — it deserves still wider renown.[2]

"I long for September," wrote Lord Sydenham, the Governor General of British North America, who had made Kingston capital in 1841, "... I will not stay if they were to make me Duke of Canada and Prince of Regiopolis." But September saw his death from a riding accident; and the town retained its status for little more than three years. Yet "Regiopolis," the Græco-Latin name Sydenham employed for Kingston, stuck: it was used in its secular sense as late as 1856 by John A. Macdonald, a Kingston alderman during the capital period, then her member of parliament, and in 1867 the chief architect of the confederation of the British provinces of North America, which enormously extended Sydenham's union of the Canadas.[3]

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In December 1843 an individual under the nom de plume "Leo" wrote a glowing account of George Browne's Kingston City Hall and its "Roman style of architecture."[4] This provoked an attack from "Candide," who argued against the design, and also boldly asserted that Leo was "the Architect himself — the Kingston Palladio!" Candide's criticism was crass: Browne handled mass and detail superbly. Nor was Leo George Browne;[5] but Browne was indeed the "Kingston Palladio."

On the second floor are two great rooms that are among the grandest Neoclassical spaces in North America. Each measures 96 by 50 by 28 feet. They were originally the merchants' exchange and the town hall (**Figures 4, 5, 6**).[6] The plan for both rooms derives from Palladio's reconstruction of Vitruvius's Fano Basilica (**Figure 7**), which had an apse flanked by rectangular staircases, and six niches separated by pilasters on the long sides. The exchange and town hall have these features, minus one staircase (because of the semi-apsidal exterior elevations), and with windows instead of niches.[7] The interior of the apse of the exchange is articulated with the *Serliana*, an unmistakable reference to the exterior of Palladio's Vicenza Basilica.[8]

Palladio equated the ancient Roman basilica with the contemporary merchants' exchange, although he noted differences:

the ancient [basilicas] were upon ... the ground, and ours are raised upon arches, in which are shops for divers arts, and the merchandise of the city. There the prisons are also made, and other places belonging to public business ....[9]

The Kingston merchants' exchange is in the southwest wing, following Palladio's advice:

[Basilicas] ought to be made ... facing the warmest region of the heaven, that the merchants, and those that had lawsuits, might in wintertime, without being incommoded by the bad weather, go and remain there without inconvenience.[10]

The Kingston City Hall also housed prisons, market shops, lawyers' offices, and other facilities. Like Vitruvius, Palladio held that prisons were to be placed near the basilica-exchange and that "the rooms for the keepers [should be] near, that they may easily hear if the prisoners should contrive any thing."[11] Browne included a "Police establishment, with cells, prisoners'-room, and stationhouse [i.e., police station]."[12] They were in the basement, reached by steps on the right of the large Ontario Street entrance archway, a "convenient and

1850.

Hugh Scobie, Lith., Toronto.

FRONT ELEVATION OF THE CITY HALL

Figure 1. Kingston City Hall, Kingston, Ontario. George Browne's 1844 front elevation, detail from Plan of the City and Liberties of Kingston, 1850, by Thomas Fraser Gibbs. (Public Archives of Canada, NMC)

secure place."[13] The (then) open archway provided access to and ventilation for the market wing behind.[14] Across this chasm, at the first and second storeys, was a fenestrated bridge set well back in the archway (**Figure 4**).

A night trip to the cells would have been awesome and disorienting, starting with the clanking iron gates at the archway, then a descent into the gloom, with heavy rusticated masonry pressing in at the sides, the weird glazing reflections in the "flying" bridge, and the stone vault high above. This was *l'architecture parlante*, like Dance's Old Newgate Gaol, or Ledoux's Aix-en-Provence prison; like theirs, Browne's architecture was inspired by Piranesi's *Carcere*.[15]

The basilica-exchange was part of that large Roman complex of buildings and open space known as the forum, or piazza, as Palladio called it.[16] The great space in front of the Kingston City Hall was not gained without struggle. In the spring of

1843 the Commission of Crown Lands proposed auctioning the Kingston Harbour Shoal. The town council protested to the governor general that

> it is intended to have [the ground in front of the city hall] sloped to the water, so as to open the view from and into the Harbour and the opposite peninsulas. Should the Shoal be left to be built upon ... [by] private purchasers ... the most unsightly erections may be made directly in front of the City Hall, and thereby the beauty of the Harbour and [the building's] appearance ... from the best points of prospect be completely destroyed.[17]

The auction was quashed, but victory was short-lived. In 1846 the United States threatened to invade, so a martello tower was erected on Harbour Shoal, and the Market Battery was built in front of the city hall. Later, the city allowed a

Figure 2. Kingston City Hall, Ontario Street facade, c. 1860. (National Archives of Canada)

