



Fig. 1. Toronto, St. Paul, Power Street at Queen Street East, interior to E. Joseph Connolly (1887). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

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Malcolm Thurlby

The “Roman Renaissance” Churches of Joseph Connolly and Arthur Holmes and their Place in Roman Catholic Church Architecture

Following his move to Toronto in 1873, Joseph Connolly (1840-1904) soon became the major architect for the Roman Catholic church in Ontario, a position he enjoyed for nearly a quarter of a century. Born in Limerick, Ireland, and trained in the Dublin office of James Joseph McCarthy (1817-1881), Connolly advanced to become McCarthy’s chief assistant in the late 1860s.¹ He subsequently made a study tour in Europe and, in 1871, he was in practice for himself in Dublin, although no records survive of any commissions.² By 13 August 1873, he had moved to Toronto where he entered into partnership with the engineer, surveyor, architect, Silas James, an association that was dissolved by 23 April 1877, after which Connolly practised alone.³

Connolly has been designated the “Irish-Canadian Pugin” on the strength of the large number of Gothic churches he designed in Ontario.⁴ In all, he was responsible for designing or remodelling twenty-eight Roman Catholic churches and chapels in the Gothic style in the province, plus the Roman Catholic cathedral (1881) in Sault-Sainte-Marie, Michigan, and James Street Baptist Church (1879) in Hamilton. Moreover, his churches of Holy Cross at Kemptville (1887-1889)⁵, St. John the Evangelist at Gananoque (1891),⁶ and St. Dismas at Portsmouth (1894-1894)⁷, were inspired by the round-arched Hiberno-Romanesque style introduced by Augustus Welby Pugin at St. Michael’s, Gorey (Wexford) (1838-1839).⁸ That style was subsequently adopted by J.J. McCarthy in St. Laurence at Ballitore (Kildare) (1860) and elsewhere, and enjoyed considerable popularity in late nineteenth-century Ireland.⁹ Quite against the Gothic principles of Pugin, or the Hiberno-Romanesque tradition, Connolly also designed two closely related churches in Ontario in what ONE [a] contemporary account called the ‘Roman Renaissance’ style.¹⁰ They are St. Joseph’s, Wellington Street at Queen Street, Chatham, and St. Paul’s, Power Street at Queen Street East, Toronto, and they are the focus of this paper.

The foundation stone of St. Joseph's, Chatham, was laid on 17 October 1886 and construction was completed in the following year.¹¹ At St. Paul's, Toronto, the foundation stone was laid on 9 October 1887 and the dedication was performed on 22 December 1889.¹² A report on the dedication of St. Paul's is most complimentary on the architecture of the church: "Perhaps on the continent there is not a more chaste temple in this style of architecture." It is observed that when the façade is completed it "will present a combination of architectural beauty as magnificent as anything in its style in the world, and the Italian style is perhaps beyond all others beautiful." The writer concluded that "[n]ot a fault can be found anywhere and it may be said that the architect, Mr Connolly, RCA, has in this splendid structure erected a monument to his own time."¹³ Eric Arthur called the latter "quite the most beautiful church interior in Toronto,"¹⁴ although such praise came after the less complimentary observation that "[t]he church was a rather courageous attempt at a design in the Italian Renaissance manner in a city where nearly all churches were Gothic."¹⁵ Why are St. Paul's, Toronto, and St. Joseph's, Chatham, so different from other churches by Connolly?¹⁶ Why are they not Gothic? How are they associated with Roman Catholic church architecture of the late nineteenth century in Canada and elsewhere? What sources did Connolly use? We will consider those questions in detail, after which we will examine the influence of Connolly's Roman Renaissance churches on those of his former assistant, Arthur W. Holmes (1863-1944), in Ontario. Our study will end with a brief review of the Church of the Holy Family, King Street West, Toronto, which was rebuilt in the Roman Renaissance style from 1999 to 2001, after fire had destroyed its early twentieth-century Gothic predecessor in 1997.

St. Joseph's, Chatham, and St. Paul's, Toronto – Description

Both churches adopt essentially the same basilican plan with ten-bay arcades that terminate in an apsidal sanctuary (figs. 1 and 2).¹⁷ Groin-vaulted aisles flank the nave, and from the second and third bays—counting from the east—, single-story chapels project one bay beyond the aisles (figs. 1-4).¹⁸ The two-story elevation comprises a round-headed main arcade carried on Ionic columns, a full entablature, and a clerestory that penetrates the lath-and-plaster high barrel vault. Between the windows, pilasters—single in Toronto, paired at Chatham—rise to carry transverse arches of the high vault. The semi-dome in the apse is set at the same height as the nave vault in Toronto,



Fig. 2. Chatham, St. Joseph, Wellington Street at Queen Street, interior to E (S). Joseph Connolly (1886). (Photo: Malcolm Thurby)

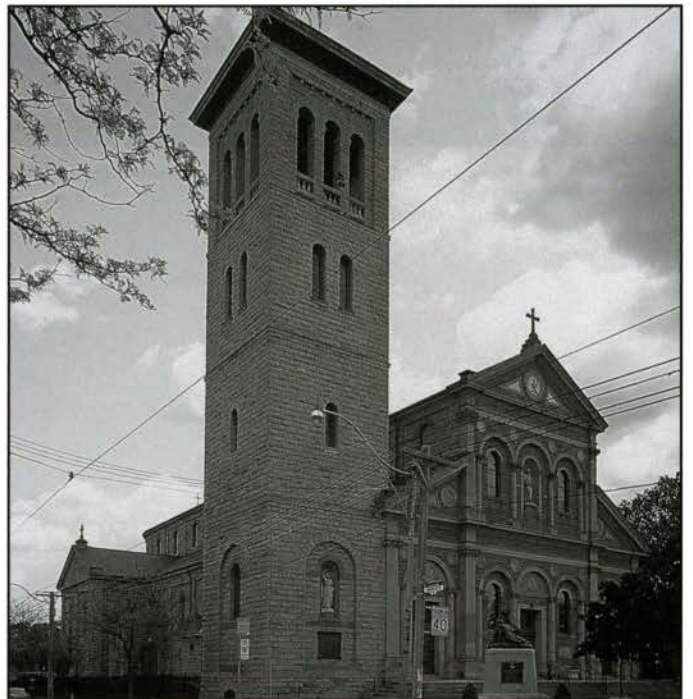


Fig. 3. Toronto, St. Paul, exterior from NW, Joseph Connolly (1887). (Photo: Malcolm Thurby)

but is placed lower at Chatham where it springs from the top of the entablature. At the entrance to the apse at Chatham, a triumphal arch on Corinthian columns emphasizes the importance of the sanctuary space, and a blind arcade on Corinthian pilasters continues the rhythm of the nave arcades into the apse. The exterior walls at Toronto are of hammer-dressed sands-



