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Canada

The Use of Gothic in Nineteenth Century Church Architecture of the Ottawa Valley

**An analytical study of diverse
Christian ideologies as manifest in
the structural style of cult space**

By

**© Vicki Bennett
Ottawa, Ontario
1994**



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The commendations or animadversions of any doctoral dissertation are traditionally set before a single individual. While this person must take sole responsibility for any imperfections, the same is not true where credit is due. For every doctoral dissertation there is an abundance of individuals and organizations that contribute to the final product. I am greatly indebted to Professor Norman Pagé, who, as director of this thesis, gave so freely of his time, energy and learning. I am grateful to Professor Elisabeth J. Lacelle, who was a constant help, particularly concerning theological questions and a source of inspiration. I would also like to thank Professor Robert Choquette for his guidance and advice especially during the formative phases of this thesis. Professor John Webster Grant's interest and encouragement is very much appreciated.

This thesis was generously funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship (1989 - 1992), and by a Research Scholarship from the School of Graduate Studies, University of Ottawa, (1988 - 1992). I am most grateful for this funding which has greatly facilitated my research.

I would also like to thank the archival staff of the Public Archives of Canada, and the National library of Canada, Soeur Marcelle Gratton of the Archives of the Archdiocese (Roman Catholic) of Ottawa and Dr. Shirley Spragg of the Queen's University Archives in Kingston. Thanks is also due to the staff of the Ottawa City Archives who went beyond the call of duty to facilitate my research, as well as to Jack Francis and Fred Neil of the Archives of the Archdiocese (Anglican) of Ottawa who shared both their expertise and their friendship. My on-site research was greatly facilitated by innumerable ladies and gentlemen, who in their capacity as pastor, parishioner, custodian or local historian, gave freely of their time to find keys, light switches and draw my attention to architectural anomalies. Their efforts are in many ways epitomized in the kindness of Mr. S. McGregor of Lochwinnoch.

I would like in particular to acknowledge Des Curley, Bruce Elliot, Glenn Lockwood, Catherine Billington, Spencer Tighe, Marcel Erdmer, Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, Sergio Rivera-Ayala, as well as Connie and Wilf Wight for their trust, encouragement, support and friendship especially during the final and most difficult year of this project. I would like to thank Patricia and Berard Bennett, my parents, whose encouragements during my various studies is appreciated. I would especially like to thank my husband, Alain Erdmer, not only for his professional advice in architectural matters, but for the many years during which he gave so generously of his time, energy and love. It is to Alain and our son Xavier that I owe my greatest debt.

Finally I must also recognize with profound gratitude the guidance and friendship given so freely to me during my early years of graduate study by the late Dr. Edith Mary Wightman. Her personal integrity, dedication to academic excellence and riotous sense of humor made working with her an honor, a challenge and a pleasure. Edith's premature and violent death is a loss I feel as deeply today as I first did on December 17th 1983. This thesis is dedicated to her memory.

December 17th, 1993
Ottawa, Ontario

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INTRODUCTION

The past decade has seen the publication of a wide range of studies that explore numerous and diverse aspects of religion in nineteenth century Canada. It is noteworthy, however, that while few researchers would deny that most nineteenth century congregations who gathered to worship as a community preferred to do so in a space built specifically for this purpose, the architecture engendered by these communities remains largely unexplored. Nor could one suggest that this gap in the field of religious studies has been effectively filled by architectural historians. The latter have traditionally concentrated their research on the morphological dimensions of tangible fabric. All too frequently, the religious *raison d'être* of their subject enjoys only the most superficial acknowledgment.

In an article written for the *Anglo-American* in 1853, architect W. Hay¹ declared that:

Christian architecture is the name given to that peculiar style of building commonly called Gothic, which predominated in western Europe in the Middle Ages. It derived its origin from the efforts of Christians of

¹ At the time he wrote this article, Hay had been practicing architecture in Toronto for several years. For further discussion of his work prior to this, see Chapter IV.

preceding ages to embody the principles and characteristics of their faith in the structures that they reared for the services of their religion.²

Hay's thinking on this subject is not isolated but echoes a contemporary and broadly held understanding that the religious beliefs of a denomination could (and indeed should) be incorporated in the tangible fabric of the church edifice. Gothic was thought by many to have a unique advantage over most other architectural styles in that it had never been used for pagan constructions. Instead, the Gothic style had been invented specifically by Christians for the construction of Christian churches and was therefore best suited to the embodiment of Christian principles. A direct consequence of this conviction was the widespread abandonment of classical components by church builders and a renewed interest in medieval prototypes. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, most Christian denominations that were actively building in Central Canada incorporated some elements of Gothic style in their place of worship. The aim of this thesis is precisely to explore this association of Gothic architecture to Christian church-building in Central Canada during the nineteenth century.

While many nineteenth century Canadians may have agreed that 'Gothic architecture' was synonymous with 'Christian architecture,' it is less likely that they were in agreement as to what precisely constituted a good 'Christian.' While no one would suggest that Christianity was interpreted or practiced in a uniform manner during the nineteenth century, it would not seem unreasonable to expect that an architectural style held to embody the principles of that multiform faith might reflect a similar degree of diversity. Traditionally, however, nineteenth century church building has been studied in

2 W. Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," in the *Anglo-American Magazine* (1853), p. 70.

terms of the same stylistic categories that are applied to institutional and domestic architecture. Although church builders were certainly not immune to the changing tastes of secular fashion and contemporary style, there is nevertheless worthy evidence to suggest that nineteenth century interpretations of Gothic, when used in a religious context, might be as diverse as, and what is more important, closely linked to nineteenth century interpretations of Christianity.

Initially, an investigation of the widespread interest in Gothic among Christians of Central Canada leads to several questions. First, what exactly is Gothic? Second, how did a style that was both European and Medieval become so widely used in Central Canada? There is no short answer to either question. What is today commonly known as Gothic appeared in its embryonic phase in the *Île de France* during the early twelfth century,³ although avid advocates of English nationalism will occasionally claim that Durham Cathedral (c.1093), with its slightly pointed arches, proves the English origins of the Gothic style. Among most scholars it is generally agreed that a Gothic classification of Durham is erroneous. Nearly a century elapses between the construction of Durham and the construction of Canterbury, the first English church that is undeniably Gothic.⁴

3 This topic has been the object of frequent and extensive scholarship. Several studies (of varying depth and focus) include J. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); H. Focillon, *The Art of the West in the Middle Ages* (London & New York: Phaidon Press, 1963); P. Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1962); L. Grodecki, *Gothic Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1976); E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France* (Paris: Colin, 1931); E. Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism: An Inquiry onto the Analogy of the Arts, Philosophy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York: Meridian Books, 1951); W.S. Stoddard, *Art and Architecture in Medieval France* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); O. Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral, The Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1956); W. Swan, *The Gothic Cathedral* (New York: Park Lane, 1984). A number of French churches are also published individually in an excellent series of monographs, edited by M. Aubert, *Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France* (Paris: Henri Laurens).

4 Canterbury should, however, not be seen as Gothic's unique point of entry into England. Early examples can also be seen at Roche Abbey (c.1175) in South West England and at Worcester

The use of Gothic was not restricted to France or England and from an early date spread to Ireland, northern Europe, Scandinavia and the territories of the Holy Roman Empire as well as Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and the Baltic.⁵ Variants of the Gothic style also appeared in Italy, the Adriatic, Greece and Asia Minor.⁶ Crusaders brought Gothic with them to Cyprus and the Holy Lands. The Spanish and the Portuguese both developed their own unique interpretation of Gothic.⁷ Perhaps the most striking aspect of this medieval Gothic is its adaptability. This is manifest not only through Gothic's espousal of a variety of indigenous traditions, but also through its ability to accommodate widely divergent social and economical climates.

Despite the expansiveness of the Gothic tradition, the origins of the term itself remain obscure. The oldest documented use of the term 'Gothic' dates not to the Middle Ages but from sixteenth century Italy, where it is used with injurious intent. It is Giorgio Vasari, architect of the de Medici family and designer of the Uffizi Museum of Florence, who is most commonly credited with having committed "the historical enormity of dragging the word 'Gothic' six centuries out of its proper location and use."⁸ Previous

cathedral (1175-1180). Both were probably the result of contact with French Cistercians. See also C. Brooke, *Monasteries of the World: The Rise and Development of Monastic Tradition* (New York: Crescent Books, 1982), pp. 135-162.

5 See J. Baum, *German Cathedrals* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1956); G. Dehil, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Berlin: W de Gruyter, 1930-1934); E. Gall, *Die Gotische Baukunst in Frankreich und Deutschland* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt, 1955); O. Doering, *Die Gotische Baukunst in Deutschen Landen* (Muenchen: Die Kunst dem Volke, 1929).

6 See R. Bonelli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'Architettura Italiana del Duecento Trecento* (Città di Castello: Edizioni dell'angelo, 1952); H. Decker, *L'Italie Gothique* (Paris: Braum et Cie, 1964) and J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250-1400* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966).

7 See L. Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae : Historia Universal del arte Hispanica - Architectura Gótica*, vol. vii, (Madrid: Plus-Ultra, 1952); J.A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia del Arte Español* (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1968), pp. 123-187. A number of important monuments also appear in a series of architectural monographs, *Guías Artísticas de España*, J.G. Ricart, ed.

8 The term is generally thought to have been coined in Italy during the Renaissance, and a variety of writers including Raphaël, Filarete and Cesariano, have been credited with the dubious honor. In each instance there is reasonable evidence to suggest that while the term 'Gothic' was used in relation to the early middle ages, it was not intended to include those later structures now

writers such as Raphaël, Filarete and Cesar Cesariano, did use the term 'Gothic' but they did so concerning much earlier work and do not appear to have in any way intended the term to include that form of medieval building that now bears the name. Some scholars have suggested *opus francigenum* as an alternative term, although given the diversity of what is now called Gothic, this would be equally misleading.⁹ In a treatise on architecture and techniques published in 1550, Vasari's association of the word 'Gothic' with what is commonly referred to today as Gothic is as undeniable as his distaste for Gothic. The style, he warns, is not "adopted by the best architects but is avoided by them as monstrous and barbarous...." He continues with a litany of complaints against the style that once "sickened the world" by complaining that:

...on all the façades, and where ever else there is enrichment, they built a malediction of little niches one above the other, with no end of pinnacles and points and leaves, so that, not to speak of the whole erection seeming insecure, it appears impossible that the parts should not topple over at any moment. Indeed they have more the appearance of being made of paper than of stone or marble. In these works they made endless projections of breaks and corbelling and flourishes that throw their works all out of proportion; and often with one thing being put above another, they reach such a height that the top of the door touches the roof. This manner was the invention of the Goths, for, after they had ruined the ancient buildings, and killed the architects in the wars, those who were left constructed the buildings in this style. They turned arches with pointed segments, and filled all Italy with these abominations of buildings....¹⁰

commonly called Gothic. For further discussion of this subject see B. Brown, annotated edition of *Vasari on Technique* (New York: Dover, 1960), p. 135.

9 The subject is approached at various points in the work of O. Von Simson: *The Gothic Cathedral*, and of L. Grodecki: *Gothic Architecture*.

10 Brown, *Vasari*, pp. 83-84.

Despite his unfavorable assessment of Gothic, there is no doubt as to what type of building Vasari is referring to. He concludes his attack by begging that "May God protect every country from such ideas and style of building. They are such deformities...."¹¹ While people may address many strange and unusual requests to their God, this is perhaps one of the few instances when an individual requested that the entire world be protected from a particular architectural style. One thing is certain however, Vasari's prayers went unanswered. Whether it was divinely sanctioned or not, the Gothic style was destined not only to enjoy a strong European revival, but to spread rapidly during the nineteenth century through many previously un-infected lands.

Owing to the immensity of the geographical and chronological span covered by medieval Gothic, fixing an end date is perhaps even more difficult than determining when Gothic first appeared. This was especially true in England where Gothic continued to be used in the construction of country churches long after it had been abandoned by the builders of fashionable urban churches, and indeed into the Georgian Era.¹² Gothic reappeared as a fashionable architectural style once again during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century in England, but more in terms of a decorative montage than as a logical architectural assemblage. Sir Christopher Wren had made competent use of Gothic for several of his projects, including Westminster Abbey; however his preference for classical restraint is evident. During the middle years of the seventeenth century, Rococo Gothic as typified by the work of B. Langley enjoyed an increased popularity. However, Langley's *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules of Proportions* (1742) betrays his understanding of Gothic as something equally well suited to garden pavilions as

11 Brown, *Vasari*, p. 84.

12 On the survival of Gothic see K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (Wiltshire: John Murry, 1983), pp. 11-27; E. Smith, G. Hutton & O. Cook, *English Parish Churches* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), pp. 133 - 180.

churches.¹³ Although scholars are divided on its merits, H. Walpole's work on the Strawberry Hill Estate (1749-1779), is frequently acknowledged as an important watershed in the revived interest in medieval Gothic. However the execution of Strawberry Hill is as picturesque as its context is secular. Throughout the eighteenth century, neo-medieval estates bedecked with picturesque Gothic detailing were popular, but traditionally lacked the structural integration and rationalism of medieval Gothic.

By the early nineteenth century, Gothic was again being increasingly associated with Church architecture. Although English Ecclesiologists are widely credited with the re-appropriation of Gothic as an essentially ecclesiastical form of architectural expression, builders of the Commissioner's Churches had been using Gothic well before the initial intervention of the Ecclesiologists during the late 1830s and early 1840s. Almost two thirds of the Commissioner's Churches built between 1819 and 1829, with the aid of the first parliamentary grant, contained significant Gothic elements.¹⁴ However, while Gothic may have appeared frequently in these churches, it was not a Gothic noted for its archaeological fidelity. For this, Commissioner's Churches were frequently the targets of wrathful criticism from vocal advocates of archaeological correctness. One of the earlier and better known advocates of archaeological fidelity in the revived medieval style was A.W. Pugin. In 1836, in his book *Contrasts: or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Showing the Present Decay of Taste*,¹⁵ Pugin condemned not only the untutored use of

13 W. Pierson, *Technology and the Picturesque, the Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 100-101.

14 M. H. Port, *Six-hundred New Churches: A Study of the Church Building Commission - 1818-1856 and its Church Building Activities* (London: S.P.C.K., 1960), Appendix I, pp. 132-139.

15 A. W. Pugin, *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* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1973), p. 49.

Gothic architecture in the construction of Commissioner's Churches, but the principle of government grants with which they were built.

Many of Pugin's ideas can also be found in the work of the Ecclesiologists, although they themselves would have denied any link with Pugin. Begun as The Cambridge Camden Society in 1838 by Rev. B. Webb and Rev. J.M. Neale, while they were undergraduates at Trinity College Cambridge, English Ecclesiologists were to mount an aggressive campaign of architectural advocacy. Through their extensive writings, they inspired battalions of divinity students and amateur antiquarians to study and record the medieval churches of the British Isles.¹⁶ They published manuals on how churches should be built, dictated what materials should be used and even ventured to make recommendations concerning the piety of the architect himself.¹⁷ The Ecclesiologists did not confine their interests to the architectural well being of churches in the British Isles, but also went to considerable pains to spread their ideas throughout the colonies and former colonies of the British Empire.¹⁸

Gradually architects and clergymen alike brought to fruition tangible manifestations of new architectural ideals to distant corners of the Empire, and Central Canada was no exception. However while their architectural ideals may have been widely held, they were not universally held. Nor did Ecclesiologists hold the exclusive license to revive Gothic as they saw fit. French church builders and restorers, such as Viollet-le-Duc, were also exploring their architectural heritage from the Middle Ages.

16 To insure that the churches were properly investigated, members of the Cambridge Camden Society provided a recording sheet in *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI*.

17 The influence of the Ecclesiologists will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters III and VI.

18 For an authoritative overview of this movement in the United States, see P. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).

Although the revival of Gothic in French circles was never to attain the quasi sacred status it enjoyed among its English advocates, it was a significant and distinctly continental materialization of a revived medieval style.

This diversity raises a number of questions. How does an architectural style embody principles of Christianity? To what extent did nineteenth-century Christians living in Central Canada hold this to be true and to what extent were they in agreement as to how this should be done? Once again the diversity of Gothic expression raises a number of questions. Were some groups of Christians more likely to use it than others? If the denominations that used Gothic did not use it in a like manner, how were denominational differences translated into a varied architectural expression?

The architectural production of a community is the result of many considerations. Church building tradition is shaped by both architectural and liturgical observance as well as by the interaction of religious life with the realities of the secular world. One of the greatest challenges facing those interested in the study of 'that peculiar style of building commonly called Gothic' is adequately defining the term itself. Vasari's discussion of Gothic touches only on superficial elements and indicates very little understanding of the style. As noted above, Gothic is subject to numerous chronological and regional variations; however, it is most commonly associated with the use of pointed arches, such as the equilateral and lancet arches, the complex ogee, arch and trefoil or cinquefoil arch, and occasionally the late four-centered arch. The pointed arch came so much to be associated with the Gothic or 'Christian style' that some nineteenth century writers, including Pugin, preferred to call Gothic architecture: 'pointed architecture.'¹⁹ In its fullest expression as a visual manifestation of religious belief, Gothic is a complex and

19 A. Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: J. Weale, 1841).

sophisticated integration of architectonic volumes that must also be understood in terms of spirit, logic, space and lighting.²⁰ For the purposes of this study however, it is the element most commonly associated with Gothic, the pointed arch, that will be the criteria used to identify a reference to the Gothic style.

In recent years, many dimensions of Canada's religious history have been explored more fully, and a wealth of new publications have brought a fresh approach to the study of religion in Canada and explored various dimensions of this subject. Most notably: R. Choquette, *L'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle* (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1984);²¹ N. Voisine & J. Hamelin, *Les Ultramontains canadiens-français* (Montreal: Éditions du Boréal Express, 1985); J.W. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); L. Lemieux, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois: Les XVIIe et XIXe siècles* (Montreal: Éditions du Boréal, 1989); R. Vaudry, *The Free Church in Victorian Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1989); W. Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989); G. Rawlyk, *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990* (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1990); C. Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991); M. Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada From the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); P. Sylvain & N. Voisine, *Histoire du Catholicisme Québécois : Réveil et Consolidation 1840-1898* (Montreal: Éditions du Boréal, 1991) and

20 Gothic as a holistic reflection of interconnected spatial, architectural and intellectual contemplation is discussed by E. Panofsky in *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, pp. 44-45.

21 This is one of the few publications where the author has listed the dates of construction from the first church or chapel built by a parish.

M. McGowan & D. Marshall, *Prophets, Priests and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to Present* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992). This is not to suggest that the subject has aroused no scholarly interest. Important examples of recent scholarship can be seen in M. Thurlby, "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario: A Study in the Meaning of Style" in *Historic Kingston* (Kingston: Kingston Historical Society, vol. 35, January 1987); "Epics in Stone," the fifth chapter of W. Westfall's recent book: *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989); K. MacFarlane's unpublished manuscript "Architectural Competition," written in response to Dr. Thurlby's article; and G. Lockwood's doctoral dissertation "Eastern Upper Canadian Perceptions of Irish Immigrants 1824-1868." In all of these studies, the spatial and stylistic rendering of the church edifice is examined as the architectonic embodiment of religious culture. Westfall and MacFarlane's work focuses primarily on a specific type of building, namely major architectural projects in southern Ontario designed by known architectural firms. Lockwood's research, on the other hand, includes a large number of rural structures executed in a vernacular idiom, but remains within the confines of a single ethnic community. Thurlby's article offers an important overview, including reference to a few Ottawa Valley buildings, but refers primarily to larger churches and is necessarily brief.

Popular publications such as M. MacRae, *Hallowed Walls: church architecture of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1975),²² and L. Noppen, *Les églises du Québec* (Quebec: Éditeur Officiel du Québec/Fides, 1977) are widely read, but are written primarily from the perspective of an architectural historian, and address a more general

22 This is a very interesting and generally useful book although its interest and usefulness would have been greatly enriched by the inclusion of references. There are however some peculiar classifications such as the Roman Catholic Cathedral Notre-Dame in Ottawa being classed as a vernacular structure. As puzzling to the author of this study as it is to the Cathedral's biographer, N. Pagé.

interest. Curiously, despite the strong presence of several Protestant denominations in Quebec during the nineteenth century, almost no work has been devoted to Protestant church architecture from this area.²³ M. Brosseau in *Le style néo-gothique dans l'architecture au Canada* (Ottawa: Centre d'édition du Gouvernement du Canada, 1980), explores the Gothic style more fully, in both its secular and sacred manifestations, however she addresses only external architecture. The same is true of L. Maitland's *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1992).

The question has frequently been asked if a doctoral thesis devoted to the study of an architectural style is not out of place in a department of Religious Studies. Would it not be more appropriate to work within a department of Art or Architectural History? The answer, in short, is No! To do so would be too confining. It is precisely this nineteenth century perception of Gothic as the system of architectural expression best suited to the embodiment of Christian principles and Christian faith that demands that the subject be investigated from the perspective of religious studies. British architectural historian, John Summerson, once stated: "The places of nonconformist worship have a much more expansive and complicated history - a history, however, of shelter rather than architecture."²⁴ From the strict perspective of architectural style, the same case can easily be made for, and indeed often is, applied to a great percentage of early Canadian church buildings. As a result, many plainer structures have been the object of little or no research attention. However, when these same structures are reconsidered in conjunction with congregational opinion and their role within the community of worship, it is soon evident that their history is a history that transcends the parameters of mere shelter and

23 H. Bergeron, *Églises protestantes* (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1981), is essentially a tourist guidebook.

24 J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 231.

architectural style. While comparatively little work has been done on the subject, the study of church architecture occupies a legitimate place in the field of religious studies.

Clearly the history of church architecture in Central Canada could benefit from further exploration. Although there are numerous regions within this area that might profit from a greater investigation of this subject, it would be unrealistic to begin with a comprehensive study. A smaller but nevertheless geographically and historically significant area would be more appropriate to a project of this nature. The Ottawa Valley is particularly well suited to meet these criteria.

Straddling the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, the Ottawa Valley hosts a diversity of religious, ethnic and linguistic communities and offers a generous sampling of nineteenth century religious architecture.²⁵ W. Westfall has noted that during the thirty year period between 1851 and 1881, the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Baptists of Ontario "...trebled the number of their churches. The Methodists were even more prolific builders... the number of their churches increased by a factor of five."²⁶ While Westfall's work focuses primarily on south-central Ontario, similar trends can be identified in eastern Ontario and in parts of western Quebec. This trend is particularly evident in the Ottawa Valley, where over the course of the nineteenth century, several hundred places of worship were built. Although many of these buildings were modest log cabins, destined to be used for only a few years, they nevertheless represented considerable financial sacrifice on the part of those who built them. A summary overview

25 Furthermore, as R. Choquette observed, "Aux points de vue social et économique, la vallée de l'Outaouais constitue donc une entité homogène centrée sur la rivière des Outaouais; dans leurs activités commerciales et économiques, ses premiers habitants se fichent éperdument de la frontière politique qui doit les diviser." *L'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle* (Ottawa: Les Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1984), p. 59.

26 W. Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 129.

of surviving churches in the Ottawa Valley indicates that a significant number of Christian communities chose to use 'Christian' or 'Gothic' elements of architecture in the construction of their place of worship. Despite the abundance of religious architecture in the Ottawa Valley, it has been the object of only limited research. Few churches have been the object of detailed publication, and while various parish histories have been written with an equally varied range of competency, few contain even the most fleeting reference to that built space in which the congregation gathers to worship. Furthermore, although the existence of many surviving church buildings has been recorded in the files of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings, funding restrictions have not allowed for further investigation and the religious architecture of the Ottawa Valley remains largely unexplored. There are, however, two notable exceptions: R.H. Hubbard's *Cathedral in the Capital: A short history of Christ Church Cathedral* (Ottawa: Cathedral Centenary Committee, 1972), and N. Pagé's *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1988). While Hubbard is of course admirably qualified to comment on the architecture, and does so very efficiently, his book is more a history of the parish than a biography of the building itself. N. Pagé's work is the only one devoted primarily to the architectural history and iconography program of an Ottawa Valley church. While Pagé's book deals with only a single building, the richness of his findings suggests a subject that would profit from and indeed reward further investigation.



The goal of my research is to contribute to our understanding of the role religious architecture played during this important and formative period of Canadian history. This will be done through a study of the Gothic style as it appears in the nineteenth century Anglo-Protestant and Roman Catholic church buildings of the Ottawa Valley. For the purpose of this study, the area referred to as the Ottawa Valley will include the counties on both the northern and southern shores of the river beginning in the east with the

counties of Prescott and Argenteuil, (west of the Pointe-Fortune dam) and running up river to the western tip of Allumette Island. The Lanark County Townships of Pakenham, Ramsay, Darling and Beckwith will also be included. All architectural samplings will be taken from this region, although textual evidence, such as denominational guidelines and architectural treatises, will necessarily be drawn from a larger field. It is not the intention of this study to provide a detailed biography of all or any one building, but rather to identify stylistic trends and morphological analogies in the architectonic renderings of external and internal space. As none of the denominations included in this study existed in isolation from others of the same persuasion, textual evidence will play an essential part in situating the preoccupations of Ottawa Valley communities within the broader concerns of their denominations. To date, this thesis is the only major study to consider the church building activities of an important geographic area in their entirety. That is to say, the study will record all cult places known to have been built during the course of the nineteenth century in the Ottawa Valley. In doing this, it will offer a unique and much more complete understanding of church building traditions, as far too often our understanding of church building traditions is dictated not by the type of building most common to a given period, but rather by those buildings that have survived physically. Typically, it is the rarer stone churches that survive longer and enjoy better documentation than the much more modest but far more common wooden churches. The unfortunate result of this practice is a somewhat skewed perception of the early architectural trends.

Furthermore, while some ministers were more diligent than others in recording or preserving the transcripts and records of the material activities of their charges. Fires, negligence and general household cleaning have taken a serious toll on the quantity of material that has survived. Even surviving contemporary reports from some of the better

documented sites are not completely reliable, and even the simplest question can be subject to varied interpretation.²⁷

Given the state of material evidence, this thesis has been researched according to an archaeological methodology which necessarily draws on a wide and varied collection of material evidence in addition to written documentation. While it has been necessary to make certain adaptations in order to appropriately accommodate elements imposed by the unique conditions found in Central Canada during the nineteenth century, published accounts of similar methodologies can be found in M.-S. Legrange's *Code pour l'analyse des monuments civils*,²⁸ and N. Nivelles's *Code pour l'analyse des monuments religieux*.²⁹ Several factors, such as the state of preservation and availability of archival documentation play an important role in determining which monuments may be examined in greater depth. In certain instances, the preservation of ground plans, engravings, early photos or the minutes of building committees, allow for a fuller discussion of buildings now lost. Given the great number of places of worship that were built in the Ottawa

27 One has only to consider the type of response found in the Annual Reports, such as those many Anglican and Roman Catholic parish priests filled out and returned to their Bishops. Often, straightforward questions, such as those concerning the church building itself, were not answered in a consistent manner from year to year. This was true even when the forms were completed by the same individual. Typical of this is the reaction to question thirty-seven on the Roman Catholic "Rapport Annuel" form reading "L'église construite en _____, a _____ pieds de longueur, _____ de largeur, et _____ de hauteur." In the Annual Report for 1876, Fr. C. Gay answered that the church of St. Luc in Curran was "construite en 1864". Two years later he said that the church was "construite en 1863" and two years after that he said the church was "construite en pierre." For each year, Fr. Gay gave slightly different measurements. Similar inconsistencies are not uncommon. St. Philip's, in Richmond, is reported to have varied in length from 60' to 70', but was usually 64' or 65' long; the width also varied from 30' to 40', but was usually 34'. The roof could be as low as 14' or as high as 20'. According to the Annual Reports, the sacristy of St. Philip's was usually rectangular and reached its maximum size in 1883 when it measured 25' x 18'; it shrank as low as 12' x 16' in 1896; until it settled down to become a stable 22.5' x 22.5' square until the turn of the century. Archdiocesan Archives, (Roman Catholic), Ottawa. Curran Collection, file 1-5-3, and Richmond Collection, file 1-5.

28 M.-S. Legrange, *Code pour l'analyse des monuments civils* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975).

29 N. Nivelles, *Code pour l'analyse des monuments religieux* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975).

Valley during the course of the nineteenth century, it is obviously not possible or even desirable to discuss each church in detail; therefore, representative material from select sites will be considered in terms of site selection, external structures, stylistic features, and interior design as well as liturgical requirements and focal points.

Discussion of site choice and orientation will help to situate a building within its geographical, social and architectural context. Criteria for the choice of site and orientation, as well as denominational attitudes towards construction and the role of church hierarchy in this process will be noted.

The facade and external features of a church building are frequently privileged in terms of the external materialization of architectural symbolism, architectural detailing and building material. An examination of the facade will permit not only an analysis of the micro-environment through which the faithful must pass before entering into the cult space, but also an analysis of the image parishioners wish to present to the outside world.

Regardless of the architectural format of a church building, the interior area of the building in which the faithful gather will be referred to as the nave. In the context of this dissertation, 'nave' will refer to what in the study of Paleo-Christian and Proto-Byzantine church architecture is commonly called the *quadratum populi*. As such, the term 'nave' will be devoid of structural implications. This category will allow for the identification of the relation between the lay person and the cult act. It will also be useful in determining how a denomination dealt with other considerations such as gender segregation or social stratification of its members during worship.

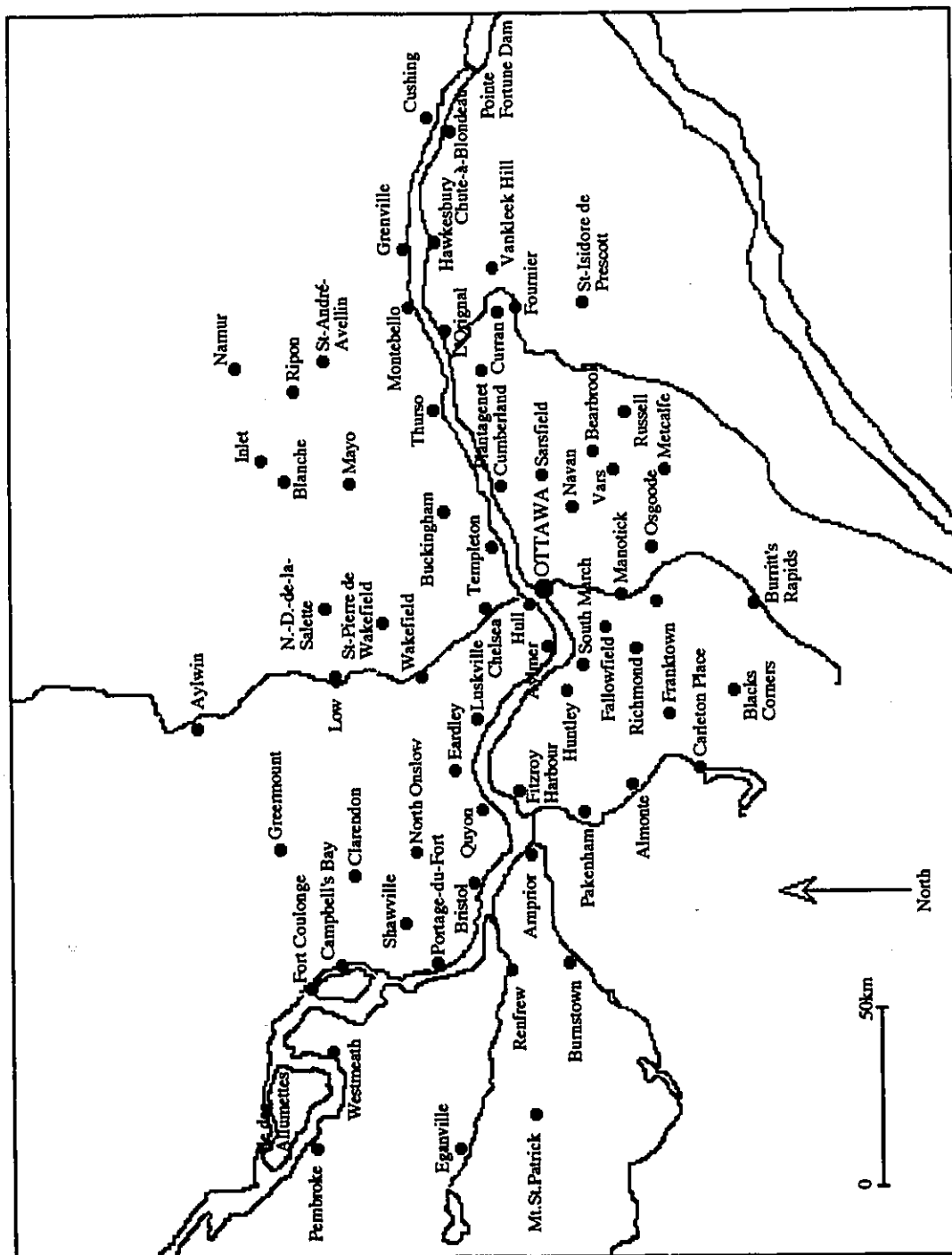
The physical layout of cult space will vary substantially in accordance to denominational interpretation of sacramental priority. An investigation of cult requirements and liturgical focal points will be fundamental to the examination of the spatial interpretation of the belief. Decorative programs will be noted in terms of their iconographic content rather than their esthetic value. It should be noted however that a detailed iconological study, such as the one presented in N. Pagé's *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa*, is beyond the mandate of this study. Major restoration or remodeling projects will be considered as related to the above mentioned categories.

In order to determine what proportion of Ottawa Valley churches used elements of Gothic in their construction, it was necessary to first consider church building as a whole. To achieve this end, research findings for all buildings, regardless of size, material or style have been recorded and cross referenced in a computerized architectural inventory prepared for this dissertation.³⁰ Data have been gathered from various denominational archives, public archives, missionary reports, denominational publications, denominational and secular journals, nineteenth century directories and atlases as well as from the most important source of primary information, the buildings themselves. Unless otherwise stated, statistical information has been drawn from this inventory (see Appendix 1 to 3).

The approach of this study is also new in that it is one of the first to consider how the various Christian denominations in Ottawa Valley used architectural symbolism, not simply in relation to the material world in which they lived, but in relation to the spiritual world they hoped to attain. The study will compare the manner in which several different

30 The inventory was prepared using Odesta Corporation's Double Helix II on a MacIntosh computer.

denominations made use of the Gothic style to translate their understanding of their place in the world and before God into an architectural reality. It is perhaps also worth noting that this study will be one of the first to examine and compare a varied collection of Protestant church buildings from Western Quebec. An investigation of this sort is however not without its limitations. There are inevitably and unfortunately gaps that cannot be filled. As circumstance has dictated, a number of questions must remain unanswered. It is nevertheless hoped that this study will be instrumental in identifying related subjects in the field of religious studies that have to date largely been unexplored.



THE OTTAWA VALLEY

CHAPTER I

THE IMPLANTATION OF DIVERSE DENOMINATIONS AND CHURCH- BUILDING TRADITIONS IN THE OTTAWA VALLEY: 1820S-1840S

The rich natural resources of the Ottawa River Valley have attracted people to its shores for thousands of years. With the exception of a few rapids, the Ottawa river offered a direct route deep into the heart of the North American continent. With the coming of the Europeans, French voyageurs had been quick to follow their native trading partners along the ancient trade routes of the Ottawa River, and to use them much as they had been used for centuries as highways to and from the interior. In 1784, a small

fortification was built at Fort Coulonge to serve as a stopover and trading post.¹ Some time later a modest chapel was built inside the fort; however, unlike many other trading forts with similarly modest beginnings, Fort Coulonge attracted little in the way of permanent settlers. During the late eighteenth century, after the territory had passed into British hands, small settlements were occasionally established along the banks of the Ottawa River. These settlers were often brought to the area with the hopes of trading, and supplying the voyageurs who continued to travel the river en route to and from the inner lands. Little came of most of these early efforts and after a short duration, most settlements were eventually abandoned. There was very little permanent inhabitation prior to the opening decades of the nineteenth century.²

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, with the loss of the thirteen American Colonies after the American War of Independence, British land holdings in North America were dramatically reduced. Indeed, much of what Britain did retain was territory it had recently seized from France. The end result of this was a somewhat paradoxical situation in which much of what was now British North America was rather more French and Catholic than English and Protestant. The old adage *cujus regio ejus religio* was more theoretical than practical. This was not an entirely new situation for the British who had encountered some similar problems several years earlier when they seized the Rock of Gibraltar from the Spanish.³ While the Canadian situation undeniably presented British administrators with a challenge, it was one that they faced with a zeal

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- 1 A. de Barbezieux, *Histoire de la Province Ecclésiastique d'Ottawa et de la Colonisation dans la Vallée de l'Ottawa*, 1897, tome 1, (Ottawa: La Cie d'imprimerie d'Ottawa, 1897), pp. 403-405.
 - 2 R.M. Reid, ed., *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), p. xvii.
 - 3 Here also the British were obliged to make concessions to obtain some degree of cooperation from a population that neither spoke their language nor shared their understanding of Christianity. The seizure of Gibraltar remains to this day a point of controversy between the British and the Spanish.

and determination that was typical of the British where colonial matters were concerned. In 1768, the Governor of Quebec, Sir Guy Carleton, was elevated to the rank of Lord Dorchester, and appointed by the Colonial Secretary as Governor General of British North America.⁴ This promotion and appointment was significant. It was interpreted by many as being indicative of British stability and permanency. This was especially common among those inhabitants of the former Thirteen Colonies who were unsure as to where democratic experiments in the newly united Colonies might lead. Consequently in the years that followed the American War of Independence, and the subsequent upheavals, there was an influx of settlers from the former colonies into British North America. While a number of these individuals were unquestionably political refugees, others were what might more likely be classified by Canadian immigration officials in the late twentieth century as 'economic refugees.' Regardless of their motive, all were never the less prepared to swear allegiance to King George III and the Crown of England in exchange for generous grants of land.

Despite the presence of an Anglo-Protestant government, many concerns had been repeatedly voiced by the United Empire Loyalists who settled within the old boundaries of Quebec, which in the late eighteenth century, included much of what is now Ontario. Many found that the retention of certain French customs were simply a bit too French for their liking, and not really what they were used to or had expected to find in a British North America. The decision was eventually taken in 1791 to divide the vast territory of Quebec into two separate provinces, known alternatively as 'Upper' and 'Lower' Canada; later 'Canada East' and 'Canada West,' and finally 'Quebec' and 'Ontario.' Although the

4 A.L. Burt, *Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, 1724-1808* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1955).

city of Quebec remained the seat of the British colonial government for many years, Lower Canada retained much of its French culture, language and Roman Catholic affiliations. In contrast, the newly formed province of Upper Canada was to gradually define an identity that was, if not exclusively, at least predominantly English and Protestant. Much of the border between the two provinces runs down the middle course of the Ottawa river; however, both shores of the river were settled by Anglo-Protestants as well as French and Irish Catholics.

John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806), first Lieutenant Governor of the newly formed province was himself a veteran of the American Revolution.⁵ Simcoe appeared to be of a school of thought not uncommon to a number of his contemporaries which maintained that, if British institutions had been properly established and generously supported, the American Colonies would never have revolted. Furthermore, he intended to do all that was within his personal powers to avoid the repetition of these same errors in the new province now under his charge. To this end, Simcoe worked to establish several good examples of British institutional superiority, the effects of which were to be felt to a varying extent throughout the province, including the Ottawa Valley.

High on Simcoe's list of truly superior British institutions was the United Church of England and Ireland. There had been some concern that the lack of established religion had in some way facilitated the revolution in the American colonies, and the British Government was not eager to repeat this error especially as they watched with horror the democratic experiments in France. To encourage the prosperity of this fine British

5 S.R. Mealing, "The Enthusiasms of John Graves Simcoe," *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1958; "John Graves Simcoe", in R. L. McDougall, ed., *Our Living Tradition*, Fourth Series, 1962.

institution (that is to say the United Church of England and Ireland), provision was made in *The Constitutional Act of 1791* for the support and maintenance of a 'Protestant clergy.'⁶ Simcoe undoubtedly had a very precise understanding in his own mind that the 'Protestant Clergy' to which *The Constitutional Act* referred, meant the clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland, and excluded all other denominations. Simcoe, however, neglected to ensure the translation of this precision to legal record and it was to be a source of considerable grief and division in later years.⁷ Furthermore, in an effort to people his new province with settlers that might be called, again in late twentieth century terms 'politically correct' individuals, Simcoe encouraged settlement in his new province by 'late loyalists.' This was apparently done in the belief that such individuals would be not only devout subjects of King George III, but equally devout members of the United Church of England and Ireland of which King George III was the head.

Loyalist settlement in more southern parts of the province such as the Niagara peninsula was much more common, but a number of these people also settled along the Rideau River, and settlement gradually edged its way towards the Ottawa Valley. In keeping with the ambitions of British Emigration policy makers, various tracts of land had been surveyed for settlement during the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth century. However, these newly surveyed tracts of land tended to attract a greater abundance of land speculators than committed settlers. As a result, growth of permanent

6 The Constitutional Act of 1791 reserved one seventh of all public lands for the support and maintenance of a 'Protestant clergy.' A. Wilson, *The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada: A Canadian Mortmain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

7 Typical of discussion on this subject was an article: "How ought the Clergy Reserve question be settled?" published by Dr. J. Rae of Hamilton in the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* (September 1839), vol. 3, no. 9, p. 269; see also: W. Bettridge, *A Brief History of the Church in Upper Canada: Containing the Acts of Parliament, Imperial and Provincial, Royal Instructions, Proceedings of the Deputation: Correspondence with the Government: Clergy Reserves Question* (London: W. E. Painter, 1838).

settlement in the Ottawa Valley continued to be slow for many years.⁸ It was not until the early decades of the nineteenth century that the first lasting communities were established in the Ottawa Valley. Still, there were very few settlement attempts in the valley west of Hawkesbury prior to the 1800's, and widespread settlement only began to gain momentum after about 1815. A notable exception to early settlers lack of interest in the isolated shores of the Ottawa was Philemon Wright. The Episcopalian merchant arrived from Massachusetts in 1800 with the intention of identifying exploitable tracts of land. He returned in the early years of the 1800s with his family, workers, livestock and a collection of tools necessary for clearing land, farming and more importantly, lumbering. Over the course of the following decades, Wright established a small community and began to exploit the rich timber resources that were to play a dominant role in much of the Ottawa Valley's nineteenth century history. Although the first place of worship, a modest wooden cabin, was not built until 1819, a proper church was built in 1823 (see Figs. I - 1&2).

Lumbering operations such as the ones set up by Philemon Wright were to play an important role not only in opening up the Ottawa Valley for larger commercial exploitation and settlement. They also indirectly (and rarely intentionally) brought religion and church building to some of the most isolated stands of the Ottawa Valley forests. Fortunes were made and lost from a very early date in the trade of Ottawa Valley lumber. Throughout the nineteenth century the exploitation of this rich natural resource was to become for some a source of major economic concern.⁹ There were however

8 B.S. Elliot, *The City Beyond: A History of Nepean, Birthplace of Canada's Capital 1792-1990* (Nepean: City of Nepean, 1991), p. 5.

9 J. Hughson & C.C. Bond, *Hurling Down the Pine* (Old Chelsea: Historical Society of the Gatineau, 1964).

others who found these lumbering operations to be a source of considerable spiritual concern. While the harvesting of timber unquestionably led to the financial ruin of some, others firmly believed that the timber trade was a source of spiritual ruin to many more. The remote villages and lumber camps could be fertile ground for harvesting souls as well as timber. The Methodist preacher W. Sanderson echoed the concerns of decades of other priests and ministers when he cautioned that:

One great hindrance to spiritual growth is the lumbering operations, in which a number of our people engage; they have a vitiating influence on the community generally, and many thrown into the society of the ungodly for months together, and distant from the healthful influences of home and the house of God suffer serious spiritual declension.¹⁰

It was for this reason early into the second quarter of the nineteenth century the priests and preachers of numerous denominations set off far into remote corners of the Ottawa Valley to bring spiritual comfort to isolated workers and affiliated settlements, and to establish in their midst, a house of God. Some denominations notably the Roman Catholics had been working in the Ottawa Valley, if only sporadically, since 1815.¹¹

Meanwhile, as priests and preachers struggled to cover the enormous distances of their missions,¹² late Loyalists, (and some were by any standard very late indeed)

10 W. Sanderson, "Alice, Ontario", *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference* (1872), p. lxxii.

11 R. Choquette, *L'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle* (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1984), p. 88.

12 "Clarendon Mission - This mission is about 100 miles north of Brockville, on the north side of the Ottawa river, opposite the Bonchere river, on the Upper Canada side. The mission embraces the Township of Clarendon and Bristol. There are six appointments for preaching besides several prayer meetings. There are four classes and 47 members in the society. A Temperance Society has been formed on the plan of entire abstinence - it now numbers 50. It is about six years since

continued to trickle northward into the Ottawa Valley. These Loyalists were however, not all members of the Church of England as some had originally hoped, but counted among their numbers Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists, including the ill-starred Rev. Ezar Meach to whom the infamous Lake and ill-fated Constitutional Accord owe their name.¹³ Roman Catholic settlers also began to appear in the Ottawa Valley during the 1820s and 1830s, although it was Quebec and not the former American colonies that was the major source for early French Catholic settlement.¹⁴ The Ottawa Valley was seen by French Canadian religious leaders as a more desirable alternative for resettlement by young French families than emigration to the United States, where they were in risk of losing not only their language and culture but their faith.

Although the northward flow of American 'late loyalists' continued for some time, the war of 1812 was to change much of this and resulted in major revisions of British immigration policy. Many settlers who had come from the thirteen colonies and who had been quick to declare their loyalty to the Crown in return for large tracts of land had been reluctant to show the same degree of enthusiasm in repelling expansionist raids from their former neighbors. There had even been suggestions that in certain areas 'loyalist settlers' might have been less devoted to the interests of the British crown than their popular appellation actually suggested. In certain instances they were believed to have actually encouraged or helped American troops. In light of this uncertainty the British government now considered it prudent to encourage the settlement of newly opened lands by people whose political loyalties were less dubious. Within a few years,

this settlement commenced. The emigrants are mostly from Ireland and Scotland, and a very enterprising and hospitable people." *8th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America 1833*, pp. 6-7.

13 Ottawa City Archives, United Church Records Collection, Box 5, 9-Fir-74.

14 Demographics of early French settlement in the Ottawa Valley are discussed fully by R. Choquette in *Église catholique*, pp. 59-89.

British soldiers demobilized after the Napoleonic Wars were to become the preferred recipients of large land grants. While a majority of the officers were members of the Church of England, the religious affiliations of the troops tended to be somewhat less homogeneous including not only a large number of dissenters but also a large number of Irish Roman Catholics.

When a number of disbanded troops settled together, provision was also made for land grants to the established churches. In doing so the British Army was generally inclined to accept a slightly broader definition of the term 'Established Church' than the secular government. Therefore, in addition to the United Church of England and Ireland, both the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome were officially recognized by the British Army, although this was more a consequence of the denominational affiliations of dependable troops than a reflection of an *avant-garde* spirit of ecumenical advocacy. Land grants to the churches usually consisted of two acres for a rectory, four acres for a church and six acres for a cemetery.¹⁵ This same spirit of largesse was however not extended to all religious communities. Certain denominations, such as the various Methodist confessions were prohibited by law from holding land for church building purposes prior to 1828,¹⁶ although Methodist churches could be built on the privately owned land of a church member. There was considerable fragmentation of Methodism during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and several different Methodist traditions were active in Central Canada during the nineteenth century. Although the

15 Barbezieux, *Histoire*, p. 111.

16 J. W. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 88.

Methodist affiliations in other parts of the Province were more diverse, the Methodist population of the Ottawa Valley was almost exclusively Episcopal or Wesleyan.¹⁷

Military men were not the only loyal supporters of the Crown to be rewarded with generous land grants for their services in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. The most notable example to arrive in the Ottawa Valley was Hamnett Pinhey. Pinhey had been quite successful in running the Napoleonic naval blockades. His efforts were recompensed with one thousand acres in the newly opened Township of March. Running inland from the shores of the Ottawa River and a well protected harbor, Pinhey's land, though only marginally fertile, was prestigiously located and commanded a masterful view of the river itself and the Gatineau hills. Like Simcoe, Pinhey was eager to maintain the institutions of British Establishment, and was himself prepared to step into the role of a new generation of landed gentry.

By the early 1820s, Pinhey was busy recreating on the shores of the Ottawa River a small settlement in the image of an English gentleman's country estate, complete with a peacock garden and a church devoted exclusively to the cult of the United Church of England and Ireland (see Fig. I -3). While the presence of an exclusively Anglican church might leave room for some discussion concerning the subject of Pinhey's personal piety, it leaves less doubt concerning his views on the importance of church

17 The names of some Methodist groups will change slightly from year to year and there are numerous mergers. For instance, in the early 1830s the Canada Conference became the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America. In 1835 it became the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion (sic) with the English Conference and retained that name until 1874, after which it united with several other Methodist groups to become the Methodist Church of Canada. In 1884 this union joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada and the Bible Christian Church, to become The Methodist Church.

establishment. Pinhey made his views on the importance of church establishment clear in a rather prophetic letter written on November 26, 1826, to the Bishop of Quebec:

Finally my Lord, the church of Stone, a durable chaste and not inelegant structure of Gothic Architecture with its Tower, is built ... and tho'...this Edifice may become a modern ruin, its walls will stand for ages a lasting monument of the efforts of its founders and of the veneration in which they held the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Old England.¹⁸

For many of those who remained in the British Isles, the economic slump that followed the Napoleonic Wars became a source of increasing hardship, and by the early 1820s the British Government began to encourage Irish emigration to British North America. This was not simply a benevolent gesture to alleviate the financial distress of the Irish proletariat but was primarily intended to defuse the climate of religious and political unrest that had become increasingly volatile with the depressed economic climate. Early Irish settlers found their way to Central Canada and by the mid 1820s some were settling in the Ottawa Valley, bringing with them their political and religious predispositions.¹⁹ These first waves of immigration were to lay the foundation course for much of the religious and ethnic composition of the Ottawa Valley for the better part of the nineteenth century. Some scholars have suggested that prior to the 1850s, as much as 90 percent of the population in the Ottawa Valley belonged to either the Church of

18 Hamnett Pinhey to the Lord Bishop of Quebec, 26 November 1826. The church still stands on the banks of the Ottawa river, though as predicted by Pinhey, a modern ruin but lasting monument to the efforts of its founders. I am grateful to Dr. B. Elliot for sharing this quotation with me.

19 D. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A study of Rural History* (Kingston & Montreal, Queen's-McGill University Press), 1984; B. Elliot "The Northern Tipperary Protestants in the Canadas: A study of migration, 1815-1880" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1984); G. Lockwood, *Montague: A social history of an Irish Ontario township* (Smiths Falls: Corporation of the Township of Montague, 1980).

England, the Church of Scotland or the Church of Rome.²⁰ By the 1840s however, the numerical strength of the Methodist population was increasing at an unprecedented rate. Many of the new settlers from the British Isles were Wesleyan Methodists. While their religious affiliations may not have been the British Government's first choice, they were tacitly considered to be more desirable than Episcopal Methodists. The differences were however more political than religious as both Wesleyan and Episcopal Methodists traced their origins to the teachings of John Wesley (1703-1791) and his brother Charles (1707-1788). During the early decades of the nineteenth century, Wesleyan Methodists turned generally to England for spiritual guidance while Episcopal Methodists usually looked south of the border for their leadership and preachers. As a consequence of this continued affiliation with their counterparts in the United States, Episcopal Methodists were regularly considered to be of dubious political persuasion. This conviction was particularly strong among veterans of the Napoleonic Wars who were all too aware that the United States had chosen to give its support to their enemy, France. This anti-American sentiment was effectively exploited by some (frequently members of the Church of England) as a convenient justification for their general anti-Methodist sentiment. Leaders of the would-be established church, such as the Rev. John Strachan of York, nagged on for quite some time that during the War of 1812, Methodist loyalty was less than perfect. Cleverly reasoned rebuttals by the young Methodist preacher Egerton Ryerson (whose family's loyalties to the British Crown were well known and beyond reproach) did much to help the prestige of the Methodist cause and their population continued to flourish. Despite this, and even while the Methodist population increased steadily in the Ottawa Valley throughout the nineteenth century, the divisions between Wesleyan Methodists and Episcopal Methodists were to last far beyond the

20 Reid, *Upper Ottawa*, p. xxix.

timely relevance of political preoccupation and dated border disputes of the early nineteenth century. This divisiveness seriously affected church building projects for many decades. It was only in 1884, when the Wesleyan Methodists and the Episcopal Methodists finally decided to join forces as the Methodist Church, that this ceased to be a factor that impeded architectural progress.

Still in the early decades of the eighteen hundreds, continued concerns that the Americans might again try to invade Canada led to the construction of the Rideau Canal after 1827. The canal was to run between Kingston through the Rideau lakes, along the Rideau river and to empty into the Ottawa River at Bytown. From here, the waters of the Ottawa River flow downstream to the Lac des deux Montagnes and Southeast to Montreal. The canal was intended to provide for the safe movement of troops and supplies without subjecting them to unwelcome surveillance or attack from hostile American forces on the southern shores of the St. Lawrence river. Despite the vast expense entailed in the construction of the canal, the feared invasion never came. The canal itself has survived and is now, somewhat ironically, used to a large extent by American tourists. This future turn of events was however no way evident during the early decades of the 1800s and construction of the Rideau Canal proceeded amid many great hardships, health problems including epidemics of malaria, and financial overrun, under the leadership of Colonel By.

A building project of this dimension served to increase the population of an area, attracting large numbers of laborers and skilled individuals into the Ottawa Valley. The increased population was to eventually contribute to the formation of several small congregations and the building of the first churches in Bytown. A modest Methodist

chapel built during the fall of 1827 is generally considered to have been the first building raised exclusively for religious worship in what is now Ottawa. This first Methodist chapel was destroyed by fire a short time after its completion, and little else is known about it.²¹ Unfortunately, as is the case with so many early places of worship, little more is known about the construction of this chapel.

Of greater duration and considerably better documentation than the first Methodist chapel was the original St. Andrew, Church of Scotland. When operations on the Rideau canal stalled in 1828, Thomas McKay put his Scottish stone masons to work building St. Andrew's Church, the first Presbyterian Congregation in Ottawa.²² Solid and austere, St. Andrew's echoed the strong Calvinistic heritage of its congregation, and would probably have continued to do so for many years had it not fallen victim to High Victorian fashion and the demands of an increased and increasingly affluent congregation (see Fig. 1-8). Likewise, the Roman Catholics, who had a variety of building projects underway at several points along the Ottawa River, also undertook the construction of a place of worship in Bytown during the fall of 1828.²³ Their church-building project was less ambitious than that of the more affluent Presbyterian congregation, nevertheless the unpretentious wooden chapel established a visible Roman Catholic presence in what was

21 Archives of Queen's University, *Papers of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland*, Collection 2263, Box 1, file 1, 1831. Postscript dated 24 November, on a letter to Rev. Robert McGill from John Cruickshank: "To the Methodists belongs the credit of having erected the first place of public worship in Bytown. This was in the fall of 1827."

22 This general term will include the various Presbyterian church divisions and unions such as, the Church of Scotland, Auld Kirk, Free Kirk and Session as well as the numerous variations and associations of Presbyteries, (such as The Presbytery of the Canadas, The Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas in Connection with the United Associate Secession Church in Scotland), and Synods (such as the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland and the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada) etc. This group will be referred to hereafter as Presbyterians unless a more specific designation is necessary for clarity or better understanding.

23 See Appendix II for a list of Roman Catholic churches built prior to 1830.

progressively emerging as one of the major centres in the Ottawa Valley. Not to be outdone by Dissenters, Presbyterians or Romanists, the Anglicans of Bytown embarked on a church-building project of their own in the early 1830s. Although these Ottawa churches figure among some of the earliest religious buildings along the Ottawa River, they were not the first. Similar patterns of church-building centered around promising commercial centers, such as Hull, or military operations, such as the canal-building activities in Grenville, can be seen throughout the Ottawa Valley wherever the population allowed.

As a result of various immigration policies, settlement projects, the lumbering industry, defense strategy and trading routes, the Ottawa Valley was settled from an early date by a variety of different people. With them, they brought diverse linguistic, cultural and religious traditions as well as a collection of political quarrels and sectarian prejudices. Included amongst this formidable array of cultural baggage was a great diversity of opinion and concerns related to the manner and practice of church-building. More often than not their understanding of the merits of built space for public worship and how it should be organized and funded was equally varied. Although there were many Christian denominations in the Ottawa Valley from a very early date, the population was thinly spread over a vast territory, and few congregations were served on a regular basis. In most new settlements, regardless of opinion concerning merit or procedure, church-building got off to a painfully slow start.

While many new settlers may have thought that building a church within their community was a worthy undertaking, getting the necessary resources together to build even the smallest chapel was not always easy. This was particularly true in the Ottawa

Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century when modest log structures were built to jointly serve as community halls, schools and churches. Typical of this was an entry in Belden's *Historical Atlas of Carleton County* in which it is noted that the squared, hewed log structure built at the Cats by Mr. Sheriff in 1832 was not only the first schoolhouse to be built in the township of Fitzroy, but was also the first church in the Township.²⁴ Mr. Sheriff's combined church and school house was reported to have been "common property for all religious denominations."²⁵ The realities of pioneer life could provide, or more often than not demand, occasion for compromise and cooperation between various individual congregations who, for reasons of denominational mistrust or prejudice, might in other circumstances have chosen to have little to do with each other. In fact, the history of church-building in the Ottawa Valley offers numerous examples of interdenominational cooperation on church-building projects, a phenomenon almost unheard of on the other side of the Atlantic. There were nevertheless limits on the extent to which necessity could induce a spirit of ecumenical teamwork, and few communities were likely to see Roman Catholics allowed (or willing) to hold Sunday Mass in the same building that was used for various forms of Protestant worship.

The desire to gather together as a community for joint worship in a place devoted (if only on Sundays) to Christian worship was strong, and though restricted both in terms of number and wealth, small clusters of settlers would pool their finite resources to build a modest house of prayer. Usually this first house of prayer was little more than a bare

24 The Cats is now known as Fitzroy Harbor. According to local tradition, the name goes back to the time of Champlain when early explorers mistook the large number of raccoons in the area for some kind of cat. Unlikely as this may be, the name remained well into the 19th century. H. Belden, *Historical Atlas of Carleton County, Ontario - Illustrated 1879* (Toronto: H. Belden, & Co., 1879), p. xlv.

25 "Mr. Sherrif erected at the Cats a square hewed log building specially for the purpose of school throughout the week and for holding religious services on the Sabbath." Belden, *Carleton*, p. xlv.

log cabin, and was to be used by the denominations whose members had contributed to its erection and up keep. Known as 'Union Chapels' these small practical buildings were widely used in the Ottawa Valley, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. Union chapels continued to be used well into the second half of the nineteenth century, although they gradually fade first from clerical then from popular acceptance.

The architectural shell of a Union church or chapel was not the only unifying factor for many of these early places of community worship. Owing to the general lack of funds most Union churches were so stark that they were incapable of offense by simplicity alone. This is not to suggest that all went smoothly. Disputes were frequent, often bitter and ranged from the theological to the janitorial. In spite of their former abundance, most Union churches have since disappeared, leaving only the faintest traces in archival records.²⁶ Denominational archives indicate that traditionally the members of one confession or another would retain their share in a Union church only until the members of their local community could gather together the necessary funds and resources to build a place of worship for their exclusive use.

The planning of these early churches (union or uni-denominational) could be organized in a variety of ways. Structurally, these churches were very simple buildings and if they were of wood, their construction was frequently a community affair. Once a site was decided upon, the local population would pool their resources, often contributing hard labor or material resources in lieu of cash. Over the course of the winter, logs,

²⁶ A notable exception is the 'Union Chapel' built of stone at Bell's Corners. Erected in 1853, this was a much later structure. Though no longer standing, the Bell's Corners Union Chapel is exceptional in that there is a detailed, if unfavorable description of the interior dating from 1864. See the *Canadian Churchman*, 6 April 1864; and an excellent photograph of the exterior dating from the late 1890s. The history of the denominations that contributed to the construction of this Union Chapel is discussed in some detail by Elliot, *City*, p. 64.

stones and other necessary building material would be dragged to the church site. With the arrival of spring, most of the material was ready at the site. Contributing members would gather to 'raise' the church much as one 'raised' a barn.²⁷ If the church building was to be of stone, calls to tender were usually published in the local newspapers. Contracts were usually awarded to local builders. Most of the earliest chapels were however not built of stone, or even roughly hewn logs but of timber frame. As with many Union chapels, very little remains of any of these early places of worship. Their scarcity is due in part to the nature of the structures themselves, which were extremely rustic, subject to rot, uneven settling and fire. Many of those chapels that did not simply deteriorate beyond repair were often dismantled and salvageable material was reused for other purposes.

Despite their extreme simplicity and undisguised paucity, these modest buildings nevertheless served as a focal point for a widely scattered population. They were often used during the week as schoolhouses or when necessary, places of public assembly. In its own unassuming way the church edifice provided a focal point and offered hope of community commitment, survival and even maybe prosperity of the settlement. In his recent book, *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855*, Richard Reid stated that "the three major denominations" (Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic) were all "...highly dependent upon an institutional structure based outside the province and beyond immediate local control, both for the recruitment of clergy and for doctrinal direction."²⁸ Reid also suggested that these denominations could draw on resources beyond the Ottawa

27 The Rev. Naylor explains that on March 24th and 25th, 1868 "... 'bees' were held to make logs for the church" ... "and that two weeks later, on April 7th," ... twenty-six men assembled and raised the building, which has ever since been known as St. Luke's Caldwell." Rev. Naylor, *The Church in Clarendon* (St. John's: E.R. Smith Co., 1919), p. 45.

28 Reid, *Upper Ottawa*, p. cxvii.

Valley for the construction of their churches. There is no question that in these early years, all denominations had to look to external sources for their priests and ministers,²⁹ and these were not as readily available as implied. Clerical manpower was hard to come by and was often surpassed in scarcity only by the availability of building funds. Therefore, while it may be true that Anglicans, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics profited more than Baptists, Congregationalists or Methodists, from being part of a larger denominational organization, and had members who were not infrequently in a position of some political consequence, the Ottawa Valley does not appear to figure prominently as a frequent recipient of external funds for church building.

In theory, the 'established' Church (that is to say the United Church of England and Ireland) was to be provided for with funds of the Clergy Reserves, Crown Rectories, such as Beckwith Rectory, Franktown, and land in military settlements such as Richmond. In addition to this, there were also several sources in England that provided funds for the church-building in the Colonies, as suggested by Reid, but many communities appear to have raised the better part of their funds themselves. The scarcity of external funds is clearly illustrated by the experiences of the Anglican merchants of

29 Archives of Queen's University, *Papers of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland*, Collection 2263, Box 1, file 2. In a letter dated 25 September 1831, from William Mitler to the Rev. R.A. McGill, Mitler mentions that part of the minister's stipend was provided for by the Glasgow Colonial Society. Between 1821 and 1843, Scottish Presbyterians were served by the Society for Promoting the Religious interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America, which was also known as the Glasgow Colonial Society. In 1836 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland established the Committee for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Presbyterians in the British Colonies which became the Colonial Commission in 1856. For Anglicans, in addition to assistance from the Provincial government, there was also the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Roman Catholic priests came to the Ottawa Valley from Quebec, Ireland and France. The French Oblates made considerable contributions to the progress of Catholicism in the Ottawa Valley and provided the Diocese of Ottawa with its first Bishop. Considerable contributions to Catholic education and public health were also made by the Socurs Grises, who established a community in Ottawa in 1845.

