

# THE VALUE OF REGIONALISM IN ASSESSING CANADIAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

## An Examination of the Historical Context of Maritime Collegiate Classicism

> RYAN FERKO

RYAN FERKO is an art and architectural historian based in Toronto. His research examines the relationship of Canadian architectural heritage to contemporary design in urban Canada. He received his undergraduate degree in art history and history from the University of Victoria and is currently completing a certificate in art and design studio skills at OCAD University (Toronto).

Architecture has always been fundamental to how a culture projects itself. Buildings act as monuments to the social and historical contexts they were built in, offering a unique window into the cultures that used them. As the new nation of Canada emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, it seemed keenly aware of the role of architecture in establishing its own cultural identity. Through the Victorian period and into the twentieth century, the social and political elite of Canada embraced the Gothic Revival as the architectural style that would define a new, unified nation.<sup>1</sup> As both secular and religious institutions embraced this mode of design, the Gothic Revival emerged as seemingly the only appropriate historical style for Canada, a style that came to be seen as prototypically Canadian.<sup>2</sup> This nationalist impulse that spread the Gothic Revival across Canada, however, largely eclipsed the regional architectural heritage that had emerged in the individual colonies before Confederation. In the Maritimes, a distinct culture developed separately from the colonies of Canada, manifesting itself in a classical style of architecture that reflected the historical and intellectual context of the region. This unique architectural heritage is most clearly represented in the early Maritime collegiate buildings of the period. This study will use the foundations of Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison colleges as a focused case study to introduce Maritime collegiate classicism to the vocabulary of Canadian institutional design, and to defend the style as historically appropriate in Canada.



FIG. 1. GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX, FROM THE SOUTHWEST, JULY 1819. | BY JOHN ELLIOTT WOOLFORD. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1993-335-1.

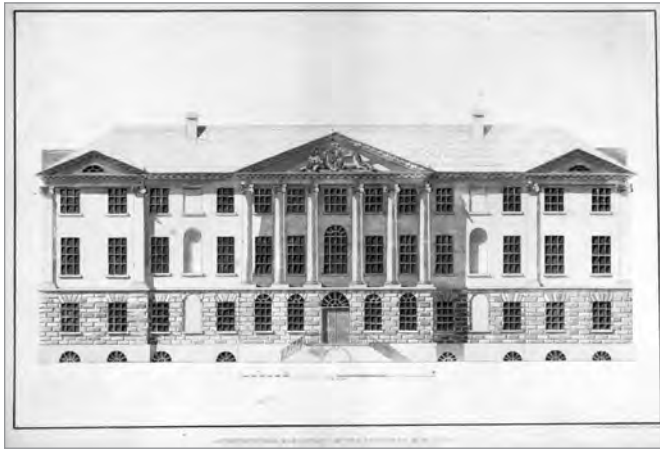


FIG. 2. ARCHITECTURAL ELEVATION OF THE PROVINCE HOUSE, HALIFAX, JULY 1819. | BY JOHN ELLIOTT WOOLFORD. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1993-335-4.



FIG. 3. DALHOUSIE COLLEGE, HALIFAX, COMPLETED 1824. DEMOLISHED 1886. | PAINTED REPRESENTATION, 1932. DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES.

Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison colleges were founded in reaction to the exclusive Anglican control of college level education in the Maritimes. An examination of this religious-political history, along with an understanding of the simultaneous Anglican adoption of the Gothic Revival, reveals an appropriate historical context for the use of classicism in the Maritimes.<sup>3</sup> Starting with Dalhousie, these three non-Anglican colleges marked the debut of inclusive, liberal arts education in Canada, and their community orientation is appropriately reflected in the use of the regional classical style of the Maritimes. In addition to a reflection of the non-exclusive nature of these colleges, the classical style used at Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison was appropriate given their more liberal curricula, representative of the influence of institutions like the University of Edinburgh, rather than the strict Anglican traditions of Oxford and Cambridge. Further, an examination of the historic ties between the Maritimes and colonial New England reveals the most direct collegiate architectural influences for the new colleges. By considering the history of the Maritimes, the unique intellectual climate emerging from these three non-Anglican colleges,

and their relationship to New England, it becomes clear that Maritime collegiate classicism is both a historically appropriate alternative to the collegiate Gothic and a unique Canadian regional style.

