

TWO CHURCHES BY GORDON W. LLOYD (1832-1905): Trinity Anglican Church, St. Thomas, and New St. Paul's Anglican Church, Woodstock, and The Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Southwestern Ontario

LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCHI holds an MA in art history and visual culture from the University of Guelph. She is currently living in London, England, where she works at the Sir John Soane Museum and will begin her doctoral studies in History at the University of Oxford in the fall. This paper draws from her master's thesis that examines the Gothic Revival churches of the English-born architect Gordon W. Lloyd (1832-1903) in southwestern Ontario.

> LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCHI

As its name suggests, the Gothic Revival implies a return to the architectural forms of the Middle Ages, particularly those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ The first great manifestations of the Gothic Revival began in England during the eighteenth century. Initially, architects building in the style showed little regard for the guiding principles that once led thirteenth- and fourteenth-century architects; however, after the 1830s and after the romantic fascination with the Gothic architecture of the past diminished, architects were encouraged by theorists to show greater archaeological restraint by using original Medieval buildings as models. This ideology became known as "Ecclesiology," which referred to the study of medieval church architecture and carried with it a tight set of aesthetic and construction principles. Churches built during the nineteenth century were deemed "ecclesiologically correct" if they obeyed certain architectural grammar, related to their fidelity to medieval models.² While the style left its mark on the construction of several religious denominations, the Anglican population in Canada was particularly fond of the Gothic Revival, specifically in its ecclesiologically-correct form, because of the influence of the Anglican Cambridge Camden Society. The members of the Cambridge Camden Society (renamed the Ecclesiological Society in 1846), who were contemporaries of architect and theorist Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852),³ encouraged the study of English Gothic church architecture in order to facilitate the creation of worship spaces that would be appropriate to the High Church, as advocated by the 1830s Oxford Movement.⁴



FIG. 1. TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), 1876-1877, GORDON W. LLOYD. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.



FIG. 2. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, WOODSTOCK (ON), 1877-1879, GORDON W. LLOYD. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.

Eventually, the Gothic Revival made its way to Canada during the nineteenth century, and it became widely adopted throughout various architectural realms, including public, domestic, institutional, and religious. Reflective of the style's dominance in Canadian church architecture during the nineteenth century is the work of architect Gordon William Lloyd (1832-1905), who was born and trained in England, and designed several Anglican churches in the Gothic Revival style throughout the United States and southwestern Ontario.⁵

I will examine the Gothic Revival architectural trend in southwestern Ontario through a case study of two Gothic Revival Anglican churches of this little-studied architect. More specifically, I will focus on two of Lloyd's Anglican churches in the Gothic Revival style in the Huron diocese that have not yet been studied: Trinity Anglican Church, St. Thomas, Ontario (1876-1877), and New St. Paul's Anglican Church (now the Church of the Epiphany), Woodstock, Ontario

(1877-1879) (figs. 1-2). Although the construction dates of the two churches overlap, their architectural styles are dramatically different.

In this study I will accomplish three things. First, in conducting a comparative analysis between Lloyd's churches and those of his uncle, English architect Ewan Christian (1814-1895), from whom Lloyd received his training, I will explore the ways in which Lloyd's building style was shaped by this training he received in England. Secondly, in using Lloyd's Trinity Anglican Church, a "Low" Anglican church, as one of my objects of analysis, I will investigate whether Lloyd used Christian's Low Anglican churches as models when designing Trinity Anglican. Finally, by examining the fabric of each church and comparing them to medieval and nineteenth-century Gothic models, my research will determine the extent to which Lloyd's church-building career in the Huron diocese was influenced by Pugin, the Cambridge Camden Society, and nineteenth-century English Gothic Revival.



FIG. 3. ST. THOMAS PIONEER CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), 1824, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.

Who Was Gordon William Lloyd?

Gordon W. Lloyd was born in Cambridge, England, in 1832; however in 1838, when he was six years old, he moved to Sherbrooke, Quebec.⁶ Lloyd lived in Quebec for several years before returning to England in 1850, when his father passed away. It was in England that Lloyd completed his education and soon after entered the architectural office of his uncle, Ewan Christian. Christian had studied at the architectural school at the Royal Academy and set up an architectural office in London in 1842. Although he never worked exclusively as an ecclesiastic architect, churches became his specialty. A devout evangelical Anglican, Christian favoured the auditory design of Low Anglican churches rather than highly ritualistic designs. Christian was a prolific architect, completing over two thousand commissions throughout his career.⁷

In late 1858, at the age of twenty-six, Lloyd returned to America to live in Detroit, Michigan. It is uncertain when



FIG. 4. ST. THOMAS PIONEER CHURCH, VIEW LOOKING EAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.

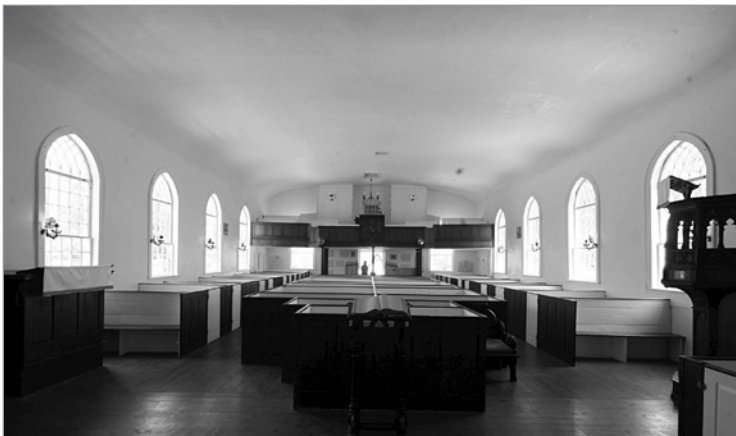


FIG. 5. ST. THOMAS PIONEER CHURCH, VIEW LOOKING WEST. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.



FIG. 6. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHIPPAWA (ON), 1841, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. [HTTP://HISTORICPLACES.CA/EN/REP-REG/IMAGE-IMAGE.ASPX?ID=9763#11], RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.

he left Detroit to move back to Canada, but it is documented in a short biography on Lloyd in the Diocese of Huron Archives at the University of Western Ontario that he made his Canadian home Windsor, Ontario. It is worth mentioning that in a Detroit, Wayne, Michigan census, Lloyd was listed as a forty-eight-year-old Detroit resident who was working as an architect in 1880. Although he moved back to the United States, he continued to work in Canada until 1886, when his last recorded commission was completed.⁸ Lloyd had seventeen commissions in Canada and most of them were churches in southwestern Ontario.