Fig. 4. Chatham, St. Joseph, exterior from NE (SE) (1886).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

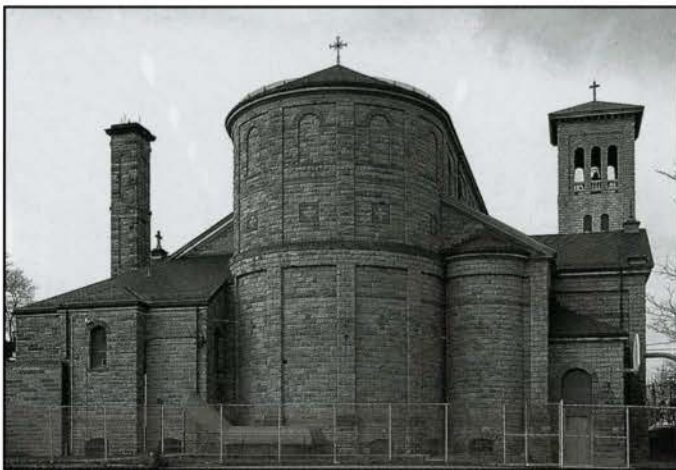


Fig. 5. Toronto, St. Paul, exterior from E. Joseph Connolly (1887).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

tone with red sandstone dressings, while at Chatham the red brick superstructure sits on a limestone basement (figs. 3 and 4). On both churches single pilasters divide the aisle bays. The same articulation is used in the clerestory at Toronto, while at Chatham there are twin pilasters. The aisle and transept walls at Chatham are further enriched with recessed square panels beneath the windows, and that motif is continued round the apse. At Toronto, there are similar panels, located higher on the apse wall, in which a centrally placed cross is framed in red sandstone (fig. 5). At Chatham, the upper wall of the apse is articulated with paired blind arches in each bay, while at Toronto there are larger single blind arches. There is a three-apse east end at Toronto—the southeastern apse is enclosed in the vestry—,



Fig. 6. Toronto, St. Paul, S aisle confessional. Joseph Connolly (1887).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

while at Chatham the side chapels end in a flat east wall (figs. 4 and 5). Projecting confessionals are incorporated in bays six and eight at Toronto, but there are none at Chatham (fig. 6). Chatham boasts a twin-towered façade, although the superstructure of the towers was not completed until 1916 (fig. 7). At Toronto the bell tower projects to the north of the façade and is an integral part of the original plan, although the superstructure was completed by Arthur Holmes, only after Connolly's death (figs. 3 and 8). Both façades are articulated in two stories and five bays; the three in the centre correspond with the nave, have a central doorway and are surmounted by a pediment (figs. 6 and 8). The doorway in each of the single outer bays communicates with an aisle. Pilasters divide the bays of the Chatham façade, stone for the nave and brick for the aisles. There is further differentiation between the nave and aisle façades in the form of festoons that decorate the wall between the capitals in the nave, but not in the aisles. There is a wheel window in the middle of the upper story of the façade and a niche on either side. A full entablature separates two stories and there are Ionic capitals on the ground story and Composite for the upper story. On the Toronto façade, pilasters divide the nave and aisles and frame the outer angles (fig. 8). Individual bays are more richly treated than at Chatham, with finely moulded, round-headed arches on columns and carved tympana above the doorways. There are Ionic capitals on the ground floor and Corinthian capitals above, while coloured marble roundels enrich the spandrels. The juxtaposition of different textures of beige and red sandstone further enhances the permanent polychrome of the façade.

Stylistic and Iconographic Associations

The label 'Roman Renaissance' is derived from the second chapter of the third volume of John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*.¹⁹ Ruskin initially discussed the Casa Grimani in Venice as an example of that style "because it is founded, both in its principles of superimposition, and in the style of its ornament, upon the architecture of classic Rome at its best period." He listed St. Peter's Basilica in Rome as an example of the style "in its purest and fullest form." In its external form, Ruskin observed that the Roman Renaissance style "differs from Romanesque

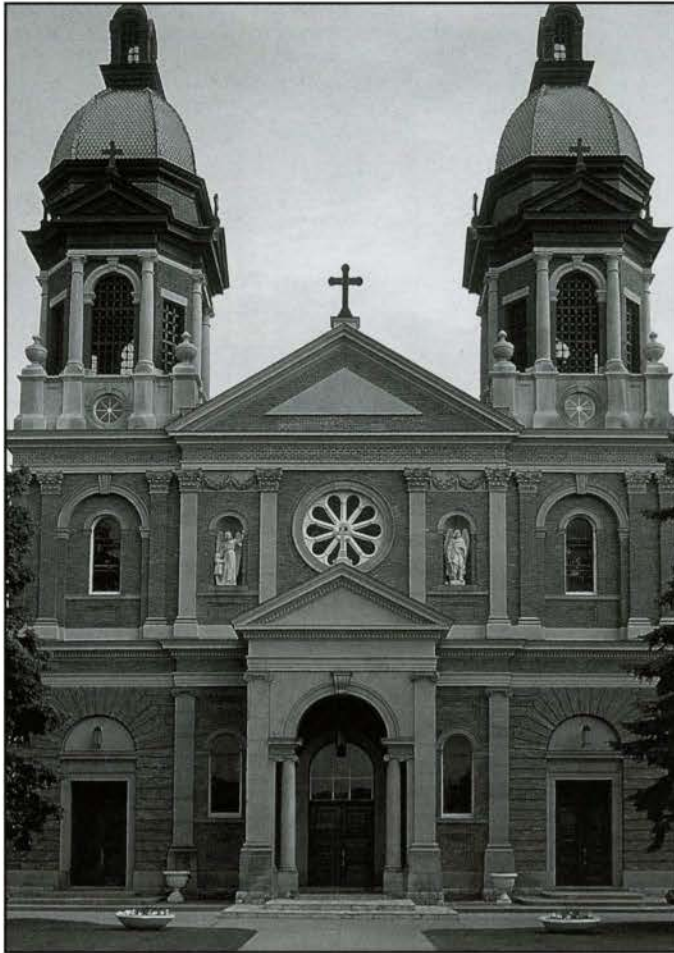


Fig. 7. Chatham, St. Joseph, W (N) façade, Joseph Connolly (1887).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

work in attaching great importance to the horizontal lintel or architrave *above* the arch." That is used in Connolly's internal elevations above the main arcade, and on his façades, although in the Toronto façade vertical elements penetrate the entablature above the first story (figs. 1, 2, 7, and 8).