Figure 3. The new city hall, Kingston. Drawing for an engraving from the office of George Browne, pen and ink and coloured washes over pencil, 10 7/8" x 18 1/8". (Queen's University Archives)
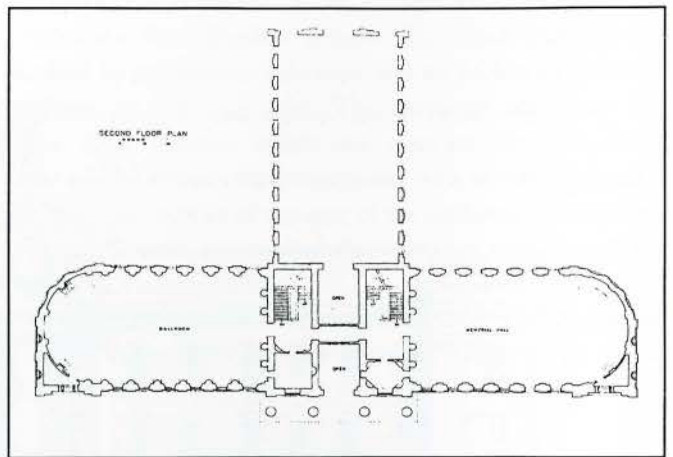

Figure 4. Plan of the second floor of Kingston City Hall, drawn by students of the Department of Architecture, University of Toronto, c. 1938. (Queen's University, Department of Art Library)

railway to be constructed beyond the Battery (**Figure 8**). The Battery was demolished in 1885, but the railway remained until the 1960s.

The grand scale of the exterior apses on the north and south wings of the Kingston City Hall derives from the ground plans of post-Vitruvian Imperial Roman forums.[18] But the most imperial Roman features at the Kingston City Hall are the triumphal arches,[19] which derive from the Arch of Constantine. At the Ontario Street entrance to the city hall Browne integrated the design of that arch with his Tuscan portico. On the end of the pavilion at King Street (which burned in 1865 and was never rebuilt) Browne also used the Arch of Constantine (**Figure 9**).[20]

In 1840 C.R. Cockerell published two lithographs of his Royal Exchange competition designs, one an interior view, with a Latin inscription including the word "BASILICA." The facade was based on the Arch of Constantine "since [Cockerell] envisaged the space in front as the 'Forum Londinium'."[21] Cockerell's designs remained on paper and were probably unknown to Browne. Yet, with their combined ideas of the basilica-exchange, Arch of Constantine, and forum, they are a fascinating parallel. Browne, building on the outskirts of the British Empire, was in tune with the ideas of the greatest living classical architect of its metropolitan centre.

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On 5 June 1843 the cornerstone of the new Kingston City Hall was laid by Governor General Sir Charles Metcalfe.[22] The ceremonies (which were devised by the architect and approved beforehand by the council and Metcalfe) began with a colourful procession of citizens and soldiers. There was a salute of seventeen guns as the Royal Standard of England was raised and the band played *God Save the Queen*. While the stone was lowered into place there was a second seventeen-gun salvo, to the strains of *Rule Britannia*.[23]

Under the cornerstone there was placed a box containing

Figure 5. Council chamber (apse of former merchants' exchange), Kingston City Hall. (Emel Erkan, 1974)

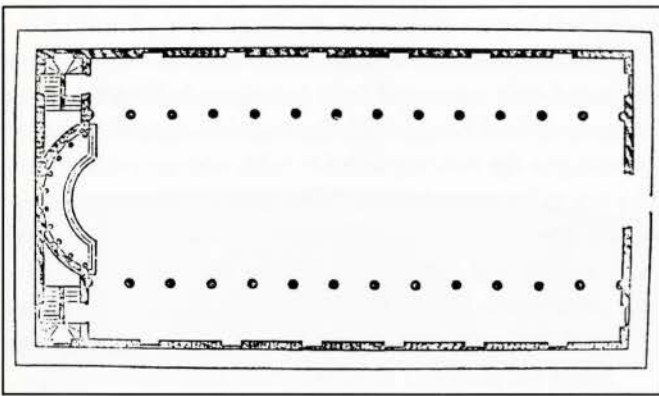Figure 6. Memorial Hall (formerly the town hall), Kingston City Hall. (Emel Erkan, 1974)

Figure 7. Reconstruction of Vitruvius's Fano Basilica, in *I Dieci Libri dell'Architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice, 1556), Book V, p. 132. (Queen's University Archives)

an unusual parchment roll inscribed with verses from *The Book of Job* (12:7-9) in Greek, Latin, English, Welsh, Irish (then denoting Erse and Gaelic), and French:

7. But ask now the beasts of the field, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall teach thee.

8. Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee: and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.

9. Who knoweth not in all these that the hand of the LORD hath wrought this?

Why were these Old Testament passages inscribed in six languages? In Upper Canada, a contentious issue of the 1820s and 1830s had been the Clergy Reserves, public lands set aside by the Constitutional Act of 1791. As part of the church established in England, Wales, and Ireland, Anglicans thought the lands belonged to them; supporters of the Church of Scotland, which was established there, demanded half;

other denominations lobbied for a share. The problem had only been solved in 1840 by Lord Sydenham.[24]

In this period there had also been conflict over the division of power between the Imperial government and local elected assemblies, as well as struggles about the makeup of the latter. Armed revolts had erupted in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837-38. Order was quickly restored by British regulars and local militia but the Imperial government was shocked, and became extremely conciliatory. As the Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell, wrote to Sydenham on 7 September 1839: "the importance of maintaining the utmost possible harmony between the policy of the legislature and of the executive admits of no question."[25]

In 1843 Old Testament texts would have been acceptable to nearly all religious persuasions in Canada, but a New Testament text might have offended Roman Catholics, Protestants, and certainly Jews.[26] The clergy and other professionals walked in the procession, but only the governor general, the architect, the master mason, and the mayor of Kingston assisted in the actual cornerstone laying. The key ceremony was civic and imperial.

