JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF | JOURNAL DE LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'

ARCHITECTURE IN CANADA / AU CANADA

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VOL. 38 > N° 1 > 2013

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>Malcolm Thurlby

Seven of the eight essays in this volume derive from papers presented in sessions on Canadian Gothic at the thirty-ninth Annual Conference of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada held at Carleton University, May 23rd to 26th, 2012. The undersigned's paper was presented at the 2010 Annual Conference of the Society in Lunenberg, Nova Scotia, and was submitted for publication only to get lost somewhere in cyberspace. As it turns out, that delay may not have been such a bad thing, as it afforded me time to clarify my thoughts on the topic. All the essays explore aspects of Gothic revival architecture in Canada from the 1840s to the early twentieth century. Consideration is given to the largely English focus for the theoretical background for Canadian Gothic. Specific aspects of the links with England are investigated with the view to demonstrate how Gothic ideas—iconographic, stylistic, and practical—were transmitted across the Atlantic and/or within North America and, in the case of rural domestic architecture, throughout Ontario.

Paul Christianson's essay, "St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," explores the impact of the Cambridge Camden Society (renamed Ecclesiological Society in 1846) on church design in the late 1840s. He attributes St John's to Kingston architect William Coverdale. On the one hand, he considers the background of conservatism in style perhaps demanded by the building committee. On the other hand, he investigates the more progressive Gothic elements of St. John's Church in association with contemporary developments in Anglican ecclesiastical architecture in the Kingston region. And, in light of stylistic and liturgical correctness, along with the requirement for more space, he explores the 1863-1864 enlargement of the church with the extension of the nave to the east and the construction of transepts and a new chancel.

I also deal with Anglican church design of the same time period in New Brunswick and specifically with Christ Church, Maugerville (NB). Like Christianson, I consider the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society on the appearance of the church, which in this case was strongly promoted by John Medley, who became Bishop of Fredericton in 1845. Medley was founder of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, which was in essence the southwest England branch of the Camden Society. Dedicated as he was to ecclesiological propriety for churches

constructed in his diocese, he was particularly keen to oversee the process of wooden church design in relation to English sources. I argue that the design of Christ Church, Maugerville, was probably a team effort based on drawings by the London-based architect William Butterfield for Fredericton Cathedral, which were reworked by Bishop Medley and his architect, Frank Wills.

Barry Magrill's "Open Timber Roofs: New Thoughts on Nineteenth-Century Architectural Literature" complements the previous two papers with an investigation of open timber roofs in western Canadian churches from a practical point of view. He indicates that publications like Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages* (1847) provide the vehicle for the transmission of Gothic roof designs to western Canada.

Jessica Mace's "Beautifying the Countryside: Rural and Vernacular Gothic in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario" considers rural and vernacular in housing in late nineteenth-century Ontario. Here there is no obsession with the "correctness" of Gothic detail, but the matter of the dissemination of house designs is an essential aspect of the architectural press. Mace's paper focuses on designs by "Mr. Smith, a successful and rising Architect of Toronto"—alias James A. Smith (1832–1918), later of the successful Toronto-based firm of Smith and Gemmell—published in *The Canada Farmer* in 1864. This bi-weekly journal, delivered to post offices free of charge with a subscription of one dollar for the year, included a regular column on the topic of rural architecture. Smith's work is seen against background of English and American architectural pattern books, and the impact of his designs is illustrated with reference to houses in southern Ontario.

"The Canadian Churches of Stephen C. Earle," by Peter Coffman, explores the English Gothic background for Anglican wooden church commissions in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland as translated by American architect Stephen Earle. The paper complements Magrill's, McKendry's, and my own articles on the dissemination of designs, and provides interesting insights into the cultural meaning of Gothic in nineteenth-century Atlantic Canada ideas.

Candace Iron focuses on the Roman Catholic commissions of prolific Toronto architect Henry Langley (1836-1907). In the vast majority of his church designs Langley follows the *True Principles* of the Gothic Revival advocated by Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), which he learned during his apprenticeship in Toronto with William Hay. Yet for his Roman Catholic churches, reference to Cardinal Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* is of fundamental importance, something that has been largely overlooked in studies of Roman Catholic Gothic churches in Canada. More commonly known as *The Instructiones*, this document was drafted in 1577, fourteen years after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), as a summation of the Catholic Church's traditions pertaining to the design of churches. Essentially, Borromeo applied the Tridentine Creed, the decrees of the Council, to architecture and concomitantly codified the canons of Catholic Church building. The *Instructiones* was released and republished with very few revisions at least nineteen times between the years of 1577 and 1952.

Jennifer McKendry investigates various applications of Gothic in the 1864 and 1886 designs of Queen Street Methodist (now United) Church in Kingston, Ontario. Reference is made to Frederick J. Jobson's 1850 publication, *Chapel and School Architecture, as Appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to Those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-Houses*. Jobson's text advocates the application of Pugin's principles to Methodist church architecture, and, as McKendry puts it, he provides instructions on "how to build Methodist churches." She gives us a careful analysis of the 1864 fabric and the expansion of the church in 1884 by Kingston architect John Power, in the context of enlargement of Methodist churches in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. With the destruction by of the recently remodeled church in January 1886, Sidney Rose Badgley (1850-1917) was appointed to design a new church. Badgley was born in Ontario, trained with Richard Windeyer in Toronto, but established his practice in Cleveland, Ohio. As McKendry points out, Badgley designed a number of churches in Canada, as well as in the United States, and "he has quite revolutionized modern church architecture"—possibly through self-promotion! It is against this background that she provides an exemplary study of Badgley's Queen Street church.

Kristie Dubé explores two early twentieth-century rural churches in Saskatchewan, Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church and Bekovar Presbyterian Church. She investigates Belgian and Hungarian analogues respectively in association with the ethnic origins of the patrons.

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

>PAUL CHRISTIANSON

PAUL CHRISTIANSON is an emeritus professor of history at Queen's University who has shifted his research interests from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Britain to nineteenth-century Canadian architecture.

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

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

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

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

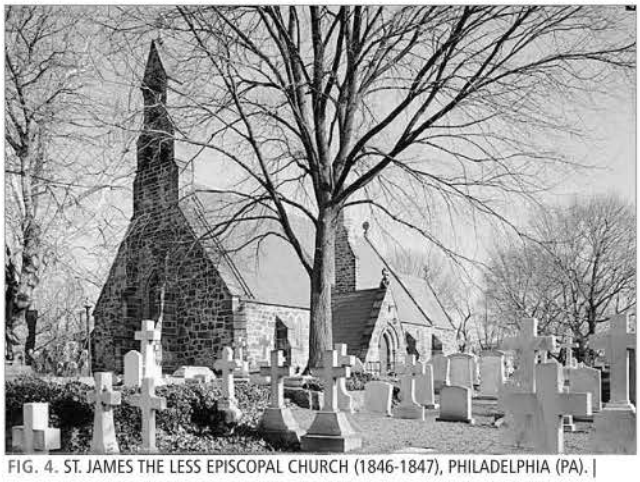

FIG. 4. ST. JAMES THE LESS EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1846-1847), PHILADELPHIA (PA). | [HTTP://WWW.LOC.GOV/PICTURES/COLLECTION/HH/ITEM/PA1153.PHOTOS.137987P/RESOURCE/].

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

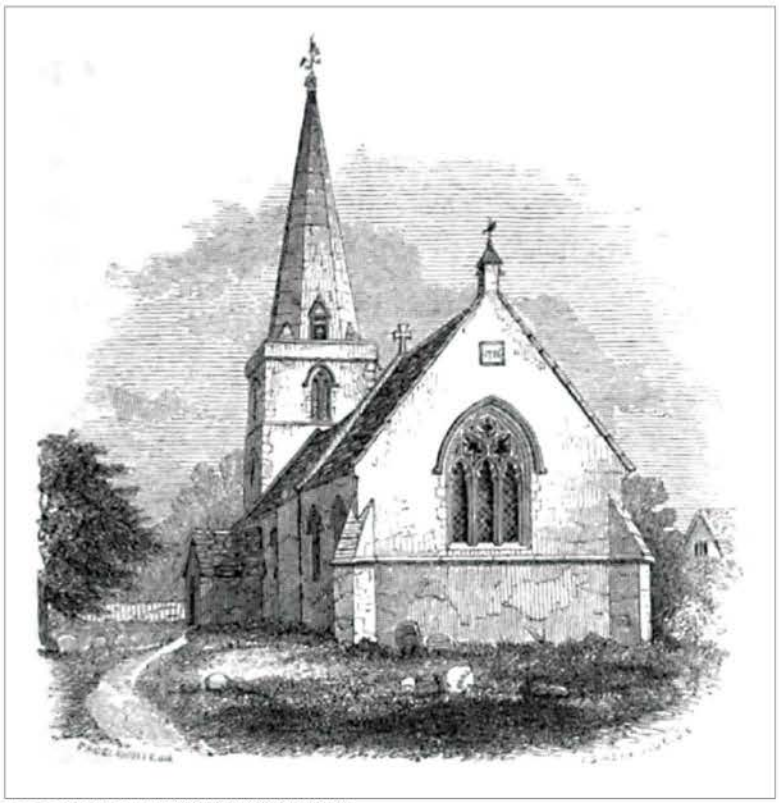

FIG. 5. ST. GILES', NEWINGTON (OXFORDSHIRE). | OXFORD SOCIETY, 1846, *A GUIDE TO THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES…*, P. 321.

Kingston (1845-1846). Two of the named committee members, the Reverend William Macaulay Herchmer, the assistant minister at St. George's, and Mrs. Harriet Dobbs Cartwright, the widow of the Reverend Robert David Cartwright (Herchmer's predecessor), would also get involved with plans for a church in Portsmouth. Reverend Herchmer was appointed because of his contacts in England and Mrs. Cartwright because of hers in Ireland.

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

A granddaughter of the Anglican Dean of Connor and daughter of the Chancellor Judge of the Court of Chancery, Dublin, Mrs. Cartwright grew up in a gentle Anglo-Irish family, got a good education, including training in drawing and painting, and became very active in charitable organizations after settling in Kingston in 1833. After the death of her husband in May 1843, her brother-in-law, John Solomon Cartwright, built North Cottage for her near Rockwood, his country home just to the west of Portsmouth. She moved there with her family and rented out her house on King Street in Kingston. She and her children became active members of St. John's and her older brother, the Reverend Francis William Dobbs, became the incumbent there in 1852.[5]

By 1849, Portsmouth had grown from a small settlement on Hatter's Bay of Lake Ontario into a village with a variety of residents and occupations, including people involved in the recently built Kingston Penitentiary, immediately to the east. Just along on the way to Kingston stood Alwington House, the home of governors general of the Province of Canada from 1841 to 1844. Other aristocratic and prosperous bourgeois villas, strung out along the shore road that became King Street, along the road to the north that became Union Street, and along the lanes that ran between the two roads, housed some of the wealthy families who would become associated with St. John's. However, most of the potential parishioners earned their living as professionals, artisans, small merchants, workers, and farmers. Some, such as members of the Grass family, came from United Empire Loyalist stock, while others were more recent immigrants.

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

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

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

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

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

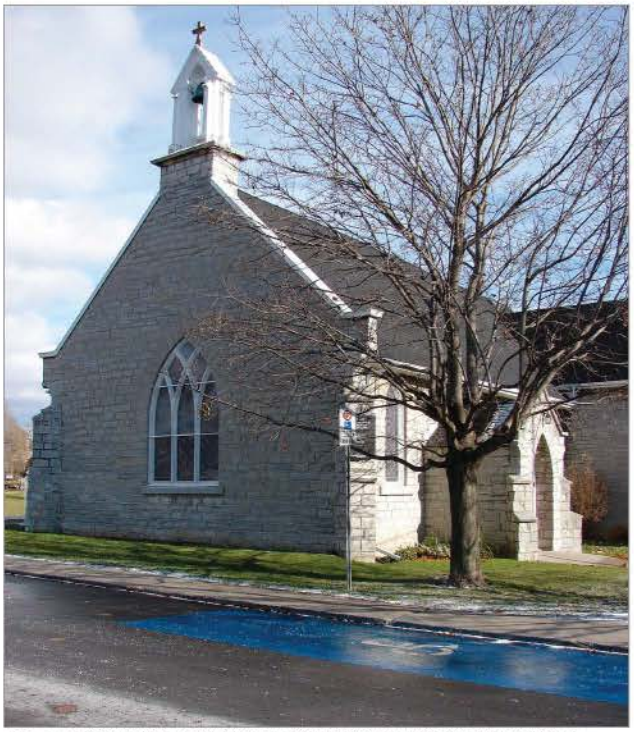

FIG. 6. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, FROM THE SOUTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

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

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

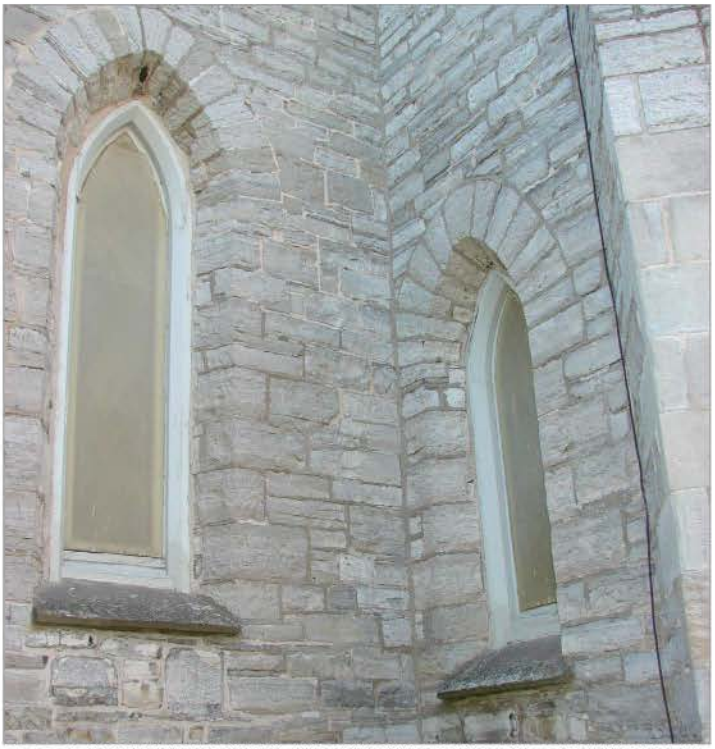

FIG. 9. ST. JAMES' ANGLICAN CHURCH, STUARTVILLE (KINGSTON), DETAIL OF STONEWORK FROM THE ENTRANCE FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

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

In 1849, only two examples of small parish churches of this sort existed in North America. St. Anne's Anglican Chapel in Fredericton, New Brunswick, commissioned by the Right Reverend John Medley, Bishop of New Brunswick, and designed by English architect Frank Wills, was an original composition based upon medieval elements (fig. 3).[14] An illustration and description of it would appear in Frank Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*.[15] St. James The Less,

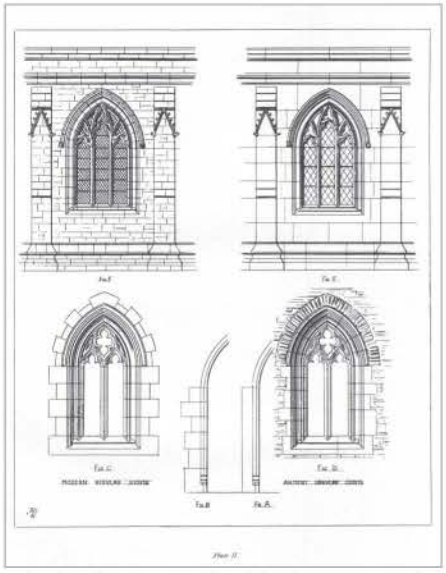

FIG. 10. PUGIN, *TRUE PRINCIPLES OF POINTED...*, PLATE 2.

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

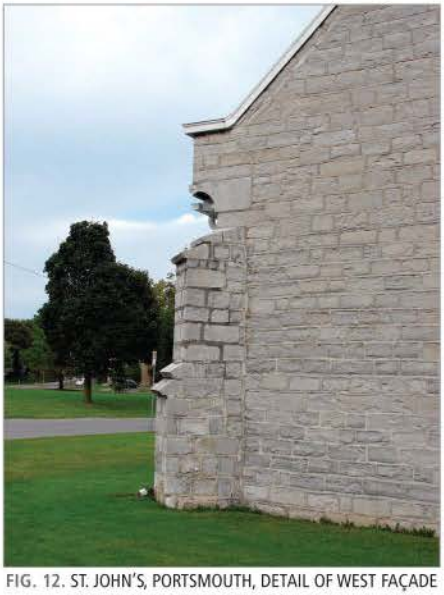

FIG. 12. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE AND NORTHWEST BUTTRESS. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1846-1847), was commissioned by Robert Ralston, who received detailed tracings of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, from the Cambridge Camden Society and modified aspects of the south porch and other details in consultation with English ecclesiologists and John E. Carver, his contractor and architect (fig. 4).[16] A fairly detailed description and review of St. James The Less appeared in the section on "New Churches" in the first issue of the *New York Ecclesiologist*—edited by Wills—in October 1848.[17] This account may have had an impact upon the architect of St. John's.

The exterior of St. John's, with its entrance porch on the south side, its three Early English lancet windows (separated by solid stepped buttresses) along the north and south sides, its sturdy stepped buttresses at forty-five degree angles on the west corners of the nave and the south corners of the entrance porch (and, perhaps, originally on the east end of the nave, as well), its stone fabric, and its relatively low walls and high pitched roof, drew inspiration from illustrations of medieval English churches, such as St. Michael's, Long Stanton, and the chancel of St. Giles', Newington (Oxfordshire) (figs. 2 and 5).[18] Originally, St. John's may well have included an externally differentiated chancel with buttresses on the east corners and an open timber roof, as well, which would have made it even closer to the medieval model.[19] At St. John's, the walls rise directly from the ground without a wider foundation course. The height of the walls on the north and south façades takes up less than one half of the overall height of the nave, a higher proportion of roof to wall than normal in Canada West, and comes close to the proportions of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, and even closer to those of the chancel of St. Giles', Newington (fig. 6).

Besides, Coverdale did not attempt to copy all of the details of the medieval parish churches. The west façade did not include the central tall stepped buttresses of St. Michael's, the architect of St. John's substituted a plain wooden belfry for the stone one of St. Michael's, and a plainer tripartite window on the west façade for the Decorated one on the chancel of St. Giles', Newington. If St. John's originally had a chancel, it probably would have been proportionally shorter than those in the medieval English parish churches. Internally, the nave lacks the aisles of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, as does that of St. Anne's, Fredericton, and many other Gothic Revival churches built to this pattern in the nineteenth century. In addition, the stonework of St. John's consists of medium-sized, hammer-dressed rectangular blocks of limestone laid in relatively uniform courses (fig. 7). These contrast with the mixture of large and small stones seen at St. Michael's, Long Stanton, and St. Giles', Newington, and favoured by the leading early theorist of the Gothic Revival in England, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin.[20] The stonework on the nearby St. Mark's Anglican, Barriefield (1843-1844), and Coverdale's St. James', Stuartville—Gothic Revival Anglican churches built before St. John's—employed the mixture of smaller and larger stones recommended by Pugin (figs. 8-9). The use of hammer-dressed rectangular stones, like

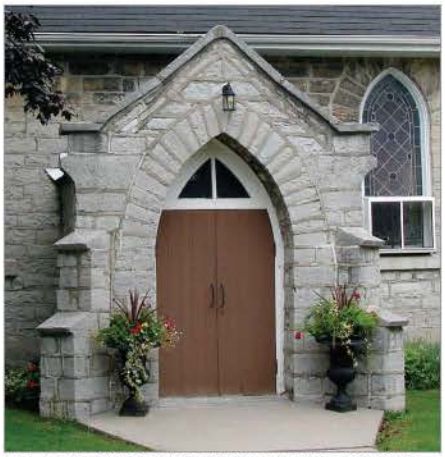

FIG. 13. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, DETAIL OF ENTRANCE PORCH FROM THE SOUTH. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

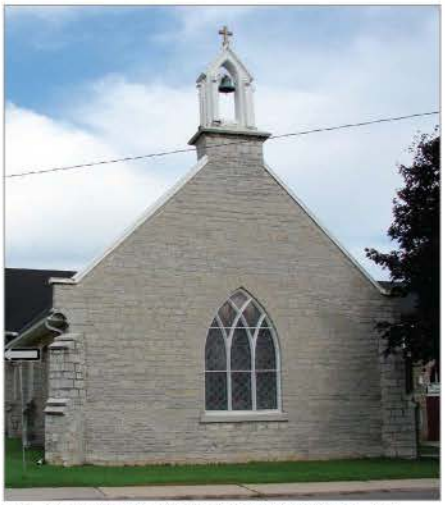

FIG. 14. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, WEST FAÇADE. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

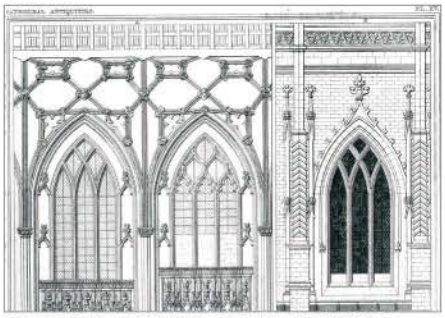

FIG. 15. WELLS CATHEDRAL, INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR VIEWS OF THE UPPER WINDOWS IN THE CHOIR. | BRITTON, 1836, *CATHEDRAL ANTIQUITIES*, VOL. 4, PLATE XV.

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

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

The stonework around the windows at St. John's is not splayed externally, but does use smaller stones around the peak and irregular stones along the sides of the openings as recommended by Pugin (fig. 10). All of the windows at St. John's are set in wooden frames—a standard practice in Canada West before the arrival of William Hay—and have unusually long ashlar sills that extend into the walls beyond the sides of the openings. The porch and buttresses are constructed of hammer-dressed rectangular stones like the rest of the fabric, but also use smaller rectangular stones in the narrower portions of the buttresses. However, the courses of the porch and the buttresses are not entirely regular with those of the adjoining walls. Much of the awkward integration of the porch and buttresses into the fabric of the walls seems to derive from later repairs. Indeed, the vestry minutes contain no mention of adding buttresses at a later date, nor did John Power include buttresses on his additions of 1863. Despite some difficulties, then, the buttresses and porch appear to be original. The buttresses along the sides and at the corners of the western façade of St. John's feature large, slanting, finished capstones in two stages both at the top and at the lower step (fig. 10). These contrast with the single-stage capstones at the narrowing and top of the buttresses standing at forty-five degree angles to the corners of the south entrance (figs. 11 and 13).

Near the upper corners of the west façade, large finished stones with a semi-circular arc reach beyond the wall below to provide support for horizontally extending the top four courses of the wall on both sides by two feet (fig. 12). In addition, very long hammer-dressed rectangular stones above and below provide added support. Visually, this solves the problem of including wide buttresses on a small church without having them overpower the balance of an end façade. Similar large stones with a curving outer edge extend a few inches to perform this function on a diminished scale for the façade of the south entrance (fig. 13). A plinth caps the peak of the west façade topped by a simple wooden belfry that would come to hold the bell donated by a benefactor to the parish in 1856.[21]

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

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

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

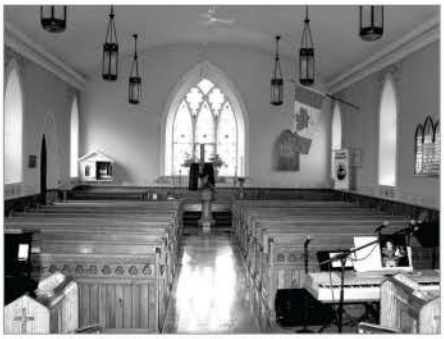

FIG. 18. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, INTERIOR OF NAVE TOWARD THE WEST END. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FIG. 23. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL, FREDERICTON, INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | [HTTP://WWW.FACEBOOK.COM/PHOTO.PHP?FBID=162094793835661&SET=A.162093057169168.32368.114666508578490&TYPE=1].

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

The existing interior has a shallow elliptical plaster ceiling that masks the steep pitch of the roof. In its present configuration, it stems from the Power additions of 1863, but Power could easily have extended an existing ceiling of this configuration into his new spaces (fig. 18). Very heavy mouldings mark the junction of the ceiling and the side walls of the nave, transepts, and chancel. Coverdale had used this combination of chunky mouldings with a shallow elliptical plaster ceiling shortly before, in his design for Chalmers Free Presbyterian Church, Kingston (1847-1849), a Gothic Revival stone church with a roof with a much more shallow pitch than that at St. John's, and he could have applied this model to St. John's (fig. 19).[30] This type of plaster ceiling varied from the peaked one at St. James', Stuartville, but fit comfortably under the scissor beams supporting the higher pitched roof at St. John's (fig. 20).

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

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

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

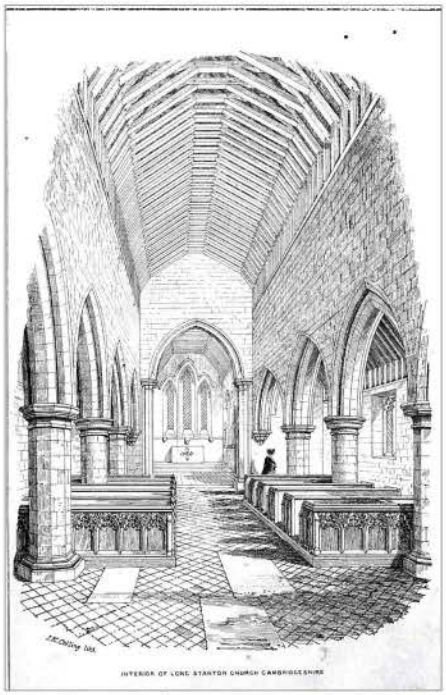

FIG. 24. ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LONG STANTON, INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1848, *PARISH CHURCHES*, BEFORE P. 33.

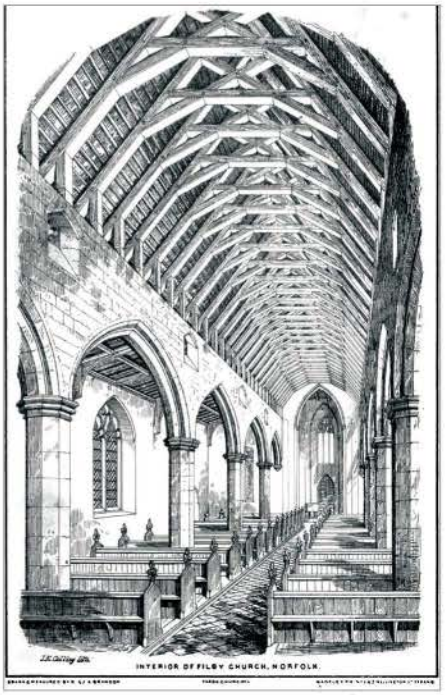

FIG. 25. ALL SAINTS ANGLICAN CHURCH, FILBY (NORFOLK, UK), INTERIOR TOWARD THE EAST END. | BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1848, *PARISH CHURCHES*, BEFORE P. 37.

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

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

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

The Church Society recommendations of 1850 did not insist on open timber roofs, but saw them as a potentially attractive option: "The timbers of the roof may to a great extent be permitted to appear internally; and with proper management may be made highly ornamental."[33] The existing rafters (which include a number of peeled tree trunks) and scissor beams that now reside between the ceiling and the roof boards at St. John's hardly seem "highly ornamental" (fig. 26). Even the sawn beams and rafters look rough when compared with those in the open timber roof installed by William Hay during his restoration of St. Paul's, Kingston, in 1855 (fig. 27). In a sketch from his notebook and in the first church that he built with a timber roof, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Newburgh (1854-1858), Coverdale produced much more finished and "ornamental" designs than the timbers between the ceiling and the roof at St. John's (fig. 28).[34] Since Coverdale used plaster ceilings in four of his first five Gothic Revival Churches, it seems most likely that he did the same at St. John's, and the slight bump in the mouldings on both sides of the chancel end of the original nave might indicate the place where the original mouldings and those of the Power addition joined.

The attribution of St. John's to William Coverdale depends not only upon his connections with influential people and his later work for the church, but also upon a comparative examination of the details of its design with those of other contemporary churches in Kingston and Canada West. The stonework at St. John's, Portsmouth, has a strong affinity to that of two Kingston churches, St. Paul's, designed by Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane, and Sydenham Street Wesleyan Methodist (now United) Church (1851-1852), designed by Coverdale.[35] Since Lane left Canada and returned to England in November 1847, Coverdale looks like the most likely candidate on the basis of the stonework. However, since St. Paul's, Kingston, was built as a memorial to Reverend Cartwright, the late husband of Mrs. Harriet Cartwright, aspects of its design may have had an impact upon that of St. John's.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Coverdale's claim as the architect of St. John's also rests on one more stylistic comparison. In 1852, he submitted a presentation drawing for a new St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Gananoque, but the congregation wanted a more conventional design (fig. 32).[38] The drawing includes the west and south façades and ground plan of St. Andrew's and incorporates details common to St. Michael's, Long Stratton, and St. John's, Portsmouth, such as the sturdy buttresses at forty-five degree angles to the corners of the nave, the entrance porch, and the low vestry on the east end. From St. John's, however, come the large stones with a semi-circular arc where the west wall meets the roof, the plinth at the peak of the west façade, and a taller, more elaborate version of the large pointed window with glazing that divides it into three lancets and three diamonds on the west façade.[39] It has the proportions of the window from the choir of Wells Cathedral rather than that from the west façade of St. John's (fig. 15).

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

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

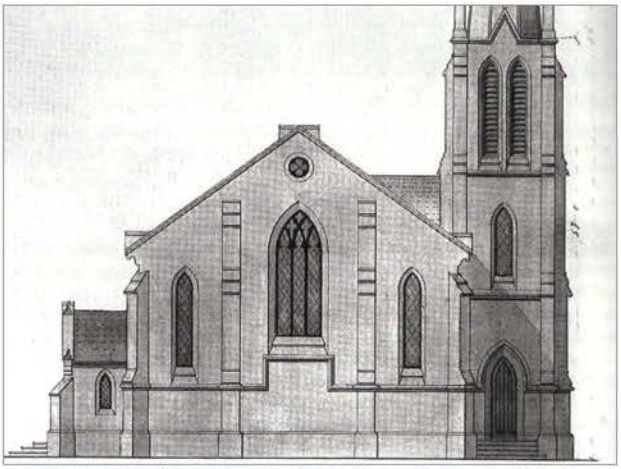

FIG. 32. ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GANANOQUE, DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE FROM WILLIAM COVERDALE'S DRAWING OF ORIGINAL PROPOSAL (C.1852). | MCKENDRY, 1995, *WITH OUR PAST BEFORE US*, P. 78.

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

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

St. Peter's, Barton, with a nave of fifty by twenty-seven feet, compared roughly in size with St. John's, Portsmouth, which had a nave of forty-two by twenty-eight feet, and a chancel of eighteen by fourteen feet, compared with a possible chancel of similar dimensions at St. John's (fig. 33). Both were built of stone. Externally, St. Peter's had the south entrance porch, Early English windows on the sides, and sturdy buttresses along the sides of St. John's. In addition, it featured the two additional tall buttresses on the west façade, a simplified stone belfry, and an even more highly pitched roof than that of St. Michael's, Long Stanton. Unlike that medieval English church, however, it had double buttresses on the corners of the nave and a graduated set of three lancets on the wall of the west façade. Its externally differentiated chancel had such Ecclesiological fittings as "three sedilia" (seating built into the wall) and a "Credence Table" inside the railing in front of the "Communion Table," and three sedilia on the nave side of the railing.[44] In addition, the pulpit stood at the chancel end of the nave and the lectern on the first step of the chancel. In comparison with these fittings for the revival of a "medieval" style of worship, most of those at St. John's would have seemed deliberately protestant.

As Malcolm Thurlby has demonstrated at length, Wills could make some compromises with local Anglican traditions in designing churches—hence the lack of a chancel screen in both St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the smaller size of the chancel at St. Paul's. However, Wills insisted on having present what he conceived of as the essential elements of what he called Christian pointed architecture: a nave, an externally differentiated and raised chancel with an arch to separate it from the nave, slip pews, an entry porch or tower (preferably on the south side), a high pitched roof (preferably with the supporting beams visible on the interior), a pulpit, sedilia, and an altar rail, all in a consistent Gothic Revival style. Wills clearly led the way in providing concrete architectural solutions imbibed with the interpretations of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists in North America. This was true both in major buildings and in such small projects as St. Peter's and St. Paul's. Both his buildings and his book helped to spread this interpretation of Gothic Revival architecture. The reforming vision of Coverdale as the architect of St. John's lacked such consistency and zeal.

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

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

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

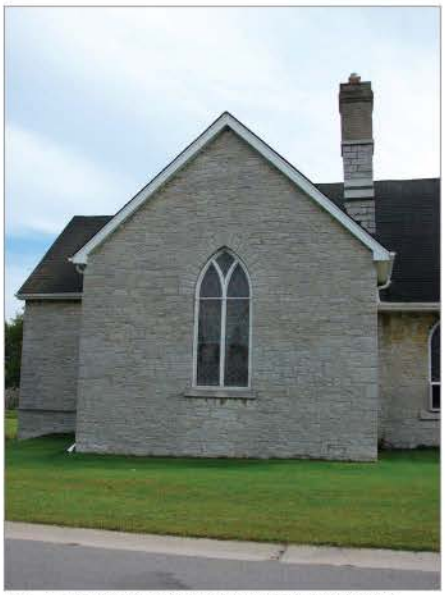

FIG. 35. ST. JOHN'S, PORTSMOUTH, ADDITION OF 1863-1864, FROM THE NORTH. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2011.

by the Building Committee of the Church Society in April 1850 and later passed by the Church Society represented a wide-reaching distillation of many of the ideas of the Ecclesiologists. The indirect impact came more through church building committees and architects getting ideas from visual patterns that they saw in a variety of places, including pattern books, other books, journals, as well as from constructed churches that they saw or visited. Nor were these paths exclusive. An architect, such as Coverdale, could have received the printed recommendations of the Church Society of 1850 and used his imagination to translate aspects of them into a church like St. John's.

When the membership of St. John's grew and space became cramped within the small church, the vestry meeting of April 6, 1863, resolved: "That it is expedient to enlarge the Church of St. John's to meet the growing wants of the population of Portsmouth." Initially, a committee consisting of Reverend Dodd and the two churchwardens, Dr. John Palmer Litchfield and Mr. J.C. Clark, were appointed to oversee this task, but before the end of the meeting, the four sidesmen, Charles Grass, J. Carter, Eli Baiden, and Thomas Smith, Jr., and two other members, Alexander Campbell, Esq., and Mr. David Forbes, were added.[46] The committee was obviously busy because on April 20, 1863, when the vestry next met, "plans for alteration of Church submitted and the Building Committee were directed to have specifications made out by the Architect." In addition, eight persons—Messrs. Atkins, Baiden, Carter, Cartwright, Clark, Grass, Scott, and Smith, Jr.—were appointed to solicit funds from people in "Kingston," "the Village," "the Country," and "the Asylum."[47]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

1. Although some financial records survive from 1851 onward, the vestry minutes for St. John's begin in 1861. Earlier accounts appear in Anderson, Allan J., 1963, *The Anglican Churches of Kingston*, Kingston, p. 73-75, Good, Glenys, 1973, *Saints Among Sinners: St. John's—Portsmouth, 125 Years*, Kingston, St. John's, p. 9-13, and McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, *With Our Past Before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 75-78. I would like to thank Jennifer for her very helpful comments upon various drafts of this paper, her suggestions of illustrations, and her friendship over many decades.
2. 1851, *The ninth annual report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, for the year ending on 31st March, 1851*, Toronto, Anglican Diocesan Press, p. 16. The annual meetings of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto were held in June and the reports covered events from the previous year.
3. For example, see Christianson, Paul, 2011, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Kingston, 1844-1856," *Pittsburgh Township Historical Society: A Collection of Talks 2010*, p. 8-9. For St. James', Stuartville, and St. Paul's, Kingston, local newspaper accounts contained a good deal of information, including the names of the architects involved.
4. *The Church*, October 10, 1850, p. 81, and October 7, 1850, p. 89; 1852, *The tenth annual report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, for the year ending on 31st March, 1852*, Toronto, Anglican Diocesan Press, p. 21. Herchmer had donated one thousand pounds from his own fortune toward the expansion of St. George's in 1843. Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario, St. George's, Kingston, Vestry Book 1835-1849, n.p., April 17, 1843.
5. See Angus, Margaret, 2000, "Harriet Dobbs (Cartwright)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca], accessed February 2013; Angus, Margaret, 1966, *The Old Stones of Kingston: Its Buildings before 1867*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 38; Anderson : 73-74, Good : 12-33; McKendry, Jennifer, 1991, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston from 1835 to 1865," Ph.D. thesis, Toronto, University of Toronto, p. 87-88; McKendry, Jennifer, 2010 [2nd ed.], *Portsmouth Village Kingston: An Illustrated History*, Kingston, Jennifer McKendry, p. 91.
6. Quoted in Anderson : 74.
7. The deed for this gift, with its provisions, survives in the Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario in Kingston, Ontario.
8. For Coverdale's church designs, see McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : ch. 4; and McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 68-83. Also see Angus, Margaret, 2000, "William Coverdale,"

Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, [http://www.biographi.ca]; and "William Coverdale," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org], accessed February 2013.