Bytown who formed a committee to plan the construction of a separate Anglican church (see Fig. I -13). When the Building Committee³⁰ apprised their bishop of their intent, they were informed (in no uncertain terms), that while the Bishop was pleased to hear of their project, there were nevertheless several rules and regulations of mandatory compliance. The Building Committee was somewhat disappointed to discover that while the bishop's approval was necessary he could, as indeed he did, decline to participate financially.

The committee for the construction of Ottawa's Anglican church was instructed by the office of the Bishop to first prepare a financial study and estimate of the projected building. They were then to submit this along with an appraisal of the land value and a deed for the site to the bishop. Subsequently, a working plan of the proposed church was to be submitted to and approved by the Bishop before any work could begin. The committee was also informed that all projected spending should be as restrained as possible as the Bishop was in no position to offer pecuniary relief of any sort. Disappointed in terms of funding from within their own denomination, the Anglicans of Bytown gathered their resources and put out their calls for tender to build a church thirty by fifty feet (interior measurements) in the 'Gothick' style.³¹ By 1833 the building committee was short £198.17.4 on the £531.7.00 debt it had incurred. Furthermore, there was still considerable work left to be done on the church. The church wardens petitioned the government for financial relief on the grounds that:

30 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3C1-1-12.

31 Although officially called the United Church of England and Ireland, the addressing of bids tendered for the construction of the new church indicate that 'The English Church' or 'The Episcopal Church' were more common terms in popular parlance. Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3C1-1.

...the Congregation of necessity attend divine service in the Church in said unfinished state, the Pulpit such as it may be called/ and seats being of temporary plank, the walls not plastered and no ceiling. The only article of furniture hitherto obtained has been one stove....³²

Government funds do not appear to have been forthcoming. Complaints were voiced in the Canadian Anglican journal, *The Church*, concerning the poor treatment that the Anglican church suffered at the hands of the provincial government. By early 1834, Anglican indignation was echoed in the *Bytown Gazette* where local editors reprinted complaints first aired in *The Church*.

The Churches in this mission are neat stone edifices - that at Bytown being recently built at the sole expense of the congregation on a site given by Nicholas Sparks Esq. It is calculated to contain about 300 persons and is usually well filled... the church is used as a military chapel, and a minister is called to officiate to the troops. The objection to assist this mission on the part of the Government either with land or salary appears the more extraordinary and unjust from the circumstance of its lending aid to every other denomination in the place *but the Establishment*, and from the Scotch Church having both a valuable Clergy reserve and a Salary for its minister....³³

This suggests that church-building funds may have been much more a hoped-for possibility rather than a practical reality. This being said, there are of course several

32 Letter of 9 August 1833, to "His Excellency Sir John Colbourn, Knight Commander of the Bath, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada and Major General commanding Her Majesty's Forces therein" from A. Bruwrele, G. W. Baker and Geo. Patterson, Church Wardens. Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3C1-1-74. The stove mentioned in the letter does not appear to have been provided with any wood or even with the necessary pipes.

33 "Church Statistics and Intelligence - Mission of Bytown in Upper and Lower Canada" reprinted from *The Church* in the *Bytown Gazette*, 16 January 1834.

notable exceptions, and in the earliest decades members of the Church of Scotland received a number of modest church-building grants on several occasions.³⁴

While there is little evidence to suggest that Ottawa Valley communities were frequent recipients of important church building grants, the priests and ministers of certain denominations, most notably of the English, Roman or Scottish Churches, appear to have held relatively clear ideas concerning the propriety of church building once the necessary funds were raised. These three denominations could all draw on a long tradition of church building. Despite their occasionally tumultuous history, both the English and Scottish Church bequeathed a legacy of several tried and well proven church building types, that were well adapted to the needs of reformed worship.³⁵ Although

34 *Papers of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland*. Queen's University Archives, Presbyterian Church Collection, Box 2, file 1.

35 On the final day of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held in Edinburgh during the spring of 1835, delegates addressed the question of 'Overture on New Churches.' The outcome of this discussion was published in *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, p. 41, section XX, and forwarded to Church members in Canada:

I. That the Act of Assembly 1789 amendment the erection of Chapels of Ease be rescinded.

II. That Presbyteries shall have the power of granting constitutions to new churches, under the control, and liable to the review, of the general assembly.

III. That when a Petition shall be presented to them for a new erection, they shall strictly observe the following rules:

1st They shall cause to be cited in the usual form all parties having interest, - namely the Minister and Kirk-Session of the Parish in which the new church is to be built, the Heritors of the Parish, etc...

2dly, In every petition for a new erection, the petitioners shall be required to state explicitly and minutely the number of persons who may be accommodated in the intended church, the sum subscribed for its erection, the person or corporate body in whom it is proposed to invest the property, the wished-for mode of electing a minister and other office bearers, the provision made for keeping the church in repair, for defraying the expense of common elements, and all the other circumstances with which the Presbytery may deem it necessary for them to be acquainted; and the constitution shall contain regulations as to these matters, and shall prescribe the bounds of the parish to be erected, the Presbytery abstaining carefully from giving decree for a new erection when there is not a reasonable prospect of the church being permanent.

3dly ...in all cases...by the title-deeds, the church shall be inalienably mortgaged as a church in connection with the Church of Scotland, and the building and ground shall not be subject to be made liable for the debts of the church or chapel.

6thly, No constitution shall be granted till two-thirds of the expense incurred in purchasing ground and building the church shall have been liquidated....

church-building immediately after the English reformation had been strongly influenced by government interests,³⁶ it had been later tempered by the Laudian reforms of the mid-seventeenth century. It was however the discussion by Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) concerning the architectural requirements of reformed worship that was to be of particular consequence. This was especially true for the construction of modest parish church buildings, and much of his work continued to exercise considerable influence well into the nineteenth century. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had been a time of intense church building activity in Great Britain and in many of her colonies. In response to the growing problems stemming from the outdated structure of the English parish system that left large segments of the population without church accommodation, the British Parliament voted a grant of £1,000,000 in 1819 to assist in the construction of new churches. A special commission was established to oversee the awarding of funds, planning, design and construction of the new churches. Several years later, in 1829, funds were again released to the commission for a second phase of church-building. Known as the 'Commissioners Churches,' it is often these churches that would have been most prominently associated with the actual building of a church in the memory of many English Anglican immigrants to the Ottawa Valley.

The aim of the Commissioners was to produce buildings that were distinctly Anglican. However, this important prerequisite does not appear to have provoked a detailed discussion of what specifically constituted a distinctly Anglican church. Crown

Despite the above-mentioned specifications, there were few precise architectonic prescriptions. To this day, religious architecture flowing from the Scottish tradition remains somewhat understudied even in Scotland itself. This need for further work is especially evident when compared with the abundance of literature that is readily available on the history of English religious architecture.

36 Most notably under Henry VIII (1540, six articles of the Westminster Parliament), Edward VI and Elizabeth I.

Architect J. Soane lay down a number of practical guidelines concerning the building of churches. In terms of architectural style however, many were of the opinion that Grecian or Gothic could be used interchangeably.³⁷ There was a tendency among the recipients of the first Parliamentary grant to prefer the use of Grecian style in the city and reserve the use of Gothic for the construction of country churches. In general however, there appears to have been a preference for Grecian style buildings and some church builders were overtly hostile to the use of Gothic which they referred to as 'licentious.'³⁸

With increased demands on their limited resources and continued calls for cost-cutting measures, it became progressively more difficult to perpetuate the use of Grecian style of churches. The mandatory elegant stone porticoes were expensive to build and towers, which were a necessity in order to differentiate the buildings of the established church of the realm from meeting houses of dissenters, were notorious for swallowing up very large sums of money. Gothic on the other hand "...could scrape by with a bell-turret, (though a tower was still desirable)."³⁹ But it was very much this scraping by in order to work within the limits imposed by mandatory cost cuts that was later to leave the Gothic of the Commissioners churches open to much criticism from Gothic purists. Instead, as Port points out, "the delight of medieval Gothic, and the charm of the slender and delicate forms of eighteenth century rococo Gothic were alike absent, ... the play of light and shadow, the depth and variety of the moldings that are much of the delight of Gothic" were abandoned. Instead, architects were now obliged to

37 "...we may have either a Greek dress of the parallelogram or a Gothic dress, and we may adopt either the one or the other...." Archdeacon Wollaston to Mr. Jenner, 23 August 1819, quoted in M. H. Port, *Six-Hundred New Churches* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961), pp. 52-3.

38 Port, *Six-Hundred*, p. 49.

39 Port, *Six-Hundred*, p. 61.

“reconcile the Gothic style not merely to the Protestant preaching-box element, but also an increasingly strict financial control which deprived them of ornament.... The result was a box-like building with a few windows with pointed heads, and a little bell-turret while to accommodate the necessary number of worshipers, galleries (which did have the merit of breaking the severe emptiness of the interior) were assembled along the walls and supported by cast-iron columns.”⁴⁰

Despite earlier criticisms and cutbacks, the second phase of church-building reflected a new preference for the use of the Gothic style. Increasingly, (and this appears to have been particularly true among younger architects), Gothic was referred to as the ‘national style’ and was increasingly associated with sentiments of architectural patriotism. Although much of the Gothic used in the construction of the Commissioners Churches tended to be a somewhat two-dimensional interpretation of the style, a number of changes generally attributed to Medieval Revivalists appear to have had the ground prepared for them, (though cautiously and with much restraint), by the Commissioners’ Church builders. While the Commissioners’ Churches may not reflect unwavering fidelity to medieval prototypes, they can be (but rarely are) credited with doing much to rekindle a renewed interest in the Gothic style of architecture especially for the elevation of religious buildings. By the early middle decades of the nineteenth century, the superficial execution of Commissioners’ church Gothic was considered *dépassé* and the buildings were much maligned as a class, not only by Anglican Ecclesiologists, but by other vocal Gothic purists, such as Pugin. The churches were denounced not only for the shortcomings of stylistic execution but also for the economic means by which they were financed.

40 Port, *Six-Hundred*, p. 57.

While Roman Catholics could lay claim to the oldest, longest and most diversified tradition of church-building, their most important and indisputable advantage lay in the fact that they had nearly three centuries of church-building experience in New France.⁴¹ Roman Catholic church-builders were well experienced in dealing with climatic, monetary, architectural and demographic problems the extent of which many of their Protestant counterparts were only beginning to realize. Furthermore, rules and regulations concerning the proper execution of cult practice were explicitly set out in seminary manuals and student priests were often introduced to a variety of acceptable architectural options.⁴² Although Catholic-church building had continued to flourish in the Continental and French Colonial context, Catholicism in the British Isles had been on unstable legal ground from the time of the Protestant Reformation until Emancipation in 1829, and thus had no recent vigorous tradition. Consequently, many of the Irish

41 A sampling of the diversity of work done on this subject can be seen in *Album des églises de la province de Québec*, vol. 1-7, (Montreal: Compagnie Canadienne Nationale de Publication, 1928); M. Brosseau, *Le style néo-gothique dans l'architecture au Canada* (Ottawa: Centre d'édition du Gouvernement du Canada, 1980); A. Gowans, *Church architecture in New France* (Toronto: University Press, 1955); G. Morisset, *l'Architecture en Nouvelle-France* (Quebec: Carrier et Dugai, 1949); G. Morisset, *Les églises et le trésor de Lotbinière* (Quebec: by the author, 1953); G. Morisset, *Les églises et le trésor de Varennes* (Quebec: s.n., 1952); Luc Noppen, *Les églises du Québec (1600-1850)* (Quebec: Éditeur Officiel du Québec/Fides, 1977); L. Noppen, *Notre-Dame de Québec* (Quebec: Éditions du Pélican, 1974); L. Noppen et al, *Québec, trois siècles d'architecture* (Quebec: Libre Expression, 1979); P.G. Roy, *Les vieilles églises de la province de Québec, 1647-1800* (Quebec: Imprimeur du Roy, 1925); F.K.B.S. Toker, *The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970); R. Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Quebec* (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1947); M. Trudel, "Les églises ont-elles souffert de la conquête?" *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, vol. VII, no. 1, June 1954, p. 25-71; L. Voyer, *Églises disparues* (Quebec: Libre Expression, 1981); D. Tremblay, "Caractères et tendances de l'architecture religieuse dans le Québec," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (June 1952), no. 323, pp. 228-230.

42 R. Bordeaux, *Traité de la réparation des églises: principes d'archéologie pratique* (Evreux: A. Hérissey, 1862); A.-R. Devie, *Manuel de connaissances utiles aux ecclésiastiques sur divers objets d'art notamment sur l'architecture des édifices religieux anciens et modernes, et sur les constructions et réparations d'églises - Avec plans et dessins lithographiés* (Lyon: L. Lesne, 1843); M. Schmidt, *Manuel de l'architecture des monuments ou Traité d'application pratique de l'archéologie chrétienne à la construction, à l'entretien, à la restauration et à la décoration des églises* (Paris: Roret, 1845).

Catholics who arrived in the Ottawa Valley during the early decades of the nineteenth century had no strong tradition of recent church building. They brought with them memories of overcrowded and poorly preserved older churches, and no strong tradition of recent church building.

Other denominations such as Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists were much less dependent on a denominationally sanctioned architectural trend. In many ways they were still relative neophytes in the field. They were, in terms of their church architecture, as indeed they were in most of their church affairs, much more congregationally self-reliant. This was a product not only of the hierarchical structuring of their church government, but also like the Roman Catholics, of their recent past history in the British Isles. As non-conformist denominations, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Roman Catholics, etc..., many congregations were legally denied the architectural freedom enjoyed by the officially Established Church. During the years when church-building was not expressly banned, English Law restricted the use of steeples, towers, bells, etc., in the building of churches by any and all non-conformist denominations. Legal restrictions imposed upon the architectural structuring on non-conformist places of worship were equally applied to Roman Catholic church-building projects and felt with particular hardship in Ireland. For many years the development of church-building traditions had been stunted by these restrictions which denied any architectural expression of power, strength or lofty aspiration. Churches that were not built for the established denomination were not permitted to be integrated as architectural

equals on busy streets and public squares but were effectively silenced, architecturally marginalized, and relegated to the back roads.⁴³

The various non-conformist denominations coped with the imposition of architectural restrictions in different ways, and the effects of and reaction to these regulations were to be identifiable in the churches of the Ottawa Valley for much of the nineteenth century. However, if there was one element common to all denominations it was the clear desire to gather together for joint prayer in a place of worship built specifically for that purpose. It was this desire that sooner or later moved many struggling communities to gather their resources and build a house of prayer.

43 B. Little, *Catholic Churches Since 1623: A Study of Roman Catholic Churches in England and Wales from Penal Times to the Present Decade* (London: Robert Hale, 1966), p. 38.

DECIDING TO BUILD

Despite the importance of a chapel/school or Union chapel in a fledgling community, the use of such buildings was recognized from an early date by most communities as a less than ideal solution. The construction of an edifice built specifically and uniquely as a church was considered not simply as a sign of progress and prosperity within a community, but as a sign of that community's ability to 'rise above' the trials and drudgery of pioneer life. As reported in an early history, the village of L'Orignal "boasted no church till 1836, when the Presbyterians rose above the necessity of holding their meetings in the school by erecting a place of worship of their own."⁴⁴

Surprisingly, church-building projects could excite considerable interest in the secular press. In October 1837, the committee for the construction of Christ Church, Huntley, posted notice in the *Bytown Gazette* that "tenders for building an English Church, on Lot No. 11, in the 2nd Con. of the Township of Huntley... will be received at A. Hopper's Esq. store, where Plan and Specification may be seen until the 7th of November next..."⁴⁵ The building committee did not elaborate or offer any more information on the subject. A much more informative discussion of the church-building project appeared in the same issue of the *Bytown Gazette* as the call for tender. The paper announced: "...it always affords us pleasure to record any circumstance indicative of the improvement and growing prosperity of any part of the country... The want of a suitable place of worship has long been felt by the settlers in this township..."⁴⁶ The author proceeded to give a detailed account of the project: the call to tender, where the meeting

44 H. Belden, *Historical Atlas of Prescott & Russell, Stormont, Dundas & Glengarry Counties, Ontario* (Toronto: H. Belden & Co., 1881), p. 60.

45 *Bytown Gazette*, 25 October 1837.

46 *Bytown Gazette*, 25 October 1837.

was held, who was the chair of the committee, what the dimensions were to be and what materials were to be used was all duly noted.⁴⁷

It was with that same sense of purpose that on 28 July 1829, the inhabitants of the townships of Marlborough and Oxford assembled together in the Marlborough township schoolhouse with the expressed purpose of making arrangements for the erection of a house of public worship (see Fig. 1 -10). Stephen Burritt chaired the meeting and Edward Mix acted as Secretary. It was decided by the settlers of Marlborough and Oxford that they should undertake the construction of a new building that was to be reserved for the exclusive use of the United Church of England and Ireland. The projected church was to be built of stone and measure no less than 30 x 40 feet, but not more than 35 x 45 feet.⁴⁸ In typical church building fashion of the early eighteen hundreds, nothing more had been decided by the late fall of that same year other than to give the building committee the authority to extend the projected length of the as yet un-started church by five feet. By the subsequent spring, construction was unanimously postponed until the following season. Despite the delays, it appears that the question of what material should be used for the construction of the church was a source of ongoing

47 *Bytown Gazette*, 25 October 1837.

48 "Res'd 1st - By the majority of those present that they will exert themselves for the purpose of erecting a house of public worship for the established church of England exclusively.
2'd - That the aforesaid church shall be erected at or near the burying ground Lot 8-25 in the first concession of the aforesaid Township of Marlborough.
3'd - That the materials for erecting the walls of the aforesaid church should consist of stone, lime and sand.
4th- That the dimensions of the aforesaid church shall be left to the discretion of the building committee with these exceptions, that is to say that it shall not exceed 35 by 45 nor shall it be less than 30 by 40 ft..
5th- That the building committee shall consist of George L. Bassitt, Henry Burritt and Stephen Hurd Esquires.
6th- That the committee shall neither of them be contractors for the erection of the aforesaid church or any part thereof...." Archives of the Diocese of Ontario (Anglican), Kingston, Vestry Book - Burritt's Rapids, Merrikville Parish, Marlborough Township, 1829-1893 - document SMM1.

discussion. A meeting was eventually held "for the purpose of taking the sense of the people respecting the material for the erection of the aforesaid church."⁴⁹ Twelve voted to build a wooden church, while only five continued to support the use of stone as originally projected. The wooden church was completed and opened for service in 1831. Although it has undergone several modifications, the original church has remained in use for the last century and a half and is one of the oldest wooden churches still standing in the Ottawa Valley.

Regretfully much less is known about the planning and organization of most of the earliest churches. Few of these buildings remain standing today and of those that do, only a handful are preserved in an environment that would be even remotely reminiscent of the original site layout. Despite these limitations, it is nevertheless possible to identify the following common characteristics associated with the choice of site, the style and arrangement of the exterior, the internal arrangements and the architectural furnishings of the sanctuaries.

SITE CHOICE AND SURROUNDINGS

A significant obstacle encountered early on in many church building projects was the delicate question of choosing a suitable site that did not appear to favor any particular cluster of families, while not being too inconvenient for the majority. This could be a considerable challenge. Distances were great and the population sparse and scattered.

49 Archives of the Diocese of Ontario (Anglican), Kingston, Vestry Book - Burritt's Rapids, Merrierville Parish, Marlborough Township, 1829-1893 - document 5MM1.

The few roads that did exist were often impassable. Most denominations were in agreement that ideally, a church was considered to mark the center of a community. This could be interpreted in a number of different ways. The three 'establishment mentality churches' generally selected sites that were suggestive of a preference for a conspicuous location near the center of daily activity. By contrast Methodist site choice hints of a preference for sites that afforded a more introspective setting. This meant a site was required to have enough room to hold camp meetings, which remained popular among certain congregations for some time. By virtue of this criteria alone these sites were more secluded. Baptists were less likely to gravitate too far inland as they habitually practiced baptism by immersion. For a site to accommodate their sacramental priorities, it was necessarily near a decent source of water. Although Baptists were present in the Ottawa Valley from a very early date, they were not involved in significant building activities prior to the second half of the century.⁵⁰ In other instances, and this was particularly true during the first half of the nineteenth century, it was not always obvious where the future village would develop. If there were no other indications, the presence of a church building was considered in and of itself the most reliable indication as to precisely where a new center of development might be.

Donations of land by individuals or families appear to have been one of the most common sources of land. It is worth noting that donations of land were not always from members of the denomination that was undertaking the construction of the church. In Renfrew, Ontario, Xavier Plant gave land not only to his fellow Roman Catholics but also to the Anglicans, the Episcopal Methodists and the Presbyterians. In Aylmer,

50 Baptists had been in the Ottawa Valley since the 1820s. Lutherans did not appear in any number prior to organized German immigration in the second half of the nineteenth century. See P. Hessel, *Destination Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa: Runge Press Ltd., 1984).

Quebec, Charles Symmes gave land to both the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics though he himself was a Presbyterian.⁵¹ Still, generous offers of land were not always graciously accepted. The *Dominion Churchman* pointed out one such case, St. Mark's, Pakenham, where a well suited and centrally located site was declined because the parishioners were not in accordance with the religious inclination of the would-be donor.

The ground [for the first church] had been selected somewhere about the time of the rebellion, in preference to a splendid lot in the village, generously offered by Mr. Dickson, simply we understand, because the loyal Churchmen of the parish would not be indebted for the site of their Church to a reformer! Laudable and natural as the feeling may have been at the time the result has worked untold evil.⁵²

It is perhaps, also worth noting (without questioning the generosity of any individuals who donated land for church building projects), that the value of land often mounted proportionately in relation to its proximity to a church.

Given the numbers of factors at play, it comes as no surprise that choosing the best site for a church building could be difficult and was occasionally fraught with disaster. In 1839, local Roman Catholics, under the direction of Fr. Monogram, built a small wooden chapel on the site of what is now the Plantagenet cemetery. The original chapel was reputed to have been:

51 R. Jefferson, *Faith of our Fathers: The Story of the Diocese of Ottawa* (Ottawa: The Anglican Book Society, 1956), p. 158; C. Bennett, *The Story of Renfrew* (Renfrew: Juniper Books, 1984), pp. 180-189.

52 *Dominion Churchman*, 10 August 1876.

...une construction fort bizarre. On l'avait juchée sur des poteaux, à une douzaine de pieds de hauteur, dans l'intention de bâtir subséquemment un rez-de-chaussée qui peut servir de pied-à-terre au missionnaire....⁵³

The projected *pied-à-terre* was never completed and the chapel remained for some time as an architectural curiosity perched on top of its wooden stilts. This rather unique arrangement was not considered by the Bishop to be one of the most dignified dispositions for a place of Catholic worship and several attempts were made to have the local population finish the building. Stalling and squabbling continued until finally an exasperated Mgr. Guigues, their bishop, sent a carpenter out from Bytown to saw down the tall poles and to slide the chapel down a ramp to ground level. Once on *terra firma*, the ground itself posed still another problem. The parishioners had built the chapel without obtaining legal ownership of the land and the deed for the site was still held by Mr. McMartin who also owned and operated the local mill. The Bishop was unwilling to have a church standing on land for which they did not hold the legal deed and McMartin refused to sell the property to the Diocese. Mgr. Guigues therefore ordered the chapel dismantled and relocated.

The projected relocation of the chapel, far from alleviating problems, only served to present new ones, and resulted in considerable animosity among inhabitants, who were of different opinion concerning the merit of the various sites. Eventually the chapel was dismantled and transported to an episcopally approved site under the direction of Étienne Châtelin. Stone was purchased to ensure a structurally sound foundation for the new chapel. The foundation stones were however reputed to have been stolen by those

opposed to the new location, and it was many years and several churches later before the majority of Catholics in the region felt their architectural requirements were properly addressed.⁵⁴ While the whole affair is admittedly not a shining example of Christian cooperation, it is a good demonstration of the extent to which the material church was linked with social stability and rural development.

In other instances, the building of early churches owed much to the driving force of a single individual. Hamnett Pinhey was one such individual, donating not only his own land, but also personal funds to the construction of a stone church which he named in honor of his wife Mary's patron saint (see Fig. I -4). Pinhey was a scrupulous record keeper and the construction of this church is unusually well documented and consequently offers some valuable insight into the building of churches in the Ottawa Valley during the early years of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ When the *Bytown Gazette* erroneously reported that this church had been built with the aid of funds from overseas, notably £300 from the Countess of Ross, Pinhey forced the paper to print a retraction.⁵⁶

Many more settlers undoubtedly possessed the personal energy needed for such a project. Very few however, had the personal ways or means that Hamnett Pinhey had at

54 Barbezieux, *Histoire*, pp. 334-5

55 Although the church itself is now in ruins, Pinhey himself was a keen writer and in addition to keeping the Bishop well informed about the project, kept a set of daily accounts concerning work and progress on the construction site. His daughter, an accomplished artist, illustrated the façade and northwestern exterior of the side of the building. A photo survives of the southeastern flank taken in the early twentieth century just before the church was dynamited. There are regretfully no photographs or illustrations of the interior but an early floor plan drawn up for the purpose of pew rental has survived. There is also enough of the church preserved to confirm this. I am grateful to Dr. B. Elliot, Head of the Pinhey's Point Foundation for bringing Pinhey's writings on this subject to my attention.

56 "We are requested by the gentleman who built the church to state that the building was commenced in the Spring of 1825, was completed at Christmas of 1828; and no subscription from that noble lady nor any contribution neither in England or Ireland has ever been received or solicited towards it," *Bytown Gazette*, 13 June 1839.

his disposal. Church building funds more often than not were raised from the modest resources of a struggling community. More typical of a church built by community effort is St. John, South March (1838) (see Fig I - 15).

The church of St. John had been built specifically to counterbalance Hamnett Pinhey's church of St. Mary. The Anglican bishop in Quebec, C.J. Stewart, had been concerned that the church of St. Mary catered to a wealthier segment of the population who held large tracts of land along the banks of the Ottawa River. The Pinhey church was not easily accessible to many of the poorer settlers who held farms farther inland. In order to insure a more equitable distribution of spiritual resources, the Bishop declined to authorize the consecration of St. Mary's until a second church (St. John's) was built further inland. A similar example of a collective community project can be seen with the construction of the Huntley Church, (1837)⁵⁷ (see Fig. I -16), and in the construction of a modest Methodist stone chapel in Aylmer. Although this chapel has subsequently undergone numerous alterations, it is one of the few surviving Methodist structures from this era.

Regardless of their denominational affiliation, most of these early church buildings were set towards the front end of their lot, and squared to the property line.⁵⁸ Secular surveying thus provided the main frame of reference although churches built near the banks of the Ottawa River, such as the Pinhey church, frequently faced the river.⁵⁹

57 The vestibule that precedes St. John's, South March and the axial tower of Christ Church, Huntley, are both much later additions.

58 St. James, Franktown, 1822; Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids, 1831; St. Matthew's, Grenville, 1832; and Christ Church, Huntley, 1839, are good examples of this and are all still standing. St. James, Hull, 1823 (now lost), may have been an exception.

59 The original Christ Church in Ottawa was built facing the river and therefore also lies along a North-South axis. When the new church and present cathedral was built, in 1872, this orientation was retained.

Despite the actual orientation of a building, churches were frequently discussed in terms of east and west, with the east corresponding to the portion of the church that housed the sanctuary and the west corresponding to the main entry. This practice was especially common among Anglicans. Whether the terms east and west corresponded to geographic reality or not was irrelevant. In this spirit, what has always been referred to as the "tower...at the west end"⁶⁰ of Christ Church in Ottawa, was built to face the Ottawa River, and is almost due north while the west end of St. James Anglican, Hull (1823), faced almost due south.⁶¹

Many of the earliest Ottawa Valley churches stood near the graveyards that were associated with them. Contrary to late twentieth century practices, parishes frequently surrounded not only their burial grounds but also their church buildings with fences. A questionnaire circulated in 1833 by the Anglican Bishop inquired of each parish priest, "*Are your burial grounds well and sufficiently fenced in? Have they been duly consecrated? Are pigs or cattle admitted therein?*"⁶² The Rev. Richard Harte reported to his Bishop that in Beckwith the grounds were fenced but not consecrated. To the third question he replied "No pigs - there may be a few sheep."⁶³ In the Township of March, Hamnett Pinhey reported cultivating both corn and potatoes in the church yard until the death of his wife Mary in 1852. After her burial, he grew flowers, flowering shrubs and lined the churchyard with trees.

60 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-0-3; C-1:1, no. 46.

61 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-H4-3.

62 Archives of the Diocese of Ontario (Anglican), Kingston, Box 6-L, file 2-1.

63 Archives of the Diocese of Ontario (Anglican), Kingston, Box 6-L, file 2-1.

EXTERNAL STRUCTURES AND ADORNMENTS

As previously noted, the great majority of churches raised during the first decades of the nineteenth century were built with wood. Wood was comparatively easy to transport, simple to work and abundantly available in the Ottawa Valley during the nineteenth century. On the less positive side, wood also had the definite disadvantage of being prone to uneven settling, rot, and was notoriously unresisting in the face of fire. The end result is that, of the few church buildings that have survived from the earliest decades of the nineteenth century, almost all are of stone. A notable exception to this is Christ's Church (Anglican), built in Burritt's Rapids in 1832 (see Fig. I -9). Brick was not used in the construction of earlier churches. This was not necessarily by choice but rather by virtue of the fact that bricks were not readily available. Stone was widely considered to create a sense of endurance and permanence and was usually the preferred building material, however, stone churches were expensive. The raw material was difficult to quarry and cumbersome to transport, especially at a time when roadways were underdeveloped.

In their humblest forms many of these early churches had little if any external arrangements or embellishments. Most Protestant denominations would not tolerate the use of crosses even to distinguish their churches from domestic log cabins. Indeed, a number of these early buildings appear to have ended their days as cabins or ancillary structures. Their entries were usually understated and frequently in the lateral or side wall of the building.

When those responsible for the construction of a new church wished to make a bolder statement of religious purpose, they almost invariably, (but not exclusively), required their building to be fitted with some reference to the Gothic style.⁶⁴ When church builders felt that a stone structure was beyond their means and resources, yet still felt compelled to move beyond the roughly hewed or squared timber of a log cabin, a frame and board work chapel was the most common solution. In addition to being relatively inexpensive to finance and expeditious to build, such structures also had the distinct advantage of easily accommodating even the most restrained reference to the Gothic style. Regardless of material used in the construction of a new church or chapel, it was the inclusion of Gothic elements that was widely considered to distinguish the new chapel from common meeting houses and to mark it as a place of Christian worship.

In their simplest form, these early churches, whether they were built of wood or stone, were entered by way of a single axial entry. The façade was frequently barren of all embellishments. The sole reference to Gothic was in the delicate intersecting tracery in the small pointed segment of the window above the door. To this most austere arrangement an almost innumerable wealth of possible variations could be added. Among the most common and simplest variations is an unembellished façade in which a single central entry was flanked to either side by a Gothic window. Surviving examples of this arrangement can still be identified at St. John's (Anglican), South March and Christ Church (Anglican), Huntley, (see Fig. I -17) although the façades of both churches have been subject to some later modifications.⁶⁵

64 Several early exceptions include St. James Anglican in Franktown (1822), the Methodist chapel in Aylmer (1828), and the Scottish Kirk in Beckwith (1834).

65 A small porch has been built against the façade of the South March church, while the central entry of the Huntley church is now preceded by an axial tower.

In keeping with contemporary practice, when windows appear in the façade of a church, they are most commonly placed to either side of an axial entry. They are both wide and very tall. The Gothic windows in the façade of the Huntley church which in many ways typifies this manner of building measure five feet wide across and twelve feet to the apex. In other instances an axial entry is flanked to either side by a Gothic bay and a small light is opened in the apex of the gable. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Ramsay Township, (8th Line), offers an excellent example of this arrangement (see Fig. I -21). Built in 1836 of local stone, as in the case of the two previously mentioned churches, St. Andrew's also has long wide Gothic bays as well as the high walls and squat roof particularly common to churches built during and prior to the 1840s.

In other instances, a principal axial entry is flanked to either side by two lesser doorways. One of the best surviving examples of a monumental tripartite entry can be seen on the façade of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Notre Dame in Ottawa. Although the original plans, based on Thomas Baillargé's neoclassic church of St. Patrick in Quebec City, were subject to extensive modifications resulting in a predominantly Gothic façade. The number and placement of the door cases themselves reflect the original plans of 1839. A tripartite entryway was however, not as much a trait of larger urban churches as it was of Roman Catholic churches themselves. Although builders of Roman Catholic churches that were to contain only a single aisle were encouraged to make do with a correspondingly singular entry, tripartite entries are commonplace on Catholic churches of varying sizes from an early date. It was occasionally suggested, (usually by enthusiasts of more esoteric interpretations of architectural symbolism) that the triple doors served as a reference to the Trinity. The French cleric, Mgr. X. Barbier de

Montault observed that according to the teachings of St. Paulin of Nole the Trinity gave access to all elements of faith and all teachings of the church in the same manner three doors on the façade of a church symbolized the Trinity and gave access to the physical church.⁶⁶ He offered no explanation as to why the Three Equal Persons would be represented by three unequal doors.

In their original state the principal entry of many early churches opened directly into the main body of the church. It was rare to find a narthex or vestibule between the church interior and the outside doors. With the passage of time however, the realities of Ottawa Valley winters often resulted in the construction of wooden porches immediately in front of many principal entries. Occasionally, as seen on the Huntley church, wooden towers were added, (although in this case it is a much later addition). When this was done, the base of the tower doubled as a vestibule.

For a number of early Ottawa Valley churches, a strong axial tower was a defining feature of the original façade plan. As noted above, for many years English law had inhibited the church-building ambitions of non-conformist denominations by restricting the construction of large churches or of churches with towers, steeples or bells. The effects of this were experienced differently by the various denominations involved, especially when they found themselves somewhat further afield, or when restrictive policies were relaxed. Serving no liturgical function, the presence of a bold tower had nevertheless come in many ways to be emblematic of confessional sympathy for church establishment, or at the very least of a sentiment that beneficial results were to be reaped by all involved in a strong church-state relationship. The extent to which

66 X. Barbier de Montault, *Traité Pratique de la construction et de la décoration des églises selon les règles canoniques et les traditions romaines* (Paris: P. Louis Vivès, 1878), p. 44.

central towers were a deliberate statement on the part of various individual church builders, and to what extent they simply represent remembered tradition or force of habit, is difficult to determine with precision. Nevertheless, when considered in a confessional context, the presence of towers can ultimately be interpreted as something that goes far beyond a simple desire to emphasize or privilege the façade. Thus, while towers appear on some of the earliest churches built in the Ottawa Valley, they are traditionally confined to those buildings erected by congregations belonging to the United Church of England and Ireland or to the Church of Scotland. Invariably, towers associated with early church buildings were axially aligned and in partial or full relief of the façade. In this manner the base of the tower also served as a small porch or vestibule to the main doorway of the church. The latter was in turn centered on the longitudinal axis of the church. The original plans for Christ Church, Bytown (1832), included a central tower with embattled parapets to stand in full relief of the main façade. However, due to financial constrictions, when the contract was finally drawn up in 1832, it was clearly stipulated "that a tower be erected at the west end of said church to the height of the ridge pole."⁶⁷ It was not until a decade later, in 1842, that the superstructure of the tower was completed according to a pencil sketch in the vestry minutes of December 1841 (see Fig. I -12).⁶⁸

The tower's additional story was intended to house the church bells, and was opened on each face by a long Gothic arch filled with wooded louvers. The completed tower was crowned with a crenelated parapet. This formula was particularly effective when church builders sought to instill a sense of solid monumentality. There was no spire, nor were the corners accentuated with pinnacles. This arrangement appears to have

⁶⁷ Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3; C-1:1, no. 46.

⁶⁸ Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3, file 1.2.F1., no. 136-8, Select Vestry Minutes, 15 December 1841.

been fairly common among earlier churches, and spires do not appear to have been at all sought after as the massive towers from which they rose. A crenelated parapet (now lost) was clearly evident on a mid-nineteenth century sketch of the Pinhey's Point church by Mary Anne Pinhey-Hill.

The deliberate use of frontal towers to achieve an effect of monumentality is clearly demonstrated through the persistent inclusion of architectural features that are visually striking. Pinnacles, quoins as well as embattlements and crenelated parapets, which are of strictly military utility, figure prominently in this category.⁶⁹ Typical of this type of arrangement is Christ Church (Anglican), Burritt's Rapids (1831). Here a central tower is crested with embattled parapets. The four corners of the tower are surmounted by wooden Gothic pinnacles while the corners of its clapboard tower are equipped with wooden quoins. While both structurally useful and harmonious when used as an integral part of stone masonry, the pinnacles and wooden quoins are structurally insignificant and rather unlikely ornaments when placed on a wooden frame construction (see Fig. I -9).

A more harmonious and an unquestionably more structurally effective use of accentuated quoins can be seen on the tower of St. Mungo's Presbyterian Church in Cushing (1836). Here, in keeping with church building tradition of rural Scotland, a massive stone tower precedes a comparatively modest stone church (see Fig. I -22). The extra attention given to the masonry work on the quoin stones of the tower is further emphasized by the use of a darker stone, a motif repeated in the arch stones of the

69 Typical of this was the facade of the original St. Stephen's in Buckingham, 1845, which had four wall buttresses with pinnacles and elongated finials. An embattled parapet ran between the two central pinnacles. Anon. *St. Stephen's Anglican Church, Buckingham & Saint Thomas Church, Lochaber, Quebec, 1845 - 1945*, Quebec, p. 8.

churches various windows. The summit of the tower corners are marked by four small turrets. In other instances, as illustrated with the original St. Andrew's Church of Scotland (Bytown, 1829), an axial tower was planned but never finished. The base of the tower stood only in partial relief of the façade and the planned superstructure was never completed above the roof line of the main body of the church (see Fig. I -8). Termination of the projected tower continued to be a topic of discussion and concern for several decades. Plans for its completion were drawn up as late as 1864.⁷⁰ By 1870, the women of St. Andrew's congregation had raised in excess of \$1,550.00 for the construction of a steeple.⁷¹ Despite this level of commitment to the tower project, the proposed structure was never completed. The original church was demolished only two years later in favor of a larger and more fashionable structure.

Even in their simplest form, the towers associated with most of these early churches contained some allusion to Gothic.⁷² The most frequent reference to Gothic was made by framing the axial entry with a Gothic arch in the same manner of the simpler towerless churches. Further stylistic emphasis was achieved through the inclusion of windows or belfry openings with pointed arch heads or through the use of pointed half rounds, and intersecting window tracery. As in simpler churches without towers, the gable wall against which a tower stood could be devoid of any other opening. St. Mungo's, Church of Scotland, in Cushing, the nearby Anglican church of St. Matthew's in Grenville, or again the Pinhey church (see Fig. I -4), are all good surviving examples of this arrangement. Likewise, as with churches that were not preceded by axial towers,

70 Public Archives of Canada, MG9 D7- 35 vol. 23, part 1. Minutes of the Temporal Committee Meeting, 4 October 1864.

71 J. MacPhail, *St. Andrew's Church - Ottawa: The First Hundred Years, 1828-1928* (Ottawa: Dadson-Merrill Press Ltd., 1931), p. 20.

72 One of the few exceptions to this general rule is the Anglican church of St. James' in Franktown (1822).

the doorway in the gable wall of the church could be flanked to either side by lancet windows, as seen in the Church of St. Andrew's (1828) and Christ Church (1832) (see Fig. I -8), both in Ottawa (see Fig. I -13).

When towers were desired but were beyond the means of a congregation, a popular compromise was the installation of small bell turrets. These were usually set straddling the roof ridge and in slight retreat of the main façade. This solution appeared from a very early date on Anglican buildings, notably on the Anglican Church of St. James in Hull (see Fig. I -1), but they were to enjoy particular success among Roman Catholic church builders. In elevating structures of this nature, Roman Catholic builders were able to draw freely on Québécois prototypes, lending a distinct flavor to many Ottawa Valley churches. Bells were considered to play an important role in the practice of early nineteenth century Catholic culture and no church was considered complete without them. Considerable efforts were made by individual priests and parishioners to acquire bells. When the physical or financial structure of a local church could not support a bell tower or turret, bells would occasionally be placed in a small tower of wooden scaffolding, in the manner of a rustic campanile, beside the façade of the church itself. This practice continued well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

On those churches where builders wished to accentuate frontal monumentality, it was not uncommon to find a mix of Gothic and neoclassic arrangements. Combinations of this nature were common during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This unlikely stylistic combination does not appear to have been perceived by nineteenth century church builders to be as contradictory as they often are to the late twentieth century eye. Perhaps the most valiant attempt to create an architectural presence can be

seen at the original St. James (Anglican, 1834), in Carleton Place. While the old St. James is sometimes mentioned in connection with the activities of the parish, even the correspondents for the *Canadian Churchman* did not attempt an architectural description.⁷³

Originally built as a modest frame structure in 1834, the church of St. James eventually acquired a well proportioned pediment and Doric entablature, supported in turn by four Doric columns.⁷⁴ A photograph taken just prior to its demolition shows a building which is (with a little imagination and some goodwill) vaguely reminiscent of a protostyle temple (see Fig. I -14). A collection of gentlemen are gathered on the deep front porch under the pediment supported by what appear to be four Doric columns. In keeping with Vitruvius's canons for the Doric order, the columns rest immediately on the floor of the church porch. Each fluted column is composed of three drums.⁷⁵ The Doric entablature is simple and well proportioned, and undecorated. There is no frieze: the horizontal cornice of the pediment rests immediately upon the architrave. The tympanum, like the entablature is undecorated. The white paint only helps to reinforce the impression of a Greek temple. A square tower sits heavily above the pediment, looking more like an awkward afterthought than an integral part of the structure. This is a rural and distant reference that can nevertheless trace its architectural ancestry to James Gibbs' much copied façade for St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London (1721-1726). Somewhat closer to the Ottawa Valley, Holy Trinity, the Anglican Cathedral in Quebec City (1800-1804) was

73 In 1863, a correspondent for the *Canadian Churchman* who accompanied the Bishop to Carleton Place on a confirmation tour, noted: "The exterior of the church has lately been repainted and it would add very much to its appearance if the interior were renovated in a like manner." *Canadian Churchman*, 18 June 1863.

74 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-L-C1.

75 It is not possible to tell if there are actually twenty flutes as recommended by Vitruvius (III:9), however on the original photograph, the shadowing is strong and well balanced and the conventions of the more ornate orders clearly are not used.

also copied from Gibbs' St. Martin, although economic and climatic conditions had already necessitated some major structural modifications.⁷⁶ At this point, the similarities with Classical architecture stop. The grandiose references to Classical and neoclassic architecture are in fact simply a preface to a modest vernacular Gothic structure. St. James church is entered through a large pointed doorway, flanked to either side by large Gothic windows. The unadorned lateral walls of the nave present a striking contrast to the forceful embellishments of the neoclassic façade.

While Anglicans may have attempted to refer to denominationally significant edifices in the construction of rural and colonial churches, similar trends cannot be identified among Ottawa Valley Methodists. Despite the precedent set by Wesley's City Road Chapel, London (1777), itself a porticoed hall, and Wesley's own partiality to Thomas Ivory's Octagon Chapel in Norwich,⁷⁷ Methodist church-building was long marked by austere simplicity. Towers and prestigious façades do not appear to have been a source of primary concern and this is clearly reflected in the building of the Ottawa Valley's first Methodist churches. A deeper examination of the role these buildings played for those who built and used them suggests however that these modest structures fulfilled a need that extended far beyond pedestrian demands for shelter and the materialistic constraints of mere architecture.

76 L. Maitland, *Neoclassical Architecture in Canada* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, Ministry of the Environment, 1984), p. 106.

77 J. White, *Protestant Worship: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 156.

INTERIOR DESIGN AND ARRANGEMENTS

Although the external structures of some churches from this era have survived relatively unaltered, the same cannot be said for the interior of most churches. Of the few surviving resources, one of the most important in determining the original arrangements of the nave are floor plans drawn up for the purpose of pew rental. These plans are particularly useful in that they provide a relatively clear ground plan of the church and principal internal features. Pews, pulpits, sanctuaries and stoves are often included. In some instances the name of an individual and the price paid for the pew are noted on the plan. When rental rates are included, they consistently reflect the fact that proximity to the cult act was dictated by financial ability.

Regardless of their denominational affiliation, the nave occupied the largest percentage of the building mass in all of these early churches. Even so, few early churches could boast spacious interiors. Nevertheless, despite their diminutive proportions and general lack of adornment, the importance of the nave should not be undervalued and can contribute much to our understanding of religious practice during the early nineteenth century. The arrangements of the nave plays an important part in determining the relative positioning of the faithful to the cult act.

The small size of the nave was due in part, but by no means solely, to the reduced population base of many early congregations. Several congregations in rapidly expanding settlements were obliged to enlarge their churches only a few years after the

original construction.⁷⁸ This was particularly true among Anglo-Protestant congregations whose churches were traditionally sized conservatively, especially when compared to the churches of similarly populated Roman Catholic congregations. A distaste for oversized churches was firmly entrenched in the minds of many Anglo-Protestant Christians of the nineteenth century. The roots of this antipathy can be traced back to the early days of the Protestant Reformation and the restructuring of the English church during the sixteenth century. At this time large portions of many big and now liturgically redundant medieval churches were closed off so as to create a more intimate place of worship. The need for all to see and hear became a fundamental requisite of all Reformed architecture. Given the abundance of pre-reformation medieval churches available, it was some time before Protestants were in need of new church buildings and thus some time before they were forced to elaborate on the architectural needs of reformed worship. One of the earlier, and certainly one of the more celebrated Protestant architects to do so, was Sir Christopher Wren, who noted:

The churches... must be large. But still, in our reformed religion, it should seem vain to make a *Parish Church* larger than that all who are present can both hear and see. The *Romanist*, indeed, may build larger churches, it is enough if they hear the Murmur of the Mass and see the Elevation of the Host, but ours are to be fitted for Auditors.⁷⁹

78 Less than ten years after it was built, the Congregation of Christ Church, Bytown, was obliged to add transepts and galleries to its church, and a few years later the neighboring Presbyterian Congregation of St. Andrew's lengthened its church on Wellington Street.

79 C. Wren, *Parentalia: or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens; viz of Mathew Bishop of Ely, Christopher, Dean of Windsor, etc., but chiefly of Sir C. Wren; in which is contained, besides his works, a great number of Original Papers and Records... Compiled by his son Christopher... Published by S. Wren with the Care of J. Ames* (London: T. Osborne & R. Dodsley, 1750), p. 320.

Although the introduction of the Auditory or Room Church as such antedated Wren's career by several years, the expansion of this type owes a great deal to Wren's influence. Much of the success of Wren's plans was due to his thoughtful study of the needs and functions of a Protestant Church building. Wren had insisted that parish churches must reflect the new liturgical simplicity but still not fail to visually underscore the importance of sacramental unity. From this simple yet fundamental criterion was to emerge one of Wren's most influential church types. Based on a simple rectangular floor plan that formed a single room, there was no structural distinction between the nave and sanctuary. The only concession to privileged space was a small area at the western end of the church where the floor might be raised and possibly enclosed with a small railing.

The influence of Wren's approach to Protestant church building, is evident in numerous early churches in the Ottawa Valley, and is not surprisingly most notable among those buildings belonging to the United Church of England and Ireland. The influence of this approach can be traced well into the nineteenth century especially among rural buildings. Noted historian of church architecture, J. White considers Wren to have exercised the single most important influence on Anglican church building prior to the changes introduced by the Ecclesiologists and ritualists during the early Victorian Era.⁸⁰ Indeed, it is worth noting that among the latter decades of the nineteenth century those Canadian Anglicans who were to reject the use of a revived medieval Gothic, traditionally advocated a continued use of a church design that drew its inspiration from the work of Sir Christopher Wren.⁸¹

80 J. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 2.

81 Although Wren himself occasionally used Gothic (most notably when he worked on Westminster), it is a competent but dry technical execution that bespeaks no love or affinity for the style.

In contrast to their Protestant counterparts, early Roman Catholic churches in the Ottawa Valley tended to be both wider and more elongated. Longer churches were indeed better suited to ceremonial needs of Roman Catholic worship. The new stone church begun in 1839 to replace Ottawa's first Roman Catholic church, a decrepit and decaying wooden structure, remains today as one of the largest and oldest Churches still standing in the Ottawa Valley.⁸²

With few exceptions, (usually when round headed windows were used)⁸³ the naves of these early churches were lit by large Gothic windows. Stylistically, the window type could range from the very simple mitered arches of Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids (see Fig. I -10), to the technically complex ogee arches of St. Mary's, Pinhey Point (see Fig. I -6).⁸⁴ By far the most common window type was a long, relatively broad, bay with an equilateral or drop arch head.

Windows opening into the nave were filled with clear glazing. This allowed for the admission of great quantities of unaltered daylight, while at the same time reducing the need for artificial lighting (see Fig. I -19). Candles were not only an expensive fire hazard, but were occasionally considered by some Protestant congregations to be 'Romish.' Of the few early churches that have survived to the latter decades of the twentieth century, many now display richly stained glass in the sashes of their windows.

82 The interior measurements of the nave are 20.12m x 39m. N. Pagé, *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1988), p. 129.

83 St. James Beckwith is one of the better preserved examples.

84 In a letter dated 10 January 1827, Pinhey provides his builder with a drawing of ogee-arched windows. While Pinhey was flexible concerning the exact dimensions of these windows, ("about 5 feet"), his plans clearly called for an ogee-arch head. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hill Collection, MG 2646, vol. 19.

It is essential to bear in mind that the presence of colored glass is the result of later modifications and not part of the original building project. Few windows were originally filled with colored or stained glass of any sort, and few would have been, even if this sort of glass had been readily available. Stained glass windows in churches of this period are invariably later additions. The impact of this change should not be underestimated as the internal atmosphere of a church is drastically altered by the introduction of colored glass. Early nineteenth century Protestant worship demanded a clear, bright interior. It was not enough for the word of God to be simply heard by all, it was also necessary for the faithful to plainly read the word of God.

Contemporary Roman Catholic thought on this matter suggested on the other hand, that it was inappropriate for the inside of churches to be too bright.

Il n'est pas à propos qu'une église soit trop éclairée; une mystérieuse obscurité invite au recueillement. C'est pour cela que nos ancêtres mettaient aux fenêtres des vitraux peints qui affaiblissaient la lumière et la faisaient arriver aux yeux toute imprégnée de sujets de méditation. On supplée à la lumière du jour par celle des cierges et des lampes qui fixent l'attention d'une manière plus directe sur l'autel quand on célèbre le St. Sacrifice, sur le Saint Sacrement, quand il est exposé, sur des chapelles, des tableaux et d'autres objets de dévotion particulière.⁸⁵

However, regardless of how Catholic church builders in the Ottawa Valley may have felt about the use of stained glass, the question was essentially academic. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, there simply wasn't much stained glass available to Ottawa Valley church builders. Catholic churches, initially at least, were obliged to make

85 Devie, *Manuel*, p. 317.

due with a more austere solution than they might normally have preferred and their churches remained fairly well lit owing primarily to the general expense and scarcity of colored glass.

The clear glazing of the windows, combined with their size, and the whitewashed walls made for interiors that were both bright and austere. This was particularly well suited to Anglo-Protestant denominations whose worship priorities focused on reading and preaching the Word of God. The word of God was to be seen and heard by all and some congregations deliberately scheduled services to be held at such a time that no artificial lighting would be required, although others were somewhat more flexible on this subject. As early as 1842, the nave of Christ Church, Bytown, was lit by gas lamps; however, the congregation had to settle for lamp shades with a thistle on them instead of the tulip shaped shades they had originally hoped for.⁸⁶

It was in the profound simplicity of the nave that a number of complex relationships were defined. The physical arrangements of the nave offered a telling cross-section of religious and social stratigraphy. This is particularly evident in congregations belonging to the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome. The phenomenon occurs not only in terms of relationships between the faithful themselves, who sat in box pews or benches stratified according to their financial worthiness, but also in terms of the faithful's collective place before the sacred (see Fig. 1 -5). Less distinguished parishioners were relegated to the back of the church or to

86 Correspondence from Thomas Lang of Montreal to Rev. S.S. Strong, 1842. The letter includes statements of price for 22 lampshades, six spare chimneys and two gross of lamp wicks. Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3, C-1-2 File 2, document 170. There follows considerable correspondence concerning lamps and lamp repair.

benches in small galleries that clung above entries, and occasionally to the side walls, while those of social standing enjoyed ring-side seats.⁸⁷

Box pews appear on the floor plans of many of the early churches (see Fig. I -2), while benches were used in poorer parishes. Regardless of the quality of the seating, its rental was a subject of considerable concern and the quantity of documentation devoted to the subject of pew rental is at times alarming, particularly among Anglicans and Presbyterians and Catholics. Methodists on the other hand generally did not like to charge for seating, although they occasionally practiced gender segregation during worship. When a small Methodist Church was opened just outside the Ottawa Valley area, at Belleville, in the winter of 1846, Joseph H. Leonard wrote to the *Canada Christian Advocate*:

The seats are free, and I hope the good old Methodist fashion of men and women sitting apart will be observed as long as the walls of the building shall stand.⁸⁸

While gender apartheid may have been practiced at different times by various congregations, there is little architectural or textual evidence to suggest that this was common practice in Ottawa Valley churches of any denomination during the nineteenth century.

The ceilings above the faithful assembled in the nave were often little more than the underside of the roof. Contrary to later developments within certain denominations,

87 The journals of Thomas Bedford-Jones, "How St. Alban's Church and Parish had their Beginning under the First Rector," published in the *Journal of Canadian Church History* (May 1957).

88 *Canada Christian Advocate* (January 1846).

this was not generally held to be the preferred solution but was more a consequence of austerity.

When more funds were available, ceilings were frequently finished with some form of vaulting. Barrel vaults, or semi - elegant elliptical vaults were among the more popular solutions. The vaults could be covered with plain plaster ceilings or boarded vaults (see Fig. I -11). Occasionally, as seen in the original St. Andrew's (Presbyterian) in Ottawa a horizontal cornice ran immediately below the spring of the plastered ceiling vault (see Fig. I -11).

Another arrangement typical of this era can still be seen inside Christ Church in Huntley. The basket-handle vault of the ceiling is composed of twenty-four wooden panels that run parallel to the longitudinal axis of the building. These panels are underscored at regular intervals by horizontal banding. The vault springs from the side walls of the church at a height of nineteen feet and reaches approximately twenty three feet at the intrados face of the crown. In most churches from this period the ceiling was uniform throughout the church. There is no change over the sanctuary area (see Fig. I -20).

LITURGICAL REQUIREMENTS AND FOCAL POINTS

The liturgical centers of most churches built in the Ottawa Valley during the first half of the century were very simple. It was in fact this initial simplicity that occasionally allowed several different denominations to collaborate in the construction and use of Union Chapels. The extent of this austerity is especially evident in the arrangement and furnishing of the sanctuaries.

Surviving floor plans, suggest that the sanctuaries in churches of all denominations were very modestly sized. This is particularly evident on the seating plan from the church of St. Mary (Anglican) at Pinhey's Point (see Figs. I - 5 & 7). Although Roman Catholic sanctuaries were comparatively more spacious than those of comparably populated Protestant congregations. Very few churches built during this period had architecturally distinct chancels, and even the plans for the Roman Catholic's most ambitious church building project in Ottawa Valley, the new stone Church of Notre-Dame in Bytown, did not include an architecturally distinct chancel. In the case of Notre-Dame it is, however, important to remember that the lack of an architecturally distinct chancel would have been generously compensated through the internal arrangements of the church.

One of the most consequential factors in determining the architectural differences between Catholic and Protestant sanctuaries was the liturgical requirements of the Roman Catholic Mass. The Roman Catholic liturgy focused on the weekly or when possible, daily offering of the Eucharist. The celebration of the Mass culminated with the

transubstantiation of the bread and wine and its distribution to the laity.⁸⁹ This approach to the celebration of the Lord's Supper was contrary to contemporary Protestant tradition in a number of ways. Most importantly, nineteenth century Protestants universally rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. Protestants did not accept, as did Roman Catholics, that during the celebration of the Eucharist, Christ was substantially present through the consecration of the bread and wine.⁹⁰ Though united in their rejection of transubstantiation, the various Protestant denominations did not share a united view on the nature and role of Christian Eucharist. The position of Presbyterians and members of other Reformed Churches on the question of the Eucharist was primarily influenced by the teachings of John Calvin. The Lord's supper was to be a great source of spiritual nourishment, and while Christ was believed to be present during the celebrations, this was strictly a spiritual and not a substantial presence.⁹¹ The position of the Reformed Churches on this question differed from both the Lutherans and Baptists. While denying transubstantiation, Lutherans did accept consubstantiation. In this Doctrine, which is in many ways closest to the Roman Catholic position, Christ was held to be present, not simply in the substance of the elements but also with the substance of the elements.⁹² The Lutheran position in turn differed from Baptist thought which, under the influence of Ulrich Zwingli, had come to understand the Lord's Supper as a strictly commemorative event. Both the spiritual and literal presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements were denied. However, through the commemorative act of the Eucharist, a participant was reminded of the benefits of salvation. Although Anglicans frequently speak of

89 The doctrine of transubstantiation was first articulated at the Fourth Latran Council in 1215.

90 Decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) further clarified the position of the Roman Catholic church on the question of Transubstantiation.

91 Their position on this is outlined in *The Westminster Confession* (1647), as well as in the *Second Helvetic Confession* written in 1561 and made publicly available in 1566.

92 Luther outlined his position on this question in the *Augsburg Confession* of 1555.

themselves as members of a 'Reformed Church,'⁹³ their position especially on the matter of Eucharistic doctrine, was frequently at variance with other Reformed churches. The Anglican position, as set out in Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* (1562), and *The Thirty-Nine Articles* (1563),⁹⁴ allowed for considerable flexibility, accommodating both the Low and High Church. Consequently the *Book of Common Prayer* remained essentially unrivaled well into the nineteenth century, at least until the emergence of the Oxford Movement.

The Roman Catholic understanding of the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist was suited to celebrate this sacrament on a fixed or built altar. As all other cult activity was subordinate to the Mass, the Eucharist, as focal point of the Mass was by extension to be the focal point of the place of cult. The frequency, primacy and substance of the Roman Catholic Eucharistic celebration, justified the dedication of significant architectural space to this purpose. This is again in contrast to contemporary Protestant practice in which, despite considerable doctrinal diversities, the Eucharistic celebrations of all denominations were held infrequently. In many Protestant communities, the Eucharist was celebrated only several times a year at most. Much more significance was attached to preaching and the reading of scripture. Furthermore, as a commemorative re-enactment of the Last Supper, the use of a large immobile sacrificial style altar was considered to be most inappropriate, and for this reason in Protestant congregations Communion tables and not altars were used. Owing to the infrequency of Eucharistic celebrations, and coupled with the portable nature of a Communion Table, most Protestant congregations

93 Notably as in the previously mentioned writings of Sir Christopher Wren.

94 Bishop Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* was revised in 1552. Cranmer was also responsible for the doctrinal position as outlined in *The Forty-Two Articles* of 1552. This latter work formed the basis for *The Thirty-nine Articles* (1563), which appeared several years after Cranmer's death in 1556.

had little need or even justification to reserve a large portion of the church building for Eucharistic celebrations.

In many Protestant churches of this era, the privileged position of axial centrality was frequently occupied by a large, frequently oversized pulpit, a reading desk or a three decker (see Fig. II - 12).⁹⁵

In instances, when the Communion table did occupy a position of axial centrality, it was usually an understated furnishing, placed against the end wall of the church very much overshadowed by the pulpit and reading desk. In further contrast to the Roman Catholic tradition that preferred to reserve a generous and reverential space around the central altar, there was very little space between the pulpit and the first row of worshippers.⁹⁶

Permanent baptismal fonts were a rare thing in the early Ottawa Valley churches regardless of their denominational affiliation. Protestant congregations that were fortunate to have in their possession something more substantial and decidedly more dignified than a utilitarian basin usually placed it along the central axis of the church building and at the very front of the church. The proximity to the pulpit and communion table was a deliberate reflection of Calvinistic thought in which the importance of visual sacramental unity is stressed. Naturally the degree to which Calvinistic thought was influential on this question varied between the various Protestant denominations (see Fig.

95 C. Harris, *Illustrated History of Historic Architecture* (New York: Dover, 1983), p. 531

96 There are a few rare photographs of church interiors, however these photographs date at best to the latter decades of the nineteenth century by which time the original disposition has usually been altered or added to. Nevertheless, the original arrangements can still be identified.

I - 18). A notable exception to this practice were Baptists who practiced total immersion in the administration of this sacrament. The importance of a highly unifocal sacramental arrangement was a recurrent liturgical theme among nineteenth century Protestants. This concern stemmed from a rejection of the multiplication and diversity of special devotions that had gained in popularity during the late middle ages. Leaders of the Protestant Reformation felt that the fragmentation of devotional centers would ultimately fracture the attention of the laity. Those gathered in a house of Christian prayer were not to be distracted from the primary of devotional activity which centered on the word of God.⁹⁷

In this same spirit, Protestant congregations active in the Ottawa Valley during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, unlike Roman Catholics, rejected nearly all expression of visual embellishment. Non-figural symbolic imagery was rarely used and the employment of figural imagery in religious paintings or sculpture was inconceivable. Although many Protestant denominations were eventually to relax their aversion towards decorative embellishments, certain individuals and congregations harboured strong feelings against the use of decoration, and this lingered well into the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Even such seemingly inoffensive objects such as candles were avoided by some Protestants for fear that they would create an atmosphere of 'Romish superstition.' To avoid this fate, and still allow the minister to read on an overcast day, lancet windows were frequently practiced at either end of the sanctuary wall in Presbyterian and Methodist churches.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ White, *Architecture*, p. 68.

⁹⁸ In Ottawa, as late as the 1850s when the Rev. M. Spence wished to hold evening services on the Sabbath, he was obliged to apply to the Temporal Committee, "for the means necessary to light the church." Eventually the Committee "having taken the same into consideration, agree[d] to provide Branch Candlesticks for the Pulpit and for the Presenter's Desk." St. Andrew's Temporal Committee Meeting, 23 May 1853. Public Archives of Canada, MG 9 D7-35 vol. 23, part 1.

Despite the modesty of their material surroundings, early nineteenth century church builders were clearly very much aware that it was the atmosphere and mind set in which worship was conducted that ultimately must remain faithful to their interpretation of the Gospels. During the Fall of 1839, the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine*, published "What is Popery?"⁹⁹ It was a brief article dedicated to enumerating the most evident faults in the worship practices of the Roman Catholic Church. Readers were informed that as far as religion was concerned, "You want plain, sober, calm, clear evidence of truth."¹⁰⁰ While the article was not intended to address the topic of church building, the author's guidelines for religious practice in many ways offer a concise description of what Protestant church interiors aspired to be. Unfailingly they were plain, sober, calm and clear. In short, God was properly worshipped in an atmosphere of austere simplicity.