The interior of St. Paul's, Toronto, has been convincingly compared with the great Roman basilica of St. Paul's outside the Walls.²⁰ The association might also be extended to San Clemente, Rome, which has been home to the Irish Dominicans in the city since 1667. However, both these Roman churches are wood-roofed, while Connolly's are vaulted in the manner of Roman Baroque churches, as in Carlo Maderno's extension to the nave of St. Peter's Basilica (1607-1612). There, the two-story elevation, in which the clerestory lunettes cut into the high barrel vault, is derived from the nave of Il Gesù, Rome, begun in 1568 by Vignola.²¹ The massive, compound piers of Il Gesù and Roman Baroque churches were not suitable for Connolly's churches in which there was a preference for greater openness between the nave and aisles. Thus, Connolly's interiors read as a fusion of the columnar main arcades of an Early Christian basilica with the high barrel vault and clerestory windows from the Roman Baroque tradition. Be that as it may, Connolly's terms of reference were significantly broader. The immediate inspiration

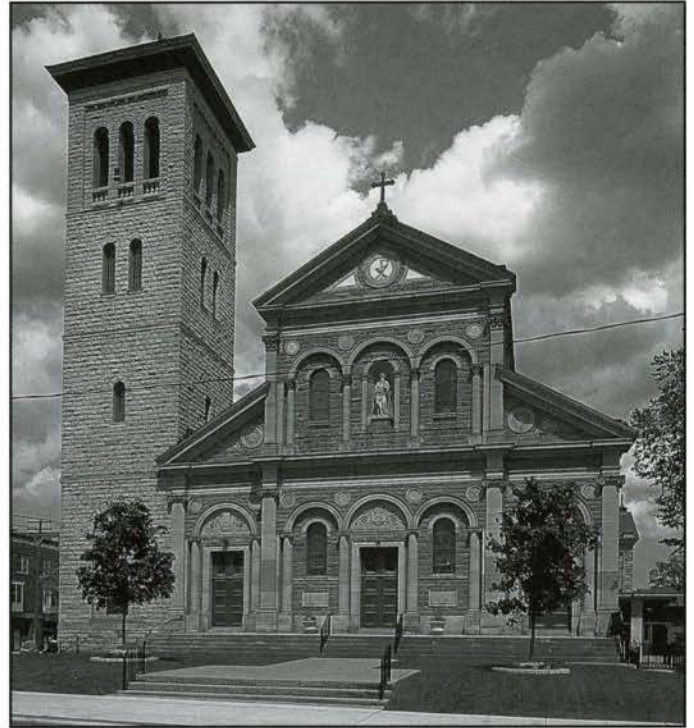


Fig. 8. Toronto, St. Paul, W façade, Joseph Connolly (1887).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 9. Longford, St. Mel's Cathedral, Ireland, interior to E. J. B. Keane (1840).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

for the nave, the low, transeptally placed chapels, and the apse articulation, seems to have been St. Mel's Cathedral, Longford (1840-1856), Ireland, by J.B. Keane (fig. 9).²² The churches share the same Ionic order for the main arcade columns and, in particular, the same arrangement of the low transepts, except that there are three bays at Longford. At Longford, the vault is based on Palladian principles, as in his churches of Il Redentore (1576-1591) and San Giorgio Maggiore (1560-1580), Venice, in which the clerestory windows are cut into the high barrel vault that springs from the entablature above the main arcade.²³ However, Connolly chose not to adopt this scheme, or that of most Roman Baroque churches. Rather than springing the high vault immediately above the entablature, Connolly introduced a more fully articulated upper story in which the shallow pilasters that carry the transverse arches of the vault provide an illusion of height



Fig. 10. Thurles Cathedral (Tipperary), W front. J.J. McCarthy (1865-1872). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

far greater than their actual scale (figs. 1, 2, and 9). That is an arrangement encountered in eighteenth-century France in the churches of Contant d'Ivry, as in the nave of Saint-Vaast at Arras, begun in 1755, and in La Madeleine in Paris, begun in 1764.²⁴

A further Venetian association is suggested in the plan of Torcello Cathedral, which is reproduced by Ruskin.²⁵ It has ten-bay arcades like both the Connolly churches, and a three-apse east end as at St. Paul's, Toronto. In light of this, it is interesting that in Connolly's obituary, in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, St. Paul's is labelled as "Italian Romanesque," an association that best fits aspects of the façade and the campanile (figs. 3 and 8).²⁶

The façade of St. Paul's (fig. 8) is a brilliant amalgam of the Tuscan Romanesque San Miniato al Monte in Florence and Venetian church façades of Andrea Palladio (1508-1580); San Giorgio Maggiore, Sant' Andrea della Vigne (1570), and Il Redentore.²⁷ The roundels in the spandrels of the façade also recall Venice and Ruskin, as at the Fondaco della Turchi and the Palazzo Dario,²⁸ while the coloured marble insets may derive from the "Decoration by Discs," on the Palazzo Badoari Particiazzi, which Ruskin illustrated in colour.²⁹ Be that as it may, the setting of the roundels adjacent to the capitals of the main pilasters recalls the Arch of Augustus at Rimini, which may also have supplied the inspiration for the continuation of the vertical articulation into the entablature. Alberti's façade of San Francesco, Rimini (1450), itself modeled on the Arch of Augustus, may also have been a point of reference here.³⁰ The superimposition of the Corinthian over the Ionic order follows Vitruvian principles as discussed in Joseph Gwilt's 1867 *Encyclopedia of Architecture*.³¹

The bell tower is set off to the side in the tradition of the Italian Romanesque campanile, as at Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and San Giorgio in Velabro, in Rome, to cite just two examples.

J.J. McCarthy's Thurles Cathedral (Tipperary) (1865-1872) may have played an intermediary role for the Italian Romanesque-style campanile offset to the left of the St. Paul's façade, Toronto (fig. 10).³² The division of the ground floor of the Thurles façade is also related to St. Paul's. In both, there are three round-headed doorways with carved tympana, one in the centre to the nave and one each to the aisles, separated by slightly narrower blind arches. At Thurles, there is no clear separation between the nave and aisle façades, whereas Connolly provided this with bold Ionic pilasters, a motif that he also used at the outside angles of the front. Moreover, Connolly incorporated a full entablature between the lower and upper sections of the façade, a feature entirely lacking at Thurles. The rose window in the upper façade at Thurles is repeated by Connolly at Chatham (figs. 7 and 10), and may be further associated with Alberti's façade of Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1470), and Santa Caterina dei Funari, Rome (c. 1549-1564).³³ The latter also provides a close parallel for the niches that flank the round window of the upper story of the Chatham façade and for the festoons between the capitals. Giacomo della Porta's façade of Sant' Atanasio dei Greci, Rome, supplies an analogue for a five-bay, two-story façade with towers over the outer bays and a pediment above the three central bays.³⁴

The architectural confessionals that project from the aisle walls in St. Paul's, Toronto (fig. 6), are taken neither from a Roman nor a classicising tradition, but are adapted from A.W. Pugin and his followers. In an account of St. George's, Lambeth (Southwark), published in *The Ecclesiologist*, it is recorded that "Mr Pugin has ingeniously met with the question of confessionals, which are indispensable to a modern Roman Catholic church, by making them constructional, and placing them between the buttresses, approached of course by a series of doors from the nave. That was an afterthought, but is more felicitous than architectural afterthoughts generally are."³⁵ They are then adopted by J.J. McCarthy at St. Saviour, Dublin (1852-1861),³⁶ and St. Ignatius, Galway (1860),³⁷ and subsequently by Edward Welby Pugin and George Ashlin in St. Augustine's, Dublin (1860), and Cobh Cathedral (1867-1919).³⁸ Connolly included them in a number of his Gothic churches, including the chapel of St. John that he added to the northeast of St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto (1890). There, a small pointed gable is placed above the window in the middle of the confessional, while at St. Paul's the confessional is somewhat higher and is topped with a pedi-



Fig. 11. Toronto, Our Lady of Lourdes, interior to E (W), F.C. Law (1885-1886). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

ment in the tradition of a Greco-Roman temple.