The languages of the parchment roll represented virtually all the European inhabitants of Canada at this time, and their common Græco-Roman past. While the languages of the native peoples were missing, they were not forgotten. At the dinner given to "His Excellency the Governor-General, by the Corporation and citizens of Kingston, on the occasion of laying of the corner-stone of the City Hall," Mayor John Counter toasted "the Red men of the Forest," which "elicited a touching and appropriate reply from Col. [William Johnson] Kerr ... Chief of the Mohawk tribe of Indians."[27] As the father of three Eurasian sons, Metcalfe would have been entirely comfortable with Kerr's mixed Mohawk-Scots ancestry. Metcalfe had

Figure 8. View of Kingston from Fort Henry. Detail of coloured lithograph by Edwin Whitefield, 1855. (Queen's University Library, Special Collections)

Figure 9. View of King Street Market Pavilion, Kingston City Hall, c. 1860 (destroyed by fire, 1865). (Queen's University Archives)

approved the multilingual Old Testament passages on the cornerstone parchment, which accords with his scholarly character and tolerance of other cultures. He had opposed Anglicization in India, and in Canada his outlook was the same.[28]

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For Palladio and Vitruvius, after the merchants' exchange-basilica, the other chief part of the piazza-forum was the *curia*, "where the senate meets to consult on affairs of state." It originated in the consecrated meeting places of Rome's three patrician tribes, which each had ten curiae. In his plan for a Roman piazza-forum, Palladio said "In the part facing the north, I have placed there the curia."[29] Browne's curia is the town hall in the north wing, and is articulated with the Ionic Order (**Figures 6 and 10**). The capital of this Order has volutes angled out at forty-five degrees. This type, although much employed in the Renaissance, had by Browne's time been mostly superceded by the more fashionable Greek Ionic, whose capitals are parallel. Browne's Ionic Order is adapted from a Roman Forum building known to Palladio and well into the 19th century as the Temple of Concord[30] (**Figure 11**). Palladio stated that the temple was "built by [Marcus] F[urius] Camillus," a figure of legendary wisdom and virtue known as the "Second Founder of Rome."[31]

Camillus dedicated the Temple of Concord in 367 BC in thanks for the peace-pact of the two parts of the Roman state long at odds with each other, the Patricians and the Plebeians. The building was paid for by the latter, to whom the Senate, at Camillus's urging, had extended the right of electing one of the two Consuls.[32] Later, the Senate often met in the Temple of Concord; there Cicero gave his great orations against

Cataline and Marc Antony. Thus, Browne was recalling a very hallowed Roman building — though the evocation of a historic reconciliation must have seemed peculiarly appropriate in the post-Rebellion Canadas.[33]

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"Leo" wrote that the Kingston City Hall dome was "to be surmounted with a statue of Lord Sydenham holding the proclamation of the Union of the Provinces in the left hand, and pointing to the building with his right, with an evident meaning not to be misunderstood." This strongly suggests that there was a punning tribute to Sydenham in the Old Testament text (which was probably chosen by the architect) beneath the cornerstone: "... the hand of the LORD hath wrought this." Sadly, the statue (see **Figure 1**) was never completed.[34]

Below the platforms supporting the dome the roof slopes, a feature that was more pronounced on the King Street pavilion. Pyramidal roofs above square blocks refer to the first mausoleum, the great shrine-tomb of King Mausolus at Halikarnassus. The small Greek stele above the cornice at the centre of the main block is also a funereal motif. The city hall dome, reminiscent of the Pantheon, is supported by circular and octagonal platforms. The latter recalls an Early Christian baptistery form that derived from Antique funeral monuments. All these funereal references are appropriate; Lord Sydenham is buried in the crypt of St. George's Cathedral only a few hundred yards from the Kingston City Hall.[35]

Lord Sydenham spent only twenty-three months in Canada, but his achievements were enormous. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, the great Methodist leader, wrote in the *Christian Guardian*:

His Lordship found a country divided, he left it united; he found it prostrate and paralytic, he left it erect and vigorous; he found it mantled with despair, he left it blooming with hope. [He] has done more in two years to strengthen and consolidate British power in Canada by matchless industry and truly liberal conservative policy, than had been done in the ten previous years.[36]

Ryerson cited Plutarch's Life of Phocion, an Athenian general who took over the sinking ship of state but then sank himself. By contrast, Sydenham had taken charge of a sinking ship of state, and saved it.[37] Plutarch also wrote a Life of Camillus, whose wisdom brought unity to the state, the action commemorated in the Temple of Concord. Ryerson might well have described Sydenham as the Camillus of the Canadas. In addition to the general benefits brought by Sydenham, Kingstonians were indebted to him for having chosen their town as capital.