TRINITY ANGLICAN, ST. THOMAS, ONTARIO (1876-1877)

Church History

Some fifty kilometres southeast of Strathroy and of Lloyd's St. John's Anglican Church (1863 - Lloyd additions in 1874), is the town of St. Thomas, and Trinity Anglican Church. During the 1800s, St. Thomas was a rapidly developing town, with its population spreading steadily eastward from the western hilltop and ravine where the settlement first began. When the congregation of the pioneer church on Walnut Street (fig. 3) found it

could no longer adequately accommodate its growing numbers, it was resolved that a new and larger church should be built. It was then decided that the architect of the new church was going to be Gordon W. Lloyd of Detroit, and Messrs. Brainerd and Moore were to be the builders. The estimated cost of the new church was twenty-one thousand dollars. On Sunday, May 24, 1877, four years before St. Thomas became a city, the new church, Trinity Church, at the corner of Southwick and Wellington Streets, was opened for service.

Lloyd's contribution to the Anglican population in St. Thomas was perhaps



FIG. 7. TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, GORDON W. LLOYD, VIEW OF TRANSEPT AND CHANCEL LOOKING NORTHEAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.



FIG. 8. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, HILDENBOROUGH, KENT (UK), 1844, EWAN CHRISTIAN. [HTTP://WWW.KENTCHURCHES.INFO/%SCIMAGES%SCHILDENBOROUGH.JPG], RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.

more significant than it was at some of his previous churches, such as St. John the Evangelist in Strathroy, where he simply made additions to the existing church. Instead of carrying out the same task at St. Thomas Pioneer Church, Lloyd built an entirely new church.

The Mother Church – Old St. Thomas Pioneer Church

For over half a century, the church at 55 Walnut Street was the centre of worship for a large and active Anglican congregation (fig. 4).⁹ The church was erected in 1824 and a steeple, chancel, and tower were added in 1825. Rev. James Stewart (1775-1837) arranged for the first Holy Communion at the church on June 19, 1825. The church was consecrated in 1833 and served the congregation until 1877, when it closed its doors after the opening of Trinity Church. The exterior and selected elements of the interior, as well as the scenic character of the property are now protected by an Ontario Heritage Conservation easement that was introduced in 1982.

The Architecture – St. Thomas Pioneer Church

St. Thomas Pioneer Church is an early example of vernacular Gothic Revival architecture in Ontario. The church has a basilica plan with an aisleless nave, a shallow transept and chancel, and a western tower (fig. 5). Despite its close proximity to the new church, there is a world of difference in the appearance of these two churches. The design of St. Thomas Pioneer Church, with its low and flat roof, shallow chancel, box-pews, and western gallery, is reminiscent of the rectangular preaching-box churches of the classically inspired, Scottish-born architect James Gibbs (1682-1754). The work of Gibbs was recognized in North America through the publication of his *Book of Architecture* in 1728, which featured his own designs.¹⁰ Given that he lived in Rome for several years studying painting and architecture, his building designs were steeped in the classical tradition. Gibbsian church designs were common throughout Canada during the early 1800s, after the English Church Building Act of 1818

was introduced.¹¹ Following its introduction, Gothic-styled churches started to appear in abundance around England and Canada. For the most part, these churches were simply rectangular boxes that were Gothicized by the addition of lancet windows and Gothic ornament, such as at Holy Trinity Church, Chippawa, Ontario (1841) (fig. 6).¹² Conversely, Lloyd's Trinity Anglican Church demonstrates the impact of ecclesiological studies on church architecture in Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Trinity Anglican – a Low Anglican Church

Like St. John's in Strathroy, Trinity Anglican Church (1877) was designed with the needs of a Low Anglican congregation in mind.¹³ This practice was fairly common in the Huron diocese since the bishop, Bishop Cronyn (1802-1871), whose incumbency was from 1857 until his death in 1871, was a devout evangelical Anglican.¹⁴ Cronyn's successor, Bishop Isaac Hellmuth (1820-1901), was also evangelical. When entering Trinity Church in 1877, what was heard



FIG. 9. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, SUNK ISLAND, EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE (UK), 1877, EWAN CHRISTIAN. | ([HTTP://FARM3.STATICFLICKR.COM/2631/4039123347_FC76354D10_O.JPG](http://farm3.staticflickr.com/2631/4039123347_fc76354d10_o.jpg)), RETRIEVED DECEMBER 4, 2013.



FIG. 11. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, STRATHROY (ON), 1863 - LLOYD ADDITION IN 1864, GORDON W. LLOYD, VIEW OF THE SOUTHWEST EXTERIOR. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.

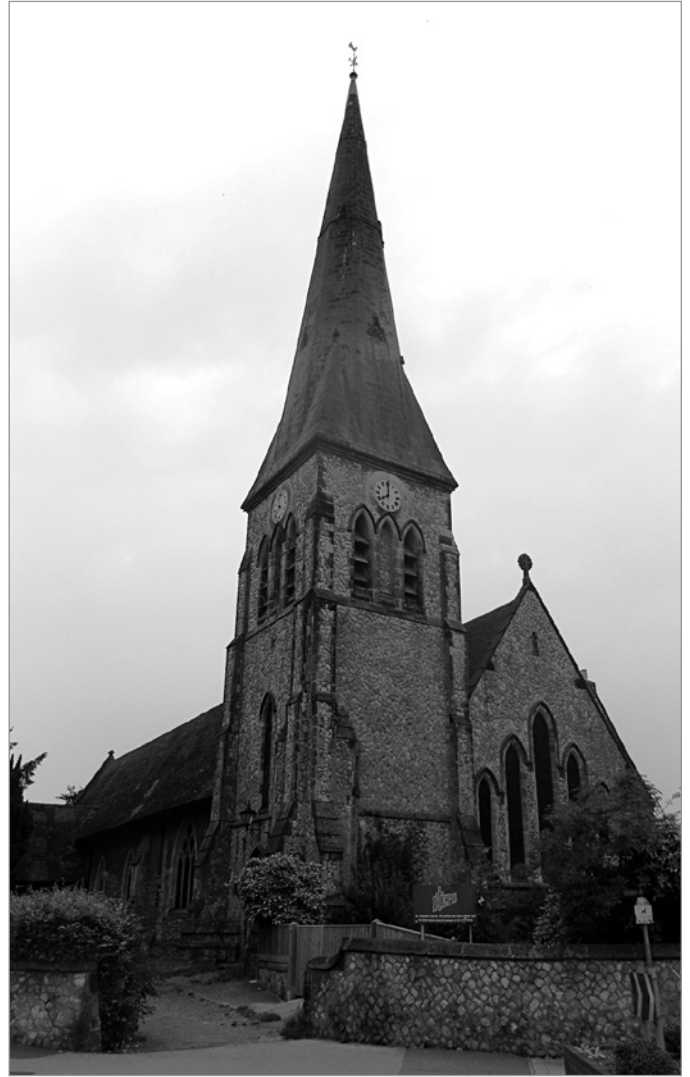


FIG. 10. ST. STEPHEN'S, TONBRIDGE, KENT (UK), 1851-1852, EWAN CHRISTIAN. | ([HTTP://UPLOAD.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKIPEDIA/COMMONS/6/64/ST_STEPHEN'S_CHURCH_TONBRIDGE.JPG](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/64/St_Stephen's_Church_Tonbridge.jpg)), RETRIEVED DECEMBER 12, 2013.