Georgian classicism arrived in the Maritime colonies as a British import. Lack of early economic prosperity in Nova Scotia meant that the region relied more heavily on direct Imperial support than the other British colonies in North America.<sup>4</sup> An influx of Imperial money and professional human resources, following Parliament's 1748 decision to fund the building of Halifax, solidified a lasting British Imperial influence over the region.<sup>5</sup> In this early history, Royal Engineers designed all large institutional architecture in the colony.<sup>6</sup> Georgian classicism was the dominant style in Britain at the time, so accordingly, these Royal Engineers applied stripped-down versions of existing British models to the small Maritime colony.<sup>7</sup> As Nova Scotia grew and began to develop, the Georgian classical style brought from Britain continued to be used, developing into a distinctive regional style.

In 1800, New England loyalist John Wentworth was named governor of

Nova Scotia and began to rebuild the official residence.<sup>8</sup> His new Government House, designed by Isaac Hildrith, was the first architect-designed building in the Maritimes and showed clear Georgian classical influences with its Doric portico and Palladian projecting side pavilions (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> This developing regional style was even more fully realized only a few years later with the start of construction on Nova Scotia's new Province House in 1811 (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> This use of Palladian classicism in Nova Scotia's seat of government served to solidify the style as a regional mode for Nova Scotia, and the Province House became a reference point for much of the subsequent institutional design in the colony. It was from this classical building in 1819 that the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, the Earl of Dalhousie, would outline his plans for the first non-denominational college in Nova Scotia. This new institution, Dalhousie College, would consciously continue the development of a Maritime classical style.<sup>11</sup>

Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison's adoption of regional classicism is representative of the desire of these academic institutions to operate as an integrated part of the community, a reaction

against Anglican control of college level education in the Maritimes. Until the end of the 1820s, the only degree-granting institution in the region was the exclusively Anglican King's College.<sup>12</sup> Established in 1803 in the remote town of Windsor, Nova Scotia, King's College was inherently Anglican, officially under the full authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>13</sup> As King's was based on the strict institutional models of Oxford and Cambridge, the college required all students to keep terms of residence and to subscribe to the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of the Church of England.<sup>14</sup>

The exclusive denominational nature of King's was representative of a larger Anglican control of political power in early-nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. In addition to being barred from the region's only college, non-Anglican denominations were denied access to government funding to form their own institutions (they were also restricted from conducting officially licensed weddings).<sup>15</sup> The subordinate position of these non-Anglican denominations was ensured by Charles Inglis, the Anglican bishop of Nova Scotia and founder of King's College. Inglis used both the power of the Church of England and the influence of his seats on the executive and legislative councils of Nova Scotia to oppose any threats to the privileged Anglican position in the colony.<sup>16</sup> As immigrant Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist populations grew in the Maritimes, they began to seek the educational privileges denied to them by the Anglican power structure. It is this Anglican domination of political power that created the conditions for an entirely new, dissenting form of Maritime college to emerge: the community-oriented, non-denominational liberal arts college.

Dalhousie College, the first institution to emerge in reaction to Anglican

exclusivity, clearly displayed its desire to operate as part of the community in Halifax with the design of its first building. Founded by then lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, the Earl of Dalhousie, the college openly expressed its rejection of the "narrowly Anglican" aims of King's College.<sup>17</sup> Dalhousie, himself a Scot and a Presbyterian, had a history of tension with the local Anglican establishment in Nova Scotia. This disapproval was symbolically expressed in 1820, where, upon becoming governor general of British North America, he rejected the congratulatory sword and star offered to him by the Anglican-dominated local legislature (which included Charles Inglis).<sup>18</sup>

Lord Dalhousie dismissed early suggestions of using King's College as the foundation for his proposed institution in Halifax, envisioning a large urban college rather than a secluded Anglican "residential college with walls around it."<sup>19</sup> Dalhousie would very consciously reject mandatory student boarding and required no religious tests or denominational affiliations of any of its students or professors.<sup>20</sup> As a non-denominational, community-oriented academic institution in a city filled with Georgian classical architecture, the enclosed, cloistered Gothic models of Oxford and Cambridge were clearly inappropriate for Dalhousie College in Halifax.

The massive amount of money spent on Dalhousie's first college building shows that its use of regional classicism was a very conscious choice on the part of its founders. Lord Dalhousie decided against applying for a royal charter for the college, deciding instead to use a simpler and cheaper Nova Scotia statute.<sup>21</sup> In doing so he not only separated the institution from any direct obligations to the Church of England and the medieval British universities, but also freed up

capital to execute the design he felt most appropriate for the context of the new college. The final cost of the Dalhousie College building when it opened in 1824 was over thirteen thousand seven hundred pounds, a monumental sum for a single building in that period (fig. 3).<sup>22</sup> So much was spent on the construction and design of the building that the college was forced to rent out its rooms to the community to help pay off its building debts.<sup>23</sup> The building's size clearly planned for a large student enrolment, open to the whole community of Halifax with its non-denominational policies.