99 The *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* was at this point in connection with the Church of Scotland.

100 "What is Popery?" in the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* (October 1839), vol. 3, no 10, p. 293.

CHAPTER I

PLATES

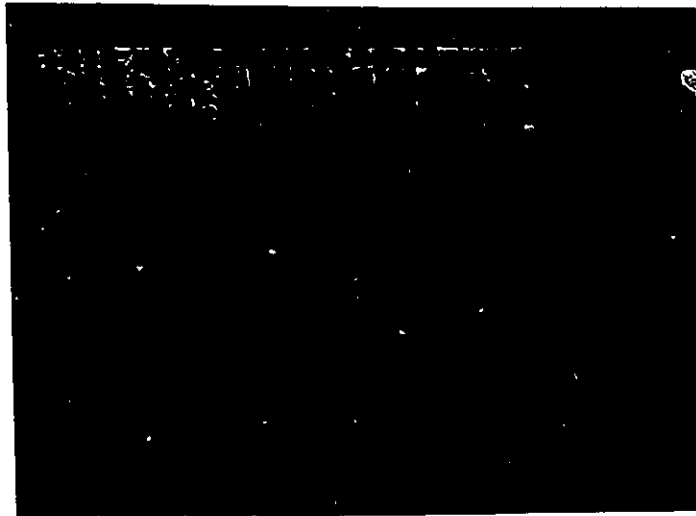


Fig. I - 1
St. James (Anglican), Hull, 1823¹⁰¹

While the quality of this engraving would undoubtedly have profited from greater detail and precision, it nevertheless allows for the identification of several characteristics common to church buildings of this era. The walls are high, with large elongated windows opening the length of the lateral wall. The squat roof is straddled by a small bell tower set in slight retreat of the axial main entry.

101 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 52-H4-3

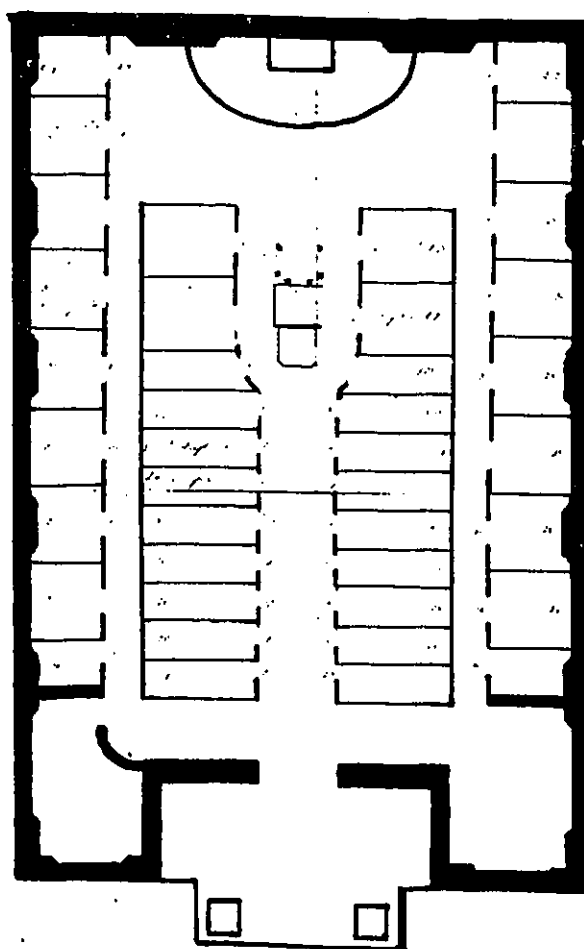


Fig. I - 2
St. James (Anglican), Hull, 1823¹⁰²

This ground plan clearly indicates that the larger and more expensive pews flanked the lateral walls of the nave where the lighting was better, and clustered immediately around the pulpit and reading desk, where the acoustics were better. The Eucharistic table was very much isolated from the majority of the faithful. This was in part a result of its location behind the pulpit immediately against the western wall. The sense of separation was further accentuated by the presence of a low semi-circular railing.

102 Rev. E. May and W. Millen, *The history of the parish of Hull, Being the record of the first hundred years, 1823-1923* (Ottawa: Dadson-Merrill Press, 1923).



Fig. I - 3

St. Mary (Anglican), Pinhey's Point, 1828¹⁰³

This nineteenth century illustration by Mary Anne Pinhey Hill depicts the church of St. Mary much as Hamnett Pinhey had intended it to be seen. The church stands with understated but unquestioned authority as an integral, (if not necessarily intimate) part of a flourishing country estate.

103 N. Heydon, *Looking Back: Pioneers of Bytown and March, Nicholas Sparks and Hamnett Kirkes Pinhey - Their antecedents and their descendants* (Ottawa: Nemo Publications, 1980), p. 299.



Fig. I - 4

St. Mary (Anglican), Pinhey's Point, 1828¹⁰⁴

The church of St. Mary is seen here in days of lesser glory. The building had been abandoned following charges of structural insecurity. Shortly after this photograph was taken, the church was dynamited. Despite this rather violent affront to its structural integrity, the shell of the church, most notably the eastern wall of the nave, the tower and the opposing end wall of the sanctuary have shown remarkable tenacity.

¹⁰⁴ N. Heydon, *Looking Back: Pioneers of Bytown and March, Nicholas Sparks and Hamnett Kirkes Pinhey - Their antecedents and their descendants* (Ottawa: Nemo Publications, 1980), p. 302.

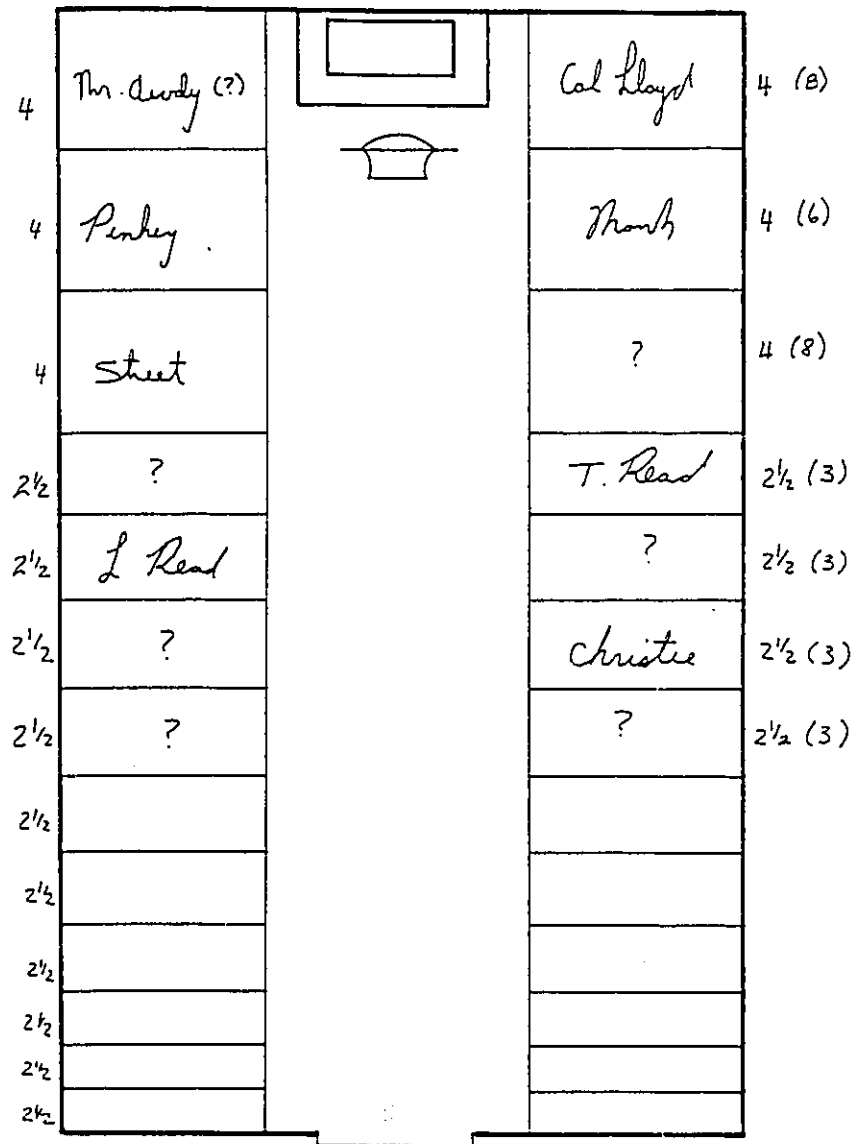


Fig. I - 5

Seating Plan for St. Mary's (Anglican), Pinhey's Point¹⁰⁵

As at St. James in Hull, the Eucharistic table was placed immediately against the eastern wall of the church and surrounded by a low rail. This allowed for very little room for circulation either inside or around the sanctuary. The pulpit stood immediately in front of the sanctuary, effectively blocking much of the view.

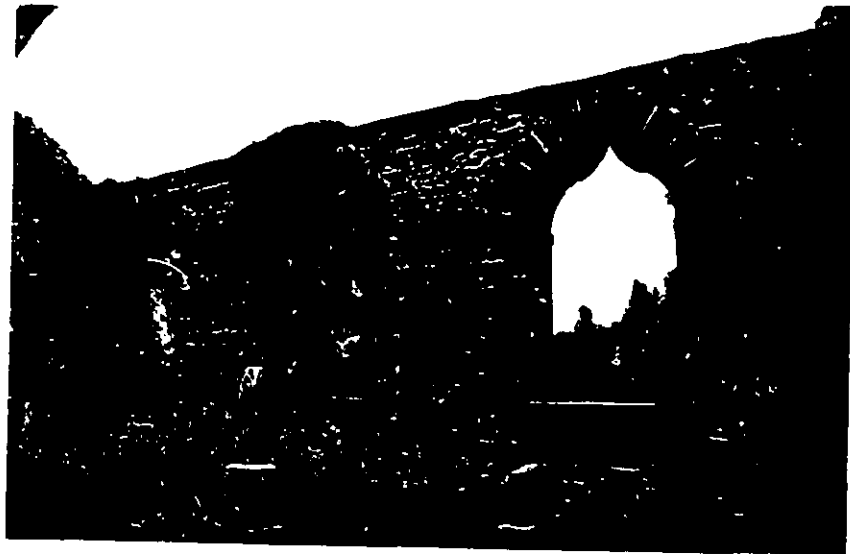


Fig. I - 6

St. Mary (Anglican), Pinhey's Point, 1828¹⁰⁶

Remains of the ogee windows along the eastern wall of the nave. These massive windows measure approximately five feet at the base, (the exact measurement varies slightly from window to window). Now in ruins, the interior of the church is used as a burying ground for the descendants of the Pinhey family.



Fig. 1 - 7
St. Mary (Anglican), Pinhey's Point, 1828¹⁰⁷

The Ogee arch at the southern end of the building is significantly larger than the windows in the lateral walls of the nave. Originally, the sanctuary would have been placed at this end of the church with the Eucharistic table immediately beneath the large window. The squat and comparatively crude doorway to the immediate east of the great window, was opened at a later date when a vestry was added, to conform to changing sacramental priorities.



Fig. I - 8

St. Andrew (Church of Scotland), Ottawa, 1828¹⁰⁸

For many years St. Andrew's (shown here after the enlargement of 1854) was the oldest surviving Protestant church building in Ottawa. The building is well proportioned, with tall walls and a roof that is not excessively squat. The facade, with the central portion in slight relief, anticipates the addition of a tower. The tower was never finalized before the church was dismantled. Ultimately this church building was more a victim of High Victorian taste than of failing masonry or dramatic changes in the practice of worship.

108 J.G. McPhail, *St. Andrew's Church, Ottawa*, p. 59.

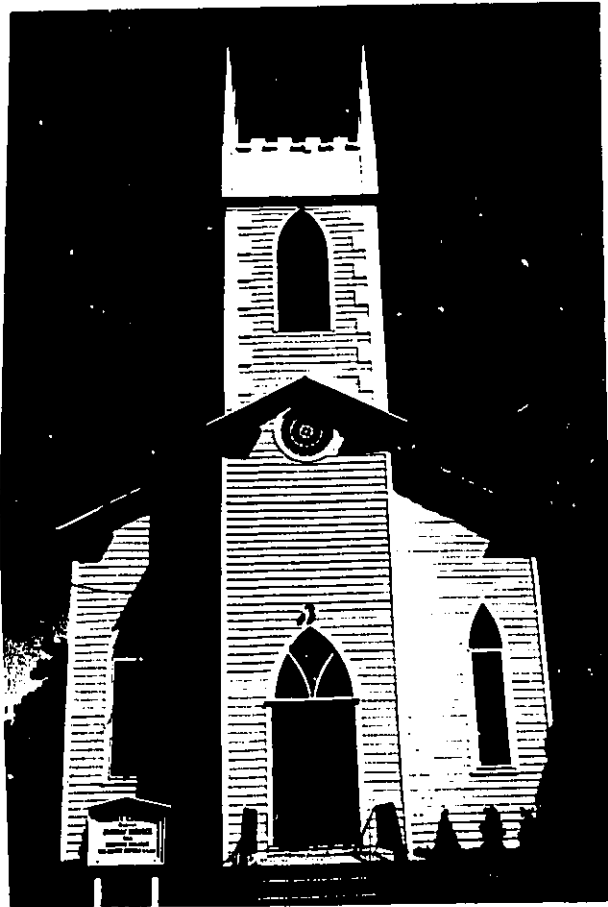


Fig. I - 9

Christ Church (Anglican), Burritt's Rapids, 1831¹⁰⁹

Despite the Gothic references, the Classical profile of this church is accentuated by the wooden quoins and the sharp returns of the eaves. The entryway and the lancet windows are elements of survival Gothic, while the elongated finials reflect a use of picturesque Gothic that is comparatively rare in the Ottawa Valley.



Fig. 1 - 10

Christ Church (Anglican) Burritt's Rapids, 1831¹¹⁰

The tall lateral walls and squatness of the roof are typical of churches from this era. Less usual is the narrowness of the windows in the nave. The axis of this church runs east-west, with the entry at the eastern end of the building. The small chancel at the western end of the building was a much later addition.

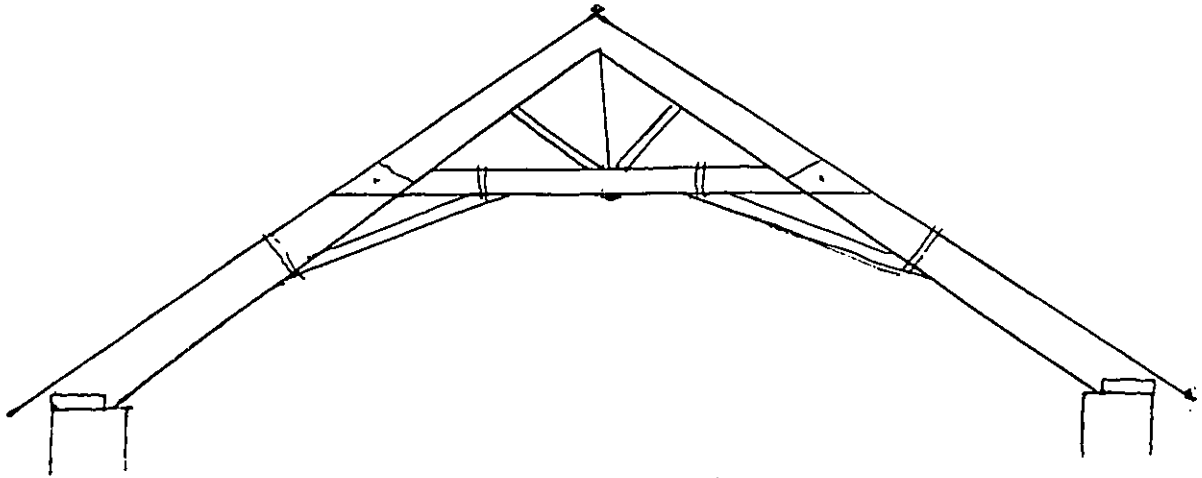


Fig. I - 11
Christ Church (Anglican) Ottawa, 1832¹¹¹

Tie beams and trusses were typical of the roofing used to cover many of the early church buildings. During the first half of the nineteenth century, these ceilings were usually ceiled with plaster or wooden paneling.

¹¹¹ Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3, file 122: letter from Alex Christie to the Christ Church Building Committee, Bytown, dated 8 June 1841.

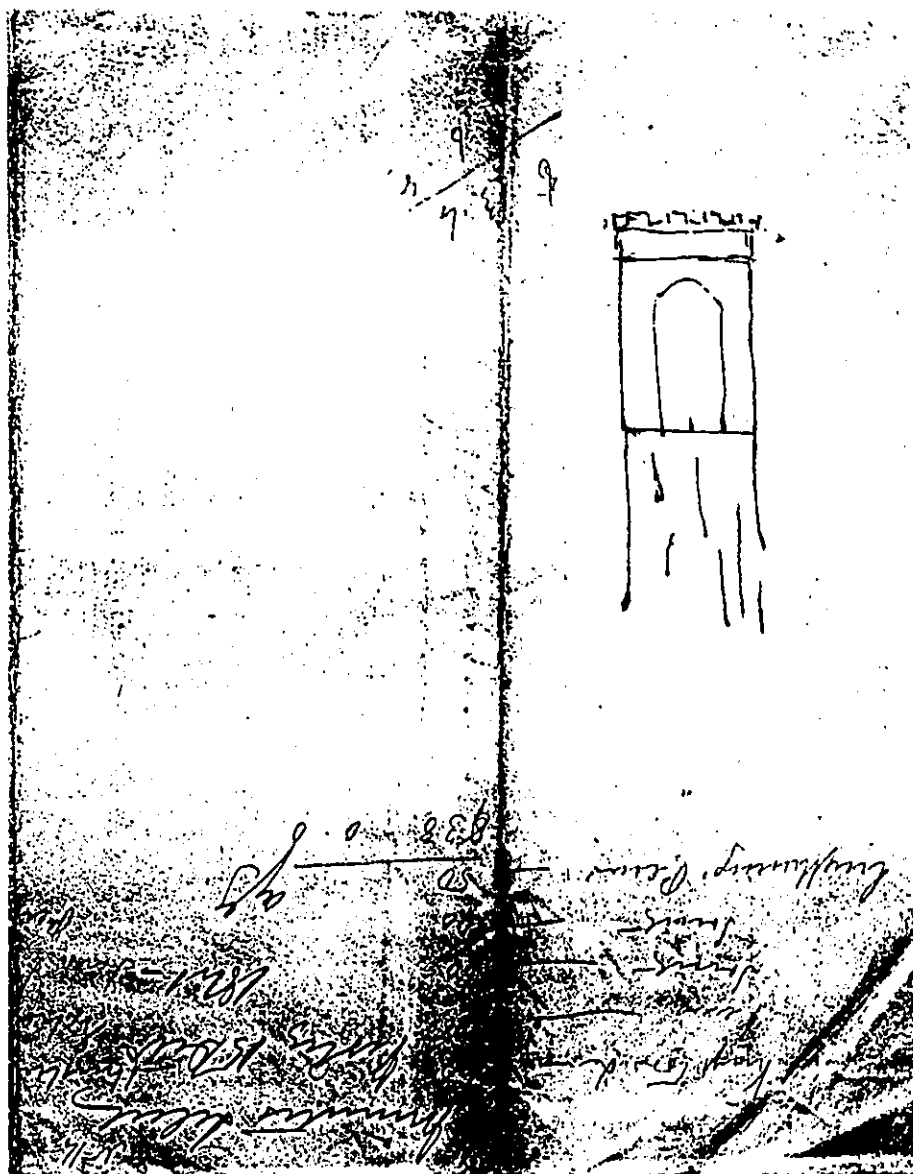


Fig. I - 12
Christ Church (Anglican), Ottawa, 1832¹¹²

Pencil sketch of projected tower added to Vestry Minutes of 15 December 1841. The original building program provided for the tower to be built only to the height of the ridge pole.

112 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Box 6-O-3, file 138.



Fig. I - 13
Christ Church (Anglican), Ottawa, 1832¹¹³

The tower was originally completed to the level of the molding immediately above the ridge pole (as had been stipulated in the original contract). Here again the walls are tall, with large Gothic windows that occupy much of the vertical height of the building. A much lesser percentage of the vertical ascension is taken by the roof.

113 R. H. Hubbard, *Cathedral in the Capital*, (Ottawa, 1972), p. 30, fig. 13.

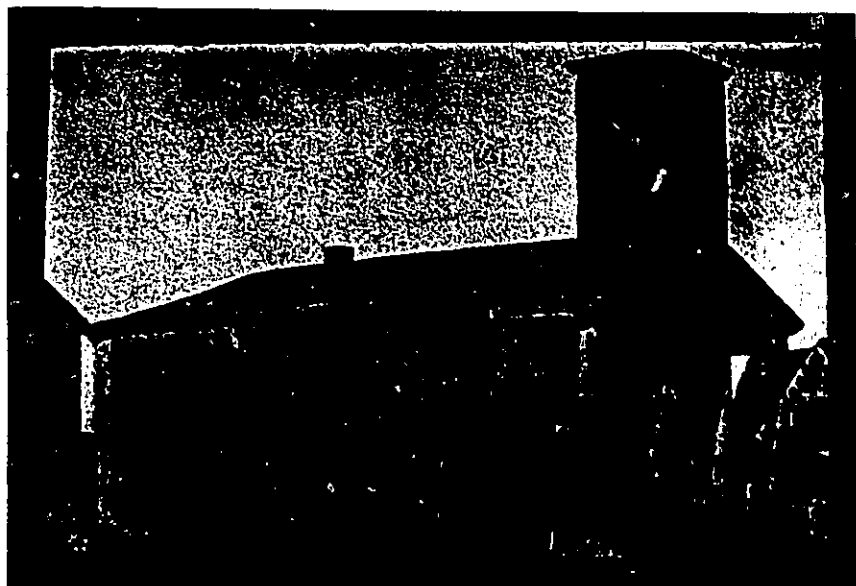


Fig. 1 - 14

St. James (Anglican), Carleton Place, 1834¹¹⁴

Photograph taken shortly before the church was dismantled in the early 1880s. Despite the stylistic contrast between the classical facade and the Gothic windows, a certain degree of architectural unity is achieved primarily through the omni-present sobriety of the structure. This is earlier nineteenth century use of survival Gothic offers a marked contrast to the light and highly decorative quality of the decorative Victorian barge-boards of the private home beside the church.

114 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-C11-1.



Fig. I - 15
St. John (Anglican), South March, 1838¹¹⁵

The church of St. John is typical of many rural churches from this era. Skillfully built of coursed rubble masonry, the church is free from any external adornment and like the people who built it, without pretension and discreet in social affectation. The windows are large and occupy a significant proportion of the lateral walls. The single axial "Eastern" window would have opened immediately above the Eucharistic table. This arrangement differs slightly from that common to many Presbyterian churches where two slightly smaller windows were placed on either side of an axial pulpit.

115 Photo: V. Bennett.



Fig. I - 16

Christ Church (Anglican), Huntley, 1839¹¹⁶

Christ Church has remained in constant use since it was officially opened in 1839. The church has a roughly east-west orientation, the result of conformity to secular surveying and not religious preoccupations as was the case for many later churches. A small graveyard is located immediately south of the church.

¹¹⁶ Photo: V. Bennett.



Fig. I - 17

Christ Church (Anglican), Huntley, 1839¹¹⁷

Christ Church is now entered by way of a small vestibule in the base of the central tower, a later addition. The walls of the church are two feet thick and built from local stone. The neatly cut, regular courses are broken only by the arch-stones of the windows. There are no buttresses and no other form of external adornment.



Fig. 1 - 18
Christ Church (Anglican), Huntley, 1839¹¹⁸

The original entryway is still *in situ*, although the upper arched portion of the doorway has been blocked in. The entry is flanked by large Gothic windows, each five feet wide and twelve feet high. They are divided into two main lights by slender wooden tracery. The small panes of clear or slightly coloured glass are used to form simple geometric designs. Baptisms, now performed at the threshold of the church, were originally performed immediately in front of the sanctuary.



Fig. 1 - 19
Christ Church (Anglican), Huntley, 1839¹¹⁹

Most windows are now decorated with figural imagery. The original mullions and transoms would have been filled with small panes of clear glass. The varied tones and fluid lead lines of the subsequent glass work create a sense of mobility that would not have been achieved with the original glazing. One window in the northern wall retains a style of glazing that is much closer to the style of glazing that would originally have been used. The light levels around this window are significantly higher than the light levels surrounding other windows in the church.

¹¹⁹ Photo: V. Bennett.

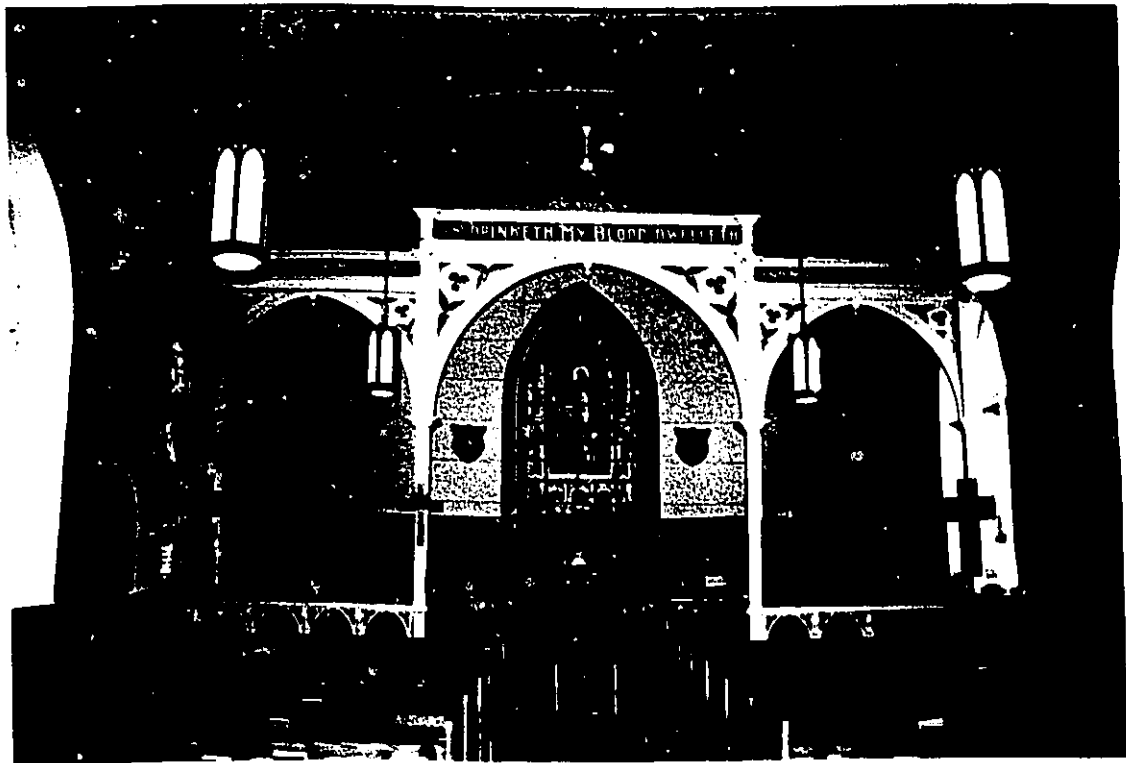


Fig. 1 - 20
Christ Church (Anglican), Huntley, 1839¹²⁰

An altar is now built immediately against the eastern wall of the church where a Eucharistic table would have stood. The wooden reredos is another late addition. Immediately above the altar is a single Gothic window. This window measures eight feet at the base and is set slightly higher than the windows in the nave. Once again, figural imagery, in this instance Christological iconography, has been used to replace earlier work, and in doing so has dramatically altered the interior atmosphere of the church. The floor of the sanctuary was later raised three steps above the floor level of the nave. Immediately east of the rood screen is the choir. The organ and choir seats are placed parallel to the central axis of the church rather than perpendicular as were those of the nave. Like the rood screen, this arrangement would not have been part of the original seating plan.

120 Photo: V. Bennett.



Fig. I - 21

St. Andrew (Church of Scotland), Ramsay, 1836¹²¹

Despite the use of roughly coursed local field stone, this simple church building was not destitute of elegance. In keeping with contemporary church building customs, the walls are tall and the roof comparatively squat. Restrained classical references can be seen in the treatment of the eaves and eaves returns. The windows, with their sober tracery, occupy a significant proportion of the vertical surface.

121 Winston A. MacIntosh, *The Wind Bloweth Where it Listeth: A History of Almonte United Church and its roots 1821-1981*, Almonte United Church, Almonte, 1989, p.9.

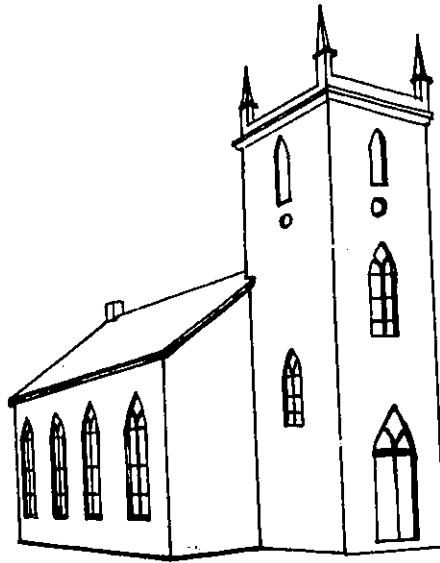


Fig. I - 22

St. Mungo (Presbyterian), Cushing, 1836¹²²

Drawing on a long established tradition of church-building, many Presbyterian churches differed little from contemporary Anglican structures. However, despite the many similarities, several stylistic variations are not uncommon. When Scottish builders chose to front their churches with an axial tower, the resulting structure was frequently in fuller relief than the frontal towers of English churches. This commonly resulted in a structure of more massive appearance. The lateral walls of many early Presbyterian churches were also tall and contained long wide windows, similar to those seen on Anglican churches. However, while practice varied, it is not uncommon for the lateral windows of Presbyterian churches to open from a slightly lower course and to occasionally be slightly wider than the lateral windows on Anglican churches.

CHAPTER II

PERMANENCE AND COMMITMENT: THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH EDIFICE IN DEVELOPING SETTLEMENTS: 1840S- 1850S

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century church architecture held a place of intensifying interest in the minds of many inhabitants of central Canada. As local newspapers¹ and city directories² began to appear in greater number and enjoy increased readership and augmented circulation, editors rarely missed an occasion to note, along with the factories, post office, mills and other commercial enterprises, the number of churches any one town or village might have to its credit. Expanded steam and rail travel,

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- 1 This trend continues in a series of historical atlases that were published by H. Belden & Co. during the latter half of the 19th century and included: *Historical Atlas of Carleton County, Ontario - Illustrated, 1879*; *Historical Atlas of Lanark and Renfrew Counties, Ontario - Illustrating 1880-1881* (Prescott, 1881); *Historical Atlas of Prescott & Russell* (Toronto, 1881).
- 2 *The Canada Directory*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1851); *The Canada Directory for 1857-58*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1857); *Canadian Dominion Directory for 1871*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1871); *Lovell's Business & Professional Directory of Quebec for 1890-91*, (Montreal: J. Lovell & Sons, 1890), and the *Dominion of Canada Business Directory - 1890-91*, (Toronto: R.L. Polk, 1890).

more roads and even the greater availability of newspapers all gradually contributed to an erosion of a once prevalent sense of isolation. The expanded availability of printed news occurred not only in the context of secular journals, but was also gaining new ground as an important vehicle for the dissemination of confessional news.³ Unlike (but not necessarily contrary to) the presence of industrial establishments, the presence of church buildings was more often than ever before being depicted as being integrally related to the state of both the sacred and secular affairs.

When church-building projects were evaluated in the press (secular or confessional), site, location and structural quality all figured prominently. The emphasis placed on these features cannot be dismissed as journalistic fodder but must instead be attributed to the complexity of nineteenth century universe. In this intricate world vision, the sacred and the secular, while remaining two distinct entities, were inextricably intertwined. The condition of church buildings was frequently perceived to reflect the virtues (or vices) of the community as a whole. That is to say, the manner in which the citizens of a town or village cared for their place of worship was generally considered to be a reliable reflection of all other dimensions of a community's state of affairs. In this manner, the state of church architecture was seen to proclaim not only the moral fabric of a community but its work ethic on the whole. While oblique reference to this notion was

3 One Methodist preacher questioned whether some ministers of the word might not be spending too much time with their correspondences and not enough saving souls. Ironically, and so this concern could be shared with the largest number of individuals, the question "Is it the duty of Christian Ministers to disseminate religious intelligence thro' the press?" was addressed in a letter to the *Canada Christian Advocate*, January 1845. B. N. Keville, a colleague working on the Richmond circuit in the Ottawa Valley, replied that: "It is a matter of thankfulness that the communion of saints is not confined to the limited circle of private acquaintance, but may be extended over a great part of the visible church by means of written communication... Certainly the revival of the work of God and the gathering of sinners to the fold of Christ ought to be as faithfully and circumstantially recorded as the more inferior transactions of either nations or individuals which only relate to this present life..." "Revival Intelligence," *Christian Guardian*, October 1846, p. 2.

current, a more direct articulation of the concept was not unusual. In November of 1846, the *Christian Guardian* carried an article in which the increased quantity and quality of church-building in central Canada was discussed. The author also noted that communities in which a sincere interest in Christian religion was present, church members usually assumed the responsibility for the construction of church buildings. The construction of churches in turn encouraged and facilitated the worship of God, which was in and of itself a commendable undertaking.⁴ Furthermore, through the construction of suitable church buildings the "worth and stability" of a congregation is openly and demonstratively stated.⁵ The attitude towards the upkeep and maintenance of religious edifices would in turn be detectable in most other departments of life. It was noted that:

In those communities where the churches are neglected, a kind of dull and somber aspect hangs over everything else, and very little taste and enterprise is discoverable in anything. While, on the other hand, respect and attention to the temples of the Lord seem to create and inspire a disposition for neatness and convenience in everything else.⁶

Within the individual secular community, the geographic location and condition of the various church buildings was often perceived to be a reflection on the merit of the

4 "Building and Improvement of Churches," *Christian Guardian*, 18 November 1846, p. 18.

5 "In some cases, we admit, there may be the former where very little traces of religion may be clearly discovered; but it will generally be found where religion is prosperous an effort is made to erect churches for the accommodation of the worshippers of Israel's God. We are happy to know that much more is being done by Methodists at the present day in Canada than at any former period, and with the sentiments expressed by the last *Genesee Evangelist*, we heartily concur: This is creditable to the taste and respect of the people and manifests a high sense of appreciation for the worth and stability of our religious institutions, and a desire to render them commodious and even imposing." "Building and Improvement of Churches," *Christian Guardian*, 18 November 1846, p. 18.

6 "Building and Improvement of Churches," *Christian Guardian*, 18 November 1846, p. 18.

denomination to which it belonged. Furthermore the condition of the church building could also be considered to reflect the commitment of the denomination to the community in which their church stood. No one was more aware of the potential this line of thought might have in aiding the expansion and the recruitment of new members than the clergy and officials of the individual denominations. Consequently, increased attention was transferred to publicly announcing the construction, renovations or opening services of chapels in secular journals. Within a denomination the correspondents of confessional journals and the authors of missionary reports rarely let slip an occasion to comment on this improvement of their own public image. This image however was never a monolithic embodiment. It could vary not only between the various Christian confessions but within a denomination and even within a given congregation. That is to say the same building could be discussed from several very different perspectives. The picture any one group wished present to the secular world was not necessarily identical to what was presented to religious rivals, potential converts, or even their own members.

An important prerequisite for any denomination hoping to successfully introduce itself into a community was to rid themselves of any mark of transience. This was especially important in areas such as the Ottawa Valley that had only recently begun to establish prosperous and permanent settlements. Establishing a sense of permanence was not always easy - particularly at a time when all brave new endeavors were not automatically rewarded with unqualified success. Priests and ministers and even self-taught preachers were still a rare commodity. Members of the clergy who did venture to labor in the Ottawa Valley were responsible for enormous tracts. In addition to this, the Ottawa Valley did not always enjoy the most cheerful reputation. A report to the

Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church on the missions in the Eastern Districts noted:

These are called *Clarendon, Plantagenet, Bonchire*,[sic] and *Pembroke* Missions, and extend over a large region of country - a "region of the valley and shadow of death" until visited by our Missionaries. Some of these places are remote, and previously to the establishment of our missions, individuals were known to travel upwards of one hundred miles in order to hear the preached word and receive the Lord's Supper.⁷

While no other ministers appear to have gone quite so far as to equate the Ottawa Valley with the valley of death, they were often responsible for equally large tracts of land. In 1844, Rev. William Morton reported that the Wesleyan Methodist Mission of Clarendon, in Western Quebec covered the townships of Litchfield, Clarendon, Bristol and Onslow.⁸ A few years later in 1852, Rev. Morton's successor the Rev. W. Pattyson noted in his report to the Missionary Society that Thorn and part of Aidly township had been added to the mission.⁹ The resulting charge was an area of over four-hundred square miles. This was in no way exceptional, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission of Buckingham, also in West Quebec, included the Papineau Seignory, the townships of Herrington, Augmentation, Lochaber, Buckingham as well as the township of Cumberland on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River.¹⁰ Further west and up-river on the Ontario side, the Wesleyan's Bonnechère Mission included the townships of Admaston, Bromley, Horton, McNab, Stafford and a large expanse of previously unsurveyed land.

7 *16th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada 1840-41*, pp. 24 - 91.

8 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada - 1844*, p. xxxvi.

9 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada - 1852*, p. xlvii.

10 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada - 1845*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

In 1849, the Rev. Wilson suggested "the mission should be divided. There is too much ground for one man to cultivate, the mission being 70 miles in length."¹¹ Wilson's point was certainly a valid one, as travel could not have been easy.¹² A direct consequence of this situation was that many missions were visited at most only a few times a year. The infrequency of clerical visitation was not one that facilitated or enhanced either an air of permanence or a sense of commitment. The already arduous work of the clergy was further complicated by the fact that contrary to the opinion of most of the clergy and church officials, the line between certain denominations was considered to be rather fluid in the minds of some settlers. As a result, there was a certain amount of defection among the laity from one denomination to another.¹³ Many settlers in the Ottawa Valley would simply attend the services of whatever minister was available. This practice was more common between certain denominations and in regions where religious services were irregular. It was especially pronounced in communities where there were no church buildings. Certain groups of Protestants, most notably Anglicans, particularly if they had a High Church leaning, tended to be somewhat reluctant to worship with dissenters, and Roman Catholics were on the whole more likely to take their chances of salvation on their own than risk perdition by frequenting the religious edifices of Protestants. Those

11 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference - 1849*, p. xxx.

12 "Some of these places are remote, and previously to the establishment of our missions, individuals were known to travel upwards of one hundred miles in order to hear the preached word and receive the Lord's Supper. In some seasons of the year from the overflowing of the rivers and streams, and the absence of passable roads, the difficulties of traveling are almost insuperable; yet have our Missionaries succeeded in gathering about 250 souls in church fellowship." *16th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada 1840-41*, pp. 24 - 91.

13 Although it occurs most frequently between Protestant denominations, and appears to have been more common between the Methodists and Presbyterians, the practice was not exclusive to them. Rev. W. Morton from the Wesleyan Methodist's Clarendon Mission reported: "This place had long been a barren desert... but at length the Lord visited it with the out pouring of his Spirit, and many were brought to God - among the rest some French Canadians who in broken English give a pleasing account of their conversion." *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada - 1844*, p. xxxvi.

denominations that could assure the construction of a small building were more likely to attract the greater following, and it is not unusual to hear a minister complain that someone he had considered to be a loyal parishioner departed suddenly with the construction of a church by another denomination (see Fig. II - 1). Within Methodism the presence of two rival branches divided the resources of both communities, and ultimately hurt the Methodist cause more than anything else. The Loss of a church building, however modest, was considered a considerable setback to any community. This is reflected in a letter written by the Rev. G. Poole of Bytown in May of 1830 to the editor of the *Christian Guardian* :

But one year has rolled round since it was communicated through the medium of the press that the Methodist Church in this town was consumed by fire. It is natural to infer that the loss of a building erected in a new village where the enterprise of building is carried to a degree which makes materials of so much more value than in many other circumstances to our Brethren and friends by whose zealous exertions and liberal donations it was built... We now have the happiness to announce the dedication of the second Methodist Chapel in this town to the worship of God. In drawing the contrast between the two houses, the glory of the latter exceeds that of the former in the following respects: the former wood, the latter stone - the former in the suburbs the latter in the center [sic].¹⁴

Church leaders of all denominations soon realized that the construction of a small church building, no matter how modest it might be, stood as a constant and tangible witness to their commitment and intent of permanency. In popular perception a denomination that invested resources in the construction of church building was more

14 Letter to the editor from George Poole, Bytown, 19 May 1830, *Christian Guardian*, vol. 1, no. 30, 1830, p. 238.

inclined to remain or at least return to the community and was thus probably more inclined to provide stable spiritual service. By the same token however, church buildings could be the focal point of vandalism and even arson if the denomination to whom it belonged were not perceived by a segment of the local population to be a welcome addition to the community. The vandalism of churches was not generally viewed in a very positive light especially in the secular press. When the Roman Catholic Church in Fitzroy Harbour was destroyed by an arsonist, the *Ottawa Tribune* reported:

We regret to hear that the Catholic Church at Fitzroy Harbour was destroyed by fire on Monday night last, and, most deplorably to relate that its destruction is attributed to the hand of an incendiary. There is one all seeing eye from which the darkness of the night has not concealed the unhallowed perpetrator of this act, an Omnipotent Being, and he has said vengeance is mine, and I will repay.¹⁵

Over the course of the nineteenth century, Catholic church buildings were vandalized on a number of different occasions. Although Protestant church buildings do not appear to be similarly unfortunate, this should not be seen as meritorious reflection on the local Roman Catholic population, as Orange Lodges appear to have been particularly prone to misfortune.¹⁶ When the Roman Catholic community at Fitzroy Harbour rebuilt their church, they did so not only in stone but in Gothic.

15 *Ottawa Tribune*, 15 September 1854.

16 Disaffection between Roman Catholics and members of Orange Lodges cannot have been helped by the "Prospectus of the *Orange Lily*," that was published in Bytown in June of 1849 which declared that "the *Orange Lily* will be devoted to the advocacy of the Protestant Faith, British principles, and British connection, general intelligence, and at all times it will be the unprejudiced, firm, and uncompromising champion of the LOYAL ORANGE INSTITUTION." This declaration followed immediately an article denouncing Popery as "a hindrance to national prosperity." *Orange Lily*, June 1849, p. 24.

Given these circumstances it was not unusual that when a missionary or priest traveling through an area identified the need to regroup a community, he would suggest and often organize the building of a small church. The construction of a church building thus served as a visible and physical rallying point that both motivated and united a community in the furtherance of a common religious cause. On one occasion at least, a Roman Catholic priest went as far as to suggest that construction of a small church building was a useful tool in the struggle against heresy, and a potent antidote to the efforts and soul pilfering of Protestant missionaries. In their history of the Diocese of Ottawa, H. Legros and Sr. Paul-Émile discuss a case in the parish of l'Ange-Gardien in Angers when,

un certain bourgeois de chantier 'suisse,' du nom de Sicard, avait entraîné dans son apostasie un petit nombre de familles ignorantes que la misère mettait à sa merci. En 1854, M. Michel, vicaire de Buckingham vint prêcher contre l'hérésie...¹⁷

In that same year 1854, construction of a chapel was begun. The intention of the church-building project was to gather local Roman Catholics together and focus their energies on a substantial project that would supply throughout the period of construction a visual sense of progress. Once completed the church was to be a source of unity and a focal point for the community. Regretfully, this particular project fell somewhat short of these noble intentions. The site chosen for the construction of the new chapel was not considered central enough for significant portions of the community and soon local Roman Catholics were squabbling among themselves. Although not stated openly, it would appear that despite this disappointment, church leaders considered the souls of

17 H. Legros & Sr. Paul-Émile, *Le Diocèse d'Ottawa, 1847-1948* (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1949), p. 227.

their flock to be in much less peril fighting over the location of a Catholic church than worshipping in a Protestant one. By contrast, in communities where there was a strong Roman Catholic presence and numbers were sufficient to warrant requesting the services of a full time priest, parishioners were usually told they must first build a church.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century the population of the Ottawa Valley expanded both in number and in prosperity. Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians, all of whom had a strong presence since the implantation of the first settlements, continued to increase in numbers. This was also true of several other denominations such as the Methodists and Baptists who had also been in the Ottawa Valley from a very early date but had been numerically weak and architecturally inactive. The Baptists were beginning to make serious inroads for the first time although there had been Baptists in the Ottawa Valley from a very early date. It is only during the 1850's that they become stronger and flourish, leading one Wesleyan minister to complain about the increased activities of the "Immersionists." All this had considerable effect on architectural projects and the race to build (see Fig. II - 2).

Increasingly, this new material prosperity and confessional expansion was presented (especially by the clergy) as a gift from God. It was felt to be only natural that this sign of Divine favor be duly recognized. While prayers of thanksgiving were always recommended, there is an increasing conviction that gratitude for material prosperity should also be given a visible and more specifically material expression. Within a Roman Catholic community, the options through which a material expression of gratitude might be demonstrated were unquestionably diverse. Religious imagery and devotional statuary had long played an important role in the practice of Roman Catholic piety. The same

however was not true of contemporary Protestant communities. Many Protestant traditions were solidly grounded in aniconic doctrine¹⁸ that on occasion, in more extreme cases, listed towards iconoclasm.¹⁹

While the discussion of this topic is traditionally associated with the formative years of Protestant thought, it should not be dismissed as overly retrospective and irrelevant to the study of nineteenth century church-building in central Canada. There is considerable evidence to suggest that an ongoing preoccupation with this subject was prevalent among Protestant leaders well into the nineteenth century. Incessant discussion of the visual atmosphere in which people lived, worked and worshipped reflects a very real concern that negligence in this matter could occasion a fall from grace. The loss of grace would lead a person away from the Word of God, and in especially regrettable cases, into the shadowy world of Roman superstition and idolatry. It was in this context that the *Christian Guardian* expressed alarm concerning the number of Protestants that

18 Luther's position on the use of visual imagery was perhaps the most tolerant of Protestant reformers. He recognized the role of the visual in assisting the recall of and reflection on doctrine and that it had a true pedagogical value. "Ordinary people are caught more easily by analogies and illustrations than by difficult and subtle discussions; they would rather look at a well drawn picture than a well written book." Quoted in C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, p.60. Luther was also well aware, as demonstrated through his accomplished exploitation of this domain, that religious imagery could be easily manipulated to strengthen one's own position. Others, such as Andreas Von Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and Martin Bucer all depicted religious imagery as a source of ill in society and an occasion for sin. It was however the writings of John Calvin that were to be especially influential among Protestants in the British Isles. Calvin stressed the primacy of spiritual worship, denying the use or validity of any form of visual symbolism in the act of worship. In Scotland many of Calvin's ideas were taken much further by John Knox, whose theology and reform was to form the stylobate of the Scottish Church. One of the most recent and useful discussions of Reformation theological and the religious and social implications of aniconic, iconophobic and iconoclastic thought can be found in C. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

19 Again Luther was a voice of moderation. He was against violent acts of iconoclasm, especially when it was an extension of mob violence, for as he explained, "the devil does not care about image breaking. He only wants to get his foot in the door so that he can cause shedding of blood and murder in the world." Quoted in Christensen, *Art*, p. 50

had attended and contributed to the opening ceremonies of the "Popish Cathedral at Montreal, Canada" (Notre-Dame).

During a part of the service, several ladies went around the church and made a collection in aid of the funds for the building of this splendid temple of idolatry and received, we were informed, the liberal contributions of all classes of the community.²⁰

In the ensuing discussion, the *Christian Guardian* makes it quite clear to the Methodist population of central Canada, that while Christian charity might dictate the tolerance of such edifices, it was decidedly un-Protestant to assist in their consecration or construction. Similar attitudes form a recurrent theme in contemporary Protestant writing. In fact the distaste for any environment that did not conform to the ideal, plain, well-lit neatness that so many Protestant churches embodied, was pervasive. This is again reflective of the complexities of the nineteenth century cosmology in which two worlds, that of the sacred and that of the secular, were both intertwined and interconnected.

The physical and the spiritual worlds are in perpetual connection and all our true interests are essentially religious; therefore to separate true knowledge from mere feeling is to divide what God has joined together and thus produce a profane severance like that of faith from love which as it begins in distrust must end in malevolence.²¹

Discussions of the virtues or vices of one's physical environment even appear in portions of confessional journals reserved for the discussion of scientific matters. The perception

20 *Christian Guardian*, July 1830, p. 219.

21 *Christian Guardian*, January 1848, p. 45.

of two worlds substantially different but coexistent and in 'perpetual connection', is thus reinforced. Typical of this conviction is a composition on the "Moral effects of Light" that appeared in the Science column of the *Christian Guardian*, in 1847.

Dark and somber dwellings and streets are the well known resort of the most depraved classes in all cities and towns... Darkness provides a carelessness and depression of mind, and the whole nervous system, especially if conjoined with idleness, its almost necessary companion. A dark house is generally a dirty house... if such dwellings were exposed to the light of day a sense of shame would often induce a superior degree of cleanliness; and the cheerfulness of mind which a light house tends to foster would be productive of still greater advantages.²²

Much of the contrast drawn between the benefits of brightness, the ills of darkness and the various effects of each on the well-being of human beings, is extended into the discussion of religious practice. During the middle years of the nineteenth century, Roman Catholics are continuously depicted by Protestants as being gloomy, dark and unhealthy. The evils of Roman Catholicism and the unenlightened superstitious practices it was considered to foster were the subject of frequent and lengthy discussion in the Protestant press. Authors took particular pleasure in denouncing shortcomings of Roman Catholic rituals and enumerating its faults, frequently equating the Church of Rome with darkness,²³ fear,²⁴ excessive clerical propinquity,²⁵ and uncleanness.²⁶

22 "Moral Effects of Light," *Christian Guardian*, March 1847, p. 86.

23 In 1849 a Methodist missionary based in Buckingham, Quebec, reported: "All is not gloom and darkness. There are some within our bounds who have been brought to a knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins, who were once the slaves of vicious indulgence, and others were subject to the delusive and destructive error of Popery." *The Annual Report to the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference*, 1849.

24 "An attempt was also made this year (1806) to establish a mission for the benefit of the French Catholic population in Lower Canada, and W. Snyder, who understood and could preach in the French language, was appointed to this service. He entered upon his work in a French

In keeping with these concerns, nineteenth century Protestant writers frequently sought to reaffirm their rejection of the visual expressions of Roman Catholicism. In doing so, they ratified many declarations originally avowed by the patriarchs of Protestant thought. Consistent with this tradition, the portion of the *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* reserved for the clarification and affirmation of 'Articles of Religion,' addresses several questions related to the visual dimension of Christian worship:

XIII. *Of the Church* - The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

XIV. *Of Purgatory* - The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardon, worshipping and adoration, as well as of images as of relics and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but repugnant to the word of God.²⁷

settlement, in the vicinity of the Ottawa River, and for a time was cordially received and listened to with much attention, so that great hopes were entertained of a successful issue of his labors. Having occasion, however, to be absent from his field of labour for a few weeks, the parish priest took the opportunity to go among the people and warn them of the danger of hearing the "Protestant heretic," threatening them with excommunication - which, in their estimation, was a sure prelude to damnation - if they did not desist. This so wrought upon their fears, that, upon the return of brother Snyder, not a soul dared hear him or to receive him into his house. He was, therefore, reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise in despair, nor has any thing [sic] been done effectually for those people since. The charms of Roman Catholicism still hold them in bondage to their priests." N. Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church: vol. II From the year 1793 to the Year 1818* (3rd ed., New York: Carleton and Phillips, 1853), pp. 182-183,

25 "Rome is a city of priests... they cluster the streets like mosquitoes," *Christian Guardian*, February 1848, p. 69.

26 Typical of this attitude is a discussion that appeared in the *Young Churchman*, a magazine which declared itself to be "designed chiefly for the youth of the Church of England in the Province of Canada:"

Romanist: Where was your religion before Luther?

Protestant: Did you wash your face this morning?

Romanist: Yes

Protestant: Where was your face before you washed it?

Young Churchman: A Literary Magazine, May 1851, p. 70.

27 N. Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. 1, From 1766 to 1792* (New York: G. Lane & P.P. Stanfore, 1844), p. 171.

Restricted in terms of options available for the material declaration of spiritual sentiment, many Protestant congregations turned to the building of churches as a heresy-free alternative. In this context, the construction of a small church building, again no matter how modest it might be, must also be seen as an embodiment of belief and a tactile witness of spiritual devotion. As such the building of a church then becomes much more than the promise of an improved settlement but emblematic of commitment to a higher cause. Despite the prevalence of a new zeal for church-building, it is important to remember that among more conservative elements, an attitude of caution towards this subject remained well into the 1840s. One Methodist declared that owing to the omnipresence of God, he had to question the wisdom of throwing too much of one's energy into the building of churches:

It is a philosophy and narrow religion which does not recognize God as all in all. Every moment of our lives we breath, stand or move in the temple of the most high; for the whole universe is a temple. Wherever we go the testimony of his power, the impress of his hand is there... The universe is to us as the burning bush which the Hebrew leader saw: God is ever present in it for it burns with his glory and the ground on which he stands is ever holy. How then can we speak of that presence as peculiarly in the sanctuary which is abroad through all space and time?²⁸

While they continued to exist for some time, concerns of this sort were becoming progressively less prevalent. This is not to suggest that the role and image of the church edifice was becoming any less complex. Instead, as one moves from the public discussion of the church edifice to a confessional or congregational discussion of the church edifice, there is a pronounced increase in the abstraction and complexity of

28 'Francis', 'The Omnipresence of God,' *Christian Guardian*, 28 October 1846, p. 1.

symbolic content. It becomes not merely a neat symbol of Christian industry, but rather a quasi mystical focal point of the faithful.

When discussed in a secular context, the outward appearance of a church building retains its importance as general reflection of the congregation's role in society as a whole. The oversight of a church building project by the local press was not something to be indulged. In 1847, the staff of the *Bytown Packet* were taken to task for not reporting the church-building efforts of the Congregationalists who had established themselves in the town the previous year. In an effort to amend this *faux pas*, the paper apologized for the oversight, and after first noting the merits of the site and its location, proceeded to give a detailed report of the Congregationalist's building activities.²⁹

When discussed from a confessional perspective several additional factors figure into the equation. One consideration of particular importance was the method by which the church building would be financed. As in most things related to the construction of nineteenth century church-building, this was not a straightforward uni-dimensional issue. Instead, the financing of church-building projects was part and parcel of how an individual denomination understood its own role in the doing of God's work, its relation with the material world and its dealings with secular governments.

29 "We apologize for not having noted here the neat substantial building intended as a Congregational church, lately erected on the rising ground between the Upper and Lower Town, a little south of the Sappers' Bridge, one of the best situations for such a purpose. The building is fifty feet in length and thirty-six feet in breath. The lower part of the basement in stone, is twelve feet in height and is intended to be available for all purposes consistent with the upper part being used as a church. The body of the church is a frame building and is twenty feet in height but is not intended to be finished this season. There is also a tower or steeple of the building which, when finished, will be about 70 feet in height in which it is in contemplation to have a town or public clock and with a bell sufficiently weighty to be heard in all parts of the town..." *Bytown Packet*, 23 October 1847.

Some denominations most notably the United Church of England and Ireland, felt that, as the official church of England, they should receive state assistance on their church-building projects. In fact, assistance in the construction of churches was seen as being an integral part of the role and duties of a Christian Government. Much of their demands for funding was based on their claims to church establishment. They were however not alone in this claim, as the Church of Scotland also considered itself an established church. In 1840 the unification of the Presbyterian churches was brought about in part as a means of obtaining greater access to funds and more government aid.³⁰ This union was short lived. In 1843, the 'Disruption' that had caused a deep division between the Auld Kirk and the Free Church in Scotland in 1843, reached the parishes of central Canada. The division of congregations into Auld Kirk or Free Kirk supporters appeared in the Ottawa Valley only a very short time after the split in Scotland, and was especially manifest in the expansion of the Free Kirk, or Free Church support.³¹ In the Ottawa Valley, the division is often manifest through a secondary split that tended run along urban/rural lines. In the farming communities of the Fitzroy Harbor, Huntley and Thorbolton areas, a number of wealthy rural families chose to join the Free Church while those who chose to remain with the Auld Kirk found themselves increasingly isolated. The Auld Kirk was left much smaller and as a predominantly urban church with little interest in rural concerns.³²

In the Ottawa Valley, the legacy of the Scottish rift becomes apparent through a greater attachment to the Presbyterian practice of church government, a more pronounced

30 R.M. Reid, *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), p. cxxi.

31 R. W. Vaudry, *The Free Church in Victorian Canada 1844-1861* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1989); G.C. Lucas, "Presbyterianism in Carleton County to 1867" (M.A. diss., Carleton University, 1973).

32 Rev. Glen Lucas, *St. Paul's, Carp, Ontario, 1824-1974*, p. 12.

leaning towards Calvinistic doctrine and the expansion of an Evangelical spirit.³³ Within individual congregations there was rarely a unified commitment to one faction or the other. Parishioners fought over the funding of missionaries, the division of parishes and property claims. The resulting animosity was often so great that the two factions were often in a state of such disagreement that they were unable to use the same church building. The most visible outcome of this problem was the construction of new church buildings. However, there was more to the Scottish rift than a need for new church buildings to accommodate the fragmentation of congregations. Devotees of the Free church cause held very firm views on how the building of churches should be financed. Funds were to be raised from within the community itself. The emergence of Free Church as an energetic and vital force leant considerable weight to the voluntarist cause.

Voluntarism had been gaining momentum for some time among several other Christian denominations especially among Baptists and Methodists. In 1847, the Episcopal Methodist journal, the *Canada Christian Advocate*, denounced the government funding of churches, and denounced State paid churches as a "...source of incalculable evil - The enemies of mankind."³⁴ Over the course of the next few years the Voluntarist position was to make extraordinary gains in strength and popularity. This growth was to come at the expense of the established Churches.

The Voluntarist position, as its name implied, called for each denomination to raise its own church-building funds. However despite its strong stand concerning the origins of funds, Voluntarism on its own had no philosophical affinity to any particular

33 Vaudry, *The Free church*, p. xiv.

34 *Canada Christian Advocate*, December 1847, p. 171.

building style. Still, Voluntarist denominations repeatedly placed a high value on the building of churches. Of those denominations or congregations that espoused Voluntarist principles, most were very slow to officially or openly advocate any specific criteria for the construction of church buildings. Nor was there a uniform perception among Voluntarists of the role played by a church building in either a religious or secular context. Still, despite the variety of denominational perspectives, there was a remarkable visual similarity between many of the churches built by these denominations. At the same time, among non-Voluntarist denominations most notably Roman Catholics and members of the United Church of England and Ireland, a stricter adherence to certain architectural standards was increasingly encouraged. This tendency becomes more manifest with the progression of the nineteenth century.

Owing to the more conspicuous nature of buildings raised by the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome, greater attention is frequently given to their development both in terms of architectonic presence and cultural significance. Of equal if not greater importance to the understanding of religion during the nineteenth century is the increased discussion of the need and importance of church-building among dissenting denominations.³⁵

35 This does not include Radical Reformers such as Brethren or Mennonites, whose presence in the Ottawa Valley during the nineteenth century was minimal.

ENTERPRISING FRIENDS OF THE METHODISTIC ZION

In 1844, the Rev. N. Bangs published a two volume history of the Methodist Church.³⁶ Although Bangs' writings were directed primarily at an American audience and dealt essentially with Episcopal Methodism in the United States, the editorial staff of the *Canada Christian Advocate* judged his opinions to be of timely relevance to their Canadian readers. Consequently, Bangs' writings on a number of topics concerning Methodist history and ritual appeared in the paper. His discussion concerning the importance of church buildings was reprinted in its entirety. In his opening lines, Bangs expressed concern that in recent years the Episcopal Methodist Church had lost a significant number of potential converts and even members to other denominations. This loss of membership was attributed not to a lack of spiritual zeal and devotion on the part of Episcopal Methodist preachers, but rather to their omission to provide effective leadership and instruction on the matter of church-building. Bangs explained that far too many communities had neglected to build suitable places to gather for worship. Instead, they had been content to gather in the modest manner of earlier times. This meant that religious services were still being held in farmer's barns and isolated stands of trees. While this manner of worship may have been popular during the frontier days, it was gradually losing much of its appeal as settlements and villages became more developed. When other denominations began building proper 'houses of worship', conveniently situated in the local village, many Episcopal Methodist leaders were alarmed to discover that significant portions of their own flock preferred to worship in a building devoted to this purpose. Furthermore, the desire to worship in a building dedicated specifically to

36 Dr. N. Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Lane & Stanford, 1844) vols. 1 & 2.

This purpose was so strong that many parishioners were prepared to change their denominational alliances to do so. Bangs stated openly that he believed that the Methodist Episcopal church had suffered a significant numerical setback as a direct consequence of the neglect to build churches.³⁷

To maximize ministerial efforts and combat numerical decline, Bangs proposed a radical architectural remedy. "Churches should be built in which the people who attend our ministry may worship the God of our Fathers."³⁸ He suggested that for Episcopal Methodism to enjoy success, it was now necessary to build a church, not only in every town and village but also in every neighborhood of reasonable size. On this point he is quite clear that not just any sort of rustic shack was acceptable. The condition of the church building was once again presented as being directly related to the size, consistency and moral standing of those who frequented it. Furthermore, the effectiveness of ministerial work was significantly diminished when the building used for religious services was shabby and unpleasant to frequent. Readers were informed that the vast majority of people would not be attracted to a denomination that did not provide for a suitable place of worship. "The Building of churches," declared Bangs emphatically, "gives permanency to the cause."³⁹

37 Bangs, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 293-294.

38 "No doubt our readers will have observed that where comfortable houses of worship have been erected for the comfort and accommodation of those who desire to hear the glad tidings of Salvation by our ministry, the Congregations are large, respectable and *permanent*. On the other hand, where we have no places of worship, or those which are inferior or uncomfortable, our hearers have generally dwindled down to be few more than the society and consequently, we have not the same opportunity for being useful." N. Bangs as quoted in the *Canada Christian Advocate*, vol. 1, no. 4, 23 January 1845.

39 *Canada Christian Advocate*, vol. 1, no. 4, 23 January 1845.