9. For Coverdale's work at St. George's, see McKendry, Jennifer, 1988, "The Architects of St. George's Cathedral, Kingston," *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 95, p. 699-713; McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : 158-174; and McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 62-66. See also Stewart, J. Douglas, 1991, "George Browne's Influence: The Architectural Heritage of St. George's," in Donald Swainson (ed.), St. *George's Cathedral: Two Hundred Years of Community*, Kingston, Quarry Press, p. 29-63, 278-280. For Herchmer's financial contribution, see note 4 above.

10. For the North Cottage, see note 5 above. For Willow Cottage, see Angus, Margaret (ed.), 1977, *Buildings of Architectural and Historic Significance, Kingston, Ontario*, 6 vols., vol. 4, Kingston, City of Kingston, p. 125-126.

11. See McKendry, 2010, *Portsmouth Village* : 67; and Angus, Margaret (ed.), 1975, *Buildings of Architectural and Historic Significance*, vol. 3, p. 101-104.

12. Excellent local limestone was readily available.

13. See 1845, "Report of the Thirty-Ninth Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society on Thursday, November 7," *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4, p. 23.

14. See Stanton, Phoebe B., 1968, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 130-137; and Richardson, Douglas, 2000, "Frank Wills," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca], accessed February 2013.

15. Wills, Frank, 1850, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, New York, Stanford and Swords, Appendix, p. 109-111, with a plate preceding.

16. Stanton : 91-135.

17. An unpaginated version of first issue of the *New York Ecclesiologist* has been reproduced online: [http://anglicanhistory.org/ecclesiologist/ny/1.html], accessed February 2013. A letter to the editor favourably drew to the attention of the readers of *The Church* the publication of the first three issues of the *New York Ecclesiologist*, and the work of Frank Wills. See *The Church*, February 22, 1849, p. 118. This may well have caught the eye of Reverend Herchmer, who had an interest in architecture. In 1845, while raising money for the building of what would become St. Paul's, Kingston, he had written to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, "requesting a plan for a new church at Kingston Canada." Bodleian Library, Oxford Architectural and Historical Society MSS, Dep. D.538, Reports of Committee meetings, April 18, 1845. On May 10, 1845, it was agreed to send "tracings of any church" if sufficient funds had been raised to build. I would like to thank Professor William Westfall of York University for providing me with his notes on this material.

18. 1846, *A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*, Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Oxford, John Henry Parker. I would like to thank Professor Malcolm Thurlby for drawing this example to my attention.

19. The similar finished cap stones that appear on the chimney of the addition to St. John's designed by John Power in 1863 may have stood originally on buttresses at forty-five degree angles to the corners of the east façade of the original church. Coverdale's plan for St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Gananoque (1852), had buttresses at forty-five degrees at the east end of the nave and at the east end of what looked like an externally differentiated chancel, but served as a vestry. For this building, see notes 38 and 39 below.

20. Pugin, Augustus Welby, [2nd ed.] 1853, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London, John Weale, p. 17 and plate 2.

21. Good : 16.

22. See MacRae, Marion and Anthony Adamson, 1975, *Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada*, Toronto, Clark, Irwin and Company, p. 287-288, for earlier interlacing glazing bars. Most often these formed the top for windows with six rows of rectangular panes. For the reconstruction of windows with three rows of rectangular panes with a top much like that of St. John's, Portsmouth, see, p. 265, fig. X-46, and for windows with a similar glazing pattern to those at St. John's but with greater height, see p. 270, fig. X-55.

23. Britton, John, 1836, *Cathedral Antiquities: Historical and Descriptive Accounts*, 5 vols., London, M.A. Natali, vol. 4, Wells Cathedral, plate 15; and Parker, John Henry, [4th ed.], 1845, *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford, John Henry Parker, vol. 2, plate 156. I would like to thank Professor Malcolm Thurlby for raising this issue and for the second of these references.

24. An early stress on the importance of chancels appeared in [Neale, John Mason], 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 4. Those of St. Mark's and Holy Trinity were shallow externally, but extended at least another five feet into the space of the nave. For St. Mark's, see Christianson, Paul, 2010, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, p. 17-30, at p. 25-27. For Holy Trinity, see Arthur, Eric, 1964, *Toronto: No Mean City*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 84, fig. 119. For St. George the Martyr, see the floor plan in Harman, H.M. and W.G. Upshall, 1945, *The Story of the Church of St. George the Martyr of Toronto, Canada*, Toronto, Ross and Mann Press, p. 28. For St. James', see Christianson, Paul, "St. James' Anglican Church, Stuartville, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West, 1844-1849," unpublished paper, p. 11-13. A fairly conventional Regency style Gothic Revival stone church, Trinity, Wolfe Island (which may have been designed by Coverdale), has a shallow externally differentiated chancel. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for drawing this to my attention.

25. "Recommendations by the Church Building of the Church Society, in regard to Churches and their Precincts," *The Church*, April 11 and 17, 1850, p. 145-146 and p. 149, at p. 146. I am presently writing an article systematically analyzing these recommendations and placing them in their historical and programmatic context. Since these recommendations appeared in print during or before the erection of St. John's and well before Reverend Herchmer (who probably had read them in *The Church*) applied to the Building Committee for a grant, they may well have influenced its design in a number of ways.

26. In 1858, the vestry paid two pounds to whitewash the church. Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives, St. John's, Portsmouth, Accounts 1851-1868, 5KM1, n.p.

27. *Id.*, October 16, 1852, n.p.: "Stool for Organ for Miss Barham 4s/6d." According to Good (*op. cit.* : 16), this was a harmonium, a form of pedal reed organ; these could be quite simple or very sophisticated. One can see and hear various performances on nineteenth-century instruments on YouTube.

28. Good : 16.

29. *The Church*, April 17, 1850, p. 149. See the classic anonymous tract published by the Cambridge Camden Society: [Neale], 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 14-15.

30. See McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : 189, plate IV-10; and 1947, *One Hundred Years 1847-1947: Chalmers Church at Kingston*, Kingston, Chalmers Church, p. 5. However, the roof at Chalmers had a much shallower peak than that at St. John's.

31. Wills, Frank, 1848, "Reality in Church Architecture," *New York Ecclesiologist*, October, no. 1, n.p.

32. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for bringing the roof at Filby to my attention.

33. *The Church*, April 11, 1850, p. 146.

34. See McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston..." : 193-194, figs. IV-13 and IV-15; and McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 81-83, fig. 42.

35. For St. Paul's, see Christianson, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's..." : 7-23. For Sydenham United Methodist (United), see McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 79-83.

36. The lower window in the illustration of Sydenham Wesleyan Methodist (United) was originally a door, but the change of function did not appear to have any impact upon the stonework of the opening and wall, but only upon the addition of a sill and stonework around the new window.

37. St. Paul's was the most expensive of the four stone Gothic Revival Anglican churches built in the greater Kingston area in the 1840s, in part because of its elaborate stonework, especially the ashlar of the foundation courses and mouldings. Sydenham Wesleyan Methodist (United) featured both ashlar mouldings and ashlar in the upper stages of the tower.

38. For a discussion of St. John's and the drawing for St. Andrew's, see McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 77-82.

39. The central window in the drawing for St. Andrew's, Gananoque, is proportionally taller and narrower than the one built at St. John's, Portsmouth, but that was more appropriate for a proportionally taller wall. Its glazing was also a bit more elaborate.

40. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60.

41. See Stanton : 286-297; and Finley, Greg and Lynn Wigginton, 1995, *On Earth as it is in Heaven: Gothic Revival Churches of Victorian New Brunswick*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Editions.

42. Richardson, "Frank Wills," *op. cit.* In his book, Wills praised Pugin as a "Great Architect" who "first clearly showed us what the true principles of Pointed Architecture were." Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 85.

43. In Canada West, a letter praising the first three issues of the *New York Ecclesiologist*, to which Wills contributed, appeared in *The Church* on February 22, 1849, p. 118. Portions of *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture* were favourably quoted in *The Church*, as early as November 14, 1850, p. 126.

44. *The Church*, December 22, 1853, p. 2, as quoted in Thurlby, "Two Churches" : 50-51. Wills strongly defended pulpits and argued that they should be placed on the north side of the nave, just west of the chancel arch. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 73-74.

45. Reverend Merritt served as an Anglican missionary in the "Gore District." Having received a B.A. from King's College, Fredericton, New Brunswick (where he no doubt became aware of the work of Wills), he studied under Reverend Bethune at the Anglican Diocesan Theological College in Cobourg. He would build three churches, St. Mary's, near Brantford, St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford. For the first, see the description of the opening of St. Mary's in *The Church*, January 16, 1851, p. 193-194. For Merritt, see the 1850, *Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, vol. 2 (1849-1850), New Haven, George Bassett, p. 451. In 1853, Merritt would accept a call to St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Morristown, New Jersey, and would serve as rector there until his death in 1895. See [http://www.stpetersmorristown.org/about_us/parish_history], accessed September 2012.

46. Anglican Diocese of Ontario, St. John's, Portsmouth, Vestry Minutes 1851-1931, April 6, 1863, n.p. Dr. Litchfield was appointed superintendent of the criminal lunatic asylum and lived with some male patients in Rockwood. Charles Grass came from an established Loyalist family with landholdings in the Kingston area. Thomas Smith, Jr., was a lawyer who held the seat for Frontenac in the Legislative Assembly from 1841-1861 (serving as solicitor general and speaker) and purchased Roselawn in 1851. Alexander Campbell was the law partner of John A. Macdonald during the 1840s. See Rasporich, A.W. and I.H. Clarke, 2000, " John Palmer Litchfield," and Swainson, Donald, 2000, "Sir Henry Smith," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca], accessed February 2013. At the same meeting, thanks were given to "Mrs. Crookshank [the remarried widow of John Solomon Cartwright] for liquidating the balance due upon the Parsonage debt."

47. *Id.*, April 20, 1863. The Cartwright was most likely Richard John, the eldest surviving son of Reverend and Harriet Cartwright, who had extensive real estate holdings, was elected to the Legislative Assembly for Lennox and Addington in 1863, and would have a successful political career. See Morgan, Cecilia and Robert Craig Brown, 2000, "Sir Richard John Cartwright," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca], accessed February 2013]

48. Good : 16.

49. The shelf of limestone on which the nave of St. John's rests slopes down a bit from west to east; it was further quarried to create the basement under the Power extension that contained a furnace for heating the church.

50. Kingston *Daily News*, December 23, 1863, p. 2; from January 16, 1864, onward, the times of the Sunday services at St. John's were regularly listed in the Saturday *Daily News*.

51. Reprinted in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, *"Temples... Worthy of His Presence": The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, London, Spire Books, p. 133-168, at plate 1, p. 165. The chancel of the Power addition would have been too short in relation to the nave for Neale.

52. Good : p. 16.

53. See the recommendations of the Church Building Committee of the Church Society cited in note 25 above. A systematic redecoration of the internal spaces of the church took place in 1892. An altar and reredos were added the east end of the chancel and the space of the chancel was extended into the nave by a raised platform that held pews for the choir.

54. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 74.

55. Good : 16-17.

56. Stanton : ch. 6.

57. Cooper, C.W., 1856, *Prize Essay: Frontenac, Lennox & Addington*, Kingston, James M. Creighton, p. 47.

58. McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us...* : 76-77 and 83-86. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for bringing these churches to my attention.

CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, NEW BRUNSWICK

Bishop John Medley, William Butterfield, Frank Wills, and the Transmission of Ecclesiological Principles in Anglican Churches in New Brunswick[1]

> MALCOLM THURLBY

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When I spoke on this topic at the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Conference in Lunenburg, my starting point was the similarity between the belfry and spire of Christ Church, Maugerville (NB), and a church in Surrey, England, a connection for which there is contemporary documentary evidence. At the time, I argued that Maugerville was the work of the English-trained, New York-based architect Frank Wills (1822-1857). As we shall see, the attribution was nothing new, but subsequent examination of drawings for Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, by English architect William Butterfield (1814-1900), in which the spire is distinctly similar to the one at Maugerville, raises questions about the authorship of the Maugerville design. At the current stage of research I do not have answers to these questions, but various possibilities are explored here in the context of the transmission of ecclesiological principles in the Anglican church of New Brunswick. More generally, the nature of our inquiry pertains to the study of Anglican church design throughout Canada in regard to reference to churches in the motherland and the degree to which "development" was considered in the creation of new churches in the Victorian era.[2]

FIG. 1. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE (NB), EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHEAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

THE CONTEXT

On April 25, 1845, John Medley (1804-1892) was appointed as Bishop of Fredericton and was consecrated on May 4 at the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, London.[3] He was enthroned in Fredericton on St. Barnabas Day,

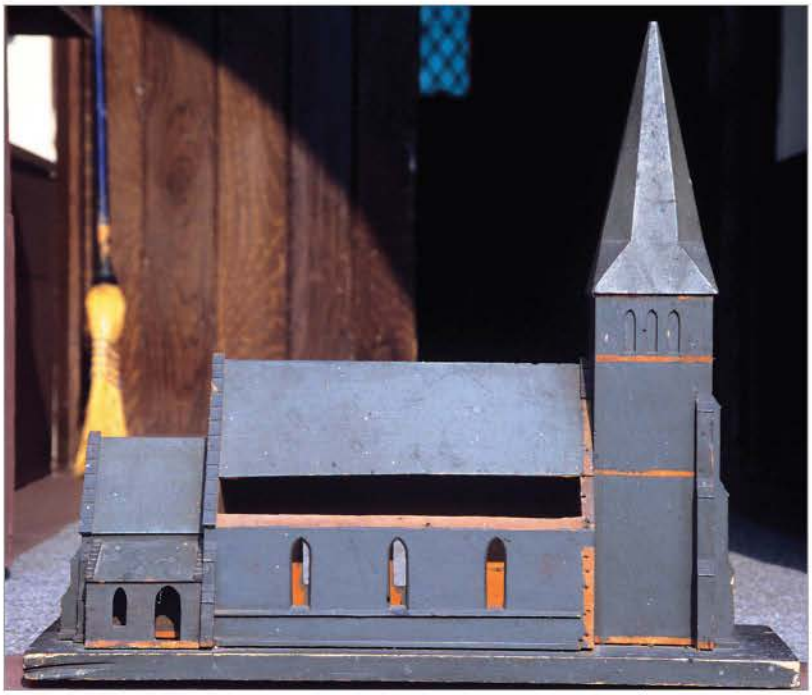

FIG. 2. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, MODEL OF CHURCH FROM LITURGICAL NORTH. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 3. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHWEST. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

June 11, 1845.[4] He remained in office until his death on September 9, 1892. Before his appointment to the bishopric, Medley was vicar of St. Thomas', Exeter, from 1838, and was a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral, from 1842. In 1841 he founded the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society that promoted the doctrines of the Cambridge Camden Society (renamed Ecclesiological Society in 1846) for the erection of "correct" Gothic churches based on the careful study of English medieval originals.[5] Also in 1841, he published *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* in which he argued that the Pointed or Gothic style is most appropriate especially for small churches.[6] Like Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), Medley regarded Greek architecture as unacceptable for church buildings: "Grecian Architecture presents to our minds no solemn associations, no inspiring thoughts; and therefore it is eminently defective in the proper characteristics of a religious edifice."[7] He concludes:

> In short, Grecian Architecture with its horizontal lines, seems low, earthward, unable to pierce the skies, and mount the soul towards heaven. Church Architecture, by its very loftiness, reminds man of his own littleness and of God's glory, and seems, as it were, desirous to raise him above the petty business of earth, and fit him for communion with his Maker.[8]

Medley also made reference to the importance of the inclusion of pavement tiles and stained glass in the church.[9] He further observed that:

> However highly ornamented a church may be, so as to look very magnificent in a description of it in the newspapers, it is worth nothing as a church unless its interior arrangement be church-like and catholic. If it be a square box filled with galleries, or overloaded with cumbrous pews—if the font be hid out of sight, and the altar shut out,—the people who worship in it may be church people, but the building itself is in its *morale* a meeting house.[10]

He insisted on the use of open seats as opposed to pews, a topic on which he published separately.[11]

During his incumbency at St. Thomas', Exeter, Medley was responsible for modifications to the sanctuary of the church and the introduction of a font according to proper High Anglican standards. The monument to his wife, Christiana (d. 1841), followed the principles of correct Decorated Gothic design with the recumbent effigy on a tomb-chest beneath an ogee arch.[12] The tomb was designed by Frank Wills and his elevation of the monument is preserved in the Public Archives of Canada.[13] Wills was

trained in the office of John Hayward (1808-1891) in Exeter and became his chief assistant.[14] He was in Hayward's office when St. Andrew's, Exwick (1841-1842), was constructed as a chapel of ease for Medley's church of St. Thomas, and it is possible that Wills was responsible for the design. The church was described in *The Ecclesiologist* as "the best specimen of a modern church we have yet seen."[15] Wills moved to Fredericton where he was employed as architect for Christ Church Cathedral (1845-1856) and St. Anne's Chapel (1846-1847), and probably some of the other churches in the diocese consecrated by Bishop Medley.[16] In 1848, he moved to New York and was a founding member of the New York Ecclesiological Society, which published the *New York Ecclesiologist* between 1848 and 1853. In 1850, he published *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles, Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, in which he promoted the true principles of pointed architecture according to Pugin and the Ecclesiologists.[17]

CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE: DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION

Situated in Upper Maugerville on the north side of Highway 105 eight kilometres southeast of Fredericton, Christ Church, Maugerville, was constructed in wood "after the model of one in Surrey. It cost £600, and has been paid for chiefly by parishioners," and was "nearly finished" in 1856.[18] The church was consecrated by Bishop Medley on January 8, 1857. "It is about seventy-five feet long, the nave being forty-four by twenty-four, and the chancel fifteen by thirteen feet. All the seats are free, and it affords accommodation for one hundred and eighty people."[19]

FIG. 4. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, INTERIOR TO EAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 7. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, FONT. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 5. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, EAST WINDOW. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 6. CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE, EAST WINDOW, DETAIL. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

The plan and Early English style of the church complies with the principles of the (Cambridge Camden) Ecclesiological Society as expressed in the quarterly journal *The Ecclesiologist* first published in 1841, and a series of pamphlets like *A Few Words to Church Builders*, and promoted by Bishop Medley.[20] It is Gothic and is correctly oriented with the chancel at the east end. The rectangular chancel is shorter and lower than the nave, and there is a vestry to the north of the chancel (figs. 1-3). The chancel is raised two steps at the chancel arch, and the altar is raised a further step above the floor of the chancel (fig. 4). The nave is aisleless and has a south porch and western tower with spire. It has steeply pitched roofs with truthfully exposed timbers on the interior. All the

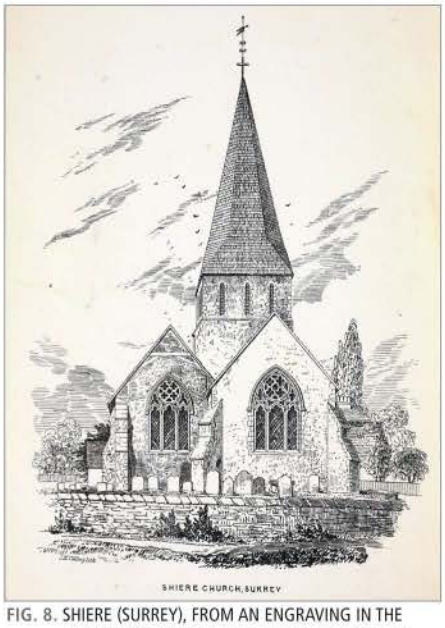

FIG. 8. SHIERE (SURREY), FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BRANDONS' *PARISH CHURCHES*. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

arches are pointed. The east window is larger than the others, is subdivided with Y-tracery, and is filled with grisaille glass (figs. 5-6). The west window also has Y-tracery while the other windows are single lancets. The octagonal stone font is at the west end of the nave next to the south door (fig. 7).

Phoebe Stanton said of Maugerville:

> Christ Church is an English parish church transcribed in wood. Its interior spaces are succinctly expressed on the exterior. Its only enrichments are the buttresses, which, though ornamental in their wooden construction, preserve something of the form of the stone examples which were their inspiration.[21]

Stanton's statement begs several questions. How was the wooden church designed? What are the links with England and medieval sources? How was a model determined? Did the architect make a detailed study of a church in Surrey himself, just as Frank Wills studied and drew St. Mary's, Snettisham (Norfolk), in preparation for his design of Bishop Medley's new cathedral in Fredericton? Were drawings or a model sent from England? To what extent was reference made to churches published in the architectural press?

IN SEARCH OF MODELS FOR WOODEN CHURCHES

The design of churches in wood according to ecclesiological principles was of great concern to Anglican Church patrons in British North America from the 1840s on.

In 1843, Mr. Patterson addressed the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture (OSPSGA) and presented lithographs of wooden churches in Norway. He read in translation from Johan Christian Dahl's three-volume book on Norwegian stave churches published in Dresden in 1837; Dahl's book was listed in the library catalogue of the society in 1846.[22] Discussion following the paper mentioned that the churches could serve as models for wooden churches in Newfoundland and the Canadas.[23] While Norwegian stave churches did not influence the design of Anglican churches in Newfoundland or elsewhere in the Maritimes, or Upper or Lower Canada, the tall proportions of Holy Trinity, Stanley Mission (SK), built by the Anglican missionary Reverend Robert Hunt between 1854 and 1860, indicate knowledge of stave churches, perhaps a tracing of one of Dahl's lithographs supplied by the Oxford Architectural Society.[24]

According to the OSPSGA Proceedings for the meeting of February 28, 1844,

> A letter was read by the Chairman from the Rev. G[eorge] Coster, Archdeacon of New Brunswick, acknowledging a present of the publications of the Society and expressing a warm interest in its proceedings. The Chairman took this opportunity again to call the attention of the Society to the subject of designs for wooden Churches for the Colonies.

At the meeting of the OSPSGA of May 15, 1844, there was exhibited "a design by Mr. Cranstoun for a wooden Church, according to the suggestion of the Bishop of Newfoundland." At the June 17 meeting it is reported that two of Mr. Cranstoun's designs for wooden churches, prepared "under the directions of the Committee," were now ready. On April 16, 1845, Mr. Millard addressed the OSPSGA on "The Style of Architecture to be adopted in Colonial Churches," the text of which was published in the Proceedings of the Society.

On his visit to England in 1848, Bishop Medley addressed the Ecclesiological Society on May 9, in the following manner: "[The Society] might... aid me much by small plain wooden models for wooden churches in the country. In many places it is absolutely impossible to build of stone, from the frightful expense of materials and workmen... And most of the men being carpenters in some sort, they easily get out the frames of our churches."[25]

In a seminal article entitled "On Wooden Churches," published in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1848, William Scott warned against the "Log Church" of Canada, which was based on "the old heathen temples of the Canadian Indians." He advocated the use of vertical logs as in the nave of the Anglo-Saxon church at Greenstead-juxta-Ongar (Essex). If planks were to be used, then the Norwegian model of vertical planks should be favoured; he added: "there seems to be no reason of

the horizontal arrangement which prevails in America." Scott believed that the pitch of the roof should be steep as in the stave churches.[26]

CHRIST CHURCH, MAUGERVILLE: DISCUSSION

The reference to the model in Surrey for Christ Church, Maugerville, must be to the County of Surrey in England in which medieval churches with wooden towers survive to this day. Specifically, there are several splayed-foot spires in which the cardinal faces of an octagonal spire splay out near their base to the corners of the supporting tower while the intermediate faces taper to the corners, as at Maugerville. Examples are at St. Nicholas' at Alfold, St. Nicholas' at Great Bookham, St. Katharine's at Merstham, St. Peter's at Newdigate, and St. James' at Shiere. Of these, Merstham and Shiere were published in the Brandons' *Parish Churches*, and the triple lancets of the belfry at Shiere are the same as at Maugerville (figs. 3, 8).[27] It follows that the Brandons' engraving may have been the model for the Maugerville tower.

The architect of Christ Church, Maugerville, is not recorded, but it has long been attributed to Frank Wills.[28] Phoebe Stanton did not credit Wills with the design but she did observe that the spire of the nearby church of St. Paul at Burton was "exactly like that of St. George, Milford, Connecticut," which appeared in Frank Wills' book, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*.[29] On Maugerville, she thought, "[i]t seems possible that this church followed the pattern the Ecclesiological Society supplied the Bishop when he asked for assistance, for the wooden model from which the church was built is still preserved there."[30] The model to which Stanton refers is not one sent from England but one commissioned by Bishop Medley probably from a Fredericton carpenter, Charles Moffitt.[31] An unsigned drawing in the Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of Fredericton Archives—"no. IV, Choir Cathedral, Fredericton"—was published by Stanton and attributed to William Butterfield (1848).[32] The spire of the crossing tower in the drawing is the same as Christ Church, Maugerville (fig. 3). The attribution to Butterfield is supported with reference to another drawing, no. 1, in the Fredericton Archives, which shows the elevation of the cathedral from the east complete with the east window copied from Selby Abbey and the tracery on the buttresses as built to Butterfield's design (fig. 9). The same design for the spire was used by Butterfield on the west tower of St. Cuthbert's, Sessay (Yorkshire) (1847-1848) (fig. 10). These observations make it tempting to suggest that Butterfield was the architect of Christ Church, Maugerville, and that he made drawings in response to Bishop Medley's request to the Ecclesiological Society for designs of wooden churches. Be that as it may, the attribution to Frank Wills should not be dismissed without further consideration. The crossing tower and spire of Fredericton Cathedral as built are based closely on Wills' design of 1845 rather than on Butterfield's version, even though the choir followed Butterfield's scheme.[33] It follows that Bishop Medley was in contact with Wills concerning the form of the Fredericton Cathedral choir, crossing, and transepts after Butterfield's involvement. Perhaps something similar happened with Maugerville. Wills may have reworked a Butterfield's design for Maugerville with reference to the Brandons' representation of Shiere. Or, Wills took Butterfield's design for the spire of Fredericton Cathedral and incorporated it into his own scheme

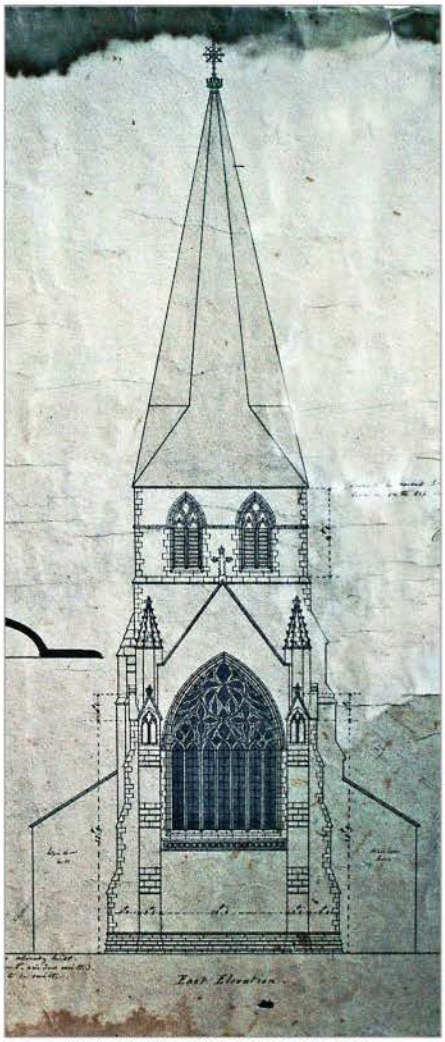

FIG. 9. ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA, DIOCESE OF FREDERICTON ARCHIVES, CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, FREDERICTON, DRAWING, NO. 1, DETAIL, EAST ELEVATION. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

for Maugerville. Whatever the exact chain of events, it is likely that Bishop Medley played a significant role. In 1841 he wrote:

> In the Middle Ages the Clergy were frequently the architects as well as guardians of the church; and if this cannot be expected now, at all events it is desirable that those to whom the care of our holy edifices is intrusted, should not be ignorant of the essential principles of the science to which we are all so deeply indebted...[34]

FIG. 10. ST. CUTHBERT'S, SESSAY (YORKSHIRE), WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD ARCHITECT, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHEAST, 1847-1848. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 12. LOWER ST. MARY'S (NB), HOLY TRINITY, EXTERIOR FROM EAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 11. ST. ANDREW'S, EXWICK (DEVON), FONT. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

Moreover, quite apart from his involvement with the "improvements" at St. Thomas', Exeter, and the creation of St. Andrew's, Exwick, as a chapel of ease of St. Thomas, he executed the design of the chapel at Oldridge (Devon) himself (1841-1843).[35] With this in mind, we may recall Peter and Douglas Richardson's observation on the east end of Fredericton Cathedral: "The architecturally astute Bishop Medley acted effectively as arbiter between Butterfield and the original (and rather younger) architect, Frank Wills, to achieve an acceptable compromise."[36] It seems that Medley's skill as architectural arbiter extended to the design of Christ Church, Maugerville.

Certain aspects of Maugerville may be paralleled in Wills' chapel of St. Anne at Fredericton: the location of the vestry to the north of the chancel in the angle of the nave, the continuous orders in the chancel arch, and the selective use of stepped buttresses at the ends of the walls of the chancel, nave, porch, and tower. The use of clapboard siding is paralleled as at Burton, which is almost certainly by Wills. Yet the features common to Maugerville and St. Anne's chapel are sufficiently standard with ecclesiological Early Gothic vocabulary to have originated with Butterfield.

Other aspects of Maugerville demonstrate than no effort was spared in the creation of the correct Anglican church. The grisaille glass of the east window was imported from England (figs. 5-6); it is dated 1856 and is probably from the Beer studio in Exeter.[37] The naturalistic foliage in the glass is inspired by late thirteenth-century exemplars like the Chapter House of York Minster.[38] Under John Medley's patronage, Robert Beer supplied stained glass for the east and west windows of St. Andrew's, Exwick, the chapel at Oldridge, and Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton. The Maugerville font is exactly the same as the one in St. Andrew's, Exwick, and was imported from England (figs. 7-11). Similarly, the silver-gilt communion set of chalice, paten, and wafer box was sent by Captain Robert Nichens, a friend of Bishop Medley in London.[39]

The current state of research on Christ Church, Maugerville, has not determined an absolute attribution to an architect. Nevertheless, it serves as a vivid illustration of the complexities of creating "correct" Anglican church design in the

1840s. On the one hand, "authority" for all aspects of the work had to be sought in Medieval Gothic models. On the other hand, it was seldom sufficient to simply copy a single medieval model. "Development" of design was an important consideration. Pattern books like the one produced by the Brandons contributed to development by the constitution of a Gothic canon. The Brandons did not expect architects to draw directly from their illustrations, but there was clearly a need to educate other architects and patrons through books such as theirs.[40] For Christ Church, Maugerville, there was no appropriate English Gothic model for a wooden church and, consequently, something new had to be created following the principles of medieval design. Analogous adaptations are witnessed in masonry churches and these are well illustrated in Bishop Medley's chapel of St. Anne and Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton.[41] Detailed examination of these buildings is beyond the scope of this essay, but another wooden church near Fredericton, Holy Trinity at Lower St. Mary's, deserves brief consideration in the context of the adaptation of medieval models in Canada. Lower St. Mary's Holy Trinity was built in 1846 and consecrated on October 18, 1848.[42] It is unusual in that it has an aisleless cruciform plan rather than the basilican arrangement of Christ Church, Maugerville, and the vast majority of small Gothic revival churches. It seems likely that the design was adapted from St. John the Baptist's at Shottesbrooke (Berkshire), which was the topic of a monograph by William Butterfield published in 1844.[43] Shottesbrooke was one of the models considered for Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, and was the exemplar for Richard Upjohn's St. Mary's, Burlington, New Jersey (1846-1848).[44] Just as Upjohn did not produce a copy of Shottesbrooke, the architect of Holy Trinity, Lower St. Mary's—probably Frank Wills—reinterpreted the Decorated model in wood, and with Early English details as appropriate for a smaller church (fig. 12).

In conclusion, Christ Church, Maugerville, is an excellent example of the way in which English medieval models had to be adapted for a small, "correct" Anglican church in Canada. In addition to consultation with the Ecclesiological Society in London through Bishop Medley, it seems likely that, in producing the final design, reference was made to the Brandons' *Parish Churches*, and careful consideration was given to the "translation" of masonry exemplars into wood. The importation of the stained glass, font, and church plate from England ensured the correctness of these essential elements. The fabric of Lower St. Mary's provides an analogous case of "development." Similar considerations apply to the design of Anglican churches across Canada, not least with the use of brick, and especially in cases where strict budgetary restrictions applied.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Barry Magrill for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
2. On "development" in church architecture in the 1840s, see Brownlee, David, 1985, "The First High Victorians: British Architectural Theory in the 1840's," *Architectura*, vol. 15, p. 33-46; Magrill, Barry, 2004, "'Development' and Ecclesiology in the Outposts of the British Empire: William Hay's Gothic Solutions for Church Building in Tropical Climates (1840-1890)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 1-2, p. 16-26.
3. Ketchum, William Quintard, 1893, *The Life and Work of the Most Reverend John Medley, D.D., First Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada*, Saint John (NB), J. and A. McMillan, p. 50, 62; Ross, Malcolm, "Medley, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB) Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=6294&interval=15&&PHPSESSID=jo56934adh1t752fibror0j2i1], accessed January 14, 2013. Also, on Medley, see Craig, Barry L., 2005, *Apostle to the Wilderness: Bishop John Medley and the Evolution of the Anglican Church*, Madison (NJ), Fairleigh Dickinson University Press/ Cranbury (NJ), Associated University Presses.
4. Ketchum: 63; and Ross : *op. cit.*
5. *New York Ecclesiologist*, vol. III, November 1851, p. 192.
6. Medley, John, 1841, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*, Exeter, P.A. Hannaford, p. 10-12.
7. *Id.* : 11.
8. *Id.* : 12.
9. *Id.* : 33-35.
10. *Id.* : 37.
11. Medley, John, 1843, *The Advantage of Open Seats*, Oxford, vol. I. Shrimpton.
12. Books, Chris and Jo Cox, 1982, "John Bacon Junior and the Medley Memorial," *Bulletin of the International Society for the Study of Church Monuments*, no. VII, p. 129-133.
13. Richardson, Douglas, "Wills, Frank," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=4254&interval=15&&PHPSESSID=099apge619p3gnkcbe6s2pvt97], accessed January 14, 2013. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Scott, Thomas Seaton Collection [architectural drawing] (2009-00055-2), R12709-0-0-E.
14. On John Hayward, see Cherry, Martin, 1995, "Patronage, the Anglican Church and the Local Architect in Victorian England," in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, p. 173-191, at p. 173-184.
15. *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. II, October 1842, p. 23.
16. For a list of churches in New Brunswick consecrated by Bishop Medley, see Finley, Gregg and Lynn Wigginton, 1995, *On Earth as It Is in Heaven: Gothic Revival Churches of Victorian New Brunswick*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Editions, p. 205-208.
17. Wills, Frank, 1850, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles, Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, New York, Stanford & Swords, p. 85. Wills wrote: "Pugin, the great English architect... first clearly showed us what the true principles of pointed architecture were."

Earlier, Wills referred to Pugin in an article entitled "Reality in Church Architecture": "The great and true principle of Gothic Architecture is, as Pugin expresses it, 'the ornamenting construction and not constructing ornament,'" *New York Ecclesiologist*, vol. I, April, 1848, [http://anglicanhistory.org/ecclesiologist/ny/1.html], accessed January 14, 2013.

18. *Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Report for the Year 1856*. SPG, 1856 : xl; SPG, 1857 : xliv.

19. SPG, 1857 : xlvi.

20. *A Few Words to Church Builders* and seven other pamphlets published by the Cambridge Camden Society between 1839 and 1843 are conveniently gathered in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, *"Temples... Worthy of His Presence": Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books.

21. Stanton, Phoebe, 1968, *Gothic Revival in American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 155. For a discussion of the application of these principles by Frank Wills, see Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60.