The choice of the Roman Renaissance style for St. Joseph's, Chatham, is not documented. The first church had been built in 1847 and was run by Jesuit priests, a group that had always championed the ultramontane cause of the promotion of centralization of authority and influence in the papal Curia.³⁹ However, in 1874 the Jesuits departed and, from 1878 to 1921, Franciscan fathers ran the church. That 1847 church was in a simple, round-arched style and the façade was articulated with pilasters and included a wheel window in the gable.⁴⁰ Connolly's design may therefore be read as a more elaborate version of that tradition and one that would express the Italian origins of the Franciscan order.

For St. Paul's, Toronto, preference for the Roman Renaissance style is dictated by John Joesph Lynch (1816-1888), Archbishop of Toronto from 1870 until his death, and the Right Reverend Timothy O'Mahony (1825-1892), the pastor of St. Paul's. O'Mahony was born in Cork, Ireland, and had completed his priestly training in Rome.⁴¹ In 1879, he met Archbishop Lynch in Rome and he was invited to Canada to become Lynch's auxiliary. Bishop O'Mahony was made pastor of St. Paul's and he determined to replace the small brick church of 1823.⁴² There is no written documentation to record discussion between either Bishop O'Mahony or Archbishop Lynch and Connolly on the question of the style of the church. However, a letter from Kennedy, McVittie & Holland, Architects, Barrie, Ontario, dated 9 May 1883 and preserved in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, records that Archbishop Lynch preferred the "Italian Style of Church Architecture."⁴³ That architectural ultramonta-

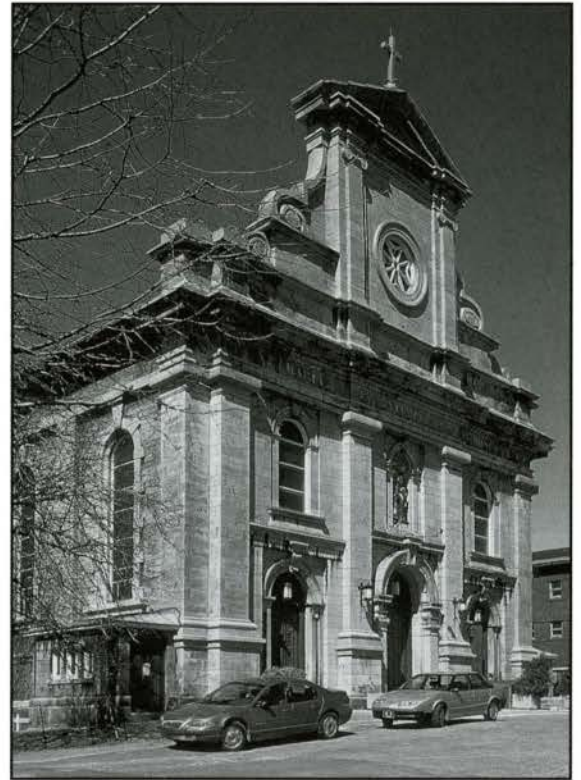


Fig. 12. Montreal, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, W (S) front, John Ostell (1851-1853). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

nism is further witnessed in Toronto in the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Sherbourne Street (1885-1886), which was built for Archbishop Lynch by Commander F.C. Law.⁴⁴ Here, the narthex of the original façade recalls S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, while the articulation of the aisleless interior with a barrel vault carried on a full entablature and stepped Ionic pilasters, plus the ribbed dome on a drum and pendentives, proudly proclaim Roman Baroque connections (fig. 11). The entrance and transept façades adapt elements from classical temple façades and, like St. Paul's, Toronto, a campanile projects to the left of the west (east) front.

Loretto Abbey Church, located on Wellington Street near Spadina, Toronto, built by Beaumont Jarvis in 1897 and demolished in 1961, continues the Romanising theme.⁴⁵ It has a single-story elevation with coffered barrel vaults over the chancel, transepts and nave, and a ribbed dome on pendentives over the crossing. The walls of the chancel and transepts are articulated with Corinthian pilasters. The lower, single-bay chapels in the angles of the transepts and chancel communicate with the main spaces through a trabeated on plain Ionic pilasters. The slim Ionic columns that separate the nave and aisles may have been inspired by Connolly's nave at St. Paul's.

Elsewhere, the Roman connection was well established in Quebec from the 1850s, as at Notre-Dame-de-Toutes-Grâces, renamed Notre-Dame-de-Grâce in 1867, Montreal (1851-1853), by John Ostell (1813-1892) (fig. 12), where the design of the façade belongs to the type established with Il Gesù in Rome.⁴⁶ Moreover, it reflects the eighteenth-century tradition of façade design in Quebec and may be associated with French Baro-



Fig. 13. Montreal, Mary Queen of the World, interior to E (S) (1870-1894). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

que churches like Val-de-Grâce, Paris (1645-1667), by François Mansart and Jacques Lemercier. In 1852, Ostell built St. Anne, Griffintown (now destroyed) with a similar façade.⁴⁷ The Cathedral Basilica of Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur, renamed Mary Queen of the World in 1955, Montreal (figs. 13 and 14), is a miniature version of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, in which the articulation of the dome, the façade, and the interior are copied exactly. Even a version of Bernini's baldacchino was added in 1900.⁴⁸ The project was conceived in 1854 by Ignace Bourget (1799-1885), Bishop of Montreal (1840-1876), as a replacement for the earlier church destroyed by fire in that year. Bourget had visited Rome and was particularly impressed with St. Peter's and, three years later, he sent Victor Bourgeau to study the site. Work did not commence until 1870 and the church was finally completed in 1894.