This new preoccupation with church-building was in no way an exclusively Episcopal Methodist phenomenon. In November of 1846, the Wesleyan Methodist journal the *Christian Guardian* reprinted an article on church-building in Canada that had recently appeared in the *Genesee Evangelist*. The author observed that:

... it will generally be found where religion is prosperous an effort is made to erect churches for the accommodation of the worshipers of Israel's God. We are happy to know that much more is being done by Methodists at the present day in Canada than at any former period..."⁴⁰

The *Christian Guardian* elaborated on the position outlined in the *Genesee Evangelist*, by suggesting that rundown churches never did much to inspire confidence in a cause. Furthermore, people on the whole were generally inclined to avoid religious services that were held in buildings that were somewhat less than pleasant. Although superficially the structure appears to be linked to material comfort, it is important to avoid over-emphasizing this dimension of the question. Instead, the building of suitable churches was considered to be intimately related with the furtherance of a higher cause. Or as the *Christian Guardian* pointed out: "The improvement and increase of Church accommodation may be regarded as a pleasing evidence of the progress and triumph of True religion."⁴¹

The equation of church buildings with not merely material progress but a with a matter as awe inspiring as the triumph of True religion suggests much greater significance was being attached to even the smallest and most modest church building than has been

40 *Genesee Evangelist* as quoted in *Christian Guardian*, November 1846, p. 18.

41 *Genesee Evangelist* as quoted in *Christian Guardian*, November 1846, p. 18.

traditionally allowed for in contemporary scholarship. In addition to this, there is compelling evidence to suggest that the construction of church buildings was seen to play an important part of the accomplishing one's Christian duties and an integral component of leading an exemplary Christian life:

Every member of the Church, rich or poor, has a duty to perform according to the means God has given him, in this as well as in every other Christian enterprise, and no one else can perform his duty for him. We have somewhere seen observed that the Almighty estimates our offerings to his cause not by the amount presented, but by what is left behind. These remarks apply with almost equal force to every other vicinity of the province where churches are being erected."⁴²

Increasingly, the building of churches thus came to be seen not only as a wise thing to do in terms of the prosperity of one's chosen denomination, but also as partial fulfillment of one's duties before God. Absorption with this new and often augmented role of the church building is increasingly evident in the confessional press. Typical of this new trend is an article that appeared in 1847 in the *Christian Guardian*. Here again the building of a church is suggested as necessary for the fulfillment of one's covenant with God, the question is put to the reader:

If God who has crowned our labors and increased our resources be not honored by us in the erection of temples for his worship, if we build houses for ourselves, adorn and embellish them, while the house of the Lord is not built can we reasonably expect that God will honor and bless us?⁴³

The correspondent continued along this line of thinking and went on to proclaim ominously that those communities that failed to justly honor God through the construction

42 *Canada Christian Advocate*, vol. 1, no. 4, 23 January 1845.

43 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

of church buildings that were of equal value to their own homes and their own temporal well-being would be punished.

It is perhaps needless to stress that decently fulfilling God's covenant was unequivocally, and in and of itself a formidable endeavor. Furthermore the understanding of how an individual was to discharge this duty, was to become successively more complicated. In many instances the heterogeneous nature of the discussion that surrounded this issue coincided with the increasing prosperity of many congregations. The connection between the augmented material affluence of the laity, the construction of churches and prosperous religion is an important one. Among Methodists discussion of church-building reveals not simply an advocacy of prolific architectural activity, but much soul searching. A sincere and anguished debate emerges as Methodists wrestle to articulate a position on church-building that fulfills a complex and often contradictory set of criteria.

Less than two decades earlier the Methodist Church in central Canada had been legally denied the right to hold land. A congregation wishing to build a house of worship was obliged to do so on land belonging to one of their own members. This regulation had resulted in a legacy of church buildings that were often isolated and barren. Now, with the legal right to hold land, the Methodist church had acquired a new air of permanence and acceptability that they had long been denied. In addition to this, the years that followed coincided with the increasing popularity of Methodism as well as a growing prosperity among Methodists in their secular affairs. This was taken (usually by Methodists) to be a clear sign of divine favor. God had openly and visibly blessed their work and Methodists were eager to give a tangible expression of their recognition and

gratitude to God for this new prosperity. Again, in the context of the day, this was best proven through the building of churches, or as one correspondent to the *Christian Guardian* put it, the construction of a suitable place of worship “gives ocular demonstration of a noble and generous people.”⁴⁴

This bond or link between good work, divine favour, material prosperity and the building of churches was equally prevalent among Wesleyan Methodists. Here again the building of churches becomes emblematic of much more than denominational attainment of social standing. It also assumes a new role that goes beyond an individualistic expression of gratitude to God for the blessings one has personally received. The church edifice is now equated to an instrument through which Christians could spread the word of God’s salvation. Indeed one correspondent went as far as to suggest that a lack of adequate church accommodation could directly result in the loss of souls. This possibly explains the tone of urgency with which Methodists would occasionally broach the subject of church-building:

... we would also observe that unless suitable accommodation be provided, hundreds will find a home elsewhere, who, perhaps, were there a comfortable Methodist Church in their vicinity would attend it, and there find Him, “of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write...” It should be remembered, however willing members of Society may be to endure inconveniences arising from want of suitable worship, others will not submit to such inconveniences, particularly where they can avail themselves of suitable church accommodation without difficulty. And it is to be feared that numbers attend nowhere on the Lord’s day because there is no suitable place in which the service is held in their neighborhood.⁴⁵

44 *Christian Guardian*, 27 July 1847, p. 82.

45 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

The preceding text is significant in that it reflects an important progression in Methodist thought on the role of church-building. N. Bangs had already observed that while members might endure discomfort, those not yet converted were generally inclined to be less tolerant of such shortcomings. Now more than ever the church building is portrayed as a valuable tool for the evangelization of the general population. The *Christian Guardian* set out their position concerning who would only come to comfortable churches quite clearly in noting: "far be it from us to be the apologist of such persons." However, as the author went on to carefully explain if 'such persons,' the lukewarm and the uncommitted, could simply be enticed into entering the church building, the eventual outcome could usually be of great significance. It was reasoned that, once inside the church building, an individual would be a much more receptive and an easier target for the "pouring out of the graces necessary for the transformation of their lives."⁴⁶ This is not to suggest that Methodists believed that the God whom all nineteenth century Christians understood to be omnipresent was particularly present within a specific and tangible locus of the church building, such as the tabernacle in a Roman Catholic church. Instead, the church building is progressively perceived as channeling agent for the grace of God through which the good works of humanity and the good work of God could be accomplished.

While evidence clearly suggests that there lurked a strong fear of souls being lost simply for the want of decent church accommodation, the church buildings themselves tend to remain architecturally unambitious. It is perhaps due in part to this continued plainness that scholars have frequently overlooked much of the debate that surrounded

46 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

these buildings. This prejudice that caters to a primarily stylistic perspective leaves an important source of nineteenth century religious thought largely untapped. It is worth noting that much of the discussion concerning the need for and the role of church-building coincides with a period when Methodists are seeking to reconcile the values of older traditions and a modest lifestyle with the reality of an augmented popularity and greater access to material prosperity. As the permanency of their presence became more assured, the Methodist understanding of the role played by church buildings also changed. As an ever increasing number of sturdy little church buildings began to appear, the romantic image of the simple but rugged preacher, praying in the fields to the gathered multitude of simple folk, was beginning to fade from popularity.

Much of this discussion concerning the necessity of adequate church buildings to instill in the minds of people a sense of permanence and relevance, came at a time when both Episcopal and Wesleyan Methodists were beginning to establish a stronger presence along the shores of the Ottawa Valley. During the early 1840s, 'The Bytown Circuit' of the Episcopal Methodist Church was placed under the charge of the Rev. Gardener. He was responsible for evangelization not only in the small settlement clustered at the junction of the Rideau and the Ottawa Rivers, but also for a vast tract of land that extended westward along the southern shore of the Ottawa, as well as along the northern shore to include Hull and its surrounding areas in the province of Quebec. The circuit was alternatively and perhaps more appropriately known as the Nepean and Hull Circuit. Although Methodist preachers might still have been few and far between, the Rev. Gardener was dismayed to discover that his ministerial efforts were not always courteously received. Gardener had been particularly affronted by the inhospitable reception he suffered from a cluster of Methodist families settled several kilometers west

of Bytown in the Nepean area. He spoke of this problem in an article entitled "Historical Sketch of the Bytown Circuit" which appeared in the *Canada Christian Advocate* in January of 1845.⁴⁷ Gardener explained that although ten members had settled in the Nepean area they were "...seemingly, professed 'an empire within themselves' and like the Jews and Samaritans 'had no *religious* dealings with others'." Gardener left them to their own resources and returning to the center of his territory declared "... I entered Bytown as Paul entered into Corinth."⁴⁸

What is of particular interest with Gardener's story is not the fact that some members of his own denomination were unreceptive of his evangelizing efforts, but rather the manner in which he continues to demonstrate to his co-religionists that his efforts were soon after to bear visible signs of fruition. Like Paul, the Rev. Gardener was neither easily discouraged nor destined for complete failure. Once in Bytown he gathered together a small group of about thirty people who were more receptive to his efforts. The new congregation rented a small schoolroom, which they outgrew after only a short time. In the meantime their increased presence resulted in a land grant from 'Her Majesty's Honorable Board of Ordinance' for a Methodist cemetery, and before much more time had elapsed the new congregation was making plans to replace the rented schoolroom with a building erected specifically and solely for cult purposes. Rev. Gardener explained their undertaking in the following terms :

The place became 'too strait' for us, we deemed it necessary and prudential in fear of God to undertake the erection of a Chapel. Knowing

47 Rev. Gardener, "Historical Sketch of the Bytown Circuit," *Canada Christian Advocate*, 9 January 1845.

48 Rev. Gardener, "Historical Sketch of the Bytown Circuit," *Canada Christian Advocate*, 9 January 1845.

that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build'... Disappointment respecting a site delayed this undertaking until the month of June. We then proceeded to erect a house 36 x 42 of sufficient height to admit a gallery.⁴⁹

Gardener's description of the new Methodist chapel as a simple rectangular structure is in itself not remarkable. It is in keeping with much of what was being built by other Methodist missionaries in various other parts of the country where church visibility was gaining a new importance. The projected need for a gallery denotes a spirit of optimism and confidence in future successes. It is however the reasons given by Gardener for the construction of the Bytown chapel and the use of scriptural quotations that draw on architectural symbolism that are of particular interest. His description of construction motivated by a sense of prudence and a fear of God are suggestive of concerns that go far beyond a preoccupation with convenience, centrality and the ability to attract a respectable congregation. Instead, this small and unassuming building was clearly linked to loftier concerns. Although Rev. Gardener offers no indication as to what he thought might become of a congregation that was negligent on the matter of church-building, a later correspondent to the *Christian Guardian* was more informative :

There can be no question but the Divine Being will properly rebuke us by honoring us just in proportion as we honor Him: and we regret that ... to more than one spot could we point where once a flourishing society, by which a laudable effort was made to erect a rude log chapel, in days of comparative poverty, but which now has dwindled entirely away. The effort made was commendable, because it was all that could be done.

49 *Canada Christian Advocate*, January 1845. Gardener also adds that In addition ... our brethren and friends have contributed to the erection of two other churches and are now engaged to bear their part in enclosing a burying ground, which it has pleased Her Majesty's Honorable Board of Ordinance to bestow upon the Methodist Churches."

Years rolled on; the hand of Providence poured out blessings; the weak became strong, and the poor became rich. But the house of God became dilapidated, no effort was made to erect a building in which to worship God, corresponding with the costly dwellings which supplanted the humble shanties; and in accordance with his own declarations, Jehovah "lightly esteemed" the ungrateful ones; a spiritual dearth ensued ; and now hardly a wreck is visible of a society which once promised much for the future; and which, perhaps, might be exerting this moment a powerful influence, had God been properly honored.⁵⁰

When the Methodist Episcopal Church in Bytown was officially opened on December fifteenth, 1844, thanks largely to Gardener's Pauline spirit of perseverance, the occasion was discussed by Gideon Shepherd in a report to the *Canada Christian Advocate*. In his article, Shepherd gave a brief description of the building which echoed much of what Gardener had already noted. More importantly, Shepherd also mentioned that one of the sermons preached that day was on Saint Paul's letter to the Ephesians.⁵¹

So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple of the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.⁵²

Although the sermon itself is not preserved, the selection of this particular passage is significant. Saint Paul's letter to the Ephesians speaks in several ways to issues that were

50 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

51 G. Shepherd, "State of Religion: The Ottawa Valley," *Canada Christian Advocate*, 30 January 1845.

52 Ephesians, 20-22.

of concern to Methodists at this time. In this scriptural passage, the undesirable sense of not belonging and transience is replaced with a new sense of permanence, stability and belonging. More importantly, this new status is linked with a multiform exploitation of architectural symbolism. This scriptural use of architectural symbolism is indicative of the strong interconnection Methodist leaders saw between a suitable church building, permanence and prosperity. It provides a justification of their insistence on the need to provide a tangible presence, felt as a viable, visible and integral part of society. The prevalence of this attitude among Methodists in the Ottawa Valley is evident in much of their discussion of local church-building initiatives. Increasingly, the building of churches is presented as a moral duty, symbolic of a sacred bond between God and his people. In his annual account for 1853, Rev. W. M. Pattyson of the Osgoode Mission reported, "Our enterprising friends of the Methodistic Zion"⁵³ were currently involved with the construction of four separate church buildings. Work continued as hoped over the course of the following two years so that by 1855 Rev. Pattyson was able to report that more than any other year to date, 1855 was a year that had been a year blessed with signs of divine pleasure in their work. Five churches had been completed.

No year has transpired without divinely accredited seals of a Wesleyan instrumentality; and none has been so prolific as in the closing in the spiritual, numerical and financial departments. We make progress, except in quarter age, which we attribute to the building of five churches... Wesleyan Methodism having no friendship with this world demonstrates that her best friendship is the piety of her people.⁵⁴

53 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada - 1853*, p. xlv.

54 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada - 1856*.

The association of church-building with spiritual prosperity was to become more pronounced over the course of the next few years. During the early 1850s, the Wesleyan Methodist minister for the Gatineau Mission complained of the great difficulties in maintaining a high spiritual standard among his parishioners.⁵⁵ By 1852, the Rev. John Armstrong grieved that his mission was plagued with 'back sliding' and 'loss of grace.' This problem was particularly severe during the winter months.⁵⁶ Less than four years later, in 1856, the Rev. Armstrong reported that many of these dilemmas had been effectively eliminated:

Churches are rising and what is best of all souls are being saved... Their attention has been directed towards the construction of a suitable place of worship... They have built one chapel and have made preparations to commence another immediately.⁵⁷

Once again a connection is made between the building of chapels and the saving of souls. This was not a fanciful invention of the Rev. Armstrong, and is echoed by numerous other preachers. Several years earlier, Richard Wilson, a Methodist minister working on the Bonnechère circuit, equated the lack of church buildings in the "townships of McNab, Horton, Admaston, Bromley, Stafford and some unsurveyed lands" not merely to a situation that was unfavorable, but to one that was evil. "The want

55 Gatineau was another large mission typical of Ottawa Valley appointments: "This mission is in Canada East, and extends about forty miles up the Gatineau River from Bytown. It comprehends a part of four townships viz.: Templeton, Hull, Wakefield, Masham and also extends into unsurveyed lands. There are seven regular appointments and some occasional ones..." Rev. W. Morton, *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada - 1847*, p. xxix.

56 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada - 1852.*

57 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada - 1856*, p. lxiv.

of chapels has hitherto been greatly against our interests,” explained Wilson, before adding hopefully “but there is a prospect to this evil being speedily removed.”⁵⁸

In addition to the unprecedented building activity, an interesting pattern begins to emerge between religious revivals and church-building projects in the Ottawa Valley. In the context of local piety, there are parallels between the acknowledgment of reception of divine favor and subsequent construction of church buildings that should not be ignored. This link between revivals and church-building is particularly evident among Methodists. It is not unusual for the report of a successful revival to a missionary society or a confessional journal to be followed several weeks later by a second report in which a church-building project is being planned, if not already underway. Recurrent evidence suggests that it is often during the emotional climax of a revival meeting when an increased sense of religious fervor and devotion is prevalent, that a congregation will identify and act upon the desire to raise a small church building.

During the late summer and early fall of 1846, revivals were experienced in a number of communities in the Ottawa Valley. Typical of this phenomenon are reports that appeared in the denominational press announcing increased religious activity and sentiment. Wesleyan Methodists in the Bytown District reported to the *Christian Guardian*, that “the Head of the Church is graciously visiting his people in this and the adjoining district.”⁵⁹ This was confirmed in the same issue of the *Christian Guardian*, when Wesleyans from the nearby community of Goulbourn reported:

58 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in
Connexion with the English Conference - 1850*, p. xxxiv.

59 *Christian Guardian*, October 1846, p. 2.

A cloud of mercy has for sometime been hanging over this circuit and has distilled its blessings upon the people. We have had two protracted meetings and each of them was well attended. Evening after evening individuals were found at the altar of prayer imploring mercy.⁶⁰

Likewise from across the Ottawa River, in Western Quebec, the Wesleyan minister in charge of the Gatineau Circuit noticed a similar occurrence. He reported this in the *Christian Guardian* :

For some weeks past, the Good Lord has been visiting us with an outpouring of his Holy Spirit, and many have been enabled to rejoice in a sin-pardoning God... We had not long commenced our meeting, before a general awakening seemed to pervade the neighborhood... It was a season marked by a special presence of God.⁶¹

Increasingly, Methodists in the Ottawa Valley responded to such signs of God's favor by expressing their gratitude and commitment to continued devotion through the construction of small church buildings. This is evident by the considerable church-building activity that was reported by Ottawa Valley Methodists shortly after the revivals of the fall of 1846. Soon after the gracious visit by the head of the church to the shores of the Ottawa Valley, the editors of the *Christian Guardian* were notified that new Methodist chapels were being build in Goulbourn, Huntley and Richmond, a circuit that to date had been "almost destitute of Chapels". The editor noted that these reports were all published "with great pleasure," adding that it was their hope that such excellent examples of Christian industry would be a good example to those circuits "that have

60 *Christian Guardian*, October 1846, p. 2.

61 *Christian Guardian*, October 1846, p. 2.

hitherto been backwards....," and that over the course of the winter they would take steps to remedy this shortcomings.⁶²

In keeping with the sensitivities of their neighbouring co-religionists, the Methodists of the Richmond Circuit were not indifferent to the attentions of the Most High. They too were prepared to celebrate God's attention in architectural terms:

Within the last two years we have erected and have now underway of erection no less than five new chapels, three of which are commodious being 40' X 30' each... I do pray that these chapels may present a scene similar to the temple of Jerusalem in its best days, 'Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord'... We are looking and believing for a great gathering of souls.⁶³

Once again the text demonstrated the projection of highly complex religious ideals onto comparatively unpretentious structures. The modestly built church building is thus used to give visual expression to a recondite and remarkably symbolic world vision. The preceding discussion reveals a perception of the church building as something much more than a simple physical rallying point. By equating the purpose of a modest wooden chapels with the Temple of Jerusalem, this text is a lucid demonstration that the symbolic function of the Methodist chapel far exceeds the measures of traditional architectural critique. It is linked instead more closely to a unique understanding of God's movement through time and space how in doing this He chose to interact with his faithful. Therefore, when examined from this particular perspective, the building of churches

62 *Christian Guardian*, November 1846, p.2

63 *Christian Guardian*, February 1848, p. 66.

again becomes a sort of architectonic recognition of God's favor as manifest in the expansion of God's grace. In this context it is important to remember that while the construction of some chapels may have been motivated primarily by religious fervor and that the construction of others was motivated as largely out of recognition for material blessings, the individual intention allows for both to be contributing factors in the construction of a single building. When associated with revival meetings, the construction of a church can be seen as an acknowledgment of God's graces in a spiritual context. This does not mean that the two motives for material recognition were mutually exclusive. It does however appear that the construction of certain chapels was more intimately linked to sentiment of religious zeal than others.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THINGS NECESSARY FOR THE BECOMING PERFORMANCE OF DIVINE SERVICE

At the same time that some denominations were enjoying an unprecedented expansion and growth, others were rocked by both internal and external strife. The Anglican Church in particular was to feel such pressures.⁶⁴ Although their traditional position of social and financial privilege was increasingly called into question, this did not prevent Anglicans themselves from questioning the visual dimension of worship practices. Concerns similar to those voiced by various Methodist communities were echoed by members of the United Church of England and Ireland. Here too, one can detect a spreading anxiety that the neglect to build suitable places for worship might have more serious consequences than previously conceived. In an open letter to the clergy,

64 See C. Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991).

published by *The Church* in November of 1849, the Venerable A. N. Bethune, Archdeacon of York, suggested to the clergy that in addition to their ministering to the spiritual church they also had very real obligations concerning the well being of the material church. Bethune's discussion of the question is important in that it neatly synthesizes a variety of consequential contemporary concepts.

Bethune's understanding of what constituted the material church embraced a diverse assortment of subjects. His discussion reflected the expansion among Anglicans, of the assumption that not only was it crucial for worship to be correctly done, but that worship should be performed within an environment that was itself as conform to the requisite correctness as was humanly possible.

In keeping with this objective, Bethune attended to a wide range of topics. His discussion included "The providing of things necessary for the becoming performance of Divine Service," "The enlargement of churches when necessary," "Church revenue," "Parsonage Houses," "Church Yards" and "Insurance of Churches and parsonages." However, he began his list of charges with "The Building of Churches."⁶⁵

Although the Rev. Bethune went to considerable length to stress that he did indeed recognize that many new communities were fortunate to have the use of school houses as temporary places for Sunday worship, school houses should be recognized for precisely what they were: temporary, and secular.⁶⁶ By 'the Building of Churches,' the

⁶⁵ Ven. A.N. Bethune, "A charge addressed to the clergy of the Archdeanery of York," *The Church*, vol. xiii, no. 14, 1 November 1849.

⁶⁶ "...in a new country, we avail ourselves of school-houses for Divine service: in our necessity we should be thankful for this resource, but it is one which,... should be regarded only as temporary." Bethune, "A Charge."

archdeacon did not mean the construction of anonymous community halls or meeting places that could be used as school houses during the week. Still, Bethune acknowledged that in most newly settled communities both financial and material resources were limited. In such instances, it was often the challenges of simply surviving from one season to the next could easily siphon away any plethoric human or material resources. Settlers could not be reasonably expected to simultaneously build their homes, clear their lands, plant, harvest and market crops, and finance the construction of suitably distinguished churches all at the same time. Though it was not advisable to put off the necessity of church construction indefinitely.

New communities were counseled that at the earliest opportunity they should build an "edifice specially set apart for sacred uses." It was felt that a church building should be a place of worship and that as such it should be a place that was truly set apart, a place consecrated uniquely for the purpose of religion. As the Venerable A. Bethune explained to his readers, it was not simply the act of collective prayer that fulfilled the requirements of sacred worship. Instead, the whole environment in which religious acts were performed must be taken into account. It was essential that the whole atmosphere that encompasses the act of worship as well as the individual worshiper be one of hallowed reverence and one that reinforced the sacredness of purpose.

There is something congenial to the religious mind in this special consecration, and something very abhorrent to it in the occasional employment for holy purposes of that which is perhaps habitually allotted to common uses. The tone of reverential feeling is, of necessity, much impaired by the absence of its appropriate symbols; and though the fervor of genuine devotion may be felt in a school-house or private abode, the

proprieties of public worship cannot be so easily maintained in a common or unconsecrated edifice.⁶⁷

Unfortunately Bethune did not choose to elaborate on what exactly he meant by "appropriate symbols." It is unlikely however that he would have approved of the parishioners of St. John the Evangelist in Richmond who allowed their church to be used as a drill hall by the Queen's Consort's 60th rifles.

Bethune's discussion of the need to build churches reflects a growing opinion that newly found prosperity in the emerging towns and villages of central Canada was part of God's divine plan. It was a sign of God's favor and blessing. Although Bethune may not have agreed, the Methodists had been saying this about their own expansion and prosperity for some time. Bethune considered it natural and in fact even prudent to suggest, (especially in light of increased prosperity, which was ultimately a sign of divine favor), that the same zeal that was so manifest in the construction of worldly housing be also directed towards the adequate housing of a place of prayer. For many communities, this should not be seen as a labor of unreasonable magnitude:

Persons have only, as a community, to exert the skill and industry which they usually employ, as individuals, in securing to themselves a comfortable residence, and even those ornaments and elegances which improvement of worldly fortune so generally induces them to supply. Let the same feeling, deepened and sanctified, animate Christians in contemplating their obligation to erect and adorn the house of God; let the "children of light," in this instance, exhibit the prudence and zeal which characterize the "children of the world." If this were done, we should have

67 Bethune, "A Charge."

fewer complaints of the difficulty, much less of the impossibility, of erecting a becoming edifice of prayer: what one, for individual satisfaction or comfort, is enabled to effect for himself, a whole community, without any extraordinary self-denial or serious self-deprivation, can surely accomplish. In this way, in the prosperous and populous city, in the rising town or village, we should discern the sanctuary of God, standing out, in its proportions and adornments, pre-eminent amongst the mere structures of the world.⁶⁸

Bethune's discussion of the role the visual church should play among the community at large, as well as the role the church should fulfill for the community of believers, comes at a significant time in the history of Anglican Church-building in central Canada. Although Bethune does not propose any radical departures from previous church-building traditions, his considerations are significant in that they call for a re-evaluation of the role a church building should play within the community. While the image of a religious edifice standing out in a place of pre-eminence had long been a characteristic one of Anglican churches, Bethune's insistence on the need for a clearer distinction between sacred and secular uses had not been a prevailing concern. Despite the judicious tone of his remarks, the public call for a new and reverential treatment of the church edifice anticipates much of the radical rethinking of Anglican architecture that was to characterize the following decades.

68 Bethune, "A Charge."

ARCHITECTURAL FORMS AND LITURGICAL FUNCTIONS

Whether it originated from a small group of interested individuals, the community as a whole, a traveling missionary, a priest or even a distant bishop, the decision to build a space in which to worship was usually considered a turning point in the history of any nineteenth century Ottawa valley community. Once the decision had been taken and the site chosen, it became a rallying point for the congregation. Roman Catholic parishioners would often mark the future site of their church with a cross while Protestant congregations often gathered to hear preaching or for the singing of hymns. The first major public ceremony held in connection with the site of a new church was usually the laying of the cornerstone. Occasionally members of local Masonic lodges were active participants when the cornerstone was placed on a new Church.⁶⁹ When the original cornerstone was placed for St. John's (Anglican) in Richmond in 1823, Masonic symbols were engraved on either side of the date.⁷⁰

To a great extent, many of the churches continued to be simple log structures especially in the remote or rural areas. These were frequently community affairs, when parishioners would gather and 'raise' the church, much as one 'raises' a barn.⁷¹ Roman Catholics would often build log churches to meet in until a more substantial structure was being built. These were usually referred to as 'chapels,' and were primarily intended as

69 Masonic participation in cornerstone ceremonies has been recorded for a number of churches including St. John's, Richmond, 1823; Holy Trinity, Hawkesbury, 1844; and St. James', Carleton Place in 1881.

70 This stone has been incorporated into the structure of the present St. John's Church (1859).

71 This is a trend that was to continue well into the third quarter of the nineteenth century. As the Rev. W. H. Naylor explained in his memoirs on March 24th and 25th, 1868: "... 'bees' were held to make logs for the church... and that two weeks later, on April 7th, ...twenty-six men assembled and raised the building, which has ever since been known as St. Luke's, Caldwell." W. H. Naylor, *The Church in Clarendon* (St John's: E.R. Smith Co., 1919), p. 45.

temporary structures. Methodists on the other hand used a great number of this building type but were less inclined to encourage rapid replacement by a larger, more imposing structure such as the one built by Irish Roman Catholics at South Gloucester. Other well-intended projects, despite their modest ambition, were sabotaged for lack of funds. It was almost ten years between the time that the Rosebank Methodist Church was begun in 1846 and the time it was properly shingled.⁷²

Most of the churches erected during this period continued traditions of earlier years. These churches were small, neat and functional. In 1840, the Rev. S. S. Strong organized the construction of a small church for his Anglican parishioners in Clarendon Center, Quebec, now Shawville. The church itself, a small frame structure, was forty feet long and thirty feet wide.⁷³ It had been built by two local tradesmen, George Hodgins and Thomas Wilson, and was still in use when the Rev. W. H. Naylor arrived to take charge of the parish in July of 1876. Naylor described the original church as "...a plain, unadorned, clapboard frame building, with great Gothic arched windows, a gallery across the West end... and a tower at the West end through which the entry was made."⁷⁴ This description could be applied to a significant number of church buildings from this period, and with the elimination of the tower could be applied to many more.

72 C. Bennett, *The Admaston Heritage book* (Renfrew: Juniper Books, 1984), p. 30.

73 The original church of St. Paul's was used for the last time in January of 1878 and was dismantled in April of 1880. In his memoirs, Rev. Naylor mentions: "Should any of the younger generation wish to know the site of the old church, they may take the Hugh Eliot family monument and measure forty feet east for the length of the church and 30 feet north and south for its width. This will give almost the exact site of the old St. Paul's. The entrance was in the West End." Naylor, *The Church*, p. 11.

74 Naylor, *The Church*, p. 10.

SITE CHOICE AND SURROUNDINGS

Churches were habitually set back a small distance from village streets. Occasionally later modifications alter this arrangement, as for example in the case of Mellville Presbyterian Church built in Ashton in 1852. When the church was renovated in 1879, it was enlarged through the facade which in turn creates the impression of the whole church being nearer to the roadway.⁷⁵ In the country where more land was available churches were commonly further withdrawn from the roadways. The orientation of nearly all churches was routinely dictated by secular surveying and most churches, regardless of their distance from it, continued to face the front property line.

Church architecture continued to be seen by the members of some denominations as an indicator of where the center of activity was to be. The location of a church building persisted to have an important effect on defining where the center of newly settled communities would be. For this reason, great importance was still attached to the church site, even before the building itself was begun. Once chosen, it was very difficult to change the site without provoking considerable controversy. The Roman Catholic Bishop, Mgr. Guigues, discovered this firsthand when he changed the projected location of the Plantagenet township church from the village of Curran to the village of Plantagenet. The Bishop had decided to change sites because the people of Curran did not appear to have been particularly zealous in raising the necessary funds. If the citizens of Curran had not been sufficiently aroused to promptly fulfill their church-building

75 D. Lewis, *Waymarks and Guideposts: Highlights in the History of Ashton Upper Canada*, 1984, p. 6-7.

commitments, (and ultimately it took them the better part of two decades to complete the project), the relocation of the township church stirred up a considerable (and immediate) response.irate residents accused Mgr. Guigues not only of being anti-national but of being anti-catholic! Their concerns were summed up by Philippe Gareau, who concluded a sharply worded letter to the Bishop by pointing out the shortcomings of his decision:

...Un grand nombre qui, comptant sur la décision de votre grandeur lorsqu'elle marqua le site actuel de la chapelle, et croyant voir la perspective d'un village s'agrandissant chaque année, ont en conséquence fait les achats du terrain et des améliorations dans ou près du nouveau village et se sont trouvés avoir perdu beaucoup (eu égard à leurs moyens), par le changement survenu dans le site de l'église: un bon nombre a cru voir dans le changement sus-dit, un acte anti-catholique et anti-national, étant le fait d'un Catholique et d'un Français, qui était supposé savoir que là ou se trouve la chapelle actuelle se trouve aussi la plus grande somme d'influence Catholique et Française..."⁷⁶

Although Mr. Gareau assured the Bishop that his only motive for writing the letter was his love of Catholicism and his fear that some of his neighbors might lose their faith over this issue, his remarks are also a very effective illustration of the potential for monetary loss that was likely to be occasioned by a site change. That the lack of adequate church accommodation might result in spiritual distress was a common enough concern, however Gareau's elaboration on the fiscal consequences suggests that this was not the only loss that might be incurred. The location of a church was clearly consequential not

⁷⁶ Archdiocesan Archives (R. C.), Ottawa, Curran files, 1-1(1)-1. Letter from Ph. Gareau to Mgr. Guigues, 14 October 1858.

only in terms of one's spiritual well-being but also in terms of real estate holding and land speculation.⁷⁷

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century the worship practices of some Methodist communities continued to include the gathering of large numbers of people for a period of several days at Camp Meetings. The site criteria required to accommodate Camp Meetings were very different from the site requirements of a church that hoped to be at the heart of a thriving new village. For a property to provide adequately for camp meetings, the site needed to be both wide, deep and preferably with a sufficient number of trees to afford a certain degree of privacy. The use of a site for Camp Meetings did not necessarily exclude the construction of a church. In 1846, under the direction of Rev. Benjamin Nakeville, a small Wesleyan Methodist chapel was built on 10th line Goulbourn township. It was described a year later by Rev. J. Courlay as "a neat little white church." Courlay also mentioned that behind the church, "... in a forest of giant maples, they had a campground...."⁷⁸ When the same site served both requirements, the campground was traditionally located at the rear of the property while the church building was nearer to the public roadway. Influenced by John Wesley's decision in 1739 "to be more vile" and preach in open fields,⁷⁹ the mere existence of a place to gather had been enough for some older Methodists. However, with increased settlement and expanded

77 This was not the first time the inhabitants of Curran/Plantagenet had become embroiled in a controversy over the location of their place of worship. A. de Barbezieux, *Histoire de la Province Ecclésiastique d'Ottawa et de la Colonisation dans la Vallée de l'Ottawa* (Ottawa: La Cie d'imprimerie d'Ottawa, 1897), vol. 1, pp. 334-335

78 Quoted in Lucas, *St. Paul's*, p. 41-45.

79 J. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1964, p. 156.

prosperity and even despite the continued survival of Camp Meetings, the preferred setting for Methodist worship was progressively being shifted to church buildings.⁸⁰

80 At a time when fewer and fewer Methodist services were being held outside, the image of Wesley preaching in the fields to the poor and unchurched was progressively capturing popular imagination. For a number of years, lithographed impressions of this important event were offered for sale through the Methodist Press, occupying to some extent the role of an Icon of Methodism.

EXTERNAL STRUCTURES & STYLISTIC FEATURES

A number of church-building traditions first introduced into the Ottawa Valley during the 1820s and 1830s continued to be used during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Some were to be of considerable duration, appearing with only minor variations over the course of several more decades, while others were now in their terminal phases. Among the endangered species of religious architecture were neoclassic churches or those churches with neoclassic facades and Gothic naves.

The Roman Catholics of Bytown decided in 1839 that the time had come to replace their original and very modest wooden chapel. Although construction did not begin until 1841, it was decided that the new church should be built in stone, a more prestigious and decidedly more permanent material. In planning the construction of this new church, which was to be the largest built in the Ottawa Valley to date, the building committee did not turn to a Gothic prototype of any kind. Instead, the original builders of Notre-Dame sought their inspiration from the neoclassic design of St. Patrick's in Quebec.⁸¹ The church of St. Patrick's in Quebec had been built only a few years earlier in 1831 in compliance to plans prepared by architect Thomas Baillargé.⁸² This church was eventually to become Ottawa's Roman Catholic Cathedral, and was subject to considerable stylistic and structural modifications over the course of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, much of the original plan is still easily identifiable most notably in the treatment of the main entries (see Fig. II - 3).

81 N. Pagé, *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1988), pp. 22-24.

82 M. O'Gallagher, *Saint Patrick's, Quebec: The building of a church and of a parish 1827-1833*, (Quebec: Carraig Books, 1981), pp. 16-39.

Typical of the structure with a neoclassic facade and Gothic nave was a small church built in Ottawa after the fragmentation of St. Andrew's (Church of Scotland) parish in the wake of the Scottish disruption.⁸³ Known as Knox Free Presbyterian Church Ottawa, the new congregation built a small white wooden church in 1845 (see Fig. II - 14). The facade was framed to either side with Doric pilasters and a second set flanked the unique and axial doorway. The central entry was flanked to either side by large rectangular windows. A similar, but slightly smaller window was centered above the entry. The pilasters were surmounted by an understated entablature. The architrave and cornice were unadorned and the frieze was interrupted only by four monotone triglyphs. The gable end of the roof and the raking cornices were arranged in the manner of a classical pediment. The tympanum was devoid of all decoration and was opened by a central oculus.

Other types of church buildings, while maintaining a stylistic consistency, at least in general terms, continue to be used but are also fading in popularity. This is evident in the decreasing popularity of a more or less theatrical use of Gothic for church facades. The facade of the original Anglican church of St. Stephen's in Buckingham, Quebec (see Fig. II - 18), is representative of the picturesque interpretation of Gothic that was widespread during the eighteenth century and that survived into the early middle decades of the nineteenth century not only to lose much of its popularity, but to become an object of scorn. The plain, high-walled church has simple Gothic windows and a relatively squat roof embellished only on the facade. This is done through the use of wall

83 Anon., *Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, 1844-1948*.

buttresses and pinnacles. The central portion of the facade was emboldened by the addition of a crenelated parapet.

The use of redundant external structures was principally for visual impression and is frequently reflective of only superficial stylistic affiliations, their overall presentation being more theatrical than archaeological. For that reason, these churches can usually be classified as a picturesque variant of vernacular Gothic. Among the most common additions were pinnacles, buttresses, quoins and elongated finials, frequently of wood. Towers, steeples and bell turrets (see Fig. II - 4) were also used for effect but predominantly by those denominations that favored a strong church/state relation. As these external structures represented an additional cost that was not necessary to the initial construction of the church building, they were frequently added some time after the original construction (see Fig. II - 15).

One of the most common building types to be continued from the early decades of the eighteenth century and well into the second half of the century, was the plain rectangular frame structure with a single axial entry.⁸⁴ The exterior of these churches were destitute of all adornment, and a stylistic affiliation with Gothic is achieved solely through the arch heads of the entry and nave windows. As before, the pointed segments of these arches are frequently filled with a delicate intersecting tracery.

More typical of many facades from this era is the one built by the Presbyterian congregation of Knox Free Church in Black's Corners (see Fig. II - 9). Like the congregation of Knox Free Church (Presbyterian) Ottawa, the congregation in Black's

84 See Chapter V.

Corners emerged as a result of the rift in the Scottish church. When the church was constructed at Black's Corners in 1845, it was done so, as its name implies, with volunteer labor. The church was built with stone quarried nearby, and transported to the building site by members of the community.

The treatment of the Black's Corners facade is in many ways representational of church facades from this period. Here as in many other churches an axial entry is flanked to either side by long Gothic windows. The vertical ascension of the window arches usually peaked at a slightly higher point than the apex of the door arch. Typically the greater percentage of the building's verticality is achieved in the height of the walls and the pitch of the gable is comparatively modest. The gables themselves could end abruptly as they do at Black's Corners, and on the church of St. Bernard (Roman Catholic), Fournier (see Fig. II - 8), or return inward, modestly alluding to the more forceful pediments of classical frontons as can be seen on the facade of St-Pierre-Célestin (Roman Catholic) (see Fig. II - 6), or on St. Mary's (Anglican), Russell, 1856.

Among presentations of the facade that are to gain in popularity during this period were tripartite entryways in which a principal axial door was flanked to either side by entries of a lesser height. While this arrangement can be found on the facades of both large and small churches, it is primarily on Roman Catholic churches that it appears. In fact this arrangement is so common among Roman Catholic churches and so exclusive to them that it can be considered an identifying feature of Roman Catholic church architecture in the Ottawa Valley (see Fig. II - 7).

Protestant churches were traditionally accessible to the public only by way of a single door in the facade, an arrangement that was to remain current especially in country parishes. In contrast, the use of triple doorways in facades of Roman Catholic churches was to enjoy increased prevalence even in rural churches.

An early, yet well preserved example can be seen with Our Lady of the Visitation in South Gloucester. The elevated arch of the axial entry is flanked to either side by a narrower and slightly less elevated arched entry. The Trinitarian symbolism of the entries was not considered to be diminished by the privileged dimensions of the central door (see Fig. II - 4).

The monumentality of this facade foreshadows church-building trends that are to enjoy increased popularity during the second half of the century. Much of the monumentality is achieved through the height and emphasis of the end wall. Although vertically integral, the gable is not a continuous extension of the main facade. Instead, its upper portion corresponds to the roof of a blind triforium that extends above the central nave. The central axis of the church is further emphasized by a large and elongated Gothic window immediately above the central doorway. A small and slightly squat ogee niche is perched immediately above the window, centered on, but well below the apex of the gable wall. Above the stone facade is a steeple. The lower portion is a belfry articulated with six open gables, this is in turn surmounted by a slender spire. The climax of the whole structure is a cross.

When principal doors were paired it was rarely reflective of strong architectural symbolism as seen on the facades of Roman Catholic churches or in the paired couplets

of later Anglican facades. Instead, entries at opposing ends of the facade usually, although not universally, reflect the practice of gender segregation during worship.

INTERNAL DESIGNS AND ADORNMENTS

While the facades of some churches continued to sport gratuitous and occasionally grandiose appendages, the interior design continued to present a stark contrast devoid of all architectural affectations. The ground plan of most churches was rectangular (see Fig. II - 10), with those belonging to Roman Catholics slightly more elongated than those of their Protestant counterparts (see Fig. II - 5). In terms of internal design, there was very little variation from the architectural and liturgical organization of the preceding decades. The primary improvement was in the quality of simple furnishings: benches replaced rough planks and interiors were plastered with greater frequency but this was not universal. The Presbyterian Church built in Huntley in 1843 was described as a log building covered with rough cast: an "uncared for and comfortless place."⁸⁵

Roman Catholics also differed from their Protestant neighbours in that an effort was usually made to acquire a suitable statue of the parish's patron saint. The installation of the fourteen stations of the cross was considered to be an important step towards finishing the interior of a Roman Catholic church.⁸⁶ Even with the addition of visual imagery and religious statuary, most Roman Catholic churches of this era continued to be austere especially when contrasted with contemporary constructions in more cosmopolitan centers or with local constructions in the later decades of the nineteenth century. The majority of churches from this era continued to distinguish themselves fundamentally by their functional practicality. Despite their utilitarian confines, the naves of Protestant buildings are not the reflection of an economically dictated, reductivist

⁸⁵ Described by J. Croil who visited the site in 1866; quoted in Lucas, *St. Paul's*, p. 11.

⁸⁶ Archdiocesan Archives (R.C.), Ottawa, South Gloucester Collection, 5-1. Letter of 17 October 1855 to Mgr. Guigues, concerning installation of the Stations of the Cross.

monotony but are instead evidence, as discussed in Chapter 1, of a continued preoccupation with seeing and hearing the word of God.

The diminutive size of many surviving churches, such as Christ Church (Anglican) in Ashton, is echoed in the descriptions of many other churches built at this time. The Wesleyan Methodist Church, built in 1849 on the 3rd Line in Huntley, was a "...small white frame building 24 x 36'. Centered in the site of the present vault in the Huntley United Cemetery."⁸⁷ Five years later, in 1851, a slightly larger and better chapel was built on the 4th Line in Huntley. This too was a log construction, and for reasons that are not clear, appears to have been referred to more commonly as the 'meeting house,' rather than a 'chapel' or 'church.'⁸⁸

Likewise, the original Presbyterian church at Johnston's Corners is described as a log structure measuring 36 x 26'.⁸⁹ The Wesleyan Methodist missionary in Osgoode reported: "There is but one small chapel on the Mission. The place has become too straight: a few spirited friends have put up a frame 40 x 30' this spring and expect to get it covered-in this summer."⁹⁰

In continued contrast, Roman Catholic churches are proportionately larger and longer. The clapboard church of St. Mary's in Almonte was 60' long and 40' wide,⁹¹

87 Built with the help of a £ 6.7.6 grant from the Conference. This church was later destroyed in the great fire of 1870. Lucas, *St. Paul's*, p. 45.

88 Lucas, *St. Paul's*, p. 45.

89 Begun in 1840, the chapel was not completed until 1845. G. Johnston, *History of South Gloucester United Church at Johnston's Corners 1834-1980* (n.d.).

90 Report by H. Shaler in *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada - 1850*, p. xxxv.

91 Archdiocesan Archives (R.C.), Ottawa, Almonte Collection, F6-2-1, 1-2-13.

the wooden church of St. Bernard in Fournier was 70' long and 36' wide.⁹² Even larger, measuring over 100' in length, 45' in width and with walls 30' high, was the new stone church at South Gloucester.⁹³

The end of the first half of the nineteenth century was an age of rapid growth and expansion. For many Ottawa Valley parishes, galleries were a very practical solution to a real need. These were small balconies that usually ran along the lateral walls of the nave, or across the inner face of the main entry (see Fig. II - 16). They were widely used by many congregations of varying denominational affiliation during the first half of the century. Although galleries were not always part of the original building campaign, they were frequently part of the original building project. In constructing their first churches, many congregations optimistically looked forward to the day when an increased membership would necessitate the construction of galleries. To accommodate these future requirements, plans for the church called for walls that were sufficiently high to permit the addition of a gallery when required. Galleries were most commonly placed above the entryway against the inner wall of the facade. Less frequently, they could run the length of the lateral walls of the nave.

During the construction of several Ottawa churches it is reported that the installation of galleries was not yet necessary. However with the growing importance of Ottawa, parishioners felt that a need for galleries was likely to arise in the not too distant future. Therefore, in a spirit of foresightedness, the walls of these churches were specifically built to accommodate the construction of a gallery. Galleries were added on

92 Archdiocesan Archives (R.C.), Ottawa, Fournier Collection, 1-5-1, 1, *Annual Report for 1878*.

93 Archdiocesan Archives (R.C.), Ottawa, South Gloucester Collection, 5-1, *Rapport Annuel, 1866*.

several occasions to Christ Church, Ottawa, first to the nave in 1841, and then to the transepts in 1855.⁹⁴ In 1849, the seating capacity of Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa, was increased "by seating the gallery."⁹⁵ Other congregations such as the York Street Methodist Episcopal Church saw galleries as something to be planned for if not necessarily built immediately. In 1845, the Rev. J. Gardener wrote to the *Canada Christian Advocate* to inform his fellow Methodists that "...we then proceeded to erect a house 36' by 42' of sufficient height to admit a gallery."⁹⁶ None of these churches have been preserved.

Several surviving churches are believed to have once had galleries that were later removed. The Anglican church St. James, Franktown, is reputed to have been able to accommodate 250-350 people.⁹⁷ Were not it for a gallery, although none has survived, this would seem highly optimistic. Likewise, the second church of St. John's (Anglican) in Richmond had an overflow gallery at one time but no mention is made of it beyond 1878.⁹⁸ One of the few surviving churches with a well documented gallery is the Anglican church of St. John's in Kars (see Fig. II - 20); here the galleries run the entire length of the lateral walls of the nave. More unusually they are continued over the sanctuary to abut against the end wall of the church.

In terms of seating arrangements, little had changed. The Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome continued to rent out seats, usually on an annual basis. Those in the galleries were always considerably less

94 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, box 6-0-3, file C-1:1 no. 28. Notes by Rev. S.S. Strong, second rector of Christ Church, Ottawa.

95 N. Fee, *Knox Presbyterian Church Centenary*, (Ottawa: Mortimer Ltd., 1944), p. 28.

96 *Canada Christian Advocate*, 23 June 1845.

97 *150th Anniversary of St. James' Anglican Church Franktown*, n.p., n.d.

98 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, 6C-1 R-4.

desirable than those seats near the front of the church. The Roman Catholic church of St. Victor, built in St. Albert in 1855, was originally a rough log structure only 25' x 25'⁹⁹ and fitted with rough plank galleries. These galleries were a source of chagrin, not so much for the impecunious occupants of the galleries themselves, but for those in the more costly seats below. During the winter months snow from the boots of those in the galleries would melt and drip through the floor boards onto the heads of the more prosperous parishioners seated on the main floor of the church. This indignity was considered especially intolerable as it was of greatest inconvenience to those who had paid the higher price for their seating.¹⁰⁰

99 It was elongated by fifteen feet in 1860. Barbezieux, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 340.

100 L. Brault, *Histoire des Comtés unis de Prescott et de Russell*, (L'Original, 1965), p. 193.

LITURGICAL REQUIREMENTS AND FOCAL POINTS

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the liturgical requirements of most denominations active in the Ottawa Valley did not change significantly from practices of the first quarter of the century. Roman Catholics sustained a fundamental dedication to the Eucharistic celebrations, while Protestant denominations collectively continued emphasis on the reading and preaching of the Word of God. No sanctuaries have survived unmodified from this time and written accounts rarely note the specific amount of interior space reserved for the sanctuary. As in the preceding period however, the overall dimensions of most churches precluded overly spacious sanctuaries. The changes that do occur during this period come about primarily as a result of the parishioners' increased ability to finance preferred church furnishings. In this manner a greater number of Roman Catholic churches were able to acquire altars of a quality better suited to their sacred purpose. Well-built communion rails are less scarce and many parishes were able to fit their churches with stations of the cross and devotional statuary.¹⁰¹

In Protestant churches of all denominations, the pulpit and reading desk continue to occupy a position of preference (see Fig. II - 12). In many churches there was still very little space between the pulpit and the first row of pews. Despite this there was a degree of separation between the preaching of the word and the parishioner. The sanctuary of St. Paul's, an Anglican church built in Shawville, Quebec in 1842, was described by Rev. Naylor as having, "... no East window, a corner at the east end partitioned off for a vestry, a somewhat lofty pulpit, entered from the vestry..."¹⁰²

101 Barbezieux, *Histoire*, vol. 1 pp. 367, 384, 407-408, 423, 430.

102 Naylor, *The Church*, p. 10.

Indeed, if there is any newness in Protestant sanctuaries of this era, it is the increased abundance of the 'somewhat lofty pulpit.' With enhanced financial circumstances many Protestant communities, like their Roman Catholic counterparts, were now able to provide more becoming furnishings for the focal point of their devotions. In the Ottawa Valley, most Protestant services remained centered on the pulpit well into the late 1850s, and only then did some Anglican parishes begin to shift their attention elsewhere. In 1845, G. Shepherd's report to the *Canada Christian Advocate*, concerning the condition of religion in the Ottawa Valley, spoke favorably of the raised pulpits that were beginning to appear in Episcopal Methodist churches.¹⁰³

The use of elevated pulpits became especially pronounced in Presbyterian churches. In 1854, the Temporal Committee of St. Andrew's (Church of Scotland), Ottawa decided to increase the length of the church by thirty-two feet. The contract was awarded to a Mr. McIntosh, who was also retained for the "alteration of the pews and aisles."¹⁰⁴ The proposed changes evidently caused great concern among those parishioners who had paid significant sums of money to occupy pews in close proximity of the pulpit (see Fig. II - 11). Within three months the Temporal Committee was obliged to issue a statement assuring the patrons of preferential pews that

"those holding purchased pews in the church be allowed to locate themselves at the nearest relative position from the Pulpit to that which they formerly occupied."¹⁰⁵

103 Gideon Shepherd, "State of Religion: The Ottawa Valley," in *Canada Christian Advocate*, 30 January 1845.

104 Public Archives of Canada, MG-9 D7-35, vol. 23 part 1. Minutes of the Temporal Committee meeting, 19 April 1854.

105 Public Archives of Canada, MG-9 D7-35, vol. 23 part 1. Minutes of the Temporal Committee meeting, 24 November 1854.

Far from reflecting pettiness or trifling concerns, the experience at St. Andrew's is a graphic demonstration of the importance given to the Word during religious services. In Presbyterian churches, the pulpit was frequently placed along the central axis of the church. The importance of the pulpit is further underlined by the frequent use of two side aisles instead of a single central aisle. In this way a greater number of people could be seated directly in front of the object of attention. The end wall of the church behind the pulpit was frequently opened on either side of the pulpit by Gothic lancets. This allowed generous quantities of light to enter the sanctuary and reduced the necessity for artificial lighting (see Fig. II - 13). Similar arrangements could also be found in Methodist churches, although they were somewhat less common.

Although a significant part of Anglican worship during this era was focused on the addresses issued from 'lofty pulpits,' the Anglican pulpit was not as frequently aligned with the central axis of the building as was the Presbyterian or Methodist pulpit. Instead, the Communion Table though traditionally understated often enjoyed a position of axial centrality (see Fig. II - 14). The reading desk and pulpit were placed to either side of the Communion Table and in more prosperous parishes could take on monumental proportions (see Fig. II - 16). When fitted with architectural detailing, ornate sounding boards and prominent canopies, pulpits and reading desks could assert a significant structural presence. There were rarely pairs of elongated windows in the end wall of an Anglican sanctuary. Instead, if the end wall was not left blank, a single great window opened the end wall above the Communion Table. This same central axis was used to align the baptismal font in those parishes fortunate to afford one. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the baptismal font was placed at the front of the church

immediately before the sanctuary, often in the central aisle. Like the walls of the nave, the sanctuary walls of these early churches remained free from figural imagery (see Fig. II - 17).

CHAPTER II

PLATES

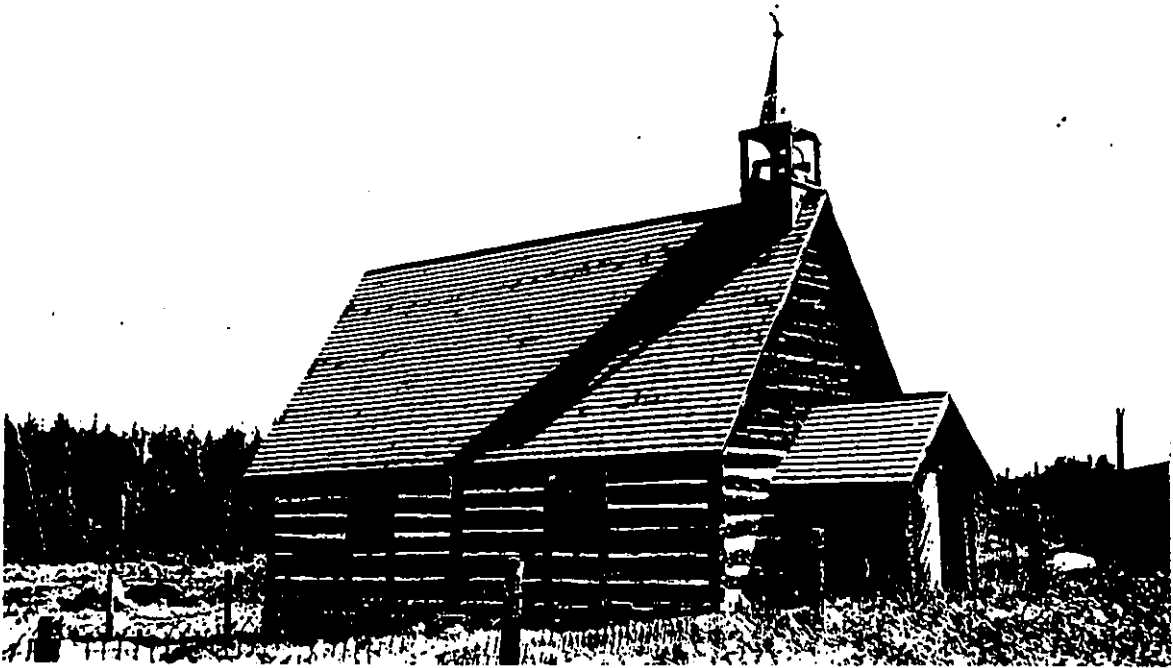


Fig. II - 1
Anglican Chapel, Deux Rivières¹⁰⁶

Though, itself built in the northern reaches of the Ottawa Valley and a somewhat later structure, this church is typical of the numerous modest log chapels that were built throughout the Ottawa Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century. Few, if any survived for more than several decades. They must nevertheless be acknowledged as a significant factor in the overall study of church building trends.

106 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photo Collection 51-D-2.1.

**Fig. II - 2****Union Chapel, Bell's Corners, 1853¹⁰⁷**

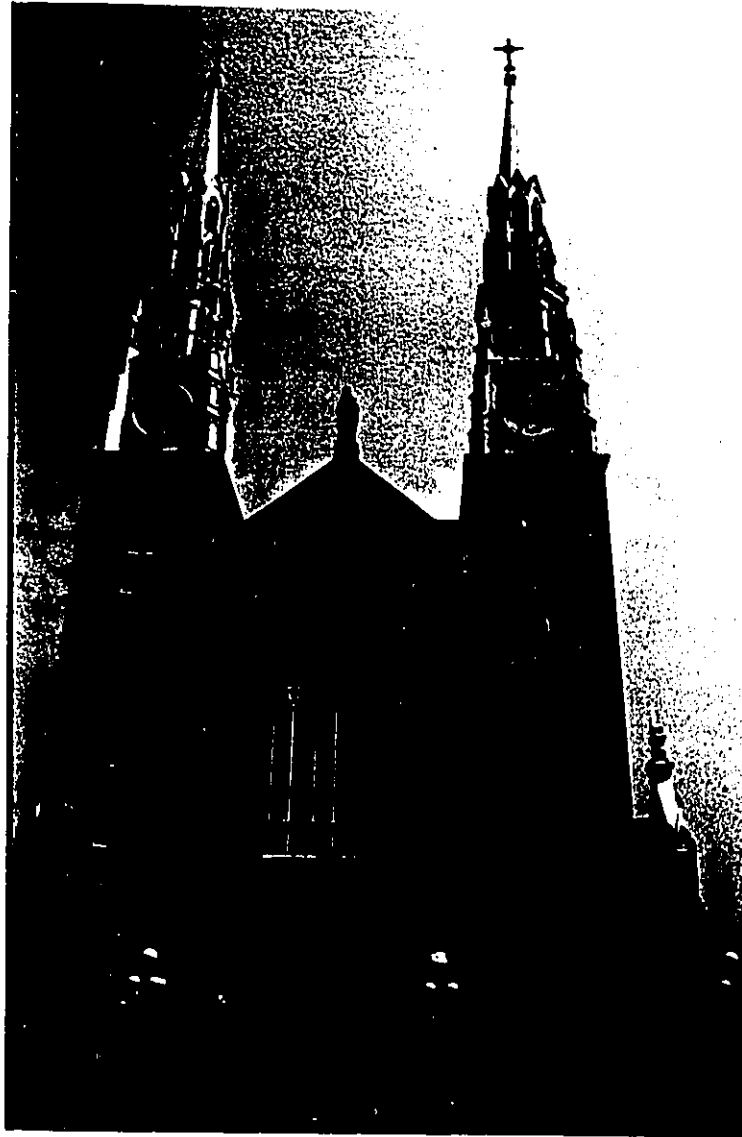
This solid stone structure was a collective effort of local Methodists, Anglicans and Presbyterians. In 1864 it was publicly denounced in the Anglican Press by correspondents favorable to the revival of medieval tradition "...here a strange novelty was presented to the eyes of the Deputation, in the shape of a 'Union Church'. We believe that it is only in this Continent that such anomalous structures have existence. A *union church*, for such readers as may have never had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with these excrescences on modern Christianity, is a building subscribed for

107 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photo Collection 51-B-2.1. Photo: Rev. H.O. Hooder.

and raised by different denominations as well as members of the Catholic Church.¹⁰⁸ Each party being too poor, or as is far more generally the case, too stingy and too niggard to contribute sufficient funds for a place of meeting for themselves, *compromise principle*, club their own few dollars with those of their neighbors whose doctrines they believe are leading them to any or every place but Heaven..." The author also noted ominously, "...as there are at least two dissenting parties to one, the Church is in the minority, and every feature that would make her worship distinctive is carefully excluded."¹⁰⁹

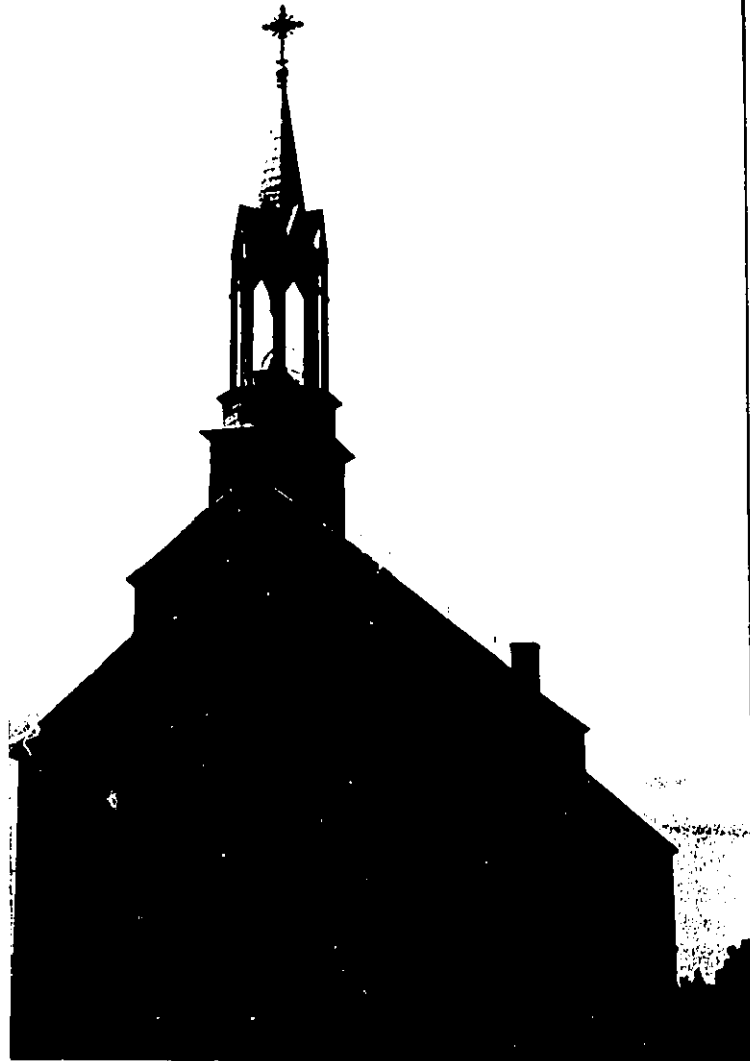
108 In this context the author intends the term "Catholic Church" to refer to the Anglican Church as and not the Roman Catholic Church which would have been referred to as the Church of Rome or the Romish Church.

109 *Canadian Churchman*, 6 April, 1864.

**Fig. II - 3****Notre-Dame d'Ottawa (Roman Catholic), Ottawa, 1841¹¹⁰**

Traces of the original church have survived on the ground floor. The Tuscan doorways with their unadorned pilasters impose a mood of solidity and abstemious sobriety and the weight of the plinth, torus and cincture anchor the door frame solidly to the ground, while the echinus and abacus along with the dropped taenia of the architrave prefigure the more

forceful projections of the corona and cymatium. But there is not much vertical ascension. This stonework imposes a horizontality that no subsequent change or addition has succeeded in negating. The doors are spanned by round-headed stone arches and restrained archivolt. The arch springs form an impost above the upper surface of the door battens, its crown marked by an unadorned keystone. There is no decoration on the intrados or extrados face of the arch stones or on the spandrels. The tracery in the half-rounds above the doors as well as the battens themselves are latter additions. Above the principal entry is an enormous Gothic window. The head of the window arch forms a standard Gothic drop arch. The drip stone however conforms to the head of an ogee arch. This motif is repeated in the tracery of the triplets where the central lancet terminates with an ogee arch while those to either side terminate with equilateral arch heads. The elongated lancets above the secondary entries are crowned with dripstones conforming to the arch head. The smaller third story lancets have no dripstones. The major force of continuity between the ground floor and the coping of the towers is the reticulated quoins. The belfries and spires were added much later.