22. Dahl, Johan Christian, 1837, *Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühsten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens* [Monuments of very accomplished wooden architecture from the earliest centuries in the interior landscapes of Norway], Dresden, [http://www.oahs.org.uk/publications/proc_os_1846.pdf], accessed January 14, 2013.

23. *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture*, Easter and Act Terms, 1845, p. 15-17, [http://books.google.ca/books?id=5AEVAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA6-PA15&lpg=RA6-PA15&dq=proceedings+of+the+oxford+society+for+promoting+the+study+of+Gothic+architecture,+wooden+churches&source=bl&ots=aqC9niiEV3&sig=WoBP-l-SzjKb6uYOlVzrqoKqJDw&hl=en&ei=6ldLTOnxGoH48AbQmK00&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CBwQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false], accessed January 14, 2013.

24. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2010, "St Paul's Anglican Church, Middleport, and Wooden Ecclesiology," *Raise the Hammer*, September 5, 2010, [http://www.raisethehammer.org/article/1161/st_paul's_anglican_church_middleport_and_wooden_ecclesiology], accessed January 14, 2013.

25. *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. VIII, 1847, p. 362-363.

26. Scott, William, 1848, "On Wooden Churches," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. IX, p. 14-27.

27. Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, 1851, *Parish Churches: Being Perspective Views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-press Descriptions*, London. D. Bogue, pl. opp. p. 97 (Shiere) and opp. p. 99 (Merstham), originally published in twelve parts from March 1846 to November 1847.

It is also worth noting that at St. Andrew's at Greenstead-juxta-Ongar (Essex), a weatherboarded west tower has a spire similar to Maugerville. It is illustrated in *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, vol. III, 1845, and in the same volume there is an illustration of a similar but smaller, wooden spire on the church at Standon Massey (Essex). Greenstead-juxta-Ongar was frequently mentioned in the 1840s in discussions of wooden churches because the nave is constructed of oak logs split vertically. It was long believed to be Anglo-Saxon but is now dated by dendrochronology between 1063 and 1100. Bettey, James and Nikolaus Pevsner, 2007, *The Buildings of England*, Essex, New Haven and London, p. 20, 436.

28. Hubbard, Robert, 1954, "Canadian Gothic," *Architectural Review*, vol. 116, no. 8, p. 102-108, at p. 107; Richardson, Douglas, 1972, "Hyperborean Gothic: or Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wooden Churches of Edward Medley," *Architectura*, vol. II, no. 1, p. 48-74, at p. 51 n. 14; Brosseau, Mathilde, 1980, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 14, 74; Finley and Wigginton : 109.

29. Stanton : 154; Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*... : 112, pl. 16.

For St. Paul's Burton, see Hubbard Family fonds, MG H19, Archives and Special Collections Department, Harriet Irving Library, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, Series 4, St. Paul's Anglican Church (Burton) records, 1857-1929.

30. Stanton : 155.

31. Finley and Wigginton : 128.

32. Stanton : 149, fig. IV-12.

33. On Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, see Richardson, Douglas, 1966, *Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Yale University; Stanton : 127-130, 132-153; Watson, Robert L., 1984, *Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton: A History*, Fredericton, Bishop and Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral; Kalman, Harold, 1994, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols., Toronto, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, vol. I, p. 282-287; Finley and Wigginton : 95-107; Coffman, Peter, 2008, *Newfoundland Gothic*, Quebec, Éditions MultiMondes, coll. "Cahiers de l'Institut du patrimoine de l'UQAM," no. 5, p. 59-63; Richardson, Peter and Douglas Richardson, 2007, *Canadian Churches: An Architectural History*, Buffalo NY, Richmond Hill (ON), Firefly Books, p. 70-74.

34. Medley, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* : 5.

35. Cherry, Bridget and Nikolaus Pevsner, 1989 [2nd ed.], *The Buildings of England, Devon*, London, Penguin Books, p. 387-390, 396, 613.

36. Richardson and Richardson : 73.

37. On the Beer studio stained glass, see Cheshire, Jim, 2004, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 78-106.

38. Brown, Sarah, 2003, *"Our Magnificent Fabric": York Minster: An Architectural History c. 1220-1500*, Swindon, English Heritage, p. 80-81, pl. 2.4.

39. Finley and Wigginton : 141.

40. On the post-confederation use of pattern books, see Magrill, Barry, 2011, *A "Commerce of Taste" in Church Architecture: Pattern Books in Canada 1867-1914*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

41. On St. Anne's, see Wills : 109-111; Ketchum : 75-79; Stanton : 130-139; Brosseau : 14, 72-73; Kalman : vol. I, p. 280-282; Richardson and Richardson : 74-76. On Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, see above, note 33.

42. Finley and Wigginton : 112.

43. Butterfield, William, 1844, *Elevations, Sections, and Details, of Saint John Baptist Church, at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire*, Oxford, J.H. Parker for the Oxford Architectural Society.

44. Stanton : 73-83, 129.

BEAUTIFYING THE COUNTRYSIDE
Rural and Vernacular Gothic in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario

> JESSICA MACE

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The relationship between architecture and printed media has always been close. In Canada, the most successful home-grown print campaign, and the one that managed to infiltrate the vernacular, appeared under the inconspicuous guise of a farming magazine. The architectural designs for houses provided in *The Canada Farmer* spread across the country and appear in numerous manifestations across present-day Ontario in particular. These easily identifiable houses stem from three specific designs for Gothic Revival houses that were simple to create and that were also highly affordable; these are "A small Gothic Cottage" (fig. 1), a "Suburban Villa or Farm House" (fig. 2), and "A Cheap Farm House" (fig. 3). With their simplicity and efficacy, these three plans effectively changed the architectural landscape of nineteenth-century Ontario.

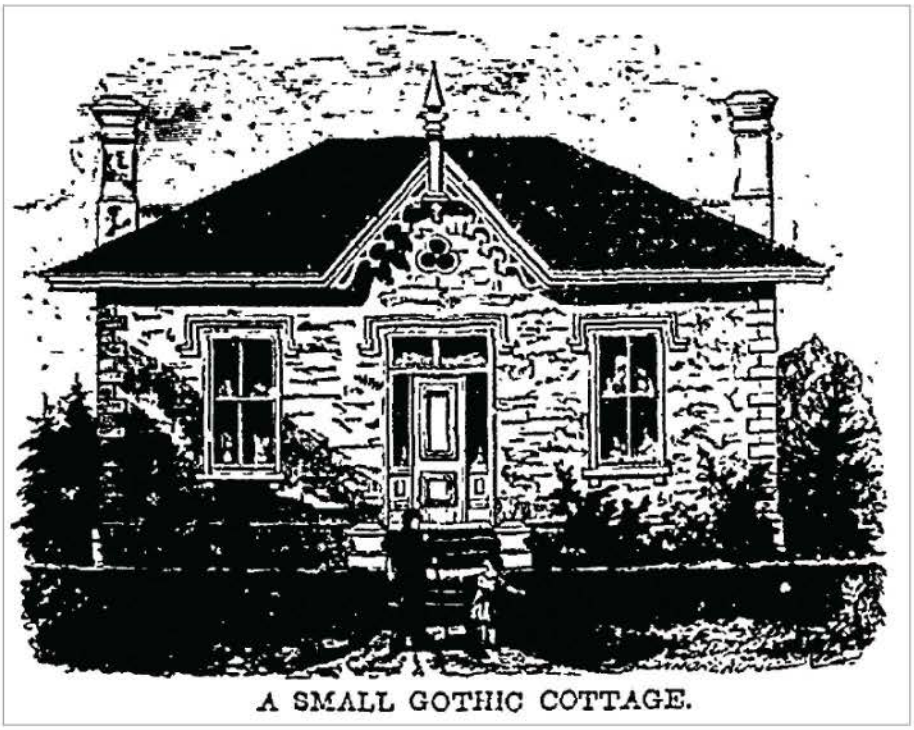

FIG. 1. "A SMALL GOTHIC COTTAGE," *THE CANADA FARMER*, 1864, VOL. 1, NO. 2, P. 21. | EARLYCANADIANA ONLINE, PRODUCED BY CANADIANA.ORG.

An increased focus on architectural literature surrounding rural and farm buildings began in late eighteenth-century England, yet well into the 1860s, reference is made to the poor state of farm houses in Canada.[1] The ideas as promoted by English cottage books were known in Canada, though they were primarily filtered through the American pattern-book genre. While it is clear that pattern books circulated here, as attested to by the number of pattern-book-inspired houses to be found in most towns in present-day southern Ontario, it seems that the influence had not yet extended into rural areas. The first time that the influence of printed media truly infiltrated Canada's rural landscape was with the introduction of *The Canada Farmer*

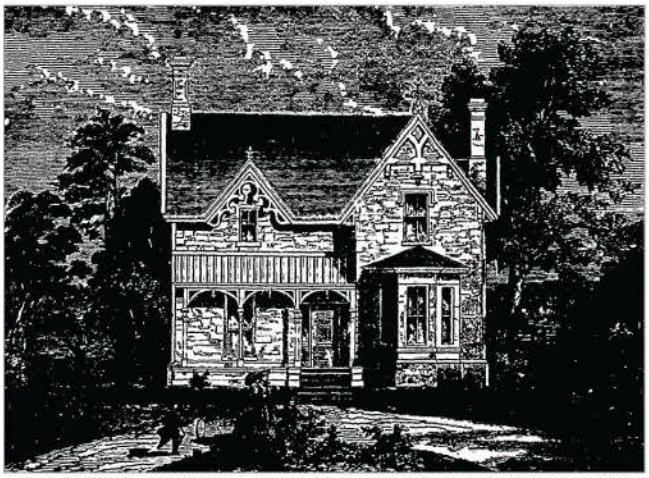

FIG. 2. "SUBURBAN VILLA OR FARM HOUSE," *THE CANADA FARMER*, 1864, VOL. 1, NO. 9, P. 132. | EARLYCANADIANA ONLINE, PRODUCED BY CANADIANA.ORG.

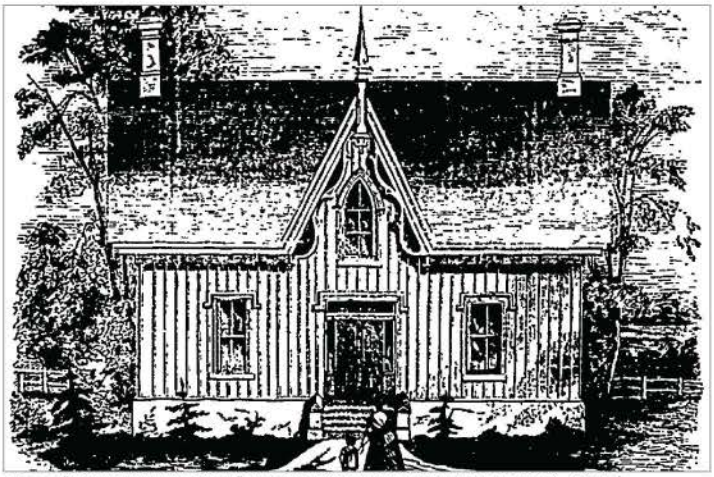

FIG. 3. "A CHEAP FARM HOUSE," *THE CANADA FARMER*, 1864, VOL. 1, NO. 22, P. 340. | EARLYCANADIANA ONLINE, PRODUCED BY CANADIANA.ORG.

in 1864. This was a bi-weekly journal that was delivered to post offices free of charge with a subscription of one dollar for the year. As such, it was an affordable printed source that, importantly, also included a regular column on the topic of rural architecture.

In the prospectus of January 15, 1864, the contributors to the journal are listed, with a "Mr. Smith, a successful and rising Architect of Toronto" contributing to architectural matters.[2] This Mr. Smith has been identified as James A. Smith (1832-1918), who would later go on to form the large Toronto-based architectural firm of Smith and Gemmell.[3] Smith's architectural career began after immigrating to Canada from Scotland, when he was apprenticed to William Thomas (1799-1860).[4] At the time of his introduction in *The Canada Farmer*, Smith had designed a few churches, a few houses, and several commercial buildings and warehouses, mostly in Toronto, so it is clear that he was already an architect of some repute. The architectural column, which made its debut in the introductory issue, was titled "Canadian Farm Architecture," later to become a recurring column titled "Rural Architecture" that would be featured in many, though not all, issues. Of the architectural columns provided throughout 1864, some were excerpts from various other agricultural journals, while some were written without an author identified; presumably, these would have been written by Smith.

The information provided in the journal was not altogether revolutionary as the precedent for the architectural consideration of rural cottages and farmhouses began in England in the late eighteenth century, and was carried on with fervour in North America in the nineteenth century. The interest in rural types began in England for a number of reasons; first, workers' houses were seen as inhumane and in need of improvement, and second, all things rural enjoyed a new-found respect under the aesthetic theory of the picturesque. At that time architects such as John Plaw (1745-1820) and John Wood (1728-1782) began to write books aimed at wealthy landowners who were looking to improve the quality of living for their labourers while, at the same time, improving the picturesque appearance of their own property.[5] Following these, books began to be written by architects such as Robert Lugar (1773-1855), P.F. Robinson (1776-1858), and J.B. Papworth (1775-1847) with a broader audience in mind, as rural dwellings at the time became not just a preoccupation of the architectural community, but of society at large and of the agricultural community in particular. As such, "Many agricultural writers believed that improving the living conditions of rural labourers would lead to increased productivity, and so included exemplary designs for farm houses, cottages, and other structures in their books and essays."[6] Perhaps the most popular author who combined the interest in rural life with architecture was John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), as he wrote extensively on horticulture, landscape gardening, and rural houses in periodicals and books. The formula that he used to combine all of these aspects in his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* of 1833 was adopted by nineteenth-century American pattern-book writers because of its inclusion of all types of rural dwellings as well as a breakdown of costs and materials for each design. Books such as Loudon's also relied heavily on the popular picturesque theory of the day that prized all aspects of bucolic life and placed emphasis on irregularity of form in architecture,

which coincided happily with the newly developed Gothic Revival style.

The important contribution of these English cottage books to the Canadian situation is found in their use of the Gothic style blended with picturesque planning and in the broadening of the architectural field to include rural buildings. While the philanthropic issue was of less importance here, the goal of rural improvement was indeed continued, as Smith says: "By the publication of occasional articles, engravings, plans, &c., we hope to do somewhat toward improving the style of rural architecture in Canada."[7]

With the goal of improving rural architecture in mind, the first issue of *The Canada Farmer* discusses the importance of hiring an architect, echoing the major concern of American pattern-book writers around that time in an effort to preserve the practice as a whole, which was then perceived to be dying in rural areas. Smith, an architect himself, would have been aware of these debates and mimics them here. This, however, does not appear to have been done in order to promote Smith's own practice because, interestingly, his drawings were not labeled and his name is not mentioned again until 1865. Much of the local readership likely would have known who created the work, but outside of Toronto, unless someone had been reading closely since the first issue, Smith's name would have been unknown. It seems, then, that he was not promoting his practice, but simply and truly proposing to beautify the countryside.

As such, Smith took full advantage of this new medium and wasted no time in getting to the point. In the first column, he immediately launches into a criticism of existing farm structures; he says: "Architecture is perhaps a complimentary word when used in reference to most of the structures which have been erected upon the farms of Canada."[8] Smith goes on to admit that there are indeed a few admirable examples that can be found in the country: "But, as might be expected in a comparatively new country, it is the few, and not the many, of which this can be said..."[9] While this kind of attack on rural architecture dates back to the English cottage books of the eighteenth century, it was the first time in Canada that it was presented in a forum that was addressed exclusively to the rural population. Incidentally, this may have been the first time that the advice was taken seriously; it is one thing for those with a vested interest in architecture to discuss the fate of rural architecture amongst themselves, but it is quite another to provide specific directions to the people who are directly affected by these proposed changes. As the new voice of authority on the matter, Smith and the journal recommend the use of some sort of help or guidelines for the rural citizen; if not an architect, then at least a book or the advice that would be given in the upcoming issues of *The Canada Farmer*.

Following up on his instructions, within the first year of the journal's publication, Smith provides four designs for affordable houses, ranging from seven hundred and fifty to one thousand eight hundred dollars, depending on the materials used and the model selected. Two versions of a small one-storey cottage design were offered in the February 1, 1864, issue. The same year, a second, larger design was offered in the May 16 issue, and a third small two-storey cottage in the November 15 issue. There is nothing that is particularly interesting about the designs other than the medium in which they were presented and the fact that three of the four are in the Gothic style. It must again be emphasized that these types of houses were not new or revolutionary and, in fact, examples of similar types could be found, built and in print, before the publication of the journal. The difference was that with the assistance of *The Canada Farmer*, the audience was wider and more accessible, and so the message of style was transmitted more clearly than ever before. Those who may not have been willing to read or purchase an entire book on cottage or farmhouse design might have read the occasional column containing architectural advice pertaining to their situation, particularly when the drawings outweighed the text. For the farming community at the time, it is likely that the immediate visual impact of the elevations and plans would have been an attractive selling feature. The realization, moreover, that a modicum of taste could be achieved for a low cost would certainly have been appealing. The participation in a popular trend—the Gothic Revival—was thus accessible to those who might not previously have had access.

For the designs, it is clear that Smith was looking to American books for inspiration. As the shift in focus from urban to rural became a popular tendency due to crowding in cities and, concomitantly, health concerns, a large number of pattern books were released in order to extend the authoritative arm of the city-based architect. Suburbs and rural areas were perceived to be lawless in terms of good taste, and so in an effort to keep building under control, architectural books were created to be used as tools to facilitate good taste and design.

In reality, however, breaking into the rural market appears to have been a difficult task. Whenever pattern books were used to build a house, they were typically used by fairly wealthy citizens of smaller towns who sought to keep up with current architectural trends and could afford

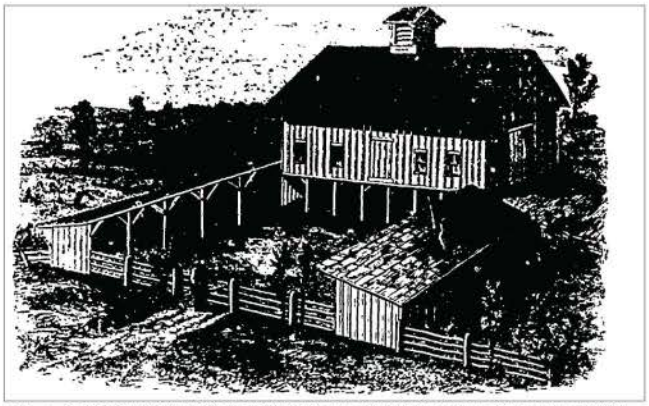

FIG. 4. PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF A FARMYARD, *THE CANADA FARMER*, 1864, VOL. 1, NO. 4, P. 52. | EARLYCANADIANA ONLINE, PRODUCED BY CANADIANA.ORG.

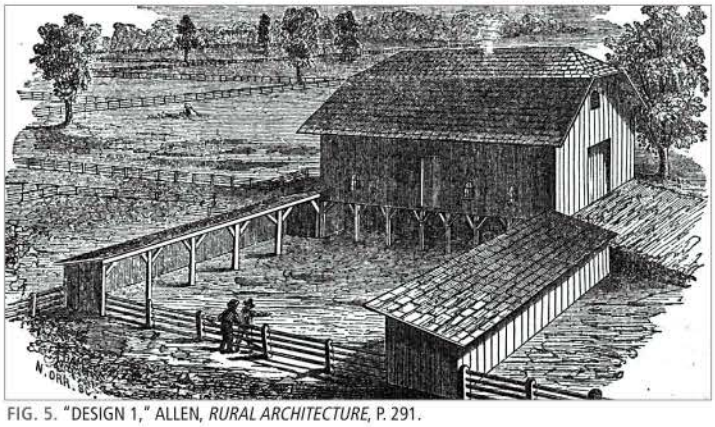

FIG. 5. "DESIGN 1," ALLEN, *RURAL ARCHITECTURE*, P. 291.

to build well. This meant that the state of rural housing did not much change around mid-century, though it was not due to a lack of effort. There were indeed plenty of options for cottages, although farmhouses often received slight architectural attention. The ubiquitous pattern-book author Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852) included a chapter on farmhouses in *The Architecture of Country Houses* of 1850, and was followed by other writers, including Gervase Wheeler with *Homes for the People*[10] of 1855 and Samuel Sloan with *Sloan's Homestead Architecture, Containing Forty Designs for Villas, Cottages, and Farm Houses* of 1861.[11] The first to write specifically for this genre, however, was Lewis Falley Allen (1800-1890), with his 1852 book *Rural Architecture*, which he introduces by saying that it "owes its appearance to the absence of any cheap and popular book on the subject of Rural Architecture, exclusively intended for the farming or agriculture of the United States."[12] Allen claims that he is not aware of the reason that this topic has not yet been addressed by writers, though perhaps farmers "themselves have indicated but little wish for instruction" on the matter.[13] As such, he takes a careful and respectful approach with regards to the matter of taste. Allen describes the farmer as being a "plain" man, though one who is certainly worthy of a comfortable residence.[14] He writes:

> Why should a farmer, because he *is* a farmer, only occupy an uncouth, outlandish house, any more than a professional man, a merchant, or a mechanic? Is it because he himself is so uncouth and outlandish in his thoughts and manners, that he deserves no better? ... Surely not. Yet, in many of the plans and designs got up for his accommodation, in the books and publications of the day, all due convenience, to say nothing of the respectability or the elegance of domestic life, is as entirely disregarded as if such qualities had no connection with the farmer or his occupation.[15]

Though he discusses much of the expression of character throughout the book, Allen gives no specific recommendations with regard to style to match the character of the farmer, perhaps to avoid offending his potential clientele. He does, however, provide houses and farm buildings in a variety of styles, mainly Gothic, Italian, Swiss, and Rustic (a quaint, thatched-roof style considered to be a variant on Gothic), but does not prefer any above the rest.[16] This, then, was the first time in North America that the farming community was being addressed exclusively. The first time that the impact of this was felt on a large scale in Canada, however, would be with *The Canada Farmer*, which used a powerful combination of Allen's careful approach to the rural community and the exploitation of a new, affordable medium for transmission.

Smith's reliance on American books is particularly evident in the drawing provided for a barnyard in the March 1, 1864, issue[17] that is almost identical to a drawing for a barnyard in Lewis Allen's *Rural Architecture* of twelve years earlier (figs. 4-5).[18] The basic details of each structure are alike and even the same angle is used for the perspective view. While Smith changed a few of the minor details, the measurements are taken directly from Allen's design and the text is repeated almost verbatim. This shows that Smith was copying directly from this publication and highlights the fact that his designs for houses may well have been modeled on extant designs for houses and cottages. This helps to explain the existence of houses executed in a similar manner prior to the date of publication and also helps to show that architectural ideas were often widely spread in the nineteenth century without proper acknowledgement. Rather than creating something that was completely new for his houses,

FIG. 6. RICHARD TRICK HOUSE, PORT HOPE (ON). | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 7. CHRYSLER COTTAGE, PORT HOPE (ON). | MALCOLM THURLBY.

then, it is possible that Smith was simply presenting existing and familiar forms to Canadians, although now with a definite Gothic slant.

This borrowing of vernacular forms is evident with the first of Smith's plans presented in the pages of *The Canada Farmer*, simply titled "A Small Gothic Cottage" (fig. 1).[19] This is a simple one-storey cottage that might have been found anywhere in North America before the publication of the plans in the journal. There are several examples in Port Hope, for instance, built in the 1850s without the attribution of an architect. The Trick House of about 1850, notably, is square in plan with a hipped roof and some minor Gothic embellishments and was built by a local bricklayer (fig. 6).[20] The vestigial classical form and the use of some classical motifs, such as the quoins, make this a vernacular hybrid rather than a pure example of the Gothic style. It is clear that a simple house like this could have been created without the aid of an architect. To highlight this fact, it is only necessary to look at the Chrysler Cottage of 1853 located near the Trick House in Port Hope, which was built around the same time and articulated plainly (fig. 7). The house does not evolve from a specific stylistic tradition, rather it comes from a simple and efficient solution to small-house building. It is likely that Smith would have seen any number of houses like these to take as models before he published his tips for small rural houses.

The "Small Gothic Cottage" is recommended for a small family and features three bedrooms with a kitchen wing at the back of the house. Beyond the addition of the kitchen wing, Smith recommends a simple shape for the plan to avoid extra costs. He admits that while irregular houses have picturesque advantages, this design is intended to be economical in nature. The symmetrical plan is thus favoured for reasons of simple and sturdy construction, even though it is labeled as a Gothic house. While picturesque planning is eschewed here for financial reasons, Smith does add a touch of High Victorian Gothic flare in the recommendation that the house, if built of brick, should be red with white brick corners. Smith was not the first to do this, however, and there are examples of permanent polychromy to be found in Ontario prior to the arrival of the Gothic Revival as it was a motif that was championed in print by John Ruskin and made popular by William Butterfield's All Saints', Margaret Street, London, of 1849. In the case of the "Small Gothic Cottage," it is a simple way of adding some Gothic flair while avoiding frivolous, and potentially costly, embellishment.

One example of a house that might well have been inspired by this design is 151 Robert Street, Milton, of the 1860s; the hipped roof, central gable, pointed window and general massing all echo that of the drawings in *The Canada Farmer* (fig. 8). The only thing that has truly changed is the addition of the porch, though even with this addition the idea behind the house is quite similar. A house in Georgetown provides another replica of the design from the journal, albeit one which has been subsequently heavily modified (fig. 9). Though the central window has been blocked and the main entrance covered, its small stature, hipped roof, and bargeboard detailing reveal its origins and demonstrate that such a house, while cheap, was built to last.

The second design, "The Suburban Villa or the Farm House" (fig. 2), is rather larger that the "Small Gothic Cottage," featuring two floors, five bedrooms and formal rooms for entertaining.[21] It plays on contemporary trends in Gothic and picturesque planning in terms of its asymmetry, which complement the house's subtle Gothic or "Early English" detailing.[22] This

FIG. 8. 151 ROBERT STREET, MILTON (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

FIG. 9. 16 GUELPH STREET, GEORGETOWN (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

FIG. 10. FORMER MANSE, ST. ANDREW'S (NOW ST. PAUL'S) PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, HAMILTON (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

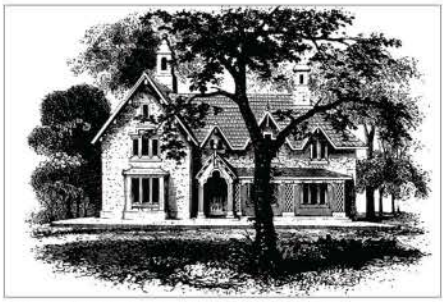

FIG. 11. "VILLA FARM HOUSE," DOWNING, *THE ARCHITECTURE OF COUNTRY HOUSES*, P. 173.

FIG. 12. 294 SUMNER AVENUE, OAKVILLE (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

FIG. 13. RECTORY, ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, ALMONTE (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

might well have been inspired by Smith's teacher, William Thomas, who built some of the Toronto area's earliest and most convincing Gothic houses. Smith's design in *The Canada Farmer* could be linked to Thomas' design for the manse for St. Andrew's Presbyterian (now St. Paul's), Hamilton, of 1857, while Smith was still working as an apprentice (fig. 10). Though not identical, the distribution of chimneys is closely related, as is the placement of the projecting bays and bay windows, and in general they are quite similar in terms of massing and in terms of style.

It is also possible that Smith is making reference to earlier American pattern-book designs. This does not seem unlikely, particularly given Smith's nearly exact replication of the barn found in Allen's book from 1852. One possible source could be Downing's design for a "Villa Farm House" from *The Architecture of Country Houses* of 1850 (fig. 11). While at first the two seem only slightly similar, the comparison becomes more interesting when considering the text that follows. Of this design, Downing says: "The exterior of this design might perhaps be improved, by omitting the two small gables in the front, and increasing the size of the middle gable sufficiently to allow of a small attic window."[23]

It is clear that Smith was paying close attention to the text in Allen's book, so there is reason to suppose he may have been doing the same with Downing's books. Even the name "Villa Farm House" is similar to Smith's designation of the design as "Suburban Villa or Farm House."

Regardless of the specific influences, this design proved to be quite versatile and can be found in many different manifestations across the province. Although the proportions are not identical, 294 Sumner Avenue in Oakville of about 1870 displays the same massing as the "Suburban Villa or Farmhouse" (fig. 12). Here, the Gothic feel is further amplified by the use of pointed rather than Tudor windows, although the Gothic elements are secondary in importance to the asymmetrical plan. While this house is made of brick rather than stone, as portrayed in the elevation, Smith specifically states that any material might be used "without interfering with the design."[24] For another nearly direct version, we can look to Almonte, where the rectory for St. Paul's Anglican was built in 1878 in much the same style and is indeed of stone (fig. 13). This house omits the bay window on the projecting bay, but the plans in *The Canada Farmer* were to provide a prototype rather than an exact model. They could be adapted to stone, or brick, or wood and could be embellished as much or as little as needed depending on their location and cost concerns. The idea was to create a sturdy and comfortable type of house that would,

FIG. 14. WILLIAM ECKARDT HOUSE, UNIONVILLE (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

FIG. 15. 29 GUELPH STREET, GEORGETOWN (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

FIG. 16. 288 WILLIAM STREET, OAKVILLE (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

FIG. 17. 231 CLINTON STREET, TORONTO (ON). | JESSICA MACE.

in essence, not be offensive to the eye. Many examples can be found later in the century, though they are not all Gothic in execution. The Gothic details used for the early versions of this house—usually pointed or Tudor windows and bargeboard—are minor features that could be changed depending on preference or on current fashion. Gothic was clearly the preferred style for Smith at the time of publishing the designs, and while popular, it was by no means the universally favourite style. It is the plan with its irregular massing, borrowing from the developments in Gothic Revival housing, that is the most important contribution of the "Suburban Villa or Farm House" to the Canadian landscape.

Perhaps the most popular, or at least the most recognizable, of the three designs is the third; "A Cheap Farm House" (fig. 3).[25] This design is small and cost-efficient, providing five bedrooms, a parlour, dining room, and kitchen for an estimated eight hundred dollars if built of timber. The "Small Gothic Cottage," in contrast, if built of timber, was estimated at seven hundred and fifty dollars, but it held only three small bedrooms, while the Suburban Villa also featured five rooms, but if built of timber, it would cost one thousand two hundred dollars. For the greatest value, then, the "Cheap Farm House" was the best option. The design provided was a simple prototype and Smith recommends a variety of improvements to make it more liveable, such as a veranda, a terrace, and a picket fence.[26]

Much like the "Small Gothic Cottage," it is easy to imagine how houses similar to the "Cheap Farm House" might have pre-existed Smith's plans, as it is simple in plan with few embellishments. Once again, Smith likely borrowed a vernacular example that he found acceptable. Perhaps he might have described a

house like the William Eckardt House of about 1852 in Unionville (fig. 14) as one of the "excellent farm residences which, in accommodation, form, proportion, picturesqueness, colour, light and shade, are all that can be desired," and which are "in admirable keeping, and marked by convenience, spaciousness, [and] neatness."[27] Smith might well have adapted such a model, bringing it up to date and popularizing it through his choice of style and medium of transmission. In adapting existing vernacular types, Smith cleverly appealed to the rural population; not only were the forms familiar and within reach of the rural community, but the forms could also be easily replicated without the aid of an architect, as proven by his non-architect built models. While examples of houses like the William Eckardt House pre-date Smith's designs, they only truly gained popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century, after the publication of the plans in *The Canada Farmer*.

There are many houses based on the "Cheap Farm House" model that can be found in almost every town in present-day Southern Ontario (figs. 15-16). The house is easily identifiable with its steeply pitched central gable and simple square plan. Most often there is a pointed window in the dormer, which is typically framed by bargeboard. While not all versions of the house made use of the same decorative features, they often retained at least one from Smith's plans, whether it was the pointed central window or the bargeboard. The materials varied as well depending on locally available materials, cost, and preference and examples are therefore to be found in stone, brick, and wood. Some remained basic, while others opted for the additional porch as recommended by Smith. This again serves to highlight the fact that the design was meant as a basic and versatile prototype rather than as a direct model.

These houses are typically found in rural areas, small towns, or on the outskirts of towns at the time. It appears that the design caught on in popularity and was not restricted to use on a farm, as its name would suggest. It seems that they were also adopted as cheap cottages, perhaps for labourers, as suggested by their placement in a row of five as at Harbord Street and Clinton Street in Toronto, which in the second half of the nineteenth century would have been quite close to the city limits (fig. 17). If these were indeed cottages for workers or labourers, it brings the original project of the eighteenth-century cottage book writers full circle, by providing sturdy, comfortable housing for labourers, while at the same time improving the look of the countryside.

The popularity of Smith's Gothic designs is attested to by the number of reprints of the plans in subsequent years of the journal as well as by the sheer number of houses built and by their wide distribution across the province. It is clear that Smith succeeded in gaining the trust of the rural population as well as in the creation of agreeable and simply built designs. Whether the original designs were adapted from architectural or vernacular models, *The Canada Farmer* truly succeeded in popularizing these simple houses, helping to spread the Gothic Revival, in both style and plan, and in allowing it to persist and endure in the Canadian vernacular.

NOTES

1. *The Canada Farmer,* 1864, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 7.
2. *Id.* : 8.
3. Kalman, Harold, 1994, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, vol. 2, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 606. For a list of James Avon Smith, and Smith and Gemmell buildings, see: [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1313], accessed November 2012.
4. Arthur, Eric, 1964, *Toronto: No Mean City*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 259.
5. Nachman, Cynthia Wolk, 1968-1969, "The Early English Cottage Book," *Marsyas*, vol. XIV, p. 70.
6. Archer, John, 1985, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842*, Cambridge (MA), MIT Press, p. xx.
7. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 7.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. For Wheeler's discussion of farm houses, see Wheeler, Gervase, 1855, *Homes for the People, in Suburb and Country; the Villa, the Mansion and the Cottage, Adapted to American Climate and Wants*, New York, Charles Scribner, p. 363-400.
11. Sloan, Samuel, 1861, *Sloan's Homestead Architecture, Containing Forty Designs for Villas, Cottages, and Farm Houses*, Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott.
12. Allen, Lewis Falley, 1852, *Rural Architecture*, New York, C.M. Saxton, Agricultural Book Publisher, p. ix.
13. *Id.* : ix.
14. *Id* : xiii.
15. *Id.* : xi.
16. *Id* : 50.
17. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 52.
18. Allen : 291.
19. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 21.
20. "Richard Trick Cottage," *Canadian Register of Historic Places*, Canada's Historic Places, [www.historicplaces.ca], accessed November 2012.
21. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 132.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Downing, Andrew Jackson, 1850, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, New York, D. Appleton & Company, p. 172.
24. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 132.
25. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 22, p. 340.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *The Canada Farmer*, 1864, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 7.

THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCHES OF 1864 AND 1886, KINGSTON, ONTARIO

> JENNIFER MCKENDRY

JENNIFER MCKENDRY, who lives in Kingston and is a consultant on heritage research, received her Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in 1991. University of Toronto Press published her book, *With Our Past before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area*, in 1995. More recent publications include *Into the Silent Land: Historic Cemeteries and Graveyards in Ontario* and *Kingston and The Islands: Then and Now* (with Peter Milliken and Arthur Milnes). Her current book, soon to be released, is *Early Photography in Kingston from the Daguerreotype to the Postcard*. (www.mckendry.net).