and seen was much different than what is heard and seen today.¹⁵ The services originally administered at Trinity Church during its early years were undoubtedly Low Anglican in their structure. In 1877, there was no Eucharist, just communion services. These services were held at 11:00 A.M. on the first Sunday of the month, at 8:30 A.M. on the third Sunday, and after Evening Prayer on the fifth Sunday when the month contained five Sundays. Communion services were held only on Christmas, Easter,

and Whitsunday, but a service on a saint's day was unheard of. The service was given exactly as it appeared in the *Prayer Book*, and the clergyman was vested in a black cassock, surplice and black scarf, and stood at the left end of the "holy table" while conducting communion. The table, which was never called an "altar," was bare of the usual ornaments. The linen cloth that cloaked the communion table completely covered the front and ends and extended to the floor on all sides. The choir, who

wore ordinary street clothes instead of cassocks or surplices, came to their places singly or in pairs, without ceremony or order. The choir had much less to do during the services than they do now. Most of the services were spoken, with only a few responses set to music, and the clergyman did not venture into music at all. The music that was used, including hymns, was solely the choir's responsibility; congregational participation in the music was not encouraged. On Sundays, the ordinary



FIG. 12. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, LYONSDOWN ROAD, NEW BARNET (LONDON), 1865, EWAN CHRISTIAN. | [\[HTTP://YIZHIVIKA.FILES.WORDPRESS.COM/2012/04/HOLYTRINITYLYONSDOWNNEWBARNET.JPG\]](http://yizhivika.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/holytrinitylyonsdownnewbarnet.jpg), RETRIEVED JANUARY 12, 2014.



FIG. 14. TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, GORDON W. LLOYD, VIEW OF THE CHANCEL. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.



FIG. 13. TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, GORDON W. LLOYD, VIEW OF THE NORTH AISLE. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.

morning and evening services were the offices in the *Prayer Book*. These original services, which are fairly different from those that take place nowadays, suggest a Low Church congregation.

The Architecture – Trinity Anglican Church in 1877

Lloyd’s design for Trinity Church in 1877 reflects his ability to create a worship space that caters to the needs of a Low Church

congregation. Similar to his St. John’s Church in Strathroy, Trinity Church has a shallow chancel and transept, which was a common feature in Reformed churches whose concern was on the congregation’s visibility and audibility (fig. 7). The pulpit was also placed partway down the centre of the nave close to the front pews. Although this generally would not have been accepted by the Cambridge Camden Society, the location was the most logical for a Low Church service.¹⁶

Lloyd likely drew inspiration from Ewan Christian’s Low Anglican churches when designing Trinity Anglican Church. At Christian’s earliest church, St. John the Evangelist, Hildenborough, Kent (1844), his evangelical beliefs are evident in the preaching form of the church; it is very broad, open, and spacious, and contains a shallow transept and chancel to ensure that attention is given to the sermon (fig. 8). This design is also used by Lloyd at St. John’s in Strathroy, and later at Trinity



FIG. 15. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, DETAIL OF NAVE WINDOWS. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.



FIG. 16. TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, GORDON W. LLOYD, VIEW OF PAIRED LANCETS WITH BUTTRESSES ALONG WEST AISLE. | MALCOLM THURLBY, FEBRUARY 10, 2014.

Anglican, although Trinity is significantly larger than St. John's.

Lloyd's Early English design for Trinity Anglican also reflects the impact of Ewan Christian's teachings. While Christian built several churches in other Gothic variations, he, for the most part, favoured the Early English style, as illustrated by the designs of Holy Trinity Church, Sunk Island (1877) (fig. 9); St. Stephen's Tonbridge, Kent (1851-1852) (fig. 10); and St. John the Baptist, Locks Heath, Hampshire (1895).¹⁷ Both Lloyd's St. John's in Strathroy (fig. 11) and Trinity Anglican are in the Early English style, with their unarticulated tall and simple lancet windows. It is also worth mentioning that the semi-circular, apsidal east end of Trinity Anglican, which contains simple lancet windows, was a common feature in many of Christian's churches, as at Holy Trinity Church, Sunk Island; St. Mark's, Belgrave Gate, Leicester (1869-1872); Christ Church, Winchester, Hampshire (1861); and Holy Trinity Church, Lyonsdown Roads, New Barnet, London (1865) (fig. 12). At the exterior of Lloyd's Trinity Anglican, the

lancets appear in pairs and each bay is marked by buttresses (fig. 13). This motif is used again at Lloyd's St. John the Evangelist, only here the lancets appear singly and the buttresses do not extend up the entire length of the wall.

The Impact of Ecclesiology on Lloyd's Design for Trinity Anglican

Even though Lloyd designed Trinity Anglican Church to the taste of a Low Church congregation, he was also able to demonstrate his complete command of the principles of Gothic architecture promoted by Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society. At Trinity, the chancel is clearly separated from the nave (fig. 14); the separation is further emphasized by the increased height of the chancel and the painted arch. Originally, Scripture texts were painted on the chancel arch, but they have since then been replaced by a geometric design. To further illustrate the functional importance of the chancel, Lloyd provided visual cues by painting the ceiling and having a window design different from those throughout the

nave.¹⁸ Lloyd also included more elaborate north and south trefoil transept arches. As advocated by the Cambridge Camden Society, the altar is raised several steps above the chancel and is blocked off by an altar rail. There is also a medieval reredos behind the altar and two sedilia.