In addition to the scale, the location of the new college building at the north end of the Parade ground in central Halifax reflected the intention of the college to be incorporated into the community around it (fig. 4). That central location was a significant development for later Canadian academic institutions, as it rejected the medieval Oxford and Cambridge traditions of removing students from the perceived evils of the city, a concept echoed in the remoteness of King's College at Windsor. Such an imposing central location could only prove its inclusion as part of the Halifax community by incorporating itself architecturally into the existing framework of Nova Scotia. In its reflection of the academic orientation of the college and its reference to existing regional style, the Palladian classical influences evident in the columned portico entranceway and balanced side pavilions of the Dalhousie College building are fully validated as both historically appropriate and regionally distinct.

The community-oriented foundation and regionally inspired architecture of Dalhousie College would be echoed in the creation of Acadia, a new Baptist college in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Acadia College was founded following a rift between



FIG. 4. PLAN OF THE TOWN OF HALIFAX, 1749. | BY M. HARRIS. NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA, NMC 811.



FIG. 5. ACADEMY RESIDENCE, HORTON ACADEMY, WOLFVILLE, C. 1880. BURNED 1887. | ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT ARCHIVES, ACADIA UNIVERSITY, APC382.

Dalhousie College and the Baptists, after Edmund Crawley was rejected as the Dalhousie Chair of the Department of Classics in 1838.<sup>24</sup> While the Baptists reacted by establishing their own college, Acadia was largely founded on the same liberal principles as Dalhousie. Most significantly, Acadia imposed no denominational restrictions on any of its students or professors.<sup>25</sup> The Baptist community in the region had been denied an education at the Anglican King's College in Windsor, and by removing these denominational restrictions that had burdened their religious community, Acadia perpetuated an emerging desire in the Maritimes to educate more than just an elite class. Also like Dalhousie, this regional, non-elitist orientation of Acadia manifested itself in the use of regional classicism for its College Hall building.

During its first two years, Acadia College used rooms in the existing buildings of Horton Academy, its theological parent institution (fig. 5).<sup>26</sup> In 1832, the first Academy Hall was built in Greek temple form, complete with projecting portico and Ionic columns.<sup>27</sup> These early academic buildings of Horton Academy reflected

the regional classical developments discussed above, and when it came time for Acadia to construct its own college building, this use of classicism was continued. By 1841, Acadia College's population had outgrown the facilities Horton Academy could provide; the economic conditions of the period, however, meant that almost no money could be raised for a new building.<sup>28</sup> In an amazing act of community mobilization, the first College Hall of Acadia was built without money, through material and labour donations from the community.<sup>29</sup> Coordinated by Isaac Chipman, a member of the college's Executive Committee, the residents of the region volunteered to cut down trees, prepare lumber, and build the structure.<sup>30</sup> When donations from overseas were secured, "the citizens of Wolfville carried the materials from the wharf to the hill."<sup>31</sup> Along with the help of architects from Halifax and Boston, the College Hall emerged in a distinctly classical style, reflecting the local architectural heritage of the community for whom the institution was built (fig. 6). This community link was exemplified after the college building was opened in 1844, as the same families who helped build the college began to

enrol their children as students, making the college, for a time, the largest post-secondary institution in the region.<sup>32</sup>

A third example of this inclusive academic orientation is found in the early history and classical buildings of Mount Allison College in Sackville, New Brunswick. Mount Allison was founded by the Methodist community, but it continued the developing Maritime trend of opening classes to all religious denominations in an effort to educate the entire community.<sup>33</sup> Financed by the wealthy Methodist merchant Charles Frederick Allison, Sackville was chosen as the location for the new college, as its central position in the Maritimes was intended to serve the widest segment of the Maritime population.<sup>34</sup> With land secured through donation, several college buildings were constructed on what became the Mount Allison campus, also emerging in Palladian classical form (figs. 7-9).<sup>35</sup> Upon opening, the college quickly emerged as a regional Maritime institution, with a student body representing New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.<sup>36</sup> In the 1840s, Mount Allison began to plan a women's branch,