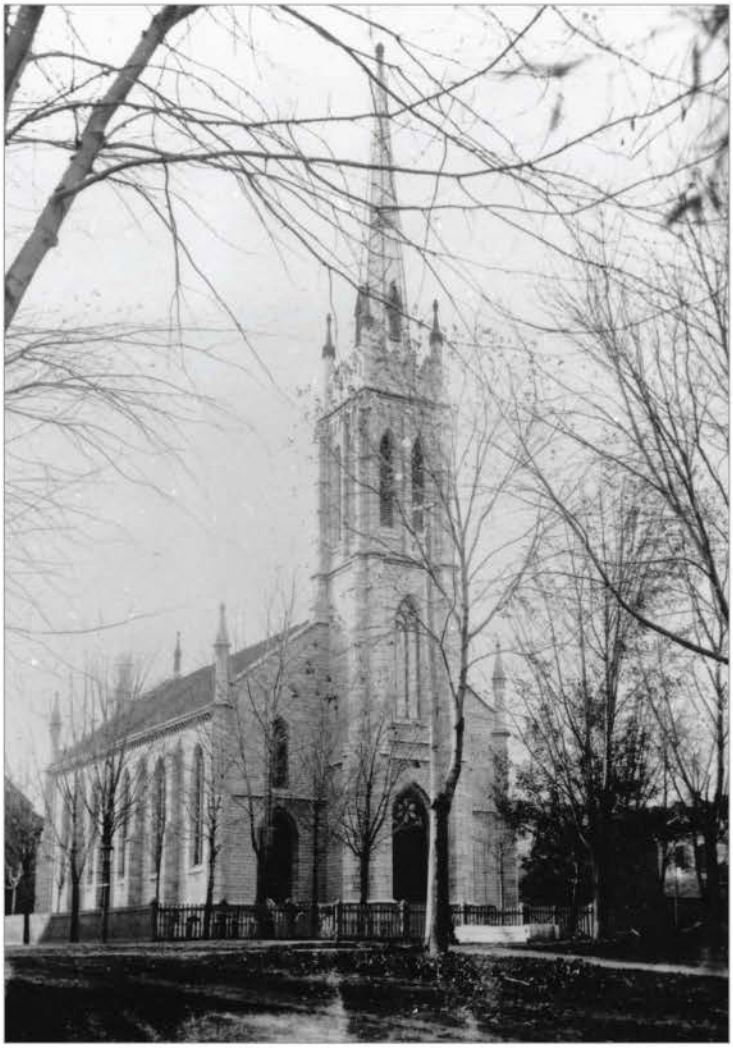

FIG. 1. SYDENHAM STREET METHODIST CHURCH (NOW SYDENHAM STREET UNITED CHURCH), KINGSTON, ARCHITECT WILLIAM COVERDALE, 1851, BEFORE THE ENLARGEMENTS OF 1887. | PG K63-6, QUA.

"Methodist Church Burnt and Rebuilt" is the poignant inscription on the south face of the cornerstone of the Queen Street United Church at Queen and Clergy Streets in Kingston, Ontario.[1] Dogged by fires, some of the stone building's history is recorded on the west face: "Methodist Church, First Church 1864, Second Church 1884." The date of the third and surviving church is found in the apex of the stained-glass transom over the west entrance: "Methodist Church 1886."

Methodism was firmly established in Kingston during the late eighteenth century,[2] just over a half-century after John Wesley (1703-1791) and his brother Charles Wesley (1707-1788) laid the groundwork for the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist sect in England. In fact, the first church, built in 1864 on the site of Kingston's Queen Street United Church, was named "Wesley Hall." Methodists were the "outsiders" in the face of the Established Church, the Church of England, housed first in a frame structure known as St. George's Church and, after 1825, by a new stone one which, after 1862, was known as St. George's Cathedral. If the Established Church represented the power of the British government and military, arguably Methodism claimed significant members of the municipal government, as well as many ordinary and influential citizens. Methodist mayors included John Counter (1799-1862), mayor in 1841-1843, 1848, 1850, 1852-1853, and 1855; John Breden (1801-1893), 1866-1868; Byron Britton (1833-1920), 1876; John Whiting (1852-1922), 1886; and Donald McIntyre (1855-1931), 1892. These men weathered the transition of this evangelistic sect

FIG. 2. QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, KINGSTON, ARCHITECT JOHN POWER, 1864. THE TRANSEPT IS AN ADDITION OF 1884 BY JOSEPH POWER OF POWER & SON. | *QUEEN STREET UNITED CHURCH, KINGSTON, ONTARIO 1864-1964 CENTENARY*, 1964, P. 22.

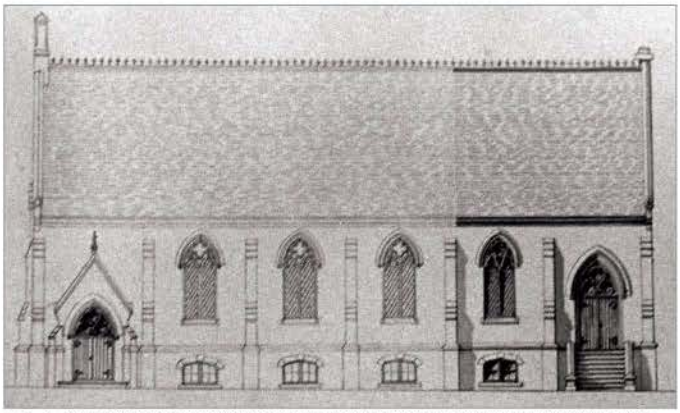

FIG. 3. QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, SIDE ELEVATION SHOWING A PROPOSAL FOR AN 1882 ADDITION OF TWO BAYS (ON THE RIGHT) BY JOSEPH POWER. THE FIRST FOUR BAYS FROM THE LEFT FORM THE SIDE WALL AND ENTRANCE PORCH OF THE 1864 CHURCH DESIGNED BY JOHN POWER. | POWER COLLECTION, LAC.

from early gatherings in the open air and in modest frame meeting halls to the construction in the mid-nineteenth century of substantial stone churches.[3]

In 1851, architect William Coverdale (1801-1865), who happened to be Methodist, designed the Sydenham Street Methodist Church (now United Church) in Kingston as part of the surge of permanent and elaborate Methodist churches across the province (fig. 1). There were earlier frame churches in Kingston but we have little visual evidence of their original appearances. It seems safe to say that Coverdale's stone one, in Gothic Revival style, was larger and more ornamental than the others. Still surviving, it shows the lateral enlargements added in 1887 by Joseph Power (1848-1925) of Power & Son. The Sydenham Street Methodist Church can be thought of as the "mother church" of Kingston Methodism and the one to which satellite chapels and churches, such as Queen Street Methodist, owed allegiance.

Why Gothic Revival at Sydenham Street? By that time, other denominations were employing this style in the Kingston area. Perhaps the earliest is the 1837 stone Catholic Apostolic Church at 285 Queen Street (now the Renaissance, a catering venue) with pointed-arch openings, the main distinguishing feature marking it as Gothic in an otherwise classical box.[4] No doubt the most impact on building in medieval style was the Roman Catholic cathedral, St. Mary's, of 1843, by Pierre-Louis Morin of Montreal, due to its size, applied buttresses, tracery, and finials.[5] Its lopped-off centre tower showed only the potential for the forceful nature of medievalism, which was not realized until Joseph Connolly (1840-1904) added a new front with a very high and ornate tower in 1889.[6] Smaller in scale but still impressive were the satellite churches of St. George's (Anglican) Cathedral in the 1840s, for example Alfred Brunel's (1818-1887) St. Mark's in Barriefield.[7] Just at the time Sydenham Street Methodist was being planned, the Reverend Frederick J. Jobson (1812-1881) published in London in 1850 his "how to build Methodist churches" book, *Chapel and School Architecture*, in which he advanced the argument that,

> a building... should, as far as possible, make known by its appearance the purpose for which it was constructed. A Methodist Chapel is a place for Christianity... Gothic architecture is Christian architecture, as distinctly and emphatically, as the Egyptian, Greek and Roman are Pagan... [Gothic] is, therefore, what has been declared to be, by the highest authority among the writers on architectural antiquities, "Christian Architecture"; and should be considered as the true and appropriate style of building for houses of Christian worship.[8]

In a footnote, Jobson cites that, "the highest authority among writers on architectural antiquities" is John Britton (1771-1857), the author during the first quarter of the nineteenth century of a number of books on Christian medieval architecture in Great Britain. In his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* of 1821-1823, he worked with Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832) as his illustrator. A.C. Pugin was the father of Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), whose advocacy of Gothic for contemporary churches is well known—the title of one of his books summarizing his approach, *The True Principles and Revival of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.[9] Therefore, by the time the Sydenham Street Church was being designed, Gothic Revival was the authorized style for Methodism, as it was for the other denominations.

It is thus not surprising to find the new Queen Street Methodist Church, proposed as early as 1859 but not realized until 1864, in Gothic Revival.[10] On August 28, 1863,

Thomas Parke Junior sold the corner portion of town lot 242 to the trustees of the Wesley Hall Congregation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, all well-known Kingstonians with a number connected to the building and furnishings trades:[11]

- Samuel Chown of A. & S. Chown, hardware
- Thomas Overend, a building contractor (carpentry and joinery)
- John Cunningham, a building contractor (mason)
- Henry Cunningham, Eagle Foundry for stoves and tinware, Chown & Cunningham; son-in-law of John Breden
- Henry Skinner, from a family of carpenters and coopers
- Matthew Sweetman, post office inspector
- Edwin Chown, Eagle Foundry for stoves and tinware, Chown & Cunningham
- John Breden, a wealthy distiller, cattle dealer and mayor from 1866 to 1868
- Michael Lavell, physician and surgeon

A relatively small, Gothic Revival, stone church (not extant), known as Wesley Hall, was built with the west end fronting Clergy Street and the four-bay side wall with an entrance porch fronting Queen Street (figs. 2-4). It was basically a rectangular plan with a side entrance porch. The architect was John Power (1816-1882), who called for tenders on January 9, 1864.[12] Power was a prolific architect, producing many fine Gothic Revival and Classical buildings in southeastern Ontario, such as McIntosh Castle, Iron's Hotel (the Hotel Frontenac) and St. George's Hall in Kingston, and the Court House and Jail in Napanee. In 1873, the firm became Power & Son. An Anglican, John Power was familiar with the arguments for the use of the Gothic style by the High Anglicans of the Camden Society

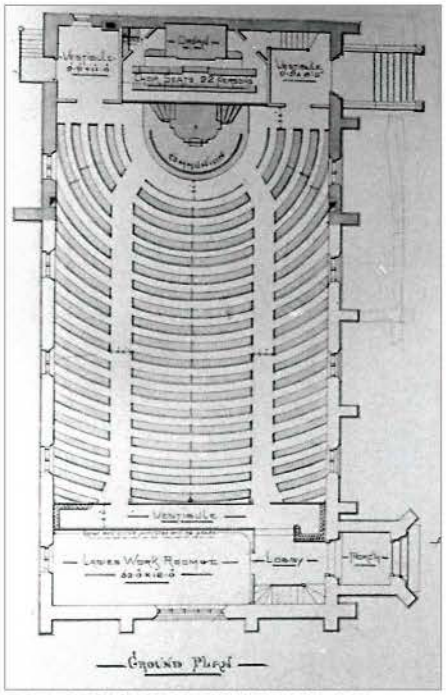

FIG. 4. QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, PLAN SHOWING A PROPOSAL FOR AN ADDITION OF TWO BAYS (AT THE TOP) AND A NEW SEATING PLAN BY JOSEPH POWER IN 1882. THE FIRST FOUR BAYS FROM THE BOTTOM ARE THE 1864 CHURCH DESIGNED BY JOHN POWER. | POWER COLLECTION, LAC.

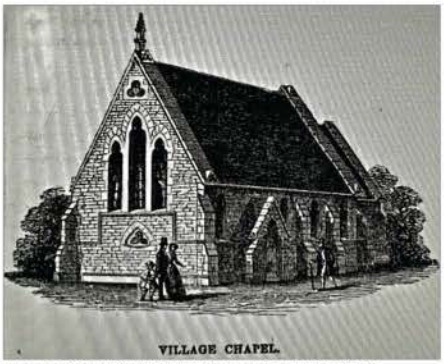

FIG. 5. PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF AN IDEAL METHODIST "VILLAGE CHAPEL." | JOBSON, 1850, *CHAPEL AND SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE*, P. 81.

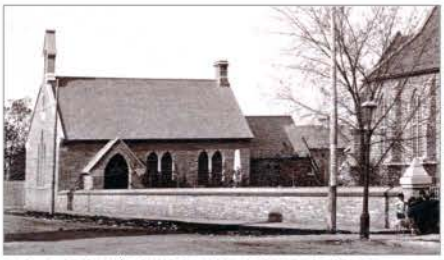

FIG. 6. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH HALL, MONTREAL STREET AT QUEEN STREET, KINGSTON, ARCHITECT JOHN POWER, 1872. | RICHARD W. BARROW IN THE MID-1870S, COLLECTION JENNIFER MCKENDRY.

(renamed the Ecclesiological Society in 1846), but also with Jobson's endorsement. His access to the latter's illustrated book of 1850 is strongly suggested by Power's design of 1864 (the same year at the Queen Street church) for the Congregational Church on Wellington at Johnson Street.[13] It is a relatively unusual form based on the Jewin-Street Chapel, London, as illustrated by Jobson. Furthermore, the Queen Street church's side windows were remarkably similar to those on Jobson's "Model Wesleyan Chapel" (Brunswick Chapel), Portwood, Stockport.

Returning to the first Queen Street church of 1864, Power adapted Jobson's "Village Chapel" (fig. 5), which was a version of a form approved by the Camden (Ecclesiological) Society for Anglican churches and ultimately modelled on St. Michael's of the thirteenth century in Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire. The latter was illustrated in Raphael and Joshua Arthur Brandon's *Parish Churches* (London) of 1848, where it was described as "a very beautiful yet simple specimen of a small Early English Church." This form had already appeared in the Kingston area in an Anglican church, St. John's in Portsmouth Village.[14] Built of stone in 1849 and attributed to William Coverdale, John Power added its transepts in 1863.[15] He would go on to design similar forms at Christ Church in Cataraqui Village in 1870 (less apparent after it was enlarged in 1877 by Power & Son) and St. Paul's church hall of 1872 on Montreal Street in Kingston (fig. 6). Were these Anglican places of worship different in any way from the Methodist one? One subtle but important difference was the elevation of the latter over a high basement needed for classrooms and lecture halls. They needed good-sized windows,

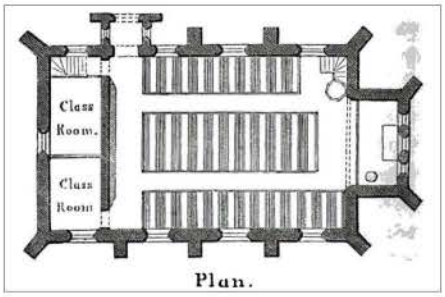

FIG. 7. PLAN OF AN IDEAL METHODIST "VILLAGE CHAPEL." | JOBSON, 1850, *CHAPEL AND SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE*, P. 80.

FIG. 8. THE MANSE OF THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, 30 COLBORNE STREET, KINGSTON, ARCHITECT JOSEPH POWER, 1880. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2011.

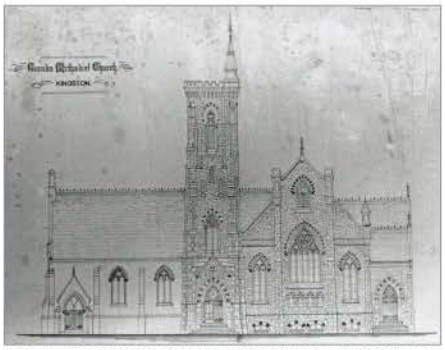

FIG. 9. COMPETITION SOUTH ELEVATION DRAWING OF THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, ARCHITECT JOSEPH POWER, 1882. THIS DESIGN WAS NOT SELECTED. THE FIRST THREE BAYS FROM THE LEFT SHOW THE 1864 CHURCH. | POWER COLLECTION, LAC.

visible from the street (figs. 2-3). The stairs to the basement were readily accessible in the church entrance vestibule (fig. 4). The Anglican churches in the Kingston area did not have fully useable basements.[16] Although we are hampered by a lack of good visual evidence for the early use of chancels in Kingston churches, generally speaking Anglican churches called for deep, differentiated ones, easily seen on the exterior and of liturgical importance in the interior. Methodists, anxious to avoid the elaborate rituals associated with the Established Church and Roman Catholicism, might only provide a "chancel" as a short extension sufficient to hold the organ and choir loft and the staircase to access them. Jobson advised against transepts if they meant that the congregation had difficulty seeing and hearing the preacher, as well as impeding the latter from seeing some of his flock. Thus the rejection of transepts—a feature frequently found on Anglican churches—was another exterior difference. As far as Jobson was concerned, "the form of a Gothic or Anglo-Norman hall would be greatly preferable to any attempt to imitate a cathedral church."[17]

Given the importance of the preacher looking directly at his congregation, Jobson decried the use of an aisle down the middle of the chapel. But with the importance of processions, rituals, and a view of the altar and chancel in an Anglican church, their plans usually incorporated a centre aisle. Jobson's Village Chapel floor plan showed a rectangular box with a side entrance porch, shallow chancel, no transepts and two aisles allowing a middle row of seats (fig. 7). Although the seating plan for Power's 1864 church has not survived, the potential for a similar seating arrangement existed, because a plan (Power Collection, Library and Archives Canada; hereafter, LAC) to enlarge the church in 1882 by his son Joseph shows such an arrangement with curved benches (fig. 4). In keeping with Jobson's ideas, the communion table was positioned in front of the pulpit (or at least in Joseph's plans).

The popularity of Methodism among Kingston's growing population during the late nineteenth century made Power's church of the 1860s seem too small and, in 1879, the church's neighbouring lot to the east was purchased by the trustees. It ran from Queen to Clergy Street where, the next year, the congregation built their first parsonage (fig. 8).[18] Nominally by Power & Son, John was in declining health and died in 1882; the design was likely by his son Joseph. Built in brick, the manse faces away from the church but shows some religious ties due to the giant, recessed, pointed arch on the main façade. It is reminiscent of the open arch often framing the entrance to a church's chancel or, in the case of a Methodist or Presbyterian chapel, framing the tall recess for the choir and organ (fig. 21).

Gaining the new land allowed for expanding Power's 1864 church toward the east. Alternative schemes of 1880-1881 by Power & Son to build a new church and to convert the old one into a school house (Sunday School) have survived in the Power Collection, LAC. They ranged from a simple extension east of the existing church by two bays (figs. 3-4) to additions in a much more elaborate version of Gothic. The seating plan called for two aisles and three ranges of curved benches, their form restrained within the existing rectangle of the 1864 church (fig. 4). One ambitious scheme featured a tall entrance tower with a single turret and a handsome south façade (fig. 9). This made the old church look relatively dowdy. The new proposal was strongly asymmetrical. It is likely that the desire for grandness in scale and ornament was influenced by the success of Toronto's 1872 Metropolitan Methodist Church by Henry Langley. But Kingston was

no Toronto, and the trustees chose an economical scheme with a three-bay façade divided by a pair of applied buttresses, no tower, and flanking low entrances (fig. 2).

On February 10, 1882, in the *Daily British Whig*, Power called for tenders to erect and complete a new church and to transform the current church into a school house for the trustees of the Queen Street Methodist Church. It was not dedicated until December 1884. The Power proposals were labelled "Canada Methodist Church." The Methodist Church of Canada was formed in 1884 from an amalgamation of various Methodist sects, some coming together as early as 1874. Unfortunately, in January 1886, fire destroyed the old part of the church along with Joseph's new addition.

With dogged determination, the parishioners cleared the site and prepared to build a new church, which would incorporate some of the stonework of the old one, notably the window casement and coping stones. In early 1886, the trustees approved Joseph Power's plans. Front and side elevation drawings for a "Competitive Design for Queen St. Methodist Church" have survived in the Power Collection, LAC (fig. 10). Designed in Gothic Revival, they show a strong corner tower, into which one could enter from the street. The main entrance porch introduces a layering of roof forms giving the impression of a centrally planned church. The detailing is rich and robust. The plan is based on the amphitheatre form of church with a lecture room under the auditorium, seventy-two by seventy-four feet with a thirty-foot ceiling and a dished floor.[19]

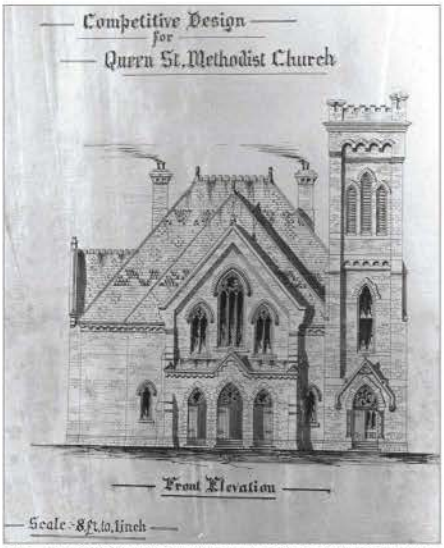

FIG. 10. COMPETITION WEST ELEVATION DRAWING OF THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, ARCHITECT JOSEPH POWER, 1886. THIS DESIGN WAS NOT SELECTED. | POWER COLLECTION, LAC.

FIG. 11. TITLE PAGE OF *AN ARCHITECTURAL SOUVENIR CONSISTING OF SOME OF THE WORK DONE DURING TWENTY YEARS BY S.R. BADGLEY, CLEVELAND, O.*, 1896.

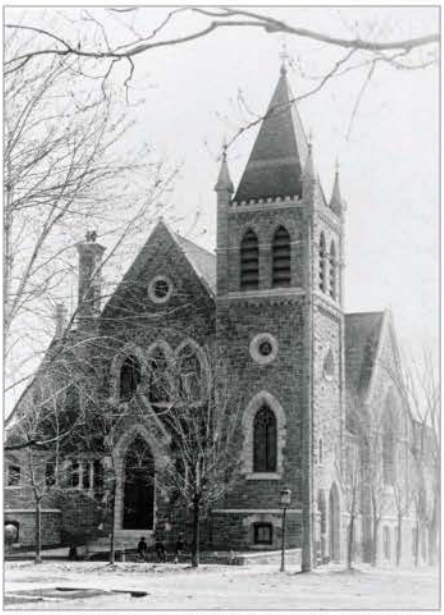

FIG. 12. QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | HENRY HENDERSON C.1890, HENDERSON ALBUM, QUA.

FIG. 13. QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2011.

Only two months later, the trustees approved the plans and specifications of architect Sidney Rose Badgley (1850-1917), Power having been, apparently, frozen out of the project. He was not even the supervising architect, who was Robert Gage (1841-1925).[20] Badgley is better known in the Cleveland area than in Ontario, but he designed numerous buildings in Canada, such as Massey Hall of 1893-1894 in Toronto, before and during his career in the United States. Born in Ernestown (now Bath) near Kingston, he was the son of William Edwin Badgley and Nancy Rose, as described in a biography of 1898.[21] He studied architecture in Toronto under Richard C. Windeyer (1831-1900) from 1871 to early 1875 and, in that

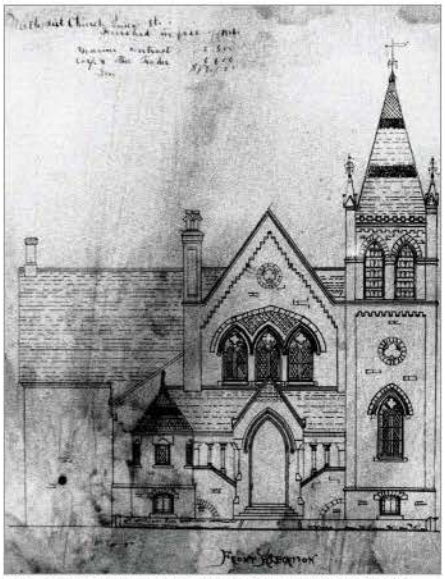

FIG. 14. PRELIMINARY DRAWING OF THE WEST FRONT OF QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | KINGSTON ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS 10, QUA.

FIG. 15. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GOUVERNEUR, NY, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY. | ILLUSTRATED IN BADGLEY'S *AN ARCHITECTURAL SOUVENIR*, 1896.

FIG. 16. WEST FAÇADE OF THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2011.

year, began to practise in St. Catharines (where he is buried). In 1887 (that is, just after the Queen Street church was built), he moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where he specialized in public buildings and churches in many locations, for example, Ottawa, Montreal, St. Catharines, Toronto, and the Cleveland area.[22] Indeed, it was said of him, "that he has quite revolutionized modern church architecture" (one wonders if Badgley supplied the wording for this biography!). He was a Methodist and a strong believer in the annexation of Canada and the United States. One of the interesting aspects about him is that he produced two picture books on his own work, *An Architectural Souvenir Consisting of Some of the Work Done During Twenty Years by S.R. Badgley*[23] (fig. 11) of 1896 and, in 1899, *Some Modern Churches*. He made a selection of certain churches for the first book—presumably because he was particularly proud of them—including the Queen Street church. The photograph he used was an oblique corner view by Henry Henderson (1836-1898) (fig. 12).[24] This *circa* 1890 image permits us to confirm—despite a serious fire in 1919—that the exterior of the extant church is very close in appearance to what was built (figs. 13 and 16).

The Queen Street church proceeded with miraculous speed: Badgley's plans were accepted in mid-April, tenders called, the cornerstone laid on June 15, 1886, and, two months later, the masonry was almost complete and the roof about to be positioned. The church was finished in the autumn. In a description published in early December, it sounds as if the interior was not yet complete:

> Queen Street Methodist Church. The plan shows a handsome edifice facing on Clergy Street with a plot of land in front. There is a graceful tower on the Queen Street corner capped by a steeple and pinnacles. The main entrance is on Clergy Street, and by climbing stairways [into the front corridor,] entrance is secured to the church through the tower, and also by another small façade [the chapel or vestibule] on the east [west-north] side. There is also an entrance to the auditorium on Queen Street. Admission to the lecture room [in the basement] is secured through the Queen Street tower, and from a lane leading from Queen Street. The lecture room is nearly on a level with the sidewalk, ceiling 12½ ft. high at the lowest point, its grade being regulated by the dished floor of the auditorium above. Large windows will give ample light to the lecture room. The furnace rooms, one on each side, are in the basement, while rooms for the Sabbath school purposes are on either side. Behind, and under the organ loft, are the minister's vestry and choir room with folding doors between them. Admission to them is had from the rear. The auditorium will be 72 x 74 ft., with a 90 [*sic.*] ft. ceiling. The seats will be arranged in amphitheatre style, and the floor is dished. There will be six main aisles, with one running half way down the middle seats. The pulpit will be on the east [north] side of the church and the choir in an alcove behind the minister. The cost will be about $14,000. S.R. Badgley, St. Catharines, is the architect.[25]

A front elevation—probably a preliminary drawing by Badgley—has survived in the Queen's University Archives (QUA) (fig. 14).[26] The west entrance is shown as an open portal flanked by columns with open spacing between them, whereas, in the photograph of *circa* 1890 (fig. 12), the entrance is shown as a solid door topped by a transom (as it is now – see fig. 16), but it is impossible to distinguish whether the columns are spaced apart by open air or glazed windows. Badgley did employ openings without windows and a door in St. Paul's Presbyterian Church of 1889 in Ottawa.[27] The Queen Street church incorporates a number of features often found in Badgley buildings, for example, a west front consisting of a tall corner

tower, recessed upper main façade conforming to a gable shape, projecting round one-storey chapel (in use by the practical Methodists as a vestibule), and a pointed-arch main entrance flanked by openings expressing on the exterior the use of stairs. Badgley needed to get worshippers from the ground level into the nave level (called an "auditorium" by Methodists, Presbyterians, and their ilk), which was elevated over a tall basement, the latter indicated by windows in the foundation and of great importance for classrooms. Furthermore, the auditorium floor was even higher toward the entrance area, because it sloped toward the pulpit on the opposite side.[28] There were precedents for this manner of expressing stairs on the exterior through the use of a solid lower wall angling upward as the treads rose and with upper supporting columns, which became progressively shorter. Examples include the Norman staircase to the Aula Nova (now the Hall of the King's School) at Canterbury or, in revival Gothic, at University College of 1856-1859 in Toronto by Cumberland & Storm or Jarvis Baptist Church (windows are used instead of columns) of 1874 in Toronto by Langley & Burke. Badgley uses this device in the form of round arched openings at the First Presbyterian Church of Gouverneur, New York (by 1896 when it appears in *An Architectural Souvenir*, fig. 15).

The Queen Street church has many areas of interesting stone carving and texturing—all adding to its "medieval" quality (fig. 16). They include the carved foliated capitals of the columns on the west entrance and, on the west and south façades, label stops in the forms of flowers, fruits, reptiles, and vaguely biomorphic shapes. The thistles and roses are traditional symbols of Scotland and England (whence came many of the parishioners or their parents) but also hold Christian meaning, for example, the thistle symbolizes earthly sorrow and sin, and an association with the Passion of Christ, especially the crowning of thorns. The snake biting its tail, and thus forming a circle, represents the unending perfection of God the Father, while the label stop on the other end of the hood moulding is a cluster of grapes, representing the blood of His Son, Christ.

Only one view of Badgley's interior is known, and shows an angled view of the north wing before the fire of 1919 ruined the roof and inside of the church (fig. 17).[29] There are no known floor plans or interior drawings surviving from the construction era. Fortunately, we can turn to another of his churches with a surviving original interior: St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church on Bridge Street in Carleton Place, Ontario (fig. 18). On September 1, 1886, the *British Whig* reported that Badgley showed various church plans to the St. Andrew's trustees, who favoured those of the Queen Street church, still under construction. Unlike the advantageous location in Kingston of an elevated corner site, the Carleton Place church was positioned with other buildings on each side. The availability of church land in each case dictated a different geographical positioning of a projection to house the organ loft and its staircase (figs. 19-20), but both churches followed the same principle of the worshippers maximizing their view of and ability to hear (the nave, appropriately, is now named the auditorium) the preacher who, in turn, could keep an eye on them—as Jobson had promoted in 1850.[30] The basic layout of the church's main floor had changed since his time, when rectangular naves were the norm. Logically, they became more or less square and filled with curved benches in an amphitheatre form, sometimes known as the Akron plan after an American Methodist church of 1866.[31] An important model in Canada was the Jarvis Street Baptist Church of 1874-1875 in Toronto by Langley & Burke.

FIG. 17. VIEW OF THE AUDITORIUM AND NORTH WING OF QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, PHOTOGRAPHED BETWEEN 1886 AND 1919. | COLLECTION JENNIFER MCKENDRY.

FIG. 18. ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, ONTARIO, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2012.

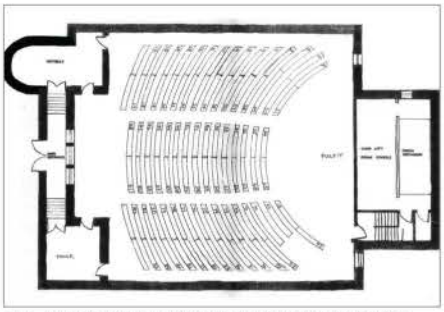

FIG. 19. PLAN OF ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | MODERN PLAN SUPPLIED BY THE CHURCH

FIG. 20. PLAN OF THE PROPOSED RESTORATION (AFTER A FIRE) OF THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, JULY 15, 1919, ARCHITECT WILLIAM NEWLANDS AND SON. | NEWLANDS COLLECTION 2003, QUA.

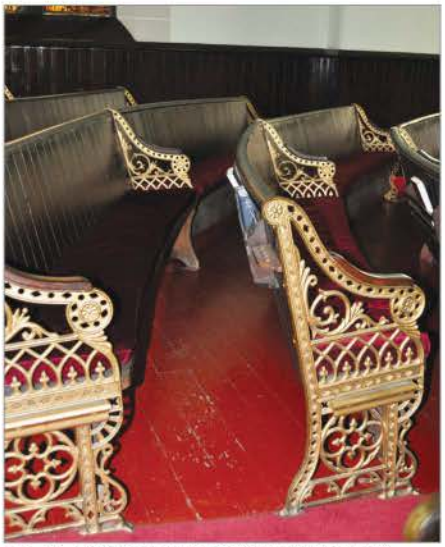

FIG. 22. BENCHES IN THE AUDITORIUM, ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY, 1886. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2012.

FIG. 21. VIEW OF THE AUDITORIUM TOWARD THE ORGAN LOFT, ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, 1886, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2012.

FIG. 23. VIEW OF THE AUDITORIUM TOWARD THE ENTRANCE, ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, 1886, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2012.

In the Carleton Place church, the wooden curved benches survive complete with handsome cast-iron bench-ends formed by a combination of Rococo and Gothic motifs (figs. 21-22). An interesting feature is that a wooden shelf can be pulled out from each bench-end toward the aisles, allowing extra seating if required. The wooden floor rakes toward the pulpit. This is also noticeable when observing the ceiling of the basement. As Jobson had advised in 1850, there is no middle aisle. Slender, cast-iron, fluted columns with elegant, stylized Corinthian capitals support an arcade of widely spaced pointed arches. There is a modest clerestory with rectangular windows (roundels with trefoils in the case of Kingston[32]), while the main ceiling over the nave is tripartite with a flat centre and widely spaced, attached ribs terminating on brackets. In what is basically a simple square floor plan for the auditorium, Badgley creates complexity with changes in ceiling heights and divisions of areas through columns without sacrificing visibility. One's eye is immediately drawn to the organ loft located in a shallow projection under a grand pointed arch. Today, there is a very large organ, but an early photograph shows a much smaller instrument with space in front for seats for the choir. This raised area is reached by a hidden staircase. The pulpit and four Gothic Revival armchairs rest on a raised and curved platform accessed by two flights of curved steps from the auditorium floor. The general arrangement at Carleton Place can be compared with what Badgley designed in Kingston (compare figs. 17 and 21). Turning toward the street end of the auditorium, the large window rising above the entrance porch directly lights the interior (fig. 23). Below are three tall, rectangular windows, which receive only indirect light from those found in the exterior wall of the entrance porch.[33] To leave the auditorium, one can proceed either through the tower room or, on the other side, the semi-circular chapel, which acts like a vestibule. These two spaces access flights of steps in the entrance porch (fig. 24). By descending the staircases, one reaches the main entrance door of the liturgical west end and thus is at ground level. This front passageway is one of the more interesting parts of both the Carleton Place and Kingston churches due to the unusual architectural space with a high lean-to ceiling and exposed stone walls on all four sides. It feels "medieval" and its confining and dark area contrasts well with the grand and well-lit space of the auditorium. The basement can now be reached at Carleton Place from the front passageway, but it originally was accessed by either a side or back door and down a flight of steps.[34] At Kingston, because of the corner site, access is easily available from entrances along Queen Street, as well as by a back door.

With the possible exception of the stained glass over the west entrance (protected during the fire by the inner west stone wall of the auditorium), all the glass in the Kingston church had to be replaced after the 1919 fire. In the Carleton Place church, however, most of the original 1886 glazing

is intact. It is the strong and striking colours of the 1880s in red, pink, orange, blue, turquoise, imaginatively juxtaposed and placed in geometric patterns (fig. 25). If the main parts of the windows are not decorated with figurative religious scenes (found in the largest windows), then they are filled with an overall pattern of small lozenges, a familiar medieval Revival device.

The Methodists of Queen Street in Kingston joined the United Church in 1925. In 1939, the orientation of the auditorium was altered so that one faced east instead of north (where the original organ loft was located, see fig. 17) and, in 1964, the room was modernized by installing a new ceiling, level floor, and other features. The Queen Street church's congregation moved to St. Margaret's United Church (renamed Crossroads Church) in 2010. Given the loss of Badgley's interior at Kingston, it is perhaps easier to accept that the church will become greatly changed inside once new floors are inserted during a conversion for offices and condominium housing by Shoalts and Zaback Architects for BPE Development. The front passageway, however, will be preserved, as will the exterior, with the exceptions of inserting dormers in the south roof to accommodate the new living quarters and replacing the north wing with a new multi-storey structure (fig. 26).

All the past changes plus the proposed ones make the original interior features and glazing still in place in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (still thriving as a church) in Carleton Place all the more precious as a record of the architectural work of Sidney Badgley. Given the trials by fire of the successive congregations of the Queen Street church and their zeal to rebuild from the ashes, they would likely be pleased that the church will be preserved as part of a residential development.

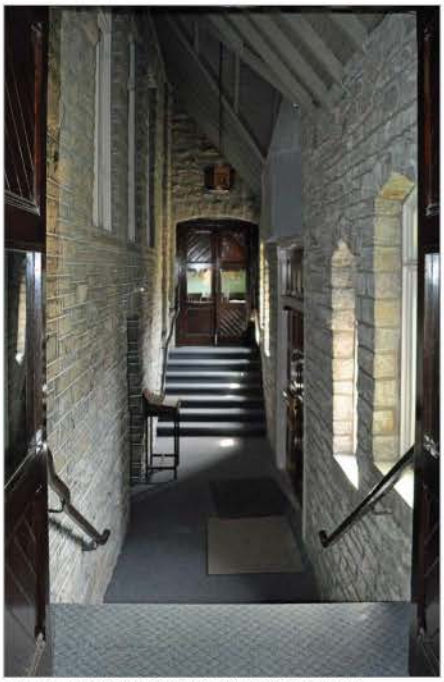

FIG. 24. VIEW OF THE ENTRANCE PASSAGEWAY, ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, 1886, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2012.