**Fig. II - 4****Our Lady of the Visitation (Roman Catholic), South Gloucester, 1849¹¹¹**

Roughly contemporary to the construction of the Ottawa Cathedral, this rural parish church was planned and completed in a restrained Gothic style. The equilateral arch heads of the central and side entries are marked only by the patterning of the voussoirs. Above the principal entry, a single large window with a drop head arch is embellished by only the most frugal use of mullions and transoms that contemporary glass-making would allow. Immediately above is a squat ogee statue niche. The belfry and steeple are late additions.

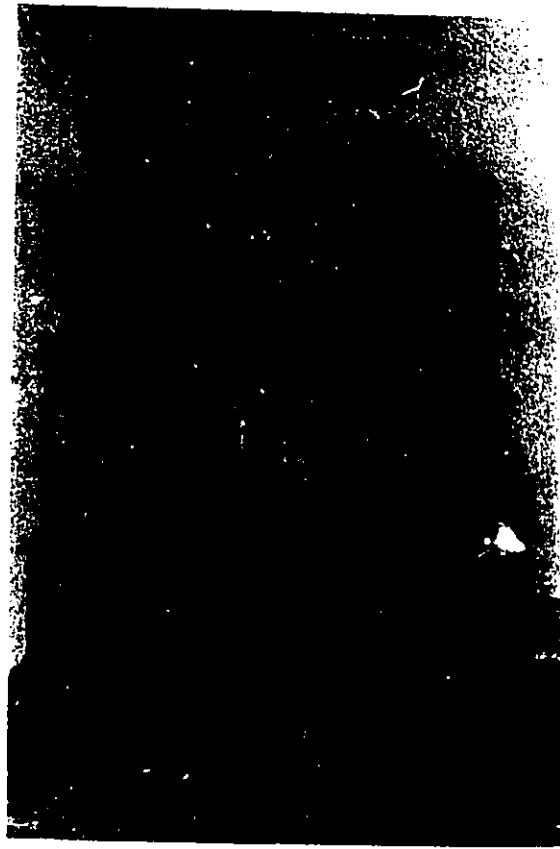
111 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. II - 5**

Our Lady of the Visitation (Roman Catholic), South Gloucester, 1839¹¹²

With a length of one hundred feet, Our Lady of the Visitation, South Gloucester, is a rather long building for a country church. Protestant congregations of comparably sized populations would have been housed in a much more compact structure. Note the accentuated quoins and the elongated lancets of the lateral wall. The blind triforium is somewhat of an architectural anomaly.

112 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. II - 6****St-Pierre-Célestin (Roman Catholic), Pakenham, 1852**

The central axis of this church runs at right angle to the public road. Only a low wooden fence and shallow yard separate the main entry from the boardwalk.¹¹³ This church, with its use of survival Gothic and the trace elements of classical influence in the treatment of the facade could belong to any one of many early nineteenth century denominations. The axial belfry and stout steeple set just slightly in retreat of the main facade, indicate that the building most probably belonged to one of the three churches¹¹⁴ that considered themselves 'Establishment' churches even if political reality indicated otherwise. However, the steeple cross identified the building beyond question as a Roman Catholic church.

¹¹³ Archdiocesan Archives (R. C.), Ottawa, Photo Collection, Pakenham, 1.2.1.

¹¹⁴ That is to say the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome.

**Fig. II - 7****St-Jean-Baptiste (Roman Catholic), L'Orignal, 1853¹¹⁵**

Like the many rural Catholic churches of this era, St. Jean-Baptiste was marked by its stark simplicity. Embellishments appear only in the contrasting colour of the reticulated stone quoins, voussoirs and in the keystones of the door arches. Used in this manner, the contrasting stone contributed not simply to the structural permanence of the church, but also to visually establish an image of solidity and stability. An axial rose window is located above the keystone of the principal entry, but well beneath the apex of the gable. A solid tower was built in slight retreat of the main facade and capped with an unceremoniously squat belfry. Here again, a small cross, (now barely visible on the photograph) identifies the church as Roman Catholic.

115 Archdiocesan Archives (R.C.), Ottawa, Photo Collection, L'Orignal file, 1-2-13.

**Fig. II - 8****St-Bernard (Roman Catholic), Fournier, 1859¹¹⁶**

Although details become obscure when this very dark and extremely small daguerreotype is enlarged on paper, it offers a useful illustration of Roman Catholic church-building during the late 1850s. The facade of this simple wooden structure is not unlike the facades found on many of its Protestant counterparts, though the overall length of the church building is much greater than what would have been built by most Protestant congregations in a similar sparsely populated rural community. The church has a well-proportioned belfry and elongated steeple set just in retreat of the main facade.

¹¹⁶ Archdiocesan Archives (R.C.), Ottawa, Photo Collection, Fournier file, 1-2-16.

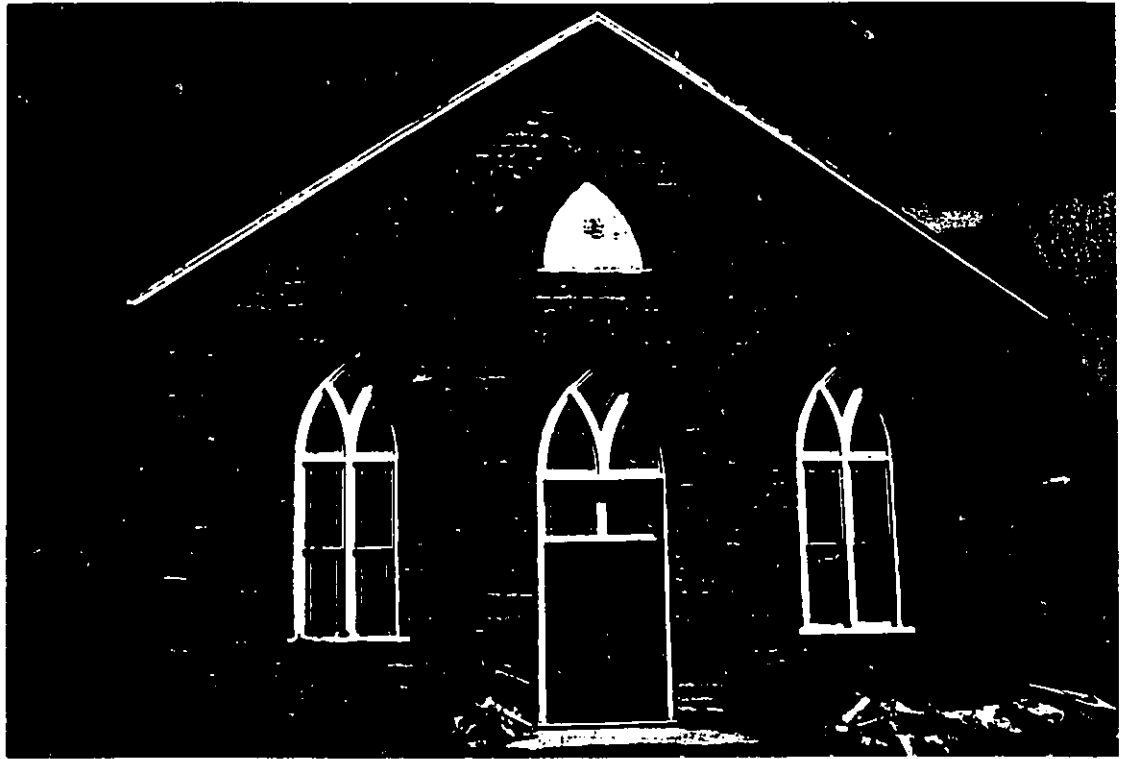
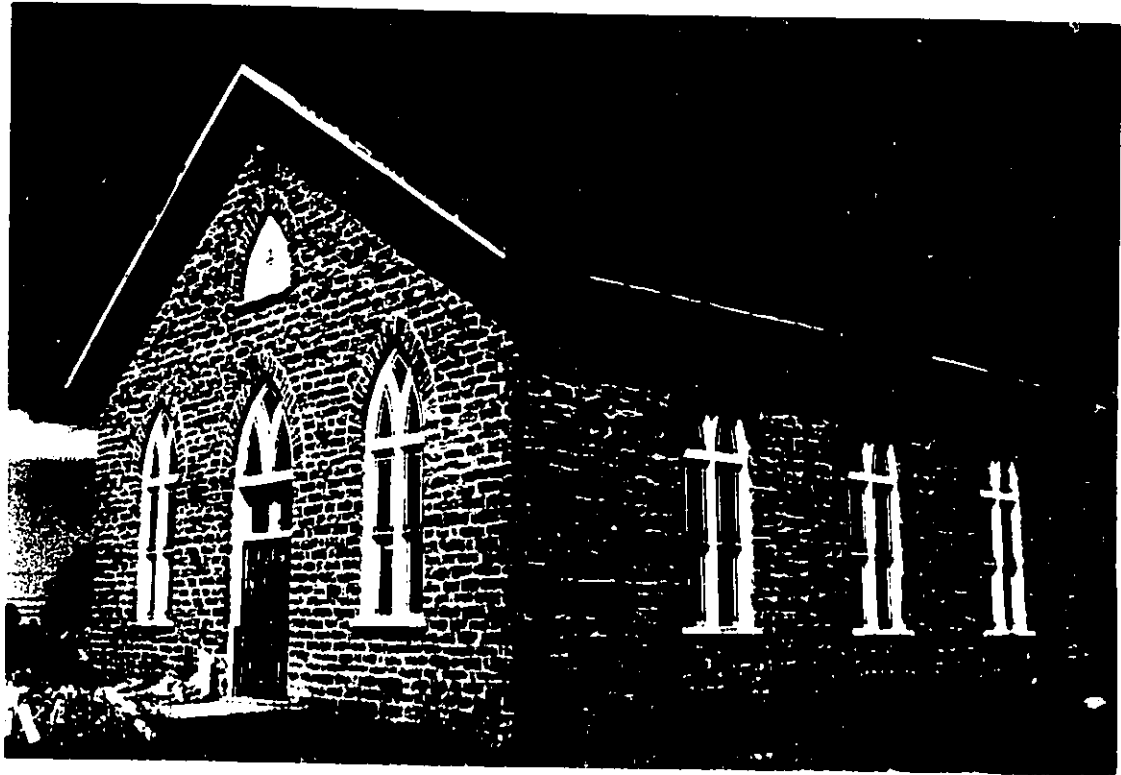


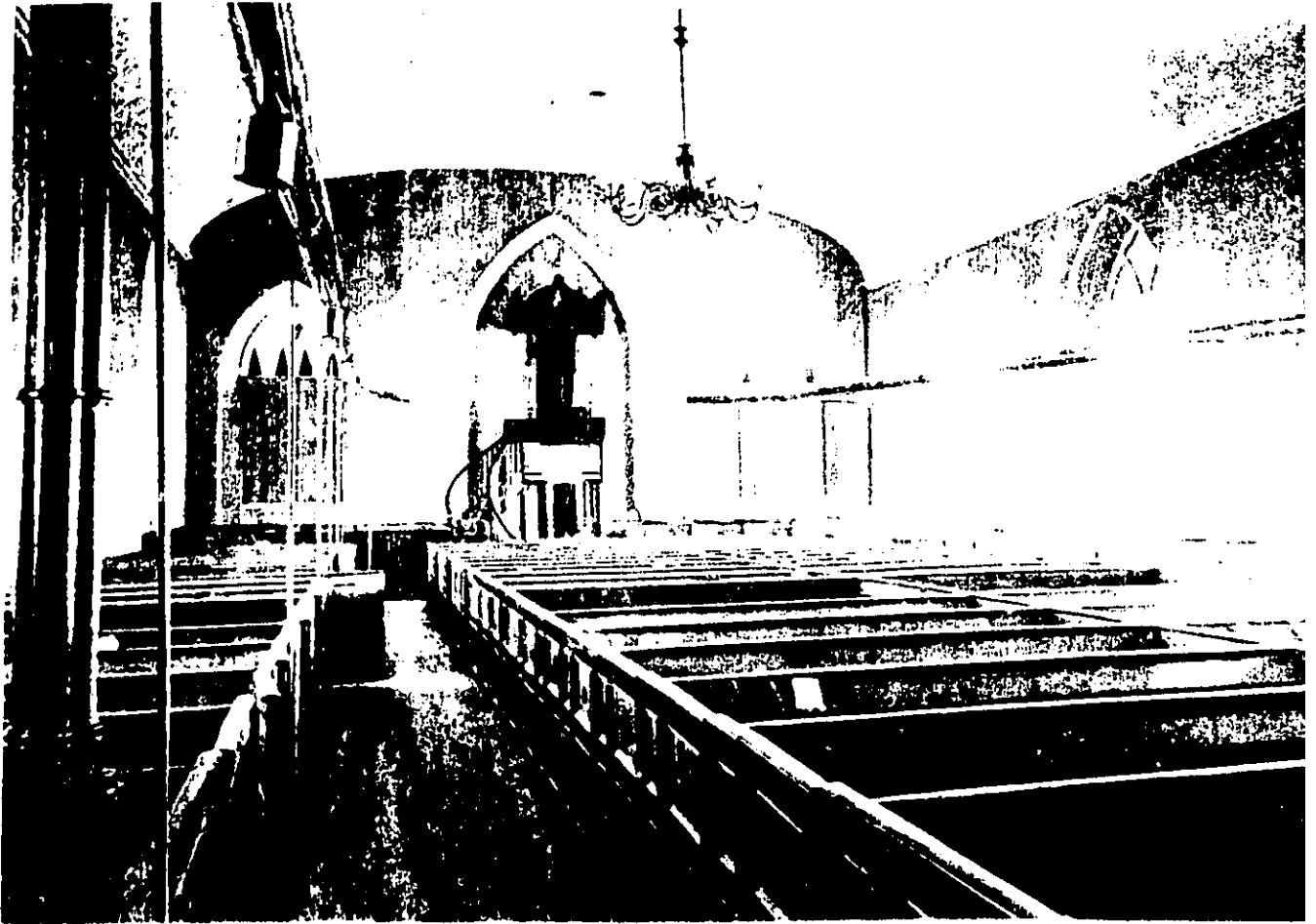
Fig. II - 9

Knox Free Church (Presbyterian), Black's Corners, 1845¹¹⁷

The rich colour and texture of the local stone is counterbalanced by the stark white wooden sashes of the window, and intersecting tracery. Tall walls and a comparatively modest pitch of the roof again reflect residual elements of Georgian tradition. The Gothic tracery of the window sashes is repeated in the treatment of the door frame. The arched upper portion of the entryway echoes the arrangement of the Gothic lancets to either side.

**Fig. II - 10****Knox Free Church (Presbyterian), Black's Corners, 1845¹¹⁸**

The tracery of the windows on the facade of the church is repeated in the treatment of the lateral windows. The lack of structural embellishment is increasingly evident in the treatment of the lateral walls. The quoins are not accentuated and here again only the voussoirs of the window arches interrupt the coursing of the masonry. There is however a slight difference in the finishing of the masonry work. Here the rougher random rubble coursing contrasts with the slightly more attentive treatment of the square rubble coursing on the facade.

**Fig. II - 11**

St. Andrew (Church of Scotland), Ottawa, built 1828, enlarged 1854¹¹⁹

Though devoid of any gratuitous embellishments, St. Andrew's was much less austere than its Free Church neighbor. Here the pulpit was elevated well above the level of the pews in the nave and is accessible by a curved flight of freestanding stairs. A balustrade was supported by plain balusters, each in turn resting on a single step tread. There was no string end and the tread brackets were unadorned. The pulpit itself was covered with understated paneling, but stood beneath by a competitively ornate abat-voix; joining the two was a narrow sounding board. A tall candlestick was placed to either side of a central lectern. The candles were strictly for the purpose of reading and were not

119 J. MacPhail, *St. Andrew's Church-Ottawa: The First Hundred Years, 1828-1928*, (Ottawa: Dadson-Merrill, 1931), p. 69.

associated with any liturgical function or religious symbolism . The whole construction is framed by a tremendous Gothic arch painted stark white and reaching almost to the apex of the ceiling. The arch itself is traced with molding and applied to the end wall of the church. To either side of the pulpit is a large Gothic window. There is no architectural distinction between the nave and the sanctuary. Above a shallow cornice the same elliptical vault of plain plaster covers the whole church. Extra lighting was provided to the main body of the church by a large and rather ornate chandelier. The dark and cumbersome heating pipes that ran above the side aisles were common features in contemporary churches.

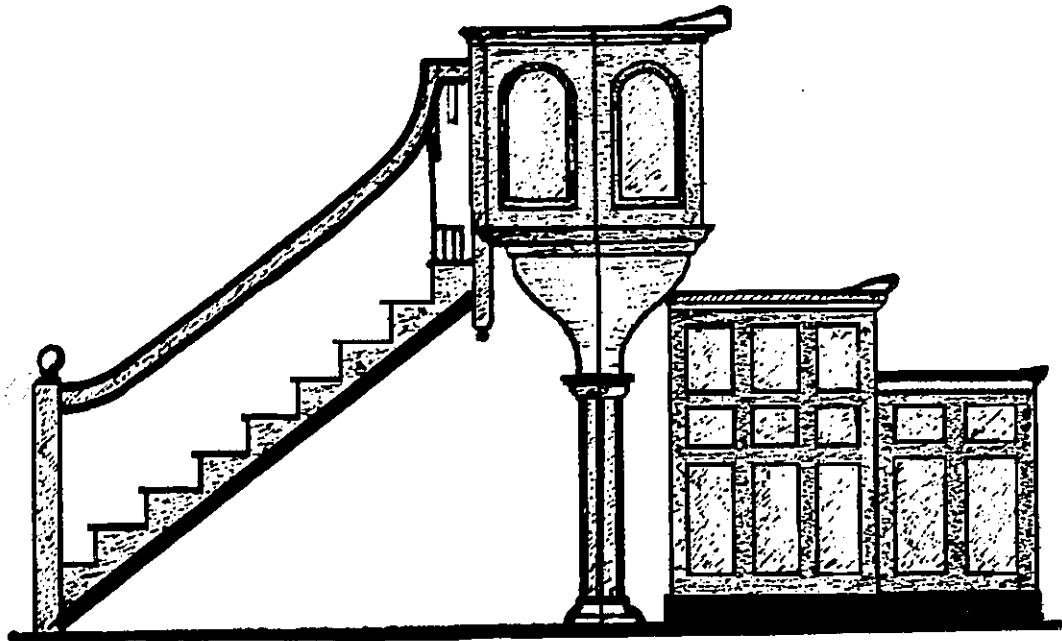


Fig. II - 12
The Three Decker¹²⁰

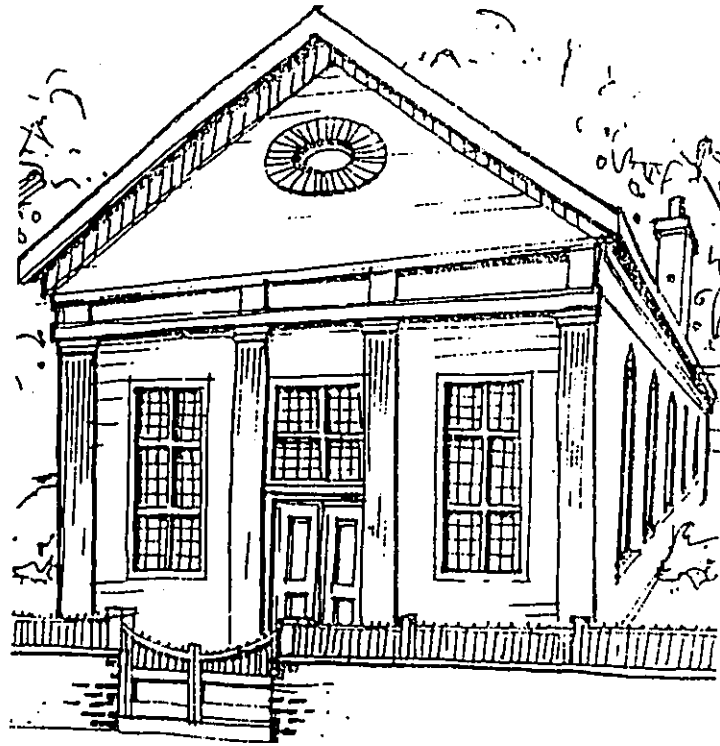
In many early Protestant churches the principal point of liturgical attention was focused on a three-tiered structure such as this. The lowest desk was for the clerk, immediately behind and elevated slightly was the reading desk. Primacy of size, height and decor was reserved for the pulpit from which the word of God was preached. Preachers were rarely noted for their brevity and on special occasions such as the official opening of a new chapel, it was not unusual for sermons to be delivered by several visiting preachers.

120 V. Bennett, after Cyril M. Harris, *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture*, New York, Dover Publications, 1977, p. 531.

**Fig. II - 13**

Fitzroy Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian), Fitzroy Harbor, 1858¹²¹

This external view the modest rural church demonstrates the common practice of placing windows at opposing ends of the sanctuary. Internally a pulpit would have stood between the two windows. The church is built with roughly coursed random rubble and while the corners do have reinforcing quoins there has been no attempt to embellish or even accentuate their presence. Likewise, the voussoirs and lower courses of the window moldings highly irregular.

**Fig. II - 14****Knox Free Church (Presbyterian), Ottawa, 1845¹²²**

As at the Anglican church of St. James in Carleton Place, the builders of Knox Free Church in Ottawa elevated a Gothic nave and fortified it with a neoclassic facade. The interior of the church was marked by a Calvinistic austerity common to Free Churches of this era and boasted even fewer embellishments than the exterior.

122 Anon., *Knox Presbyterian Church, 1844-1948*. n.d. This small parish history contains a late nineteenth century photograph of both the interior and exterior of the church. Regretfully neither the size, nor the condition of these illustrations lend themselves well to reproduction.

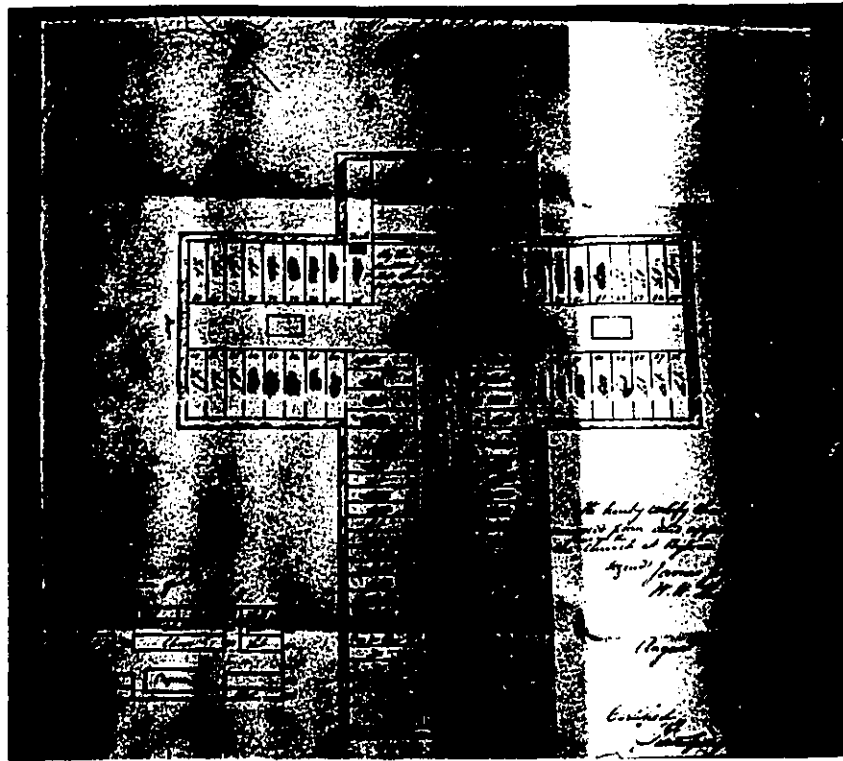


Fig. II - 15

Christ Church (Anglican), Ottawa, after addition of transepts in 1841¹²³

This wood cut illustrates the nave and western transept. The transformation of the ground plan from rectangular to cruciform by the addition of transepts to the original building during the early 1840s was simply out of the necessity to accommodate a greater number of people and was not linked to later interests in architectural symbolism. This illustration appeared in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, in 1872, just prior to the demolition of the original church.

123 *Canadian Illustrated News*, 13 April, 1872.

**Fig. II - 16**

Christ Church (Anglican), Ottawa, after addition of transepts in 1841¹²⁴

This floor plan dated August 2, 1842 was used to record pew rental in the newly modified church. In addition to listing the new sittings in the transepts the plan also includes those from a small gallery that was built in 1839 above the main entry of the church. The plan also notes the position of the altar, the desk, pulpit and two narrow vestries on either side of the chancel. The text immediately in front of the sanctuary reads: "By the recent Church Building Regulations this space is advised to be kept perfectly unoccupied." The plan also indicates that in the central aisle there are three axial stoves joined by a series of large stove pipes.

124 Public Archives of Canada, Map Collection, C - 70, H3/450.

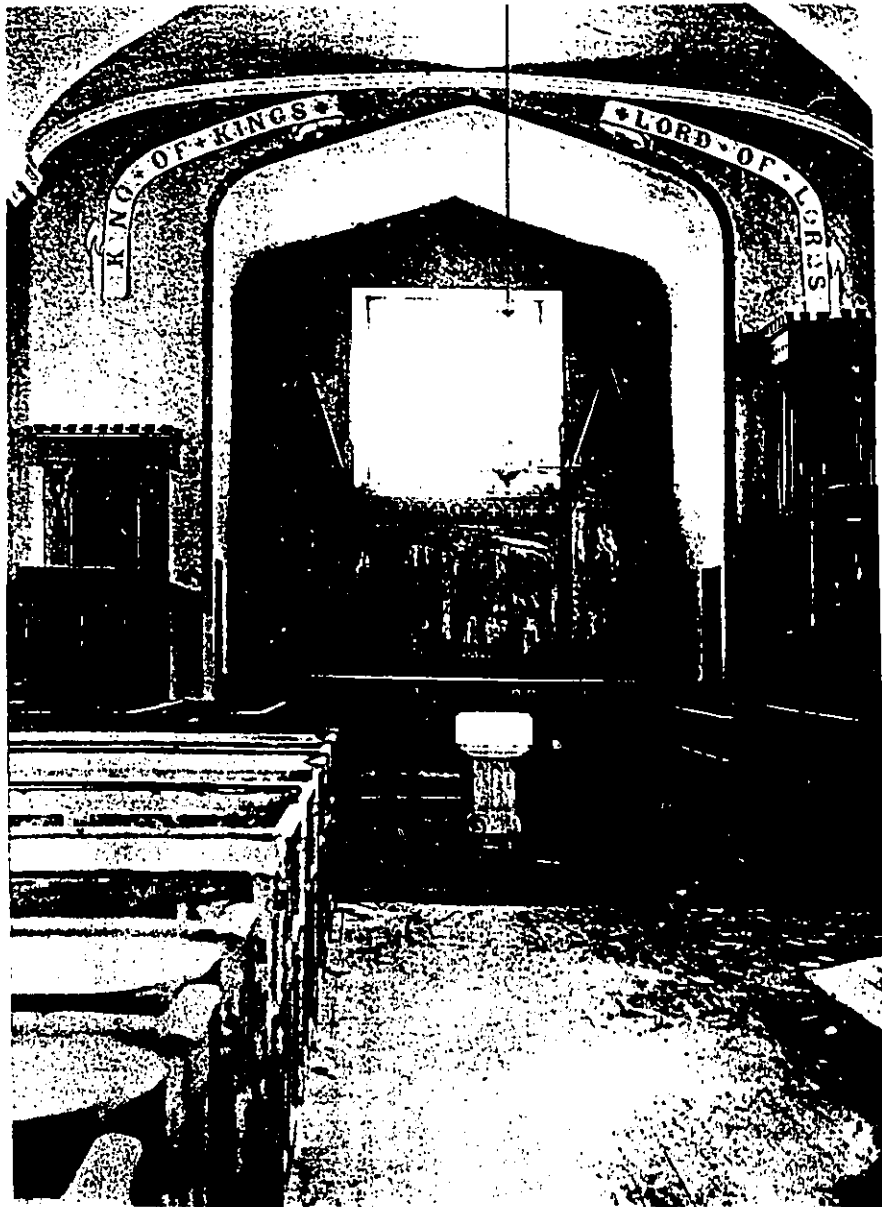


Fig. II - 17

Christ Church (Anglican), Ottawa, interior after 1841 modifications¹²⁵

The “Eastern” end of the church is marked by a shallow, flat-ended apse with a large square window. The sanctuary itself is raised by three steps and closed with a very low altar rail. The small, mobile communion table is contained within the shallow apse. The

¹²⁵ Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photo Collection, file 51-O-13-3, W.J. Topley.

understated simplicity of the communion table is especially noticeable when compared with the accent on the pulpit and the reading desk. On each of the side walls of the apse is a small door leading to a separate vestry. Against the wall of the apse, and immediately behind the communion table are three large Gothic panels that form a reredos on which prayers (the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostles Creed) are printed. Although common to many churches of this era, this particular set of text panels was probably a later addition as indicated by the decorative use of ornate Gothic tracery. Traditionally, text panels from this era were plain and unadorned. The sounding boards and canopies of the reading desk and pulpit are embattled with crenelations that echo those of the frontal tower.¹²⁶

126 The first Christ Church, Ottawa, offered a good example of this arrangement.

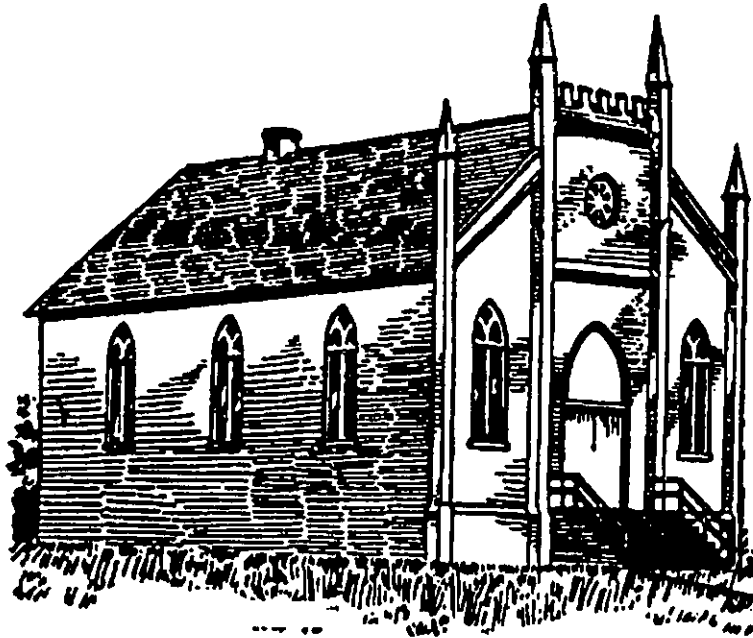
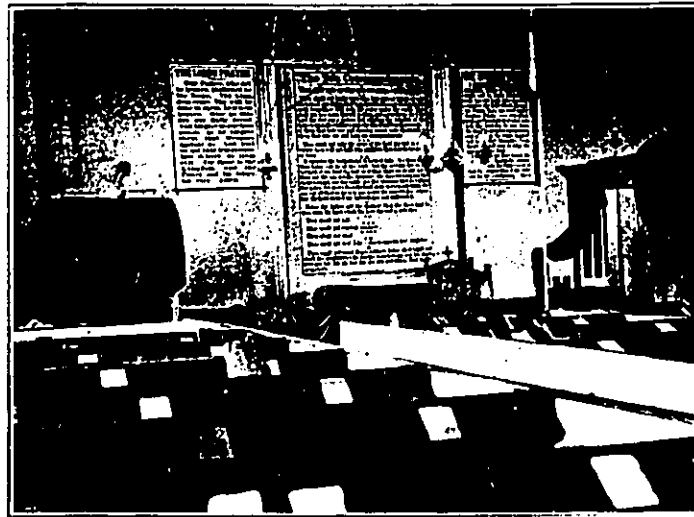


Fig. II - 18

St. Stephen (Anglican), Buckingham, 1845¹²⁷

The facade of this small wooden church presented four wall buttresses each ending with pinnacles and elongated finials. An embattled parapet ran between the two central pinnacles. These embellishments are purely for effect and do nothing to enhance the structural integrity of the building.

127 Anon., 1845-1945 *St. Stephen's Anglican Church Buckingham*, n.d., p. 8.

**Fig. II - 19****St. Stephen (Anglican), Buckingham, 1852¹²⁸**

In this church named for Rev. Richard L. Stevenson a S.P.G. missionary and first resident minister, the first row of pews clusters immediately against the border of the sanctuary. There is no central aisle. A painted text of the Ten Commandments is positioned against the end wall and centered on the axis of the church. To the parishioners' left is a painted text of the Lord's Prayer and to their right, the Apostles Creed. Directly above the text of the Ten Commandments are the words "God" and "Love," each framed separately within a Gothic arched molding. Immediately below the Commandments is the Communion Table. Although it too is centered on the axis of the church, the table does not requisition the same degree of prominence that is presumed to the texts. Primacy of the Word is further stressed by the conspicuous size of the pulpit and reading desk. In this photograph, the church is draped in black for the funeral of Rev. W. D. Evans, who was killed in a canoeing accident in 1889, three days after preaching a sermon on the text "Behold I die."¹²⁹

128 Anon., 1845-1945 *St. Stephen's Anglican Church Buckingham*, n.d., p. 8.

129 Anon., 1845-1945 *St. Stephen's Anglican Church Buckingham*, n.d., p. 9.

**Fig. II - 20****St. John (Anglican), Kars, 1850¹³⁰**

St. John's still has galleries running the full length of the northern and southern walls. The result of this is that some of the parishioners must have been perched directly above the pulpit and communion table. This was not an uncommon arrangement during the first half of the century. However in later years, galleries as a whole came to be frowned upon. Those that extended above the sanctuary area were considered to be particularly offensive and few such structures survived into the third or final quarter of the nineteenth century.

130 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photo Collection, file 51-K-3.

CHAPTER III

THE RE-THINKING OF CHURCH-BUILDING TRADITIONS DURING THE MIDDLE DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: 1840s-1860s

*"What is meant by a suitable place of worship?"*¹

The middle decades of the nineteenth century correspond with a period of active church building. In the Ottawa Valley, this is in part due to increased settlement, but also to the transformation of Bytown from a provincial backwater into Ottawa, the new colonial capital. The choice of Ottawa as capital virtually assured that the region was destined to be one of growing importance and industrial expansion. In the years leading up to confederation, the presence of the church edifice continued to play a role of importance in projecting an image of permanence for each individual denomination. Increasingly, Christians were convinced that if their community wished to maintain an unfettered control over its own activities and needs of worship, it was essential to secure

1 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

for themselves a structure over which they maintained exclusive control. As one Methodist minister observed:

It is desirable that in all principal societies and neighborhoods, we should have churches as far as possible. If we occupy schoolhouses we have to take our turn with whatever comes along.²

This belief in the virtues and necessities of securing a place of worship devoted exclusively to one's own confessional requirements also contributed to an already animated field of architectural activity. With an increasing number of people drawn to the Ottawa Valley in the years preceding confederation, the need for more church buildings was greater than ever before. The realization of these projects was helped in part by the increased population itself which provided the organizers of church-building projects with a greater pool of human and fiscal resources to draw upon.³

While there is little question the middle years of the nineteenth century are a period of extensive church-building activity, this is also an era when the building of churches becomes the object of much intellectual debate and soul searching. It was a time when many previously acceptable formulas were no longer satisfactory. Increasingly, church leaders and church builders are looking to define a system of architectural expression that

2 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

3 W. Westfall has noticed similar church-building trends among nineteenth century Protestants in other parts of Ontario. Westfall has pointed out that "between 1851 and 1881 all major Protestant denominations either matched or exceeded the rate of increase in the population as a whole, and quite remarkably church building outpaced even the rapid rate of denominational expansion. In this period the Anglicans... trebled the number of their churches. The Presbyterians (taken as a whole) and the Baptists... trebled the number of their churches. The Methodists were even more prolific builders... again taking all the Methodists together, the number of their churches increased by a factor of five." W. Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989), p. 129.

would do much more than simply fulfill the need for a visual presence in the community and a place to gather. What was now required in a church building was a structural and stylistic expression that would not only be an architectonic embodiment of Christian principles, but one that would express Christian principles in accordance with their own specific confessional interpretation. Christian church-builders were searching to define a new system of architectural expression, one that would better reflect their role in society and their relation with the divine. The expanded discussion of this subject frequently coincides with one or more significant shifts in the liturgical focus or ritual practices of their denomination. Therefore, while there was little doubt that any congregation would be “justified in throwing the fullness of our architectural skill into edifices which are raised in his honor,” just how God, “the adorable Architect of the universe,”⁴ was best honored by the architectural offerings of humanity was another question all together. It was however a question that was being asked with increased frequency.

A growing number of nineteenth-century Christians were no longer questioning the need to build, for this had come to be fairly widely accepted, but were beginning to question the manner in which this building should be achieved. The relevance of many older church-building habits were increasingly being challenged. The reasons for this new skepticism vary, and there are a multitude of determinants that enter into each equation. Within each denomination a vicissitude of considerations, from new liturgical trends to schisms, and from confessional fragmentation to contemporary fashion, combine to contribute to the final product. There are also a number of other factors which appear, at least initially from a twentieth century perspective, to be less integrally related

4 Ven. A.N. Bethune, “A charge addressed to the clergy of the Archdeanery of York,” in *The Church*, vol. xiii, no. 14, 1 November 1849, n.p..

to church architecture. However, political change, social issues, and even increased personal prosperity were issues never far removed from the religious concerns of many nineteenth century minds. They also contributed to the shaping and defining of confessional cosmology. It was within this complex world vision that the church edifice was called upon to serve as the point of liaison between the seen and the unseen, the secular and the sacred world.

An ever flourishing number of ministers and interested lay members were beginning to feel that traditional architectural customs were no longer able to furnish a distinct association with their own denomination. This was a concern especially prevalent among Anglicans. More importantly however, many felt that older building traditions were no longer adequately fitted to fulfill the spiritual need and embody the theological tenets of their confession. Consequently, the discussion of church architecture became progressively more frequent, intense, and urgent. The confessional and the secular press both tackled the topic with unprecedented zeal, although the latter was more inclined to avoid questions of doctrine. As individual Christian communities looked for direction or guidelines in order to best fulfill their architectural obligations, the guidance which they receive from their respective denominational authorities varies greatly.

PARTING OF CHURCH AND STATE

At the same time when people are questioning their old church-building habits from within their own denomination, changes were occurring in the secular world that would have far reaching repercussions on the church-building concerns of several denominations. The intrusion of secular developments was particularly evident among

Anglicans congregations but was in no way exclusive to them. As previously noted, despite the hopes and aspirations of Lt. Gov. Simcoe, 'loyalist' immigration from the United States had produced a large influx of people who felt no particular attachment to the United Church of England and Ireland. Instead, many of these former American colonists belonged to voluntarist denominations. Furthermore, by the 1830s and 1840s they had, along with voluntarists of British origin, gained considerable numerical significance in Central Canada, and were becoming increasingly active in provincial politics. An early outcome of this was the emergence of new political priorities. Some of these were especially manifest in the confrontational, and occasionally vitriolic attacks launched on the Clergy Reserves. Controversy over the land set aside by Simcoe for the support of a 'Protestant clergy' had been simmering for some time. Certain denominations, most notably the Church of Scotland, had petitioned the Government for grants from the reserves on the grounds that the land had been set aside for the maintenance of a 'Protestant clergy,' pointing out that not only were they quite 'Protestant,' but were also an Established Church.⁵ Other denominations, such as certain groups of Wesleyan Methodists and Roman Catholics (who somehow seem to have fallen a bit short in meeting the requirements of being 'Protestant'), were more or less inclined to accept government funds when and if they were offered them. Voluntarists, most notably Baptists and Episcopal Methodists and some Wesleyan Methodists, saw no reason why preferential treatment should be awarded to the United Church of England and Ireland. They were particularly emphatic on this point and Baptists refused any form

5 In the archives of Queens University, the papers of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland, Collection of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, #2263, box 1, file 2, contain numerous correspondences on the clergy reserve question and the rights of the Presbyterian community.

of state support, arguing that not only would they never accept state funds, but that nobody else should either.

Voluntarist thought soon spread beyond its traditional confines of confessional affiliation to gain increased popularity with a wider segment of the population. Developments of this sort were not welcomed by the Anglicans of Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec who were becoming increasingly fearful that the privileged position to which they had always aspired but never quite fully secured was now in greater peril of eluding their grasp than it had ever been before. Anglicans watched with growing apprehension and much trepidation as the call for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves became progressively louder.⁶

The situation had become so distressing for Anglican church leaders that by the fall of 1850 the Bishop of Quebec decided that the time to address this problem was long overdue. Although his remarks were officially directed at the Anglican clergy in the Diocese of Quebec⁷, the Bishop did not elect to correspond directly with his priests and missionaries. He chose instead to publish his opinion in an open letter to the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*. The decision to discuss the question in a public (albeit confessional) forum suggests that the Bishop was in fact targeting a much larger and not exclusively clerical audience. The Bishop's opening tone was a combination of righteous indignation and impending doom:

6 For a fuller discussion of this divisive question see A. Wilson, *The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada: A Canadian Mortmain*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968); C. Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991).

7 Son of The Honourable and Right Reverend Jacob Mountain, First Bishop of Quebec, the Right Reverend George Mountain, became the First Anglican Bishop of Montreal in 1836. At this time the Diocese of Montreal extended westward to the northern shore of the Ottawa River. In 1850, he became third Bishop of Quebec, until his death in 1863.

... a proceeding has been witnessed in one of the branches of our Provincial Legislature, affecting the interests of the Church of God which is fraught with alarming presage, and warns us that so far from looking for countenance and support from that body, in furthering of the cause committed to our hands, we must anticipate from its interference, only what is disastrous and destructive. I refer, it must be needless to say, to the address of the Legislative Assembly praying for the alienation of the Clergy Reserves from Religious and the appropriation of them to secular uses.⁸

Though verbose, this text offers a profitable insight into the convictions and preoccupations of Anglican Church officials. In the eyes of the Bishop, the Legislative Assembly's increasingly favorable disposition towards a Voluntarist position was nothing short of unreserved hostility. It was a betrayal of the treaty of mutual support that was long held (especially by members of the Church) to exist between the Government of Great Britain and the Church of England.⁹ With a transgression of such magnitude, the Bishop suggested in less than subtle terms that it was one's moral obligation to put up some active resistance:

It cannot however, be our duty before God or man, to acquiesce unresistingly in the policy which not only is opposed to all provision by civil authority for the maintenance of pure and sound religion and declares war against the very remnant of any connection between professed Christian Governments and Christianity.¹⁰

8 *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 4, 12 September 1850, p. 30.

9 This concept of betrayal is discussed in some detail by Fahey, *In His Name*.

10 *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 4, 12 September 1850, p. 30.

For the pessimistic, the skeptical and the non-Anglican, there remained perhaps several delicate questions. The most obvious might be how God could allow such a calamity to befall His chosen people. The Bishop anticipated the possibility of a cynical discussion of this problem, and realized full well that any morbid rhetoric of this nature would be less than encouraging to his already battle-weary flock. With this goal in mind, the Bishop sought to defuse any potential problem concerning God's refusal to resolve the Clergy Reserves question in favour of the Anglican Church, before the concern was voiced aloud. Mountain suggested that the trials and tribulations of the present day should not be perceived as a secularly generated pestilence, but rather understood as a test from God of His beloved:

... if it now be the will of God to permit that after a series of measures injurious to our interests, which will be matter of History hereafter, our very patrimony, small as it is, should be violently wrested out of our hands, we must only submit in faith and patience so as to serve a dispensation of his Providence and look through all the darkness of our prospects to the promise that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church. We must endeavor, in such a case, as a Church *to take joyfully the spoliation of our goods....*¹¹

However, if the Bishop might have been prepared to accept trials from the Divine, he was not prepared to turn the other cheek to the slings and arrows of his mortal detractors. On this point, he appears to have been more inclined to suggest that God would come to the help of those who made a resourceful attempt to help themselves. Thus, while noting that "the motto of some of our adversaries in their proceedings towards the church appears to be nothing short of *Delenda est Carthago*," he did not feel

11 *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 4, 12 September 1850, p. 30.

that this was any reason to concede defeat.¹² Nevertheless, it is clearly evident that Bishop Mountain had seen the writing on the wall. He was all too aware that the Ecclesiastical Establishment was not to be. Furthermore, he made it his own obligation and duty to ensure that all members of the Anglican Church in both Upper and Lower Canada, not only the clergy directly under his charge, were equally aware of this predicament. In the event that there were still some Anglicans who had not yet grasped the full magnitude of the situation, he ended his circular in blunt and unmeasured terms:

...the time is rapidly approaching when the present system of payments from home, in any shape, for the support of the Clergy must be brought to a close, and that the most severe spiritual privation must in many examples, await them and their children after them, if the predatory irruption into the sanctuary which is now threatened, cannot effectively be repelled....¹³

If the days of the Ecclesiastical establishment, of which Hamnett Pinhey had spoken so warmly in 1826, were clearly numbered, the same was also true for church architecture as Pinhey knew it. This latter point was undoubtedly less clear to most in 1850. However, Anglican congregations would soon not only have to fund building projects entirely from their own resources, but they would first have to pay for their land before they could begin to pay for their church.

12 "We then, while we confide the issue to God, must not be wanting in what He enables us to do for ourselves: there ought to be no apathy, no backwardness, no faintheartedness in the cause: whatever may be the result, we must not lie under the everlasting reproach of having left undefended the interests of our people and our posterity - and we must enlist in our support, the names of all Churchmen who value their Religion." *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 4, 12 September 1850, p. 30.

13 *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 4, 12 September 1850, p. 30.

Four short but tumultuous years after Mountain's open letter appeared in the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, the Clergy Reserves question was settled once and for all with the secularization of revenue. This, more than any other single event, served to focus the reality of disestablishment for many Anglicans as they involuntarily became voluntarists. Interestingly, some of the most intense and substantially significant discussion on the subject of church-building coincided with a time when the Anglican church in Central Canada was passing through one of the most tumultuous periods in its history. C. Fahey has suggested that in reaction to these changes, the Anglican Church was to "withdraw into itself, turn its back on the social and political activities that had previously occupied so much of its time and to act as a beacon of purity in the midst of a corrupt society."¹⁴ Although the withdrawal of government involvement in church affairs was an undeniably significant event in the history of the Anglican church in Central Canada, it is important that Fahey's observations not be taken out of context or over simplified. The introspection of the Anglican Church after the secularization of the Clergy Reserves should not be conceived as a rejection of the State in a way that could even remotely suggest that the Anglican community as a whole was becoming unpatriotic. Nor does it imply that Anglicans began to reject their duties of Christian Charity or Protestant good works. Instead Anglican contemplation and introspection of this era is highly complex and eminently nuanced. The Anglican Church did not seek a facile solution by simply and ruefully capitulating to assume the role of the wronged party in the divorce of church and state. It sought instead to reaffirm its own position as a vital and venerable institution, rooted in apostolic tradition and preserved through apostolic succession. To a large extent, this meant that the Anglican cosmos was gradually being redefined through a restored interest in its own history as a constant and visual presence

14 Fahey, *In His Name*, p. xv.

within Christendom as well as through its undefiled link to Christian cosmogony. This reevaluation of its own past was to produce within the Anglican Church some of the most significant and far reaching changes since the days of the Reformation. The renewed interest in ancient liturgical observances and a greater attention to the complexities of ritual tradition were to achieve their most imposing manifestation in the structures raised to serve and promote a collective participation in these customs.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Needless to say, it was not the secularization of the Clergy Reserves alone that brought about the manifold transformations within the Anglican church. There is however reasonable evidence to suggest that the turmoil resulting from the related quarrels left many church members more receptive to a wave of new ideas that were in turn to act as the agents of this transformation. At the same time that relations between the secular government and the Anglican Church in Central Canada were deteriorating, a number of intellectuals in the British Isles were calling into question the validity of the existing Church-State relations. Although motive, scope and intensity of intellectual articulation varied considerably from one school of thought to another, it is worth noting that many of the key figures were also open advocates of very specific expressions of ecclesiastical architecture. In almost every instance, the character of preference was overwhelmingly Gothic.

Among the most prominent critics of State interference in Church affairs were members of the Oxford Movement. Originating during the 1830s with John Keble, E.B. Pusey and John Henry Newman, all professors from Oxford University, all ordained

ministers in the United Church of England and Ireland, the Oxonians used the suppression by the British Parliament of several sparsely populated Irish Bishoprics as a pretext to question the right of State to dictate Church affairs. They maintained that as the British Parliament presently enjoyed considerable power over the Church of England, the decision of 1828 that allowed dissenters not only to vote but also to sit in Parliament could place their church in a most disadvantageous position. This situation had only been aggravated in 1829 by the extension of these same privileges to Roman Catholics. The professors argued that if the church was not free to determine its own destination, the day could theoretically come when the Church of England would be controlled by parliamentarians of a dissenting religious affiliation.¹⁵ Between 1831 and 1841, Keble, Pusey and Newman collaborated in the preparation of a series of lectures published under the title *Tracts for the Times*,¹⁶ in which they set forth their opinions on a number of points about Church-State relations and worship patterns

Although the origins of the Oxford Movement or Tractarianism was linked to public opposition to State interference in Church affairs, this was in many ways only a superficial preoccupation. Their global approach to religion and liturgical reform was considerably more complex, reaching far beyond secular or administrative interests: their primary concerns were theological. Tractarianism also placed a renewed emphasis on clerical privilege, which stemmed primarily from their conviction that the English Church had maintained an unbroken line of Apostolic Succession. They placed a high value on their belief in Baptismal Regeneration, the Sacraments and the Ministry. Most

15 These same rights were extended to Roman Catholics the next year, in 1829. J. W. Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington: Welch Publishing Company, 1988), p.17.

16 *Tracts for the Times*, by Members of the University of Oxford (London: J.G. & F. Rivington & F. Parker, 1831-1841).

importantly they accepted the Eucharist not simply as a commemorative event but as the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood, a radical departure from earlier trends. Under their influence, the Eucharistic celebration was increasingly valued as the high point or climax of liturgical observance.

As early as 1840, Pusey wrote that Tractarianism occupied itself not uniquely with abstract theology but also "the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the House of God."¹⁷ Although the Tractarians did not officially advocate specific architectural or stylistic arrangements their rethinking of liturgical priorities left an open invitation for a reevaluation of 'the visible part of devotion.' With the transferal of the liturgical focus from the pulpit to the communion table, the architectural requirements of a church building changed substantially. There was no longer any reason to build churches that were architecturally focused on a pulpit once the liturgical focus has gravitated to the communion table.

Despite the open flow of ideas known to have existed between Canada and the British Isles, the extent to which people in central Canada were intimately familiar with *Tracts for the Times* remains today a matter for some discussion. As J. Kenyon has noted in *The Church*, maintained that the *Tracts for the Times* were not read very often while on the other hand Bishop Strachan claimed they commanded a wide interest.¹⁸ In the case of Strachan, this might in fact have meant that he personally found the *Tracts* interesting and therefore felt that they ought to be widely read. Whatever case was closer to the truth, whether the original texts of the *Tracts for the Times* were widely read or not,

17 Quoted in O. Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Black, 1960), p. 51.

18 J. Kenyon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement upon the Church of England in Upper Canada," *Ontario History*, vol. LI, 1959, p. 84.

they were most certainly widely discussed. Their various merits and shortcomings were debated not only in the Anglican press but in the denominational journals of other Christian confessions as well as in the secular press. Opinion on the subject was very diverse. Some factions were eager to identify with the validation of a church tradition that antedated and was independent of secular authority while others still considered that much of the church's authority was based on its recognition by the State. During the mid-nineteenth century, opinion was thus divided on both the worth and the repercussions of Tractarianism. Late twentieth century scholars also approach the topic with some division. As J. W. Grant has pointed out, interest in the Oxford ideas lead to the fear among some Protestants in Canada that "continued state support for the church of England would perpetuate injustice and subsidize perversion of Protestant Principles."¹⁹ P. Stanton, on the other hand, considers the Oxford movement to have been "a rejection of Protestant domination over the Church in the nineteenth century."²⁰

The Tractarians or members of the Oxford Movement were not alone in their quest to re-evaluate the traditional role of the United Church of England and Ireland in nineteenth century society. Nor was Pusey alone in his concern for the 'visual parts of worship.' The study of traditional liturgies, ancient English architecture and medieval ritual was soon pursued with augmented interest by Ritualists, Anglo-Catholics and the Ecclesiologists of the Cambridge Camden Society.²¹ It is difficult to ascertain the precise

¹⁹ Grant, *The Church*, p. 17.

²⁰ P. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture* (Baltimore: John Hopkin's Press, 1968), p. XIX.

²¹ Formed in May of 1839 by B. Webb and J. M. Neale. It was begun as The Cambridge Camden Society, a name that was later changed to The Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Society in 1845, then shortened to the Ecclesiological Society in 1852. Hereafter the members and associates of this movement will be referred to as Cambridge Ecclesiologists. The terms English Ecclesiologists, Canadian Ecclesiologists, American Ecclesiologists, or simply Ecclesiologists, is used to refer to the ever widening number of individuals who took an active interest in the subject, but were not [Cambridge] Ecclesiological Society members.

extent to which much of this interest grew out of the Oxford movement or was a synchronous development. Establishing a clear distinction between followers of the Oxford camp and Cambridge camp can be exceptionally arduous. There was much cross fertilization between the two groups and some Anglicans were active members in both spheres. Although specific architectural concerns were pursued with greater conviction by some than by others, all involved were very much concerned by the environment in which worship took place. Anglo-Catholics took particular interest in visual ceremony, moving from an expanded use of Eucharistic celebrations to include a revived interest in vestments, crucifixes, incense, lighting effects, music, surpliced choirs and eventually even such physically demonstrative acts of pre-Reformation as genuflection. Although the influence of the Ecclesiologists or the Cambridge Camden Society is most frequently associated with the revival of medieval Gothic, they, like the members of the Oxford Movement, also advocated the removal of the State from Church affairs. Interestingly, while the Oxford group may have refused to affiliate themselves with any particular architectural style, preferring instead to concentrate on theological pursuits, prominent Oxonians occasionally converted to Rome, something which almost never happened among Cambridge Ecclesiologists. However, the refusal of the Oxford group to recognize Gothic as "the one Christian style, to the exclusion of all others," remained a fundamental difference between Cambridge and Oxford.²²

22 *Ecclesiologist*, (1, III) quoted in J. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 43.

THE PUGINESQUE SCHOOL OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

Before discussing the architectural activities of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists, first it is essential to situate the intellectual and architectural activities of A.W. Pugin. Although his name is today one of those most intimately associated with the revival of archaeological Gothic, it is important to remember that much of his work was shunned by mainstream Anglican revivalists and architectural elitists such as the Cambridge Camden Society. Like the Cambridge Ecclesiologists, Pugin was emphatic that Gothic was a Christian style. He insisted that it was only through the use of Gothic that Christian architecture could achieve its fullest expression. While the Cambridge Ecclesiologists and Pugin held many similar architectural principles, Pugin's Roman Catholicism and his vitriolic anti-Protestant rhetoric discharged any possibility of collaboration. Even among his fellow Roman Catholics, the importance of his work was only beginning to gain towards the end of his life, and only posthumously was it more fully appreciated. Notwithstanding the belated acknowledgments, Pugin's labors were particularly important in that they addressed a population which, for the first time in several centuries, was free to build churches as they saw fit. Furthermore, although Pugin shared a great many stylistic and philosophical ideals with members of the Cambridge Camden Society, his material interpretation of the Gothic style is not shared. There is a very conspicuous difference between the architectural legacies of the Ecclesiologists and the Puginesque school of church-building.

In his own writings, Pugin maintained that it was only in Gothic architecture, which he referred to more commonly as 'Pointed' or 'Christian' architecture, that the principles of the Christian faith were properly embodied and justly illustrated. He lashed

out against the use of neoclassic elements in church architecture on the grounds that their origin was linked to paganism. He condemned any use of sham Gothic that was not grounded in archaeological tradition,²³ and in so doing categorically rejected the romanticized and picturesque interpretations of Gothic that had characterized many of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century interpretations of this style. Pugin also harshly condemned the Gothic of the Commissioners Churches, as well as the principle of Government assisted financing by which they were built.²⁴ As far as Pugin's church-building values were concerned, there were two crucial dicta that could not be neglected in the quest for architectural excellence:

1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction and propriety.

2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.²⁵

Pugin was firmly convinced that church-builders were much better off to raise churches that were within their means, honestly built, and sealed by a modest dignity. To aspire to public displays of pomposity with hollow or pretentious structures was unbecoming.²⁶ However, were church-builders to have the appropriate fiscal resources at their disposal, Pugin was not at a loss for advice and held very clear ideas as to precisely what was needed in a Catholic church. He set forth with great confidence where and why each item in the church should be positioned in relation to other elements.

23 A. Pugin, *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* (London, 1836), pp. 51-52.

24 Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 49.

25 A. Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: J. Weale, 1841), p. 1.

26 "Better is it to do a little substantially and consistently with truth than to produce a great but false show." Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 27.

A Catholic Church, not only requires pillars, arches, windows, screens and niches, but it requires to be disposed according to a certain traditional form; it demands a chancel set apart for sacrifice, and screened off from the people; it requires a stone altar, a sacranium sedilia for the officiating priests and an elevated rood loft from whence the Holy Gospel may be chanted to the assembled faithful; it requires chapels for penance and prayer, a sacristy to contain the sacred vessels, a font for the holy sacrament of baptism, a southern porch for penitents and Catechumens, a stoup for hallowed water, and a tower for bells; and unless a building destined for a church possesses all these requisites, however correctly its details may be copied from ancient authorities, it is a mere modern conventicle, and cannot by any means be accounted a revival of Catholic Art.²⁷

Pugin's discourse on the subject of revived Catholic art was explicitly clear. A true revival of the long suppressed tradition could not be achieved simply by adherence to technical excellence. While he allowed that a few contemporary designers had grasped the principles and architectural technicalities of medieval Gothic, the majority, he felt, had not.²⁸ According to Pugin, the one thing that was consistently conspicuous by its absence in all modern works was the deep sense of spirit or even soul that he believed to be present in so many of the medieval Gothic churches. Pugin maintained that this profound spiritual essence could not be achieved in a modern church unless the ancient

27 Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 58.

28 "I must here mention two great defects very common in modern pointed buildings, both of which arise from the great fundamental principle of decorating utility not being understood. In the first place, many architects apply the details and minor features of the pointed style to classic masses and arrangements: they adhere scrupulously to the regularity and symmetry of the latter, while they attempt to disguise it by the moldings and accessories of the former. They must have two of everything, one on each side: no matter if all the required accommodation is contained in one half of the design." Pugin, *True Principles*, pp. 51-52.

beliefs and devotional practices that had contributed to the spiritual sum and substance of the ancient churches could also be reclaimed.²⁹

For Pugin, Christian architecture was necessarily dependent on and grounded in Christian doctrine. The form, spatial function, numerical canon and structural elevation of all architectural elements in a church were to be reflective of and built upon Christian doctrine.

The three great doctrines, of redemption of man by the sacrifice of our Lord on the Cross; the three equal persons united in one God-head; and the resurrection of the dead, are the foundation of Christian Architecture.³⁰

When faithfully discharged Gothic was the architectural embodiment of Christian doctrine. This was to be visibly manifest throughout and interfused into every dimension of the church.

The First; the cross is not only the very plan and form of a Catholic Church, but it terminates each spire and gable, and is imprinted as a seal of faith on the very furniture of the altar. The second is fully developed in the triangular form and arrangements of arches, tracery and even subdivision of the buildings themselves. The third is beautifully exemplified by the great height and vertical lines which have been

29 "The mechanical part of Gothic architecture is pretty well understood, but it is the principles which influenced the ancient compositions and the soul which appears in all the former works which is so lamentably deficient [in modern works]. Nor... can they be regained but by a restoration of ancient feelings and sentiments..." Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 43.

30 Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 2.

considered by the Christians from the earliest times as the emblem of the resurrection.³¹

Pugin's understanding of the material church was thus deeply rooted in his vision of the spiritual church. For Pugin, architecture was not independent of doctrine. Just as every teaching of the spiritual church was part of a greater reality yet individually distinct, so too should each element of the material church be of individual merit yet harmoniously integrated into the greater structure. Furthermore Pugin felt that it was the role of the material church to incarnate and impart to the faithful a sense of this greater reality that was the spiritual church. A mission of this magnitude could not be accomplished in a building that was "debased and hideous,"³² or in a church that was marred by "pagan emblems and theatrical trumpery."³³ Nor could it be accomplished with parishioners crowded around and peering directly into the sanctuary. A hierarchical ordering of longitudinal space was necessary to underscore the "mystical separation between the people and the sacrifice."³⁴

Churches that were called to embody great doctrines were also called upon to have an element of greatness about them. Pugin insisted that church buildings that were structurally diminutive could not provide the spatial freedom necessary to create an atmosphere of grandeur and majesty. Generous dimensions were essential in his estimation to achieve the powerful architectural effect necessary for creating an environment worthy of Christian worship. Such environmental vastness was however not one that could be achieved simply through the augmentation of scale. For Pugin,

31 Pugin, *Contrasts*, pp. 2-3.

32 Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 51.

33 Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 52.

34 Pugin, *Contrasts*, pp. 56-57.

there was an important distinction to be made between the architectural canons of Gothic or Christian architecture, and Classical or Pagan architecture. In Gothic structures, the multiplication of architectural components was increased proportionately with the scale of the building, while the canons of Classical architecture required only that structural components be augmented not multiplied.³⁵ On this point he was uncompromising, and made no effort to conceal his dislike of St. Peter's in Rome. Pugin felt that the exaggerated scale of the individual structural elements, notably the use of neoclassic column bases that were beyond human proportion and scale was quite simply an unqualified perversion.³⁶

Pugin felt that structural height should be celebrated as an important feature of Catholic church architecture. He offered several reasons for this. First, a vast internal height lent itself particularly well to the creation of an atmosphere of grandeur and greatness and was well suited to the embodiment of uplifting meditations. Second, external manifestations of height serve a practical purpose but should also serve to reinforce Christian belief. The strong material presence of a tower and the slender spire tapering into the skies recalled the sacred mysteries of the resurrection and ascension into heaven. "Every tower built during the pure style of pointed architecture either was or was intended to be surmounted by a spire... when towers were erected with flat embattled tops, Christian architecture was in decline."³⁷ Pugin explained that square topped embattled towers were never terminated with spires, but had very different function, the

35 "In Pointed Architecture the different details of the edifice are multiplied within the increasing scale of the building: in classic architecture they are only magnified," Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 53.

36 Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 54.

37 Pugin, *True Principles*, pp. 9-10.

upward sweep of the spires on the other hand was specifically associated with ecclesiastical architecture.

Pugin also considered the celebration of its structural substance to be a distinguishing feature of Gothic architecture observing that "pointed architecture does not conceal her construction but beautifies it."³⁸ To this end he expounded upon the virtues of flying buttresses and pinnacles. Although the structural necessity of flying buttresses might be evident to Pugin, he warned his public against dismissing pinnacles as simply decorative.