and when it opened in 1854, one hundred and forty-two female students doubled the school's attendance (fig. 10).<sup>37</sup> In 1875, Grace Annie Lockhart graduated from Mount Allison College, becoming the first woman recipient of a bachelor's degree in the British Empire.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to a reflection of the inclusive, regional orientation of these colleges, the classical style used at Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison was appropriate given their more liberal curricula. Prior to the passage of the University Acts of 1854 and 1856, only Anglicans could secure degrees from Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>39</sup> As a result, the Anglican colleges in the Maritimes (a second King's College was founded in New Brunswick in 1828) were influenced exclusively by Oxford and Cambridge curricula, while non-Anglican colleges were left to turn to other institutions for models. Compared to those of the medieval British universities, Scottish curricula developed more liberally to assume a philosophical and scientific orientation.<sup>40</sup> Dalhousie, as the first Maritime college to embrace this liberal curriculum, turned to the principles of the University of Edinburgh for guidance.<sup>41</sup> The Scottish institution was a valuable influence on Dalhousie's academic foundation, as it operated with lectures open to the community and had no student or faculty denominational preferences (the Earl of Dalhousie was also among its alumni).<sup>42</sup> The openness of the University of Edinburgh reflected the Scottish Presbyterian belief that everyone should have a chance to be educated, a belief that developed its own unique flavour in the non-Anglican Maritime colleges.<sup>43</sup>

Architecturally, the University of Edinburgh represented its more secular curricula and open, liberal orientation with classical style academic buildings,



FIG. 6. FIRST COLLEGE HALL, ACADIA COLLEGE, WOLFVILLE, C. 1880. BURNED 1887. | ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT ARCHIVES, ACADIA UNIVERSITY, APC968.

rather than the Gothic models of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the non-denominational London University (precursor to University College, London), created in 1826 in reaction to the Anglican elitism of the medieval British universities, embraced classicism.<sup>45</sup> This non-denominational, institutional use of classicism seemed to embody in the period an almost dissenting academic style that rejected the conservatism of Oxford and Cambridge and their ties to the Church of England.

As classicism began to architecturally define these new non-denominational and secularized academic institutions, an opposing architectural style, the Gothic Revival, began to emerge in reaction. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Gothic Revival had begun to be championed as the only rational style of architecture for use in Britain.<sup>46</sup> Through the published designs of Augustus Welby Pugin (son of Auguste Charles Pugin), and the writing of John Ruskin, the Gothic came to be linked with notions of moral superiority and Christian virtue. By the 1840s, the Cambridge Camden Society (renamed the Ecclesiological Society in 1845) had

begun to promote the Gothic Revival as the only architectural style suitable for the Church of England, and contributed greatly to the extensive use of the historical mode in the mid-Victorian period. This Anglican adoption of the Gothic Revival was intended to stretch beyond just the British homeland, and through a series of articles titled "Colonial Church Architecture," the Ecclesiological Society began to promote the use of Gothic design in the British colonies.<sup>47</sup> In 1847, this Ecclesiological influence made its debut in North America, with the completion of St. Anne's Chapel, followed closely by the larger Christ Church Cathedral, both in Fredericton (fig. 11).<sup>48</sup>

The use of the Gothic Revival in the Maritimes was further stimulated by the Anglican reaction to the growth of other Protestant denominations in the region.<sup>49</sup> The formally unchecked power of the Church of England began to be threatened in the face of emerging non-denominational attitudes at institutions across colonial Canada, such as at King's College, York (which became the secularized University of Toronto in 1849), King's College, New Brunswick (which



FIG. 7. FIRST ACADEMY BUILDING, WESLEYAN ACADEMY, SACKVILLE, COMPLETED 1843. BURNED 1866. | MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. PICTURE COLLECTION. 2007.07/582.



FIG. 8. VIEW OF SACKVILLE AND MOUNT ALLISON CAMPUS, JULY 1862. MOUNT ALLISON BUILDINGS, LEFT TO RIGHT: LADIES' COLLEGE GYMNASIUM; LADIES' COLLEGE (WHITE HOUSE, LATER NAMED ALLISON HALL); LINGLEY HALL; PRESIDENT'S COTTAGE (PARTLY OBSCURED BY LINGLEY HALL); FIRST UNIVERSITY BUILDING (LATER NAMED OLD LODGE); FIRST MALE ACADEMY; ACADEMY GYMNASIUM. | MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. R.C. ARCHIBALD FONDS, 5501/9/2/1/73.



FIG. 9. THE LODGE, MOUNT ALLISON COLLEGE, COMPLETED 1863. DESTROYED 1933. | MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. PICTURE COLLECTION. 2007.07/1021.