Above the nave is a roof with exposed beams, which maintains a truthful exposure of materials, a concept that was advocated by Pugin.¹⁹ The cusped arches that appear throughout the nave and aisle roofs are a feature that Lloyd repeats later at New St. Paul's in Woodstock (1877-1879). The elaborate nave roof speaks clearly of Lloyd's love of this English medieval Gothic parish church feature, a passion that was no doubt nurtured by Ewan Christian's use of elaborate open timber roofs.²⁰ A similar type of window as the transept windows at Trinity Anglican, with their low register of lancets and upper rose, also reappears more elaborately at New St. Paul's (fig. 15). Unlike St. Paul's, however, Lloyd opted for simpler columns throughout the nave arcade. As per the

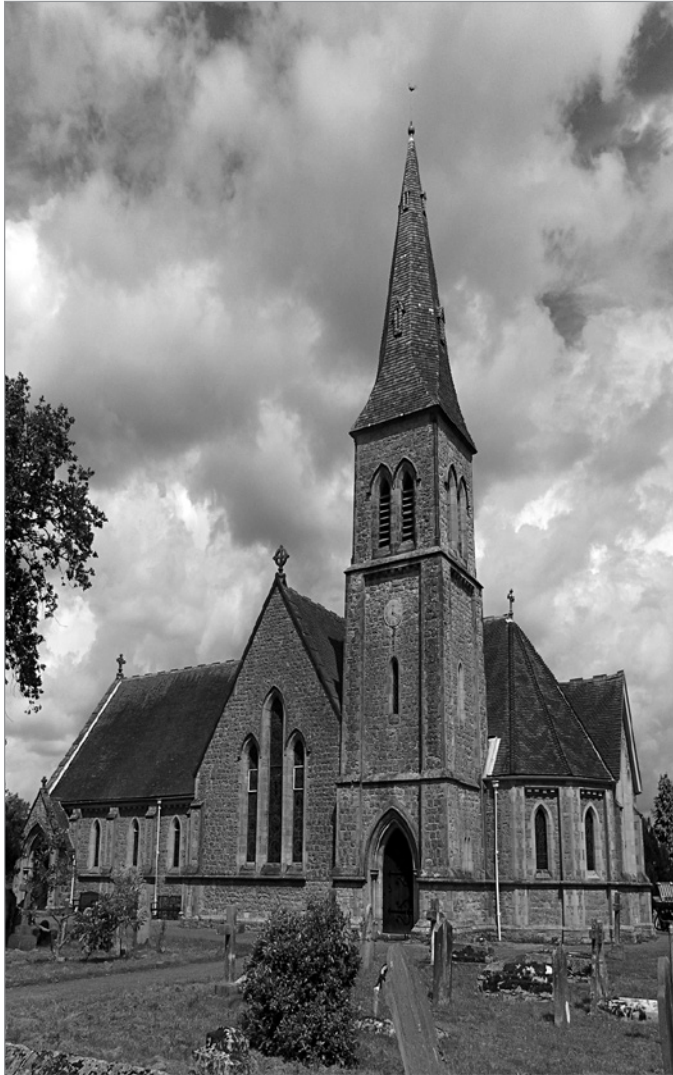


FIG. 17. ST. JOHN'S THE EVANGELIST, HILDENBOROUGH, KENT (UK), DETAIL OF SINGLE NAVE LANCETS WITH BUTTRESSES. | [\[HTTP://UPLOAD.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKIPEDIA/COMMONS/5/5C/ST_JOHN_THE_EVANGELIST'S_CHURCH,_HILDENBOROUGH_\(NHLE_CODE_1248015\).JPG\]](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5c/St_John_the_Evangelist's_Church,_Hildenborough_(NHLE_CODE_1248015).JPG), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8 2014.



FIG. 18. ST. THOMAS CHURCH, ISLINGTON (LONDON), 1888-1889, EWAN CHRISTIAN. | [\[HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:ST_THOMAS%27S_CHURCH,_ISLINGTON.JPG\]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:St_Thomas%27s_Church,_Islington.jpg), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.



FIG. 19. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, GORDON W. LLOYD, DETAIL OF HOODMOLD. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.

location of church furniture, the pulpit sits in its ecclesiologically-correct place in front of the chancel in the north aisle. The location of the font in the northeast transept, although not ecclesiologically-correct, was deemed necessary during the 1970s when more space was needed around the font. Prior to this, however, the font sat in its traditional position at the west end of the nave near the door. The nave also contains original open seating.

On the exterior, the chancel division that is traced in the interior is marked by a *flèche* that sits between the nave and the easternmost bay of the nave (fig. 16).²¹ Although, according to the Cambridge Camden Society, this division is not necessary at the exterior, "it is far better indeed, generally speaking, that it should be marked in both."²² The Cambridge Camden Society also supported the asymmetrical placement of the tower at the northwest corner. Lloyd seemed to prefer this tower

position, as he used it frequently throughout his Canadian and American churches, including: Christ Church, Chatham (1860-1861); New St. Paul's, Woodstock; Old Christ Church, Detroit (1868); and several others. Medieval precedent for such asymmetry abounds and it was also strongly favoured by Pugin, as witnessed with the (now truncated) northwest tower at St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester (1842). The nave windows at Trinity Anglican are paired lancets based on Early English



FIG. 20. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHATHAM (ON), 1875, GORDON W. LLOYD. | [\[HTTP://Z.BP.BLOGSPOT.COM/_XRWSMDVNNL4/ROPmIJOV05I/AAAAAAAAAG4/Y56LEJ4L_BM/S320/CHATHAMTRINITY.JPG\]](http://z.bp.blogspot.com/_XRWSMDVNNL4/ROPmIJOV05I/AAAAAAAAAG4/Y56LEJ4L_BM/S320/CHATHAMTRINITY.JPG), RETRIEVED JANUARY 9, 2014.



FIG. 22. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, VIEW OF THE SOUTHWEST EXTERIOR. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.



FIG. 21. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, TONGHAM, SURREY, 1865, EWAN CHRISTIAN. | [\[HTTP://WWW.PICTURESOFENGLAND.COM/IMG/L1026544.JPG\]](http://www.picturesofengland.com/img/L1026544.JPG), RETRIEVED JANUARY 9, 2014.

models, while the bay divisions are articulated with stepped buttresses. A similar motif appears at the western part of the nave at Christian's earliest church, St. John the Evangelist, Hildenborough (fig. 17), only here the lancets appear singly. Two of Christian's later churches, St. Thomas Church, Islington, London (1888-1889) (fig. 18), and St. John the Baptist, Locks Heath, also feature paired lancets articulated with buttresses at the exterior. This architectural feature can be seen as early as the twelfth century, such as at the ruins of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire.

One can enter Trinity Anglican at the west end through either the central portal, the southwest angled door, or the tower door at the north side of the church. While I have not been able to locate any other similar angled western portals amongst neither Lloyd's nor Christian's churches, Lloyd's St. Paul's Episcopal, Marquette, Michigan (1874-1875), features an angled northwest

tower with an entrance. Furthermore, the large rose window on the west façade of St. Paul's in Michigan also appears on the west façade of Lloyd's New St. Paul's and Trinity (fig. 19).²³ The hoodmold above the central portal also resembles the hoodmold above the western window at New St. Paul's. The chevron pattern above the door on the west façade is more commonly seen in eleventh-century Norman architecture than it is in Gothic architecture.²⁴ Lloyd favoured elaborate bargeboards with pierced pendant roundels like on the west front at Holy Trinity. He had previously used this formula at Trinity Anglican, Chatham (fig. 20). Christian also used wooden bargeboards with drilled decorations in the gable of the south porch at St. Paul's, Tongham, Surrey (1865) (fig. 21). As advocated by Pugin, the northwestern tower at Lloyd's Trinity Anglican is ornamented with four pinnacles and a spire, stepped buttresses that gradually recede toward the tower, and the roof is steeply pitched.

NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, WOODSTOCK, ONTARIO (1877-1879)

Church History

Of all of Lloyd's ecclesiastic commissions in Ontario, perhaps his most impressive is New St. Paul's Anglican Church (now the Church of the Epiphany) in Woodstock, Ontario (1877-1878) (fig. 22). The history of New St. Paul's is similar to that of Trinity Anglican in St. Thomas in that it was built to accommodate the growing Anglican congregation that could no longer be housed in the town's original Anglican church. The original Anglican church came to be known as Old St. Paul's to differentiate it from Lloyd's church, which was termed New St. Paul's (figs. 23-24). It was constructed in 1834 and was closed temporarily when New St. Paul's was opened. The decision to build a new church in Woodstock was made during a vestry meeting in March

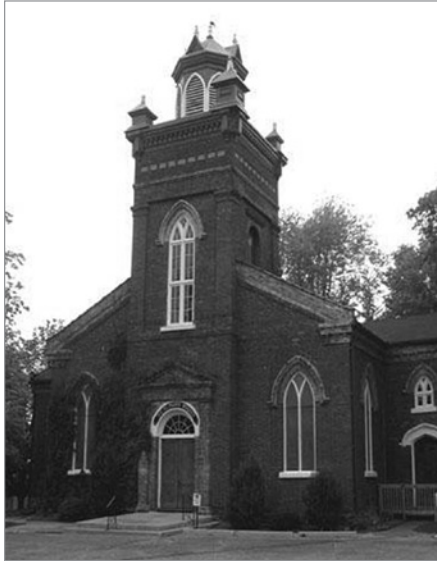


FIG. 23. OLD ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, WOODSTOCK (ON) 1834, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT, VIEW OF THE WEST FAÇADE. | [\[HTTP://WWW.HISTORICPLACES.CA/EN/REP-REG/IMAGE-IMAGE.ASPX?ID=10544#11\]](http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/image-image.aspx?id=10544#11), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.



FIG. 24. OLD ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, VIEW LOOKING EAST. | [\[HTTP://WWW.HISTORICPLACES.CA/EN/REP-REG/IMAGE-IMAGE.ASPX?ID=10544#11\]](http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/image-image.aspx?id=10544#11), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.

of 1876. The wardens were authorized to complete the purchase of the present site at Dundas and Wellington Streets for \$4,846.30. Fifteen plans were submitted for the proposed building and those finally approved were furnished by Messrs. Lloyd and Price of Detroit.²⁵ The church was finished in 1879 and the first services were supposedly held during the same year, although there is no mention of this in the “Preacher’s Book”—the first reference being on Wednesday, January 14, 1880, when the church was dedicated.

The Cathedral-like Interior of New St. Paul’s

New St. Paul’s Church reflects the impact of ecclesiological studies in England on Canadian church architecture the most strongly of all of Lloyd’s Canadian churches. Unlike St. John’s in Strathroy, where additions were made to the original structure to better fit the modes of worship and design coming out of England, New St. Paul’s followed ecclesiological patterns of worship

and design from the beginning. The scale of St. Paul’s is truly monumental in comparison to Lloyd’s other Ontario churches, which lends to its almost cathedral-like appearance. Unlike St. John’s, Strathroy, and Trinity Anglican, St. Thomas, at New St. Paul’s, Lloyd opted to include a grand rib-vaulted ceiling, which adds to the church’s cathedral-like appearance by mirroring the rib vaults in English and French Gothic Revival cathedrals; Lloyd’s vaults, however, are lath-and-plaster (fig. 25). As per the suggestions of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society, Lloyd articulated the functional divisions of the church on the interior. However, instead of accomplishing this by making the chancel height different from that of the nave, he featured more elaborate ornamentation at the easternmost end of the church. Unlike Trinity Church, at New St. Paul’s there is no differentiation in the roof between the nave and chancel, which is a fairly common feature in High Victorian churches. The two eastern altars are housed in the separate semi-circular chancel with the high altar being raised several steps above the chancel (fig. 26);

the chancel and choir stalls are kept separate from the nave using a low wooden screen, and the high altar is kept separate from the rest of the chancel using a railing. Furthermore, the easternmost bay of the nave, which is occupied by the liturgical choir, is differentiated from the nave with the addition of four minor shafts between four major shafts on the easternmost pier and the east respond of the arcades. There is also a cusped inner order added to the eastern arch rather than the same flat soffits of the nave arches (fig. 27). Additionally, the roof of the easternmost bay of the nave contains two cusped transverse arches and an eight-part vault, instead of the same six-part vault that appears throughout the nave. There is an identical motif also at the eastern end of both of the aisles. By designing the easternmost bay as more elaborate than the rest of the nave bays, Lloyd accentuated the more important function of the apsidal space in which the altar is located.

It is possible that Lloyd was looking at Early English roofs when designing New St. Paul’s roof; there is a thirteenth-century wooden



FIG. 25. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, VIEW OF THE NAVE CEILING. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.



FIG. 26. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, VIEW OF THE EASTERN CHANCEL. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.



FIG. 27. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, DETAIL OF THE CUSPED TRANSVERSE ARCHES AT THE EAST END. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.

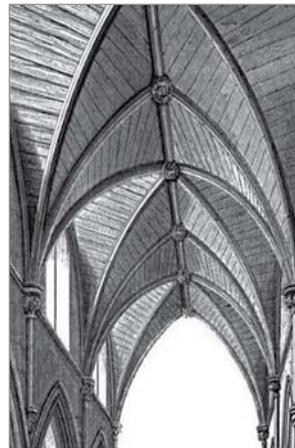


FIG. 28. WARMINGTON PARISH CHURCH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, 1260, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | IMAGE FROM THOMAS RICKMAN'S *AN ATTEMPT TO DISCRIMINATE THE STYLES OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE REFORMATION WITH A SKETCH OF THE GRECIAN AND ROMAN ORDERS* (1862).

rib vault in the nave of Warmington Parish Church, Northamptonshire (1260), which was published in Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt To Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation with a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders* (1862) (fig. 28).²⁶ The roof at Warmington is an example of an Early English groin-vaulted roof and bears a resemblance to Lloyd's roof at New St. Paul's, although Lloyd did not include bosses at the rib intersections.²⁷

New St. Paul's – the High Anglican Church

The ornamentation and furnishings at the interior of New St. Paul's are reflective of a High Anglican congregation, as the church's design adheres to the principles of the High Church Cambridge Camden Society. As previously mentioned, the nave and chancel are clearly separated; there are also several altars throughout the church, including two at the east end

and one at the west end (fig. 29), there is a south porch,²⁸ the pulpit is located in front of the chancel (fig. 30), the lectern is a traditional bronze eagle design, and there are medieval reredos behind the high altar in the chancel and behind the altar at the west end. According to the Cambridge Camden Society, "the reredos . . . when wrought with all the richness of which it is capable is one of the most beautiful ornaments of a church."²⁹ Oddly enough, the font is not in its traditional spot at the



FIG. 29. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, VIEW OF THE ALTAR AT THE WEST END. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.