Sydenham's robes in his proposed statue are those of a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, the Order's highest rank, an honour he had received shortly before his death. The Bath was more ancient than the Garter, Britain's highest order of chivalry, but lower in precedence (though not in merit, if one accepts Lord Melbourne's dictum[38]). Sir Charles Metcalfe also held the GCB, as did Lord Durham (of the famous 1839 report on the affairs of British North America), whose blessing Sydenham had received before embarking for Canada.

Sir John A. Macdonald, the chief architect and first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada, became KCB in 1867 and GCB in 1884,[39] thus joining the "apostolic succession" of those who had guided the Canadian ship of state in previous

Figure 10. Memorial Hall (formerly the town hall), Kingston City Hall. Detail of entrance wall. (Emel Erkan)
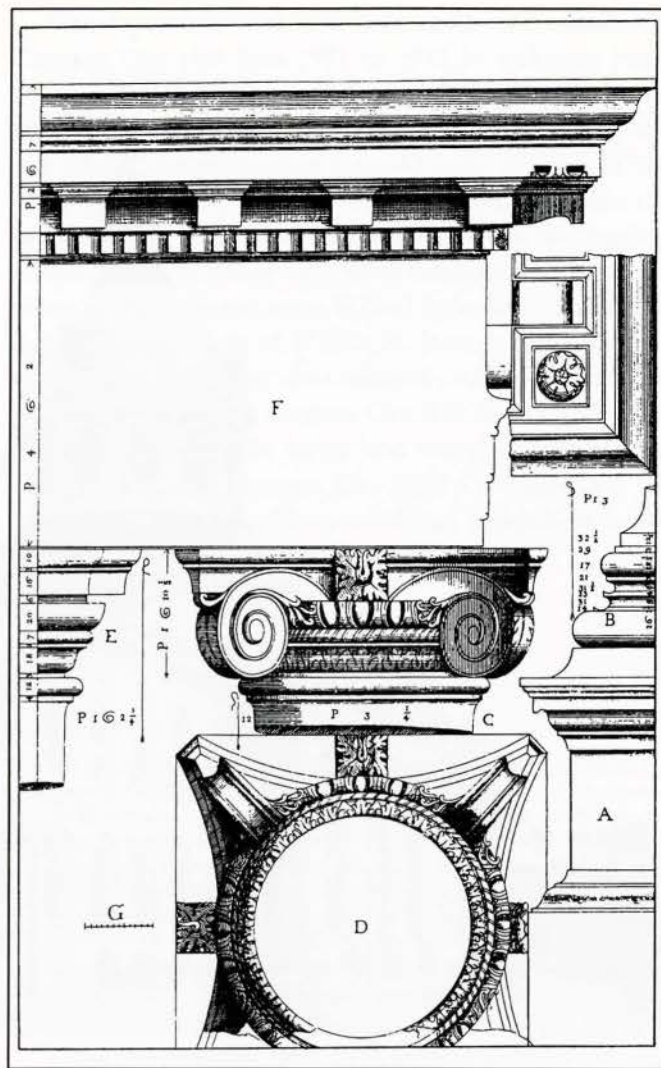

Figure 11. The Order of the Temple of Concord, Rome (now identified as the Temple of Saturn). (Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of ... Architecture* [London: Isaac Ware, 1738], figure XCIV)

generations. Sir John died in 1891 and his body was taken to the Kingston City Hall to lie in state. From the *Forum Regiopolis* his remains were escorted by a long funeral procession, including the governor general and Queen Victoria's personal representative,[40] to Cataraqui Cemetery.

In 1895 George Edward Wade created a handsome bronze statue of Macdonald in GCB robes (**Figure 13**). The granite base is inscribed with the slogan with which Sir John had won his last election: "A BRITISH SUBJECT I WAS BORN / A BRITISH SUBJECT I WILL DIE." In front are two Russian cannon taken at the Siege of Sebastopol. This is all suitably imperial for one born in the year of Waterloo. The statue stands on land purchased for the Parliament Buildings by Lord Sydenham.[41]

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George Browne's design for the Kingston City Hall echoes the policies of the Imperial government towards Canada in the late 1830s and early 1840s: "the utmost possible harmony."

Figure 12. Kingston City Hall, Ontario Street facade. (Emel Erkan, 1974)

Replying to the Loyal Address of the Kingston town council in March 1843, Sir Charles Metcalfe pledged his devotion "to the welfare of Canada and the happiness of every class of its Inhabitants" and trusted "that under the Blessing of the Almighty the prosperity and harmony of this vast portion of the British Empire may be promoted." Harmony is concord. Sydenham, Lord John Russell, and Metcalfe would all have agreed with the ideas expressed in the Kingston City Hall: the merchants' exchange-basilica symbolizing commercial prosperity; the curia-town hall with its Temple of Concord Order; and, high above the dome, Sydenham's statue pointing down to "what the LORD hath wrought."

After the 1857 Indian Mutiny, the British government's attitude towards that sub-continent altered radically :

Far greater emphasis was placed on respect for India's complex socio-religious systems.... British interests which were once identified with social engineering and policies of Westernization and change went into reverse.[42]

This recalls the Canadian policies of Lord John Russell and Lord Sydenham eighteen years earlier — "the utmost possible harmony." Had the Imperial government perhaps learned from its Canadian experience?