They should be regarded as answering a double intention, both mystical and natural; their mystical intention is, like other vertical lines and termination's of Christian architecture, to represent emblems of the Resurrection; their natural intention is that of an upper weathering to throw off rain.³⁹

Despite Pugin's enthusiasm on this subject, it should be remembered that while flying buttresses played a very conspicuous role in the High Gothic of medieval France,⁴⁰ they enjoyed only a very limited usage throughout the course of medieval

38 Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 3.

39 Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 8.

40 Typical of French Gothic from this era is the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres (1194-1220), where the architect sought to achieve a greater degree of integration among the various spatial divisions while creating a combined effect of monumentality and vertical ascension. This was achieved by carrying the central colonnade boldly upward, suppressing the tribune and retaining only the triforium as a horizontal spatial division. The horizontal effect of the triforium was in turn negated to a large extent by the new and overwhelming character of the clerestory windows. The disintegration of the wall mass was further advanced through the introduction of a new window arrangement in which two lancets were surmounted by a small rose allowing for an increased opening of the wall. The combined effect urged the eye upwards. It was the suppression of the tribunes that necessitated the addition of flying buttresses to brace the upper wall. Instead of attempting to negate their presence, the architect of Chartres frontalized the buttresses by creating a series of small pinnacled and pinioned niches. Chartrean canons were further refined at Reims (1212-1280), and Amiens (1220-1247), and the flying buttresses of the

English Gothic.⁴¹ His insistence on vertical ascension and interior vastness is an important feature of Puginesque Gothic. It reflects a preference for a specific French formula that embodies one of the most obvious differences between French Gothic and English Gothic. English churches are of a comparatively lesser height and hence have only an occasional need for, and then make a very restrained use of flying buttresses. Despite this, Pugin believed that the architectural traditions of a nation should be cultivated for the better interests of that country.⁴²

In general our English churches are deficient in internal height... I think the internal vastness of Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres and other French Churches, should serve as useful examples to us in this respect in the revival of Pointed and Christian Architecture. Nothing can be conceived more majestic than those successions of arches, divided by light and elegant clusters of shafts running up to an amazing height and then branching over into beautiful intersecting ribs, suspending a canopy of stone at the enormous height of not infrequently one hundred and fifty feet. Internal altitude is a feature which would add greatly to the effect of many of our fine English churches, and I shall ever advocate its

Early Gothic Notre-Dame in Paris (1225-1230) were in fact thirteenth century additions. The architects of Beauvais (1225-1272), on the other hand, did nothing to advance Gothic construction either in terms of stylistic symbolism or structural integrity. Instead, preoccupied with vertical ascension they pushed the building program beyond the limits of contemporary engineering knowledge, ultimately resulting in the collapse of the choir vaults in 1284.

- 41 The nave and side aisles of medieval English cathedrals were considerably narrower than their Continental counterparts. English Gothic vaults were also traditionally much lower than those in contemporary French constructions, while at the same time, the individual bays were comparatively wider. This arrangement tended to emphasize the horizontality of each individual spatial unit. The vertical continuity of the nave's elevation was further fragmented by the frequent use of heavy moldings, prominent consoles and distinctive capitals. When the Perpendicular style (which many Revivalists denounced as being debased owing to its secular origins), is used, the paneling fragments and fetters the full effect of vertical ascension.
- 42 "Another object to Italian architecture is this: we are not Italians we are Englishmen. God in his wisdom has implanted a love of nation and country in every man, and we ought to view the habits and manners of other nations without prejudice, derive improvement from all we observe, but we should never forget our own land." To this he added: "In short, national feelings and national architecture are at so low an ebb, that it becomes an absolute duty in every Englishman to attempt their revival." Pugin, *True Principles*, pp. 47-48.

introduction as it is a characteristic of foreign pointed architecture of which we can avail ourselves without violating the principles of our own peculiar style of English Christian architecture, from which I would not depart in this country on any account.⁴³

Here again Pugin reaffirms his position that spiritual greatness and doctrinal greatness are most suitably embodied through architectural greatness. In fact, in Pugin's thinking, Gothic architecture was so much a logical outcome of Catholic doctrine that he actually questioned the right of those outside the Church of Rome to make use of Gothic elements in the construction of their churches. "It is a great profanation," declared Pugin, "to deck out Protestant monstrosities in the garb of Catholic Antiquity...."⁴⁴

As an architect, Pugin was a man of considerable talent. He was however, diminished in the eyes of many of his contemporaries not solely because of his affiliation with the church of Rome but also to a considerable degree by his thoroughly unpleasant personality. His lack of tact is legendary and is characteristically evident in much of the anti-Protestant slander that peppers his architectural writing. When he published the first edition of *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*, a number of his statements about Protestants were generally considered so offensive that he was eventually obliged to provide some form of retraction. This he did in the preface to the second edition of the book, although his general reluctance and lack of repentance was only thinly veiled. Pugin admitted that while he may not have been perfectly correct in accusing

43 Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 55.

44 Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 57.

Protestantism of destroying Catholic architecture, he reaffirmed that he was “perfectly correct in the abstract facts that pointed architecture was produced by the Catholic faith.” He also reiterated that this architectural idiom so well suited to the expression of Catholic faith was ravaged in the British Isles “by the ascendancy of Protestantism.” He did however admit that he may have been erroneous in regarding Protestantism in and of itself as the nucleus of this destruction. Instead, he now suggested that Protestantism was in reality the “effect of some other more powerful agency...” claiming that “the real origin of both the revived Pagan and Protestant principles is to be traced to the decayed state of faith throughout Europe in the fifteenth century.”⁴⁵ His retraction could hardly have been expected to produce a spirit of reconciliation, or encourage interdenominational discourse on the subject of religious architecture. Despite this, his influence was so far-reaching and thought to be of enough relevance that the Toronto journal, the *Anglo-American*, carried an article detailing the timeliness of his work.

THE CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY

At the same time Pugin was denouncing the ill effects of the Protestant Reformation on Catholic architecture, members of the Cambridge Camden Society were embarking on an architectural mission of their own. Part of this mission was to reinstate much of the visual dimension of worship that had been rejected during the English Reformation. They set about to do this with much of the zeal and ideological flexibility that is characteristic of a religious crusade. Although they sought to restore many of the same visual elements as Pugin, they were not prepared to allow him too much credit in this undertaking. In 1843, they soberly proclaimed, in a pronouncement clearly aimed at

45 Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2nd edition, London, 1841, p. iii.

Pugin, that “no architect has as yet arisen, who appears destined to be the reviver of Christian art.”⁴⁶ They also rejected Pugin’s claim that Gothic was a Roman Catholic expression, insisting instead that it was in fact linked to the Church of England. They also claimed that the single most important feature of a church was that “it be built in such a way that the rubrics and canons of the Church of England be constantly observed and the sacraments rubrically and decently administered.”⁴⁷

As the Ecclesiologists were unable to identify a single champion for their cause, they set about to remedy the situation themselves. Their aim was to put forth as clearly as possible what precisely was needed to achieve ‘rubrical’ correctness, a term they were particularly fond of. The outcome of this undertaking was a proliferation of publications dedicated to the study, analysis, restoration and construction of church architecture. No other denomination can even approach the quantity of material written and circulated by Anglicans on the subject of church building during the nineteenth century. The impact of their work was such that various merits or shortcomings of church architecture became a subject of current discussion not only in Anglican and architectural circles, but appeared with increased regularity in the denominational journals of other Protestant confessions as well as in the secular press.

Their public program of Gothic advocacy began in 1841 with *A Few Words to Church Builders*,⁴⁸ in which they set forth their primary preoccupations:

46 B. Webb & J. M. Neale, “Introductory,” *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (Leeds, 1843), p. xviii.

47 *Ecclesiologist*, vol. I, no. 10, quoted in White, *Cambridge*, p. 92

48 J. M. Neale, ed. *A few words to Church Builders* (Cambridge: University Press, 1841). This book was re-edited again in 1842 and 1844.

Our three leading principles have been, - Reality, - The absolute necessity of a distinct and spacious chancel and - The absolute inadmissibility of Pews (sic) and Galleries in any shape whatever.⁴⁹

To these three basic points they added a great many other suggestions and requirements. In that same year, they also published the first edition of their journal: the *Ecclesiologist*, although it did not become a scholarly publication until after 1845.⁵⁰ Their single most important publication, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum written by William Durandus sometime Bishop of Mende*, was produced by Rev. B. Webb and Rev. J. Neale, and appeared in 1843. The translation of the original thirteenth century Latin text was prefixed by a lengthy introductory essay (over one hundred pages) which the translators used as a vehicle for their own architectural agenda.⁵¹

The effects of this publication were both strong and far reaching. It is considered by some important contemporary scholars, such as J. White, to have “materially changed the course of Ecclesiology,” and to have “marked the real adoption of symbolism as a significant feature of Ecclesiology.”⁵² The repercussions for church building and restoration were tremendous and reached to some of the remotest corners of the British

49 Neale, *A few words*, p. 5.

50 Their last issue was published in 1868. White, *Cambridge*, p. 45.

51 In discussing this publication, it is necessary to distinguish between the opinions of the nineteenth century Anglican translators expressed in the introductory essay and those set forth in the original text by the twelfth century Roman Catholic Bishop. In the interest of clarity and simplicity, references or quotations from the introductory essay will be referred to as *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornament*, while those from Durandus' medieval text will be referred to the original Latin title *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*.

52 White, *Cambridge*, p. 69. White also points out that some modern Catholic scholars are less enthusiastic about the work of Durandus, suggesting that “...this kind of fanciful explanation of liturgy attained what we might call a luxurious as well as unhealthy growth.” L. Boyer, *Liturgical Piety* (Notre Dame, 1955), p. 278.

Empire. Their influence can be easily identified in Anglican churches of the Ottawa Valley. The translation also had, as White pointed out, the less fortunate effect of resulting all too often in a "wholesale adoption of medieval symbolism, even when it was no longer relevant or when the original significance was strictly functional."⁵³ In fairness, it should be noted that Durandus himself was occasionally inclined to push his use of symbolism far beyond what might have been considered acceptable by even some of the more open-minded enthusiasts of architectural symbolism. In certain instances for example, Durandus uses feminine symbolism to interpret the role of the Church. Many of these symbols such as the Bride of Christ, the *Ecclesia Mater* and even the daughter or widow had been used since antiquity and were generally accepted. However, his equation of the Christian church to a harlot, "because she is called out on many nations, and because She closeth not Her bosom against any that return to Her,"⁵⁴ would have appealed to only a very limited following. There is certainly no evidence that this overzealous application of architectural symbolism had even the smallest following among Christians in the Ottawa Valley.

In their introductory essay to *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, Webb and Neale propound a complex correlation between theological abstraction and visual materialization. Gothic was presented as a logical progression in the history of religious architecture and "was the necessary result of the teaching of the Church, as being the only legitimate expression of uprisingness and verticality."⁵⁵ On another occasion, they claim that the breaking of the traditional rounded arches found in

53 J. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 134.

54 Durandus, *Rationale*, p.19.

55 J.F. Russell, ed., *A Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology* (London: Joseph Masters, 1848), p. 16.

the Norman churches also marks the break with architectural formulas that perpetuated the embodiment of pagan traditions.⁵⁶ Webb and Neale also suggested that the evolution of architectural symbolism was directly linked to an increased understanding of theological complexities. Their already enigmatic understanding of church architecture was further complicated by their views on Church-State relations. They maintained that the distancing of the State from Church affairs would subsequently and most naturally be followed by better church architecture. They demonstrated this theory by linking what they estimated to be the hallmarks of architectural progression, with policies that favored the English Church:

Contemporary with the appearance of Early-English [Gothic],⁵⁷ was the great victory of the Church over Erastianism, by the martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and the abrogation of the Constitutions of Clarendon.⁵⁸

Conversely, they determined that increased state involvement had a direct, and detrimental effect on church architecture.

But, hardly had Early English finished its course of splendor, when while traces of rare glory were developing daily, the Statute of Mortmain began to tell upon the church.⁵⁹

Webb and Neale also insisted that due to increased state interference, the Church was denied independence of symbolic and material expression. As a result, the symbolic

⁵⁶ White, *Cambridge*, p. 88.

⁵⁷ At this point the Ecclesiologists were maintaining that the most superior expression of the Gothic style was to be found in Early English Gothic architecture.

⁵⁸ Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxiii.

⁵⁹ Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxiii.

meaning of many ancient architectural traditions had been lost.⁶⁰ Church architecture continued to decline until the restrictions and obstructions imposed on the church under Edward IV resulted in the Perpendicular perversion of the Gothic style. For the Cambridge Ecclesiologists, churches built in the Perpendicular style embodied these restrictions and the disempowerment of the Church. Furthermore, they maintained that Perpendicular Gothic was a stylistic interpretation of secular origin and thus not truly suited for Christian churches. Webb and Neale ask rhetorically if this undesirable state of affairs is not plainly visible throughout the structure:

Does not its stiffness, its failure in harmony, its want of power and adaptation, its continual introduction of heraldry, its monotony, its breaking up by hard continued lines, its shallowness, its meretriciousness, its display, - set forth what we know to have been the character of the contemporary Church?⁶¹

Relief from these distressing circumstances was not forthcoming. Instead with the introduction of the Tudor style, English Church architecture reached a new low. The depressed arches that characterize the Tudor style also reflected the prevalence of spiritual deprivation. Webb and Neale were quick to point out that this was not a misfortune confined to the British Isles. The Church in France had also suffered similar indignities:

The state gradually interfered with it, embraced it with its dangerous friendship, made its observances meaningless while sustaining their splendor; secularized its abbeys, by appropriating them to political ends;

60 "The State interfered more and more with the Church and, not allowed to carry out Her own designs, it is no wonder if the latter quickly began to forget Her own symbolic language." Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. ccxxiv.

61 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxiv.

made statesmen of its bishops, gave it outside show, while eating out its heart.⁶²

In France this interference on the part of the secular government was clearly evident to the Cambridge Ecclesiologists in the introduction of Flamboyant Gothic, which they described as:

A vast collection of elegant forms, meaninglessly strung together: richness of ornament, actually weakening strung together: vagaries of tracery, as if the hand possessed of Church Art, were suddenly deprived of Church feelings: nothing plain, simple, intelligible holy: parts neglected, parts ostentatious...⁶³

In Italy, where the Church was not considered to have suffered from an undue amount of state interference, the lack of a great Gothic tradition was attributed to residual Pagan influences. Like Pugin, the Cambridge Ecclesiologists were convinced that along with state interference, the other great antagonist of fine ecclesiastical architecture was Paganism. They noted that originally English Protestantism had retained the use of some important elements of Trinitarian symbolism, such as trefoils and devices with equilateral triangles. However, this was all to change after the Revolution when “those faint traces of symbolism died away into that *nec plus ultra* of wretchedness, the Georgian style.”⁶⁴ The neoclassic elements characteristic of the Georgian style that had, until recently, been used in the construction of so many English churches was considered not their only disfigurement. Cambridge Ecclesiologists state their own position vis-à-vis ultra-

62 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxv.

63 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxvi.

64 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, pp. cxxvi-cxxvii.

Protestantism, and State-sponsored church building in a damning denunciation of the “PUE-RENTED EPISCOPAL CHAPEL” in which “the Royal Arms occupy a conspicuous position; for it is a chapel of the ESTABLISHMENT.”⁶⁵ The shortcomings of the Protestant preaching chapel are contrasted with a commendatory and impassioned discourse on the superiority of the structures and symbols of a “Catholick Church.” By ‘Catholick,’ Cambridge Ecclesiologists meant the Church of England, not the Church of Rome. In a lengthy essay, Cambridge Ecclesiologists proceed to set forth the merits and necessities of a ‘Catholick’ church. Unlike Protestant chapels that were crowded among shops and chimneys, the spire of a ‘Catholick’ church should be visible from a great distance, rising above the commotions and disharmony of secular life, alluding to the omni-presence of a higher being. The Church itself should be arranged in such a manner that all elements of faith and doctrine are embodied in its fabric from the ground up, and there to be externally as well as internally manifest. The very structure of the church should declare the merits of Christian faith to all who passed. The cruciform ground plan, as expressed in the transepts, recalled the underlying importance of the Atonement for the salvation of all. Apsidioles and lateral chapels recall the Communion of Saints and those who had rallied around the church. On the spire, the weather cock urged prayerful vigilance, while the repulsive and displeasing presence of the gargoyles were to incarnate the wretchedness of souls lost. Like Pugin, Cambridge Ecclesiologists denounced the horizontality and earthliness of the crenelated parapets, praising instead the uplifting constitution of buttresses, pinnacles, and recognized words of sacred wisdom in the tracery of the window. Trinitarian symbolism dictated the division of the nave into a central nave flanked to either side by two aisles. The length of the church, when divided into nave, transepts and choir also recalled the Three Persons as did the tripartite elevation

65 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxix.

of the church through the pier, triforium and clerestory window. The timelessness of Christ's supra mundane nature was held to be symbolically incorporated into the layout of the church:

Him First in the two-fold western door; Him Last in the distant Altar; Him
Midst in the great Rood; Him Without End in the monogram carved on
boss and corbel.⁶⁶

Baptismal fonts stood at the entry of the church and were to be deep, as Webb and Neale explained: "for we are buried in Baptism with Christ." The prophets and saints are symbolized in the piers and columns of the church, while the sculpted foliage of their capitals recall the abundance and integrity of their achievements. The lofty nobility of saintly achievement symbolized in the structural elevations of the nave is used to underline the sharp contrast with the menial virtues and ultimate fragility of secular figures:

Beneath our feet are the badges of worldly pomp and glory, the charges of
Kings and Nobles and Knights: all in the Presence of God as dross and
worthlessness.⁶⁷

By contrast, high above the funeral dalles of the church floor were the open timbers and hammer beams sculpted with the Heavenly Hosts. Between the depths of the earthly graves and the heights of the rafters with its immortal population of cherubs, seraphs, thrones, Principalities and Powers, were the church windows. It was here that lives of great devotion to the Church were commemorated. To teach and inspire, they are

66 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxx.

67 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxxi.

memorialized in glass, enlightening, both literally and symbolically those inside the church. All this was to pale in importance when compared to the magnificence of the rood screen. Symbolic of the death through which all humanity must pass, the rood screen separated the Church Militant from the glories of the Church Triumphant. As it symbolized a passage through death, it was to bear the triumphal cross of Christ, who by rising from his own death was the first to overcome death. Collectively, these formed the necessities of a 'Catholic' church. Church-builders were not to simply pick out a few elements that they found interesting or inexpensive to build. Webb and Neale stress the importance of the structural and symbolic unity in a church. In concluding their discourse, they note:

Verily, as we think on the oneness of its design, we may say: *Jerusalem aedificatur ut civitas cujus participatio ejus in idipsum*.⁶⁸

Although books devoted to the discussion of English church architecture⁶⁹ and symbolism had been in circulation prior to the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society, they were to enjoy a new demand and popularity after the publication of *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*. Many of these new books were written by people in sympathy with but not necessarily members of the Cambridge Camden Society. George Ayliffe Poole's widely read and influential little manual, *Churches: Their Structure, Arrangement, and Decoration*,⁷⁰ was clear evidence that the Cambridge Camden Society held no monopoly on the subject of Church Symbolism. In the

68 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. cxxxii.

69 The stylistic terms and chronological divisions, 'Early English', 'Decorated' and 'Perpendicular' under which English gothic is still studied today were devised and first set forth in 1817 by Thomas Rickman, himself a Quaker.

70 G.A. Poole, *Churches: Their Structure, Arrangement, and Decoration* (London: J. Burns, 1846).

introduction to his book, Poole noted that much of the material used in this book had originally appeared several years ago when a series of lectures he had delivered to members of the Leeds Church of England Library and Reading-room had been published at their request.”⁷¹ The 1846 edition however was new and expanded. Poole was another avid Gothic advocate and did not refrain from criticizing the work of that most celebrated and very Protestant of architects, Sir Christopher Wren. Poole denounced Wren’s lack of appreciation for Gothic. Like Pugin and the Cambridge Ecclesiologists, Poole considered the whole upwards movement of the Gothic church to materialize the Christian hope of resurrection.⁷² Cambridge Ecclesiologists were familiar with the earlier work of Poole and referred to it in some of their own publications. They judged Poole to be a bit too concerned with the “symbolism of details rather than any general principle,” and claimed that in his new book, he had “adopted several of the symbolic interpretations advanced by the writers of the Cambridge Camden Society.” They did however concede that to the best of their knowledge, Poole was the first “to reassert that the octagonal form of Fonts was figurative of Regeneration.”⁷³

In 1847 the Cambridge Camden Society, now known as the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, published *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*,⁷⁴ in collaboration with the architect William Butterfield. This manual was essentially a design and pattern book assembled for easy use by artisans and craftsmen. The book enjoyed a wide circulation and a second edition was published in 1856. There is clear evidence of its influence in the Ottawa Valley as early as 1858.⁷⁵ The Cambridge Ecclesiologists produced two other

71 Poole, *Churches*, p. v.

72 Poole, *Churches*, p.63.

73 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism*, p. xxviii.

74 W. Butterfield, *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica: A Series of Working Designs for the Furniture, Fittings and Decorations of Churches and their Precincts* (London: John Van Voorst, 1847).

75 *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, December 1858, p. 93.

important publications in 1848: *A Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology*,⁷⁶ and *Hierurgia Anglicana or Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ritual of the Church in England after the Reformation*.⁷⁷ They continued to publish a variety of papers and reports throughout the 1850s and during the early 1860s. By the time their final publication appeared in 1868, Gothic church-building and the use of architectural symbolism had become a widely accepted practice. However, the closure of the Ecclesiological Society did not leave a literary void. Even before the Ecclesiologists retired their journal, a whole new generation of writers and practitioners, inspired by their work, were flooding Britain, her colonies as well as a number of her former colonies with their own interpretation of Gothic style.

COLONIAL GOTHIC AND ECCLESIOLOGY IN THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTEXT

American architects had been toying with elements of Gothic since the late eighteen and early nineteen hundreds. Their employment of Gothic had however not been marked by much fidelity to medieval prototypes and had only the most superficial nexus to Christian doctrine. Most early churches were essentially simple rectangular structures on to which a delusive Gothic rigging was applied. This manner of a romanticized and picturesque exploitation of Gothic was typified by the decorative influence of Batty Langley that had not yet yielded to a scientific and structural

76 Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, *A Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology* (London: J. Masters, 1848).

77 J. F. Russell, ed., *Hierurgia Anglicana or Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ritual of the Church in England after the Reformation* (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington, 1848).

understanding of the style.⁷⁸ During the first decades of the nineteenth century, this approach to Gothic church-building was particularly evident in the work of Charles Bulfinch and John Holden Green.⁷⁹ A greater understanding of Gothic is evident in the work of Maximilian Godefroy⁸⁰ and Benjamin Latrobe,⁸¹ although neither of these architects, despite their French origins, ever worked to closely emulate medieval prototypes. Nevertheless and in spite of its classical influence and the dry stiff articulations of its orders, St. Mary's Chapel, designed by Godefroy in 1806 for the Roman Catholic Seminary in Baltimore, is considered by some scholars to be the first building in North America that could be legitimately called neo-Gothic.⁸² This approximation of Gothic continued to be used well into the second quarter of the century by architects such as Josiah R. Brady, John Leach, William Passman and L. S. Punderson. However, by the second half of the 1830s, a new and very different form of Gothic expression was beginning to attract interest.

The ideas concerning the Christian worth of Medieval Gothic that had been circulating in Europe and the British Isles wasted little time in crossing the Atlantic Ocean.

78 W. H. Pierson, *Technology and the Picturesque: The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles*, (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 122.

79 John Holden Green's St. John's Episcopal Church in Providence Rhode Island (1810), is remarkably well preserved and a particularly good example of decorative Gothic.

80 M. Godefroy, a trained architect and former army officer had come to Baltimore from France to serve as professor of fine arts. Despite his European origins, Godefroy uses Gothic much as an architectural order rather than an architectonic manifestation of interconnected doctrine.

81 In 1805, Benjamin Latrobe submitted two proposals for the new Roman Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore, one using Gothic features, the other drawing on Roman Classicism. Although it was the second proposal that was chosen, the Gothic plan has survived and serves as a lucid testimony of the decorative and superficial exploitation of Gothic that was common to this era. Marcus Whiffen & Frederick Koeper, *American Architecture 1607-1976* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1981), p. 181, fig. 149.

82 Although himself a Neoclassicist, Godefroy's use of Gothic in this instance was clearly to satisfy the religious preferences of his employers. W. H. Pierson, *Technology and the Picturesque: The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 118-119.

The Oxonian Tracts, Pugin's demand for medieval perfection and the Gothic advocacy of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists were exciting considerable interest among clergy, architects and a certain portion of the educated public.⁸³ As early as 1839, the Right Reverend J. Inglis, third Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, became a patron member of the Cambridge Camden Society. Two years later, in 1841, he was joined by the Right Reverend G. W. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey. By 1843, one of America's most influential architects, Richard Upjohn, had in his personal library a complete set of John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, J. M. Neale and J. Le Keux's *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain*, several issues of *The Ecclesiologist*, as well as J. Neale and B. Webb's translation of *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, and Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.⁸⁴ Upjohn wasted little time in translating his literary acquisitions into architectural realities. By the time Upjohn completed Holy Trinity Church, New York, in 1846, it resembled so closely the 'Ideal Church' published in Pugin's *True Principles*, that one is more inclined to think in terms of architectural plagiarism than stylistic coincidence. Likewise, James Renwick's Grace Church, (begun in 1843), also in New York, had decidedly Puginesque undertones.

By the mid 1840s, the Cambridge Camden Society was actively seeking to extend its sphere of influence into the 'colonies'. Their ideas were met with considerable, but not universal, success. They were especially prosperous among Episcopalians in the regions around Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia. In 1846, plans were ordered directly from the Cambridge Camden Society for the construction of St. James-the-Less

83 Stanton's, *Gothic Revival* is widely recognized as the most authoritative discussion of English Ecclesiology and its effects on church architecture in the United States.

84 Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 60-61.

in Philadelphia. The church was completed in 1848 and far from raising fears of English architectural imperialism, St. James occasioned a wider interest in Gothic architecture that was in keeping with Camdanian interpretation. However, as W. Pierson has justly noted, St. James-the-Less was "not an American Gothic Revival church; it was rather a transplantation of an English parish church."⁸⁵ Despite this, interest in English Ecclesiology had become so consequential that in April of 1848, the New York Ecclesiastical Society was formed. Six months later their journal, the *New York Ecclesiologist*, appeared. Contrary to the construction of St. James, this journal was not, as P. Stanton pointed out, "a pallid imitation of the *Ecclesiologist*," but rather "the first American journal devoted solely to architecture, and it possessed character, individuality and independence of mind."⁸⁶

The extent to which this new approach to Gothic Church building had aroused the interest of American church-goers is apparent in the commissions of Frank Wills⁸⁷, Henry Dudley, John Notman and J. W. Priest. However, it is Richard Upjohn who was to become widely recognized as the single most important architect of Ecclesiastical Gothic in the United States. Although he was not always in a state of unqualified agreement with the English Ecclesiologists, by the mid 1840s, Upjohn had abandoned the Puginesque interpretation of revived Gothic. His architectural inspiration was now drawn from type of rural English parish church of which the Cambridge Ecclesiologists were so fond. However it was through adaptations to this rural English prototype to the realities of North American life that Upjohn was to play a major role in the emergence of a distinctly American interpretation of Gothic. The legacy of Upjohn's work is especially

85 Pierson, *Technology*, p. 186.

86 Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, p. 161.

87 The importance of Frank Wills will be discussed later in this chapter.

evident in the numerous small scale churches designed by Upjohn himself or inspired by his book, *Upjohn's Rural Architecture, Designs, Working Drawings and Specifications for a Wooden Church and other Rural Structures*. This manual was written by Upjohn and published in 1852 specifically to meet the increased demand for his church designs.⁸⁸

Not all American architects working in the revived Gothic style chose to follow the same route as Richard Upjohn. One notable exception was James Renwick. Renwick did not transfer his interests to rural Ecclesiology, but remained allegiant to the Puginesque school of Gothic revival. In keeping with this spirit, Renwick was persuaded that the material church should convey to the faithful an appreciation for the greater vitality of the spiritual church. To achieve this, Renwick, like Pugin, used structural height as an essential component of church-building. He skillfully articulated vast internal heights to produce an atmosphere of resplendence and eminence while successfully exploiting elements of outward elevation. Externally, Renwick used pinnacled buttresses, elongated finials and slender spires to achieve a forceful sense of vertical ascension. In doing so, he echoed Pugin's insistence that spiritual greatness was most suitably externalized through architectural greatness.

When the Roman Catholic diocese of New York was elevated to the rank of archdiocese, in 1850, the new archbishop, John Hughes was determined to use all the resources at his disposal to elevate the social prestige of Roman Catholicism. This was not an easy undertaking. Strong anti-Catholic sentiment had long been widespread in the

⁸⁸ In 1852, unable to meet all the requests addressed to him for church plans, he published *Upjohn's Rural Architecture, Designs, Working Drawings and Specifications for a Wooden Church and other Rural Structures* (New York: George P. Putman, 1852). In this book, he adapted much of his knowledge of English Ecclesiology and church-building into structures that should be easily interpreted into the architectural context of rural America. See also Pierson, *Technology*, Chapter VIII "The Board and Batten and the Gothic Revival Church," pp. 432-455.

United States. Nor had the Catholic Church in the Thirteen Colonies enjoyed many of the privileges that the French Bishops had skillfully extracted from the British after they overran Quebec. In New York, the new archbishop was mindful of both the resources at his disposal and challenges he faced. In particular, Bishop Hughes was eminently aware that if cleverly managed church architecture could contribute significantly to his agenda. A carefully designed new cathedral could be a conspicuous and enduring monument to the social prestige of American Catholicism. With this in mind, Hughes set out "...to build a church which in size and splendor alone would outstrip any other church in the nation..."⁸⁹ Given the character of his mission, it was perhaps not unanticipated that Bishop Hughes turned not to Richard Upjohn but to James Renwick to furnish the plans for St. Patrick's cathedral in New York City. In his turn, Renwick looked to the great Roman Catholic cathedrals of Medieval Europe for his inspiration.⁹⁰

When St. Patrick's was finally finished in 1879, nearly three decades had elapsed since Bishop Hughes had originally aspired to build a church that would stand:

...for the glory of God; the exhalation of Our Holy Mother, the Church;
the honor of the Catholic name in this country; and as a monument of
which the city of New York, either in its present or its greatness, need
never be ashamed.⁹¹

89 Pierson, *Technology*, p. 211.

90 While the influence of various European prototypes is detectable, it is plainly evident that Renwick has drawn much of his inspiration from the cathedral of Cologne. This is especially obvious in the treatment of the lateral elevations.

91 J. Hughes, letter dated 29 May 1858. Hughes Papers, Diocese of New York, Box A-2, as quoted in Pierson, *Technology*, p. 209.

Archbishop Hughes did not live to see the completion of his dream.⁹² However, in many ways and despite the numerous modifications to the original plans, St. Patrick's met his hopes and aspirations. Indeed, the Roman Catholic Cathedral in New York is seen by some late twentieth century architectural historians to be "one of the major architectural triumphs of the nineteenth century."⁹³ This may be true, at least to some extent. St. Patrick's is undeniably a significant and conspicuous example of Gothic in the use of nineteenth century Roman Catholic church building. Furthermore, given its location in the heart of one of the world's busiest cities, St. Patrick's has certainly enjoyed much more attention than many other churches of this same era. This being said, it is however, important to recognize the place of St. Patrick's in the context and perspective of nineteenth century Roman Catholic church building in North America. That is to say, although St. Patrick's was undeniably an example and source of inspiration for other church builders and that its size and splendor alone out performed most other churches of its era, it is however not and never was the architectonic embodiment of a new approach to church building. The importance of St. Patrick's in New York lies not so much in that it is innovative but rather that it is representative.

MEDIEVAL GOTHIC IN A CANADIAN CONTEXT

More than a quarter of a century before Bishop Hughes of New York was openly discussing plans for his new cathedral, construction of North America's first monumental Gothic church was already well underway in Montreal. Though frequently referred to as the Notre-Dame "cathedral" of Montreal, the church itself was built under the direction of

92 Completion of St. Patrick's was seriously retarded by the outbreak of the American civil war. Archbishop Hughes died in 1864.

93 Pierson, *Technology*, p. 269.

the French Sulpicians as a parish church, or perhaps more appropriately *the* parish church of Montreal.⁹⁴ Having tended to the spiritual needs of Roman Catholics on the island of Montreal since the mid sixteen-hundreds, the social, religious and political involvements of the Sulpicians and by extension their church building activities are a legacy inextricably intertwined with the chronicles of Montreal. While a judicious discussion of these complexities is far removed from the mandates of this current work, many points of historical interest concerning the planning and construction of this church have been previously addressed with academic rigor and considerable insight by Franklin K. B. S. Toker in *The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal: An Architectural History*.⁹⁵ While the architecture of Notre-Dame remains in many ways an anomaly, the importance of this church is such that it can not be completely ignored.

By the early 1820s, the parishioners of Notre-Dame, being both French and Roman Catholic, were increasingly apprehensive of the flourishing and conspicuous Anglo-Protestant presence in Montreal. It was decided that the time was now ripe for a salient and tangible expression of French Catholicism's strength, vitality and eminence. Not lacking in ambition, the *marguilliers* of Notre-Dame were determined that their new church must be, at the very least, an architectural equal of the best American and European churches. To this end, Jean Bouthillier was dispatched to New York during the fall of 1823, entrusted with the responsibility of securing the services of the best architect available. After what can best, or perhaps only, be described as a *concourse de circonstance*, Bouthillier recommended James O'Donnell. O'Donnell, an Irish Protestant,

94 For this reason many French Roman Catholic inhabitants of Montreal simply refer to the church as *La Paroisse*.

95 Franklin K. B. S. Toker, *The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal: An Architectural History*, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970). In this study I have used the French translation, *L'église Notre-Dame de Montréal : son architecture, son passé*, (Quebec: Éditions Hurtubise HMH Limitée, 1981).

had been living in New York since 1812. He had never before designed a monumental church nor had he ever been commissioned to build a Roman Catholic church.⁹⁶ Undaunted by this significant paucity of relevant experience, O'Donnell himself also undertook to enlighten the building committee of Notre-Dame on the subject of his own architectural credentials:

I have studied under some of the first Masters, and have carefully examined some of the best monuments in Europe, France excepted which I have not been in.⁹⁷

O'Donnell's earlier churches including Christ Church (Anglican), in New York, 1823, and The First Presbyterian Church, in Rochester, 1824, show little evidence that a careful examination of Europe's best monuments had exercised even the remotest stylistic influence on O'Donnell. Furthermore, the American Presbyterian Church, in Montreal, designed by O'Donnell in 1826, while Notre-Dame was under construction, offers no documentation to the contrary. As for Notre-Dame itself, twentieth century architectural historians have long been divided on the virtues (or shortcomings) of this church. Gérard Morisset, a long respected chronicler of historic architecture in Quebec and an ardent architectural *nationalist*, complained that: "c'est à la construction de l'actuelle Notre-Dame de Montréal que cet esprit archéologique apparaît au grand jour." He noted that Thomas Baillargé had declined to work in Gothic and quotes with obvious admiration a letter the architect sent to the building committee of Notre-Dame in 1824:⁹⁸

96 The events leading up to this choice are fully discussed in Toker, *L'église Notre-Dame*, pp. 62-64.

97 Letter dated 16 March, 1824, from James O'Donnell to the Building Committee of Notre-Dame, as quoted by Toker, *L'église Notre-Dame*, n. 11, p. 209.

98 G. Morisset, *L'Architecture en Nouvelle-France* (Quebec: Éditions du Pélican, 1980), p. 87.

Votre bâtisse devant être gothique et n'ayant étudié que l'architecture grecque et romaine, ce que j'ai cru suffisant pour le pays, je n'ai pris qu'une connaissance superficielle du gothique et je me crois de ce côté au-dessous de cette tâche.⁹⁹

Morisset asks his reader if Thomas Baillargé did not feel able to build such an important church in the Gothic style, could one really expect such a charge to be properly executed by James O'Donnell a Protestant and Irishman? Morisset accused O'Donnell of arbitrarily imposing an architectural style that completely ignored both the local climate and local building traditions. He denounced the church as being, "un gothique troubadour d'origine anglaise de formes sèches et d'une construction irrationnelle."¹⁰⁰ For Morisset the fallacious temperament of Notre-Dame is manifest throughout:

L'illogisme ne se manifeste pas seulement à l'intérieur dont le décor est radicalement faux, mais aussi à l'extérieur. Les divisions verticales de la façade ne correspondent pas à la coupe transversale de l'édifice - ce qui explique et la maigreur des tours et le vide désagréable des grandes arcades.¹⁰¹

In contrast to Morisset's obvious disgust with the building, Alan Gowans has suggested that it was precisely the Catholicism and Frenchness of Gothic that made the church so well suited to the parishioners of Montreal.¹⁰² Ramsay Traquair saw in Notre-Dame a monument that went not only against tradition but one that symbolizes the first serious attack on the architectural traditions of New France.¹⁰³ Robert Hubbard, former

99 Thomas Baillargé as quoted in Morisset, *L'Architecture*, p. 87.

100 Morisset, *L'Architecture*, p. 87.

101 Morisset, *L'Architecture*, n. 1, p. 87.

102 A. Gowans, "Notre-Dame de Montréal", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, IX, March 1952, p. 25.

103 R. Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Quebec*, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1947), p. 2.

director of the National Gallery of Canada and biographer of Christ Church, the Anglican cathedral in Ottawa, doesn't appear to suffer personally from any great distaste for Notre-Dame. He does however see in Notre-Dame a church that is both too English and too Protestant to have any widespread appeal among French Canadian Roman Catholics.¹⁰⁴ More recently, Mathilde Brosseau simply noted that of all the contemporary critics, Jérôme Demers, Superior of the Séminaire de Québec and author of *Précis d'Architecture*, articulated the most succinct critique. Demers had tersely dismissed the church for its use of Gothic, its Protestant heritage and its lack of structural cohesiveness.¹⁰⁵ Luc Noppen reserves judgment but points out that the Gothicism of Notre-Dame is superficial.¹⁰⁶ It would be difficult to argue effectively against this observation, and Morisset's complaint concerning the lack of structural parallel between the facade and the interior are not ungrounded. Indeed his remarks demonstrate quite clearly that contrary to his own classification, Notre-Dame in Montreal is not marked by an "esprit archéologique" but rather by superficial interpretation of Gothic ungrounded in historical precedent.¹⁰⁷ Whether one likes the architecture of Notre-Dame in Montreal or not, it is difficult to deny that the church affords a striking visual and imposing physical presence, even amid the much taller office towers of the late twentieth century. Furthermore, the important question is, as Franklin Toker has pointed out, not how the building is judged today, but rather how was the church perceived at the time of its construction. First, it might be useful to consider the main architectural features of the Notre Dame.

104 R. Hubbard, "Canadian Gothic", *Architectural Review*, CXVI, August 1954, p. 102-108.

105 M. Brosseau, *Le style néo-gothique dans l'architecture au Canada*, (Ottawa: Centre d'édition du Gouvernement du Canada, 1980) p. 36.

106 L. Noppen, *Les églises du Québec (1600-1850)*, (Québec: Éditeur Officiel du Québec/Fides, 1977) p. 144.

107 Morisset, *L'Architecture*, p. 87.

The facade of Notre-Dame consists of a central portion flanked to either side by a pair of large towers.¹⁰⁸ This tripartite arrangement is not a truthful reflection of the internal arrangements. The ground plan is rectangular. The lowest level of the central portion is opened by three huge arcades that form a sort of porch in front of the entries. The medial section of the facade is anchored on either end by a massive square tower. The entries do not correspond to the interior aisle arrangement as might logically be expected in a design influenced by European prototypes. Instead, all doors open into the central nave. Above each doorway is a large Gothic window. The three massive Gothic arches preceding the entries rise above the level of both the doorways and windows of the inner facade. The porch arches of the exterior facade are surmounted by three exceptionally large Gothic niches. There is however no visual or architectonic linkage between the great arches of the ground level and the upper levels of the niches. Instead, the powerful upward thrust of the frontal arches is bluntly arrested by a double row of projected banded molding. This molding, which contours the towers at regular intervals also constrains the upward momentum of the triple niches and the Gothic windows in the towers.¹⁰⁹

The central portion of the facade is crested by decorative stepped embattlements instead of the creneau and merlon composition more common to some medieval English churches.¹¹⁰ On the corresponding level of the tower is a third set of Gothic arches that

108 The upper levels of the towers were added between 1841-1843, after O'Donnell's death in 1830, but with considerable fidelity to his final plans.

109 Similar arrangements of elevated frontal arcades can be seen at Lincoln Cathedral, although here there are three separate arches. Perhaps the closest to the Montreal solution is the facade of Peterborough Cathedral. The facade of Peterborough is also anchored to either side by square towers. The horizontal dimension of both facades is reinforced by the strong vertical banding which is so characteristic of medieval English Gothic. Lichfield and especially the Cathedral of Wells have a strong horizontal presence.

110 The embattlements on the facade of Notre-Dame in Montreal are in some ways reminiscent of those cresting the West front of York Minster Cathedral.

share the same base line as the central embattlements but rise considerably above the crest of the crenelage. These arches are not filled with glass but with wooden louvers. These arches are in turn surmounted by oculi which give the appearance of being squeezed tightly between two rows of horizontal banding resulting in a rather squat presentation. Above each oculus is a final Gothic arch, reminiscent the arches below the level of the oculi, and also closed by louvers. The towers, like the central portion of the facade are crested with decorative stepped embattlements. A small sharp turret rises from each of the four angles.

The main body of the church is a simple rectangle. The sanctuary is not architecturally distinct but is contained within the main body of the church. Along the lateral walls of the church are a series of large Gothic windows. These windows open in the lateral walls on to the eight bays of the side aisles. As there is no clerestory as the whole church is covered by the same roof and these windows represent the only source of natural light to the nave. The massive skylights that straddle the roof crest are later additions. Wall buttresses were placed between the windows and capped with turrets that repeat the turrets of the frontal towers. The immense volumes of the vast interior were completed during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

Though often overlooked by architectural historians working from a continental perspective, Montreal's Notre-Dame must be recognized as one of the earliest monumental Gothic style churches in North America. Still, while it is one of the boldest initiatory attempts of Gothic monumentality, Notre-Dame owes much more to the *appliqué* Gothic of England's Commissioners Churches than it does to medieval prototypes. Despite this, Notre-Dame enjoyed widespread approval and admiration

during the middle and even latter decades of the nineteenth century. Much of this can be attributed to its great height and imposing internal volumes. The twin towers of the facade were a striking visual presence and unquestionable secured for the local Roman Catholic population, what Malcolm Thurlby has aptly termed 'skyline superiority'.¹¹¹

With the exception of the protests from several well known contemporary Roman Catholic architects, such as Thomas Baillargé and Jérôme Demers (who may have had a vested interests in the matter), there appears to have been comparatively little objection from the French Canadian parishioners or even the general public. When Notre-Dame was officially blessed on July 15 in 1829, the opening was attended by a great number of Roman Catholics and Protestants alike, and received widespread attention in the press. Even the Wesleyan Methodists' *Christian Guardian*, while denouncing Notre-Dame as a "temple of idolatry", had to admit that it was "splendid."¹¹²

Interestingly, few Roman Catholic churches drew much direct architectural inspiration from Notre-Dame. Those that did were frequently built several decades later. Furthermore, their stylistic fidelity to Notre-Dame was often somewhat superficial and the question of esthetic merit still another matter.¹¹³ Despite the paucity of direct descendants, Notre-Dame in Montreal should be credited with playing a significant role in the introduction of the Gothic style to Catholic church building in central Canada. Despite the fact that the conception and construction of Notre-Dame predates the first serious use

111 M. Thurlby, "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario: A Study in the Meaning of Style", *Historic Kingston*, Kingston Historical Society, January 1987, vol. 35, p. 100.

112 *Christian Guardian*, 1830, vol. 1, no. 28, p. 219.

113 Perhaps the closest imitation is the parish church of Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, designed by Casimir Coursol in 1869. There are however several other examples, such as the less felicitous facade that was added to the earlier church (1842-1843) of Saint-Michel in Yamaska (c.1850). The parish church of Saint-Barthélemy, Quebec, designed by Victor Bourgeau in 1868, is clearly an Italianate adaptation of the volumes and spatial distribution of Notre-Dame.

of archaeological Gothic by nearly two decades, Notre-Dame is important in that its eminence and influence as a center of French Catholicism helped to create a greater openness towards the use of Gothic among the Roman Catholic population of central Canada.

By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Catholic church builders were increasingly inclined not simply to include Gothic features but to use Gothic ingredients that were grounded in historical precedent. This more pensive form of Gothic expression was introduced to a large extent by French ex-patriots and is reflective of a considerably more rational and decidedly French interpretation of the style. Typical of this approach to Gothic is St. Patrice in Montreal. The church was designed and built between 1843-1847 by Félix Martin, a French Jesuit, in collaboration with Pierre Louis Morin, a French architect. Both men were familiar with the formal principals of Gothic church building, and applied them with reasonable success to their new church.

Contrary to O'Donnell's use of twin towers on Notre-Dame however, Morin and Martin chose to accentuate the vertical ascension of St. Patrick's with a single axial tower on the main facade. The tower was set slightly in retreat of the main facade and surmounted by a spire. The tower was flanked to either side by turrets that stood in slight relief of the facade and that were reinforced with angle buttresses. These turrets were in turn topped with spires similar too, but lesser than the central spire. This formula for vertical ascension was again repeated with the elongated finals that top the angle buttresses at either end of the facade. A large rose window was placed above the gable of the principal entry, while elongated windows with pointed arch-heads were placed above the side doors of the main facade.

Unlike Notre-Dame the horizontal divisions of St. Patrice facade were effectively negated through the effective use of the turrets and wall buttresses. The lateral walls of St. Patrice are remarkable both in terms of their austerity and effective verticality. Seven elongated Gothic lancets occupy the greater percentage of the vertical height of the lateral walls. They are placed between engaged wall buttresses that repeat the presentation of the various angle buttresses and animate the facade. These buttresses are continued around a semi-circular and architecturally distinct apse. The lancet windows that open into the axial apse of the church are not as tall as those in the lateral walls of the church but are surmounted by small rose windows. The whole composition is marked by an austere verticality. Furthermore, and again in contrast to Notre-Dame, St. Patrice offered an interpretation of Gothic church building that lent itself with far greater facility to replication on a lesser scale.

By the mid nineteenth century, the Gothic style was enjoying an unprecedented level of acceptance and even popularity among Roman Catholic Church builders. The extent to which Roman Catholic church-builders were motivated by a new found affection for the Gothic style is particularly well illustrated by the architectural history of Notre-Dame in Ottawa.¹¹⁴ In 1839, it was decided that the plain wooden chapel built only seven years earlier, needed to be replaced by a larger, more dignified and decidedly more prestigious structure in stone. The new church was to be based on the plans of St. Patrick's in Quebec City.¹¹⁵ This neoclassic church had been built several years earlier

114 The architectural history of this church has been thoroughly documented by N. Pagé in *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa*, (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1988).

115 Although detailed architectural discussion is limited, M. O'Gallagher's *Saint Patrick's, Quebec: the building of a church and of a parish, 1827-1833*, (Quebec: Carraig Books, 1981), offers a useful discussion of the planning, and organization of this church building project.

to accommodate Quebec City's rapidly augmenting Irish community. The church was designed by Thomas Baillargé who had found some of his inspiration in the Anglican Cathedral of Quebec City, which was in its turn an adaptation of James Gibbs' St. Martin in the Fields, London, England (1721-1726).¹¹⁶ After several slight modifications including the addition of two square towers on the facade and an architecturally distinct sanctuary, construction began on the Ottawa church during the Spring of 1841. It was originally intended to be 70 feet wide, 90 feet long, and 40 feet high, but was lengthened in 1843 to attain an overall length of 128 feet.¹¹⁷ The following year, in 1844, care of the Roman Catholic community in Bytown passes into the hands of French Oblates with the arrival of Father Adrien Telmon.

Shepherding the spiritual and social welfare of the Roman Catholic community in Bytown and its surrounding communities during the middle years of the 1840s was at the very least a full time job. Nevertheless and despite all his other duties and obligations, Telmon was sufficiently concerned with the stylistic affiliations of the church edifice that in 1845 he undertook to alter radically the appearance of the new church. Beginning with the facade, the original plans of the church were to be gradually transformed from neoclassic to Gothic. The transformation occurred in several phases and involved major alterations. The completed lower level was left *in situ* however certain portions of the lateral walls already built were to be ripped back so as to allow for the installation of elongated windows with pointed heads. Despite the additional cost, no major objections were recorded and an entry in the parish records for 1845 notes:

116 Noppen, *Les églises du Québec*, pp. 158-169 and pp. 184-187.

117 Pagé, *La Cathédrale*, p. 28, and n. 9, p. 137.

C'est sous l'impression de l'enthousiasme général que les missionnaires oblats prirent la résolution, avec l'approbation du public, de terminer l'église dans le style ogival autant qu'il serait possible de suivre ce style. Les fenêtres furent donc changées au style pointu comme l'appellent les gens, et toute la charpente fut taillée en conséquence pour le style pointu. Il restera plus tard à faire disparaître les ornements toscans des portiques du front, et à mettre trois portiques.¹¹⁸

Conspicuously absent from this discussion is any Ecclesiological justification for the Gothic transformation. It is rather difficult to determine exactly why this change was made other than that Father Telmon appears to have been rather fond of the style. Many years later Father Dandurand, who was responsible for the redesigning of the lateral windows, divulged: "j'étais absolument pour le gothique, dont mon oncle Forbes, l'architecte, m'avait appris à apprécier la beauté."¹¹⁹

118 Quoted in Pagé, *La Cathédrale*, p. 34.

119 *Mémoires*, P. Dandurand, in N. Pagé, *La Cathédrale*, p. 35.

ANGLICAN ECCLESIOLOGY

French Jesuits, Oblates and Sulpicians, were by no means the only clergy to be preoccupied with a new interest for Gothic church-building. During the mid 1840s, a number of individuals who were to play an influential role in the introduction of Gothic for Anglican church-building arrived in British North America. Of particular note were two Anglican Bishops, Edward Feild and John Medley as well as the architects that each Bishop brought with him. In 1845, Bishop Edward Feild took charge of the Diocese of Newfoundland, and in that same year John Medley became first Bishop of Fredericton. Both had been actively involved in the study and advocacy of revived Medieval Gothic in the British Isles. Upon inspecting the state of church architecture in their new dioceses, both bishops were extremely displeased with what they discovered. Indeed, on the occasion of a speech delivered to the Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological and Cambridge Camden Society, in May of 1848, Bishop Medley reported:

Throughout the whole of North America no correct type of a church was formerly seen. The ordinary type seems to have been borrowed from the buildings erected by the Puritans, and from the different religious bodies who sprang up from time to time, the church having no form of its own, nor apparently any reference to the ancient churches of the mother country. The common plan of a small village church was that of a parallelogram, 40 ft. by 28, sometimes with, often without a small chancel, occasionally apsidal. The roof was very flat and sealed inside, with no timbers appearing. The spire was the favourite termination of the tower, which was poor and thin. There was no central passage to the altar. The pulpit often occupied its place, and always concealed it from view. There was scarcely ever a font. The windows were either entirely square or round-headed, or pointed, with square sash-lights, in portions

about 4ft. by 9. These sash-lights were often covered with green Venetian blinds to keep out light and heat. The stoves, of which almost always two and often four, are found in a church, sent their long arms throughout the entire building, meeting in the centre and going through the roof. The pews were commonly square and all sold by auction to the highest bidder. The sacramental plate was of inferior material and most unsightly form.¹²⁰

Bishop Medley nevertheless took a positive approach to this unfavorable situation and informed his audience that “Happily the greater part of these edifices were built of wood, and must ere long decay.”¹²¹

The poor style and state of pre-existing church buildings was not the only problem to confront the new Bishops. Medley and Feild were also faced with the prospect of building a Cathedral in their new dioceses. Both bishops were determined that if this task was to be properly fulfilled the new Cathedrals must be built according to the dictates of ecclesiastically correct Gothic. Furthermore, as there was not an abundant reserve of local architects schooled in the finer points of medieval Gothic, both bishops turned to the British Isles for architectural assistance.

To ensure stylistic integrity, Bishop Feild commissioned a well regarded architect, George Gilbert Scott, to design the new Cathedral of St. John’s. At the time of his commission, Scott enjoyed the reputation not only of a fine designer but was considered to be one of the leading architects of the revived Gothic style.¹²² To further

120 “Colonial Church Architecture,” Communicated by the Lord Bishop of Fredericton; being the substance of his speech delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society, on Tuesday, 9 May 1848. *Ecclesiologist*, 1848, p. 361.

121 “Colonial Church Architecture,” *Ecclesiologist*, 1848, p. 361.

122 K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An essay in the History of Taste*, (Towbridge, Wiltshire: John Murray, 3rd ed. 1983), p. 175.

guarantee that the plans for the new Gothic Cathedral of St. John's were properly executed Bishop Feild retained the services of William Hay as the on site architect. Hay had received much of his early architectural training under the tutorship of Scott and was a logical choice for this task. Following the completion of the Cathedral in Newfoundland, Hay remained in North America and worked out of Toronto for some time. Later he again collaborated with Bishop Feild in the Gothic construction of Most Holy Trinity, the pro-cathedral in Hamilton, Bermuda.¹²³

Like his counterpart in Newfoundland, the new Bishop of Fredericton, John Medley, was not without opinion on the matter of church-building. Prior to his appointment to the newly formed See of New Brunswick, Medley had been closely associated with the intellectual concerns and the architectural activities of both Oxford and Cambridge. He had worked with both John Keble¹²⁴ and William Butterfield, the preferred architect of the Cambridge Camden Society.¹²⁵ Medley was more than an interested spectator or even casual participant in the revival of archaeologically correct Gothic churches. He was well versed in the historic tradition of English Ecclesiastical art and architecture, and at the time of his appointment to the See of New Brunswick, was recognized by many of his contemporaries as a leading expert in the field of revived

123 Bermuda Archives Photo HC 1/87; HC 1/97; HC 1/968 and Bermuda Archives folio 6 Photo HC. Misc. My thanks to Karla M. Hayward, Assistant Archivist, Bermuda Government Archives for making this information available to me.

124 J. Medley had contributed to Keble's publication of the *Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom*, as well as to Keble's *Lives of the Fathers*. For further discussion see Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, p. 129.

125 William Butterfield was the primary contributor to one of the Ecclesiologists' major publications: *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* (London: J. Van Voorst, 1847). The publication was essentially a copy-book that provided examples of architectural plans and elevations and minute architectural details such as roof crests and iron hinges. There had been a plan at one point to present each colonial bishop with a copy of this book, although it is not clear for how long or to what extent this project was acted upon.

medieval tradition.¹²⁶ It is hardly surprising then that a churchman and scholar of John Medley's caliber should choose a like-minded individual to design and supervise the construction of his new cathedral. Medley's architect of choice was William Butterfield and his under study Frank Wills. Wills came to New Brunswick with Medley to oversee the construction of the cathedral. While the cathedral was being built (1846-1853), Wills designed for Medley's personal use a small chapel that was consecrated in March of 1847 and dedicated to Saint Anne. Later, Wills was to claim that this chapel was "the first ecclesiastical building erected in the British Provinces on which ancient architecture has been attempted to be honestly carried out."¹²⁷

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, most Anglican ministers and their church-building committees appear to have proceeded in their undertakings, secure in the knowledge that their church would be built as churches always had been built. Gradually however, many traditional church-building habits were being openly criticized, usually by newcomers from the British Isles. By the middle years of the nineteenth century, a number of potential church-builders were beginning to admit that they were no longer as self-assured as they may once have been. Furthermore, and despite all warnings from their bishops that the days of State assistance were numbered, the demand for new churches continued to rise. Increasingly less sure of how Anglican churches should be built, Anglicans were writing to Church authorities in unprecedented numbers to request architectural guidance. By the late 1840s, the architectural inquiries had become so

126 This opinion is shared by a number of twentieth century scholars including P. Stanton who referred to Bishop Medley as "...one of the most knowledgeable of the English clergymen preoccupied with the history of Gothic architecture and its revival in the nineteenth century." Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, p. 127-128.

127 F. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day* (New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850), pp. 109 - 111. Quoted in Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, p. 130.

numerous that Anglican authorities decided the question needed to be addressed publicly. Consequently, during the early 1850s, church officials circulated through the Anglican press of Upper and Lower Canada, several important communications on the subject of church-building.

The first article appeared during the spring of 1850. It had been prepared in Toronto by the Building Committee of the Church Society, and was published in vol. XIII, no. 37 and 38, of *The Church*. The second article appeared a year later in the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, and was authored by Bishop George Jehoshaphat Mountain. Mountain, until his recent promotion to the Episcopal See in Quebec City, had been Bishop of Montreal, a diocese whose western border was determined by the Ottawa River. Both publications were to have far reaching effects on the church building traditions in Ontario and Quebec.

In the first set of recommendations to be issued by the Diocese of Toronto, the Building Committee of the Church Society addressed questions of site, structure and style. The Committee suggested that while churches should be situated so as to be easily accessible to the majority of the population, they should not be too near major roads. Churches were not to be built near factories or in close proximity of any other thing that might disturb church services. Worship was to be conducted in an atmosphere of reverence and tranquillity. Furthermore, the tranquillity that was an essential requisite of Sunday worship was to remain undisturbed even on weekdays:

The site of the church should be central, but with regard to population rather than to space. It should be accessible by carriage ways, but not so near to principle thoroughfares, foundries, &c., either in towns or villages

as to be likely, either immediately or at a distant period to subject the service of the Church, even on week days to be disturbed by noise.¹²⁸

It was also recommended that when ever possible sufficient land was to be acquired around the church site so as to permit the eventual construction of a parsonage and a school. The Committee did not offer any suggestions as to precisely how the presence of a school might contribute to the serenity of the site. The church building itself was to be "grave and substantial" and "...as solid as the nature of the material will readily admit,"¹²⁹ and in keeping with "ancient custom", the chancel was to stand at the eastern most end of the building.¹³⁰

The Committee also suggested that internal decoration ought to be favored over external decoration. This did not mean that the exterior of the church was to be devoid of Anglican characteristics:

"Care should be taken in all churches that their appearance shall indicate the purpose for which they were intended, and if possible distinguish from places of worship of other bodies of professed Christians."¹³¹

So that there might be no question as to how church-builders might elevate a decidedly Anglican structure, the Building Committee offered, (with little room for negotiation) several additional recommendations. The reader was informed that all churches were to be built in the Gothic style. Gothic was considered to be the most appropriate style for

128 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 145.

129 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 145.

130 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 145.

131 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 145.

ecclesiastical edifices, although the Committee neglected to explain precisely why this might be. The Committee was adamant that the Gothic used must not be a superficial application, as had frequently appeared in earlier buildings. Instead the Anglican use of Gothic was to be stylistically correct and executed by persons who were well versed on the subject. Ideally, they explained, the “perfect church” would have a tower or a bell cot, a porch, a baptismal font carved in stone, a nave, a chancel and separate vestry. Larger churches might even have transepts. The overall length of a church was to be three times its width. Vestries, for those seeking architectural perfection, were to be placed on the northern side of the church. However, acknowledging that given the prevailing winds and the severity of Canadian winters, vestries could be placed along the southern wall. Claiming similar climatic concerns, the Committee told church-builders not to place the main entrance in the Western façade, but rather on the leeward side of the church.¹³²

Foundations of a church were to be solidly built, preferably of stone or concrete and well drained. Additional drainage in the form of open paved drains was also recommended for brick or stone churches, as were basements. Both kept the church drier, thus enhancing its structural integrity. The walls of brick churches were to be at least fourteen inches thick, while the walls of stone churches were to measure a minimum of eighteen inches. Buttresses could be used to strengthen a wall but were not to be used simply for decorative purposes. Inside, the church was to be well ventilated and the floors paved with stones or tiles, especially under fonts and stoves. Chimneys from the stoves could be brought up above the roof line in buttresses, but were under no circumstances to be disguised as pinnacles or decorated with crosses.¹³³

132 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 145.

133 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 146.

The roof of the church was to have a pitch sufficiently steep so as to allow the rapid evacuation of rain and snow. Battlements were to be avoided, as they tended to retain rain and snow. The roof of a church was, at the very least, to be equal in height to 75% of the external width of the building. The committee did point out however that “the most esteemed English architects” were building churches with roofs that were equilateral triangles, based on the external width of the building.¹³⁴

On 18 April 1850, in the following edition of *The Church*, the Building Committee of the Church Society of Toronto published the second installment of its recommendations. Having previously noted that in Anglican churches, reverential attention was to be fastidiously accorded to the area where Holy Communion was celebrated,¹³⁵ the Committee now outlined how privilege was to be supplied to any area set aside for the practice of divine service. These internal arrangements were presented as mandatory for a practice of Anglican worship. Sanctuaries, for example were to be equipped with an altar table that should not be less than four feet by two and a half and should stand at least three feet and three inches high. The Committee also provided specifications for the proper arrangements for chancel doors, choirs, pulpits and reading desks. A number of practical recommendations concerning the maintenance of fonts, the construction of vestries, porches and towers, the ringing of bells, the management of drafts and the upkeep of church yards were also included.¹³⁶ Interestingly there is never even the faintest reference to Oxford Tractarianism or the architectural studies of the

134 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 146.

135 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 146.

136 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 38, 18 April 1850, p. 150.

Camdanians. Despite this, the influence of English Ecclesiology is blatant in all the recommendations made by the Building Committee.¹³⁷

In January of 1851, the newly appointed Anglican Bishop of Quebec, G.J. Mountain announced that he had recently received so many requests for guidance on the question of church building that he was:

...prompted to put in print, once for all (without thinking it necessary to guard against any imputation of giving importance to the material to the prejudice of the spiritual edifice), a statement of some few standing rules and general principles upon this subject...¹³⁸

The Bishop published his advice in two consecutive issues of *The Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*.¹³⁹ In his opening remarks Mountain referred his readers to the above mentioned article published a year earlier in *The Church*.¹⁴⁰ He pointed out that not only were the recommendations most beneficial, but that a committee similar to the one that had prepared the article was presently at work in the Diocese of Quebec. Bishop Mountain reiterated much of what had originally appeared in *The Church* and in fact organized the presentation of his advice much along the same general lines. Despite these similarities, it is nevertheless very clear that he was not simply repeating what had been said in the earlier publication. Mountain was evidently well read on contemporary church-building trends and had formed opinions of his own.

137 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 38, 18 April 1850, p. 150 and the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, February 1851, p. 69

138 "Circular to the Clergy...", *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 8 January 1851, p. 64.

139 *The Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette* served as the diocesan journal for the Diocese of Quebec, Montreal and Toronto, thus including the Ottawa Valley.

140 *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850 and *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 38, 18 April 1850.