FIG. 10. MOUNT ALLISON LADIES' COLLEGE BUILDING AND STUDENTS, C 1887. | MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. PICTURE COLLECTION. 2007.07/163.

became the secularized University of New Brunswick in 1859), and McGill College, Montreal (which eliminated its Faculty of Divinity in 1843).<sup>50</sup> In reaction, new, exclusively Anglican institutions were founded, starting with Bishop's College in Lennoxville, in 1843, and followed closely by Trinity College in Toronto, in 1851.<sup>51</sup> These new colleges consciously promoted the Gothic Revival's symbolic connections

to the Church of England for their first buildings, expressing an assumed distinct position of power in an emerging multi-denominational society.

The original Bishop's College building, begun in 1846, was the first Canadian college to adopt the Gothic Revival (fig. 12).<sup>52</sup> Reflecting the influence of the Ecclesiologists, the architectural detailing

made clear Gothic references, with its pointed-arched entry and finial topped buttresses. By 1865, a series of additions, including an auditorium, a primary school, a chapel, and a faculty residence, had also been built, all in a version of the Gothic Revival. Similarly, the first Trinity College building, begun in 1851, represented its connection to the Church of England by modelling itself on the Gothic buildings



FIG. 11. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, FREDERICTON, C 1850. | BY LADY ANNA MARIA HEAD. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1970-188-2318 W.H. COVERDALE COLLECTION OF CANADIANA.



FIG. 12. BISHOP'S COLLEGE, LENNOXVILLE, BEGUN 1846. ON THE LOWER LEFT, BELOW THE IMAGE, ARE THE INITIALS CBE, WHICH MIGHT ALLUDE TO CAROLINE BUCKNALL ESTCOURT. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO R9266-3419, PETER WINKWORTH COLLECTION OF CANADIANA.



FIG. 13. TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO, BEGUN 1851. DEMOLISHED 1950. | PHOTOGRAPHER: ARMSTRONG, BEERE & HIME. ARMSTRONG, BEERE & HIME / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-186731. ACQUIRED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF A GRANT FROM THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE CULTURAL PROPERTY IMPORT & EXPORT REVIEW ACT.



FIG. 14. HARVARD COLLEGE CAMPUS, C 1767. | FACSIMILE ENGRAVING BY SIDNEY L. SMITH OF DRAWING BY JOSEPH CHADWICK AFTER PAUL REVERE, 1916. I.N. PHELPS STOKES COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, 54180.

of Oxford and Cambridge (fig. 13). The chosen architect, Kivas Tully, made direct reference to Tom Tower at Christ Church, Oxford, and to New Court, St. John's College, Cambridge, as well as to the plans for St. Aiden's Theological College in Cheshire.<sup>53</sup> By the middle of the 1850s, against this religious-political context, two distinct types of Canadian institution had emerged: the elite Anglican

college, manifested in Upper and Lower Canada in the Gothic Revival, and its rival, the non-denominational, liberal arts college, manifested in the Maritimes in the Palladian classical.<sup>54</sup>

Historically, the Maritimes had a very strong economic, social and intellectual connection with the neighbouring southern colonial region of New England. As

explained by colonial historian Julian Gwyn, "no other North American colony was more important to Boston than Nova Scotia. No region was more important to the port of Halifax than New England."<sup>55</sup> Economically, New England was the largest regional trading partner of the Maritimes and, in a larger global context, was second only to the Imperial homeland.<sup>56</sup>



FIG. 15. NASSAU HALL, PRINCETON COLLEGE, COMPLETED 1757. | BY THOMAS ADDIS EMMET. EMMET COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, EM3911.

colleges of New England on the emerging non-Anglican colleges of the Maritimes. Community-oriented, inclusive education had a heritage in the American colonies that preceded the Maritimes by over one hundred and fifty years. In 1640, only ten years after the settling of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Harvard College had been founded; by the time of the Revolution, there were nine degree-granting colleges in the American colonies.<sup>61</sup> Accessible college-level education flourished in colonial America, and this new type of institution manifested itself in new modes of design. These early colleges, such as Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth, were the first in North America to break with the cloistered, monastic architectural traditions of Oxford and Cambridge, instead setting detached buildings in an open landscape, often oriented in a three-sided quadrangle.<sup>62</sup> Such innovation laid the foundation for one form of the modern university and college campuses, and was fully adopted a century later at Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison. A comparison of the nineteenth-century Maritime college buildings to eighteenth-century Harvard clearly shows this influence, embodied in similar classical style buildings set in an open, green landscape (fig. 14).<sup>63</sup>