The architectural ideals of British India culminated in New Delhi, which "arose ... under the transcendent influence of [Sir Edwin] Lutyens and [Sir Herbert] Baker." The latter wrote:

the spirit of British sovereignty ... must be imprisoned in its stone and bronze.... the architecture of the Roman Empire, as embodying "the more elemental and universal forms," should be used as the basis of the style ....[43]

There are stylistic similarities between the Viceroy's House of 1912-13 in New Delhi and the Kingston City Hall. Belfast-born Browne was steeped in the Palladian-Vitruvian tradition as was the half-Irish Lutyens, who had written in 1903 that "In architecture Palladio is the game!"[44] Browne's designs also

expressed "the spirit of British sovereignty" in stone and bronze. The Kingston City Hall is thoroughly Roman and consciously "elemental and universal" in its primitive simplicity.

Palladio admired the architecture of ancient Rome because,

after ... many ... mutations of empires, there still remain ... the vestiges [sic] of so many of their sumptuous edifices, by which we are able to get at a certain knowledge of the *Roman* virtue and grandeur.[45]

Imperium Britannicum also possessed virtue and grandeur: it was "a moral force and one for the good.... [no empire] has been survived by so much affection and moral respect."[46] Kingston's city hall arose when she was capital of a "vast portion of the British Empire" and seemed on the threshold of a brilliant future. Browne's building expressed the hopes and ideals of early Victorian Canada. The city hall has survived the city's loss of status as capital, two serious fires, the temporary loss of its portico, and "many mutations of empires."
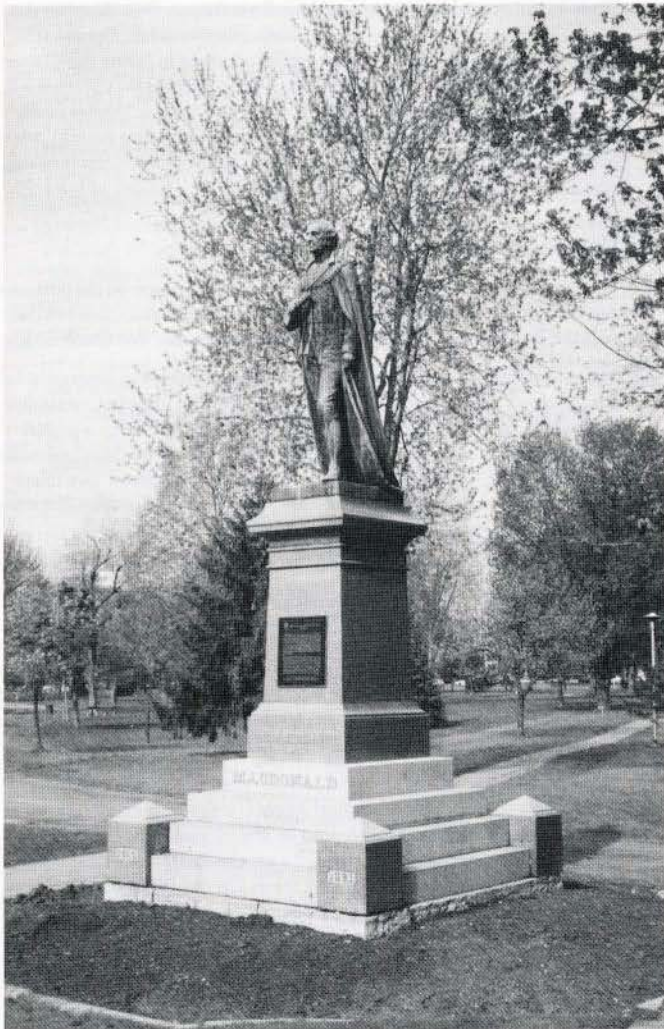
Figure 13. Sir John A. Macdonald by George Edward Wade, 1895, City Park, Kingston. (J. Douglas Stewart)

Fine restoration work was done inside and outside the Kingston City Hall from 1971 to 1973 by architects Harry Smith and Neil McLennan (**Figure 12**). Unfortunately, the great King Street Market Pavilion (**Figure 9**) lost in 1865 was not rebuilt. Reconstituting it would have allowed for the replacement of the clock in its original position, and the reclaiming of the austere neoclassical roofline of the "basilica-temple" wings, including the original hemispherical dome; and above all the projected statue of Lord Sydenham. (Some years ago, the lead steeple of Wren's St. James's Piccadilly was replaced by plastic; that same material could easily provide a "bronze" statue for the Kingston City Hall dome.) Will future generations possess the virtue and vision to complete the restoration of the Kingston City Hall? Only then will the integrity of the design of Browne's *Forum Regiopolis* be recovered, and its full grandeur be revealed.