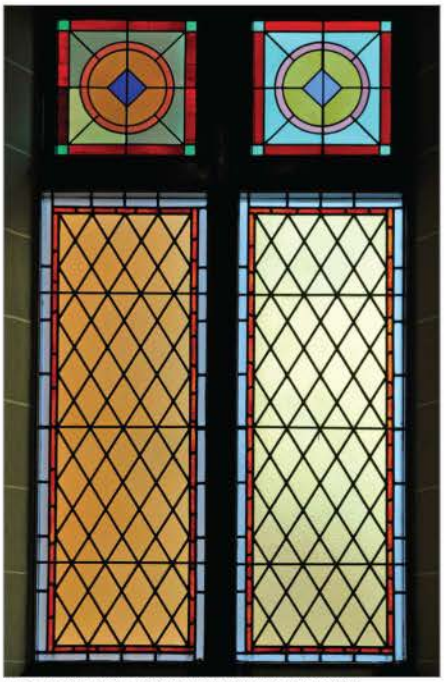

FIG. 25. STAINED-GLASS WINDOWS, ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLETON PLACE, 1886, ARCHITECT SIDNEY BADGLEY. | JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2012.

FIG. 26. PROPOSED WEST ELEVATION OF THE TOWER CLERGY ON QUEEN (INCORPORATING THE QUEEN STREET METHODIST CHURCH) BY SHOALTS AND ZABACK ARCHITECTS FOR BPE DEVELOPMENT, 2012.

NOTES

1. Queen Street Methodist Church becomes Queen Street United Church in 1925. McKendry, Jennifer, 2011, "Chronology of Queen Street United Church," Consultant's report for Bray Heritage and BPE Development, Kingston, November 29, 2011; McKendry, Jennifer, 2012, "Queen Street United Church and Gothic Revival in the Kingston Area," Presentation at the Conference of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, May 23-26; and McKendry, Jennifer, 1986, "Selected Architectural Drawings of John and Joseph Power of Kingston, Ontario, 1850-1900," M.Phil. research paper, University of Toronto, p. 92-94.
2. For a history of Methodism in the Kingston area, including the numerous subdivisions of the sect, see *The Daily British Whig Special Number*, Kingston, December 9-10, 1886, p. 5.

The author, Carl Fechter (thought to be a pseudonym for Charles Sangster, 1822-1893), places a Methodist minister, the Reverend William Losee, in Kingston in 1795. He estimates the date of the first Methodist church as 1815 or 1818, a "little frame building" on the corner of Bay and Bagot Streets. Enlarged about 1840, it was still standing but used as housing at the time he was writing.

3. William Westfall discusses the timing and transition of types of Methodist meeting spaces in Westfall, William, 1989, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

4. A lack of reliable visual documentation makes being certain about the first Gothic Revival churches problematic.

5. For the identity of St. Mary's architect, see McGee, Donna, 1987, "St. Patrick's Church, Montreal: Sorting Out the Beginnings," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 12, p. 7-9.

6. On Joseph Connolly's work at St. Mary's Cathedral, see Thurlby, Malcolm, 2005, "Joseph Connolly in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 25-38 at p. 25-27.

7. Christianson, Paul, 2010, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 17-30.

8. Jobson, Frederick James, 1850, *Chapel and School Architecture, as Appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists, particularly to Those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with Practical Directions for the Erection of Chapels and School-Houses*, London, Hamilton, Adams & Co., p. 14-16.

9. In fact two titles are given: *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott*, London, John Weale, 1841; and *The True Principles and Revival of Christian Architecture*, London, Henry G. Bohn, 1853.

10. Fechter gave 1859 as the date of the proposal for this satellite church. *The Daily British Whig Special Number*, Kingston, December 9-10, 1886, p. 5.

11. Professions and trades noted in the Kingston city directories for the 1860s.

12. McKendry, "Selected Architectural Drawings and Buildings…" : 92-94.

13. McKendry, Jennifer, 2003, "First Congregationalist Church (Masonic Hall): a Remarkable Gothic Church," *Historic Kingston*, vol. 51, p. 44-54.

14. See Paul Christianson's article in this issue.

15. McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, *With Our Past before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 75-76.

16. Christ Church, Cataraqui Village, has a full basement as a result of an excavation for that purpose in 1958-1959.

17. Jobson, Frederick James, 1856, "Chapel and School Architecture," *The British Quarterly Review*, January and April, p. 325-332.

18. The manse still stands at 80 Colborne Street. Now in use for student tenants, it is slated to be retained as a single-family residence by BPE Development.

19. The proposed plan has not survived but was described in the *Daily British Whig*, February 27, 1886. Badgley's floor plans are not available either. The floor plans of William Newlands (1853-1926) for rebuilding the church after the fire of April 27, 1919, survive in the Newlands Collection 2003, Queen's University Archives, and appear to carry on Badgley's amphitheatre scheme of 1886 including the organ-choir loft in the north wing (altered in 1939).

20. For Robert Gage, see McKendry, Jennifer, 2005, "Into the Spotlight: the Architectural Practice of Robert Gage, Kingston and California, *Ontario History*, vol. XCVII (Spring), p. 28-47. He left for California sometime in 1886—perhaps he only supervised the exterior work.

21. Morgan, Henry, 1898, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, a Handbook of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, W. Briggs, p. 38-39. Windeyer is mentioned in a biography of 1914. See also [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/], accessed 2012.

22. For a list of Badgley's works, see [http://planning.city.cleveland.oh.us/landmark/arch/archDetail.php?afil=&archID=6&], accessed 2012; and [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org], accessed 2012.

23. The author would like to thank John Grenville and Malcolm Thurlby for obtaining copies of selections from the microfilms made of this book.

24. The photographer is not identified in the Badgley book, but it can be compared with a photograph in the Henderson Album, Queen's University Archives. For Henry Henderson, see McKendry, Jennifer, 1998, *Early Photography in Kingston*, Kingston, by the author, p. 15-19, and *Early Photography in Kingston from the Daguerreotype to the Postcard*, Kingston, by the author (forthcoming).

25. *The Daily British Whig Special Number*, Kingston, December 9-10, 1886.

26. Kingston Architectural Drawings #10, Queen's University Archives, unsigned front elevation, inscribed "Methodist Church Queen St. Finished in fall of 1886. Mason's contract 6,500, carp & other trades 6,600. [total] $13,100."

27. Now St. Paul's-Eastern United Church, 473 Cumberland at Daly; Badgley's wonderful tower, pierced by tall arched openings, was removed in stages in 1915 and 1929.

28. In the case of the Queen Street church, the floor sloped to the north, where the pulpit and organ loft were located (none of these features have survived but can be seen in fig. 17), whereas the church's entrance faced west. In the case of St. Andrew's Presbyterian of 1886 in Carleton Place, the floor is at its highest toward the street entrance (liturgically west) and lowest toward the back (liturgically east) of the church.

29. The photograph (collection Jennifer McKendry) is not dated or identified; however, the view captured by the photographer corresponds with the church's interior features known through descriptions and backtracking from the floor plan of 1919 (fig. 20).

30. Jobson's advice was directed to Methodists, but Presbyterians also felt the preacher, choir, and organ should form the centre of attention in contrast to Anglicans focusing on the altar and chancel.

31. For the amphitheatre form, see Carr, Angela, 1999, "Fields and Theatre Churches: the Non-traditional Space of Evangelism," *Architecture and Ideas* (summer), p. 62-79; and Carr, Angela, 1995, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 20-48.

32. The roundels date from at least 1919, when the fire destroyed most of the church's windows.

33. The large box under the three windows in St. Andrew's auditorium was recently added to accommodate the headroom needed for the new staircase from the front passageway directly into the basement. It is not found in the Kingston church, where the three windows extend to a greater length toward the floor.

34. Basements of both churches have been modernized. The Queen Street basement plan, as restored by Newlands and Son after the fire of 1919, is in the Newlands Collection, QUA. Before the fire, the basement accommodated three hundred and fifty children in the classrooms. This increased to five hundred children after the 1919 renovations, which were altered in 1934.

HENRY LANGLEY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH COMMISSIONS
Adapting Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones* to the Gothic Revival in Canada[1]

> CANDACE IRON

CANDACE IRON is currently a Ph.D. candidate and contract faculty member in the Department of Humanities at York University, Toronto, where she studies under the supervision of Malcolm Thurlby. Her dissertation examines the church-designing careers of Henry Langley (1836-1907) and his mentor, William Hay (1818-1888), and attempts to place their work within the broader context of pre- and post-Confederation Ontario. Her love of the Gothic Revival is matched only by her passion for travelling and scuba diving.

FIG. 1. HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT (1836-1907). | *CANADIAN ARCHITECT AND BUILDER*, 1907, VOL. 20, NO. 1.

Volume 20, issue 1, of the *Canadian Architect and Builder* described the architect Henry Langley (1836-1907) as, "one of the oldest practitioners in the City of Toronto... identified with its development and progress for many decades" (fig. 1).[2] In point of fact, Langley was the most prolific architect of the nineteenth century in Ontario; he designed civic, public, and commercial buildings, and houses for many of the prominent citizens of Toronto.[3] Additionally, he and his firm[4] designed more than seventy churches and altered dozens more. Of all his church commissions, only ten[5] were for the Catholic Church, and of those, only six remain. These Catholic churches demonstrate how Langley was able to sustain such a productive practice by relying on a set of principle drawings that he could adapt for different commissions by incorporating the needs and wants of the religious denomination that required a building.

Henry Langley was born November 26, 1836, in Toronto, Ontario.[6] His training as an architect began at the Toronto Academy, a non-denominational private school that was established by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1846 as a subsidiary of Knox College.[7] While a student at the Toronto Academy, Langley likely would have been enrolled in the school's regular program of study, which included: mathematics, English, French, the classics, commercial subjects, and, most importantly for his future career, the principles of linear drawing, directed by the Toronto Academy drawing master, Edward Claxton Bull, an artist and designer.[8]

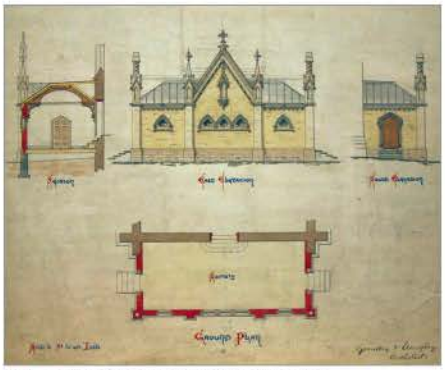

FIG. 2. ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – SACRISTY, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

FIG. 3. ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, SACRISTY EXTERIOR. | CANDACE IRON.

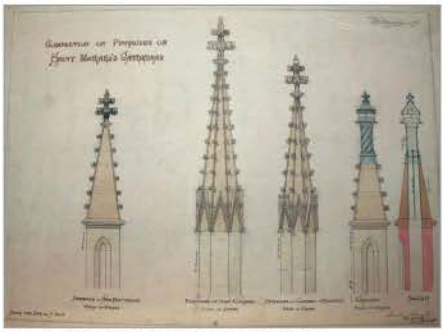

FIG. 4. ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – PINNACLES, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

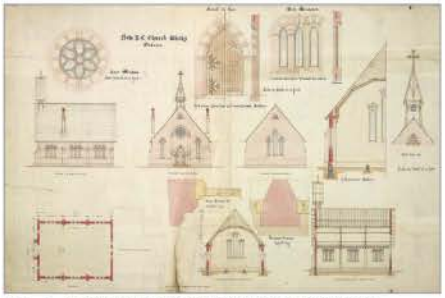

FIG. 5. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHITBY, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

Around the age of eighteen, Langley became an apprentice to the Scotsman William Hay (1818-1888) at his Toronto office.[9] Hay was above all an architect and a devout Episcopalian, which led him to design many churches throughout his career in Britain, Bermuda, and Canada.[10] Under Hay's tutelage Langley developed a clear drafting style and was immersed in architectural training in the Gothic Revival style of building. For Hay, architecture was informed by theory; therefore Langley became knowledgeable with the ideologies that had been published regarding church building and thus became fluent in the language of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), a Catholic convert and architect, who, along with being the Revival's most influential proponent, was Hay's favourite Gothic Revival apologist.[11] The education and experience Langley garnered while indenturing with Hay would prove vital to his career and architectural practice, as his familiarity with all of the major architectural publications, including those by Pugin, allowed him to modify his designs for different Christian denominations to incorporate the architectural principles they valued.

While Langley was influenced by the major publications, including Pugin's *Contrasts* (1836)[12] and *The True Principles of Christian Architecture* (1841), it is likely he also looked to a lesser-known source for his Catholic work, Cardinal Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae*, a two-volume, thirty-three-chapter treatise of norms regarding church building.[13] More commonly known as *The Instructiones*, this document was drafted in 1577, fourteen years after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), as a summation of the Catholic Church's traditions pertaining to the design of churches. Essentially, Borromeo applied the Tridentine Creed, the decrees of the Council, to architecture and concomitantly codified the canons of Catholic church building.

The *Instructiones* was released and republished with very few revisions at least nineteen times between 1577 and 1952,[14] and its directives dictated the appearance of most Catholic buildings until the Church renegotiated its position within modern society at the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).

Langley's career began in 1862, when Hay returned to Scotland, leaving his architectural practice to Thomas Gundry, his partner of one year, and Langley. It was reported in his obituary that Langley's function on the team was to create the designs and execute the drawings, while Gundry's role was more financial, assessing estimates and valuations.[15]

The first Catholic commission the newly formed partnership would attain was for St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto (figs. 2-3). One of the most important Catholic structures in Ontario, St. Michael's was designed by William Thomas (1799-1860) in 1845, but was not completed until after Thomas' death. In 1864, Gundry and Langley were commissioned to enlarge the sacristy.

For the sacristy, Langley's design was, in keeping with the rest of the Cathedral, Gothic. The addition is located at the east end of the cathedral, incorporating into the design multiple stepped buttresses, pinnacles, and small pointed windows.

The interior of the sacristy was marked by an exposed timber ceiling, which makes reference to one of Pugin's strongest

principles, truthfulness in the use of materials. For Pugin, religious truth was expressed through ecclesiastical architecture; therefore, architectural arrangements, he argued, were the consequence of, and symbolic of, religious beliefs and practices.[16] This resulted in the principle of truth in both design and materials; materials were to be used to their full account and could not be paraded as something they were not: stone was to look like stone, brick like brick, and wood like wood. Additionally, all ornament in Gothic Revival (Christian) architecture was to consist of the "enrichment of the essential construction of the building."[17] According to Pugin, "Pointed architecture does not conceal her construction, but beautifies it..."[18] Langley, as a follower of Pugin, used the open timber of the ceiling to place decoration, which was the only ornamentation in the otherwise austerely designed sacristy.

The use of timber in the sacristy also enhanced the link between the addition and the main body of the Cathedral, which was overseen by a "truthful" wooden roof. This sense of continuity would have been significant, as it was outlined by Borromeo that the sacristy is the most important building annexed to a church and the only structure that can be directly attached to the body of a church.[19]

In 1866, St. Michael's again employed Gundry and Langley, but this time to furnish the exterior of the Cathedral with pinnacles and to complete the west tower and spire (fig. 4). The pinnacles Langley added to the exterior demonstrate a sense of variety, with an assortment of pointed elements, crockets, finials, and serpentine motifs. These kinds of details were encouraged for Gothic Revival architecture throughout the nineteenth century and can be found in numerous publications, including Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*, first published in 1847, which provided more than seven hundred Gothic architectural details taken from English parish churches. At St. Michael's, the presence of pinnacles is not structurally required to load the supporting elements of the cathedral, which would seemingly make them "untruthful" in terms of Pugin's *True Principles*; however, even Pugin justified the use of pinnacles for their ability to create a vertical element evocative of the resurrection.[20] Practically, the pinnacles at St. Michael's Cathedral enhance the Gothic exterior of the building and create a sense of continuity between the older body of the cathedral and the newer sacristy.

In 1867, Langley received his first extant Catholic church commission from the parish of St. John the Evangelist in Whitby, Ontario (fig. 5). That year, the *Whitby Chronicle*, the local newspaper, reported that the new Catholic church was to bear a striking point in similarity to that of All Saints' Church, also located in Whitby, which Langley had designed in 1865-1866 (figs. 6-7).[21] In actuality, Langley did not reproduce his design for All Saints' for the Catholics of Whitby, but rather reworked his design for St. Peter's Anglican Church, Toronto, which he had executed in 1865. St. Peter's Church is modeled after St. Michael's, Longstanton (Cambridgeshire), a thirteenth-century English parish church that was recommended as a model for Anglican churches in the colonies by the Cambridge Camden Society, later renamed the Ecclesiological Society, a group of Cambridge undergraduate students that in 1839 set out to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture and the "restoration... of mutilated Architectural remains."[22] The society published pamphlets and a journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, which together promoted the use of the Gothic Revival

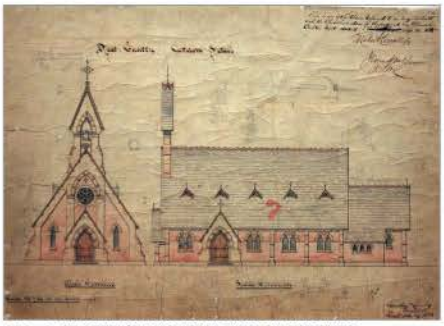

FIG. 6. ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – FAÇADE AND SOUTH ELEVATION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

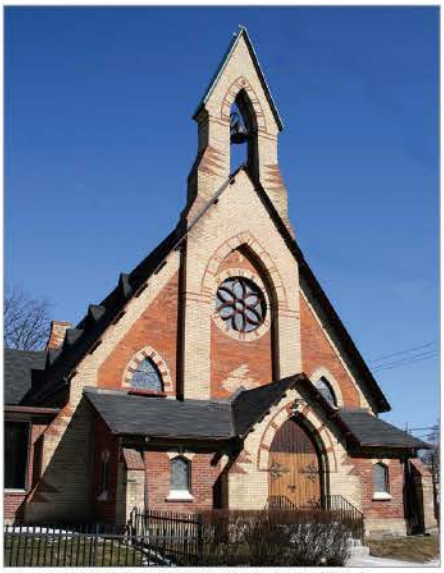

FIG. 7. ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, TORONTO. | CANDACE IRON.

style and its ability to inspire liturgical reforms, essentially moulding the plans of Anglican church architecture in the nineteenth century throughout the British Empire.[23] For Langley, the reproduction of an ostensibly Anglican design would not have been appropriate for a Catholic parish; however, there are many elements of St. Peter's Church that align with the principles for Catholic churches outlined by Borromeo, making it an easily adapted plan for the Catholic parish. To accomplish this, Langley referenced Catholic literature and employed the building concepts that were recommended for churches by

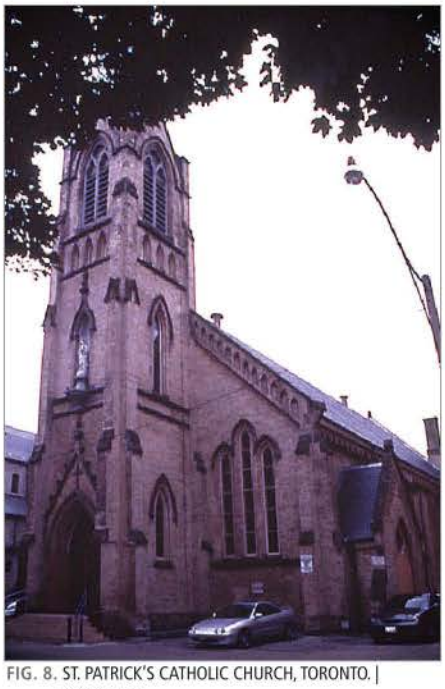

FIG. 8. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO. | CANDACE IRON.

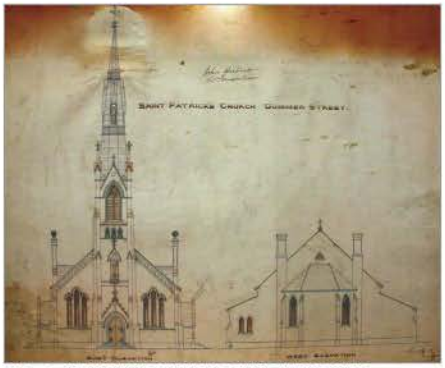

FIG. 9. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – FAÇADE AND REAR ELEVATION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

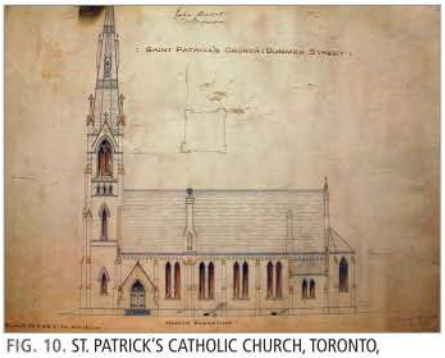

FIG. 10. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – SOUTH ELEVATION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY.

FIG. 11. ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GUELPH. | CANDACE IRON.

Pugin, making them specifically Catholic by incorporating the directives in the *Instructiones*.

The façade of the church is similar to that of St. Peter's, Toronto, with a western rose window and a raised entrance, both of which were elements that Borromeo had recommended in the *Instructiones*. The *Instructiones* specifically outlines the proper forms of lighting for churches indicating that if a nave is dark, a western rose window should be placed directly in line with the central western portal.[24] The elevated entrance, however, was especially important. Borromeo specified that the approach to a church "requires three steps or five at the most," and further recommended the inclusion of an atrium, portico, or vestibule to mark the primary entrance to a church.[25] In his analysis of the *Instructiones*, Matthew Gallegos interprets Borromeo's inclusion of a distinctive architectural element at the entrance to a church as symbolically creating a visual transition between the sacred church space and the secular exterior world. Additionally, Gallegos deciphers meaning in the often-quoted numbers found throughout Borromeo's text, claiming that they relate to Catholic doctrinal teaching, wherein three and five respectively relate to the Trinity and Pentecost.[26] At St. John's, Whitby, where there is only one entrance, Langley achieved this symbolic transitional architectural element though the inclusion of three steps to elevate the entryway, which, when coupled with multiple orders leading to the doors, creates a sense of depth and provides Borromeo's required transitional spatial element.

The bellcote is one area of St. John's façade that offered a variant from its St. Peter's model. Rather than be constructed of brick, St. John's bellcote was rendered in wood and was surmounted by a cross. In the *Instructiones*, Borromeo devotes a chapter to bell towers and bells. He dictates that towers should be either freestanding or part of the church façade, and sanctions the use of small towers and brick piers serving in the place of bell towers in small churches, indicating that a bell tower should be in proportion to the rest of the church.[27] St. John's Church was very small and consisted of only three bays and therefore compositionally could not have accommodated a full tower.

Although the bellcote is small in comparison to most bell towers, Langley still incorporated the "rules" for bell towers that were outlined in Borromeo's chapter: the wood construction of the bellcote sufficiently fulfills the suggestion to incorporate strong joisting, and its placement over

the central façade entrance, with a cross at its apex, meets Borromeo's precise requirements for tower placement and iconography—as Borromeo was specific that all towers should be surmounted by a cross.[28]

The next Catholic commission Gundry and Langley would secure was for St. Patrick's Church in Toronto (fig. 8). This church marks an important point in Langley's Catholic church designing career, as the plan that he created here, he would use repeatedly with only subtle alterations for all of his future Catholic commissions.

The Parish of St. Patrick's was founded as a mission by Reverend Armand-Francois-Marie de Charbonnel, Bishop of Toronto, and was established as a parish in its own right in 1861.

The first St. Patrick's Church, Toronto, a frame building located on Dummer Street (now St. Patrick's Street), was destroyed by fire June 22, 1865. The second church, designed by Gundry and Langley, was built in 1870 in the same location.

St. Patrick's is a yellow brick, Gothic Revival church. As a material, brick was generally viewed unfavourably in the nineteenth century for church architecture. The Cambridge Camden Society originally outlawed its use for Anglican churches, referring to it as a miserable material,[29] although by 1850 they had changed their opinion and even went so far as to recommend brick for "town churches."[30] For Catholic construction, brick was more acceptable; Pugin used brick in some of his churches, including St. Wilfred's Hulme, Manchester (1839), which was illustrated in Plate VII of *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, first published in 1843. Moreover, in *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*, Pugin compares brick's building properties to those of stone.[31] Additionally, Borromeo allowed for the use of brick in the *Instructiones*, which suggests that it was considered a legitimate material for Catholic churches.

Demonstrating Pugin's principles for church architecture, St. Patrick's Church has a steeply pitched roof and a defined separation of nave and chancel (figs. 9-10). Pugin insisted that a roof's pitch be in the form of an equilateral triangle, which he argued is the soundest in terms of beauty and utility for its ability to create a pleasing appearance and simultaneously resist the actions of weather.[32] Additionally, Pugin's principle of truth in design deemed that the basic components of a building should be articulated on the exterior, which is demonstrated at St. Patrick's by the separation of the nave and the apse. Recalling Pugin's prerogative to enrich only the essential construction elements of a church, St. Patrick's is rather plain from the exterior. It employs little in the way of ornament save for stepped buttresses, labels, and paired lancet windows that are placed centrally in each bay, an arrangement Borromeo dictates in the *Instructiones*, while describing the importance of having the windows match on both sides of the nave (fig. 11).[33] Langley likely modeled the general austerity of the exterior as well as the placement and design of the tower after William Hay's St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, which ultimately can be traced to his 1842 design for St. James' Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland. The pinnacles placed at the base of the spire are especially telling in this regard.

To address Borromeo's directive to have the entrance marked by a spatial separation from the body of the church, Langley designed the tower to project forward, which simultaneously fulfills the suggestion to have the tower attached to the façade, marking the building as a place of prominence in the landscape. In *Contrasts*, Pugin illustrates how spires could accomplish this in his sketch of contrasted towns. *Contrasts* is essentially a picture-book, wherein Pugin demonstrates his distaste for classicism, which he associates with paganism, while emphasizing his clear admiration for Gothic architecture by comparing the two styles and demonstrating the degradation associated with the former. Pugin's sketch depicts the importance of spires for Christian architecture; each religious building is marked by a soaring spire exemplifying height and verticality, which Pugin equates with the resurrection.[34]

St. Patrick's tower is the most ornamented feature of the exterior with its multi-ordered entrance, buttresses, crockets, and finials (fig. 12). This was prescribed by Borromeo in the *Instructiones*, where seven chapters address the exterior appearance of churches. Borromeo specifically indicates that because it holds the entrance, the façade is the most important exterior wall of a church and therefore should be the only area to have ornamentation. Furthermore, he specifically states that an image of either the Virgin Mary or the saint to whom the church is dedicated should be placed above the entrance of a church,[35] a principle Langley introduced at St. Patrick's.

The interior of St. Patrick's is entirely prescribed by the *Instructiones* (figs. 13-14). Its walls were plastered and then painted with stencilling and murals, and the supporting elements are composed of compound piers, which create a nave-aisle arrangement that supports an elaborate timber and paneled roof.

While the truthful usage of wood for the roof is Puginian, the arrangement of nave and aisles enclosed under a single roof elevation is not, but rather comes

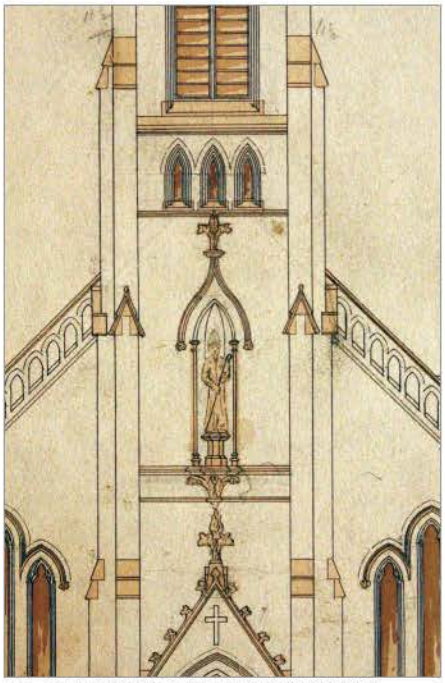

FIG. 12. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – DETAIL OF ST. PATRICK, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

FIG. 15. ST. BASIL'S CHURCH AND COLLEGE OF ST. MICHAEL (TORONTO), NEGATIVE OF ENGRAVING, WILLIAM HAY, ARCHITECT. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

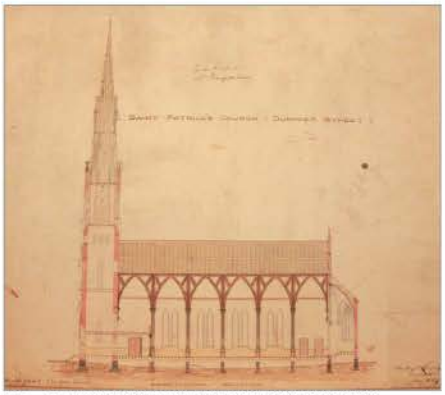

FIG. 13. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – TRANSVERSE SECTION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

FIG. 16. ST. BASIL'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPH – INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE ARCHIVES.

FIG. 14. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 17. ST. FRANCES DE SALES CATHOLIC CHURCH, DUFFERIN'S CREEK/PICKERING. | CANDACE IRON.

from the Anglican Commissioners' Gothic style, which predates Pugin's truthfulness in design principle (figs. 15-16).[36] A similar arrangement was used by William Hay in his design for St. Basil's Catholic Church, Toronto (1852-1855), which had the aisles and nave under a single roof, albeit with a different roof pitch delineating the aisles from the nave. Be that as it may, the inclusion of aisles in Catholic church plans was described by Borromeo, who indicates that a church should have "one nave, or three or five naves."[37] Additionally, when describing the apse, Borromeo was specific that, "its pavement should be made higher than that of the body of the church [and that it should be] vaulted, and moreover, properly ornamented with mosaic work or with some other dignified decoration in painting..."[38]

In 1870, Langley reproduced his design of St. Patrick's for St. Frances de Sales, Pickering (figs. 17-18), where he designed a one-storey elevation church with bays separated by buttresses and a clear articulation between the apse and the nave on the exterior. He also included the projecting central tower that he had used at St. Patrick's, which at St. Frances de Sales is also the most ornamented part of the

exterior. Departing from the St. Patrick's design, Langley added pseudo-transepts, dormer windows in lieu of a clerestory, and changed the arrangement of the tower by eliminating the pinnacles and creating an octagonal belfry. Dormers are relatively rare on church buildings, but Borromeo's *Instructiones* indicate that, in addition to windows being placed along the sides of naves, lights located above a church's roof line to illuminate the nave are preferred.[39]

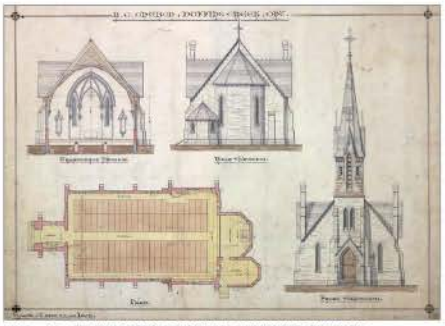

FIG. 18. ST. FRANCES DE SALES CATHOLIC CHURCH, DUFFERIN'S CREEK/PICKERING, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

FIG. 19. ST. FRANCES DE SALES CATHOLIC CHURCH, DUFFERIN'S CREEK/PICKERING, INTERIOR LOOKING SOUTHEAST. | CANDACE IRON.

Inside, the church has a wide-nave plan with a clearly articulated, elevated and vaulted apse (fig. 19). As was the case at St. Patrick's, the apse does not have a window directly behind the altar. Borromeo was careful to describe the lighting of apses, indicating that, "precaution must be taken that no part, even the smallest, of any altar be blinded by the windows of the back wall."[40]

The wide-nave plan, which Borromeo would refer to as "only one nave,"[41] and the ceiling design are different from those that Langley had used in Toronto, but rather look back to his wide-nave design for St. John the Evangelist, Whitby, demonstrating another merge in Langley's Catholic design elements.

FIG. 20. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 21. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER. | CANDACE IRON.

In 1872, Langley recreated his scheme for Pickering when designing a church for St. Patrick's Parish in Stayner, Ontario (figs. 20-21). In Stayner, the Pickering plan was developed further to incorporate more of the design elements recommended by Borromeo and Pugin.

On the exterior, the articulation of the various areas of the church, including the sacristy, evoke Pugin's doctrines regarding truth in design, while the plain exterior with little ornamentation is maintained (fig. 22). Additionally, the tower projects forward to create a transitional vestibule in accordance with Borromeo's rules and, although not executed, Langley intended there to be dormers on the roof to meet the *Instructiones'* church lighting requirements. The area of divergence from the Pickering design is the ornamentation on the tower, which warrants examination. Langley incorporated a cross in stone in the upper gable of the tower and another in the gable that frames the entrance. This recalls Borromeo's suggestion to cap towers with a cross, which, according to Evelyn Carole Voelker who translated the *Instructiones* to English in 1977, represents the solidity of the Catholic faith.[42] In Stayner, that symbolic message is not only added as an appendage to the tower, but is incorporated into the architectural fabric of the church.

The interior of St. Patrick's, Stayner, has an exposed wooden ceiling, which makes a clear reference to Pugin's concept of truth in materials (figs. 23-25). For Langley, however, it also makes a distinctive allusion to Hay, who used an identical ceiling design in 1856 for St. George's Anglican Church, Pickering Village.

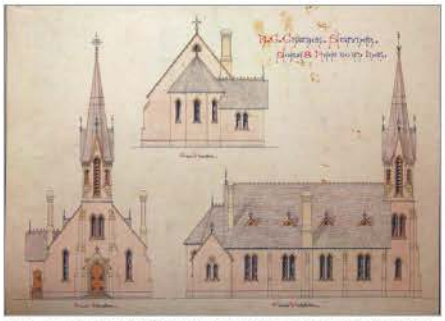

FIG. 22. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

FIG. 23. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 24. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH (PICKERING VILLAGE). | CANDACE IRON.

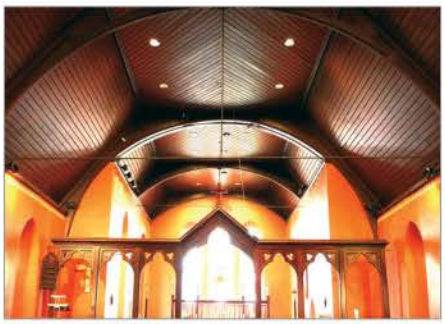

FIG. 25. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PICKERING VILLAGE, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 26. GUARDIAN ANGELS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ORILLIA. | COURTESY OF GUARDIAN ANGELS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ORILLIA.

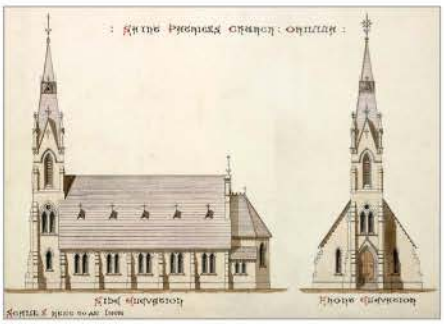

FIG. 27. ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, RENAMED GUARDIAN ANGELS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ORILLIA, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

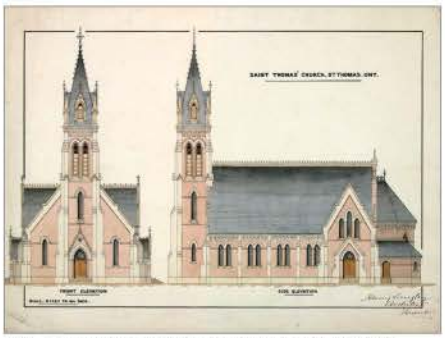

FIG. 28. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

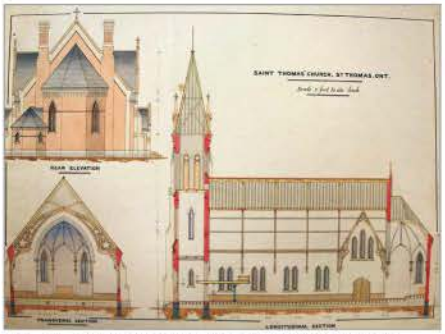

FIG. 29. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

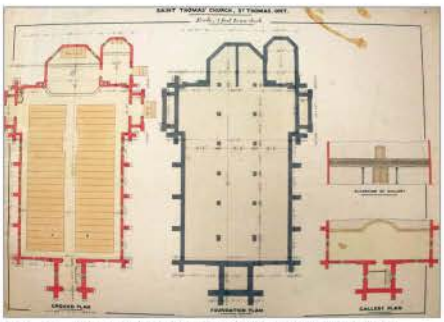

FIG. 30. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), ARCHITECTURAL PLAN, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

From 1872 to 1875, Langley would execute his five final Catholic designs: Church of Guardian Angels, Orillia (1870-1872),[43] Church of the Holy Angels, St. Thomas (1872), St. John Chrysostom, Newmarket (1873), Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie (1875), and Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine (1875). Although only two of these churches remain, they all combined the design elements of Langley's prior Catholic commissions in varying manners.