Continuity of classicising references, rather than Gothic, in the Roman Catholic churches of Montreal is witnessed in Il Gesù (1864-1865) by the prolific New York architect, Patrick Charles Keely (1816-1896) (fig. 15).⁴⁹ That monumental cruciform basilica has a three-story elevation with round-headed main arcades on Corinthian columns, flanked by groin-vaulted aisles, and surmounted by a triforium and clerestory articulated by Corinthian pilasters, which carry the transverse arches of the high barrel vault. Keely has been credited with the design of over six hundred Roman Catholic churches in the United States, most of which are built in the Gothic style, as represented in Canada with his remodelling of St. Mary's Cathedral, Halifax.⁵⁰ However, a classicising style was preferred for Jesuit churches by P.C. Keely, including the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Boston Massachusetts (1858-1861), St. Mary's, North



Fig. 14. Montreal, Mary Queen of the World, exterior from SW (NW) (1870-1894). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 15. Montreal, Il Gesù, interior to W (E). P.C. Keely (1864-1865). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 16. Clonliffe College Chapel, interior to E. J.J. McCarthy (1873). (Photo: Malcolm Thurby)



Fig. 17. Rome, S. Agata dei Goti, interior to E. (Photo: Malcolm Thurby)



Fig. 18. Waterford, Dominican Church, interior to E. George Goldie (1878). (Photo: Malcolm Thurby)

Boston (1875-1877), and St. Francis Xavier, West 15th Street, New York (1878-1882).⁵¹ Keely also employed a "Renaissance" style for St. Stanislaus Kostka (1877-1881), the mother Polish Catholic church in Chicago.⁵² It is also worth noting that a pattern book devoted to Catholic church architecture published in New York in 1869, included one rich Baroque façade design.⁵³

Later examples of Baroque Classicism in Montreal churches include: Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (1873-1876) by Napoléon Bourassa and Adolphe Lévêque; Saint-Charles (1899-1905) by Albert Mesnard; Saint-Raphael-Archange-de-l'Île-Bizard (1873-1874) by Victor Bourgeau and Alcibiade Leprophon; and Sainte-Brigide (1878-1880) by Louis-Gustave Martin, and the tradition continued into the twentieth century.⁵⁴

In Nova Scotia, architectural ultramontanism is in evidence at St. Ninian's Cathedral at Antigonish (1867-1874),⁵⁵ St. Ambrose Cathedral, Yarmouth, by J.C. Dumaesque of Halifax (1889 with transepts added in 1908),⁵⁶ and at St. Pierre, Cheticamp (1893).⁵⁷

The situation in England and Ireland allows us to view Connolly's Roman Renaissance churches in a wider perspective. Two unusual early examples occur in England. First, there is the little-known Chapel of the Virgin and St. Everilda at Everingham (Yorks. E.R.), by Agostino Giorgioli (1836-1839), in which Corinthian columns articulate the walls of the unaisled nave and carry an entablature and a coffered barrel vault pierced by rectangular lunettes. The articulation continues in the apsidal sanctuary with Corinthian pilasters and a coffered semi-dome with a Pantheon-like half oculus. Secondly, the Chapel at Prior Park, Bath (Somerset), commenced in 1844 by J.J. Scoles, and finished by his son, A.J. Scoles, to the original design almost forty years later.⁵⁸ The chapel has a Corinthian colonnade, coffered barrel vault, and apsidal east end and was described in *The Builder* as "the most perfect model of a Roman basilica existing in England."⁵⁹ Most importantly, Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801-1890) championed the Roman cause. Newman converted to Catholicism in 1845, having formerly been vicar of St. Mary's Church, Oxford, and founder of the Oxford Movement. In 1851, he ordered a "Style Latin" design for his proposed Oratory

in Birmingham.⁶⁰ In Ireland, he commissioned the University Church by John Hungerford Pollen (1853-1855) with a simple rectangular, wood-ceiled nave with simple round-headed clerestory windows and a semi-domed apse. It has the appearance of an unaisled Early Christian basilica.⁶¹ Prior to that, the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin (1814-1825) boasted a barrel-vaulted nave on columns and an entablature of the Doric order.⁶² Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, Dublin (1850-1856), by Patrick Byrne, adopted a centralized plan with four equal arms that support a dome.⁶³ It was at this time that *The Ecclesiologist* reported that amongst Irish Oratorians, "the ultra-partisans add a dislike of Pointed, and a preference of modern Italian architecture, as the architecture of present Rome..."⁶⁴ Especially important in connection with Connolly is the Chapel of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin (1873), by J.J. McCarthy.⁶⁵ Paul Cardinal Cullen (1803-1878), Archbishop of Dublin from 1852, was a strong advocate of the Classical style of church building to distinguish the Catholic church from the Gothic of the Protestant church of Ireland.⁶⁶ He stipulated that the design of the chapel should follow Roman models, the façade on Santa Francesca Romana (Santa Maria Nova), and the interior on Sant' Agata dei Goti (figs. 16 and 17). McCarthy had earlier studied the two churches on a visit to Rome and returned there with Dr. Verdon, president of the college, to further inspect the models. McCarthy followed the prescribed models to the letter. Reference to Goldie and Child's St. Saviour's Dominican Church in Waterford (1878) is also pertinent in that context.⁶⁷ Although wood-roofed, the nave has a two-story elevation with a round-headed main arcade on Corinthian columns and pilasters in the clerestory, and a triumphal arch leading to the apse that is similar to Connolly's version at Chatham (figs. 2 and 18).

Returning to England, John M. Bryson's St. Peter's, Hatton Wall, Hatton Garden, London (1863), is described in *The Builder* as "in the Roman basilica style, the only church of the same style in the kingdom."⁶⁸ George Goldie's St. John of Jerusalem, Great Ormond Street, London (1864), provides a good example of reference to Rome, complete with marble pilasters, an entablature



Fig. 19. London, Brompton Oratory, interior to E. Herbert Gribble (1880-1884). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 20. London, Brompton Oratory, W front, Herbert Gribble (1880-1884). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

and high barrel vault with lunettes in the nave, and a dome on a tall drum and pendentives above the high altar.⁶⁹ The façade adapts Il Gesù and its followers to the aisleless nave, and foreshadows aspects of Connolly's designs such as the superimposition of Corinthian above Ionic orders, delicate arch mouldings, niches, and festoons. In London, that architectural ultramontanism later inspired Francis Tasker's St. Patrick, Wapping (1879-1880), and similarly, in Lancashire, Ignatius Scoles and S.J. Nicholl's Jesuit Church of St. Wilfrid at Preston (1879-1880).⁷⁰ Also in Preston, is found St. Augustine's by Sinnott, Sinnott and Powell (1890) who created two massive towers to flank the 1838 temple façade, and an aisleless interior with giant pilasters and a coffered segmental barrel vault.⁷¹ The key edifice, however, is the Brompton Oratory Church, built from 1880 to 1884 by architect Herbert Gribble (1847-1894) (figs. 19 and 20).⁷² Gribble wrote "those who had no opportunity of going to Italy to see an Italian church had only to come here to see the model of one."⁷³ Our Lady, Chiswick (1885-1886), by Adams and Kelly, also provides an interesting, albeit very plain, analogue for the façade of Con-