FIG. 30. NEW ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PULPIT AT THE NORTHEAST IN FRONT OF THE CHANCEL. | LORYSSA QUATTROCIOCCI, NOVEMBER 21, 2014.



FIG. 31. TRINITY EPISCOPAL CATHEDRAL, PITTSBURGH (PA), 1869-1872, GORDON W. LLOYD. [HTTPS://C1.STATICFLICKR.COM/918402/8638364017_92D4E67128_Z.JPG], RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.



FIG. 32. ST. JAMES-THE-LESS, WESTMINSTER, 1859-1861, GEORGE EDMUND STREET. [HTTP://LOCUSISTE.ORG/BLOG/WP-CONTENT/UPLOADS/2012/11/20121104-015732.JPG], RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.

west end of the nave, but rather is located at the east end of the north aisle. As advocated by the Camden Society, "the font must be in the nave, and near a door . . . it thus typifies the admission of a child into the Church by Holy Baptism."³⁰ It is likely that at some point the font at New St. Paul's was situated at the west end of the nave but has since been moved.

New St. Paul's – High Victorian Traditions and the Influence of Christian on Lloyd's Design

There is a clear evolution in Lloyd's building style from Trinity Anglican in St. Thomas,

which is Early English, to New St. Paul's, which was one of his latest designs and is High Victorian in style. While both St. John's in Strathroy and Trinity Anglican in St. Thomas contain unornamented lancet windows, at New St. Paul's Lloyd employs elaborate Decorated nave windows, with two registers of lancets with quatrefoil roundels in between and a large octofoil piercing above. The massive west window finds parallel in James Brooks's [1825-1901] St. Michael and All Angels, Mark Street, Shoreditch, London (1863-1865), which has a large rose window on the north transept that looks like a simplified version of the window at New St. Paul's. Although

the size and complexity of the window may be unique amongst Lloyd's Ontario churches, he uses a similar technique in his American churches, such as Trinity Cathedral, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1869-1872) (fig. 31). What is particularly unusual at New St. Paul's is that the apse windows are simple lancets while the nave windows are traceried; more often than not, the apse windows are the most detailed to emphasize the importance of the chancel as the holiest place in the church. The form of the nave window tracery and the proportions of the windows owe more to High Victorian design than medieval originals.³¹ Precedent for the design could



FIG. 33. CHRIST CHURCH, GUILDFORD, 1868, EWAN CHRISTIAN. | [\[HTTP://WWW.CHRISTCHURCHGUILDFORD.COM/UPLOADS/IMAGES/EASTERSERVICE2007.JPG\]](http://www.christchurchguildford.com/uploads/images/easterservice2007.jpg), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.



FIG. 35. ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET (LONDON), 1849-1859, WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD. | [\[HTTP://SHIPOFFOOLS.COM/MYSTERY/2006/PICS/LONDON_ALL_SAINTS_MAG.JPG\]](http://shippofools.com/mystery/2006/pics/london_all_saints_mag.jpg), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.



FIG. 34. ST. PETER'S CHURCH, VAUXHALL (LONDON), 1864, JOHN L. PEARSON. | [\[HTTP://WWW.STPETERSVAUXHALL.COM/IMAGES/ST-P-NAVE-WITH-CHOIR-01.JPG\]](http://www.stpetersvauxhall.com/images/st-p-NAVE-WITH-CHOIR-01.jpg), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.

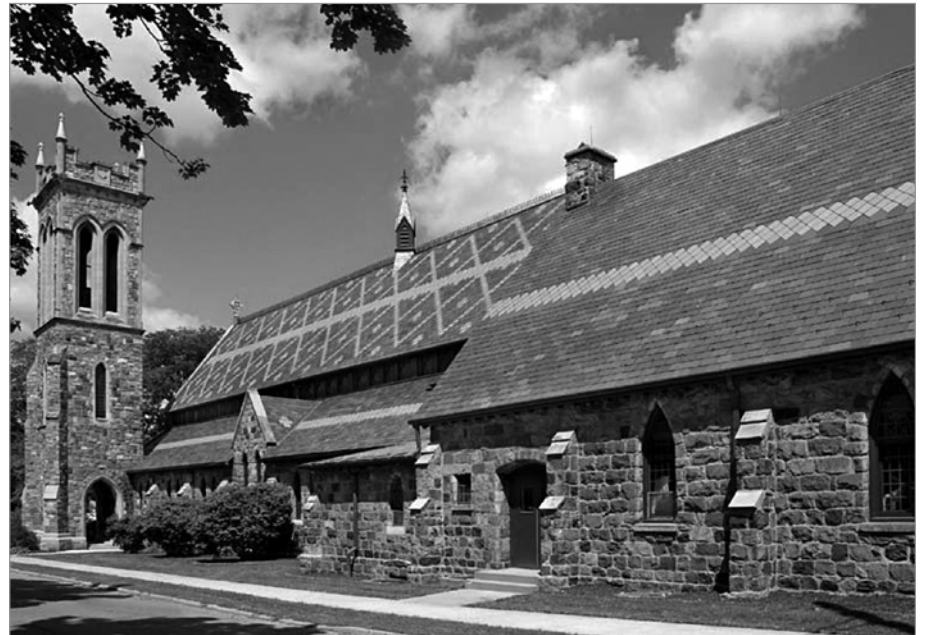


FIG. 36. ST. ANDREW'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, ANN ARBOR (MI), 1868, GORDON W. LLOYD. | [\[HTTP://LOCUSISTE.ORG/BLOG/WP-CONTENT/UPLOADS/2012/03/M06_QUINNEVANS.JPEG\]](http://locusiste.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/m06_quinnevans.jpeg), RETRIEVED JANUARY 8, 2014.

be George Edmund Street's St. James-the-Less, Westminster (1859-1861) (fig. 32), which also contains polychrome masonry like New St. Paul's.