The Church of Guardian Angels, Orillia (figs. 26-27), demonstrates the method in which Langley melded his former plans to create something "new" by combining the church body with dormer windows that he had first used in Pickering, with the tower arrangement he had designed for St. Patrick's, Toronto, which incorporates pinnacles at the base of the spire; however, to that tower Langley added the permanent stone crosses located in gables below the spire that he had first used in

FIG. 31. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, ANCASTER. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 32. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, ANCASTER, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 33. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM CATHOLIC CHURCH, NEWMARKET, ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPH. | COURTESY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM CATHOLIC CHURCH, NEWMARKET.

FIG. 34. PRECIOUS BLOOD CATHEDRAL, SAULT STE. MARIE. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 35. PAROISSE SAINTE-CROIX, LAFONTAINE. | CANDACE IRON.

FIG. 36. PAROISSE SAINTE-CROIX, LAFONTAINE, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.

Stayner. The site and the number of bays in the church are notable. First, the church was located on a hill in a domineering position overlooking Orillia. The act of placing a Catholic church atop a hill or in a place of prominence within a community has medieval European roots; however, in Ontario, examples can be found at Our Lady of Assumption Church, Windsor (1842-1846), The Church of Our Lady, Guelph (1876-1888), St. Anne's Church, Penetanguishene (1873-1902), and St. Joseph's Church, River Canard (1913). While the location of the church would have been the choice of the parish or local bishop, Borromeo allocated chapter one of the *Instructiones* to the site of a church. Line one states that, "when a church is to be built, the site most suitable for such a building should be chosen by the bishop in consultation with the architect he will have commissioned or approved [and] it is of great importance that it should be in a fairly prominent place."[44]

Secondly, Guardian Angels had five regular bays. In the *Instructiones*, Borromeo indicates that there should be, where possible, an uneven number of bays and windows running laterally along

the nave.[45] In Orillia, there were five bays and fifteen windows, including the dormers. This, combined with the location, permanent crosses atop the tower, and the forward projection of the tower to create a vestibule, made Orillia's exterior a nearly perfect specimen in terms of Borromeo's treatise.[46]

In 1872, when Langley designed the Church of the Holy Angels in St. Thomas, Ontario (fig. 28), he reproduced all of the elements of Guardian Angels, Orillia, but omitted the dormer windows and added pseudo-transepts. Langley first introduced pseudo-transepts for Catholic churches at St. Frances de Sales, Pickering (1870). At Holy Angels, as was the case at St. Frances de Sales, the pseudo-transepts have a separate roof line, which makes their design truthful in terms of Pugin's principles regarding design; however, their inclusion was also suggested by Borromeo. While dispelling the use of round designs for church plans, calling them pagan, Borromeo indicates that wherever possible, cruciform churches are preferable to all other designs.[47]

In terms of truthful use of materials, the interior of Holy Angels was comparable to that of St. Patrick's, Toronto; however, at Holy Angels there were no aisles, therefore Langley introduced an open-timber hammer-beam roof to cover the nave (figs. 29-30). He had only used this kind of roof once for his Catholic churches, at the sacristy for St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto. This kind of roof was extremely fashionable in nineteenth-century Gothic Revival churches and was popularized by Pugin's principles and publications, including Raphael and J. Arthur Brandons', *Masterpieces of Medieval Open Timber Roofs*. First published in 1849, this book was intended to be a pattern book that provided architects with examples of wooden roofs to be emulated in designs that could not accommodate vaulting. Besides the sacristy of St. Michael's Cathedral, Langley had incorporated open-timber designs into several of his Anglican churches prior to the design of Holy Angels, including St. John's Anglican Church, Ancaster (1868) (figs. 31-32); however, for Langley the use of open timber for Catholic churches likely stems from William Hay, who designed a stunning open-timber roof for St. Basil's Church, Toronto in 1852-1855.

While Langley's next two Catholic Church designs for St. John Chrysostom, Newmarket (1873), and Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie (1875) (figs. 33-34), were somewhat unremarkable in that they reproduced his past design elements in fairly standard manners, his final Catholic church, Sainte-Croix in Lafontaine, represents a high point in Langley's Catholic church designing career (fig. 35). Executed in red brick, the exterior of the church is extremely plain. The only ornaments are the enclosing arches over the louvered openings in the tower. These arches point upward to the four iron crosses at the peaks of the louvered gables of the spire, which in turn point to the large cross at the apex of the spire. Additionally, there is a single quatrefoil located in the tympanum over the western façade doorway, a motif that Langley also used in Sault Ste. Marie (also dating from 1875). Langley first used the tympanum of a church entrance for ornament in his design for Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), but in terms of Catholic design it satisfies Borromeo's requirement to accentuate the importance of the entrance. Overall, in terms of Pugin's and Borromeo's theories, the façade ornament in Lafontaine underscores the Church doctrine of the resurrection of the Messiah, and emphasizes the gravity of the entry into the sacred space of the church.

While the exterior was largely unadorned, the interior of Sainte-Croix has an exquisite timber and paneled roof that Langley modeled after his design for St. Patrick's Church, Toronto (1869-1870) (fig. 36). In design, the nave of the Lafontaine church has been broadened and transepts have been included, which allow for the inclusion of minor "chapels" with altars, which Borromeo deemed necessary for churches with aisles.[48]

Overall, Langley's church in Lafontaine represents the most cohesive Catholic design that he produced, integrating the elements that were most central to the architectural doctrines of both Pugin and Borromeo.

While it is clear that Langley incorporated Borromeo's *Instructiones* into his Puginian Gothic Revival in Ontario, the question remains of why this was necessary.

Langley was working in an era where there were perceived threats to the Catholic Church. The First Vatican Council, held in 1869 in Rome, was convened to deal with the threats the Church recognized from the rising influence of rationalism, liberalism, and materialism, and in part revisited the Tridentine Creed of the Council of Trent, the very council that resulted in the *Instructiones*. According to Anthony Blunt, who wrote about artistic theory in Italy, the Council of Trent was born out of an act of counter-reform, which aimed to undo all that the Renaissance had done by returning to a "feudal and medieval state of affairs."[49] The pairing of Pugin's theories with those of Borromeo is then perhaps not that surprising because Pugin's aim was not tremendously different and he was writing for many of the same reasons in the nineteenth century. Although focused on architecture and society, Pugin was essentially calling for a return to the faith and

social structure of the Middle Ages.[50] In *Contrasts*, Pugin illustrated this by comparing Medieval and nineteenth-century communities, showing the clear superiority of the former. Pugin's illustrations in *Contrasts*, as well as his arguments for reform in both society and architecture published in *Contrasts*, *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*, and *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, were persuasive and, according to Pugin's biographer, Rosemary Hill, "spoke with the voice of the rising generation."[51]

It could be that Langley was incorporating the "rules" for Catholic building of these two influential theorists in response to this; however, in Ontario there was also a denominational rivalry between churches. Confederation had occurred in 1867 and there was no longer an established Church in Canada. For Langley this meant that he needed to negotiate a way to accommodate the needs of the religious denominations that were commissioning his designs while still maintaining the ability to sustain a thriving, cross-denominational practice. By creating a set of drawings that he could adapt by incorporating the assorted building regulations of the various denominations, Langley was able to successfully accomplish this and thus became the most influential and prolific architect of the nineteenth century in Ontario in terms of religious architecture.

NOTES

1. I would like to express my thanks to the Department of Humanities at York University for giving me the opportunity to pursue my doctoral studies. My sincerest gratitude goes to my Ph.D. supervisor, Malcolm Thurlby, who is a constant source of inspiration, advice, and support. Thanks also to my supervisory committee and my close architectural friends (the Malcolmites), as well as UQAM professor Luc Noppen, who have all helped me immensely with my research into the careers of Henry Langley and his mentor, William Hay. Finally, I would like to thank all of the church parishes and congregations that have granted me access to their buildings and their records; it is most valued and appreciated.

2. 1907, "The Late Mr. Henry Langley," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 14.

3. For a list of Langley's buildings, see: "Langley, Henry," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1433], accessed December 10, 2012.

4. When examining the career of Henry Langley, it is necessary to establish that his practice was extremely large and included several partners and many pupils. While hundreds of drawings are attributed to the Langley firm, many do not have delineator initials. For this reason, for the purposes of this article, Henry Langley's "work" will be considered within the framework of the Langley firm, with Langley ultimately receiving credit for the designs.

5. This number reflects Langley's nine extant Catholic church commissions, as well as his commission to add a sacristy (1864), complete the tower and spire (1865), and add pinnacles (1865) to St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, which had been designed by William Thomas (1799-1860) in 1845-1848.

6. For information regarding Henry Langley's biography see: Beszedits, Stephen, 1983, *Eminent Toronto Architects of the Past: Their Lives and Works*, Toronto, B&L Information Services; Richardson, Douglas and Angela K. Carr, 2000, *Henry Langley, Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=6841], accessed December 10, 2012.

7. While biblical studies and the establishment of a seminary were central to the educational program at the school, the intention from its conception had been to obtain the cooperation of other Christian denominations; therefore, in 1849, the Toronto Academy became a non-denominational institution.

8. *The Toronto Academy*, August 27, 1850, Toronto Academy (microfilm, original held at the Toronto Metropolitan Library).

9. Since no apprenticeship agreement survives, there is a general degree of uncertainty surrounding the age at which Langley entered Hay's office as an apprentice. The Toronto Board of Trade Souvenir of 1893 indicates that Langley was seventeen when he began his apprenticeship. Stephen Beszedits states that Langley entered Hay's office at the age of nineteen, while Angela Carr suggests a broader date range of seventeen to nineteen; however, Hay left Toronto in 1861-1862 and Langley had a seven-year apprenticeship, which implies that Langley was likely eighteen years old when he began his apprenticeship with Hay.

10. For information regarding William Hay, see: "William Hay," *Dictionary of Scottish Architects 1840-1989*, July 26, 2008, [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/index.php], accessed September 15, 2011; or Magrill, Barry, 2004, "Development and Ecclesiology in the Outposts of the British Empire: William Hay's Gothic Solutions for Church Building in Tropical Climates (1840-1890)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 1-2, p. 15-26.

11. In his architecture and his writings, William Hay was a devout follower of Pugin. In 1853, he published an article/eulogy for Pugin in the *Anglo-American Magazine*: Hay, William, 1853, "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," *The Anglo-American Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 70-73.

12. While more commonly referred to as *Contrasts*, the full title of Pugin's 1836 treatise is *Contrasts: or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Accompanied by Appropriate Test.*

13. For a full translation of the *Instructiones*, see: Voelker, Evelyn Carole, 1977, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577, A Translation with Commentary and Analysis*, Ph.D. dissertation in Humanities, Syracuse University, available online: [http://evelynvoelker.com/].

14. Gallegos, Matthew, 2004, "Charles Borromeo and Catholic Tradition," *Journal of the Institute for Sacred Architecture*, vol. 9, p. 14-28.

15. 1907, "The Late Mr. Henry Langley," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 14.

16. Pugin, A.W.N., 1841, "Contrasts: or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Accompanied by Appropriate Text," in Timothy Brittain-Catlin (ed.), *Contrasts and The True Principle of Pointed Architecture*, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., p. 2-3.

17. Pugin, A.W.N., 1841, "The True Principles of Pointed Architecture," in Timothy Brittain-Catlin (ed.), *Contrasts and The True Principle*

of Pointed Architecture, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., p. 1.

18. *Id.* : 3.
19. Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones* : 3, 359-360.
20. Pugin, "The True Principles..." : 9.
21. "Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Catholic Church in Whitby," *The Whitby Chronicle*, September 19, 1867.
22. 1840, "First Annual Report of the Committee of the Cambridge Camden Society," in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, *"Temples... Worthy of his Presence": the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books, p. 53.
23. *Id.* : 9.
24. Voelker : 110.
25. *Id.* : 35, 75.
26. Gallegos : 14-15.
27. Voelker : 326-329.
28. *Id.* : 327.
29. Neale, J.M., "A Few Words to Church Builders," in Christopher Webster (ed.), *"Temples... Worthy of His Presence": The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books, p. 141.
30. Street, George Edmund, 1850, "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. XI, no. LXXXI p. 227-233. In 1850, Frank Wills used red brick for St. Paul's Anglican Church, Glanford, Ontario. See Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60.
31. Pugin, "The True Principles..." : 2.
32. *Id.* : 11.
33. Voelker : 109-110.
34. Pugin, "Contrasts..." : 3.
35. Voelker : 64.
36. The Commissioners' Gothic was an early form of the Gothic Revival that was largely propagated the Commissioner's Act of 1818, which provided one million pounds for the construction of new Anglican churches. The style is recognizable for its application of Gothic ornament to otherwise Neo-Classical (Gibbsian) preaching-hall churches. For more detailed information regarding the Church Building Commission and the churches that resulted from it, see: Port, Michael H., 2006, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*, Reading, Spire Books.
37. Voelker : 52.
38. *Id.* : 125.
39. *Id.* : 110.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Id.* : 52.
42. *Id.* : 336.
43. Guardian Angels was originally named Angels Guardian; the name was changed to reflect the church's position on a hill overlooking Orillia.
44. Voelker : 35.
45. *Id.* : 109.
46. In 1910, Langley's church was demolished and a new limestone one was erected to the plans of John W. Siddall of Yorkshire, England.
47. Voelker : 51.
48. *Id.* : 174.
49. Blunt, Anthony, 1962, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, Oxford, Oxford UP, p. 105.
50. Hill, Rosemary, 2012, "Pugin, God's Architect," *The Guardian*, February 24.
51. Hill, Rosemary, 2007, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London, Penguin Book Ltd., p. 153.

OPEN TIMBER ROOFS
New Thoughts on Nineteenth-Century Architectural Literature

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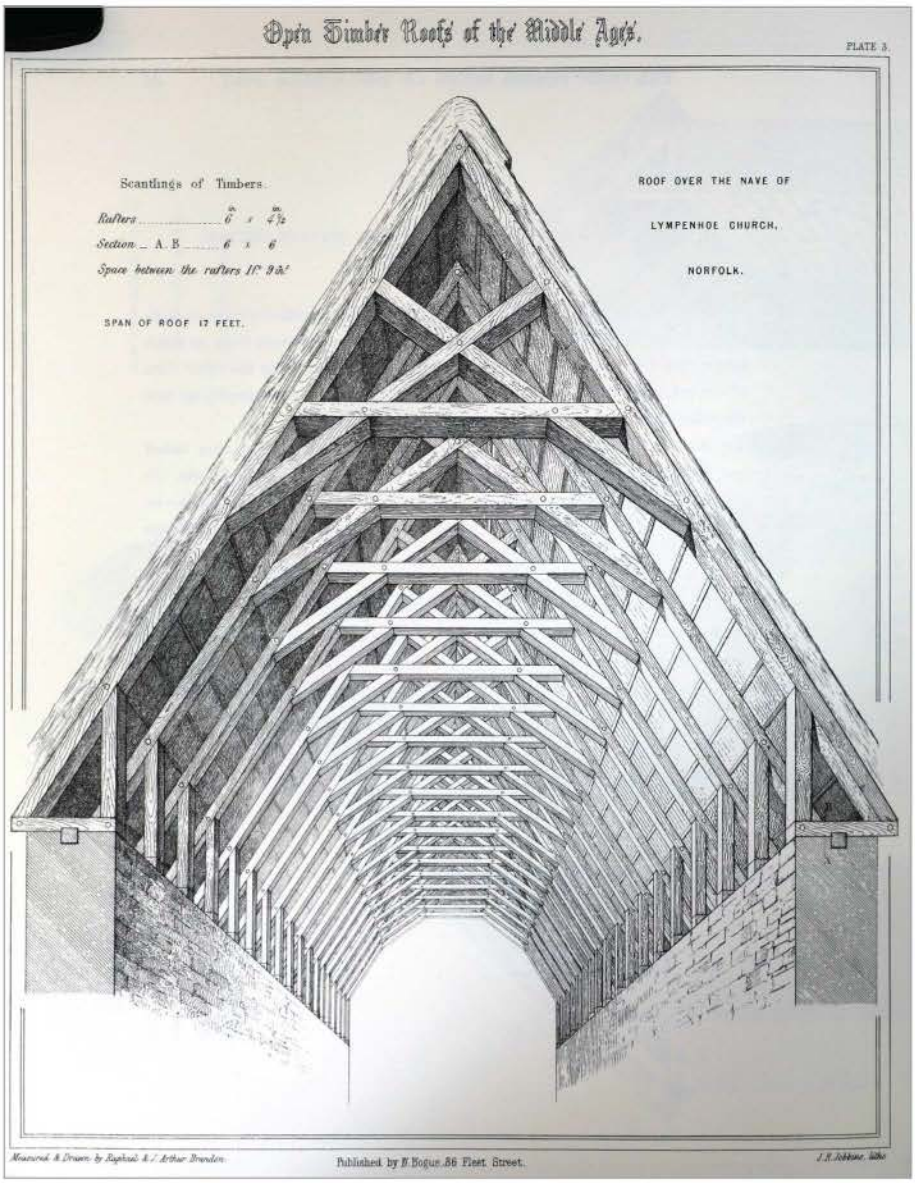

FIG. 1. ROOF OVER THE NAVE OF LYMPENHOE CHURCH, NORFOLK (UK). | ILLUSTRATED IN BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1847, *OPEN TIMBER ROOFS.*

SPECIAL THANKS TO MALCOLM THURLBY.

A GEOMETRY OF ROOF AND CEILING

As the structure of ceilings in Canada's parish churches constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century became more architecturally complex, the public developed a narrow view of roofs and ceilings.[1] Behind this single-mindedness were popular misunderstandings about the nature and structure of roofs and internal support systems, the latter referred to as "open timber roofs." What is surprising is that as the space between the interior ceiling and the exterior roof was eliminated, the public's attention was directed indoors to exposed timbers, visible trusses, carved beams, and the blessed "emptiness" of vertical space (fig. 1). The space above the ceiling and below the roof, sometimes voided and sometimes filled with trusses, was compressed in a manner that revealed timber roof systems to the view of parishioners. Despite the single-sided discussion of roofs that favoured interiors, the recto-verso rapport of roofs and ceilings suggests an interior/exterior relation whose potential merits some investigation. This paper explores new ideas about timber roofs in the second half of the nineteenth century from a structural and aesthetic point of view.

A starting place for this investigation will be the separate function and structure of roofs and ceilings, coming later to the idea of the two as one unified component. I am interested in exploring how the elimination of the "void," re-fashioned into the open timber roofing system, had aesthetic and spiritual implications.

It ought to be pointed out that I am purposely sounding out ideas without intending unsupportable theological assertions in searching for some social and cultural ideas that might explain why ceilings and roofs developed as they did in parish churches in Canada. For that reason this paper should be seen as a work in progress attempting to investigate some fresh perspectives, with apologies to potential research I may inadvertently gloss over.

Roofs are practical structures; they protect building envelopes from the natural elements. Rain and snow are typically considered the forces that act upon a roof, however, wind is a more ubiquitous and vigorous influence. General audiences misunderstood the affect of wind on roofs. Roofs hold a building in equilibrium through forces of compression to, among other things, counteract the force of wind.[2] Perhaps because the roof exterior presented a limited capacity for ornamented embellishment and due to the limited functional changes over time, the roof exterior fell into an aesthetic timelessness. The consequent design limitations of the part that faced the heavens did not penetrate into the building's interior. The part that faced the congregation on the inside experienced stylistic evolution and multiple taxonomies. The inside of church roofs (or ceilings) was less resistant to change than the outside, a metaphor for the outsider view of organized religion.

Plaster ceilings preceded open timber roofing systems, the former being decorative contrivances devised to hide supportive trusses, braces, collars, and the like from view. Plaster was the material of choice to provide such concealment, thus creating the opportunity and means to decorate ceilings in imitation of richer (and more structurally sound) materials such as stone. The English Gothic Revival architect and theorist Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) found fault with this method by arguing that concealment, as a falsehood, was unbecoming a Christian monument. He further attested that the decorative nature of plaster ceilings had no historical precedent in the Middle Ages, the age when Christianity enjoyed its high point as far as he was concerned. Pugin's observation of medieval Churches demonstrated how superfluous decoration was eliminated in the superior designs prior to the Protestant Reformation. In the nineteenth century, Anglican church builders adopted Pugin's ideas originally intended for Roman Catholic consumption; Anglicans eliminated the drop ceiling or plastered boards. The re-imagined church interior consisted of open timber roofs, an idea primarily advanced through architectural literature.

It is generally accepted that Pugin's first two books, *Contrasts* (initially published 1836, reprinted 1841) and *True Principles* (1841), were watershed moments for the elimination of the plaster ceiling and consequently the void above it. A strikingly simplified geometry of the steeply pitched roof was presented in print by the Cambridge Camden Society in 1841 in their widely distributed and inexpensive pamphlet *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments* (available at three pence), which illustrated a simple geometrical diagram.[3] It demonstrated how pointed windows in medieval churches would be lost if the trajectory of roofs was lowered during the restoration of the church fabric. The Society, known as the Ecclesiological Society from 1846, was intensely worried about poor restorations that altered the medieval fabric in favour of modern convenience; the elimination of steep roofs would have been considered favourable to restorers searching for a way to lighten the load on ancient walls. Charging themselves with the authority to judge church restorations, the Ecclesiologists attempted to channel the public appreciation of church symbolism into more mundane parts of the building such as the roof. They were successful insofar as they were able to get people to recognize the importance of steeply pitched roofs, but the aesthetic sense of exterior tiling was beyond the reach of anybody and only the interior seemed to attract attention.

A less commonly known, but significant text on the beauty of the roof interior, *Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages* (1847) was produced in the offices of the architect siblings J. Arthur and Raphael Brandon. This book provided three things that Pugin's polemical texts did not: technical descriptions for construction, full-page illustrations and diagrams, and an illustrated historical discourse aimed at showing where open timber roofs were used in the Middle Ages. The influence of the Brandons' book will be explained in some detail further on. If the open timber roof afforded the parishioners with a closer spiritual relationship with the Almighty, then the void above the ceiling would have been a metaphorical equivalent of that intermediate state of Purgatory. That is, if one's soul were expected to rise nearer to God while engaged in prayer and listening to sermon, then we might surmise, there had best be no intermediary space blocking the way. A different view, literally and figuratively, was adhered to among Roman Catholics who enjoyed the material representation of Heaven in ornamental and painted drop ceilings.

ROOFS IN PRINT

For Anglican churches, the re-imagined interior with an open timber roof took on a dual identity: ceiling and roof were

combined in one component. It was one structural entity whose reception in the public sphere was something appreciated for its beauty but not completely understood. That is, the nineteenth-century mind seemed to see the interior "ceiling" and the exterior roofs as separate entities. A singular article printed in *The Building News* in December 1874 advocated for the importance of roofs, but in such technical terms that appealed only to its target audience of professionals.

> In every age the covering of buildings must have been looked upon as an art of no small importance, if not ranking as high as the erection of the building of which it forms a part. We have only, indeed to come to more modern times to find such things as hidden roofs—... concealed behind screens, balustrades, parapets, and other ornamentation, as if the roof were a thing to be ashamed of... The ancients we are so wont to imitate, did not think thus; on the contrary, the roof became an essential part of the structure—in fact, it became the crowning effort of skill and art.[4]

A similar view suggests that the open timber roof represented two sides of the same object; a membrane tasked with holding the profane world at bay while showing the face of beauty and harmony to the sheltered community within. Seen in this way it is hardly surprising that parishioners concerned themselves solely with interiors. The exterior envelope of the building, which included the roof, appeared to be limited to the purview of architects, builders, and workmen who laboured in the service of the building but not in the service of religion.

Adaptations and variety were possible in wooden roof interior design largely because of the publication of Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's fully illustrated book *Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*, a volume dealing specifically with timber roofing systems. The Brandons' position was that stone vaults were unnecessarily expensive and were no more authentic than timber roofing, or more properly ceilings, systems. They wrote:

> amidst the many beauties that these Sacred Edifices present to the admirers of Medieval Architecture, none are more striking than the taste and skill exhibited in the formation of the Roofs; and, indeed, there is no portion of a building, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, requiring more skill in its construction, or that is more susceptible of ornament and decoration. Many of our Churches and Ancient Halls still attest the truth of this opinion by the evidence they afford of the matchless skill of the carpenter's art.[5]

The book was so influential in creating a dynasty for itself through multiple reprints that it virtually shut down subsequent discourse on the subject of roofs and ceilings. Its comprehensiveness was underlined in an article published in February 1875 in *The Building News*, titled "Ornamental Open Roofs," which lamented that the Brandons' book had so thoroughly examined the subject that there was only room to write upon technical matters of a very specific nature. The author of the article claimed to have applied a thirteenth-century solution to the achievement of a truss system that used King Posts, thus eliminating the need for suspension rods. This was considered the first step in the transition towards tieless trusses (and eventually hammer-beam roofs).[6] A notice to readers of *The Building News* in 1873 announced the restoration of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene's, Pulham, and St. Mary's, Suffolk, adding special mention of the roofs, which had been illustrated in the Brandons' *Open Timber Roofs*.[7]

Suspicious of masons' advocacy of pagan (Neo-Classical) architectural styles, *Open Timber Roofs* was published in order to help timber construction return to its professed former glory in the Middle Ages. The book campaigned for a return to Gothic's "true"—timber—roots. The Brandons appealed to practical minds using the logic that small buildings would require lower ceilings if vaulted in stone, thereby creating a closed and stuffy interior. Alternatively, timber roofs could be supported by thin-wall technology, as opposed to the massive amounts of wall material needed to support stone vaults. Even appealing to taste, the Brandons claimed that the visual effect of an open timber roof was bolder, simpler, and offered territory for coloured painting (preferably gold stars on a blue field representing the Heavenly Sphere).

By implying that the outside space beyond the threshold of the church was banal, the building envelope was constructed of utilitarian and unattractive materials: tar paper, felt, plywood, and shingle (a thin layer of air between timber and shingle prevented wood rot). The roof's aesthetic marginalization grew from the popular notion that the envelope was considered only when it leaked. The popular idea of "having a roof over one's head" was an architectonic application of personal security in an increasingly technocratic age. Architects designed roofs for stability, as people well knew, but individuals neglected to understand how variable forces worked against the roof. The idea of roofs as static things may have contributed to the lack of aesthetic changes to the exterior, even in the degree of steepness. Aesthetically, the steep slope of the roof became the grammar most often associated with the Gothic Revival. It went through almost no stylistic variations over time. The same was not true of the other, interior side of the timber roof.

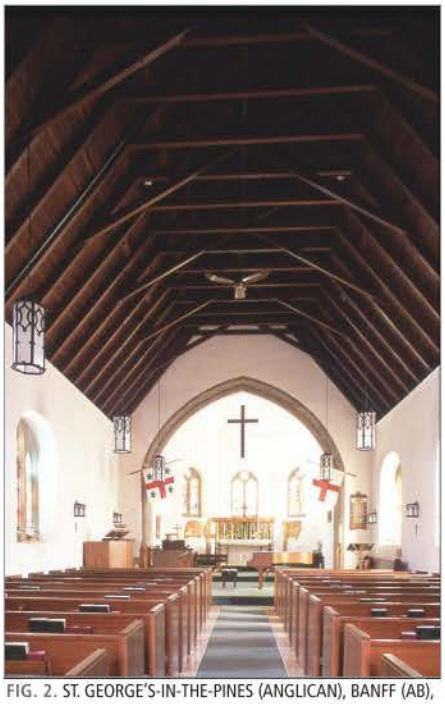

FIG. 2. ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-PINES (ANGLICAN), BANFF (AB), ARCHITECT FRANK P. OAKLEY, 1889-1897. | BARRY MAGRILL.

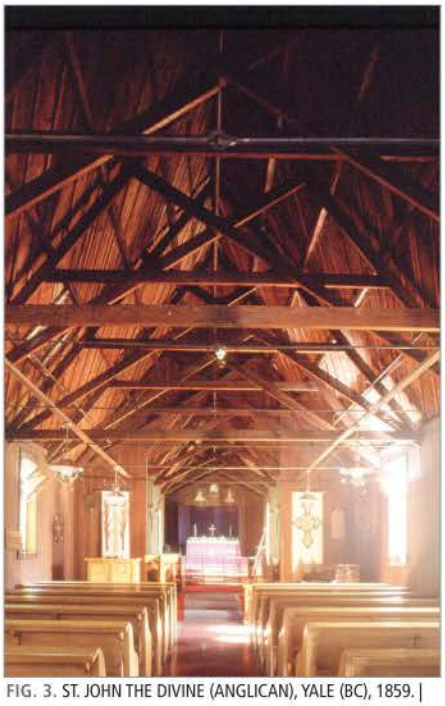

FIG. 3. ST. JOHN THE DIVINE (ANGLICAN), YALE (BC), 1859. | BARRY MAGRILL.

FIG. 4. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, MEDICINE HAT (AB), ARCHITECT MANLY N. CUTTER, 1912-1914. | BARRY MAGRILL.

The inside was glorious. Between 1845 and 1945 the underside of timber roofs developed along artistic and structural lines. Architects of Neo-Gothic churches drew upon the past and experimented with a series of taxonomies ranging from exposed scissor trusses to elaborate hammer-beam systems. The scissor truss was popular in western Canada as at St. George's-in-the-Pines Anglican Church, Banff, Alberta (1889-1897), designed by English architect, Frank Page Oakley (fig. 2).[8] Revealing the natural timber in parish churches was advocated as the pinnacle of timeless beauty and harmony. Suffice it to say that enough ink was spilt in the cause of admiring the aesthetic and plastic superiority of open timber roofs that the mass audience of church architecture, no less than churchgoers specifically, readily accepted them in defiance of the laws of thermodynamics. That is, people ignored the physics of rising heat that left the parishioners sitting in the cold. Moreover, few seemed to care about the cost of heating the upper reaches of their sanctuary instead of embracing drop ceilings to retain heat where people gathered in prayer. Parishioners of Canadian churches consoled themselves with the thought that open timber roofs took their spirits closer to heaven; shivering through a sermon on a cold winter's day became a pious act of austerity. Canadians may have been tempted to imagine themselves enduring the same hardships as the faithful in European medieval churches still in use in the nineteenth century, except that Canadian winters were harsher. In response, an increasing number of Canadian parish churches were installing heaters, as advertisements for the conveniences attested. What seemed to matter was that an attractive looking open timber roof offered an aesthetic and spiritual experience unmatched by the drop ceiling.

Church building committees were convinced that open timber roofing systems were not only beautiful but also cheaper to build and maintain. The cost of maintaining drop ceilings was not insubstantial given that they were susceptible to water damage and discoloration from interior moisture. Ten-year life spans for drop ceilings were not uncommon and the cost

of such repairs or replacements was an unsatisfactory idea to congregations still paying their mortgages. Smaller parish churches such as St. Peter's, Cowichan (1877), and its sister church St. Andrew's, Cowichan Station (1909), opted for the open timber roof, employing a simple scissor truss, rather than a drop ceiling. An early version occurred at St. John the Divine, Yale, British Columbia (1859), and there its heavy horizontal tie-beams indicate the tentative use of the scissor truss (fig. 3). These small parishes seemed more intent upon managing the initial cost of construction than paying heating bills, an item that fell under operational costs on the balance sheet. So, congregations seem to have accepted higher heating bills rather than take their chances with drop ceilings that needed periodic but expensive repair and replacement.

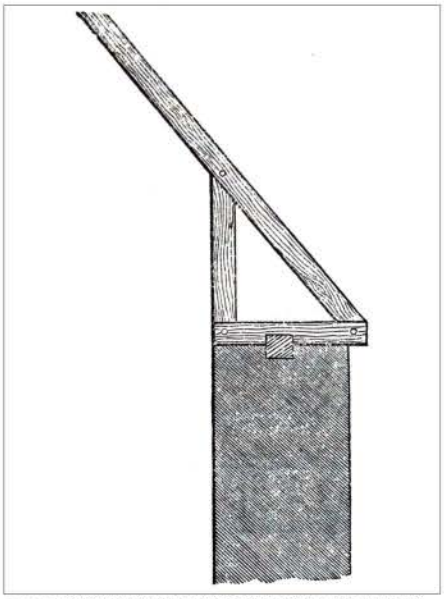

FIG. 5. DIAGRAM OF WALL AND ROOF JOINT. *OPEN TIMBER ROOFS* (1847). | SPECIAL THANKS TO MALCOLM THURLBY.

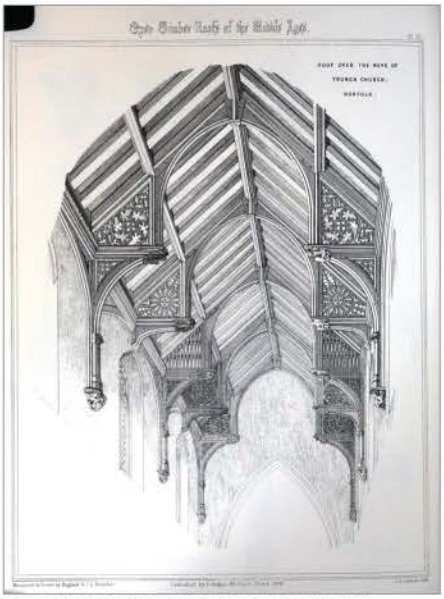

FIG. 6. ROOF OVER THE NAVE OF TRUNCH CHURCH, NORFOLK (UK). | ILLUSTRATED IN BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1847, OPEN TIMBER ROOFS. SPECIAL THANKS TO MALCOLM THURLBY.

A curious case at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick's, Medicine Hat, Alberta (1912-1914), illustrates the rare instance when a drop ceiling was installed post-construction (fig. 4).[9] There, a decade after construction was completed, the congregation decided to install a drop ceiling in the sanctuary, giving up about a third of the verticality of the church hall and sanctuary in a bid to lower the costs of heating. Interestingly, they chose to employ a timber vault to create the appearance of a light and open spacious interior but the damage to harmony and proportions was irreversible. Ironically, the community of Medicine Hat later discovered they were located above a large deposit of natural gas, which could have cheaply heated their building, but by then the congregation was accustomed to worshiping in the renovated space. The hammer-beam roofing system that was installed not only disrupted the proportions established by the architect of St. Patrick's, Medicine Hat, the New York-based Manly N. Cutter.

Architects, clergymen, and parishioners supported the idea of an aesthetics that was light and airy, and open timber roofing systems were the solution. The idea entered the public consciousness without a complete appreciation for the actual weight of the structural support system above their heads. That is, the verticality of the exposed interior timbers created an aesthetic lightness that appeared to deny the actual weight of the roof holding the walls in equilibrium. In fact, the load of the roof itself, minus extraneous snow and wind forces, was so great that steep roofs needed bracing from within. Since external buttresses made little structural or even logical sense when employing a timber roofing system, a more subtle method of reinforcement was required. Looking at the Brandons' text, we see a diagram explaining how the roof was fastened to the head of the wall (fig. 5). Other pages of the book depict hammer-beam roofs whose short vertical members, called struts, carried thrust down through the wall (fig. 6). These short struts deflected forces that would have put outward pressure on the external walls. It is important to note that the load increases with the steepness of the roof's pitch but a horizontal tie-beam would have been visually distracting. Thus, hammer-beam roofs that maintained the openness and beauty of the interior roofing space were chiefly employed, and especially for spans over thirty-five feet. Hammer-beam roofs were both decorative and structural elements. That is why Pugin agreed to their ornamentation: he noted, "they usually represented angels, archangels, and various orders of the heavenly hierarchy, hovering over the congregated faithful, while the spaces between the rafters were painted azure and powdered with stars and other celestial emblems. A beautiful figure of the firmament."[10] These were among the last words from Pugin's pen in his second book, *True Principles*, devoted to the arrangement of timber roofs. However, he was referring only to ancient models; he gave no instructions about the actual construction of an open timber roof in practical terms. It is no wonder that

FIG. 7. ROOF OVER THE NAVE OF LITTLE WELNETHAM, NORFOLK. | ILLUSTRATED IN BRANDON AND BRANDON, 1847, OPEN TIMBER ROOFS. SPECIAL THANKS TO MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 8. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, VANCOUVER (BC), ARCHITECT C.O. WICKENDEN, 1894. | BARRY MAGRILL

those influenced by his writing and those uninterested in structure tended to focus on issues of beauty rather than construction theory.