The Bishop assured readers of the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette* that the Church Building Committee of his own diocese was currently preparing a set of plans in consultation with “an accomplished English architect.” The person in question was Frank Wills, the same architect who had come to Fredericton with Bishop Medley. Wills had in the interim been designing proper Gothic churches in the Eastern United States. Although Bishop Mountain did not enjoy Bishop Medley’s reputation as an authority on ecclesiastical art, his choice of Frank Wills as architectural advisor for his diocese could hardly have been uninformed. Instead, the engagement of Wills as the consulting architect is in itself indicative of the rapidity with which an interest for Medieval Gothic churches was spreading throughout the Anglican population of central Canada.

In addition to Mountain’s choice of architect, his discussion of style, structure and resource material was strongly suggestive of someone who was well aware of, and in agreement with much of what the Camdanians had been advocating. Bishop Mountain initiated his discussion by clearly stating that regardless of how modest a church building might be, it was absolutely essential that both the interior and the exterior instantly identify it as a “House of God.” Potential church-builders were then promptly advised that marking an edifice as a “House of God” would be best achieved through the use of Gothic. Gothic, Mountain explained was “incomparably the preferable style for Church-architecture.”¹⁴¹ However, Bishop Mountain was very clear as to what type of Gothic was to be used. By Gothic he did not mean the use of “false and fantastic ornament” or other “peculiar features of what is commonly called Gothic” and church-builders would be well advised to know a little bit about what they were doing. He specifically stated that the interpretation of Gothic to which he referred was “so unlike what men have been

141 *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 8 January 1851, p.64.

accustomed to see in Canada, that it requires time even to reconcile their minds to that which, with longer experience, they find to be essential to correct taste and to architectural propriety."¹⁴² Bishop Mountain insisted that stylistic fidelity to the ancient traditions of Gothic church building was absolutely essential. He also stated quite emphatically that if the earlier use of superficial or sham Gothic was not abandoned, it would not be long before Church building in the Central Canada would become an object of contempt and scorn.¹⁴³

As there were examples of medieval style Gothic churches on the western side of the Atlantic, and fewer still in Central Canada, Mountain suggested that local architects might seek inspiration or further knowledge on the subject by reading an architectural guide by Matthew Bloxam. Bloxam had written the small but very influential book several years earlier for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.¹⁴⁴ Like Feild and Medley, Bloxam himself was not entirely without a stylistic agenda. He had been a prolific writer on the subject of church architecture and was an honorary member of the Cambridge Camden Society. He shared his interest in religious art and architecture with his brother John Rouse Bloxam who was a personal friend of both John Henry Newman and A. W. Pugin.¹⁴⁵

142 *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 8 January 1851, p.64.

143 *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 8 January 1851, p.64.

144 Bloxam's book enjoyed numerous re-editions. The edition used in this study is M. Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture with an Explanation of the Technical Terms and a centenary of Ancient terms* (London: David Bogue, 8th ed., 1846).

145 The bishop also recommended Brandon's works on Parish churches, and suggested that those less familiar with architectural terminology might wish to acquire the three volumes of *Glossary of terms used in Architecture*. These publications were considered to be well illustrated, although the Bishop felt that most examples were too costly for the majority of new Canadian Parishes. Before all else, a church should be "*finished and out of debt*, when it is opened for use, and so be ready for Consecration - although it should be necessary in order to gain these objects to make some sacrifice of architectural effect." *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9 January 1851, p. 64.

After clearly establishing that Anglican churches were to be built in Gothic, Bishop Mountain instructed builders to orient their churches so that the sanctuary marked the eastern most end of the structure. In terms of building materials, he gave preference to durable building materials such as stone and brick, pointing out that "One of our Bishops in Australia has made it a rule to decline to consecrate wooden Churches, regarding them as mere temporary structures."¹⁴⁶ The authors of the recommendations published in *The Church* had also favored the use of stone but they were inclined to be a bit more flexible concerning the use of wood, especially in its advice to new communities.¹⁴⁷ Mountain did not mention anything about the surrounding neighborhood.

The size and proportion of a church were to be carefully balanced. The overall dimensions recommended by Bishop Mountain were that the length of a church be three times its width.¹⁴⁸ Mountain also discussed the various merits of towers, steeples, and bell cots. While agreeing that there should be some form of external elevation, the size and structure was to be dependent on the overall composition of the church. The roofs of churches were to be steeply pitched and rafters could be opened to the inside if they were presentable. Mountain specifically stressed that flat ceilings were to be avoided as were

146 The Bishop does mention that on this point, "There is, however authority against me," and refers to an article recently published in England, "Essay on Wooden Churches," by Rev. E. Scott in the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*. *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9 January 1851, p. 65.

147 "In new settlements it is often better to build in wood, unless stone is actually as cheap; because it frequently happens that the church first erected is not in the best position for the population, which afterwards grows up and sometimes has to be abandoned; or that the population increases so rapidly, as to require in a few years an all together new structure. It is not desirable to bestow much expenses upon wooden churches, in as much as they are in their nature temporary erections, but they should be substantial and good of their kind." *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 146.

148 The Building Committee of *The Church* allowed a ration of one to three and a half, if the measure included the tower. *The Church*, vol. XIII, no. 37, 11 April 1850, p. 146.

“battlements and all ornate appendages in architecture.”¹⁴⁹ Mountain also recommended that southern porches were to be used in favour of axial entries in the western facade. He claimed that this arrangement was better adapted to local climatic conditions. Throughout the church, lancet windows were preferred. These were described for the benefit of the reader as “a long and very narrow window with a pointed arch at the top,”¹⁵⁰ suggesting perhaps that these were as yet so scarce that the Bishop had reason to believe a number of church builders would still be unfamiliar with them. In the sanctuary at the eastern end of the church, lancet windows could be closely grouped together in a set of three. If this arrangement was used, all windows were to have the same base line, however the head of the central light could be taller.

In the second installment of his article, Bishop Mountain presented a detailed discussion in which the rules concerning church furnishing and the necessary levels of lighting were set forth. Church builders were instructed on the importance and relative positioning of communion tables, pulpits, reading desks, communion rails, altar linens, kneelers and choir seats.¹⁵¹ Each item was clearly described and defined.

Little more than one year had passed between publication of the recommendations prepared by the Building Committee of *The Church* and Bishop Mountain’s circular in the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*. As a result, by the spring of 1851, the Anglican population of central Canada had been exposed to a significant quantity of very precise

149 *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9 January 1851, p. 64.

150 *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9 January 1851, p. 65.

151 The seating arrangement suggested for the choir was very similar to the one worked out in England by Rev. Hook and Rev. J. Jebb. The discussion was published by Rev. J. Jebb, *The choral service of the United Church of England and Ireland; being an inquiry into the liturgical system of the cathedral and collegiate foundations of the Anglican communion*, (London: J. W. Parker, 1843). This solution was endorsed by the Ecclesiologists.

and highly detailed church-building advice. Anglican church-builders in the Ottawa Valley were clearly aware of these recommendations, however structural changes were introduced with restraint. What did occur with marked prevalence early in the second half of the nineteenth century was the withdrawal of many Anglican communities from shared church accommodations, although this was not universal. When a correspondent from the *Canadian Churchman* discovered the Anglicans of Bell's Corners were still frequenting a Union Chapel in 1861, he filed a searing report:

...and here a strange novelty was presented to the Deputation, in the shape of a 'Union Church.' We believe that it is only in this continent that such anomalous structures have existence. A *union church* for such readers as may never have had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with these excrescences on modern Christianity, is a building subscribed for and raised by different denominations as well as members of the Catholic Church.¹⁵² Each party being too poor, or as is for more generally the case, too stingy and too niggardly to contribute sufficient funds for a place of meeting for themselves, *compromise principle*, club their own few dollars with the few dollars of their neighbors, whose doctrines they believe are leading them to any place but Heaven and form a kind of Joint Stock alliance in the name of religion."¹⁵³

While the use of Union Chapels in the Ottawa Valley continued well into the second half of the nineteenth century, Anglican participation declined dramatically. Furthermore many Anglicans were beginning to view the church-building habits of the previous decade with rapidly decreasing favour.

152 By 'Catholic Church' the correspondent means the Church of England not the Church of Rome.
153 *Canadian Churchman*, 6 April 1864.

As Anglicans were discussing the moral merits of various architectural styles and distinctly Anglican features, other Anglo-Protestants had been watching with a mixture of cautious interest and alarm. This was particularly true of the various Methodist Confessions. Although Methodists had rejected the emotionless rationalism of the eighteenth century Anglican Church, they were not prepared to throw themselves wholeheartedly behind the restoration of pre-reformation ritualism. Readers of the *Christian Guardian* were cautioned not to be swept along in the current of Anglican architectural reform:

The Church of England has long been known to tolerate within her pale the widest diversity of opinion; and to include among her clergy men of every shade, from the half-popish Puseyite down to the half-political half-infidel man of the Broad Church.¹⁵⁴

Nevertheless by the middle years of the nineteenth century, the matter of better-looking churches had become an object of much questioning and in certain instances, moral dilemma. More conservative elements in some Methodist communities, were persistently reluctant to assign God to a place built by human hands. Others worried that without church buildings, Methodism could not survive.¹⁵⁵ Still others feared that although churches should be built, they should be neither too elegant nor stylish for this would in some way be sinful.

Presbyterians wasted little time in noticing the changes that were beginning to appear in Anglican church-building. They immediately identified the changes occurring

154 *Christian Guardian*, 24 April 1861, p. 66.

155 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

within the Anglican church as far from superficial. It was quickly understood that it was no coincidence that significant modifications to the visual dimension of Anglican worship were occurring at the same time as dramatic changes to liturgical and doctrinal emphasis. As early as 1840, the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* announced:

Most of our readers are aware that a party in the Church of England, whose Head Quarters are at Oxford, are laboring to introduce popery into the Church, as well as into the country at large under a mask of concern for religion...¹⁵⁶

In order to clarify precisely how they believed this papal infiltration was occurring, the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* reprinted an article from the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* under the heading "The Church of England a Half-Reformed Church." The article attributed the current changes occurring within the Anglican church as an unfortunate result of incomplete reform:

Nor have we any great cause to wonder at the Popery of the Church of England, in her liturgy, rubrics, canons, vestments, rites, and in what may be termed her *traditional*, as distinguished from her *symbolical*, theology...¹⁵⁷

Presbyterian church-builders saw little need or purpose in even discussing the possibility of venturing beyond the basic dictates of Calvinistic austerity. A position to which their buildings from this era are stark testimony.

¹⁵⁶ *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1840, vol. iv, no. III, p. 91.
¹⁵⁷ "The Church of England a Half-Reformed Church", *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, as quoted in *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1840, vol. iv, no. III, p. 91.

Readers of Baptist publications were frequently warned against the dangers of ritualism, and their church-builders demonstrated little inclination to undertake any sort of serious architectural innovation. It was not until the 1868 that an Ontario Baptist Church Edifice Society was formed and then only as an appendage to a quarterly meeting of the Executive Board of the Baptist Missionary Convention of Ontario. Their stated objective was "to aid Regular Baptist Churches to build or purchase Meeting Houses by loan or grant from its funds."¹⁵⁸ There was no mention of any fixed plans or building criteria.

The Baptist clergy was however, with increasing regularity, discussing church architecture in intensely symbolic terms. Typically, this symbolization of church architecture was used as a means to instruct the Baptist faithful on matters of theological concern, and usually appeared in the form of short articles or stories in the Baptist press. Thus articles with titles such as "Wise Master Builders,"¹⁵⁹ and "The Door by Which We Enter the Church,"¹⁶⁰ did not really address the requirements of physical church building at all. "The Building, The Builder and His Works,"¹⁶¹ an article that appeared in the *Canadian Baptist* during the fall of 1867, was in fact an exegesis of First Corinthians III, verses 10-15. A brief article quoted here below, is in many ways representative of the Baptist employment of architectural symbolism:

- The Chapel is in the Heart -

In your retirement make frequent colloquia, or short discoursing with God
and thy own soul. Every return of the heart in these inter courses, is a

158 "Ontario Baptist Church & Edifice Society," *Canadian Baptist*, 8 February 1868, p.3.

159 *Canadian Baptist*, 9 February 1871, p. 2.

160 *Canadian Baptist*, 24 February 1870, p. 4.

161 The article was a copy of a text read by at the Elgin C. Ministerial Conference by the Rev. J. Cooper, London. *Canadian Baptist*, 5 September 1867, p. 2.

going to Him, an appearing in his presence and in representing Him present to thy spirit and thy necessity. This was long since called by a spiritual person "a building to God a chapel in our heart". It reconciles Martha's employment with Mary's devotion. For thus in the midst of the works of your trade you may retire into your chapel - the heart - and converse with God by frequent addresses and returns.¹⁶²

By the middle years of the nineteenth century, the re-thinking of church architecture and building priorities was not uncommon among the leaders of various Christian denominations. Depending on the denomination, circumstances or individuals involved the discourse could tend to be theoretical, theological, purely symbolic or could address the material and practical concerns of church building. In many places, a great quantity of this rhetoric was made available to the lay population, frequently by means of denominational publications. Central Canada was, as we have seen, no exception. Given the prevalence of this discussion, it would not seem unrealistic to anticipate an increased evidence of these concepts manifest in a physical or secular context. It is to the investigation of this possibility that we must now turn our attention.

162 Jeremy Taylor "The Chapel is in the Heart", *Canadian Baptist*, 28 November 1867, p. 6.

CHAPTER IV

GOthic ARCHAEOLOGY AND ECCLESIOLOGY: THE INTRODUCTION OF REVIVED MEDIEVAL TRADITION INTO THE OTTAWA VALLEY: 1850S-1870S

SACRED STRUCTURES AND SECULAR INTEREST

Inhabitants of Central Canada who avoided religious circles and declined to browse through the pages of sectarian journals were none the less not immune to the discussion of religious architecture, and the Christian merits of Gothic. In 1853, a Canadian literary magazine, the *Anglo-American*, carried an article in which William Hay expounded at length on the great contributions made by Pugin to the "revival of Christian architecture."¹ Hay himself was not a Roman Catholic but a Scottish Episcopalian, and by the "revival of Christian architecture" he meant the revival of an archaeologically

¹ W. Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," *Anglo-American Magazine*, Toronto, 1853, pp. 70-73.

correct Gothic. Hay was, as previously noted, in a position to offer an informed opinion on this subject, if perhaps not a completely unbiased one.

In true Puginesque style, Hay made no particular effort to be diplomatic. Having informed the Canadian public that Gothic was the only style reflective of Christian thought and that as such it was perfectly adapted to the execution of Christian church buildings, he proceeded to denounce the use of every other style he had ever seen:

For more than two hundred years had English Christianity been made to assume the architectural garb of every known system of Pagan mythology - the heathen temple, the Moorish mosque, the Chinese pagoda, or an olla podrida [sic] of all, whichever happened to strike the fancy of the architect.²

The effects of what Hay saw as two centuries of architectural negligence and abuse had been, in his mind, disastrous. Hay told his readers that the age-old symbols once used to render visible the elements of Christian faith were no longer apparent on the very buildings in which the Christian faith was practiced.³ Instead, adorned with "the outward marks of heathenism," Christian churches had become a "confused collection of pinnacle and minaret, pier and canopy - suggestive of an assemblage of foreign delegates at a peace convention."⁴ However, while the architect also decried the abandonment of

2 Hay, "The Late....," pp. 70-71.

3 This hostility towards the use of neo-classic elements in the construction of churches was common among many Gothic enthusiasts of the day. A. Poole, for one, forcefully denounces the use of the Pagan style in his architectural writings stating that: "A Gothic church, in its perfection, is an exposition of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, clothed upon with a material form; and is, as Coleridge has more forcibly expressed it, "the petrification of our religion." George Poole, *Churches: their structure, arrangement and decoration* (London: J. Burns, 1846), pp. 24 -25.

4 Hay, "The Late....," p. 71.

Gothic in the construction of Christian churches, he made it very clear that he did not advocate the reinstatement of Gothic through an unstudied use of gratuitous or superficial Gothic form. He was specifically intolerant of the “fantastic specimens” and “arborial petrifications” of Batty Langley, claiming that the architectural writings of Langley had only served to pervert good taste. When he compared the writings of Pugin to those of Langley, the shortcomings of the latter were painfully evident, at least in the mind of William Hay.⁵

Notwithstanding Pugin's many merits and despite his great admiration for Pugin's work, William Hay nevertheless felt that the Canadian public should be alerted to the fact that occasionally there was “a strange un-English aspect” to some of Pugin's designs.⁶ Despite this inconvenience, Hay stressed that all of Pugin's work was grounded in truth. Readers were informed that this (truth) was an important lesson, for it was on the foundation of one single principle, that of truth, that all good architecture was built. For the benefit of those Canadians who may not have been as intimately familiar with the writings of Pugin, Hay explained how truthfulness was achieved in the work of Pugin.

He set forth the consistent canons of ancient design, and furnished the means of testing architectural excellence apart from mere fancy. He demonstrated that “the laws of Architectural composition are based on equally sound principles as those of Harmony or Grammar, and, that they can be violated with greater impunity is simply owing to their being less understood.”⁷

5 Hay, “The Late...,” p. 71.

6 This was attributed to Pugin's “earlier association with the pointed architecture of Normandy.”

Hay, “The Late...,” p. 73.

7 Hay, “The Late...,” p. 72.

Hay then reviewed for his readers the architectural principles Pugin considered essential for architectural excellence.

1. That all the ornaments of pure pointed edifices were merely introduced as decorations to the essential construction of those buildings.
2. That the construction of pointed architecture was varied to accord with *the properties of the various materials employed*.
3. That no features were introduced in the ancient pointed edifices which were not *essential either to convenience or propriety*.
4. That pointed architecture is most consistent as it decorates the useful portions of buildings instead of concealing or disguising them.
5. That true principles of architectural proportion are only found in pointed edifices.
6. That the defects of modern architecture are principally owing to *the departure from ancient consistent principles*.⁸

The enthusiasm of Hay for Pugin's work is blatant. Hay even offers an excuse for the architect's conversion to Roman Catholicism by noting that it happened at a time when the Catholic Church was devoting considerable effort to the construction of churches.⁹ Hay implies that Pugin's actions were probably motivated more out of a zeal for good Christian architecture than ideological solidarity with the teachings of the Church of Rome. However, as William Westfall has justly pointed out, in his eagerness to promote Gothic as an architectural style uniquely suited to the embodiment of the Christian faith, Hay "confused architecture and ethics," thus transgressing "one of the

8 Hay, "The Late...", p. 72.

9 Hay, "The Late...", p. 73.

great commandments of twentieth-century architectural criticism.”¹⁰ Similar transgressions were not uncommon in the nineteenth century.

Despite his preoccupation with Gothic perfection, Hay did not offer his public any great quantity of precise architectural instruction. What he did do however was to openly imply that the choice of any style other than Gothic would not reflect well on the commitment of the church builders to Christian culture. In 1854, a second article concerning church architecture appeared in the *Anglo-American Magazine*.¹¹ The author began with an overview of architectural theory, in which he contrasted the “majestic grandeur of the vast cathedral,” with the equally valid but architecturally different “simple dignity of a village church.” The reader was assured that both categories of ecclesiastical architecture, when properly executed, were deserving of admiration. This admiration however was earned for markedly different reasons. A cathedral was to incarnate the “sublime canonization of art,” while one rejoiced in a village church that appeared as if it came about as a “spontaneous creation of nature.” To assume that the difference between these two types of ecclesiastical architecture was simply a question of scale and proportion was to completely and utterly misunderstand the most elementary principles of architecture. The author felt that this unfortunate assumption was made all too frequently, and that Canadian church-builders were particularly guilty of perpetuating this error. So great was this problem that the writer considered nearly every church in Canada to be defiled by architectural inadequacies of some sort. While enumerating the shortcomings

10 W. Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 135.

11 The article, though not signed, is attributed to William Hay. “Ecclesiastical Architecture” in *Anglo-American Magazine*, Vol. IV, Toronto, 1854, pp. 20-22. Attributed to William Hay, by F. Armstrong, in “Hay, W.,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, pp. 391-393.

of Canadian church-builders, the author provides an interesting catalogue of the contemporary architectural temperament in Nineteenth Century Central Canada:

... in the whole range of Canadian Ecclesiology, we shall scarce find a professedly Gothic church true to the type of its class in those respects. When we do happen to meet [one] with fair proportions and good outline form, a respectably pitched roof, we are almost certain to find the details exaggerated, perhaps borrowed from another edifice ten times its size. The building which, in other respects, would be tolerable, is simply marred by incongruity of proportions. Such is the case also with every feature of the building which is unfitted by form or dimensions for its proper destination. We frequently see, for example an erection perched on one end of the roof of a church, too large to be meant for a bell-cot, and too small for a steeple; but an evident apology for the latter. The roof not being a proper or secure support for a tower suffers in effect from the imposition.¹²

After describing a church in Brampton which the author considered to be more or less acceptable, he continued to enumerate the imperfections of Canadian churches. The litany of faults revealed more than a concern for architectural excellence:

Nothing tends to deform our Canadian churches generally more than the great height of the walls contrasted with the squatness of the roof.... A steep roof is the beauty of a Gothic church. In the early English styles, the outline of the roof usually formed the two sides of an equilateral triangle. With a roof of this pitch, or even somewhat less, the walls need not be higher for rural churches than from nine to twelve feet, as the whole space within the roof may be gained by making the external boarding of the roof, also the ceiling of the church.

12 "Ecclesiastical Architecture" pp. 20-22.

While advocating the extension of the wooden element, we are not to be supposed as approving its application to illegitimate uses such as the mullions and tracery of the windows of a stone or brick church. The mullions and tracery of pure ecclesiastical edifices are essentially a portion of the wall, and had their origin in thinning and perforating that part for the purpose of admitting light. When circumstances will not admit [the] using of stone, it is better to be content with single perforations for the windows after the manner of the early English. Nothing is more offensive to good taste than a want of truthfulness in ecclesiastical design.¹³

Despite the secular context the author betrays himself as someone who is not innocently pursuing architectural perfection. While the tone of the article might be less abrasive than the previous article, the underlying theme is no less dogmatic. This author is clearly advocating a renewed use of medieval Gothic as interpreted by English Revivalists. However, while the call for architectural 'truthfulness' reflects the architectural theories of both Pugin and Anglican revivalists, the author's discussion of suitable church typology is clearly Camdanian. This is especially evident in the discussion of the vertical distribution of country churches and the superiority of Early English, or Early Pointed Gothic. Of equal importance in considering this public discussion of sacred architecture, is the fact that the magazine in which both articles appeared was not linked to any Christian denomination but was a secular publication.

In January of 1860, the *Montreal Gazette* ran an article entitled "Church Improvements" to which was prefixed the suggestion that as the current era was one "which may be justly termed 'the age of church building' in the mother countries,"¹⁴

13 "Ecclesiastical Architecture" pp. 20-22.

14 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

readers might also be interested in a brief update on church buildings in Canada. Assuming that this was the case, the author proceeded to describe in considerable detail, the perfections of a small Anglican church known as Holy Trinity (see Fig. IV - 7). The church had recently been the object of extensive renovation. The building was now reminiscent of a thirteenth century English country church. The author explained that it's Early English interpretation of Gothic was also known as 'Early Pointed' and was particularly well suited to the Canadian climate.¹⁵ The reason for this fortunate acclimatization appears to be linked to the facility with which the steeply sloping roofs shed snow.

A number of modifications were considered to have contributed greatly to the overall improvement of the church. Each alteration moved the church further away from the plain rectangular ground plan of earlier tradition. The church was originally accessed by way of an axial door in the base of a frontal tower. A new entry was opened along the lateral wall of the church and preceded by a small porch. Inside, but still very near the door, was a new stone baptismal font. It had been imported especially from England to complement the other changes. The tower was finally completed and embellished by the addition of an elongated spire. The external appearance of the church was considered to have been greatly improved by the addition of various masonry details. These included drip stones, plinth courses and buttresses.

The roof of Holy Trinity had been modified so as to acquire a much steeper pitch than had originally been used. The internal roof supports were replaced by Early English style rafters. The timbers of the roof trusses formed equilateral arches. They were

15 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

supported by wall corbels and were left open to the inside, thus altering considerably the presentation of the ceiling. Throughout the church, windows were transformed into elongated lancets. In a striking departure from what had been common previously, all the windows were filled with stained glass. This glass included not only scriptural passages and symbolic devices, but was devoted in a large part to figural imagery depicting the life and works of Christ.

More significantly, the entire structure was considered to have been very much improved through the opening of the eastern wall and the erection of a small but architecturally distinct chancel and a small vestry. The floor of the sanctuary was raised above the level of the nave and enclosed by a rail. The eastern window in the sanctuary was a tripartite composition with an elevated central arch flanked to either side by similar lancets of lesser height. The three divisions of the window were connected by slender shafts. The entire composition was unified by the hood of the dripstones. This arrangement, the reader was told, was similar to the one used at Salisbury Cathedral.¹⁶ The entire church had now achieved the desirable situation of being “most imposing in appearance.”¹⁷ The remodeled church was also presented with a new silver communion service and the correspondent from the *Montreal Gazette* suggested to readers that “such instances of Christian liberality are worthy of public notice because they are worthy of public imitation.”¹⁸

What is particularly important to the interests of this study, is that the small Anglican church which received such attention in the secular press of Montreal was not

16 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

17 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

18 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

built in Montreal or the Montreal region. Holy Trinity is located in Hawkesbury on the shores of the Ottawa River. Still preserved in the final decade of the twentieth century, it is concrete evidence that Anglican church-builders in the Ottawa Valley were well aware of the architectural discussions and had been seriously rethinking their church-building traditions.

Construction of the original limestone church was begun in 1844.¹⁹ In 1857, the church was judged in need of major renovations.²⁰ The church wardens retained the services of John Higginson, a local contractor, to “well and sufficiently erect and finish the following parts of Trinity Church at Hawkesbury, viz.: the chancel, porch and spire with new flooring including material and labor for nave of said church - agreeable to the several drawings, and specifications made by Messrs. Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson, Architects.”²⁰ In his statement of work for the summer of 1857, John Higginson reported that work had begun with the removal of the galleries and stairs. Galleries were considered deformities by most Ecclesiologists and were neither renovated or replaced.²¹ The entryway was now moved to the north side of the church and the spire completed.²²

19 Land was obtained by Thomas Higginson from the estate of the Honorable Peter McGill. The church was officially opened in August of 1846, by Rev. Francis Treymayne and the Rev. S. S. Strong of Bytown. The original Holy Trinity was a plain limestone church entered axially through the base of a frontal tower. The superstructure of the tower was never completed and as late as 1854 a dedicated group of parishioners were still trying to raise subscriptions for the construction of a spire. Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Stormont Deanery Collection 6S-H2-5, Property files.

20 Ottawa Archdiocesan Archives, (Anglican) Stormont Deanery Collection 6S-H2-5, Property files.

21 Additions to the church included a chancel rail, a chancel arch, four additional pews and a lightning rod. Higginson later billed the parish \$18 for the construction of a reading desk and \$32 for a new pulpit. Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Stormont Deanery Collection 6S-H2-5, Property files.

22 The spire was described as rising “from the center face of the tower, which is simply surmounted by a tooth molding without any intervening parapet. It is octagonal shaped with sides that face the cardinal points sloping down to the eaves...” according to the *Montreal Gazette*, “Many examples of this style of spire are to be found in north amptioshire [sic]; 13 January 1860, n.p..

Despite their small size, the new chancel and porch were reinforced with buttresses, as were the nave and tower which had stood without assistance for a good decade and did not appear to have exhibited any signs of structural insecurity.

STRUCTURES OF TRANSITION

While Holy Trinity in Hawkesbury may have been one of the first Ottawa Valley churches to have significant portions overtly worked in Medieval Gothic, it is not the first indication that Ottawa Valley church-builders were attuned to the architectural discussions that had been attracting an ever increasing audience in Central Canada. Instead surviving evidence suggests that several years before revivalist ideals were implemented on a large scale, a number of their ideas had been cautiously seeping into the construction of new churches (see Fig. IV - 1).

Few churches reflective of early experimentation with elements of revived Gothic have survived. Of those that do remain, either physically or in archival imagery, few are considered to be particularly good examples of any easily identifiable category of Gothic by architectural historians. In truth many are not, but this does not however diminish their importance. It is precisely this understated evidence of a willingness to try, albeit with the greatest of caution, new formulas that move away from decades of architectural practice, that renders them particularly interesting (see Fig. IV - 2).

Initially few church-builders ventured very far from traditional ground plans. Most Anglican churches built in the Ottawa Valley during the late 1840s and 1850s continued to be small single room structures. There appears to have been a certain reluctance to forsake the traditional parallelogram so as to include architecturally distinct chancels or even vestries. Nevertheless, discreet modifications to the superstructure suggest that a greater conformity to the plans and programs discussed in the Anglican

press was indeed intended. Many of the earliest changes were introduced with such reserve that they may have passed with relatively little remark.

Many traditional arrangements were retained. Axial entries continued to be preferred. In keeping with older traditions a single central door was usually flanked to either side by a gothic lancet. When a tower was present, it was invariably central, with the base doubling as entry and vestibule. In churches without towers, a window in the gable end continued to be common although the opening was often further beneath the apex of the gable than it had been in earlier buildings. A common characteristic of churches built during the transitory phase is the understated lateral wall. These new lateral walls were not as high as their counterparts in earlier churches. Excessive elevation was one of the features that William Hay had identified as a characteristic deformity of many Canadian churches. As church builders did not reduce the height of the gable end, the squatness that characterized the roofs of many earlier churches also began to fade, consequently eliminating another of Hay's complaints. With the steepening pitch of the roof and the contracted height of the nave walls, the lateral windows were unavoidably affected. Regardless of how parishioners might have felt about the role of reduced lighting in the creation of a prayerful atmosphere, the lack of wall forced the abandonment of the great gothic windows that were so characteristic of churches built before the 1840s.

The builders of St. John, Richmond (1859), retained an axial entry in the base of a massive central tower as well as rectangular floor plan in the nave area (see Fig. IV - 3). They did not however built the lateral walls to their traditional height. The understated height of the nave and increased slope of the roof contrast with the solid monumentality

of the tower. More significantly, the sanctuary was housed in an architecturally distinct chancel. Despite the boldness of this move, the chancel itself, in contrast to the frontal tower, is marked by a cautious narrowness. An equally diminutive vestry clings the northern flank of the chancel and contrary to all Ecclesiological laws of dignity and decorum, opens directly into the sanctuary.

The extent to which a new interest in reshaping the places where collective worship was emerging is evident even among some of the most modest country churches. Simple wooden churches such St. Peter, Anglican, in Alfred (1859) (see Fig. IV - 5) and St. Mary, Anglican, in Navan, (1862) presage the more dramatic changes that appear during the 1860s (see Fig. IV - 6).²³

23 Both of these churches are now lost.

ENGLISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL GOTHIC

Although churches representing a subtle transition between the traditional use of Gothic and the new interest in fidelity to medieval prototypes can be recognized, the earliest known example of an overtly Camdanian interpretation of medieval gothic did not appear in the Ottawa Valley until the late 1850s. It was not until the early 1860s that these architectural changes appear in the construction of new churches. Typically church-builders use archaeological Gothic to varying degrees, some much more markedly than others, some more successfully than others. In the Ottawa Valley two churches in particular, St. Paul in Almonte and St. Alban in Ottawa were considered by contemporaries to be near “perfect” examples of archaeologically correct Gothic. Both churches were built for Anglican congregations. These churches are of particular interest as they were widely discussed at the time of their construction and are comparatively well documented. Furthermore both have survived into the final decade of the twentieth century with a good portion of their original design still intact (see Fig. IV - 9).

During the spring of 1862, the parishioners of St. Paul in Almonte decided that the time had come to build a church. A building committee was formed and members selected. By the time the committee held its first meeting on August 14th of that same year, a zealous member had already acquired a set of plans that had been used for the construction of the Anglican church in Lynn.²⁴ At a subsequent meeting held in February of 1863 the committee decided to use the specifications of the Lynn Church, although some modifications were to be introduced. The church in Lynn (St. John the Baptist,

24 The plans appear to have been acquired by James Rosamond from James Coleman. Both men were wealthy mill owners in Almonte and Lynn respectively. Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Vestry Book of St. Paul, Almonte, entry for 23 April 1862, Box 6L-A1-6.

Anglican), had been designed in 1860 by Thomas Fuller. Fuller, it will be recalled, was the same architect who is credited with giving the Hawkesbury church its distinctive “early English” flavor. Contrary to the Hawkesbury project where the liberty of design was challenged by the structural residue of an earlier church, Fuller was able to realize his ideas more fully on the new site.²⁵

While the church was still under construction, St. Paul drew considerable attention and enthusiastic reviews. The *Canadian Churchman* announced that St. Paul would, “when completed, be one of the most correct, in its ecclesiastical details, of any in the diocese...”²⁶ During the Episcopal visit of September 1863, it was reported that, “His Lordship was much gratified with the progress made since his former visit, and expressed himself as greatly pleased with the building which he justly characterized as a perfect gem of a church.”²⁷ On the occasion of its consecration, St. Paul was described as being “of Gothic design, built of very durable and handsome stone,” and hailed as a “beautiful and substantial Church edifice...,” the Bishop preached on Exodus XII 26-27.²⁸ More significant in terms of ecclesiastical architecture, St. Paul with its cut-stone cornices, mullions and other architectural refinements was described by contemporaries as being:

25 Interestingly, at the same time as he was designing these churches he was also supervising the construction of his Gothic Parliament Buildings. The Gothic used was a style completely different from the style he used in the construction of churches.

26 “The Bishop of Ontario’s Confirmation Tour” *Canadian Churchman*, 18 June 1863 in Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1-6.

27 *Canadian Churchman*, 19 September 1863 in Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1-6.

28 “And when your children ask you ‘what does this ritual mean? you will tell them ‘it is the Passover sacrifice in honor of Yahweh who passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt and struck Egypt but spared our houses,” Exodus XII 26 - 27. St. Paul’s was consecrated on 22 June, 1864. *Canadian Churchman*, 13 July 1864 in Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1-6.

an ornament not only to the neighborhood in which it is erected but to the Diocese at large, as it is generally admitted to be the most perfect in ecclesiastical architecture of all the country churches in the Diocese of Ontario.²⁹

One journalist also commented that the completed church would stand as

an enduring memorial of the zeal and liberality of Mr. Rosamond who has determined that it shall be completed according to the designs of the architect, a pious resolve, which, after all that may be contributed by others, must still leave a large proportion of the expense to be borne by himself.³⁰

James Rosamond had been responsible for the selection of the church plans and as chairman of the building committee had played an active role in supervising the construction and progress on the church.³¹

While St. Paul was intended as the principal Anglican church in Almonte, and was built under the direct supervision of several local and wealthy individuals, the situation was very much different with the construction of the other near “perfect” example of archaeologically correct Gothic in the Ottawa Valley, St. Alban. This church was built in Ottawa during the mid 1860s specifically to accommodate the influx of civil

29 The paper also noted that two local businessmen had made substantial contributions to the fulfillment of this project: “Its erection is mainly due to the liberality and zeal of James Rosamond Esq. who first in a most disinterested manner assumed the responsibility of signing the contract, and who had been untiring in his exertions to bring about the consummation now arrived...” *Canadian Churchman*, 13 July 1864 in Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1-6.

30 *Canadian Churchman*, 18 June 1863 in Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1-6.

31 Vestry Book, 1 March 1864, Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1-6.

servants when the seat of Government was transferred from Quebec city.³² The rector of the new parish, Rev. Thomas Bedford-Jones, had already determined that the new church was to be

A church in which daily prayer and praise shall ascend to the Throne of God, and in which the Reformed Ritual of our ancient Anglican faith shall be conducted in full and strict accordance with the sanctions of the Book of Common Prayer - nothing more, but nothing less.³³

Unlike St. Paul Almonte where Rosamond had been in effect the driving force of the building committee, the committee for the construction of St. Alban originally included no less than eighteen individuals.³⁴ This committee had originally intended to offer £25 for the best design however, a set of plans was donated to the parish of St. Alban by Thomas Fuller.³⁵ When the corner stone of this church was laid in May of 1867, the Anglican press reported that "the style of architecture in which this new church is being carried out is pointed Gothic but in the plainest manner compatible with neatness." Despite its promising start, the construction of St. Alban was not destined to

32 "A new church in Ottawa is a matter of imperative necessity. Before the transference of some two hundred families if professed Church members with the Seat of Government from Quebec there is not sufficient accommodation for the local residents. Besides this the pews of the old Church (situated in the extreme west of the city) and the benches of a school house - used as a chapel were rented at high figures..." *Canadian Churchman*, 3 January 1866.

33 Vestry Book, - 1865 quoted by H. Carter, manuscript notes, n.d., in Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6-O-1, S2-2, p. 19.

34 In a printed letter soliciting donations, the Rev. Thomas Bedford-Jones listed the members of the building committee and their credentials: The Hon. John Hamilton, M.L.C., Hawkesbury; Wm. F. Powell, M.P.P., Ottawa; Denis Godley, Governor's Secretary; G.W. Wicksteed, Q.C. Law Clerk, Legislative Assembly; John Langton, M.A., Auditor of Public Accounts of the Province; Frank Badgley, B.C.L., Assistant Law Clerk to the Legislative Assembly; Lt. Col. Bernard, A.D.C.; James S. Cartwright of Kingston; Thomas Cross, Civil Service; J. P. Featherstone, Civil Service; T.B. Fuller, Architect; Capt F. Broughton, Staff Officer; John Graham of Ottawa; W.A. MacAgly of Ottawa; Major Ross, Accountant, Provincial Sec Dept.; J.G. Vansittart, Secretary of the Board of Railway Commissioners; H.A. Wicksteed, Accountant General, Post Office and Wm. J. Wills Agent for Immigration. Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6-O-1, S2-13.

35 Vestry Book, 19 March 1864, Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6-O-1, S2-2.

be a particularly harmonious project. While St. Alban and St. Paul figure among the most comprehensive and clearly the most faithful constructions of archaeologically inspired Gothic in the Ottawa Valley, they were in no way the only examples.

SURROUNDINGS

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, land was still plentiful and affordable in much of the Ottawa Valley. Consequently, few parishes had difficulty in securing sites that conformed to the seclusion from the noises of mills and factories and the traffic of every day activity recommended by many Anglican church officials. This is especially evident in the site choices of rural or small village churches, where noise and traffic would not have posed a significant challenge to the choice of any site.

Similar preservation of the original environment can be seen at St. Thomas in Bristol (1875), and archival documentation of the church of the Good Shepherd, (now lost) in Plantagenet (see Fig. IV - 22). While the preference for seclusion is reflected in the choice of many Anglican church sites it was not always possible to secure such sites in rapidly growing towns. Limited by their financial resources, the parishioners of St. Alban in Ottawa bought only a very modest piece of land for their new church. The site was so small that once completed only the northern flank of the church did not abut the property line. Although the site itself was to impose innumerable hardships on the parish, the building of St. Alban affords an excellent example of the Gothic adaptability in the face of adversity.³⁶ Serious geological restrictions contributed to and were

36 Land for the construction of St. Alban's had been purchased from the Besserer Estate during the winter months, however once the snows melted the site proved to be structurally unsuitable for construction of the church as originally planned. The southern side of the site was blue clay, but dipped dramatically into a sandy pit at the northern end of the site. Frustrated by the combined

aggravated by a constant shortage of monetary resources and necessitated frequent and major revisions to the original plan.³⁷

Gothic revivalists had not been content to merely address the placement and positioning of a church building. They also offered church builders precise instructions concerning the most desirable arrangement for all other features that could or in their minds should be associated with a church site. It was considered that along with a properly aligned cemetery,³⁸ a well designed site plan should also make provision for a rectory. While some site cemeteries were common in the Ottawa Valley, rectories, were frequently off-site but close at hand. When rectories were on-site, they were representative of contemporary domestic architecture. Only in rare instances rectories were designed to have stylistic and architectural continuity with the church. Perhaps the most successful example of this can be seen at St. Paul, Almonte. Here, material and a certain degree of stylistic continuity is evident in the masonry, treatment of gables as well as in the sequencing and proportioning of the roof line. The windows however, unlike

effect of these reversals, which led the church ever further from his original concept, Fuller relegated supervision and completion of the project to his assistant King Arnoldi. Arnoldi's architectural ability is recognizable in the proficiency with which he salvaged so much of the medieval gothic spirit while still accommodating dramatic design modifications forced by financial realities.

37 "St. Alban's Church building committee hereby beg to tender their best thanks to King Arnoldi... for the skill he has exhibited in the plans for St. Alban's Church and their successful execution under his superintendence; and they desire to avail themselves of this opportunity to express their high opinion of his taste and correct judgment in dealing with the details of a building which gives such general satisfaction when the limited means at his disposal are considered. Vestry Book, 28 September 1867, Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6-O-1, S2-2.

38 J.M. Neale & B. Webb, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A translation of the first book of the RATIONALE DIVINORUM OFFICIORUM written by William Durandus*. (c. 1286) Translation and introductory essay by Rev. John Mason Neale and Rev. Benjamin Webb (Leeds: T.W. Green, 1843), p. c-ci.

those of the church are simple rectangles. Gothic is used to distinguish the house of the God from the house of the rector.³⁹

Although the interpretation and implementation of Ecclesiastical recommendation varied, most parishes were increasingly attentive to the maintenance and upkeep of their church site. The grazing of sheep and cattle on the church grounds was no longer tolerated. Instead, Ottawa Valley Anglicans began to place a new importance on church buildings surrounded by tidy well kept grounds. This could be achieved in a number of ways. In certain instances this meant establishing fixed regulations relating to burial practice. This concern for the immediate environment is also evident in parishes where the actual church building dates from an earlier era. In 1857 it was decided at a vestry meeting of Christ Church, Huntley, that:

no corpse be ever allowed to be buried either in the church, or in the space in front of the west end, and that ten feet at least and twenty feet where possible all round the other three sides of the church be preserved... and that the ground at present free of graves be moved out into plots of twelve feet by nine feet. Nevertheless where a plot of said size is surrounded by graves it shall not be disturbed.⁴⁰

While the Huntley regulations are more representative of contemporary trends, the rules and regulations determining burial practices in and around Anglican church buildings did vary. In Portage-du-Fort, both Mary Seaton (d.1862) and her husband

39 Original land deeds and early site plans indicate a graveyard - this has since been moved. Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6L-A1.

40 Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Arnprior Deanery Collection, 6A-H-1, Vestry Book for Christ Church, Huntley, 10 November 1854. The only known example of intra-mural burial in the Ottawa Valley involves the interment of Mary Seaton (d. 1863) and George William Osborne (d. 1886) both in the nave of St. George Anglican in Portage-du-Fort.

George William Usborne (d.1886) were buried beneath the nave of St. Georges church.⁴¹ This practice was neither encouraged or discouraged with any vigor by Ecclesiologists, however, in the Ottawa Valley intra mural burial remained rare.

A frequently neglected characteristic of many Ottawa Valley church sites was the horse shed. Although few have survived, horse sheds appear on church sites with increasing regularity during the third and fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. This useful but decidedly un-ecclesiastical feature does not appear to have ever been discussed by English Ecclesiologists, even in condemnation and was in no way an exclusively Anglican phenomena. While a fuller discussion of this feature is clearly beyond the mandates of this study, their presence must nevertheless be noted and cannot be simply dismissed as irrelevant. Horse sheds frequently occupied both a significant and conspicuous portion of a church site and were discussed with regularity in parish minutes, usually as a sign of progress.

ORIENTATION

With the new interest in medieval Gothic, came an increased tendency for Ottawa Valley Anglicans to build their churches so that the longitudinal axis of the central nave ran East-West. In keeping with prevalent revivalist thought, the sanctuary or when possible a chancel, stood at the eastern most end of many churches. Although church-builders had been instructed that,

41 O.A.A.A. Clarendon Deanery Collection, 6-C-2; P2 - 1, 4.

the foundation must be contrived as that the Head of the church may point due East, that is, to that point of the Heavens wherein the sun ariseth at the equinoxes; to signify that the Church Militant must behave Herself with moderation, both in prosperity and adversity.⁴²

The concern for literal orientation was common but not universal in the Ottawa Valley. This is well illustrated at St. Paul in Almonte. Despite the reputation of this church for Gothic perfection, and its architecturally distinct chancel, the sanctuary is not oriented. Although the longitudinal axis of St. Paul runs roughly East-West, the sanctuary is at the westernmost end (see Fig. IV - 11). Anomalies of orientation, aside this arrangement arguably allowed for a better adaptation of the church to the site. St. Bartholomew in New Edinburgh is oriented North - South with a sanctuary at the southern most end. The church is nevertheless set as far back from the street as the modest lot would permit, and much of its environmental integrity is assured by its immediate proximity to the grounds of Rideau Hall.

42 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p. 20.

ENTRIES

By the second half of the nineteenth century few Anglican church builders were willing to have their churches directly accessible from the secular world. Coinciding with this was a marked shift away from the bold facades and axial entries that had previously dominated Anglican church architecture. The entry into many churches built during this era was no longer through the gable end or front of the church but rather by way of a small side door. This entry was often preceded by an understated porch.⁴³ This arrangement was particularly useful in the construction of very small churches. By means of a single and structurally simple modification, the focus of the entry was reoriented (see Fig. IV - 10). Now the sanctuary was no longer directly accessible either in physical or visible terms. Regardless of the size of the church building or the affluence of a congregation the side entry was to become a standard feature of this era.⁴⁴

TOWERS AND BELL-GABLES, ETC.

Despite the move away from the architecturally bold facade and entryway, towers that had figured so prominently in earlier constructions were not abandoned entirely,

43 With the exception of St. James in Hull, all are still standing.

44 St. Paul, Almonte, Ontario (1863); St. Matthew, Charlevoix, Quebec (1864); St. Luke, Eardley, Quebec (1864); St. Alban, Ottawa, Ontario (1866); St. James, Hull, Quebec (1866); St. Bartholomew, Ottawa, Ontario (1868); St. James, Leslie, Quebec, 1870; St. Paul, Shawville, Quebec (1872). All are representative of the changes that took place during this period. Each church is entered through a small porch projecting from the lateral wall of the nave. The side porches on some of the earlier churches such as St. Paul's Almonte and St. Alban's Ottawa tend to be comparatively smaller than those of slightly later churches such as Good Shepherd, Plantagenet, (1875) and St. James, Manotick, (1876).

although axial frontality was no longer a priority. The preference of Ottawa Valley church-builders was now for towers placed along the lateral wall of the church nave. Most commonly the tower base also served as the porch for the side entry or stood above the vestry. Towers had been a conspicuous part of the original building plans for both St. Paul in Almonte and St. Alban in Ottawa, although neither was ever built.⁴⁵ Had either of these towers been completed as planned they would have offered an important display of Gothic refinement (see Fig. IV - 13).

Less ambitious tower building projects were planned and completed, although often not without difficulty or delay at a number of other sites. Even when towers were less ambitious, their construction was frequently delayed or abandoned altogether in times of fiscal restraint.⁴⁶

Church bells continued to be highly valued by many Anglicans during the nineteenth century. The importance of church bells as an integral part of Christian practice, their history, "mystical signification" and practicality had been set forth for public enlightenment in *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, where Webb and Neale had appended many of their own opinions to those of Durandus.⁴⁷ Although various points of historical distinction were addressed, significant portions of the discussion were marred by an unbridled use of exaggerated and occasionally gratuitous symbolism. This unfortunate indulgence, frequently accompanied the advocacy of androcratic symbolism

45 This was due to a lack of funds in Almonte and a lack of a stable footing at St. Alban's, where the projected tower was to have stood to a height of 190 feet.

46 St. Luke, Eardley, St. Thomas, Bristol, St. Paul, Shawville, St. George, Fort Coulonge,

47 Durandus, *Rationale*, Chapter IV, "Of Bells," sections 1-15, in Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, pp. 87-97.

detracted from the substance of concurrent scholarship.⁴⁸ Much of this discussion, including serious applications such as the tolling, (rather than chiming) of bells during the Quadragesima and Septuagesima, the role of bells in the marking of canonical hours, etc.... went well beyond the practice or interest of most Ottawa Valley Anglicans. Still few Ottawa Valley parishes were willing to do without bells as they were considered by many to be an integral and important feature of the church building. Even when monetary hardship did not allow for the construction of suitable towers many parishioners demonstrated that they were not willing to forego the use of bells for want of a decent tower. Years earlier this might have been difficult to resolve while still maintaining stylistic continuity and structural integrity. There was however a solution suggested by the promoters of medieval Gothic that was both archaeologically and ecclesiologically correct: the bell-gable. Indeed as George Ayliffe Poole noted in *Churches; their structure, arrangement and decoration*, that "a good bell-gable is ten times more beautiful than a wretched steeple..."⁴⁹ For Anglican church-builders in the Ottawa Valley bell-gables or bell-cots proved to be an eminently practical solution (see Fig. IV - 16). They appeared on many small churches, and offered a gracious face-saving solution when monetary restrictions forced the abandonment of more ambitious tower-building programs.

A tower had also been planned for the church of St. Alban the Martyr, in Ottawa. As was the case with Almonte, the tower fell victim to structural modifications and

48 In section seven, Durandus explained that the wooden frame from which a bell was hung symbolized the wood of Christ's cross as it too was "suspended on high." The wooden pegs were the prophets, while the iron clamps that joined the bell to the frame "denote charity, by which the Preacher being joined indissolubly unto the Cross, doth boast..." The reader was told that the bell hammer represented the sanity of the preacher, while the rope itself was symbolic of the measure and humility his life. In addition to several other symbolic entanglements the rope was to be made of three strands representing the historic, allegoric and moral teachings of the scriptures.

49 Poole, *Churches*, p. 40

eventually had to be abandoned due to instability of the soil on the site. There is no bell-gable at St. Alban however, there is an external sanctecote marking the transition between the nave and the chancel (see Fig. IV - 14). While towers were not abundant during this period, they did not become extinct. Many towers were now built above side entries. Here their bases doubled also as vestibules much as they had for frontal towers. Ideally a church was to be entered through a small porch that stood along the southern wall of the church, "at the distance of one or two windows from the west."⁵⁰ It was important for doors not to be placed too far from the West end of the church., "the doors are of course placed near the West end: for it is only by way of the Church Militant that we can hope to enter the Church Triumphant."⁵¹

The door itself by which one actually entered the church enjoyed a very great increase of symbolic importance. Ecclesiologists used the Gospel of John as justification for Christological symbolism in the entryways of churches. Webb and Neale had also observed, that as the western door was symbolic of Christ, "two lights, typical of His Two Natures, are therefore placed over it."⁵² Thus, one frequently finds pairs of windows, usually Gothic lancets for Anglicans, above the door or entry to a church. Authors of nineteenth century architectural treatises seem never to miss an occasion to quote the words of John 10:9 "I Am the Door: by Me if any man enter in he shall be saved."⁵³

50 *The Church*, 11 April 1850, n.p..

51 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p. c.

52 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p. lxi.

53 This is pointed out in a number of XIXth century publications including, J.M. Neale and B. Webb's 1843 translation of Durandus' *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, p. 29; in Poole's *Churches*, 1846, p. 34, and in T.P. Garnier's *The parish church: a simple explanation of church symbolism* (London: Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, 1876), p. 30.

Despite the growing tendency to move the principal entry from an axial position on the western facade to a smaller side porch, the western end although in some ways understated, was not destined to remain blank. Windows, usually elongated Gothic lancets were opened in the western gable end of the church. This afforded some compensation for the loss of window space that had occurred with the reduction of the lateral walls. Anglican architectural specialists maintained that Trinitarian symbolism was inappropriate at the western end of a church, owing to its very specific affiliation with Christ and the door. Furthermore Christ was thought to be best represented by couplets so as to symbolize the duality of his nature.

With the removal of the central doorways, the western end of the church was now fully exploitable in symbolic terms. Pairs of elongated windows were installed and devoted to the memory of Christ's ministry on earth and the salvation he offered.⁵⁴ In doing this, the western end of the church came to be symbolic of Christ, the mystical door, the only door through which one could truly enter the church (see Figs. IV - 9 & 21).

The profoundly spiritual significance of this passage from the profane to the sacred was intensified by the new location of the baptismal font. Many Anglican parishes now moved the font from the sanctuary of the church to a new position near the main entry. Here it served to remind all who entered of their own spiritual entry into the church through the sacrament of Baptism. The font was also used to reinforce the fact that the physical church was in its own way a sacred space, a space set apart for the

54 Christ incarnate was considered more appropriately symbolized by couplets than by triplets which were clearly emblematic of the Trinity and were to be found at the eastern end of the church.

initiated. Inside, the baptismal font could be placed either at the threshold of the main entrance, or along the central axis of the building in front of the main entry.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, very few parishes had proper Baptismal fonts. It was much more common to have a small basin set aside for administration of this sacrament. Many poorer parishes simply used whatever was available when the need arose. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Anglicans were increasingly looking to offer tangible reverence to this sacrament. A stone font was presented to Holy Trinity, Hawkesbury in 1857.⁵⁵ It had been ordered directly from a firm in Exeter, England, at a time when production of such liturgical objects was still rare in Central Canada.⁵⁶

In December of 1865, a stone baptismal font was presented to St. Alban by two parishioners described by the Rev. Bedford Jones as "British workmen... whose trade is the higher branch of stone cutting."⁵⁷ The font itself was described as being

about two feet in height, elaborately carved, and composed of three descriptions of stone, the pediment being Arnprior marble, the pillar fine white marble and the actual font sandstone. This font is octagonal in

55 "A beautiful font of Caen stone, imported express from Exeter, was presented by John Hamilton Esq., in 1857 and the close of the following year, a very costly solid silver communion service to the memory of George Hamilton, (who died 21, May 1858), by members of the congregation and employees of Hamilton Bros. Such instances of Christian liberty are worthy of public notice because they are worthy of public imitation." *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

56 Although the font was presented to the church in 1857, correspondence from Exeter indicates that an original font had arrived in 1856, but was damaged. Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa (Anglican) Box 6S-H2-7. Letter from Exeter 31 December 1856.

57 On Christmas Eve a very acceptable and valuable gift was presented to the Rev. Fr. Jones, by two British workmen of His congregation - Messrs. Painter & Taylor. It consisted of a "Fontlet"; It seems that a few weeks previously Dr. Jones had baptized infant children of both of these men, whose trade is the higher branch of stone cutting, and had to use an unsightly bowl on the occasion. Where upon they set to work themselves to remedy the want. *Canadian Churchman*, 9 January 1866, n.p..

shape, each side being a trefoil or quatrefoil and in four of the eight are devices exquisitely cut, the sacred monogram, a cross a triangle with the symbol of the trinity and a monogram with the initials of the Rev. doctor's name. Around the beveled margin in old English Characters cut letters are inserted in the sandstone bearing the appropriate words, "Suffer little children to come unto me" These letters are coloured, the capitals being scarlet, the others a dark chocolate. The workmanship is exquisitely fine.⁵⁸

Both fonts are representative of a renewed and heightened use of symbolism (see Fig. IV - 17). The octagon though long associated with the baptismal doctrine of regeneration, had slipped out of current usage among many Anglicans. Ecclesiologists understood the octagon as a composite of seven symbolizing perfection plus one thus symbolizing continuity: "as the old Creation was complete in seven days, so the number next ensuing may well be significant of the new."⁵⁹

58 *Canadian Churchman*, 9 January 1866, n.p..

59 Webb & Neale, "Introductory," p. lxxxi. On this subject Poole noted "...the octagon [is] the most appropriate form for the font, and the most beautiful as well as the most ecclesiastical; for the octagon is not only a very graceful form, and very favorable to the reception of sculpture on its several faces; but it is also in itself symbolical, according to the ancient methods of spiritualizing numbers, of the new birth in baptism: for the seven days' creation of the natural world are symbolized in the number seven; and the new creation by Christ Jesus, by the number eight, in allusion to the eighth day on which he rose again from the dead. Poole, *Churches*, p. 50.

NAVE

Despite its prominence near the entry of the church the new position of the baptismal font was not the only modification readily apparent. The church interior was no longer bright, or austere. Instead, those entering were now enveloped by a 'quiet half light'. Lower levels of light were no longer feared as an entry for superstition but were increasingly considered to be conducive to a quiet and prayerful state.⁶⁰ This semi-obscurity contributed to an atmosphere of sacred mystery. It was necessary to pause a moment while the eyes refocused on the opposing wall of the nave and visitors were prevented from intruding without ceremony into the church. Students of church architecture were warned, "...Not to rush hastily into God's Presence.... We should compose the mind and hush the voice as we enter in."⁶¹

Initially the most striking feature of these walls was their height. They were no longer tall or important, but had been reduced to a human scale. Yet these new churches were neither squat nor low,⁶² for the vertical height lost by the walls was taken up by the roof. The increased height of the roof and the reduction in the height of the walls had a very direct result on the lighting in this part of the church. Gone were the great wide windows with their clear glazing that admitted volumes of unaltered daylight. The new

60 *Ecclesiologist*, vol. IV, p. 33.

61 "...Not to rush hastily into God's Presence. 'Keep thy foot when thou goest to the House of God' (Eccl. v.i.). We should compose the mind and hush the voice as we enter in : 'The Lord is in His holy Temple: let all the earth keep silence before Him' (Hab. ii. 20). T. P. Garnier, *The Parish Church*, pp. 30-31.

62 St. Paul, Almonte, 1863; St. Luke, Eardley, 1864; St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa, 1866; St. James, Hull, 1866; Emanuel Church, Ottawa, 1869; St. Bartholomew, Ottawa, 1869; St. Paul's, Shawville, 1872; St. Thomas, Bristol Corners, 1875; St. Mary the Virgin, Blackburn Hamlet, 1880; St. John the Evangelist, Quyon, 1883; and St. Stephen, Greermont, 1883, are all surviving of well documented examples of this.

low walls simply did not allow for the larger windows that were in many ways the hallmarks of earlier construction.

Strict Ecclesiologists would have preferred to see every iota of church fabric gravid with Ecclesiological symbolism. However, during the third quarter of the nineteenth century church builders in the Ottawa Valley preferred to retain a relatively simple and unified spatial elevation in the nave.

The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity has left, as might be expected, deeper traces in the structure of our churches than any other principle of our Faith... we find the ideas carried out not only by the Nave and the two Aisles, but also by the triple division in length into Nave, Chancel, and Sanctum Sanctorum... The Clerestory, the Triforium and Piers cannot fail to suggest it... Again, the triple orders of molding, which are so much more frequent than any other number may be supposed to refer to the same thing. The Altar steps, three, or some multiple of three certainly do.⁶³

The triforium and clerestory appear only rarely in Anglican churches of the Ottawa Valley. However in some instances the height of the lateral wall drops until the lateral walls were very low and, with neither clerestory or triforium, the traditional systems for lighting basilical-form churches were very much reduced. Occasionally it was necessary to break the lateral eaves with gabled windows (see Fig. IV - 12). In other instances small dormers or 'chien-assis' are opened in the slope of the roof.

The church of the Good Shepherd in Plantagenet (see Fig. IV - 22) was typical of churches from this era that sought to replicate medieval Gothic with very low walls,

63 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p. lxxx.

significantly pitched roofs and correspondingly small windows.⁶⁴ It was also recommended that windows be “smaller and fewer” than was previously traditional. The reason for reducing the window size was twofold, not only would the “glare and heat of the sun in the summer” be eliminated but so would the “cold and the glare of the snow in winter.”⁶⁵ However, it is not clear why these climatic conditions did not seem to cause an equivalent level of concern among other denominations.

Although contracted dimensions of the windows naturally restricted the amount of daylight that was allowed to enter the church, these already reduced quantities of light were further diminished by the introduction of coloured glass. The design used for the window glass could be either figural or geometric. Although simple geometric motifs had been used as edge work in older churches, a new prevalence of geometric motifs is not always as much of a reflection of conservative parishes as one of more modest means. Painted scriptural texts continue to be popular.

The use of full figural imagery was a new feature and is a significant departure from earlier convention. The new attitude towards the use of figural imagery in a religious context must be seen as a significant break with earlier tradition. Much of this new stained glass that manipulated and transformed the daylight into scriptural texts and imagery also played an important part in establishing and maintaining the aura of dignity and prayer inside a parish church. The introduction of figural imagery into the Anglican churches of the Ottawa Valley was in many ways less cautious than the introduction of

64 St. Paul, Almonte, 1863; St. Luke, Eardley, 1864; St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa, 1866; St. James, Hull, 1866; Emanuel Church, Ottawa, 1869; St. Bartholomew, Ottawa, 1869; St. Paul, Shawville, 1872; St. Thomas, Bristol Corners, 1875, all conform to this type.

65 *The Church*, 11 April 1850, n.p..

architectural changes. One of the earliest and most expansive iconographic programs appeared in Holy Trinity, Hawkesbury. At the time of their installation, the windows attracted considerable interest. While a fuller discussion of figural imagery is beyond the mandates of this study, the following description published at the time of the installation of the windows presents a useful overview of the iconographic program, and offers some insight into contemporary reaction. The text also demonstrates the extent to which the church-builders were influenced by developments in the British Isles.

The Window in the South East corner of the nave contains a representation of the 'raising of Lazarus' in the upper part, an angel is figured holding (a scroll) on which are figured the words "Come Lord Jesus" and underneath the center medallion the passage, "I know that he will rise again," is gracefully introduced. The opposite window contains a representation of "the raising of Jairus' daughter." A dove is stained at the top of the lancet, and at the bottom a white lily. In the tracery are scrolls containing the appropriate text - "weep not, she is not dead but sleepeth." In the west window the life-giving miracles are completed by the 'Resurrection of our Lord' in the center of one Lancet and the 'raising of the widow's son' in the center of the other. In the upper and lower compartments of this window are stained the emblems of the four evangelists and in the quatrefoil at top that of the trinity.... The drawings for them were procured from London and were executed in Montreal by Mr. Spence and will compare favorably with the windows manufactured in England. The remaining lights are filled with pattern glass stained by the same artist. The colors and patterns are varied and each lancet contains a short passage of scripture.⁶⁶

66 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1860, n.p..

Although walls and windows were frequently understated, the opposite was true of ceilings. In lieu of plastered surfaces or false ceilings the roof timbers were allowed to appear internally. The advocates of a return to Medieval Gothic were very much against the use of ornate plastered ceilings.

A flat ceiling is of all things the most destructive of that breath of tone which we may attain even in a small edifice; whereas the bare timbers of the roof...assist it most materially. Go into any church, where the original open roof remains, and first observe the effect, as it appears at present, and then fancy it, for an instant, underdrawn and plastered, with half-a-dozen circular ornaments as centers of suspension for chandeliers, placed in geometrical order over the expanse: - then ask yourself why a flat ceiled roof is so often seen in a (modern) Gothic church?⁶⁷

Many Anglican congregations in the Ottawa Valley now gathered beneath open timbers of un-ceiled roofs that rose high above them. Rafters, tie-beams, roof trusses and struts were all stained with dark oils. This inexpensive and very effective combination of open timbers and dark stain allowed even very small churches to create the impression of a great space.⁶⁸ It was a solution particularly well suited to the many congregations in the Ottawa Valley where money was scarce and good timber was abundant (see Fig. IV - 15).