The orientation of Dalhousie College at the north end of the Parade in central Halifax also reflects this New England colonial influence. New Haven, founded in the colony of Connecticut in 1638, was one of the first geometrically planned towns in the English colonies.<sup>64</sup> The urban grid used at New Haven was repeated one hundred years later in the plan for Halifax, where construction materials and professionals from New England were used to build the new Maritime capital.<sup>65</sup> The Dalhousie College building, located on the Parade in central

Social connections and bloodlines also contributed to a tradition of exchange between the two regions. In 1755, the Maritimes lost the majority of its domestic farming population when the British Imperial government ordered the expulsion of all Acadian people from the region.<sup>57</sup> While the short-term ensuing effect was to increase Maritime dependency on New England imports, it also brought a large population of New England farmers to Nova Scotia, who filled the agricultural void with a new labour supply.<sup>58</sup> This New England population grew even larger with the onset of the events leading up to the American Revolution, stimulating a surge of loyalist refugees to move into the Maritimes; on the eve of the Revolution in 1776, nearly half of Nova Scotia's

population of twenty thousand was from New England.<sup>59</sup> The subsequent Revolutionary War, and later, the War of 1812, put strains on Maritime–New England relations, though the tension of the period never completely extinguished their history of economic and social ties. Into the mid-nineteenth century, as British–American tensions cooled, the Maritime–New England relationship again flourished. Steamers began providing bi-weekly travel between Halifax and Boston, and the 1849 completion of a telegraph link to the United States brought a flood of New England newspapers, books, and other cultural capital into the Maritimes.<sup>60</sup>

This history of exchange manifested itself in the influence of the colonial



Halifax, was clearly influenced by Yale's situation at the centre of the New Haven grid. In 1874, when the City Council proposed the Parade as the ideal site for the new Halifax city hall, Dalhousie College protested and defeated the bill.<sup>66</sup> While the city ultimately used its power to lever the college into giving up the plot (the college moved to a larger campus in 1886), Dalhousie College spent ten years fighting in what can be regarded as a desire to maintain the future of the open, three-sided quadrangle and centrally located campus.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps the most significant New England architectural influence on the Maritimes was the adoption of the tripartite centre-pediment style main hall building, a form that would become the symbolic classical nucleus of the Maritime college. First introduced in North America at the College of William and Mary in Virginia in 1700, the style is derivative of the church designs of Christopher Wren and James Gibb.<sup>68</sup> After its refined use at Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1757, the form came to be championed as the perfect collegiate building and was used more than any other form in colleges throughout the American colonies until the 1830s (fig. 15).<sup>69</sup> While republican domes and the Greek Revival ultimately came to displace the building's popularity in America, the Palladian style main hall did not die in the Maritimes, and would be celebrated as the architectural lynchpin of its liberal arts colleges.

As Canada went through the process of Confederation, and the Maritime colonies were turned into Canadian provinces, the classicism that was so prevalent in their regional architecture began to be rejected in favour of the Gothic Revival. The concept of the Gothic style as more "historically appropriate" to the nation of Canada was arguably the

result of an Ontario-dominated federalist elite trying to define itself as unique from American culture.<sup>70</sup> As the United States came to align itself more and more with classicism as a manifestation of its republican ideals, Canadian elites began to promote the Gothic in an effort to define itself distinctly from the United States. This belief was articulated by the Anglican Trinity College founder John Stratchan of Toronto, who claimed that unless young men were educated in Canadian-Anglican traditions, American republicanism would corrupt them.<sup>71</sup> This mid-Victorian development of nationalist-inspired Gothic Revival, fused with the existing Anglican denominational use of the Gothic, resulted in the widespread rejection of classicism in Canada. What is significant, however, is that as Central Canada was promoting the Gothic in a nationalist impulse to define itself as separate from the United States, the Maritime Provinces continued to build in their regional classical style. Into the 1920s, as the collegiate Gothic reached its high point across Canada, Dalhousie, Acadia, and Mount Allison continued to embrace their regional architectural heritage in new Maritime collegiate classical buildings.