nolly's St. Paul's, Toronto. The façade at Chiswick has a campanile to the south of the simple basilican façade just as Connolly placed the campanile to the north of his west front. The Church of Our Most Holy Redeemer, Chelsea, London (1893), by Goldie, Child and Goldie, follows an elongated octagonal plan with a coffered dome and lantern, a sanctuary to the east and aisled nave with compound piers.⁷⁴ That church generated considerable debate in *The Builder* with regard to the choice of style. It was described as being of "Italian style of an English type, somewhat after the manner of our city churches."⁷⁵ In an article entitled "A Question of Church Style," in the same issue of *The Builder*, the interior was compared with a "concert hall or the large reception room of a town hall."⁷⁶ The writer then expressed a preference for Gothic, as in St. James, Spanish Place, London, also by Goldie, Goldie and Child. In the subsequent number of *The Builder*, the "Notes" recorded that "we have received a communication from the architect Mr. E. Goldie, intimating that in regard to his own feeling he is not much at variance with us."⁷⁷ Goldie added that "The Classical style for the church [...] was prescribed in general terms by the clients." The case provides written testimony of a situation analogous to that faced by Connolly in Toronto, in which the Gothic of St. Mary's Bathurst Street (1885) stood against the Roman Renaissance of St. Paul's.

The "Roman Renaissance" Churches of Arthur Holmes⁷⁸

Holy Name, Danforth Avenue East, Toronto, was commenced in 1914 and dedicated in March 1926.⁷⁹ The façade is based on the eighteenth-century front of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, although, as at Mary Queen of the World in Montreal, the "copy" is scaled down considerably (figs. 21 and 22). The interior is an adaptation of Connolly's Roman Renaissance churches with a round-headed main arcade on Ionic columns flanked by groin-vaulted aisles and surmounted with a round-headed clerestory and covered with a barrel vault (fig. 23). Unlike Connolly's churches, immediately before the apse in Holy Name, there are two-bay transepts that rise the full height of the elevation. Also in contrast to Connolly, Holmes introduced low clerestory windows and ribs in the apse semi-dome.

A contemporary account of St. Ann's Church (1913-1914), Gerrard Street East, Toronto, records that the design is inspired by "a Roman church of the sixteenth century" (figs. 24 and 25).⁸⁰ Be that as it may, the façade follows a Palladian tradition, with a rusticated story below a temple façade with giant columns that articulate the upper centre of the façade, a design that was

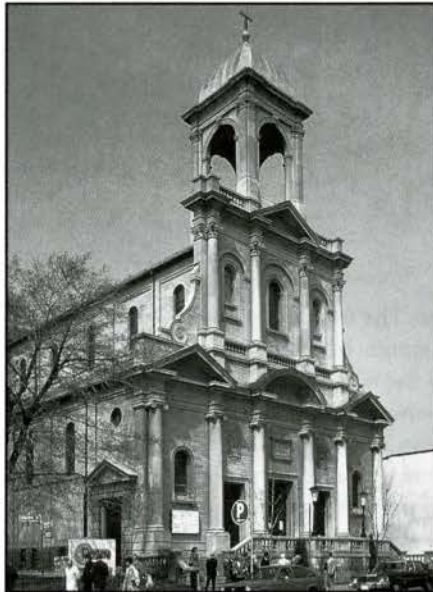


Fig. 21. Toronto, Holy Name, W (S) façade, A.W. Holmes (1914). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 22. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore, façade, Ferdinando Fuga (1741-1743). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

well established in Toronto, as in St. Lawrence Hall (1850). Holmes takes over the projecting confessionals from Connolly. The apse is completely plain on the exterior and is surrounded by a polygonal ambulatory. The nave uses a trabeated, rather than an arcaded, first story, with Corinthian columns that support an entablature, surmounted by round-headed clerestory windows that cut into the barrel vault as in Connolly's St. Paul's (figs. 1 and 25). The two-story

trabeated elevation with high barrel vault recalls eighteenth-century French churches like St. Symphorien, Gy (Haute-Saône) (1769-1785), by Henri Frignet and Charles Colombot.⁸¹

St. Clare (1913), St. Clair Street West at Westmount, Toronto, is a rather stark, red brick basilica with yellow brick dressings for all but the temple façade on which there is limestone articulation (fig. 26). For the façade, Holmes eschews the Palladian integration of Connolly's St. Paul's, and opts for paired pilasters to separate the nave and aisles and single pilasters to flank aisles, an entablature, and triple round-headed windows in the upper façade topped with the pediment. The interior has segmental arches on uncomfortably thin, square piers, a large clerestory and panelled ceilings in the aisles and over the main span.

The cornerstone of the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Peterborough was laid on 27 September 1914 (fig. 27). The design is closely based on Connolly's Roman Renaissance churches. The façade takes St. Paul's, Toronto, as its starting point, complete with the use of Corinthian capitals for the upper story above Ionic on the ground story (figs. 8 and 27). However, Holmes changes the placement of the doorways so that all three open into the nave, as at Holy Name, Toronto. The columns and



Fig. 23. Toronto, Holy Name, interior to E (N), A.W. Holmes (1913). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

carved tympana on the St. Paul's portals are not repeated at Peterborough, and Holmes also drops the marble roundels in the spandrels. On the other hand, he does add moulded keystones to the major arches of the nave façade—an emphatic reference to Rome—as well as a statue of the Virgin and carved reliefs above the doorways. Inside, the Connolly template is once again obvious, although, as with the façade, Holmes has introduced modifications (figs. 1, 2, and 28). Peterborough has just seven bays as opposed to ten in Connolly's churches, and Holmes uses the Corinthian order rather than Connolly's Ionic. Holmes also modifies the apse by substituting Corinthian pilasters for the blind arches and by introducing clerestory windows and a three-bay rib vault rather than Connolly's unfenestrated, semi-domed scheme.