Endnotes

1 See Edward McParland, *James Gandon: Vitruvius Hibernicus* (London: Zwemmer, 1985). I have discussed Browne's Irishisms (e.g., his fondness for Wyatt windows, the use of tunnels, the gathering of flues into a single chimney stack, and the Irish tower house which lies behind some of his compositions) in a lecture "In Memoriam George Browne Architect: Obit 19 November 1885; His Irish Roots and Canadian Influence," November 1985, and in "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, 25 March 1990 (*Abstracts*, p. 30).

2 See Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture* (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1:178, and Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Cornerstones of Order: Courthouses and Town Halls of Ontario 1784-1914* (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin, 1983), 86. It has also been called "the outstanding monument of Canada's conservative Neoclassicism" and "the apex of Canadian Neoclassicism of British origin"; see Leslie Maitland, *Neoclassical Architecture in Canada*, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984), 7-8. The city hall is not mentioned in Robert Fermor-Hesketh, ed., *Architecture of the British Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), although two other Kingston buildings are.

3 See Margaret Angus, "Lord Sydenham's One Hundred and Fifteen Days in Kingston," *Historic Kingston* 15 (1967): 36-49. Sydenham's letter of 5 June to an unknown correspondent is quoted in J.M.S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 56. The name seems first to have been used for the Roman Catholic See of Regiopolis, founded in 1826. See J. Douglas Stewart and Ian E. Wilson, *Heritage Kingston* (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1973), 112, and Brian S. Osborne and Donald Swainson, *Kingston: Building on the Past* (Westport, Ont.: Butternut Press, 1988), 248. Kingston received her name officially in 1788, having since the Loyalist settlement of 1783 been known by the Indian name Cataraqui (Osborne and Swainson, 39). Macdonald called Kingston "Regiopolis" in a letter to Colonel Baron de Rottenburg, 16 December 1856. See J.K. Johnson, ed., *The Letters of Sir John A. Macdonald, 1836-1857*, vol. 1 of *The Papers of the Prime Ministers* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968), 406.

4 *The Anglo-American*, New York, 9 December 1843, in a letter headed "Kingston, Nov. 24, 1843," reprinted on 16 December in the *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette* (see Stewart and Wilson, 140,143-44). Candide's letter appeared in *The British Whig*, 2 February 1844; see Geoffrey

Simmins, ed., *Documents in Canadian Architecture* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1992), 14-17. Candide may have been one of the twelve architects (including one woman) who competed for the city hall commission in 1842; see Stewart and Wilson, 134-35, and J. Douglas Stewart, "Controversies, Myths and Realities," *Kingston City Hall* [official guide book] (Kingston, 1974), 5-6.

5   Leo came to Canada in 1836 and wrote regularly for the *Anglo-American*, 1843-44 (see Stewart and Wilson, 140). Born in Belfast in 1811, Browne emigrated to Quebec City in 1830 and to Kingston as government architect in 1841. Because of Leo's accuracy and inclusion of information then not public knowledge, he must have consulted Browne or someone in his office.

6   The exchange was later called Ontario Hall. In 1973 it was divided into the council chamber and offices. The town hall became Memorial Hall after the First World War.

7   *I Dieci Libri dell'Architettura di M. Vitruvio*, trans. and commentary by Daniele Barbaro (Venice, 1556), Book V, p. 132. In Browne's competition drawings, the rooms lacked apses and had eight openings, rather than six, on each of their long sides (see Stewart and Wilson, pl. 164, p. 137). Palladio's reconstruction of an ancient basilica in chap. 19 of Book III (pl. 17) is more squarish in proportion, with nineteen niches separated by pilasters on each side, and circular staircases flanking the apse.

8   Designed 1546-49; see Palladio, 1738, p. 76 and pl. 19-20. In making this reference Browne was following a long tradition. "As early as 1699 [in Leonhard Christoph Sturm's edition of Nikolaus Goldman's *Vollständige Anweisung zur Civilbaukunst*] Palladio's Basilica at Vicenza ... with its double-height hall surrounded by loggias or colonnades, had been suggested as a prototype for exchange design. This idea eventually inspired not only Thomas de Thomon in his designs for the magnificent Leningrad Exchange (1804-16), but also James Peacock when he designed London's first Stock Exchange in 1801-2." See Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson for the National Trust and the Irish Georgian Society, 1985), 131. A closer precedent for Browne's exchange is possibly the design John Wood of Bath proposed for the interior second storey elevation of his Bristol Exchange about 1742, where the Vicenza *Serliana* appears, as it also does on the exterior of Wood's Liverpool Exchange (begun 1748). See Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *John Wood: Architect of Obsession* (Bath, Eng.: Millstream, 1988), 157, 166-67.

9   See Palladio, 1738, p. 76.

10 Palladio, 1738, p. 75. The idea comes from Vitruvius: "The basilica ought to be contiguous to the forum, and on that side of it which is the least exposed; so that the merchants who meet there to transact business, may not be inconvenienced by the cold in the winter." *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius .... Translated by William Wilkins* (London, 1812), 2:123-24.