There currently is little scholarship on the history of Canadian collegiate architecture. The studies that do exist, often appearing as asides in works more focused on institutional, religious, or intellectual history, tend to deal only fleetingly with the history of the associated college buildings. Harold Kalman's brief survey of the use of Gothic in colonial colleges and the later development of the collegiate Gothic in the early twentieth century offers an introduction to Canadian campus development; however it neglects alternative architectural forms that developed regionally in the Maritime colonies.<sup>72</sup>

This study on Maritime collegiate classicism has not attempted to discredit the value of the Gothic Revival in Canadian collegiate design, but rather reconsiders its context in the face of more complex regional histories. By linking the architectural heritage of the Maritimes with the regional, inclusive orientation of its non-Anglican colleges, their liberal, European curricular foundations, and their connections to New England, an alternative and entirely Canadian classical form of collegiate architecture is found. Recently, since this research was begun, new works by Rhodri Windsor Liscombe and John Leroux have been published that begin to offer a similar, more complex exploration of Canadian campus development (at the University of British Columbia and at the University of New Brunswick, respectively).<sup>73</sup> Recognizing this emerging dialogue surrounding the history of Canadian campus architecture, this work offers an introduction to Maritime collegiate classicism, and a step to a wider understanding of Canadian campus design as a whole.

## NOTES

1. The 1859 selection of Thomas Fuller's Gothic Revival design for the first Canadian Parliament buildings, in the new capital of Ottawa, served to solidify the Gothic as a secularized, national style. Carolyn A. Young (1995, *The Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings*, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, p. 3) has called this "arguably the most important architectural event in nineteenth century British North America." Alan Gowans (1966, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 118-121) explains that the new Gothic-style Parliament buildings introduced "Canada's first national style." He uses the term "Picturesque Eclecticism" to describe the more complex, High Victorian Canadian version of the British Gothic Revival.
2. Referring to the High Victorian Gothic Revival design of the first Canadian Parliament buildings, Gowans (*id.*: 120) states: "Canada had

- not only become a nation but had acquired a new and appropriately matured architectural style."
3. In 1839, a group of Cambridge undergraduates formed the Cambridge Camden Society (renamed Ecclesiological Society in 1845). Through their influential journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, they began to promote the Gothic Revival as the only suitable style for Anglican churches, defining a strict architectural orientation for the Church of England. This was applied to the British colonies through a series of articles titled "Colonial Church Architecture." (See Coffman, Peter, 2008, *Newfoundland Gothic*, Quebec, Éditions MultiMondes.) For Ecclesiology and the rise of the Victorian Gothic Revival in Canada, see Kalman, Harold, 1994, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, vol. 1, p. 279-298.
  4. Mancke, Elizabeth, 2005, "Spaces of Power in the Early Modern Northeast," In Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (eds.), *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press.
  5. *Id.* : 45.
  6. Kalman, vol. 1 : 135.
  7. See early nineteenth-century British classicism in Watkin, David, 2005 [4<sup>th</sup> ed.], *A History of Western Architecture*, New York, Watson-Guptill Publications, p. 459-467.
  8. Kalman, vol. 1 : 133.
  9. *Ibid.*
  10. *Id.* : 134.
  11. Waite, Peter Busby, 1994, *The Lives of Dalhousie University, Volume One, 1818-1925, Lord Dalhousie's College*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 21.
  12. Fingard, Judith, 1994, "The 1820s: Peace, Privilege and the Promise of Progress," In Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 265.
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. Waite : 11.
  15. Sutherland, David A., 1994, "1810-1820: War and Peace," In Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation...*, op. cit., p. 255.
  16. *Id.* : 254.
  17. McKillop, A.B., 1979, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979, p. 10 ; and Waite : 11.
  18. Sutherland : 254.
  19. McKillop : 10; Waite : 11.
  20. Waite : 18 and 23.
  21. *Id.* : 22-23.
  22. Waite (*id.* : 34) estimates this as being roughly \$3 million, however explaining that this number does not fully represent the extreme cost of the building in the context of the period.
  23. John Leonhard, a confectioner, rented a room and another one was rented to a pastry shop (Waite : 35).
  24. Longley, Ronald Stewart, 1939, *Acadia University, 1838-1938*, Kentville (NS), Kentville Publishing Company, p. 28-29.
  25. Boggs, William Bambrick, 1933, *The Religious Life of Acadia, Chapters on its Earlier History*, Kentville (NS), Kentville Publishing Company, p. 21.
  26. Longley : 44.
  27. *Id.* : 23.
  28. Boggs : 22.
  29. Chute, Arthur Crawley, 1933, *The Religious Life of Acadia*, Kentville (NS), Kentville Publishing Company, p. 77.
  30. Longley : 46.
  31. *Ibid.*
  32. Ommer, Rosemary E., 1994, "The 1830s: Adapting Their Institutions to Their Desires," In Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation...*, op. cit., p. 298; and Longley : 47.
  33. Reid, John G., 1984, *Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963: Volume I: 1843-1914*, Toronto, Published for Mount Allison University by University of Toronto Press, p. 4.
  34. *Ibid.*
  35. Milner, William C., 1970, *History of Sackville, New Brunswick*, Sackville, Tribune Press, Ltd., p. 63.
  36. Reid : 2.
  37. *Id.* : 1-2.
  38. *Id.* : 2.
  39. Masters, Donald Campbell, 1966, *Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 12.
  40. See Scientific Chairs of the University and its curriculum. (Morell, Jack, 1997, *Science, Culture and Politics in Britain, 1750-1870*, Aldershot, Variorum Publishing, p. 162-165.)
  41. Waite : 18.
  42. *Id.*
  43. *Id.*
  44. Specifically, the Quadrangle, and what is now called Old College, designed initially by Robert Adam, emerged in a grand classical form. For the architectural evolution of Old College, see Youngson, A.J., 1966, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh: 1750-1840*, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Press, 1966; and Horn, David Bayne, 1967, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556-1889*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, p. 82-84.
  45. The first London University building, designed by William Wilkin, emerged in a very elaborate classical form, and acted as the main building for the University, and the later University College, London. (See Harte, Negley, 1986, *The University of London 1836-1986, An Illustrated History*, London, The Athlone Press, p. 79-80.)
  46. For the rise of the Gothic Revival in nineteenth-century England and the foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society, see Coffman : chap. 1; and Kalman, vol. 1 : 279-298.
  47. Coffman : 45-48.
  48. Peter Coffman states: "with these two buildings, Ecclesiology acquired a significant and influential foothold in the Atlantic colonies of British North America." For the rise of Ecclesiology and the Anglican adoption of the Gothic in Atlantic Canada, see Coffman : 55-71.
  49. See: Westfall, William, 1989, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Kingston (ON), McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 10-18; and Coffman : 53 and 64.
  50. For the creation of the University of Toronto, see Friedland, Martin L., 2002, *The University of Toronto: A History*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 27-31. For the creation of the University of New Brunswick, see Wade, Scott and Hugh Lloyd, 1967, *Behind the Hill*, Fredericton, Student Representative Council, Associated Alumni and Senate, University of New Brunswick, p. 36-47. For the elimination of McGill's Faculty of Divinity, see McKillop : 10-11.