In addition to the Roman Renaissance churches of Arthur Holmes, some other twentieth-century Roman Catholic churches in Ontario follow the ultramontane architectural principle of Romanising Classicism, as opposed to the Gothic tradition. The Church of Our Lady of the Lake, Walkerville (1908), has a twin-towered façade and barrel-vaulted basilican nave with a single story in which the entablature is carried on shouldered lintels atop Ionic columns. Sacred Heart, Windsor (1924-1927), has a basilican plan with a two-story elevation of an unmoulded, round-headed arcade on Corinthian columns and a clerestory. A segmental groin vault covers the wide nave and narrow aisles simply function as walkways rather than supplying room

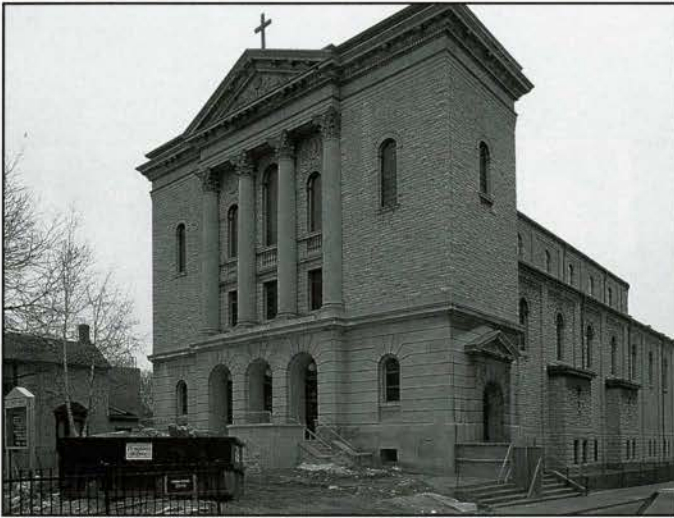


Fig. 24. Toronto. St. Ann, W (N) front, A.W. Holmes (1913).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 25. Toronto. St. Ann, interior to E (S), A.W. Holmes (1913).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

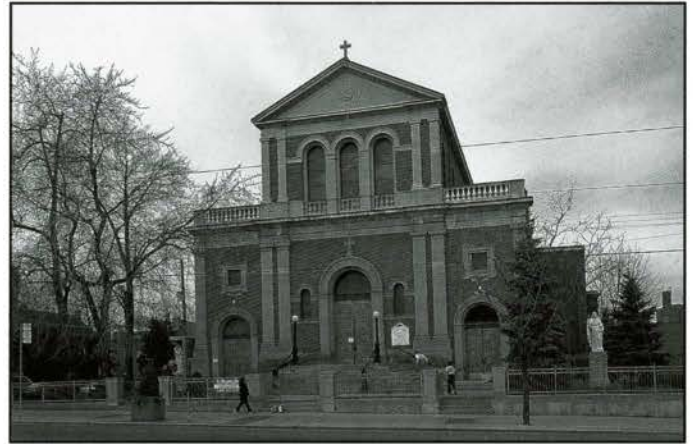


Fig. 26. Toronto. W (S) front, St. Clare, A.W. Holmes (1913).
(Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

was performed on 25 February 2001 (fig. 29). The rebuilt church is in the Roman Renaissance style that conforms perfectly to the wishes of the Fathers of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri who have served the parish since 6 September 1979.⁸² The basilican plan includes a fully articulated crossing surmounted by a cupola, and transepts that are the same height as the nave and do not project beyond the aisles. Those features recall *Il Gesù*, the founder Church of the Oratorians in Rome.⁸³ *Il Gesù* also supplied the ultimate model for the triple portals in the façade. Other aspects, like red brick with stone dressings of the façade, reflect Holmes' St. Clare's, Toronto (figs. 26 and 29),⁸⁴ while the internal elevation with an entablature for the first story is a Doric version of the Corinthian arrangement at St. Ann, Toronto. The church was designed by Brian Atkins of Atkins Architects, Mississauga, with Mauro Franzoni as Project Architect.

Conclusion

Connolly's Roman Renaissance churches reveal the desire of the patrons to create a specific Roman Catholic architectural identity, one that would affirm ultramontane beliefs and thereby give due emphasis to Rome. The Gothic style, so often adopted for Roman Catholic churches in Ontario, not least by Connolly himself, while appropriately Christian, could still be confused with the Anglicans. In nineteenth-century Ontario, Gothic had also been appropriated for the churches of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian congregations. The 1880s witnessed a heightening of stylistic self-consciousness in church design in Ontario. That is well illustrated in Chatham where Connolly's Roman Renaissance St. Joseph's is quite distinct from the Gothic of Holy Trinity Anglican (1877), by the Detroit-based architect Gordon W. Lloyd, and the monumental, centrally planned Richardsonian Romanesque First Presbyterian Church (1892), by local architect T.J. Rutley.⁸⁵ In Toronto, the Anglicans remained true to Gothic, as in Strickland, and Symon's St. Matthew and St. John (1889), Richard Windeyer's St. Alban's (1891), and Eden Smith's St. Alban and St. Thomas (1892), Huron Street. The 1875 split in the Presbyterian congregation of St. Andrew's, Toronto, resulted in the construction of two new churches: New Old St. Andrew's by Langley, Langley and Burke, was Gothic, while

for additional seating. There are non-projecting transepts and a one-bay barrel-vaulted sanctuary that terminates in an apse with a mosaic in the semi-dome based on that in San Clemente, Rome, and is flanked by side altars. The twin-towered façade has a rose window and three doorways to the nave.

Iconographically, the concept of the Roman Renaissance has continued into the twenty-first century. The Church of the Holy Family, 1372 King Street West, Toronto, was originally built in 1902 in the Gothic style to the design of Arthur Holmes. The building was destroyed by fire on 13 June 1997. Work on the new church commenced on 7 October 1999 and the dedication

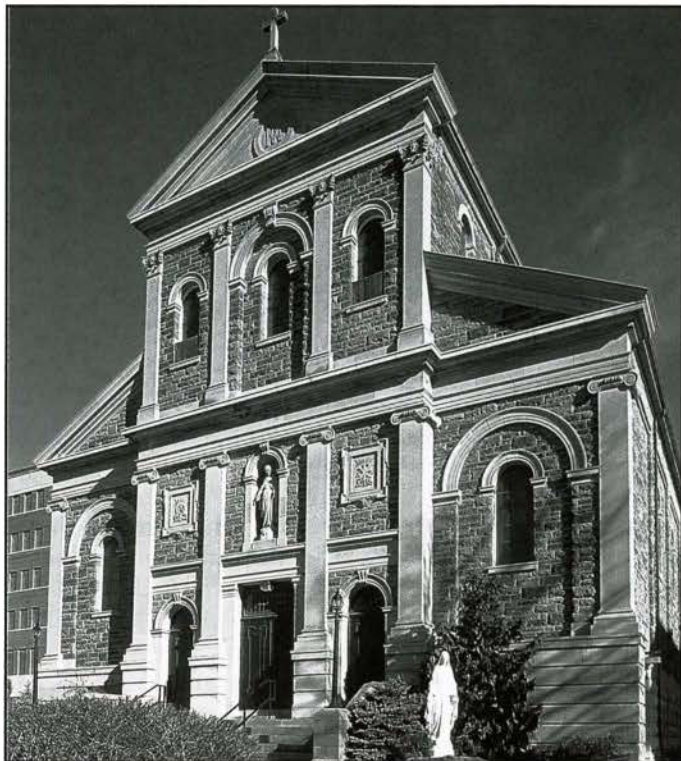


Fig. 27. Peterborough, Immaculate Conception, façade, A.W. Holmes (1914). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)