11 Palladio, 1738, chap. 16, Book III, p. 73.

12 See Stewart and Wilson, 143 (Leo's letter).

13 Like many early Victorian cities, capital Kingston (a town of 8-9,000) had a very high crime rate. In November 1842 the Committee on Police reported "May 16th to 19th Oct. inclusive, viz. Murder 6. Larceny 69. Conspiracy 7. Assault 210. Drunk 273. Disorderly 56. Total number of prisoners 621." Queen's University Archives, City of Kingston, *City Report Book, 1842-6*, 53, fol. 37.

14 In the 1973 restoration the central archway was converted into the entrance, with steps up, replacing the two entrances to either side of it (which, then as now, had steps).

15 See John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 100-101; Michel Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736-1806* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 141; John Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), *Carceri d'Invenzione*, III.

16 See Palladio, 1738, pp. 73-74.

17 See Queen's University Archives, *Reports of the Common Council ... of Kingston*, 1842-46, no. 103, 19 April 1843, fol. 72-74; and *Proceedings of the Common Council ... of Kingston*, 19 April 1843, fol. 36, and 25 April 1843, fol. 39.

18 Trajan's, for example; see William M. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Introductory Study*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), ch. 4.

19 "ARCHES give a very great ornament to piazze that are made at the head of the streets, that is, the entrance into the piazza" (Palladio, 1738, p. 72). Browne would have known the triumphal arches at the Dublin Four Courts (see McParland, 153-65).

20 I have explored the sources and meaning of Browne's use of the Arch of Constantine in a paper "Constantine's Arch at Kingston: 'Neo-classical Gesture' or British Imperial Panegyric?" delivered at the Universities Art Association of Canada Annual Conference, McGill University, Montreal, 8 November 1996 (*Abstracts*, p. 57).

21 See David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell* (London: Zwemmer, 1974), 211.

22 Metcalfe (1785-1846), previously governor of Jamaica and governor general of India, was "arguably the greatest ... of the small group of 'glorious sahibs' who dominated the British presence in India in the first half of the nineteenth century." See D.R. Beer, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 7:607.

23 For the cornerstone laying, and also the official dinner given by the Corporation that evening, see the *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, 7 June 1843; for a printed broadsheet of the ceremony, see *Kingston City Hall* [official guide book], 11. The date for the cornerstone laying had been set for 24 May, the Queen's birthday, but was delayed by the death of the previous governor general, Sir Charles Bagot. The programme of the cornerstone laying ceremonies was devised by the architect: "His Worship the Mayor laid before the Council a communication from Mr. Browne, the Architect respecting the ceremonies to be observed in laying the Corner Stone of the New City Hall and Market." *Proceedings of the Common Council ... of Kingston*, 4 May 1843, fol. 44. A committee headed by the mayor then took the proposed programme to the governor general, who accepted it without revision, only asking to see the plans of the building. (*Reports of the Common Council ... of Kingston*, 1842-46, no. 113, fol. 95.

24 See Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

25 The "executive" was the premier and his cabinet, chosen by the governor general. As has been observed of Russell's despatches to Sydenham in this period: "The key word was 'harmony', noted repeatedly." See Careless, 10.

26 Maj.-Gen. (afterwards Lt.-Gen.) John Clitherow helped to suppress rebellion in Lower Canada in 1838. "In Montreal he and his wife ... attended a service in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, probably a gesture from the military towards the Montreal Jewish community which had rallied so swiftly to the loyalist coalition ... during the insurrections." See Elinor Kyte Senior, "John Clitherow, 1782-1852," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 8:163-64.

27 Kerr (1787-1845) was a redoubtable figure, a grandson of Sir William Johnson and his Mohawk consort, Molly Brant, and husband of Elizabeth, the daughter of Joseph Brant (Thayendenagea). Kerr was a hero of the War of 1812 and had led Six Nations volunteers in the Upper Canada Rebellion, including the capture of the Short Hills Raiders in 1838. After John Brant's death in 1832, Kerr's son William Simcoe had become head chief of the Confederation of the Six Nations. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 7:466-67.

28 "if the French Canadians are to be ruled to their satisfaction, and who could desire to rule them otherwise? Every attempt to metamorphose them systematically into English must be abandoned." See Beer, 604-5, 608. Kerr's presence at an "imperial" function contrasts with the treatment of native peoples at the United States Capitol, Washington. There, flanking the staircase on the east facade (where presidential inaugurations took place), two sculptures, Luigi Persico's *Discovery* (1837-44) and Horatio Greenough's *Rescue* (1837-53), expressed "the triumph of Anglo-Saxon civilization over the subservient native population." See Vivien Green Fryd, *Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-60* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 94. The groups were removed only in 1958.

29 See Palladio, 1738, pp. 73, 74; and Vitruvius, 1812, 2:129.

30 See Palladio, 1738, p. 109 and pl. 92-94. It was still called the *Tempio della Concordia* in 1835-37; see Giovanni Battista Cipriani, *Itinerario figurato negli edifici più rimarchevoli di Roma / Architecture of Rome: A Nineteenth-Century Itinerary by Giovanni Battista Cipriani* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 22. It is now identified as the Temple of Saturn; see Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, rev. ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), 294-97 (Saturnus, Templum). Little remains of what is now identified as the Temple of Concord (Nash, 292-94).