Christian's impact on Lloyd is also evident at the interior. The alternating masonry around the windows at Christian's St. Mark's Parish Church, Belgrave Gate, Leicester (1869-1872), and Holy Trinity, New Barnet, London (1865) (fig. 12), resembles the motif employed around the windows on the interior of New St. Paul's, only here they are done in paint (fig. 16). The semi-circular apse with lancet windows also recalls the apsidal designs of Christian's Christ Church, Guildford (1868) (fig. 33); St. Mark's Church, Leicester; Holy Trinity Church, New Barnet; St. Saviour's Church, Tonbridge, Kent (1875-1876); and several others. The apsidal design also resembles that at John Longhborough Pearson's [1817-1897] High Victorian church, St. Peter's Church, Vauxhall, London (1864) (fig. 34).³²

Outside, the influence of English High Victorian architectural traditions is unmistakable. The polychrome masonry at New St. Paul's resembles the masonry at James Brooks's St. Michael's and All Angels, London. For the inclusion of courses of black brick on the exterior of New St. Paul's, Lloyd was likely looking at William Butterfield's All Saints, Margaret Street, London (1849-1859) (fig. 35). Lloyd used the same motif at his Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Chatham (1877-1878), which was built at relatively the same time as New St. Paul's. Christian also used red brick sparingly throughout his career, such as at Holy Trinity, Sunk Island; Holy Trinity Church, Dalston (1878-1879); and at the house he built for himself in Well Walk, Hampstead (1881-1882). Christian's Holy Trinity, New Barnet, also features coloured courses of brick, but in red instead of black. Furthermore,

the alternating brick accents around the apsidal windows at Christian's Holy Trinity are similar to those above the northern transept window at Lloyd's Holy Trinity, Chatham, and above the western window at New St. Paul's. As per the polychrome roof at New St. Paul's, Lloyd seemed to favour this design as he built several of his American churches with polychrome roofs, including St. Andrew's Episcopal Church (1868) (fig. 36) and First Congregational Church (1872-1876), both in Ann Arbor, Michigan. As for Christian, he preferred the Early English style, and therefore was not party to using polychrome roofs, which often appeared on English High Victorian churches in the latter half of the nineteenth century. One of Christian's few churches with a polychrome roof is St. Bartholomew's Church, Roby, Lancashire (1875). By using a polychrome roof at New St. Paul's, Lloyd was mimicking the architecture of prolific English High Victorian church architects.

This study of Lloyd's churches in southwestern Ontario raises a number of questions. Given that I was unable to locate original floor plans and vestry minute books for the two churches discussed here, I was left to speculate as to the original appearance of these buildings. Since churches are so often renovated over the course of time, such speculation can prove extremely difficult. Despite my lingering uncertainty about the original state of each church, it has become fairly clear that Lloyd's architectural style was heavily influenced by the training he received from Ewan Christian in England, and by the sights and sounds he would have encountered while living there. What is particularly fascinating about Lloyd's relationship with his uncle is the profound influence Christian's Low Church designs had on Lloyd's work at Trinity Anglican. Despite this, Lloyd still managed to maintain a sense of architectural currency in

these two church designs by including the principles of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society

COMPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Addleshaw, G.W.O. and Frederick Etchells, 1948, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, London, Faber & Faber.
- Cherry, Martin, 2004, "Christian, Ewan (1814-1895)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/article/62459>], accessed October 15, 2013.
- "Gothic Revival – Commissioner's Gothic," n.d., *Ontario's Places of Worship – Ontario Heritage Trust*, Ontario, Queen's Printer, [<http://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/Ontario-s-Places-of-Worship/Inventory/Style.aspx?ID=67>], accessed January 15, 2014.
- Hill, Robert, 2009, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/>], accessed September 15, 2013.
- "Holy Trinity Church," n.d., *Canada's Historic Places*, Parks Canada, [<http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=9763>], accessed January 15, 2014.
- "Old St. Paul's Church (Anglican)," n.d., *Canada's Historic Places*, Parks Canada, [<http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=10544>], accessed January 15, 2014.
- Thurlby, Malcolm, (unpublished), "Architectural Expressions of Denominational Differences in the Churches of Catham and Vicinity," p. 1-17.
- Turner, H.E., 1994, "Hellmuth, Isaac," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13. University of Toronto / Université Laval, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hellmuth_isaac_13E.html], accessed January 15, 2014.

NOTES

1. Brosseau, Mathilde, 1980, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 7.
2. For more information on "Ecclesiology," see: Magrill, Barry, 2012, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture In Canada, 1867-1914*,

- Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 41.
3. For More information on Pugin, see: "Pugin, Augustus Welby," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22869?docPos=2>], accessed January 8, 2014.
 4. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2006, "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Prince Edward Island and Their Place in the Gothic Revival," *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 78-79.
 5. A list of Lloyd's Canadian commissions can be found in *The Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada*, [<http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1448>], accessed January 8, 2014.
 6. For detailed information on Gordon W. Lloyd, including his church commissions in the United States, see: Withey, Henry F. and Elsie Rathburn Withey, 1965, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)*, New Age Publishing Co.; and Ferry, Hawkins W., 1946, "The Gothic and Tuscan Revivals in Detroit, 1828-1875," *The Art Quarterly*, vol. 9.
 7. For detailed information on Ewan Christian, see [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=203623], accessed January 8, 2014.
 8. Lloyd's latest known Canadian commission was in 1886 when he worked on a public school in Windsor, Ontario.
 9. St. Thomas Pioneer Church is associated with Col. Thomas Talbot, Capt. Daniel Rapelje, Bishop Charles Stewart, and the establishment of the Anglican Church in St. Thomas. The area around St. Thomas was originally part of a grant received by Col. Thomas Talbot (1771-1858) in 1803. Talbot was an Irish aristocrat who arrived in Quebec in 1790 and accrued a fortune selling land to settlers. Rapelje (1774-1828), an American who came to Upper Canada in 1802, became captain of the first Middlesex militia after serving in the war in 1812. In 1821, Rapelje donated two acres of his original land grant to be used for church building and a burial ground for Anglicans in the area. For more historical information on St. Thomas Pioneer Church, see "St. Thomas Pioneer Church," from *Canada's Historic Places*, [[http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=10581&pid=554&h=St,Thomas,Pioneer%20\(4\)](http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=10581&pid=554&h=St,Thomas,Pioneer%20(4))], accessed January 15, 2014.
 10. James Gibbs, 1739 [2nd ed.], *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, London.
 11. For more information on the Church Building Act of 1818, see: Port, M.H. [Michael Harry], 2006, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., p. 39. The purpose of this bill was to provide adequate worship spaces in the new industrial areas. The specific objects of the act were to grant an expenditure of £1,000,000.00 (£20,000 per church); authorize subscriptions in aid of the grant; and appoint commissioners to execute the act. The commissioners were to build on the plans they believed to be most suitable for providing the largest accommodation possible at the least expense. There were three "consulting" or "Crown architects," as they were variously termed: John Nash (1752-1835), John Soane (1753-1837), and Robert Smirke (1781-1867). They were hired by the Church Building Commission as consultants and as executive architects. Nash was considered a master of the Picturesque and had an optimistic attitude toward estimating costs. Soane, on the other hand, was obsessed with perfecting his projects. Smirke, who favoured neo-classical cubism, was noted for his ability to fix the defective work of others. The act was not specific on the matter of style, but architects found that it was less expensive to build a Gothic church than a Classical one. According to British author and art historian Kenneth Clark (1903-1983), of the 214 churches that resulted from the Act, 174 were Gothic. The commissioners who permitted all of these designs favoured a number of internal arrangements. These included a shallow chancel elevated by three steps; an altar and panels with the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Apostles Creed located in the chancel; slip pews of a low uniform height facing east (except in the galleries), which allowed worshipers to view the altar and texts; and a central aisle or aisles. While the quality of the churches varied, the sheer number of these so-called commissioners' churches could only further accrued interest in the revival of the Gothic style for ecclesiastical architecture. Many of the architects of these churches looked to English medieval architectural sources for inspiration.
 12. Westfall, William and Malcolm Thurlby, 1990, "Church Architecture and Urban Space: The Development of Ecclesiastical Forms in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in David Keane and Colin Read (eds.), *Old Ontario Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless*, Toronto, Dundurn Press Limited, p. 118. For more information on Holy Trinity in Chippawa, see [https://www.raisethehammer.org/article/1113/john_g_howards_st_jamess_anglican_church_dundas], accessed January 8, 2014.
 13. For details on Low vs. High Anglican worship, see Iron, Candace, 2006, "Why Such An Odd Plan? Milton Earl Beebee's St. Thomas Anglican Church, St. Catharines, Ontario," *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 11-23, at p. 19. The Reformed Church of England contained both High and Low Church pressure groups that were attempting to push the church in either a more Catholic or a more Protestant direction. The terms "high" and "low," which are rarely used nowadays, simply refer to the different sects of churchmanship within the Church of England / Anglican Communion. During the nineteenth century, the term "High" church was applied to the Anglo-Catholic or Oxford Movement of the 1830s. High Anglican Church services were analogous to Roman Catholic services, in that the preacher acts as an intermediary to God, while the congregation does not directly have an experience with God. The clergyman faced the liturgical east, where God resides, with his back to the congregation. High churchmen placed great emphasis on liturgy and the sacraments, especially the weekly or daily celebration of the Eucharist, and the three orders of ministry, deacon, priest, and bishop. They also used vestments and incense in their services. In contrast, the "Low" Church or evangelical party, which was opposed to the High Church Movement, placed emphasis on preaching, personal piety, and the authority of scripture. In these services, accessibility is key, as the services were intended to be meetings where the congregation can discuss God. Therefore, the reverend faced the congregation, and he did not use ritualistic elements like candles, incense, and song.
 14. Cronyn was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, on July 11, 1802, and was a Church of England clergyman who was elected as the first bishop of Huron on July 9, 1857, at St. Paul's Church in London, Ontario. Cronyn was of pronounced evangelical views, which soon involved him in a serious difference of opinion with Bishop John Strachan of Toronto. Cronyn even went so far as to establish Huron College at the University of Western Ontario in 1863, a Low Church theological school in his see-city of London, Ontario. Huron College was to serve as Cronyn's counterplot to the un-Protestant teachings at Strachan's Trinity College, at the University of Toronto.
 15. All information on the architecture and services at Trinity Anglican in 1877 was obtained from the pamphlet of the church's 125th anniversary, which was held on Sunday, May 26, 2002.

16. In Reformed churches, the pulpit eventually came to be the place from which all services except the actual communion were taken. By placing it closer to the congregation as opposed to its "ecclesiologically-correct" place close to the chancel, the entire congregation would have easily been able to hear the word.
17. For more information on the Early English style, see Rickman, Thomas, 1862, *An attempt To Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation with a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders*, London and Oxford, Messrs. Parker, Cornmarket, Oxford, [https://archive.org/details/gri_33125009359387], accessed January 8, 2014. Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) was an architect fascinated by the Gothic style. In 1817, he published that book—his most important work (republished in 1819, 1825, and 1835)—in which he establishes the chronology of the different medieval styles. He describes the Early English style as being characterized by pointed arches in the doorways; long, narrow, and lancet-headed windows, generally without feathering, but in some instances trefoiled; a tower with a spire; buttresses with projections, and so on.
18. The chancel ceiling has also been repainted several times; the last time being in 1972 by two local companies, Harold Medlyn and Ken Jones Signs. It should be noted that when it was repainted the second time, it was restored to the original design of Thomas Browne. The flames in the dome represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.
19. In 1841, Pugin published one of his most influential text, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, J. Weale), which is based upon lectures he had given as a professor at St. Mary's College, Oscott, Sutton Coldfield, England, and in which he canonized specific architectural features that should appear in a true Pointed church, and argued for the careful study of medieval Gothic buildings as the basis for a correct revival of the style. His principles included construction methods, the choice of material, and the design and nature of ornament. One of the arguments Pugin sets forth in his text regards maintaining a truthful exposure of material when designing a church.
20. Thurlby, Malcolm (unpublished article), "The Anglican Churches of Gordon W. Lloyd in South-Western Ontario," p. 4.
21. The *flèche* is a French feature that was popular in Gothic Revival churches in England from c. 1860. **My thanks to Malcolm Thurlby for this observation.**
22. The Cambridge Camden Society, 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge, Cambridge Camden Society at the University Press, p. 6.
23. The stained glass of the current rose window is not original. The new window was dedicated in 2001.
24. Rickman : 130.
25. The names of the other architects who submitted designs for the church are unknown.
26. Rickman : 220.
27. I suspect that the current ceiling design is not how Lloyd had originally designed it; an untitled rendering of the interior of New St. Paul's from the Huron Diocese's archives suggests this. In the undated rendering, New St. Paul's is depicted as having a fan-vaulted ceiling reminiscent of the ceiling of King's College Chapel (1421-1471). Evidently, the fan-vaulted ceiling design was never executed, so it was likely omitted in 1877 when Lloyd was forced to exclude certain features from his plan in order to reduce the cost.
28. According the Camden Society, a church must have a door that functions as the Priest's door, either at the northeast end of the church or the southeast end of the church.
29. Cambridge Camden Society : 11.
30. *Id.* : 15.
31. Thanks to Malcolm Thurlby for this suggestion.
32. Again thanks to Malcolm Thurlby for this observation.