Fig. 28. Peterborough, Immaculate Conception, interior to E, A.W. Holmes (1914). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

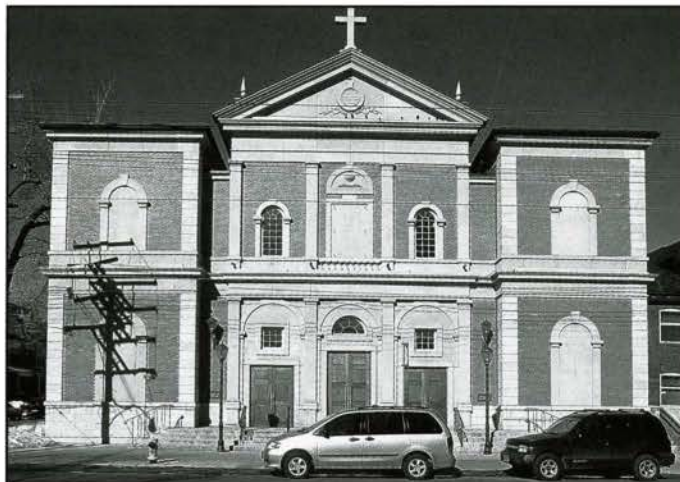


Fig. 29. Toronto, Holy Family, façade, Brian Atkins and Mauro Franzoni for Atkins Architects (1999-2001). (Photo: Malcolm Thurlby)

New St. Andrew's, by William George Storm, was Romanesque.⁸⁶ Not the Romanesque of Henry Hobson Richardson, but Romanesque intended to reflect Norman Scotland's style and thereby provide a geographical, if not a temporal, association with the home of Presbyterianism.⁸⁷ At the same time, the Baptist congregation of Jarvis Street adhered to the Gothic style for their new church by Langley, Langley and Burke (1874-1875). However, the amphitheatrical seating plan in the sanctuary of their church was quite distinct from either Anglican or Catholic Medieval-inspired basilicas, and was the first use of this plan in the city.⁸⁸ In 1886-1887, Langley and Burke used a similar plan for the Sherbourne Street Methodist, Toronto, but, on that occasion, Gothic gave way to their interpretation of Richardsonian Romanesque. That stylistic choice eradicated any possible association between Methodism and either the "Papists" or the Anglicans that might be implied by a Gothic church.⁸⁹

Connolly's Roman Renaissance churches in Chatham and Toronto are quite specifically Roman Catholic and are designed so as to avoid any possible association with the churches of other denominations. While they proudly announce the Roman-ness of the Roman Catholic church, Connolly's eclectic use of sources comes as some surprise in the oeuvre of an architect so thoroughly grounded in Gothic. His selection and adaptation of motifs from Rome and Venice, Tuscan Romanesque, French Neo-classicism, Irish Romanesque, and Baroque Revival styles, plus the adaptation of Gothic confessionals at St. Paul's, show Connolly's impressive command of historical styles and his remarkable talent in fusing such diverse elements into well-proportioned new designs. While Arthur Holmes was to inherit Connolly's mantle as chief architect for the Roman Catholic church in Ontario, his work never matched that of his former employer. While he was capable of the pleasing adaptation of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, in his façade of Holy Name, Toronto, and even expanded Connolly's reference to eighteenth-century French sources, for the most part his designs amount to little more than dry and uninspired "copies" of Connolly's work.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Robert Hill, Stephen Otto, and Kent Rawson for their help with contemporary references to Joseph Connolly. Christopher Thomas introduced us to the churches of Arthur Holmes and generously shared his research on the works of that architect. Eddie McParland kindly drew our attention to Longford Cathedral, and Rory O'Donnell freely shared his unparalleled knowledge of nineteenth-century Roman Catholic churches in England and Ireland. Mauro Franzoni of Atkins Architects, was especially helpful on all matters concerning Holy Family Church, on which he was Project Architect.

Notes

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3. An advertisement for the James and Connolly practice appears in *The Irish Canadian*, August 13, 1873, p. 5. A tender call in *The Globe*, April 23, 1877, p. 7, names Connolly alone.
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6. *Contract Record*, vol. II, 1 August 1891, p. 2; Flynn: 266-268.
7. Flynn: 322-324.
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10. *Idem.*
11. *Catholic Weekly Review*, Toronto, 15 October 1887, p. 410-411, illustrations and description; *Toronto World*, 25 August 1888, p. 3, description; *Catholic Record*, London, Ontario, 28 December 1889, p. 5, description; Robertson, John Ross, 1904, *Landmarks of Toronto*, vol. iv, p. 315-320, illustrations and description; Kalman, Harold, 1994, *History of Canadian Architecture*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 587-588, illustrations and description). The building accounts are preserved in Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto.
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14. Arthur: 186.
15. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2004, «Two Late Nineteenth-Century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly», *Ecclesiology Today*, 33, May 2004, p. 30-46
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21. We owe that comparison to Eddie McParland.
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24. Ruskin: vol. I, pl. I, opp. p. 16.
25. *Canadian Architect and Builder*: 205.
26. Wittkower, Rudolf, 1973, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 4th edition, London, Academy Editions, p. 89-97.
27. *The Builder*, 1851, p. 202.
28. Ruskin: vol. I, pl. VI, opp. p. 250.
29. On S. Francesco, Rimini, see Murray: 48-50.
30. Gwilt: 850-853.
31. Sheehy, 1977: 63; Thomas, 1986: 102-103.
32. Murray: figs. 26 and 141.
33. Murray: fig. 142.
34. *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. IX, 1849, p. 155.
35. Sheehy, 1977: 43-44.
36. Sheehy, 1977: 55-56.
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38. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 1405.
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47. Kalman : 316-318, with further references.
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56. *Idem*.
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62. O'Donnell, Roderick, 1984, « Roman Reflections on the Life: Classical Catholic Churches in Victorian Dublin », *Country Life*, vol. clxxvi, p. 52-53.
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65. O'Donnell, 1984 : 52-53.
66. *The Builder*, 13 April 1878, p. 381 illustrates interior to E.
67. « The New Italian Church, St. Peter's, Hatton Wall, Hatton Garden », 1863, *The Builder*, vol. 21, p. 687-688, illustrates interior to E, p. 689.
68. *The Builder*, vol. 22, 12 November 1864, p. 827-828, illustrates façade and interior to east.
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71. O'Donnell, Roderick, 1985, « The Architecture of the London Oratory Churches », in Michael Napier and Alistair Laing (dir.), *The London Oratory Centenary 1884-1984*, London, Trefoil, p. 21-47.
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77. On Arthur Holmes, see Thomas, Christopher, A., 1985, « A Thoroughly Traditional Architect: A.W. Holmes and the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1890-1940 », *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 10, no. 1, p. 3-9; Thomas, 1986.
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