A BOOK ON ROOFS

Advice and instructions for constructing timber roofing systems came from the architects Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. They had the final word on church roofs in 1847, stating that the faithful engineering of ancient architecture combined with the application of colour as used in the Middle Ages was summit of present achievement.[11] Their book *Open Timber Roofs* was so comprehensive that it closed down further debate and discussion in the field. They dealt thoroughly with all manner of internal roofing supports: tie-beam, trusses, collar-beam, and hammer-beam designs. Hammer-beam roofs were the most structurally complex and aesthetically pleasing. The Brandons' book dispensed with commonly held notions that hammer-beam roofs were simply tie-beam roofs with the horizontal members cut off. Instead, a carefully calculated geometry was applied in order to maintain envelope equilibrium. Not only that, but there were a variety of ways to construct a hammer-beam system, which the Brandons observed by examining a series of medieval examples. A variety of permutations included or excluded struts, wall struts, and collars. At Little Welnetham Church in Norfolk (fig. 7), a combination of hammer beams, collars, and struts were connected with curved braces. At Trunch Church, also in Norfolk (fig. 6), the collar beam was omitted and carried up to near the apex of the arch. At St. Mary's Church in Suffolk, the hammer beam has collars but no struts. Lastly, Palgrave Church in Suffolk has neither collar beams nor struts. The varieties of this one type of open timber roof illustrates the breadth of choices available, limited only in the Canadian circumstances to the skill of carpenters. That is why we find so many scissor-trussed roofs in western Canada versus eastern provinces that exhibit hammer beams. It is not that the West did not attract skilled carpenters, but rather by the time the West was populated, carpentry and joinery were being replaced by newer techniques such as balloon framing and even reinforced concrete. An exception to this situation is the elaborate hammer-beam roof in Christ Church Cathedral, Vancouver (1895), designed by architect Charles Osborne Wickenden (fig. 8). Wickenden envisioned a great hammer-beam roof that spanned a widened nave and aisle combination, thus maintaining envelope equilibrium without resorting too heavily on supportive columns. His idea was to use the open timber roof as a metaphorical concept applied to the whole of the interior space. Canadian architects adhered to the Brandons' ideas as much as might be expected in the colonies, and there were structural highlights as at Christ Church Cathedral in Vancouver and St. James' Cathedral in Toronto. The Canadian connection to the discourse on open timber roofs occurring in Britain came about because of John Medley in 1841, then Vicar of St. Thomas, Exeter, four years before being installed as the first bishop of the Diocese of Fredericton, New Brunswick. Medley's text, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* (1841), argued that the principles of constructing medieval churches needed to be adhered to in the revival of the Gothic style in the nineteenth century. Speaking about lateral thrust,

Medley noted the absurdity of using tie-beams—a modern contrivance—to ensure safety, when wall thickness and proper roof trusses were elegant and reliable solutions. The "pennywise economy" of thin walls, which congregations used, resulted in undue stress on the roof.[12] Medley's admiration for architecture and his awareness of its application in colonial identity-building were translated into terms ordinary viewers of churches could comprehend; that is, he argued in favour of good taste and proper building methods.[13] The equation of taste and beauty under a moral rubric had lasting potential.

The Cambridge Camden Society weighed in on the subject of timber roofs, noting, "The common way of late is to have a tiebeam with king or queen posts: and no grant is given by the Incorporated Society for Churchbuilding except there be a tiebeam: – a rule which I earnestly hope will be dispensed with ere long."[14] Tie-beams made the interior look like a "barn" and the alternative of hiding the roof by a flat ceiling was in their estimation a "hideous" act of barbarism.

The Brandons' text notwithstanding, there was a lack of guidance given to builders about the proper construction of an open timber roof. It is then no wonder that claims of taste tended to prevail in the general discourse when it came to matters not consistently covered in multiple books. Claims about taste were considerably easier to make than learning about complex constructional systems. Worshippers may not have known the typologies of timber roofing systems, but they could parrot arguments about beauty and harmony. Viewers did not need to comprehend the construction of timber roofs, nor their history, but only a generic understanding of beauty. Few people beyond architects cared about the difference between Early English and Tudor Gothic; taste was what mattered. This might explain why pattern books, and the Brandons' *Open Timber Roofs* was among them, contained a historical analysis; the aim was to educate the lay public as well as architects and builders engaged in the profession. Claims about taste were made extensively in the pattern books, and this may have been the case because authors knew how to appeal to and entice the ordinary reader.[15] Colour was a significant part of that narrative as expressed in the Brandons' text, which highlights the notion that viewers were distracted by pleasing hues termed beauty and harmony.

As far as the reading and viewing public was concerned, truth came from beauty and harmony in a circular discourse aimed at extending the enduring distinctions of taste. The expression of a steeply pitched roof—on the interior an open timber system with exposed trusses—was cast as truthful and beautiful. The two ideas were part of a coherent design philosophy that Christians deemed invaluable. But, in fact, the idea of truth and beauty was not limited to Christian architecture at all. It pervaded the architecture and written discourse of a wide variety of practitioners for reasons of common sense, for reasons of making architects more marketable[16] to clients, and as a competitive strategy that architects adopted. The truth/beauty relationship was prime territory for the critic John Ruskin, who considered that beauty was a reflection of purity and a manifestation of organic nature, impossible without avoiding the moral delinquency of architectural falsehoods like the pendants of late Gothic roofs, features that served no supportive function. The open timber roof must have qualified as truthful since its exposed members were also functional. Architecture that reflected organic nature was, according to Ruskin, inherently truthful and beautiful—the pointed leaf, the arch in the arc of the horizon were reflected in the pointed window and the collar-beam roof. Artists were encouraged to adopt organic forms, not imitate them, which was why Greek acanthus on a Neo-Classical façade was considered by Ruskin and his followers to be imitation and consequently morally reprehensible.

Ruskin ushered in the twentieth century with his own death, and the next generation proceeded to negotiate a path for the Gothic Revival. The collegiate Gothic of the American architect Ralph Adams Cram was highly influential and his forethought included courting the media. In journals and newspapers, he complained vociferously that the specific taxonomies of open timber arrangements were likely lost on most worshippers, and notions of taste were to blame. "A perfectly square box with a steep 'pitch roof,' becomes doubly hideous through the arched windows, the silly wooden buttresses, the futile belfries and pinnacles that are not ecclesiastical, though their creators thought so."[17] In this case, Cram was responding to a perception that people had lost the ability to "read" architecture. The last vestige of that dying literacy was the roof, a heavenly symbol.

Complicating the "reading" of Gothic architecture after 1870 was eclecticism. Perhaps Cram, the Gothic modernist, was nostalgic for the 1840s and 1850s when Neo-Gothic architecture was asserting itself with much vigour and there was a proliferation of architectural writing in a bid to insert the Gothic Revival into the architectural canon. By the 1870s, if not a decade earlier, a kind of collective memory loss descended on the populace. Individuals lost the grammar to read much about the Gothic Revival beyond its steeply pitched roof. By the

early twentieth century, Cram was in full battle mode against a growing architectural illiteracy, which he blamed squarely on eclecticism. With eclecticism so closely tied to the social claims of taste rather than connoisseurship, Cram saw the return of the plaster ceiling. Cheaper and easier to build, and aesthetically pleasing, the plaster ceilings of the twentieth century were adopted fairly quickly. Soon these were superseded by mass produced drop ceilings used to hide the building's infrastructure.

What began as a move indoors to appreciate an open timber roofing system that people increasingly misunderstood concluded with a return to the eclecticism that Pugin and his followers abhorred. Along the way viewers of open timber roofs forgot all about the roof's exterior, perhaps mesmerized by the virtuosity of hammer-beam roofing systems. That open timber roofing systems were part of a two-sided unity was consequently eclipsed. The exterior was cast in practical terms while the inside was cast separately in aesthetic ones, when, in actuality the supportive members of the timber roof were found on the inside internal. That was their hidden beauty; structural members disguised as aesthetic ones in plain sight of all. The cohesive nature of the timber roof not only held in balance the entire building structure but also represented a thin membrane between earth and heaven.

NOTES

1. I am greatly indebted to Malcolm Thurlby for providing much insight and factual support, as well as assistance with image production, toward the completion of this paper. He pointed out several examples of timber roofs in Canada and in Britain that greatly benefitted the article.
2. *The Building News*, December 18, 1875, p. 715. "[B]ut it must be considered that the strain on a slant roof is not merely that of the gravity of its material acting vertically; the strains often act horizontally (as the force of wind), and the resultant of the gravity and the force of wind would act in a direction more or less at right angles to the surface of the roof... Steep roofs, therefore, require stouter rafters than flatter ones to enable them to carry an equal weight of covering per square yard. To attain this equal strength the rafters must be made deeper in the ratio of the square root of their length."
3. See, p. 10. See also the republication of *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments* in Webster, Christopher, 2003, *"Temples... Worthy of His Presence": the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Oxford, Spire Books, p. 189-209.
4. *The Building News*, December 18, 1875, p. 715.
5. Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, 1847, *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*, London, D. Bogue, p. 2.
6. *The Building News*, February 5, 1875, p. 145. The article suggests, in opposition to the Brandons' view, that tie-beams could be ornamental as well as structural components. Using tie-beams with an arched form and curved braces, the author asserts a pleasing and strong solution achievable in an economical and historically accurate manner.
7. *The Building News*, December 5, 1873, p. 633.
8. St Paul's, Glanford, Ontario (by Frank Wills c.1851), made economical use of a scissor truss in the nave where less than members support the roof. Special thanks to Malcolm Thurlby for pointing this example out. See Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's. Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 53.
9. See, Magrill, Barry, 2012, "Pouring Ecclesiastical Tradition into a Modern Mould: Reinforced Concrete Churches in Canada," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 37, no. 1, p. 3-15.
10. Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, 1841, *True Principles of Pointed Christian Architecture*, London, J. Weale, p. 34.
11. Brandon and Brandon : 2-7.
12. Medley, John, 1841, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*, Exeter, P.A. Hannaford, p. 32.
13. Medley is thought to have had some training in architecture. I am indebted to Malcolm Thurlby who pointed out that Medley was responsible for the design of the Chapel at Oldridge, near Okehampton (Devon), 1841-1843.
14. Cambridge Camden Society, 1841, *A Few Words to Churchbuilders*, Stevenson, Cambridge, p. 17.
15. Magrill, Barry, 2012, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada 1867-1914*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.
16. See, Ruskin, John, 1849, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, New York, John Wiley, p. 29-30.
17. Cram, Ralph Adams, 1906, *Church Building: A Study of the Principles of Architecture in their Relation to the Church*, Boston, Small, Maynard, p. 14.

THE CANADIAN CHURCHES OF STEPHEN C. EARLE[1]

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>PETER COFFMAN

Trinity Church in Digby, Nova Scotia (figs. 1, 6-8), was the first of three churches (or arguably four, as will be seen) in what is now Atlantic Canada to be built from one set of drawings made by the American architect Stephen C. Earle. As well as being a notable Canadian work by a notable American architect, Trinity is a useful case study. The style of Earle's design provides an interesting insight into the cultural meaning of Gothic in nineteenth-century Atlantic Canada, and into the circumstances in which the style was introduced and promoted. The popularity and subsequent proliferation of the design is an instructive (if idiosyncratic) reminder of the diverse ways in which architectural ideas and forms were disseminated in nineteenth-century Canada.

Stephen C. Earle was born in 1839 in Leicester, Massachusetts.[2] He apprenticed in the office of architect Calvert Vaux in New York, before taking time out to fight in the American Civil War. After the war, he returned briefly to Vaux's office before relocating to Worcester, Massachusetts, finding work as an architectural draughtsman in the office of Elbridge Boyden. His historicist instincts were honed by a tour of Europe in 1865, and he set up his own practice in Worcester the following year.

Born and raised a Quaker, Earle's first major commission was close to home—the Quaker Meeting House in Brooklyn, New York, finished in 1868.[3] This boxy, brick oblong structure reveals a hint of medievalist taste in its pilaster strips and arched corbel tables—possibly the legacy of a European tour Earle had undertaken in the summer of 1865.[4] These details,

FIG. 1. TRINITY CHURCH, DIGBY. | PETER COFFMAN.

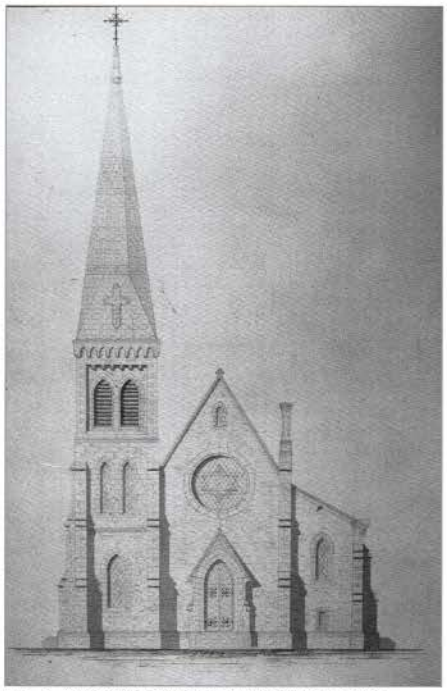

FIG. 2. STEPHEN C. EARLE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NORTH ADAMS. | AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FIG. 3. THE ORIGINAL TRINITY CHURCH, DIGBY. | THE NOVA SCOTIA MUSEUM.

associated with Early Romanesque, may also have struck a suitably "primitive" note appropriate to the simple, unadorned liturgy of the Quakers.

Around the same time that the Brooklyn Meeting House was built, Earle began a long and fruitful relationship with the Episcopal Church. This relationship would soon result in Earle's conversion to Episcopalianism—or perhaps it was his conversion that fostered the relationship, it is difficult to say from this distance in time. Either way, Earle brought the enthusiasm and vigour of the convert to his Episcopal designs. His first effort, St. John's in North Adams, Massachusetts, shows that he was completely at home in the Gothic style (fig. 2). The corner tower, broach spire, and six-pointed star rose window are features that would find clear echoes in his Canadian oeuvre. While Earle continued to establish himself as an accomplished church architect, his grandest ecclesiastical design was never built. Earle lost the competition for New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine to Ralph Adams Cram, but his entry demonstrates both his rising national stature and his flexible use of historical Gothic.[5] Its twin-towered façade, copious and prominent flying buttresses, and broad, polygonal crossing tower combined into an eclectic yet coherent whole.

All of Earle's Gothic designs demonstrate fluency with architectural principles that had been formed in England over the preceding few decades. At the foundation of those principles were Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and John Ruskin, who developed separate but related theories arguing that Gothic was morally and ethically superior to other styles of architecture, and that it could be used as a path to a more virtuous, harmonious society.[6] Parallel to this was the Oxford (or "Tractarian") Movement, whose numerous "Tracts for the Times" advocated a return to more ritualistic, medieval-based liturgy for the Church of England.[7] The Tractarians spawned a renewed, Anglo-Catholic liturgical practice still known as the High Church, while all of the above were immensely influential on the group known as the Cambridge Camden Society (later renamed the Ecclesiological Society).[8] That Society, founded in 1839, was the self-appointed architectural authority for the Anglican communion worldwide; it vigorously pursued its approved form of Gothic as the only acceptable style for the Church of England. All of these ideas converged to inform a great deal of architecture produced in the colonies, including Canada, and provided the intellectual backdrop to events in Digby, Nova Scotia, in the 1870s.

On Easter weekend in 1876, the Anglicans of Digby met to choose a rector.[9] The interim rector, John Ambrose, was up for induction as their permanent vicar. The process was far from a formality, as Ambrose's predecessor, Harry Leigh Yewens, also had considerable support. The difference between the two candidates was not one of performance, or even popularity, but ideology. According to the Vestry Minutes, a parishioner by the name of Mr. DeBahuchas called for

FIG. 4. STEPHEN C. EARLE, WEST FAÇADE, TRINITY CHURCH. | TRINITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHIVES.

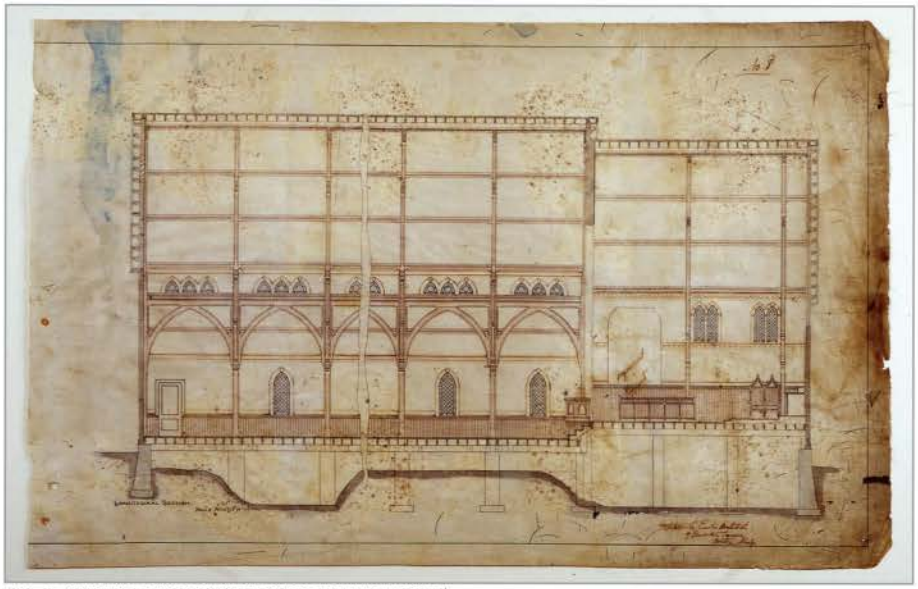

FIG. 5. STEPHEN C. EARLE, CROSS-SECTION, TRINITY CHURCH. | TRINITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHIVES.

a vote, and put the issue into sharp focus by stating that he "had no objection to Mr. Ambrose but as the parish was vacant there should be a choice between Rev. Mr. Ambrose and Rev. Mr. Yewens, between a high churchman and a low churchman."[10]

Underlying this seemingly straightforward suggestion was a significant struggle within the Anglican Church, not just in Nova Scotia but also worldwide. On one side of the argument was the Low Church—severely Protestant, evangelical, and famous for sermons that could go on for hours. Opposed to this was the High Church—ritualistic, essentially medieval in its liturgical practices, and as far as its detractors were concerned, Roman Catholic in all but name.[11] To the Low Church party, the High Church liturgy was a thinly disguised attempt to restore Popery. The High Church party, of course, saw things differently. To them, the use of medieval liturgy was an affirmation of the ancient authority of the English Church; an authority derived from the belief that its bishops and vicars were the only true successors to the apostles. As Hibbert Binney, the first Tractarian Bishop of Nova Scotia, put it in his *Charge to the Clergy* of 1866:

> We believe that our present ministers can trace back their authority, as derived by succession, through an unbroken line, from those who received their commission from Christ; whereas these other [Protestant] bodies cannot pretend to claim any such authority for their ministers.[12]

Thus, at the heart of the High Church is a very concrete vision of the English nation, its Church, and its place at the centre of history.

The parish of Digby duly held its vote, and the result was a victory of Ambrose over Yewens, by a count of forty-four to thirty-eight. While perhaps not a ringing endorsement, this was nonetheless a clear-cut victory for the High Church. Almost immediately, Ambrose set out to build a new church. Earlier that year, he had complained that the existing building was "uncomfortable, leaky, and had several other highly objectable [*sic*] qualities—and the time had arrived when a new church should be built."[13] Given the High Church belief in Gothic as the only suitable style for the English nation and Established Church, the building's Classical style (fig. 3) was presumably among those "objectable qualities." In its blend of Gibbsian massing and Meeting House details, the building represented the Low-Church liturgy and architecture which had just lost the "election" at Digby. Ambrose was understandably determined to cement his victory and advance his agenda with a new church building.

By July of that year, a plan had been made to obtain a design from "an excellent architect at Charlottetown P.E.I.," the renowned William Critchlow Harris.[14] By that September, Harris had submitted a design that could be completed for seven thousand dollars if built of wood, or eleven thousand dollars if made of

FIG. 6. TRINITY CHURCH, DIGBY. | PETER COFFMAN.

FIG. 9. CHRIST CHURCH, WINDSOR. | PETER COFFMAN.

FIG. 7. TRINITY CHURCH, DIGBY. | PETER COFFMAN.

FIG. 8. TRINITY CHURCH, DIGBY, INTERIOR. | PETER COFFMAN.

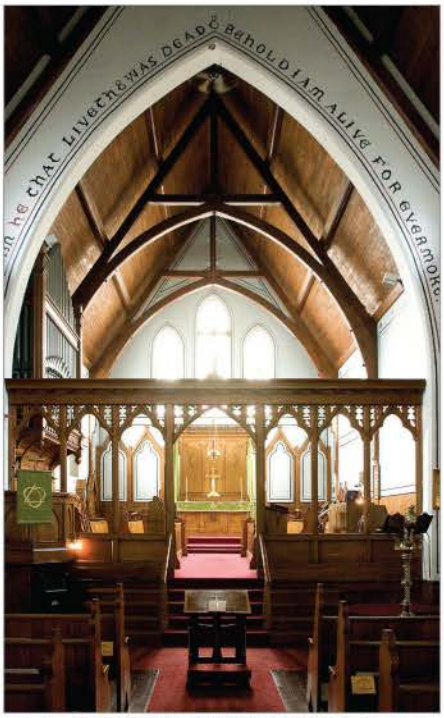

FIG. 10. CHRIST CHURCH, WINDSOR, INTERIOR. | PETER COFFMAN.

stone. The vestry, somewhat optimistically, voted to build in stone. This decision was reversed by a more realistic (and unanimous) vote the following February. By Easter 1877, no progress had been made, and it was reported that: "Mr. Ambrose read a letter from Rev. A. Gray... and also one from Mr. Earle, Architect, with plans of a church which could be built for $4000 exclusive of inside finish."[15]

In the absence of any more detailed evidence than that summarized above, it may be supposed that cost was the reason why Harris, a (nearly) local architect of considerable fame, was rejected in favour of an American competitor. The Reverend A. Gray, mentioned above, donated one hundred and forty dollars to cover Earle's stated design fee (which the architect had discounted by ten dollars), so Earle evidently had at least one influential champion in Digby. Whether Earle's plan was

in any way, practically or aesthetically, superior to Harris' cannot be known, as the latter's design has disappeared without a trace.

Earle's design (figs. 4-5) was Gothic, with the broach spire, corner tower, six-pointed star window, and overall massing closely modeled on his earlier church at North Adams (although the tower has moved to a different corner, at the junction of nave and chancel). The conversion of the style from the masonry of North Adams to the carpentry of Nova Scotia is complete and convincing. A mixture of vertical and diagonal wooden siding reflects the current Ecclesiological theory regarding the translation of Gothic into wood,[16] the shingle detailing in the tower and spire dovetails perfectly with available Nova Scotian craftsmanship, while the hint of half-timber detailing in the tower reflect the currently popular Shingle style in the United States. On the interior (fig. 5), the open-work arcade, clerestory, raised chancel floor and separate chancel roofline also reflect meticulous knowledge on Earle's part (and likely his patron's) of Ecclesiology.

The Gothic style would have been a novelty to the people of Digby in 1877, whose experience of Anglican church architecture would have been limited to the new building's Classical predecessor. In the aftermath of the highly contentious clerical vote of the year before, this style was full of meaning—and its presence here is a perfect example of history being written by the winners. Gothic, and only Gothic, was the accepted style of the High Church. Its ancient roots were thought to mirror the ancient pedigree and authority of the English Church. The Gothic Revival, according to its most prolific and successful English practitioner, Sir George Gilbert Scott, was "the revival of our own national architecture,"[17] and it had brought church architecture "back to our true national type."[18] So identified did Gothic become with this vision of Englishness that, by the late nineteenth century, it was widely considered the architecture of the nation, of its Established Church, and of the Empire.[19]

The fidelity of the building to Earle's design—and to the principles of Ecclesiological Gothic that he so clearly understood—can be seen in figures 6 to 8. The key ecclesiological principles—truth to materials, separate chancel, clear articulation of spaces, steeply pitched roofs, precise Gothic detailing—have been seamlessly translated into the traditions of Nova Scotian carpentry. The church was consecrated on October 15, 1880, by its Bishop, Hibbert Binney. Binney was the first Tractarian Bishop of Nova Scotia, and this church, along with the election of Ambrose, represented a very notable victory for him in what had often been a resistant and intransigent diocese with deeply rooted Low-Church traditions. As the day of consecration approached, the building was described in some detail in the Anglican periodical *The Church Guardian*:

> The style is that known as Early English Pointed... The roofs, equilateral as the style requires, are all open timbered, the timbers being of southern pine, and the wainscoting of black ash, all well oiled, so that the beautiful natural grain of the materials show to best advantage.[20]

At the consecration service, Bishop Binney praised the church as: "a beautiful Church—which, eschewing all shams and imitations— showed itself to be what it really is, a wooden building."[21]

This praise for the church's truthful use of materials could have come from the mouth of Pugin, or Ruskin, or the Ecclesiological Society—and indicates Binney's familiarity with all three. They all shared a common vision of what the English Nation, its history, and its Established Church looked like when expressed architecturally. And this vision, notwithstanding the resistance it met when Binney first introduced it to Nova Scotia, would flourish through the widespread proliferation of Earle's design.

It is generally assumed that styles and forms are transmitted from place to place in a purposeful and meaningful way; and it is generally agreed that patrons such as Charles Inglis and John Ambrose, or publications such as James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* or Pugin's *Contrasts*, facilitate the movement of architectural ideas and the ideologies that accompany them.[22] There is ample evidence to support this view, but the precise mechanisms by which architectural forms and ideas traveled are not always explored in detail. The subsequent uses of Earle's design for Digby provides a well-documented and useful (albeit perhaps unusual) example of how architectural forms moved from place to place in nineteenth-century Canada.

In September of 1879, the Anglican ladies of Windsor, Nova Scotia, met to form a committee whose goal was to raise funds to build a new church.[23] Fundraising was difficult, but ultimately successful, and the first service in the new building was held in March of 1884. Doubtless of some help to the fundraising campaign was the fact that no architect's fee would be required—Stephen C. Earle's design for Trinity Church in Digby would be used at no cost. It has been reported that Earle agreed to allow his drawings to be used for free at Windsor on the condition that they not be altered in any way.[24] No primary documents exist to confirm this, but the building's fidelity

FIG. 11. ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, HANTSPORT. | PETER COFFMAN.

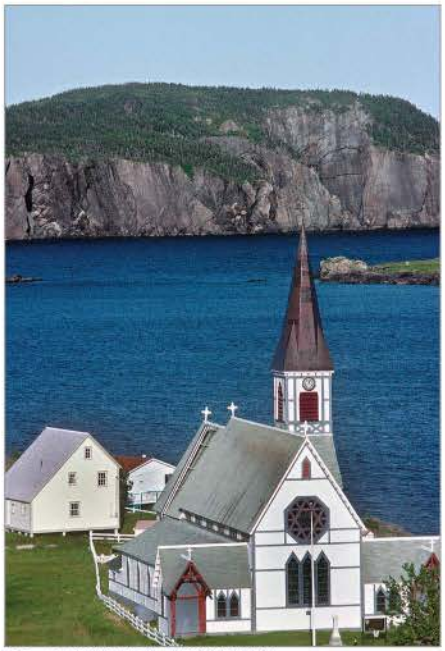

FIG. 13. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, TRINITY. | PETER COFFMAN.

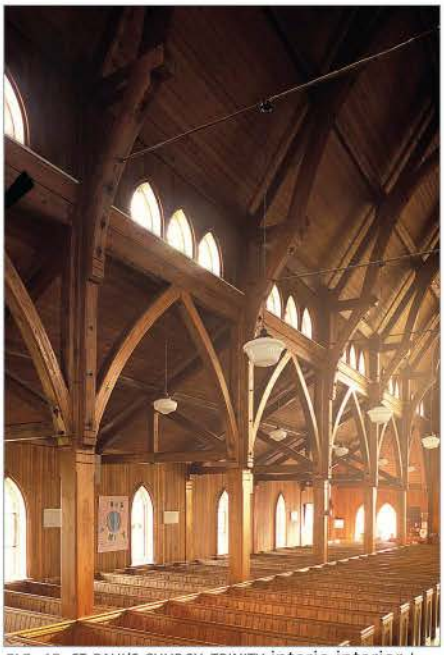

FIG. 15. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, TRINITY, interio interior. | PETER COFFMAN.

FIG. 12. ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, HANTSPORT. | PETER COFFMAN.

FIG. 14. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, TRINITY. | PETER COFFMAN.

to Earle's plan is clear, notwithstanding the extraordinarily unsympathetic later replacement of the clapboard and shingle with vinyl siding (fig. 9). Fortunately, the interior (fig. 10) is much better preserved, and clearly exhibits the truthful use of material, the fine craftsmanship and lucid geometry that had been considered so praiseworthy at Digby.

The builder at Windsor was a Mr. W. Taylor, who was singled out by the Rector for particular praise at the consecration service.[25] Work at Windsor began just as the church at Digby was consecrated—a fortuitous (or perhaps planned) circumstance that would have made the loan and transfer of the drawings a simple matter. The fact that the Digby drawings were so coveted may be taken as an indication of just how admired the church must have been—and as an indication that the influence of the High Church party of Ambrose and Binney was waxing. That this design was coveted is beyond doubt—indeed at Windsor, it was only halfway through its journey across Atlantic Canada.

The town of Hantsport, Nova Scotia, lies just a few miles north and slightly west of Windsor. The cornerstone of the Anglican church of St. Andrew (figs. 11-12) was laid in October of 1888, and consecration took place in October of 1894.[26] According to one writer, a meeting of May 4, 1888, "adopted the plan for the church drawn by Mr. Robert Burns."[27] That may be the case, but if so, it is not difficult to determine from where Robert Burns drew his inspiration. While reduced in scale and complexity, the similarities between St. Andrew's and the recently completed churches at Digby and Windsor are unmistakable. Indeed, there is not a major feature at Hantsport that is not in Earle's drawings, and the "signature" features, such as the broach spire and six-pointed star window, are duplicated quite precisely. So, while not officially recognized as an Earle building, it is reasonable to add Hantsport to the list of Canadian churches that issued from Earle's Digby drawings.

The builder at Hantsport was Joseph Taylor, of Lower Falmouth.[28] It is reasonable to speculate that he may have been related to the W. Taylor who had finished building the church at Windsor four years earlier. In fact, the *Biographical Dictionary of Architects of Nova Scotia* identifies Joseph Taylor as the builder of both Windsor and Hantsport.[29] Either way, it seems unquestionable that the builder of this church had direct access to Earle's drawings. That those drawings were still on hand, in Ambrose's possession, becomes clear from their next and final peregrination.

As early as 1883, a committee met in Trinity, Newfoundland, to discuss the state of St. Paul's Anglican Church.[30] The building was reported to be dilapidated and in need of extensive repair. It was also an essentially Classical building in the Gibbsian tradition (pointed windows notwithstanding) that must have seemed out of date. The committee decided to proceed with the building of a new church, although nothing happened for four years. The congregation met to debate the issue in 1888, and after what the vestry minutes describe as "a considerable amount of discussion," the decision was made to build according to a design obtained, for fifty dollars, from the Reverend John Ambrose of Digby, Nova Scotia (which makes the net cost to Ambrose for the design a mere ninety dollars).[31] So, like a modern-day Newfoundlander crossing the country in search of work, Earle's drawings left Ambrose, Digby, Windsor, and Hantsport behind, and made one final trip, to Newfoundland.

The hardships, delays, and challenges of the building of St. Paul's in Trinity (figs. 13-15) are alternately agonizing and amusing, and have been adequately summarized elsewhere.[32] The building was finally consecrated in 1894, and still ranks as one of the most impressive wooden churches in Newfoundland. No evidence exists that Earle benefitted in the slightest from this fourth use of his Digby drawings, or that he even knew about it.

The trajectory of Stephen Earle's design for Trinity Church in Digby provides an informative window into the transmission of the Gothic Revival throughout what is now Atlantic Canada, as well as to the ideas and practices associated with the style at the time. Although the initial resistance to these ideas had been, at times, as fierce as a Maritime gale, the continuing demand for Earle's drawings trace the progress that Tractarianism and Gothic made toward mainstream acceptance in Anglican Canada. By the time St. Paul's in Trinity was consecrated, the nearly twenty-year-old drawings had lost much of their contentiousness, but none of their allure.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the many people who helped with various aspects of this research, in particular Lorraine Slopek, Diocesan Archivist of Nova Scotia and PEI, Claire Campbell and Shirley Tillotson of Dalhousie University, William Naftel of Halifax, Canon Robert Tuck of Charlottetown, the Reverend David Cury of Windsor, the Reverend William Burt of Digby, and Malcolm Thurlby, editor of the present volume. I would also like to thank the American Antiquarian Society, Nova Scotia Museum, and Trinity Historical Society (in particular James Miller) for illustrations. This research was made possible by the Killam Foundation.

2. For biographical information on Earle, see Dahl, Curtis, 1987, *Stephen C. Earle, Architect: Shaping Worcester's Image*, Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Heritage Preservation Society.

3. For an illustration, see Dahl : 28.

4. Dahl : 8.

5. For an illustration, see Dahl : 37.

6. Pugin's key texts are *Contrasts: Or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day. Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Accompanied by Appropriate Text* (1836), and *The True Principles of Pointed Or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott* (1841). Ruskin's key works on Gothic are *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851-1853).

7. Useful summaries of Tractarianism are found in the more recent surveys of the Gothic Revival, particularly Brooks, Chris, 1999, *The Gothic Revival*, London, Phaidon Press; and Lewis, Michael, 2002, *The Gothic Revival*, London and New York, Thames and Hudson.

8. Useful summaries of Ecclesiology are also found in Brooks and Lewis. Important primary documents are reproduced in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, *Temples... Worthy of His Presence: the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, London, Spire Books.

9. The account of the choice of rector is drawn from the *Vestry Minutes 1862-92*, Diocesan Archives, MG3 Series, vol. 13, no. 5.

10. *Vestry Minutes*, Easter 1876, p. 132.

11. For a broad discussion of the history of the Anglican Church in Canada, see Hayes, Alan

L., 2004, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press. On how the High/Low Church conflict unfolded in Atlantic Canada, see Tuck, Robert, 2002, "The Impact of Tractarianism on the Maritimes," paper delivered June 30, 1983, at The Atlantic Theological Conference, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in marking the 150th anniversary of the Oxford Movement (1833) [rev. September 2002], available at *Project Canterbury*, [http://anglicanhistory.org/], accessed December, 2012. On the introduction of High-Church liturgy and architecture to Nova Scotia and the resistance met, see Coffman, Peter, 2012, "The Introduction of Ecclesiology to Nova Scotia," in Alex Bremner (ed.), *Ecclesiology Abroad: the Empire and Beyond*, London, The Victorian Society, 2012, p. 79-93.

12. Binney, Hibbert, 1866, A *Charge Delivered to the Clergy at the Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of St. Luke, at Halifax, on the 3rd Day of July, 1866, by Hibbert, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, Published by special request of the clergy*, Halifax, N.S. Printed by Jas. Bowes & Sons, Hollis St., p. 32.
13. *Vestry Minutes*, January 29, 1876, p. 126.
14. On W.C. Harris, see Tuck, Robert, 1978, *Gothic Dreams: The Life and Times of a Canadian Architect, William Critchlow Harris 1854-1913*, Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1978; also Tuck, Robert, 1995, *Gothic Dreams: The Architecture of William Critchlow Harris*, Confederation Centre Art Gallery and Museum, Charlottetown.
15. *Vestry Minutes*, April 2, 1877, p. 46.
16. See Scott, William, 1848, "On Wooden Churches," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 9, p. 14-27; also Grey, William, 1853, "Ecclesiology in Newfoundland," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 14, p. 156-161.
17. Scott, George Gilbert, 1857, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture*, London, J. Murray, p. 10.
18. *Id.* : 12.
19. On the perceived "Englishness" of Gothic, see also Frew, J.M., 1982, "Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of Gothic as England's National Style," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 64, p. 315-319.
20. *The Church Guardian*, January 29, 1880.
21. *The Church Guardian*, October 28, 1880.
22. On the role of pattern books in spreading the Gothic Revival in Canada, see Magrill, Barry, 2012, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's.
23. *The Church Guardian*, April 15, 1880.
24. See *The Parish of Christ Church, Windsor, Nova Scotia, with a History of the Parish of Windsor 1771-1804*, no author cited, 1982.
25. *The Church Guardian*, March 26, 1884.
26. *The Church Guardian*, November 7, 1888, and November 7, 1894.
27. Arnold, George F., 1990, *St. Andrew's Story, Hantsport, N.S. 1890-1990*, Hantsport, Lancelot Press, 1990, p. 10.
28. *Id.* : 9; also L.W.M., "St. Andrew's Church, Hantsport, N.S. Observing our 65th Anniversary This Month," *The Diocesan Times*, vol. 10, no. 11, 1955, p. 26-27.
29. Rosinski, Maud, 1994, *Architects of Nova Scotia – A Biographical Dictionary, 1605-1950*, Halifax, Province of Nova Scotia.
30. Trinity Historical Society Archives: St. Paul's Church Series 1: Minutes of Vestry, March 21, 1888; see also Coffman, Peter, 2008, *Newfoundland Gothic*, Quebec, Éditions MultiMondes.
31. Trinity Historical Society Archives, *id.*
32. Coffman (2008) : 175-183.