31 See Palladio, 1738, p. 109.This is a tradition from Ovid's *Fasti* and Plutarch's Life of Camillus, who supposedly held the office of military tribune with consular power six separate years, was dictator five times, and was accorded four triumphs by the Senate. His greatest act was to save Rome from the Gallic invasion of 387-86 BC. See Arnoldo Momigliano, "Camillus and Concord," *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1942): 11-120.

32 The Roman goddess "Concord" was a development of the Greek "Homonoia," the idea of friendly agreement between members of a community. The Greek cult of Homonoia was reputedly founded by the Argonauts. For the Greeks, Homonoia was static, an agreement to share something already existing — a ratification of the status quo. By contrast, for the Romans the practice of Concord emphasized the extension of privileges from one group to another. See Momigliano, 118-19.

33 A further reason for Browne's reference to the Temple of Concord may lie in the inscription on its frieze, S.P.Q.R. INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT (as Palladio, p. 109, translates, "the senate and the Roman people rebuilt this temple, after it had been consumed by fire"). On 17 April 1840 Kingston had experienced a disastrous fire that destroyed the Market House and forty buildings to a value of some £70,000. See Osborne and Swainson, 132-33.

34 As late as 1848 an attempt was made to raise money for Sydenham's statue. A punning tribute accords with the mixture of heraldic wit and symbolism at Browne's 1863 Molson Mausoleum. There he based the ground plan on the family crest, including its crescent moons, and used the latter on the marble caskets in the vaults in both waxing and waning form! See J. Douglas Stewart, "Great Princes affected Great Monuments: George Browne's Molson Mausoleum and its Antecedents," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 16, no. 4 (December 1991): 100, 104.

35 For the mausoleum, see Reinhard Lullies, *Greek Sculpture*, trans. Michael Bullock (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), 90-92. For Browne's use of octagonal Christian baptistery symbolism at the Molson Mausoleum, see Stewart, "Great Princes," 103-4. See also J. Douglas Stewart, "George Browne's Influence: The Architectural Heritage of St. George's," in *St. George's Cathedral: Two Hundred Years of Community*, ed. Donald Swainson (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 37-38.

36 Quoted in Angus, 49.

37 See *Notices of the Death of the Late Lord Sydenham by the Press of British North America* (Toronto: The Examiner Office, 1841), 23.

38 "I like the Garter: there is no damned merit in it." William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne (1779-1848), quoted in *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 2nd. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 335. As prime minister, Melbourne appointed Sydenham as governor general.

39 When Metcalfe, Durham, and Sydenham received their Grand Crosses there were 72 knights in this class, of whom 12 were "civil" and the rest military. Later, the Order of the Bath was much enlarged. Its growth is a veritable index of British Imperial expansion, but the additions were mostly to the second and third classes, the Knight Commanders and the Companions. (Sir Joseph Porter, the notorious First Lord of the Admiralty of H.M.S. *Pinafore*, was only a KCB, of which there were some 205.) The GCB class was preserved as a reward for the highest achievements: in 1884 there were still just 75, of whom only 20 were "civil" and the rest military. See William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England: A Complete Record from the Earliest Time to the Present Day ... Compiled by G. D. Burtchaell* (1906; Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1970), xix-xxi, 206-7, 211, 284.

40 Col. Casimir Gzowski. The governor general was Lord Stanley of Preston, afterwards 16th earl of Derby. See Donald Swainson, *Macdonald of Kingston, First Prime Minister* (Toronto: Personal Library; Don Mills, Ont.:

T. Nelson & Sons [Canada], 1979), 16-19. The pamphlet listing the order of the funeral procession wrongly calls Sir John "KCB" (p. 18), but the memorial card properly says "GCB" (p. 173).

41 There is a bust version of Wade's Macdonald in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. See Swainson, 21, and *Statues of Parliament Hill* (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1986), 20. In Montreal a full-length version was beheaded in 1992 by terrorists. By contrast, the Kingston City Hall actually owes its preservation to a French-Canadian, Aimé Guérin, who was for thirty-four years head man on the timber rafts at Garden Island, just opposite Kingston. "Aimé happened to be on Garden Island one summer afternoon [in 1908] when fire broke out in the dome of the fine old stone City Hall in Kingston. 'The Boss' [Hiram Calvin] was watching the fire (sympathetically) through glasses, across two miles of water, but it was Aimé who demanded action. 'Il nous faut montrer, m'sieu' – mais oui!' he said. So a tug was sent over and her pumps were in large part the means of checking the fire and saving the buildings." See D.D. Calvin and T.R. Glover, *A Corner of Empire: The Old Ontario Strand* (Cambridge, Eng: University Press, 1937), 90.

42 See Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947* (London: Harmondsworth, 1987), 146.

43 *Ibid.*, 226.

44 See Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pl. 58, 61, 67, and p. 167.

45 See Palladio, 1738, p. 57 (preface to Book III). Palladio's original Italian passage used the words "virtù" and "grandezza." "Virtù" was a translation of the Latin *virtus*, which "In antiquity meant 'excellence' and 'good action', which was directed for the benefit and enhancement of civic life." See Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books on Architecture*, trans. Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), ix, and Robert Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 50.

46 See Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Little, Brown, 1996), 629.