51. For the early history of Bishop's College, see Masters, Donald Campbell, 1950, *Bishop's University: The First Hundred Years*, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited. For the early history of Trinity College, see Reed, Thomas Arthur, 1952. *A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto: 1852-1952*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
52. Kalman, *vol. 1* : 272.
53. John Strachan brought back from Britain the plans for St. Aiden's Theological College (by Thomas Henry Wyatt and David Brandon, 1850) as an ideal model for his Trinity College, Toronto. (See Kalman, *vol. 1* : 272.)
54. The architecture of the non-denominational University College in Toronto (formerly King's College) also has classical origins. In the 1830s, Charles Fowler and John Howard made a series of grand, classical campus proposals for the new institution. Later, its first buildings—the Residence Building of King's College (completed 1843) and the Medical School (completed 1850)—both emerged in distinctly classical form. These were later demolished for Cumberland & Storm's Norman influenced design. Douglas Richardson argues that the use of Romanesque references in the University College building was representative of its non-denominational orientation, consciously separating itself from the Anglican association with the Gothic, manifested at Trinity College. When it was completed, the College's vice-chancellor described it as "a hybrid," with Norman, Early English, Byzantine, and Italian features. (See: Richardson, Douglas, 1990, *A Not Unlikely Building: University College and Its History*, Oakville (ON), Mosaic Press for University College; and Gowans : 116.)
55. Gwyn, Julian, 2005, "Comparative Economic Advantage: Nova Scotia and New England, 1720s to 1860s," In Hornsby and Reid, *New England and the Maritime Provinces...*, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
56. Sutherland : 148; Gwyn : 106.
57. Gwyn : 96.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Kalman, *vol. 1* : 104.
60. Sutherland : 148.
61. Turner, Paul Venable, 1984, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge (MA), MIT Press, p. 17.
62. *Id.* : 27.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Gwyn : 106; Turner : 38.
65. Gwyn : 97.
66. Waite : 144.
67. *Id.* : 145.
68. Turner : 47.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Kalman, *vol. 1* : 272.
71. Masters, 1966 : 11.
72. For the rise of the collegiate Gothic in Canada, see Kalman, *vol. 2* : 706-712.
73. See: Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 2010, "The Imperial American Campus: Designing the University of British Columbia, Canada, 1912-1914," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 47-56; and Leroux, John, 2010, *Building a University: The Architecture of UNB*, Fredericton, University of New Brunswick.