OPTIMISM AND COMPETITION IN SASKATCHEWAN'S RURAL GOTHIC REVIVAL CHURCHES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

>KRISTIE DUBÉ

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A lone church is buffeted by the strong Prairie winds and bleached by the sunlight; its days of glory are long gone but it remains and now serves purely as a monument to a bygone era. This is the fate of many of Saskatchewan's rural churches that were constructed in the early twentieth century.[1] The communities that once surrounded them have long since gone but the churches remain, alone and mostly unused yet still tended to. These ephemeral structures are in many cases the only remaining evidence of the built heritage of these communities. Unfortunately, this area of Canada's built heritage has received very little academic attention. Given that architecture preserves the original intentions of the culture that produced it, this lack of study results in a gap in Saskatchewan's history.[2] Therefore, understanding the few structures left from that period is all the more important. Two such structures, Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church [Rural Municipality (RM) 183] (fig. 1) and Bekevar Presbyterian Church [Rural Municipality (RM) 94][3] (fig. 2), are excellent case studies to show how important architecture can be for understanding the nature of Saskatchewan's culture. In particular, the design and construction of these two churches reveal the optimism and competitive spirit that were driving forces in Saskatchewan's rural early twentieth-century society.

FIG. 1. VIEW OF THE WEST FAÇADE OF KAPOSVAR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, KAPOSVAR, RURAL MUNICIPALITY (RM) 183 (SK), 1906-1907, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT, PIROT STONEMASONS. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

One of the reasons that Saskatchewan's built heritage has received so little attention is that it differs greatly from eastern Canadian architecture in terms of its growth. Saskatchewan's growth was rather slow and it did not have a

FIG. 2. VIEW OF THE WEST FAÇADE OF BEKEVAR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BEKEVAR, RM 94 (SK), 1912, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 3. VIEW OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, STANLEY MISSION (SK), 1854-1860, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

sufficient population to acquire provincial status until 1905.[4] While eastern Canadian cites were burgeoning, Saskatchewan was just beginning to exit its pioneer and fur trade phases. However, the early twentieth century was a period of rapid expansion for Saskatchewan with new settlements springing up from the bald Prairie landscape at a rapacious rate.

Saskatchewan's rapid growth was partly the result of the characterization of the Prairies as a land of boundless opportunity. It was commonly thought that the West would have "a population of 100 million; it would be the bread-basket of the world; it would become the centre of gravity of all Canada; and... would lead the world."[5] Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior (1897 to 1905) in Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government, was able to further this perception through an aggressive propaganda campaign to attract settlers to the Prairie West just as good, cheap land was becoming difficult to find in the long-favoured American West.[6] Typical of the government's efforts was *Western Canada: Delegate's Reports and Settlers' Experiences*; it consisted of one hundred and forty-four pages of reports and settlers' descriptions of the prosperous and inviting nature of the Prairie West.[7] Travelers' accounts and novels published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also conjured up an image of a "wonderland [where] a new start, success, equal social status, and a comfortable environment" were possible.[8] Another form of literature that helped create a favourable impression of the Prairies was "Booster" literature. However, it differed from travelers' accounts and government pamphlets, which focused on the entire Prairie West. "Booster" literature instead made boastful, idealized statements about an individual city in order to attract investors who could help the city realize its destiny. These pamphlets provided inflated figures concerning population size, agricultural, and natural resources potential, land prices, and economic growth. Booster pamphlets were driven by an optimistic belief in the unlimited growth potential of the West, which needed only an influx of capital to be realized.[9] While boosterism was divisive on a regional level, it also served to unite the businessmen in a particular town or city behind the common goal of civic expansion.[10] The utopian image of the Prairie West portrayed through government pamphlets, travelers' accounts, and booster pamphlets was a by-product of the population boom but also served to perpetuate it by appealing to settlers who were seeking better prospects.[11]

Canada's various religious denominations were an integral part of Saskatchewan's boom-period society. Their efforts in trying to absorb or service the large numbers of Eastern European settlers who immigrated to the province helped shape the fabric of the new communities. Generally speaking, the various denominations focused on strengthening their respective positions within a society that was drastically shifting in terms of its ethnic composition. In the early twentieth century, a great number of Eastern European Catholic immigrants—such

as Russian Greek Catholics (Catholics of the Eastern/Byzantine rite), Galician (Ukrainian) Catholics, Hungarian Catholics (Latin rite), and German Catholics (Black Sea Catholics)—began to arrive in the Prairie region.[12] The Russian and Ukrainian Catholic immigrants were at first left without priests due to an 1894 edict from Rome that forbade married Eastern-rite priests from immigrating to Canada.[13] In 1902, the Vatican finally allowed unmarried Eastern-rite priests to emigrate from Galicia, but their number was insufficient to meet the religious needs of these immigrants.[14] And so, Protestant and Catholic denominations alike attempted to absorb these Eastern- and Latin-rite Catholics.[15]

Each denomination responded differently to the boom of Eastern European immigrants. However, an examination of two rural churches in the same region, built by different denominations but with analogous architectural styles, indicates that there were indeed a number of similarities. First, the general lack of resources available to church builders is notable. As many of these rural communities were newly founded, it was difficult to have access to trained architects, various building materials, and adequate funds. Secondly, a generally fast growth rate demanded an equally fast increase in church capacity. These similarities undoubtedly helped form components of Saskatchewan's society during that period, but they have not received scholarly attention.

Both Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church and Bekevar Presbyterian Church are constructed in the Gothic Revival style. While Gothic motifs were in use since the 1790s (possibly the 1780s) in the eastern portions of the country, they were not used in Saskatchewan until the 1850s in churches like Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission (fig. 3).[16] In Saskatchewan, the use of the Gothic Revival style stretched well into the middle of the twentieth century and became synonymous with church architecture for many denominations. The initial associations of that style go back to when a widespread reaction against the perceived ills of the industrial society developed. Architectural styles from the past came to be venerated for their closer relationship with nature and piety in direct contrast to the perceived artificiality and skepticism of the industrial society.[17] This Romanticism was joined with Antiquarianism, which held that the past could be re-experienced through antique objects or buildings.[18] The Victorian Revival styles sprang from these commonly held beliefs thanks to literary works such as Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's *Contrasts*, which championed the use of the Gothic Revival style as a way to return to a more natural, pious, and pure society.[19] This association with purity allowed the medieval revival styles in particular to become associated with religious structures. In the Prairie West, this association was particularly strong and difficult to displace (by the popular styles in eastern Canada at the time).

The preference for the Gothic Revival remained strong despite the ethnic diversity of the congregations during the early twentieth century in Saskatchewan. The Kaposvar community, near Esterhazy, was primarily a Hungarian and French settlement. It was formed in 1886 as part of a series of Hungarian settlements arranged by immigration agent Count Paul Oscar Esterhazy.[20] Following a government pamphlet produced by Sifton and Esterhazy in 1902, the original settlement of thirty-five families grew drastically in the early twentieth century.[21] This pamphlet contained settlers' testimonials that downplayed the appeal of the United States and inflated the appeal of the region with optimistic depictions.[22] The pamphlet was a success and not long afterward Kaposvar and Esterhazy boasted nine hundred settlers, two hundred homesteads, and fourteen thousand acres of land under cultivation.[23] However, Hungarians were not the only immigrants in the settlement: French-speaking Roman Catholic priests had been involved with the settlement since its inception. Their efforts resulted in a strong Roman Catholic community with a congregation that comprised eight hundred of the nine hundred settlers by 1906.[24] That Hungarian community lead by French-speaking priests chose the Gothic Revival style when they constructed their first major church.

The construction and style of the Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church reveal much about Saskatchewan's boom period society. The design and construction of the church were the responsibility of Kaposvar's priest, Jules Pirot. In 1906, Pirot returned to his native Belgium to obtain plans for the church and convince his stonemason brothers (Alphonse, Camille, Lucien) and brother-in-law (Octive Willaume) to come to the province to construct it.[25] While the architect who designed the church is unknown, the design does suggest a certain level of familiarity with common Gothic Revival stylistic elements. In particular, the design of the church reflects Belgian medieval sources that would have been familiar to Pirot and his brothers. One feature associated with Belgian sources is Kaposvar's triple lancet windows in an ABA pattern (fig. 4). This feature was common to thirteenth-century Gothic churches from the Scheldt/Tournai region of Belgium (St. Jacques' and St. Marie Madeleine's churches in Tournai both use the feature in their transept windows).[26] The triple lancet chancel windows in the well-known Church of Our Lady in Pamele

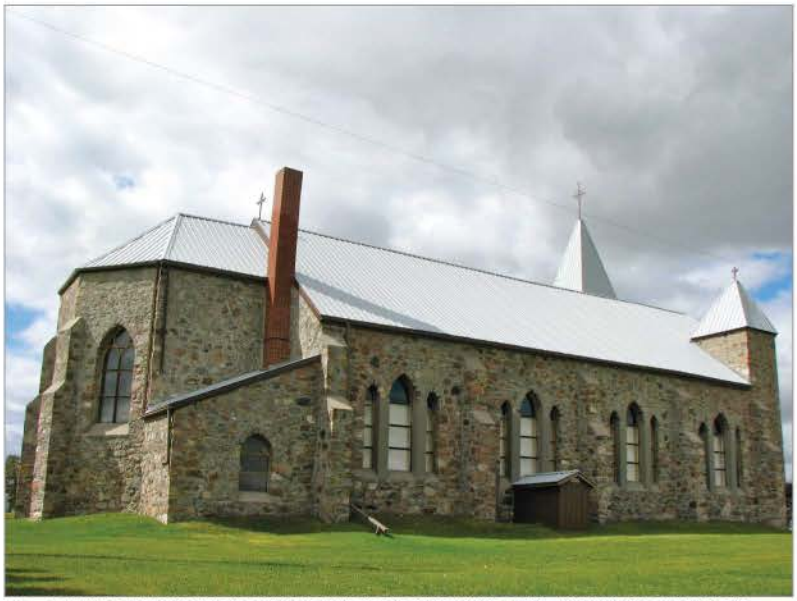

FIG. 4. VIEW OF EASTERN AND NORTHERN SECTIONS SHOWING HEXAGONAL CHANCEL AND ABA LANCET TRIPARTITE WINDOWS, KAPOSVAR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, KAPOSVAR, RM 183. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

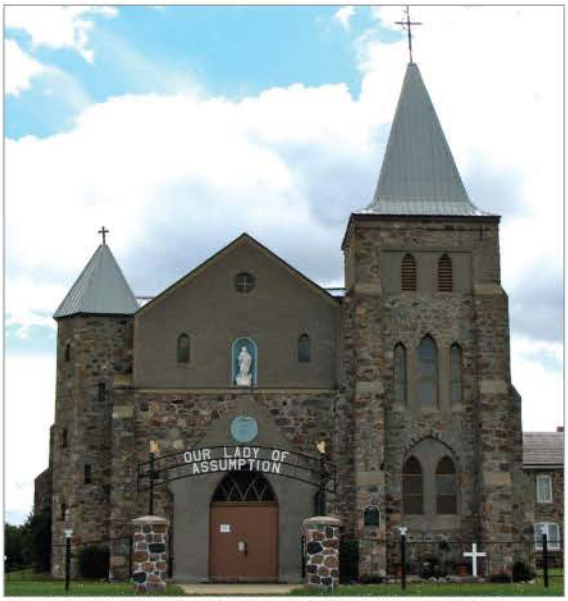

FIG. 5. VIEW OF THE WESTERN FAÇADE SHOWING DISPROPORTIONATE DOUBLE TOWERS, KAPOSVAR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, KAPOSVAR, RM 183. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

in Oudenaarde (1234-1264), in particular, was a likely source of inspiration. In 1883, a published monograph, complete with engravings, focused entirely on the church.[27] As such, knowledge of the church would have been fairly well disseminated and it is likely that Kaposvar's Belgian priest Pirot would have had some knowledge of the structure. The use of a Belgian Gothic motif is indicative of Pirot and his brothers influencing the design of the church for the otherwise French and Hungarian congregation. The Belgian feature was most likely chosen because it allowed Pirot to maintain a connection to his homeland in the harsh new Prairie landscape.

Other components of Kaposvar's design and style are less easily tied to any one particular source of inspiration and thus reflect simply a general knowledge of Gothic/Romanesque motifs and the desire to quickly house the booming congregation in a suitable structure. Kaposvar's Gothic style delineated hexagonal chancel, disproportionately sized towers in the picturesque tradition, large stepped buttresses, and twin-tower façade serve to create the impression of a large and solid structure (figs. 4 and 5). However, the massive proportions of Kaposvar Catholic Church (which are part of the sublime tradition) and the small size of some of its square tower windows are reminiscent of the Norman/early Romanesque Revival style (fig. 6). For Presbyterians, the Norman/early Romanesque style provided a link to Scotland, the homeland of Presbyterianism.[28] However, for Roman Catholics the association was different: there was a tradition both in England and the United States of using the Romanesque Revival style because it was not as closely associated with High Anglicanism.[29] For Roman Catholics, the use of the Romanesque Revival style therefore served to distinguish their churches from those of the Anglicans. Consequently, through the use of both Gothic and Romanesque motifs, Kaposvar's design indicates the connection of the congregation to Belgium and the rejection of Anglican church building practices.

Another distinguishing feature of the Kaposvar Church was the use of uncut fieldstone for the large structure. Fieldstone was not a common building material, except on the southern Prairies where building materials were scarce and farmers used the stones removed from the fields for their homes. Moreover, many of these fieldstone homesteads were amateur constructions.[30] As materials were generally scarce and often expensive there were also a few churches that were constructed in uncut fieldstone, such as St. Mary the Virgin Anglican Church in Whitewood (1902) and St. Lucy's Anglican Church in Dilke (1914), but these were relatively small due to a shortage of trained stonemasons (figs. 7-8).[31] Kaposvar's congregation, however, was able to harness both the optimism garnered from its rapid expansion and the expertise of the Pirot stonemason brothers to create an anomalously large uncut fieldstone church. Kaposvar is therefore unusual and indicative of a tendency to innovate as a result of pressures coupled with limitations. The design, style, and

construction of the church allowed the congregation to characterize itself as a powerful, prosperous, and non-Anglican community.

The effect of the Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church on the region was so powerful that Archbishop Adélard Langevin of St. Boniface felt there was no "finer rural church, belonging to any denomination," in all of western Canada.[32] The response to such an assertion by the smaller rival congregation of Bekevar was competitive. The settlement followed in the footsteps of Kaposvar by beginning as a Hungarian colony. However, the chief differences were that it was founded much later (1900 compared to 1886) and was Reformed (Calvinist)/Presbyterian instead of Roman Catholic. Thus, the success of the Kaposvar colony did not inspire the creation of the Bekevar colony; it was rather the success of a similar Reformed colony at Otthon.[33] The natural affinities between the Saskatchewan Calvinist Presbyterians and the Calvinist Reformed immigrants also played a part. From its inception, Bekevar received assistance from James Robertson, superintendent of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, as part of an initiative to assist Hungarian Reformed settlers in Saskatchewan. Hungarian Presbyterian minister Kálmán Kovácsi was sent to Bekevar (1901-1910) and by 1910, the strong relationship between the two groups allowed the Presbyterian congregation to become large and stable enough to warrant the construction of a permanent stone church. [34]

The intention to construct a permanent stone church as opposed to a more temporary wooden church is indicative of the competitive and optimistic attitude of Bekevar's congregation. Most of Saskatchewan's many wooden churches were originally intended as temporary structures to accommodate a small congregation until larger numbers warranted the construction of a more permanent structure of stone or brick.[35] Therefore, the assertion of Bekevar's founder, Janos Szabo, that a stone church should be constructed to coincide with the congregation's tenth anniversary, was an indication of his faith in the permanence of the congregation. However, the plans for a stone church involved an estimated cost of "several thousand dollars," which proved to be too expensive for the congregation. By 1911 a new proposal was approved requiring only "a beautiful and large church that will be worthy of the congregation."[36] Once again, the architect is not known but it is likely that a local carpenter and volunteer labour were responsible for its construction. When finally completed in July 1912, Bekevar Presbyterian Church (fig. 2) was a wooden structure with a capacity of two hundred and fifty to three hundred people that cost some two thousand dollars. The decision to use wood instead of stone could seem like a lack of confidence in the prospects of the congregation, however, this was not the case. Bekevar's Hungarian Presbyterians were intent on competing with the Roman Catholic Kaposvar colony. This sense of competition is evident through the opulent three-day consecration event (most consecrations lasted only one day) they held to "make a tacit claim for superiority" against the Esterhazy–Kaposvar colony and its impressive church (fig. 1). The Hungarian Presbyterians at Bekevar believed that the presence of Kaposvar's French Catholic priests threatened their religion, heritage, and language. In response, the congregation at Bekevar constructed a "beautiful" church to indicate that their community and not the rival one at Kaposvar was the bearer of "Western Canadian Hungarian identity."[37]

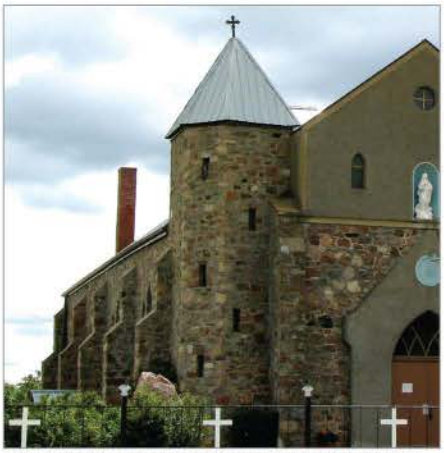

FIG. 6. DETAIL OF NORMAN/EARLY ROMANESQUE REVIVAL WEST FAÇADE TOWER, KAPOSVAR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, KAPOSVAR, RM 183. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 7. VIEW OF WEST FAÇADE OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN ANGLICAN CHURCH, WHITEWOOD (SK), 1902, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 8. VIEW OF THE WEST END OF ST. LUCY'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, DILKE (SK), 1914, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

The extent of the desire to compete with the Roman Catholic Kaposvar colony can be confirmed through the design of the wooden church that was constructed at

FIG. 10. VIEW OF THE NORTHWEST PORTION SHOWING THE IRREGULAR CRUCIFORM PLAN, BEKEVAR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BEKEVAR, RM 94. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 11. VIEW OF THE SOUTHWEST PORTION SHOWING LANCET WINDOWS AND DELINEATED CHANCEL, BEKEVAR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BEKEVAR, RM 94. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

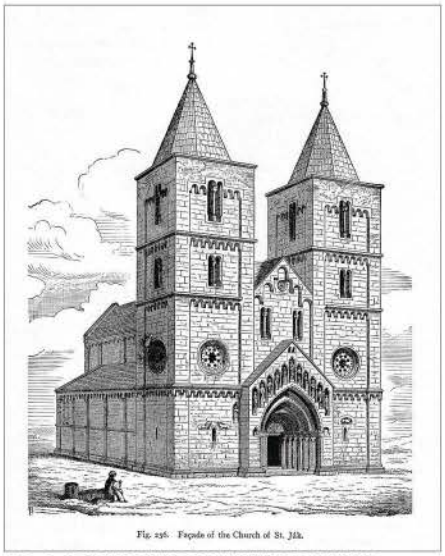

FIG. 9. 1881 ENGRAVING OF THE VIEW OF THE WEST FAÇADE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, JÁK, HUNGARY. | BENEDICTINE-PENN STATE LIBRARIES COLLECTION.

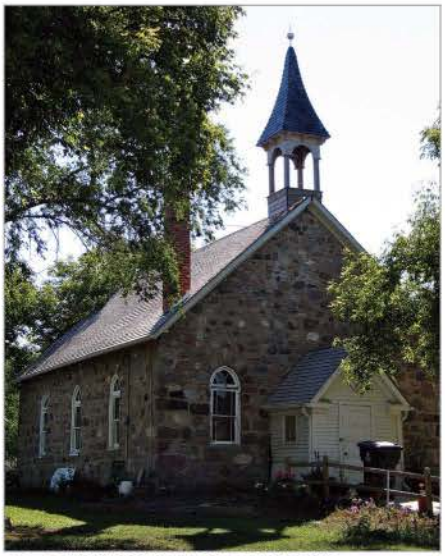

FIG. 12. VIEW OF WEST FAÇADE OF BALGONIE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BALGONIE (SK), UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 13. VIEW OF THE WEST FAÇADE OF POPLAR GROVE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, UNKNOWN ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 14. DETAIL OF ARC-SHAPED PEWS, BEKEVAR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BEKEVAR, RM 94. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

Bekevar. Despite limited funds, Bekevar's congregation wanted to create the most arresting façade possible for a small wooden church. In order to succeed, the twin-towered façade of a cathedral church was borrowed. As was common in other churches looking to create an impact, such as Joseph Connolly's Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception in Guelph, Ontario (1876-1888), the cathedral motif of a twin-towered façade was used in a small church in order to compete with larger churches.[38] With the intention to imitate a cathedral form and reinforce the Hungarian identity of the congregation, it is likely that Hungarian examples, such as St. George's Church in Ják, served as models for the design (fig. 9). The three-aisled twin-towered church was founded by Benedictine monks under the patronage of the influential nobleman Márton Nagy around 1210.[39] Prior to Bekevar's construction, St. George's underwent a major restoration (1896-1904) under the direction of renowned architect Frigyes Schulek, who had been responsible for the restoration of Budapest's primary medieval Matthias' Church.[40] The reconstruction of St. George's by such a prominent architect would have ensured that the church would have been well known and well received

by the Hungarian people. Furthermore, Bekevar's use of St. George's double gable façade nestled between twin towers with round windows reinforces the connection between the two structures (figs. 2 and 9). However, without the benefit of the naturally heavy feeling that stone can give a structure, the church lacked presence and other design elements were used to try to enhance the imposing feel of the structure.

FIG. 15. DETAIL OF GABLETS MIMICKING MASONRY BUTTRESSES, BEKEVAR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BEKEVAR, RM 94. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

Chief among these elements was the general plan of the Early Gothic Revival Style Bekevar Church. The church's combination of Early Gothic Revival pointed arch lancet windows, cruciform plan, double tower façade, and transepts were uncommon features in Saskatchewan's rural Presbyterian churches during that period (figs. 10-11). Balgonie Presbyterian Church (1901) and Poplar Grove Presbyterian Church (1902) are more typical examples of rural Presbyterian churches (figs. 12-13). The plan of these two churches is essentially a vernacular box. Bekevar Church, by contrast, is laid out in an irregular cruciform plan with oversized transepts. These oversized transepts did serve the interests of the congregation liturgically as it allowed an arc-shaped seating arrangement that surrounded and focused upon the raised pulpit occupied by the pastor (fig. 14).[41] This was a common arrangement for many Protestant denominations; however, the exterior plan of the church was usually in a more traditional basilican form. The congregations would then adjust the arrangement of the interior to better suit their liturgical needs by either sectioning off the seating portion of the church (as at William Hay's St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Guelph, 1857) or shifting it to a north-south axis (as at William Tutin Thomas' St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Ottawa, 1872) in order to place the pulpit at the centre of the width of the rectangle and thus allow the congregation to surround the preacher.[42] The external representation of this seating arrangement would have resulted in a vernacular preaching-box-styled church though, which was out of favour in larger churches due to the rise of Puginian principles.[43] As Bekevar's building committee was intent on casting itself in the same vein as the great cathedral churches, the use of a more rural vernacular box form would not have been desirable. Instead, they chose to keep the cruciform plan but extend the transepts to accommodate the arc-seating arrangement. This approach is without known precedent and consequently indicative of the desire to expand the impact of the façade as much as possible.

The final "great church" design element in Bekevar Church is its external decorative components. It was generally uncommon for Saskatchewan's rural wooden churches to possess a great number of decorative elements as a result of the aforementioned shortages in funds, materials, and skilled labour. Instead, Bekevar's amateur builders were forced to become creative. As they were looking to Hungarian stone cathedral churches for their inspiration, it is not surprising that Bekevar's design elements are derived from a masonry tradition rather than a wooden building tradition. In particular, the small decorative red gablets on the façade, which are borrowed from masonry techniques, are positioned and decorated in such a manner as to mimic Gothic buttresses topped with gables (fig. 15). As such, the gablets give the impression of a massive stone church that requires buttresses to support the weight of the structure. Despite their inability to construct a stone structure that would rival Kaposvar Church, Bekevar's congregation was able to borrow from "great church" motifs to

create a wooden church that could "dominate and control" its environment as a result of the improvisations.[44]

Saskatchewan's early twentieth-century rural churches were built by immigrants who had no access to professional architects, and had limited funds and building materials. Consequently, they were forced to become creative in their church designs. Because of the immigrants' intimate involvement with church design, these churches reveal the struggles and aspirations of their builders better than many urban churches, which expose mostly the architect's training and popular trends. Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church, for instance, reveals the tendency of boom period settlements to grow rapidly and build equally large churches despite limited resources. The optimism and ingenuity frequently displayed in these churches became a key component of Saskatchewan's boom period society. Bekevar Presbyterian Church is an even greater example of ingenuity, but it stems from the competitive spirit that was born in the fast-changing landscape. While the competitive spirit that drove the province's boom period is well known, the extent of its effects in small rural communities devoid of boosters is not. Even a modest study based on only two of Saskatchewan's many rural churches illustrates the ability of its architecture to shine light on the unknown sections of the province's society and its built heritage. Saskatchewan's lone Prairie churches are therefore an integral component of its history and have much to impart before they are abandoned to the encroaching Prairie.

NOTES

1. Some of the research for this article was made possible by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through their Canada Graduate Scholarship program. The research was completed as part of the requirement for the M.A. in history at the University of Regina under the guidance of Dr. William J. Brennan and Dr. Allison Fizzard. I am also greatly indebted to the guidance and generosity of Dr. Malcolm Thurlby, whose wealth of knowledge I have been privileged to access.

2. Morris, Jan, 1986, "In Quest of the Imperial Style," in Robert Fermor-Hesketh (ed.), *Architecture of the British Empire*, New York, The Vendome Press, p. 11.

3. Rural Municipalities have divided the rural regions of the province of Saskatchewan into districts since 1883. In structures without surviving settlements, the common practice is to attribute the structure to its RM district.

4. *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901*, 1902, Ottawa; *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, 1912, Ottawa.

5. Friesen, Gerald, 1984, *The Canadian Prairies*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 342, 381.

6. Stich, Klaus Peter, April 1976, "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda," *Prairie Forum*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 27; Thompson, John Herd, 1998, *Forging the Prairie West: The Illustrated History of Canada*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 72.

7. Stich : 19-21.

8. Friesen : 302, 304.

9. Rees, R., 1974, "The 'Magic City on the Banks of the Saskatchewan': The Saskatoon Real Estate Boom 1910-1913," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 27, no. 2, p. 52-53.

10. Artibise, Alan F.J., 1981, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in Alan F.J. Artibise (ed.), *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, Regina, University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, p. 211, 213-214.

11. See Francis, R. Douglas and Chris Kitzan (eds.), 2007, *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, Calgary, University of Calgary Press.

12. Fay, Terence J., 2002, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 163; "The Church of England in the Canadian Northwest," January 2, 1904, *The Telegram*, R 20 II 20, Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB).

13. Fay : 177.

14. Perin, Roberto, 1998, *The Immigrant's Church: The Third Force in Canadian Catholicism, 1880-1920*, Ottawa, The Canadian Historical Association, p. 6.

15. Emery, George, 2001, *The Methodist Church on the Prairies, 1986-1914*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 133. The denominations that attempted to absorb the leaderless Eastern-rite Catholics were the Russian Orthodox Church, an Old Country branch of the Canadian Baptist Church, the Roman Catholic Church (both the French and English branches), the Canadian-Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Independent Greek Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Church.

16. Kalman, Harold, 2000, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture*, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 208.

17. Pevsner, Nikolaus, 1963 [7th ed.], *An Outline of European Architecture*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, p. 350.

18. Dixon, Roger and Stefan Muthesius, 1978, *Victorian Architecture*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 20-21.

19. See Pugin, A.W.N., 1841, *Contrasts: A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day*, London, Charles Dolman.

20. Kovacs, Martin L., 1974, *Esterhazy and Early Hungarian Immigration to Canada*, Regina, Canadian Plains Studies, p. 3; Pask, Jean, 1986, *Kaposvar: A Count's Colony, 1886-1986*, R 86-386, R- E2366, SAB, p. 14; McLennan, David, 2008, *Our Towns: Saskatchewan Communities from Abbey Park to Zenon Park*, Regina, University of Regina Canadian Plains Research Center, p. 117.

21. Pask : 14.

22. Settlers, Lengyel Jozsef and Babijàk Jànos, 1902, *The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-West Territories, Canada*, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, in Kovacs, *Esterhazy...* : 91, 103; Woodcutter, Rev. Francis, 1902, *The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-West Territories, Canada*, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, in Kovacs, *Esterhazy...* : 77-78; Kovacs, Jason F., 2006, "Con Artist or Noble Immigration Agent?: Count Esterhazy's Hungarian Colonization Effort, 1885-1902," *Prairie Forum*, vol. 31, no. 1, p. 40.

23. Anderson, Alan, 2006, "Hungarian Settlements," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*, [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/hungarian_settlements.html], accessed January 2012.

24. Kaposvar Historic Society, 2007, *Our Lady of Assumption: Kaposvar Church Centennial, 1907-2007*, Kaposvar, p. 2-3.

25. *Id.* : 4.
26. I am indebted to Professors Thomas Coomans and Malcolm Thurlby for advice on the Belgian associations of Kaposvar.
27. Van Assche, Auguste, 1883, *L'Église de Notre-Dame-de-Pamela à Audenarde*, Belgium, Gand.
28. Thurlby, Malcolm, May 2004, "Two Late Nineteenth-century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly, St. Mary's, Bathurst Street and St. Paul's, Power Street," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 33, p. 45.
29. Meeks, Carroll L.V., 1953, "Romanesque Before Richardson in the Unites States," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 18; Dixon and Muthesius : 192; Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, 1972, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, vols. 1-2, New York, De Capo Press, p. 91.
30. Ralko, Joe, 2005, *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan*, Calgary, Red Deer Press, p. 209.
31. See Hryniuk, Margaret and Frank Korvemaker, 2008, *Legacy of Stone: Saskatchewan's Stone Buildings*, Regina, Coteau Books, p. 139-203, for further examples.
32. No author, "Opening of Kaposvar Church," November 10, 1908, newspaper article in *Esterhazy Observer*, in Pask : 45.
33. Kovacs, *Esterhazy...* : 45; Anderson, *op. cit.*
34. Kovacs, *id.* : 43.
35. Kalman : 255.
36. Canadian Magyar Farmer, June 26, 1911, Proposal, in Kovacs, Martin L., 1980, *Peace and Strife: Some Facets of the History of an Early Prairie Community*, Kipling, Kipling District Historical Society, RE973, R81-31, SAB, p. 27.
37. Doka, Rev. K.C. and Martin L. Kovacs, n.d., in Kovacs, *Peace and Strife...*, *id.* : 20, 31, 35, 44, 43.
38. Thurlby, Malcolm, 1990, "The Church of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception, at Guelph: Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, vol. 15, no. 2, p. 35
39. Wischermann, Heinfried, 2004, "The Romanesque Period in Central Europe," in Rolf Toman (ed.), *Romanesque Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, European Union, Könemann, p. 254.
40. Sisa, József, 2002, "Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 61, no. 2, p. 180-181; Hebbert, Charles, Norm Longley, and Dan Richardson, 2002, *The Rough Guide to Hungary*, London, Penguin, p. 275.
41. Westfall, William and Malcolm Thurlby, 1990, "Church Architecture and Urban Space: The Development of Ecclesiastical Forms in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in David Keane (ed.), *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless*, Toronto, Dundurn Press, p. 124, 128.
42. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2005, "Nonconformist Churches in Canada 1850-75," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 34, p. 64-65, 68.
43. *Id.* : 55-59.
44. Westfall and Thurlby : 125.

25. *Id.* : 4.
26. I am indebted to Professors Thomas Coomans and Malcolm Thurlby for advice on the Belgian associations of Kaposvar.
27. Van Assche, Auguste, 1883, *L'Église de Notre-Dame-de-Pamela à Audenarde*, Belgium, Gand.
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33. Kovacs, *Esterhazy...* : 45; Anderson, *op. cit.*
34. Kovacs, *id.* : 43.
35. Kalman : 255.
36. Canadian Magyar Farmer, June 26, 1911, Proposal, in Kovacs, Martin L., 1980, *Peace and Strife: Some Facets of the History of an Early Prairie Community*, Kipling, Kipling District Historical Society, RE973, R81-31, SAB, p. 27.
37. Doka, Rev. K.C. and Martin L. Kovacs, n.d., in Kovacs, *Peace and Strife...*, *id.* : 20, 31, 35, 44, 43.
38. Thurlby, Malcolm, 1990, "The Church of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception, at Guelph: Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, vol. 15, no. 2, p. 35
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42. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2005, "Nonconformist Churches in Canada 1850-75," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 34, p. 64-65, 68.
43. *Id.* : 55-59.
44. Westfall and Thurlby : 125.

Biographical Dictionary of **Architects in Canada,** 1800-1950

Dictionnaire biographique des **architectes du Canada,** 1800-1950

dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org

This new Canadian website is intended to be an authoritative work of reference for the history of Canadian architects and architecture during the study period of 1800 to 1950, and it contains biographies and lists of works of nearly 1,800 architects who have lived and worked in Canada, as well as those architects who have resided in the United States, Britain and elsewhere, and for whom it is now possible to link their names with buildings constructed in this country. Under the direction of Robert G. Hill, MRAIC, an architect and Editor of the Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950, the focus of this website is on the activity and contribution of those who have described themselves, or who have advertised themselves to be, an "architect", either as an amateur or as a professional.

This Dictionary website lists every Canadian building of importance between 1800 and 1950 whose architect can be identified, together with essential information on the date of design, the date of construction, and the date of alteration or demolition of the work. It is based on extensive original research conducted over a period of twenty-four years, much of it unpublished, and provides critically important information including the names of many Canadian architects previously unknown, as well as references to many buildings whose authorship is obscure or unknown. Every citation of fact is based on the original sources quoted in the entries. These entries include an accurate dated list of each architect's work, arranged in chronological order, and may also include an assessment of his or her place in Canadian architectural history and, where appropriate, the entry is accompanied by a comment on the style and aesthetic quality of the architectural projects cited.

Ce nouveau site Web canadien se veut un travail de référence faisant autorité sur l'histoire des architectes canadiens et sur l'architecture durant la période d'étude de 1800 à 1950. Il contient des biographies et des listes de travaux de près de 1800 architectes ayant vécu et travaillé au Canada ainsi que la liste des architectes qui ont résidé aux États-Unis, en Grande-Bretagne et ailleurs, et auxquels il est maintenant possible de lier le nom à des bâtiments construits dans ce pays. Sous la direction de Robert G. Hill, MRAIC, architecte et éditeur du *Dictionnaire biographique des architectes du Canada, 1800-1950*, ce site Web est consacré aux activités et aux contributions de ceux qui se sont décrits ou qui se sont annoncés comme « architectes », amateurs ou professionnels.

Ce dictionnaire sous forme de site Web énumère chaque immeuble canadien d'importance construit entre 1800 et 1950 dont l'architecte peut être identifié, de même qu'il fournit l'information essentielle sur la date de la conception, sur celle de la construction et sur celles de la réfection ou de la démolition de l'ouvrage. Le dictionnaire est fondé sur une recherche originale très fouillée, menée pendant vingt-quatre ans, et dont la plus grande partie n'a pas été publiée. Elle fournit des renseignements très importants, y compris les noms de plusieurs architectes canadiens inconnus auparavant ainsi que des références à plusieurs immeubles dont la paternité est obscure ou inconnue. Chaque fait mentionné est fondé sur des sources originales citées dans les entrées. Ces entrées comprennent une liste exacte datée de tous les travaux d'architecture classés par ordre chronologique; plusieurs peuvent également comporter une évaluation de la place de l'œuvre dans l'histoire de l'architecture canadienne, et le cas échéant, l'entrée est accompagnée d'un commentaire sur le style et sur la qualité esthétique du projet architectural mentionné.

01 BUSCH, Henry Frederick (1826-1902)
02 DEWAR, Andrew (1846-c. 1932)
03 DUNHAM, David Elson (1840-1883)
04 CLARK, Hutchison (1806-1877)
05 LACHANCE, Walter Willliam (1870-Unknown)
06 MILLER, George Martel (1854-1933)
07 SMITH, Isaac (1795-1871)
08 TURNER, John (1807-1887)