Much in keeping with earlier habit, the floors of the nave continued to be very plain. The occasional embellishment rarely consisted of more than a simple geometric motif painted on the floor boards. Ecclesiologists had warned that crosses were not to be

67 Here the term '(modern) Gothic', refers not to the renewed interest in revived medieval style but to the productions of the Stuart and Georgian eras. Poole, *Churches*, p. 67.

68 St. Andrew's in Vars, 1889, is a striking example of this.

used on the floor, "for though Christ is indeed the Foundation of the Church, yet these holy symbols should not be exposed to be trodden under foot."⁶⁹ They did however suggest that heraldic devices could be used on the floor, "to signify the worthlessness of worldly honors in the sight of God."⁷⁰ On this point, Revivalists were not offering anything new. Christological reference by any floor level imagery had been frowned upon since late antiquity, and church patrons in the Ottawa Valley rarely came from families in which the heraldic devices were figures of prominent relevance.

What did concern many parishioners was the leasing or ownership of prestigiously located pews. The well placed pew had long been an icon of social standing. Furthermore in newly settled areas such as the Ottawa Valley the pew had been a tangible symbol of success that members of an increasingly affluent middle class could acquire even without ties to the upper echelons of a highly stratified British class system. However, closely associated with the renewed interest in medieval Gothic was an increasingly prevalent intolerance of the traditional box pew, ornate pews and personal pews.

Since the early 1850s, Anglican church officials in Central Canada had been actively working to regulate the pew trade. In 1850, when *The Church* published the recommendations of the Church Building Committee, church-builders were advised that in the nave, all pews were to face the chancel. Pews were to be doorless as "the practice of fixing doors to pews is much discontinued in England, as being supposed to be too exclusive for the House of God."⁷¹ On the other hand, pews could be equipped with

69 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p. cxii.

70 Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p. cxii

71 *The Church*, 18 April 1850, n.p..

kneelers but were to remain unlined; cushions were permitted. In terms of size and shape, church builders were now recommended to have greater visual unity and social equality within the church by furnishing it throughout with a single pew type. They were to be solidly but visually understated: it was considered unnecessary for the backs of pews to exceed a height of three feet.⁷²

During his tour of Central Canada in 1859, the Bishop of London (England) addressed Canadian members of the Church of England in a series of Visitation Lectures. A recurrent theme in these lectures was the shortcomings of the pew system.⁷³ The text of these lectures was published in the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette* and was thus much more easily accessible to a wider public than the Bishop himself. By the 1860s concern among Ottawa Valley Anglicans about the merits of pew rental was growing. Experiments with 'free' sittings were introduced in several parishes, in particular St. Paul in Almonte and St. Alban in Ottawa.

The attempts at a more democratic approach to the distribution of church seats met with varying degrees of success. Pew rent was not practiced at St. Paul, Almonte, from the time of construction until 1878 when it was reintroduced to avert impending financial disaster. At St. Alban in Ottawa, the abolition of pew rental was an integral part of the founding principles of the church. The rector of the newly formed parish noted that the old practice of pew rental had the most undesirable results, "the consequence being that the numbers of the less wealthy class were either driven away from all the Church's

⁷² *The Church*, 18 April 1850, n.p..

⁷³ In 1859, The Visitation Lectures of the Bishop of London were published over the course of his visit in the *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*.

means of grace or took refuge in Dissenting Places of Worship.”⁷⁴ The *Canadian Churchman* announced to the rest of country that St. Alban was “to be a FREE CHURCH, ever open to Christian Worshippers, and its ministers are to be wholly maintained (if possible) by weekly offerings of grateful hearts...”⁷⁵ While coronary appreciation can be difficult to quantify in mercantile terms, fiscal realities were such that the Rev. Bedford-Jones was obliged to solicit funds from outside the local community. In doing so the absence of pew fees was not presented essentially as the primary reason for the shortage of funds, but as a point of merit which distinguished the parish as a deserving recipient of any charitable donation.⁷⁶ One very tangible outcome of all these efforts was a greater attempt at the uniform construction of understated, open ended pews. This was an arrangement preferred by English Ecclesiologists.

The open seats which contented our ancestors, less lavish than ourselves on personal ease, have just a contrary effect [to the obstruction of oversized and personalized pews]. A number of low benches all looking the same way, and with an ornamental finial at the end of each seat, formed an avenue, along which the eye was irresistibly directed towards the altar.⁷⁷

During this visual journey towards the altar it becomes increasingly evident that the introduction of a revived medieval Gothic coincides not only with a significant

74 Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6-O-1, S2-2. St. Alban's Vestry Book, 28 September, 1865. This also appeared verbatim in the *Canadian Churchman*, 3 January 1866, n.p..

75 *Canadian Churchman*, 3 January 1866, n.p..

76 Rev. Bedford-Jones set forth his case, in a printed letter soliciting funds. “Under the circumstances, we are compelled to solicit external aid and we ask your help requesting you to observe: - 1. That the church is to be ENTIRELY AND UNRESERVEDLY FREE, a principle which we believe to be that of the Gospel of Christ, and from which we trust the Church in this city will derive the greatest benefit.... 2. That there is no Parochial Endowment whatever...” Ottawa Anglican Diocesan Archives, Box 6-O-1, S2-13.

77 Poole, *Churches*, p. 69.

restructuring of the sanctuary area but also with new concern for the visual primacy of the Eucharistic celebration. Canadian church authorities were now recommending that a central passage no less than four feet wide that ran through the main body of the church to the sanctuary.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the very fact that the altar has replaced the pulpit as the primary focal point at this end of the church is indicative of a significant repositioning of liturgical priorities. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century the growing influence of Camdanian Ecclesiology is evident in the Anglican architecture of the Ottawa Valley. Under their influence, a much greater emphasis was placed on the sacrament of the Eucharist, and in contrast with earlier practice, Holy Communion was now received by more people and with greater frequency. Although there initially had been some concern that the Eucharist if received too frequently would lose much of the sense of privilege with which it was associated, the contrary proved true. The builders of Gothic churches saw to that.

In contrast to earlier arrangements where the financially privileged were in immediate proximity to the center of cult activity, churches built in the revived Gothic style exacted a greater measure between laity and liturgy. No longer was it considered appropriate to allow the first row of worshippers to press against and peer directly into (see Fig. IV - 4) the sanctuary. Arrangements of this sort were considered to lack a certain dignity and clearly did not contribute much towards creating an atmosphere of sacred mystery. Older church buildings such as Pinhey's church of St. Mary were now criticized for their lack of sanctuary space. As one correspondent for the *Canadian Churchman* noted in 1863, "The church at Upper March has the largest vestry and the

78 *The Church*, 18 April 1850, n.p..

smallest space within the chancel rails of any church we have yet visited.”⁷⁹ What church-builders now needed was a space that would both emphasize and set apart the Eucharist while still surrounding it with a sense of awe and privilege. Several steps could be taken to remedy this problem and once again church-builders in Ottawa Valley were drawn to Camdanian solutions.

Unquestionably the construction of an architecturally distinct chancel was the preferred solution. The chancel had the greatest visual impact, both in terms of setting Eucharistic ritual apart and for surrounding it with a sense of awe and mystery. Anglican church leaders in Central Canada had been advocating the construction of chancels and referring church-builders to Canadian treatises for some time. In keeping with English tradition, chancels built in Ottawa Valley churches during this period were flat ended. Frequently, but not exclusively, they were architecturally distinct from the main body of the church. The roof line was often, but not invariably, lower than that of the main body of the church. Privilege inside the chancel area was emphasized physically, symbolically, and decoratively (see Fig. IV - 8).

The chancel was to be both narrower and of a lesser height than the main body of the church, and the intersection of the two parts areas defined by a chancel arch.⁸⁰ Entry into the chancel sanctuary was restricted by the footings of the chancel arch, and was further reduced by the presence of chancel rails. Inside, the sanctuary floor was elevated above the floor level of the nave. When finances permitted, walls were often painted in

79 *Canadian Churchman*, 30 September 1863, n.p.. The vestry was not part of the original building program but a later addition.

80 The chancel was to correspond in width to the central nave, however in the case of small or aisles churches the chancel would never be less than eight feet wide and nine feet deep. *The Church*, 11 April 1850, n.p..

privileged colors traditionally reserved for royalty such as cobalt and royal blues, deep purples and gold.⁸¹ The finest stained glass was usually placed in the eastern window of the chancel where the iconographic program alluded frequently but not exclusively to the mystical dimensions of the divinity. The eastern window usually referred to the Trinity. This was most frequently achieved by the use of triplets, however despite the equality of the Trinity, the eastern lights were often composed of an elongated central lancet flanked to either side by similar lancets of a lesser height.

The focal point of the chancel was to be immediately beneath the windows of the eastern wall (see Figs. IV - 15 & 17). Here the altar table was to be placed on a raised platform and preferably enclosed with a rail. The table and surrounding railing were, in keeping with the ordinances of Church Edifice itself, to be solid and substantial.⁸² Those adhering to strict Camdanian Ecclesiology used wooden communion tables. Others were more flexible, suggesting that "from a feeling of piety" the use of stone altars had become common.⁸³ In the Ottawa Valley, wood remained the preferred material, however there is no evidence to suggest a lack of piety. The pulpit was to be placed at the north-western angle of the chancel and the reading desk at the south-western angle. Neither the pulpit or

81 This can still be seen in Holy Trinity, Hawkesbury, and in St. Alban, Ottawa, although here the chancel itself while part of the original plan was (for financial reasons) not part of the original building program.

82 Church leaders provided very explicit specifications on this subject. It was recommended that the Table be at least four feet long, two and a half feet wide, with a minimum height of three feet. A kneeling stool at least eighteen inches by ten inches with a one and a half inch slope and a maximum height of eight inches was to stand at either end of the table. The railing was to be installed in such a manner so as to allow for a kneeling place two feet four inches deep. *The Church*, 18 April 1850, n.p..

83 Frequently the discussion of this sort was also used not only to advance what one considered to be architecturally correct but also to state one's position vis-à-vis other Christian denominations. In one instance the reader is told "even after the time of Constantine altars were for a long time generally of wood: thus, for instance, in the sacrilegious outrages of the Donatists in the fourth century, in which they acted nearly as wicked a part as the Presbyterians and independents, at the time of Oliver Cromwell, some of the altars were burned; and we read of persons being beaten with broken fragments of others. Poole, *Churches*, p. 103.

the reading desk were to be placed along the central axis of the church, as this would block the view of the altar table.⁸⁴ The pulpit was nevertheless to remain at the Eastern end of the church. It was thought that because the attention of the congregation was drawn to the pulpit, if the pulpit was in the East, the congregation in much more naturally drawn to where it should be.⁸⁵ In other words, acts of worship should be focused towards the East.⁸⁶ The reading desk was usually placed within the sanctuary rails but not too far from them. In this manner the clergyman could be distinctly leading the people yet still be among them.⁸⁷ On the subject of material, most pulpits and lecterns used in the Ottawa Valley during this period were wooden constructions.⁸⁸

Under no condition was the door from the vestry to open into this enclosed portion of the sanctuary. The vestry itself was becoming increasingly common during this period (see Fig. IV - 19). With an increasing importance given to the clergy, it was no longer acceptable to have a small section of the church curtained off. The vestry is

⁸⁴ *The Church*, 18 April 1850, n.p..

⁸⁵ "The relative importance of preaching and praying, and Holy Communion, being forgotten, and preaching having usurped the place of all the rest, it has become difficult to satisfy the eyes and ears of the people, and at the same time to preserve a decent harmony of effect in the position and decoration of the pulpit. Hence plans of all degrees of clumsiness, and contrivances of all degrees of deformity, are continually emanating from clergymen, carpenters, gas-fitters, architects and congregations." Poole, *Churches*, p. 98.

⁸⁶ In this context it is essential that 'worship' be understood in a Protestant, (as opposed to Roman Catholic) interpretation of the term. The importance of this distinction is discussed in J. White, *Protestant Worship, traditions in transition* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1988), pp. 15-24.

⁸⁷ There is a renewed interest among some Ecclesiologists of incorporating the form of an Eagle into a lectern. If this was done Ecclesiologists made it quite clear it was supposed to be a Christian Eagle and not a heathen Eagle. "But it must be remembered that the Eagle of the Church and of St. John, is not the equal of the heathens and of Jupiter, with an eye of lightning, with the thunderbolt in his talons, and with a neck bending as if beneath the weight of Ganymede; but it is forward looking, and intent on the simple service of holding the book committed to its flattened back and outstretched wings." Poole, *Churches*, p. 96.

⁸⁸ Revivalists were divided on the virtues of the various materials possible. "But wooden pulpits are, perhaps more manageable, as they are, certainly, more common. They are generally of a date posterior to the Reformation, and partake of the successive degradations in the taste of the several generations from Queen Elizabeth to the present day." Poole, *Churches*, p. 99.

frequently architecturally distinct, forming a counterbalance to the side porch (see Fig. IV - 20). If space allowed, it was permissible to have an area reserved for the choir and its accompanying organ at the western-most end of the chancel. A space at least five feet wide was to be left open between the eastern-most row of seats and the chancel.⁸⁹ While sanctuaries were housed in architecturally distinct chancels and, by the second half of the nineteenth century, this had become a preferred solution, not all Anglican parishes in the Ottawa Valley were in a financial position to build one. Several solutions were commonly adopted. By far the simplest way to distance the laity from the place of cult was by increasing the area closed off by chancel rails and by raising the floor level of the sanctuary. This solution also had the further advantage of being both simple and economical and was adopted in varying degrees by a number of parishes. It was also popular in that this arrangement could be built into earlier churches, thus providing a liturgical update at little expense. In very small churches, however, this arrangement had the definite disadvantage of monopolizing space that was already at a premium.

A second solution, one also offered by Ecclesiologists, had originated in England in response to a specific problem. Some pre-Reformation churches now in the possession of certain congregations had been built, not as parish churches but for monastic ritual. The adaptation of the elongated monastic chancel had proven particularly cumbersome to contemporary Anglican practice. During the early 1840s, Rev. John Jebb and Rev. Walter Farquhar Hook devised a solution by which the parish choir could occupy the area once reserved for the monks. These seats were inside the chancel and were placed parallel to the central axis of the church rather than perpendicular as were

89 This arrangement also allows easy circulation during Communion and Confirmation services, as congregational congestion in this area was thought to detract from the dignity of the ceremony. *The Church*, 11 April 1850, n.p..

those of the nave.⁹⁰ This formula by which oversized English churches were adapted to the contemporary needs of smaller parishes was also used by Ottawa Valley church-builders to adapt early and undersized churches to the needs of an expanding but not necessarily wealthy population. This was done by simply reorienting the space immediately in front of the sanctuary. The choir was thus used to create a distinct and transitional space between the laity and the cult act.⁹¹ Once again those parishes in possession of an organ usually placed the instrument with the choir between the sanctuary and the majority of the congregation (see Figs. IV - 4, 15 & 18).

The liturgical implications of the architectural modifications introduced during this period were reinforced through the introduction of small scale liturgical objects. This phenomena is well illustrated by a communion service presented to Holy Trinity, Hawkesbury, in memory of George Hamilton, by employees of his lumbering firm.⁹² Prior to the presentation, the service had been shown at the Provincial Exhibition in Toronto, and its silversmith, W. C. Morrison, had won first prize. The prize was for the quality and the excellence of his work as a metallist, for although Morrison was the silversmith he had not designed the communion service. Still, the production of the communion service attracted considerable interest even among the secular press. The *Toronto Colonist* published a detailed description which was in turn reprinted in the Anglican *Ecclesiastical Gazette*. The *Colonist* noted that the communion service had been

90 See J. Jebb, *The choral service of the United church of England and Ireland* (London: J.W. Parker, 1843).

91 Although the choir was usually composed exclusively of lay people they were considered to be performing a specific act of worship and were justly placed in a distinct setting as ministers of the liturgy.

92 "The Church of the Holy Trinity, at West Hawkesbury, County of Prescott, C. W., has just been enriched by the presentation of a solid silver Communion Service, in the memory of the late George Hamilton Esquire, of the firm of Hamilton Brothers, the extensive Lumber Merchants of Ottawa. *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, December 1858, p. 93.

"manufactured by our justly celebrated and enterprising fellow-citizen Mr. W. C. Morrison." Although Morrison was simply the silversmith and had not designed the pieces the *Colonist* believed that it was nevertheless important to

...call special attention to it because it is one of those services which are generally imported from London, under the false impression that such articles cannot be properly manufactured on this side of the Atlantic....

The three articles are taken from a service which is in St. George Church in this city. The designs are by John Butterfields, the well-known church architect of City Road, London.⁹³

The article offers a number of useful insights into the interests of the day. It clearly demonstrates the significance attached by contemporaries to the manufacture of liturgical objects of high quality and sophisticated design in Central Canada. The article also provides clear evidence that Latin was steadily moving back into the Anglican church. Although the correspondent for the Toronto *Colonist* attributed these to "John Butterfield, the well-known architect of City Road, London,"⁹⁴ (a point which the editors

93 SOLID SILVER MEMORIAL COMMUNION SERVICE - In consequence of the great number of articles which were presented at the Exhibition last week, we were prevented from giving that prominent notice, which it deserved, to a Solid Silver Memorial Communion Service, manufactured by our justly celebrated and enterprising fellow-citizen Mr. W. C. Morrison, We now call special attention to it because it is one of those services which are generally imported from London, under the false impression that such articles cannot be properly manufactured on this side of the Atlantic. ... The three articles are taken from a service which is in St. George's Church in this city. The designs are by John Butterfields, the well-known church architect of City Road, London.

The three articles are to be presented to the Church of the Holy Trinity, Hawkesbury, C. W., in memory of the late George Hamilton, Esq., as the following Latin inscription (which each of the sacred vessels bears) will show:

"In memoriam Georgii Hamilton Hawkesburiensis, de civibus in vita optime merentis, D.D. D. Amici valde desiderantes. Obiit 21o Mai A.S. MDCCCLVIII., ætatis suæ XXXIV. - In usum perpetuum SS. Trinitatis Ecclesiæ apud Hawksburienses in Canada Ulteriori. Johanne Strachan S.T.P.L.L.D. Episcopo Torontonensi; Johanne Gilberto Armstrong A.B. Ecclesiæ Rectore; Joh. Hamilton : Joh. Gul : [sic] Higginson, Ædituis." *The Toronto Colonist, Ecclesiastical Gazette*, December 1858, p. 94.

94 *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, December 1858, p. 94.

of the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* do not appear to query) it is more likely that the correspondent was referring to the work of William, not John, Butterfield. William Butterfield, in addition to being the author of *St. Clement, City Road*, was a major contributor to *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. Plates LV and LVI in the first volume of this pattern book illustrate “Chalices and Patens” and “Cruets and Flagons” corresponding to the description of the Hawkesbury Service.⁹⁵

95 W. Butterfield, *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, A Series of Working Designs for the Furniture, Fittings and Decorations of Churches and their Precincts*, (London: John Van Voorst, 1847)

CHAPTER IV

PLATES

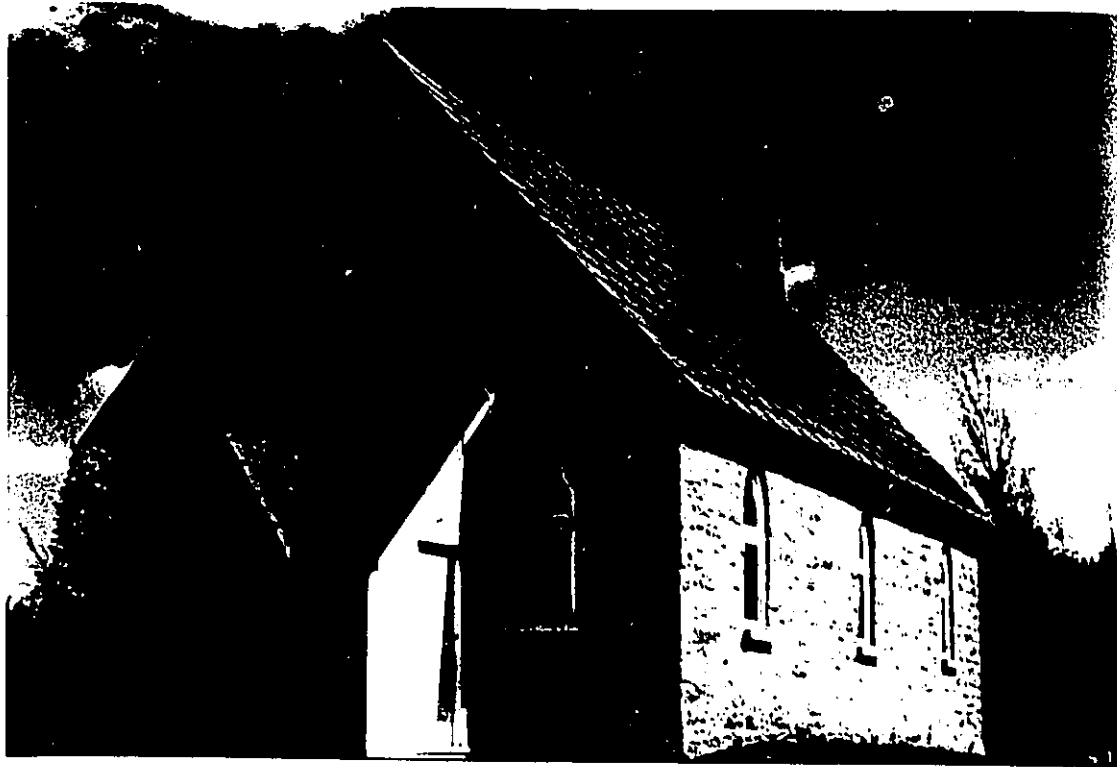


Fig. IV - 1

St. Augustine (Anglican), Prospect, 1854⁹⁶

Typical of many Anglican churches from this era, this small rural church is noticeably different from earlier counterparts such as St. John, Anglican, in March (1838) (Fig. I - 15). While both churches are built with local stone and St. Augustine has retained an axial entry, the spatial distributions of the two buildings are significantly distinct. Most notable is the redistribution of the wall/roof ratio in terms of the distribution of the vertical height, and the reduced size of the lateral windows.

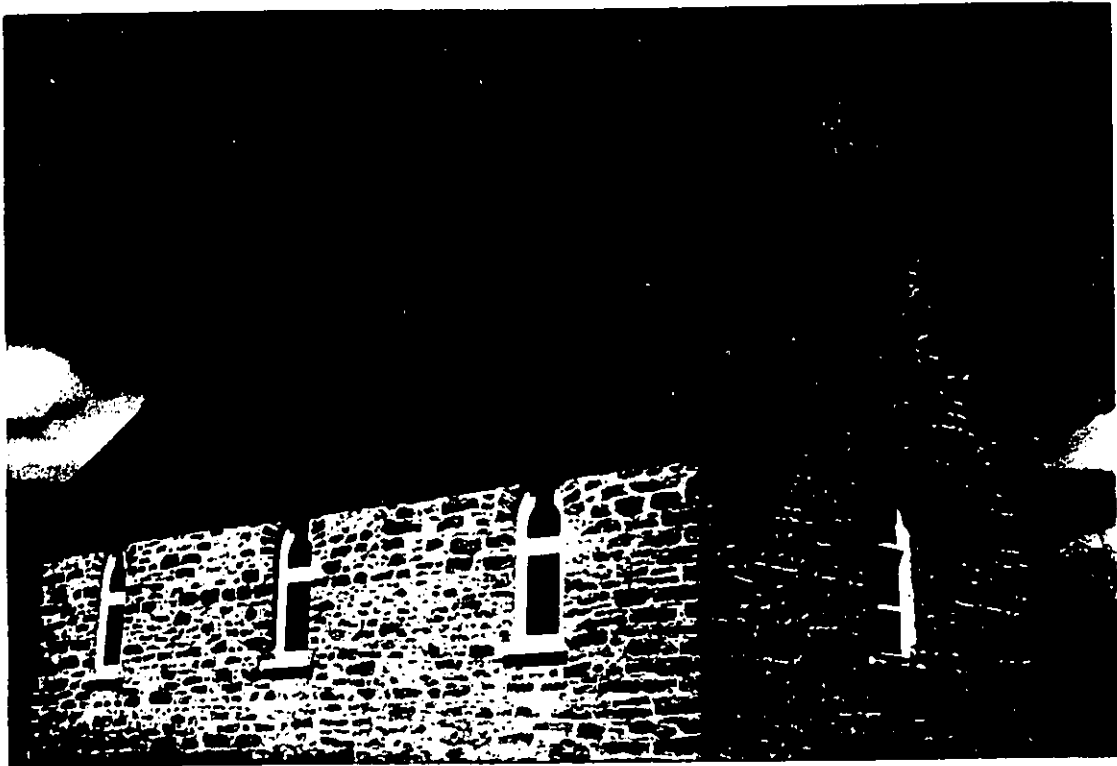
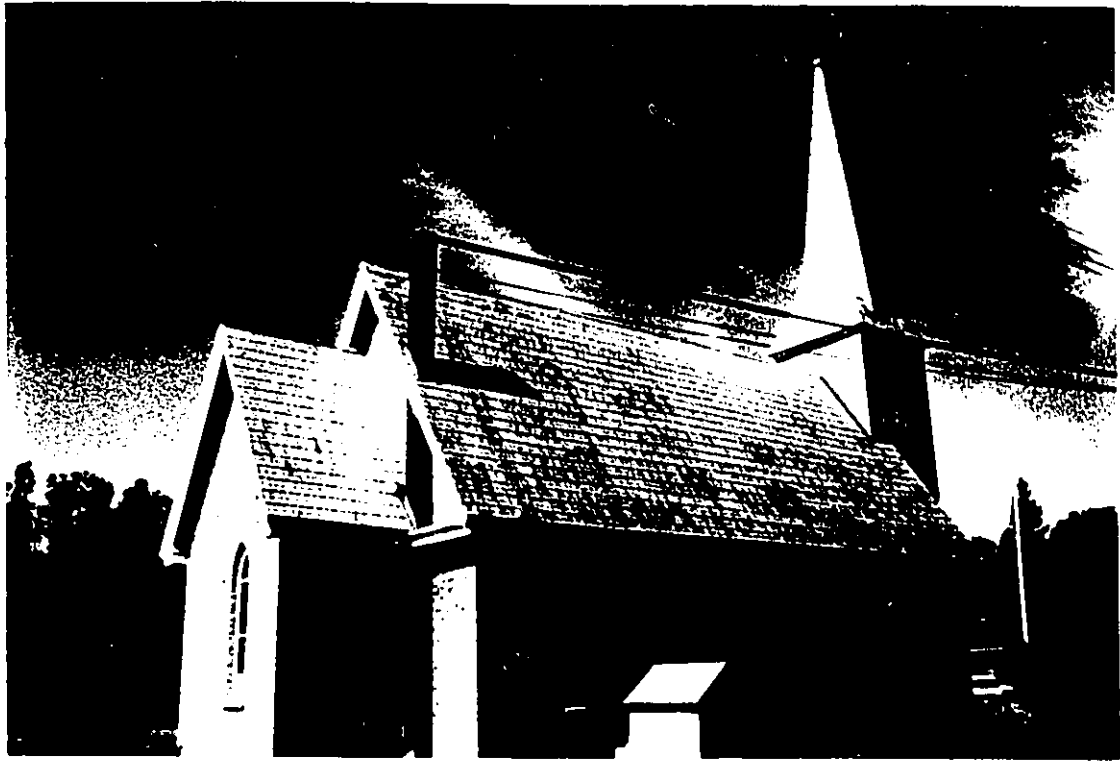


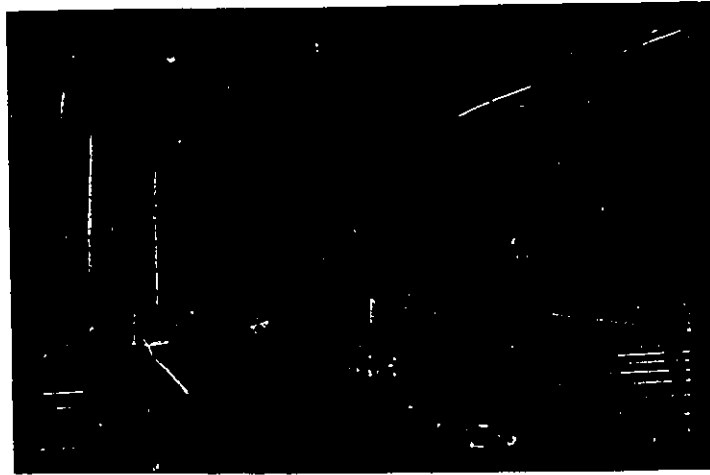
Fig. IV - 2

St. Augustine (Anglican), Prospect, 1854⁹⁷

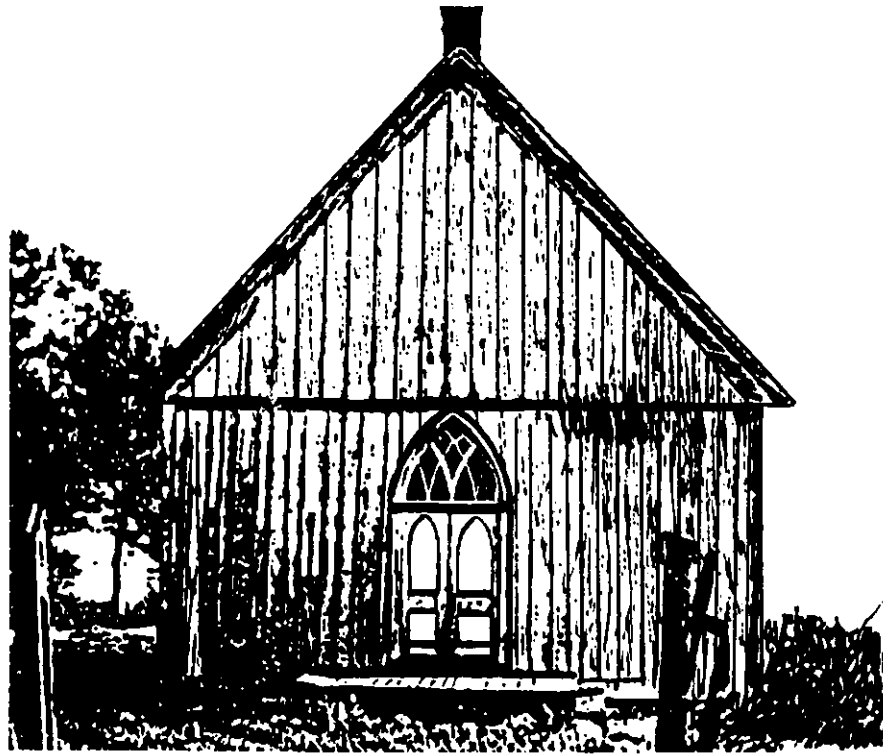
Here the height of the walls has been greatly reduced in favour of a greater roof surface. The windows are considerably smaller than those traditionally built into Anglican churches just a few years earlier. Church builders did however retain a traditional window placement, that is to say evenly spaced single lancets along the length of the lateral wall and a single axial window in the gable end of the church above the sanctuary.

**Fig. IV - 3****St. John (Anglican), Richmond, 1859⁹⁸**

Builders of St. John, Richmond, were among the first in the Ottawa Valley to experiment with new architectural ideas, although they did not orient the building. The church runs roughly along an East-West axis, with the entry to the East and the chancel to the West. A traditional axial tower is retained on the facade of the church however the slope of the roof is much greater than that of many earlier churches and the height of the lateral walls is much reduced. The reduced height of the wall in turn has affected the size of the lateral windows which are both narrower and necessarily shorter. More significant however, is the presence of an architecturally distinct chancel. Although the single lancet is asymmetrically placed in the end wall of the chancel, the window is positioned to be aligned with the central axis of the church. Space for a small vestry is included on the northern side of the chancel.

**Fig. IV - 4****St. John (Anglican), Richmond, 1859⁹⁹**

The interior of this church reflects a number of changes. The altar has retained its traditional position beneath an axial eastern window, however, it is now styled much closer to a sacrificial altar than to the traditional commemorative Eucharistic table. There are three arched panels on the front of the altar inscribed respectively with an Alpha, a superimposed I.H.S., and an Omega. The choir is placed immediately in front of the chancel arch. The seats are placed parallel to the central axis of the church. Above the chancel arch is a painted text that reading: "My house shall be called a house of prayer".

**Fig. IV - 5****St. Peter (Anglican), Alfred, 1859¹⁰⁰**

By the late 1850s, the influence of the revived medieval style was becoming increasingly evident, even in very modest rural constructions. While traditional tracery commonly found on survival Gothic churches has been retained above entryways, the general outline of the church reflects an interest in revived Gothic. The slope of the roof is no longer influenced by Classical architecture, but reproduces the Early English equilateral triangle. Vertical planking is used to accentuate an upward movement.

100 Illustration: V. Bennett, after Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-A-6.

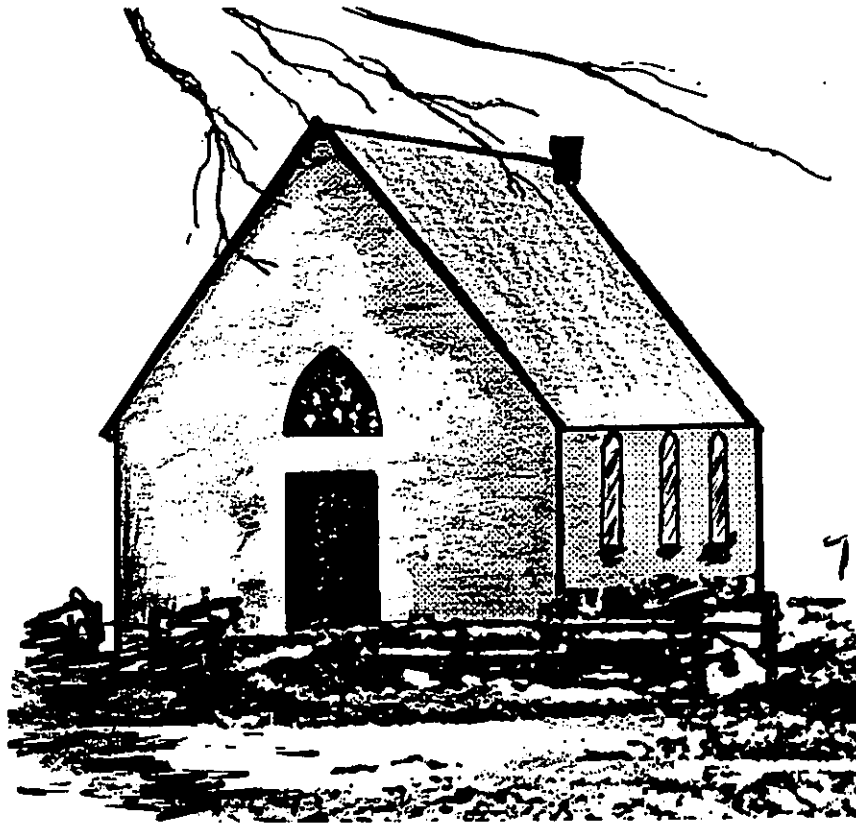


Fig. IV - 6

St. Mary (Anglican), Navan, 1862¹⁰¹

Although this church is extremely austere, boasting no external embellishments, the low lateral walls and the steep slope of the roof are suggestive of revivalist Gothic.

101 Illustration: V. Bennett, after Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Prescott Deanery Collection, *History of the Parish of Saint Mary's Navan, 1862-1983*, n.d., n.p.

**Fig. IV - 7**

Holy Trinity (Anglican), Hawkesbury, after renovations of 1859¹⁰²

Few traces of the original structure remain readily evident. Although a massive axial stone tower still fronts the church, it now bears the hallmarks of revived Gothic. These features are especially notable in the stepped-angle buttresses, the elongated broach spire and the tracery of the large Gothic window that now occupies the place of the original entry. The pitch of the roof has also been significantly increased.

102 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-H2-1, Photo: B. Bogue.



Fig. IV - 8

Holy Trinity (Anglican), Hawkesbury, after renovations of 1859¹⁰³

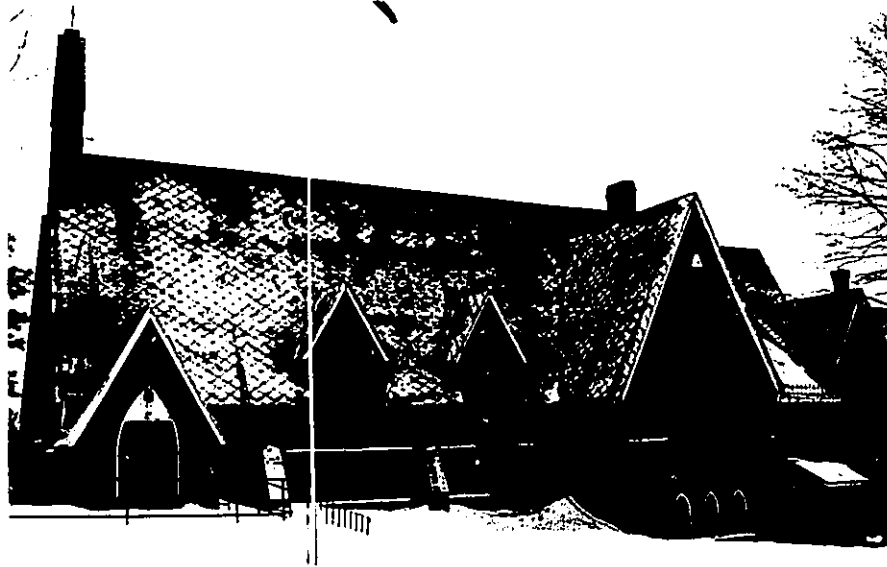
After internal renovations, the eastern windows of the chancel were arranged as one of the most distinctive features of Early English Gothic, the elongated central lancet flanked to either side by identical lancets of lesser height. This tripartite window arrangement was formed by three distinct windows. Externally these windows were joined by arched shafts and covered by a single arched drip stone.

103 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-112-2.



Fig. IV - 9
St. Paul (Anglican), Almonte, 1863¹⁰⁴

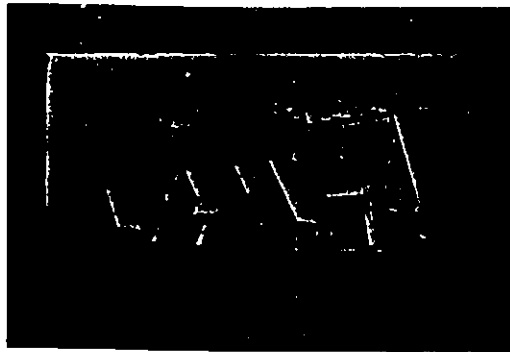
In Almonte, the West end (which is geographically almost due East) of the church is built flush against the sidewalk. However the church is aligned in such a manner that the central axis runs away from the public road towards the river. The principal entry is through a small porch on the lateral wall of the church. The paired lancets in the gable end are reflective of Christological imagery symbolizing the duality of his nature. The quatrefoil alludes to the universality of the Gospels, four being also representative of the cardinal directions and the rivers of paradise. The enclosing circle is again emblematic of totality.

**Fig. IV - 10****St. Paul (Anglican), Almonte, 1863¹⁰⁵**

Here the lateral wall of the porch is a direct extension of the end wall of the church. A double battened door is placed beneath a arched hood mold of contrasting stone. This molding runs immediately beneath the voussoirs of a relieving arch. Both arches are Gothic and spring from a point level with the lower end of the porch gable. This simple arrangement was considered by some to be an excellent example of the supremacy of Anglican architecture over Roman Catholic architecture. "Early-English doors are generally double" the Reverends Neale and Webb announced, "thereby representing the Two Natures of our Savior; but embraced by one arch so as to set forth His One Person....In these symbolical doorways, we have one proof of the immeasurable superiority of English over French architecture."¹⁰⁶ The northern transept was enlarged during the twentieth century.

¹⁰⁵ Photo: V. Bennett.

¹⁰⁶ Webb & Neale, *Symbolism of Churches*, p.lxlviii. On this point Poole went as far as to suggest that Christ actually pointed to the door of the temple when he said "I am the door," and thus personally sanctioned this instance of architectural symbolism. Poole, *Churches*, p. 34.

**Fig. IV - 11****St. Paul (Anglican), Almonte, 1863¹⁰⁷**

This late nineteenth century photograph of St. Paul illustrates the architectural arrangement of the northern side of the church prior to the enlargement of the northern transept. The church was originally surrounded by a graveyard that has been since relocated.

**Fig. IV - 12****St. Paul (Anglican), Almonte, 1863¹⁰⁸**

The stark elegance of the lateral windows are reflective of the skillful use of the Early English styling that earned St. Paul much of its admiration. The lateral walls are so low and the pitch of the roof so steep that the window gable must break the roof line to achieve the height necessary to efficiently light the nave. The tracery of the window echoes the Christological and evangelical symbolism of the main facade. Each gable is set with two lancets surmounted by a quatrefoil. The three separate windows are unified by a drip stone molding that follows the intrados face of the voussoirs.

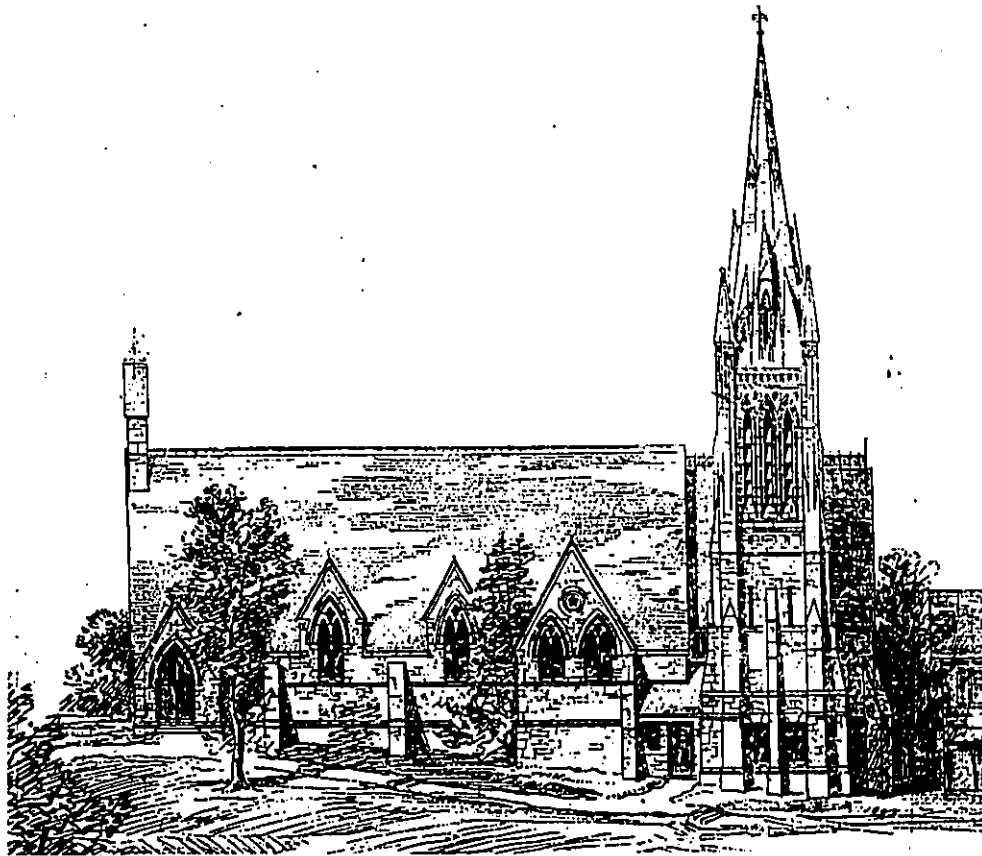


Fig. IV - 13

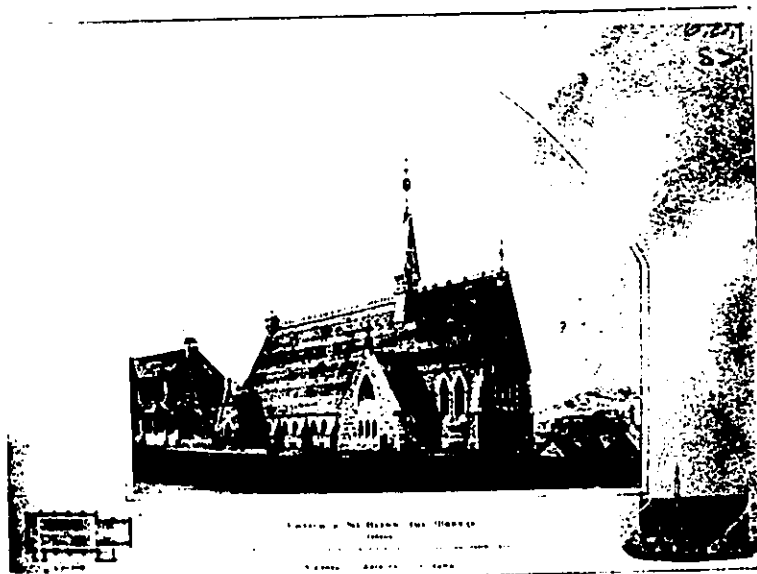
St. Paul (Anglican), Almonte, 1888¹⁰⁹

Illustration from the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, 1888¹¹⁰ in which the Church of St. Paul Almonte is depicted with a tower, which was never built. The journal provides no explanation. Instead it was noted in the *Dominion Churchman*: "In this parish is a handsome church and parsonage in Early English style of architecture; the church has a belfry instead of a tower to swallow up all the funds and hold no bells..."¹¹¹ The windows of the northern transept correspond neither to the original construction (see Fig. IV - 8) or to the subsequent modifications (see Fig. IV - 7). Though typical of the era, the ridge cresting, depicted here only on the chancel roof, does not correspond to what was built.

109 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. I. No. viii. September 1888.

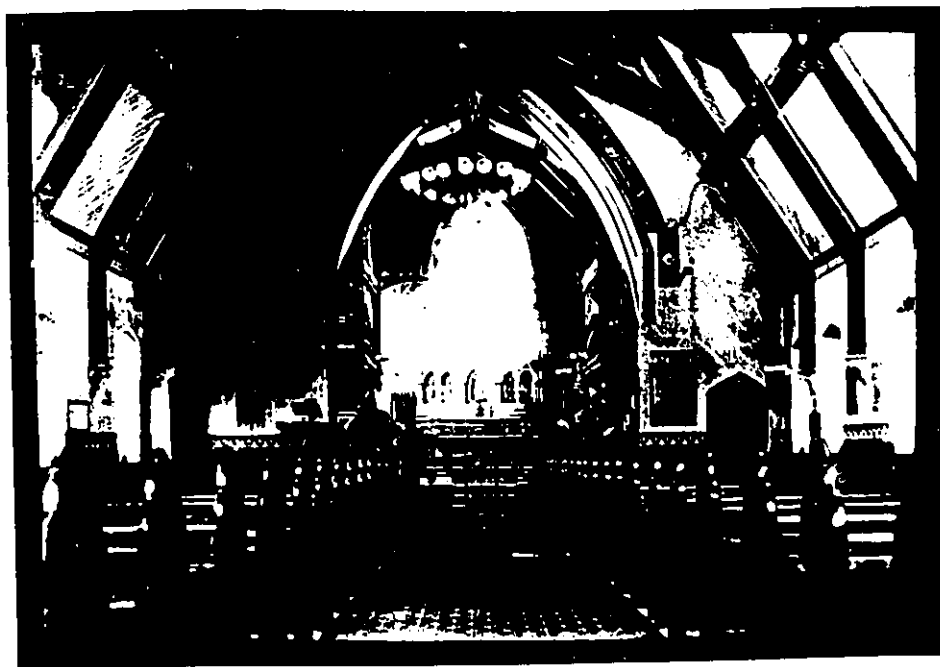
110 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. I. No. viii. September 1888.

111 *Dominion Churchman*, 20 March 1879, p. 137.

**Fig. IV - 14****St. Alban (Anglican), Ottawa, 1866¹¹²**

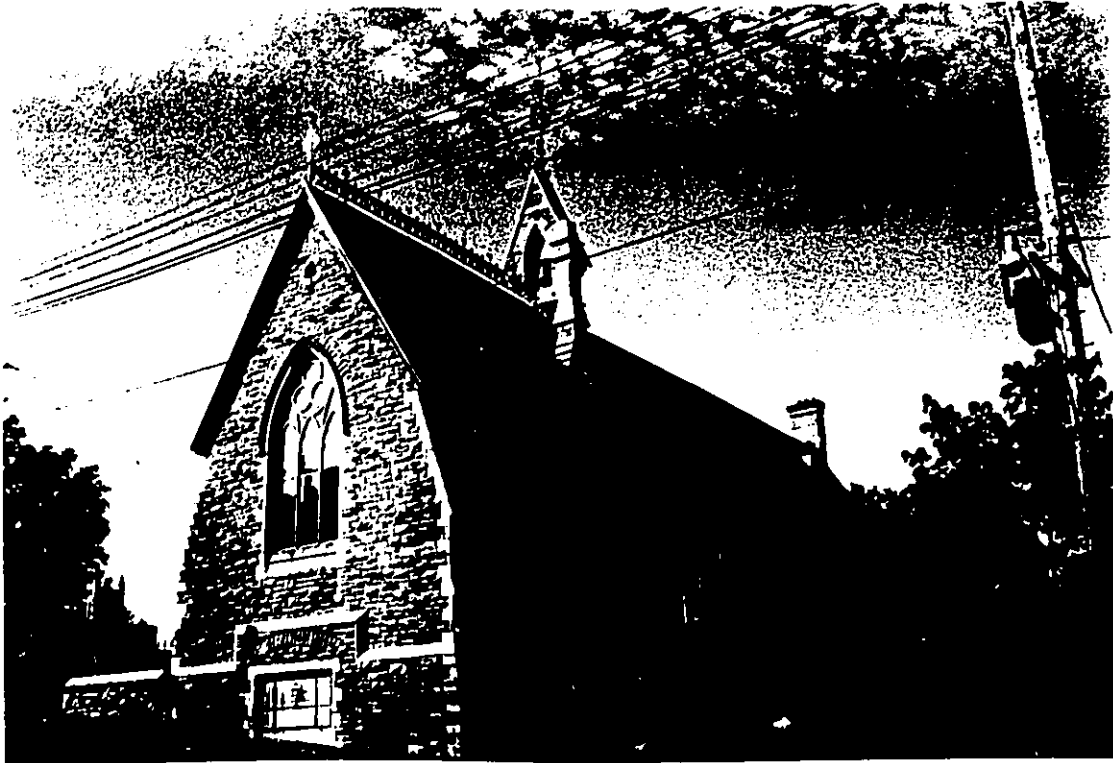
This nineteenth century illustration of St. Alban gives a better perspective on the building than is possible today. The roof of the nave descends to within a few feet of the ground leaving only very limited space for lateral windows. In contrast to the arrangement of the lateral windows at St. Paul in Almonte, they remain subordinate to the upper levels and do not break the roof line. Although the chancel at St. Alban continues the roof line of the main body of the building, there are nevertheless several architecturally distinguishing features. Externally the transition between the two parts of the building is marked by a large sanctecote. The lateral walls of the chancel are significantly taller than those of the nave. This illustration also depicts the Eastern window, prior to major alterations. Here again the architect used the Early English formula, flanking an elongated central lancet with two similar lancets of lesser height. All three windows were independent but unified by a single hood molding.

112 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-O6-1.

**Fig. IV - 15****St. Alban (Anglican), Ottawa, 1866¹¹³**

A view of the interior of St. Alban taken from the western end of the nave towards the sanctuary. The eastern window in the chancel has been changed, and is now a tripartite but single window. Immediately beneath this window, is an ornate Gothic reredos and altar. Large organ pipes can be seen against the northern and eastern walls of the sanctuary, immediately East of the chancel arch. The ceilings of both the chancel and the nave have been covered with neat wood paneling. The small mitered archway immediately South of the chancel leads to a vestry.

¹¹³ Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-O6-3.

**Fig. IV - 16****St. Alban (Anglican), Ottawa, 1866¹¹⁴**

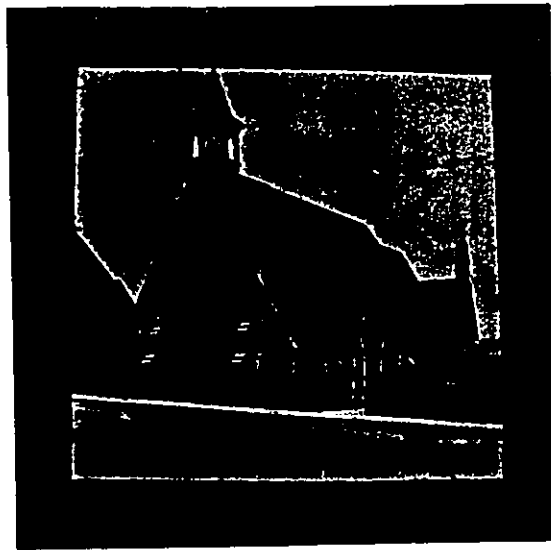
The chancel of St. Alban is architecturally distinguished from the nave of the church by its lesser width and taller lateral walls. The use of powerful buttresses at regular intervals is dictated by the structural instability of the site itself and not by a desire for decorative appendages. The architect has nevertheless used Early English buttressing to address the problem. These narrow, but solid supports are staged, gradually tapering in width and projection through a series of successive reductions. Each step back is covered with a well cut angled cap stone. The East window has now been changed to a single tripartite opening. Equal triplets are defined by the window tracery; these are in turn surmounted by three circles with quatrefoil glazing.

114 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. IV - 17****St. Bartholomew (Anglican), Ottawa, 1868¹¹⁵**

At St. Bartholomew, the sanctuary end of the church is distinguished only by internal finishing: there is no architectural reference to a chancel. The eastern wall is opened by a generous tripartite window, with moldings forming triplet lancets. The altar was placed immediately beneath the eastern window. The floor of the sanctuary was elevated by three steps above the floor level of the nave. The baptismal font, seen here front and center, stood in a position of axial centrality, immediately in front of the principal side entry.

¹¹⁵ Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-09-2.

**Fig. IV - 18****St. James (Anglican), Hull, 1866¹¹⁶**

The use of the equilateral triangle in defining the profile of the roof is especially evident in this late nineteenth century photograph of St. James (now lost). Despite the presence of several Early English features, such as the architectural integration of the equilateral triangle and the use independent triplet lancets, St. James lacks much of the stylistic purity and strength that distinguish St. Paul in Almonte and St. Alban in Ottawa. Here the triplets are somewhat earth-bound and their unambitious ascension was negated by the horizontal banding beneath the oculus at the apex of the gable end. The bell turret is uninspired and stylistically only marginally compatible.

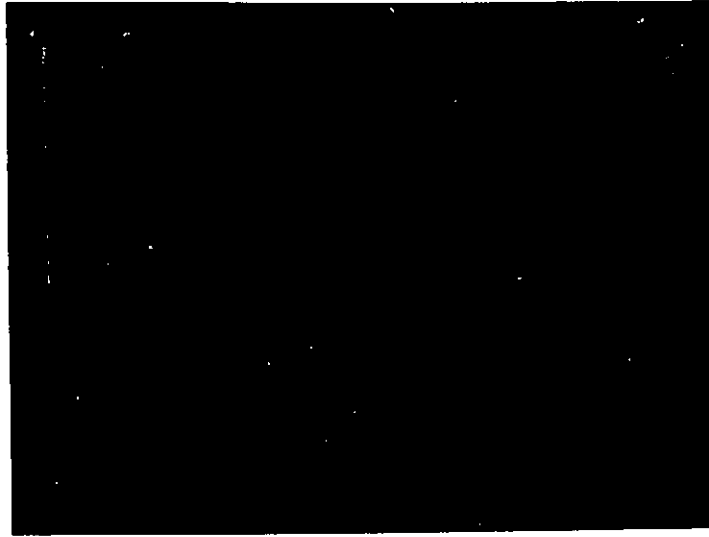


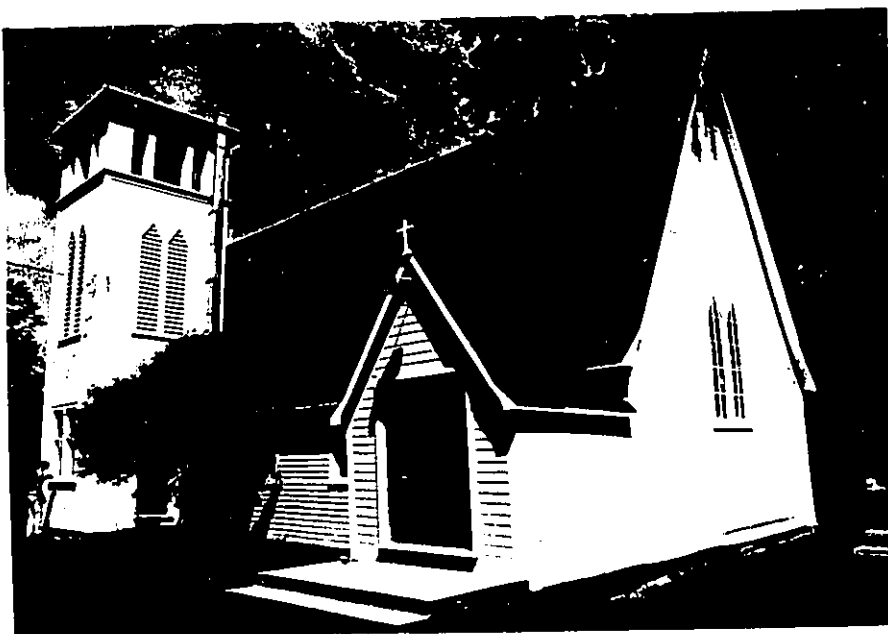
Fig. IV - 19

St. Luke (Anglican), Eardley, 1864¹¹⁷

The interest in the revival of medieval style Gothic church building was felt even on simple log structures. Here at Eardley, the original log church, with vertical planking on the upper portion of the gable ends, can be seen from the sanctuary end. A vestry and side porch were built against the side wall of the church.

**Fig. IV - 20****St. Luke (Anglican), Eardley, 1864¹¹⁸**

During the course of the 1870s the original modest structure underwent a number of modifications. The wooden logs were covered with planking and a substantial tower and belfry were built above the vestry. The church is seen here undergoing renovations during the summer of 1990. Human scale, provided by the man painting the tower, serves to illustrate both the narrowness of the original structure and the steep angle of the roof.

**Fig. IV - 21****St. Luke (Anglican), Eardley, 1864¹¹⁹**

Now completely renovated, only the presence of mitered arches suggest a possible connection with the original rustic log church. Despite the extent of the renovations, much of the original spirit has been retained in the external contours of the church. The interior of the building has been the unfortunate recipient of recent and carefully budgeted modifications.

119 Photo: V. Bennett.



Fig. IV - 22

Good Shepherd (Anglican), Plantagenet, 1875¹²⁰

Within the Anglican Church, the influence of Camdanian Ecclesiology was eventually to be felt through the whole range of church building. In Plantagenet, the church of the Good Shepherd achieves much of its vertical height through the steep pitch of the roof. The lateral walls are not much taller than the three small boys that stand in front of the church.

120 Anglican Diocesan Archives, Ottawa, Photograph Collection, 51-P8-1.

CHAPTER V

MARKING IT AS A HOUSE OF GOD: FROM SURVIVAL GOTHIC TO NEO-GOTHIC

Anglicans were not the only Christian community in the Ottawa Valley to be making greater use of the Gothic style in the construction of their new churches. Evidence suggests that during the middle years of the nineteenth century the majority of Christian congregations building in the Ottawa Valley were including some reference to the Gothic style (see Fig. V - 1). This phenomena is evident not exclusively in the active revival of medieval prototypes, but is also manifest in the widespread use of Gothic elements in the churches built by Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians; and Roman Catholics as well as Congregationalists (see Fig. V - 2). While Roman Catholics explored Gothic more fully than many other Christian denominations and occasionally remarked on the intrinsically Christian nature of Gothic, there is little evidence to suggest a preoccupation with the revival of medieval prototypes and the advocacy of strict archaeological fidelity. As one Roman Catholic cleric noted:

L'Église n'a aucun style qui lui soit propre. Elle les admet tous selon les temps et les lieux, se contentant de les adapter à ses besoins... Chaque type offre des modèles dont on peut s'inspirer. Je dis inspirer, car je

repousse toute copie servile. Les églises ne sont pas faites pour plaire aux archéologues, mais pour honorer Dieu et répondre aux nécessités présentes.¹

The rejection of servile devotion to medieval prototypes was not a reservation unique to Roman Catholics. Many Anglo-Protestants were not convinced that the revival of style and detailing that pre-dated the Protestant Reformation was the wisest course of architectural action. Several denominations kept a watchful eye on the developments within the Church of England. From the 1840's onwards, the Protestant press devoted considerable space to the discussion of 'Tractarianism,' 'Puseyism,' 'Revivalism,' and 'Ritualism.' Non-Anglicans often considered the revival of medieval Gothic to be a direct outcome of the Oxford movement despite the refusal of the Oxonians themselves to acknowledge any exclusive supremacy of Gothic. Even before the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society, the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* had warned its readership that all was not as it should be in the English Church. During the early 1840s the magazine re-printed an article from the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* entitled "The Church of England, a Half-Reformed Church." The article was essentially a denunciation of the Oxford Movement and its influence on the Church of England. In the original text the author claimed:

Nor have we any great cause to wonder at the Popery of the Church of England in her liturgy, rubrics, canons, vestments, rites, and in what may be termed her *traditional*, as distinguished from her *symbolical* theology...²

1 X. B. de Montault, *Traité pratique de la construction, de l'ameublement et de la décoration des églises selon les règles économiques et les traditions romaines avec un appendice sur le costume ecclésiastique*, (Paris: P. Louis Vivès, 1878) p. 24.

2 *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1840, pp. 90-91.

Editors of the Canadian magazine prefixed their reprint of the Scottish article with the following observations:

Most of our readers are aware that a party in the Church of England, whose headquarters are at Oxford, are laboring to introduce Popery into the Church, as well as into the country at large under a mask of concern for religion.³

Although a significant number of non-Anglican editors and journalists were willing and able to discuss developments originating at Oxford and Cambridge with considerable understanding and skill, a great many more were not. It is worth noting, especially in light of the frequency with which the topic was discussed, that many correspondents were either unable or inclined not to distinguish between Oxonian theology and Camdanian Ecclesiology. Furthermore, evidence suggests that this tendency was rather more common among individuals who were somewhat less comfortable with the use of revived medieval Gothic. This reservation does not however appear to have extended to all forms of Gothic expression. There was no equivalent to the Oxford Movement or the Ecclesiologists within other Protestant Confessions. Nor did any have a Pugin emerge from within their midst to champion the cause of fitting and soulful church-building. Instead, with the obvious exclusion of the Church of England, the greater part of Anglo-Protestant church-building theory was generated in, and circulated more or less anonymously through the denominational press. Despite these reservations and, in some instances, a general lack of direction, Gothic continued to be used extensively by both Protestants and Roman Catholics.

3 *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1840, pp. 90-91.

METHODIST CONCERNS

Among those watching the Anglicans with particular vigilance were the Methodists. Previously associated with a less educated and less affluent segment of the population, the places of prayer used by various Methodist communities had, for many years, an element of architectural continuity with the modesty of their own personal dwellings. This had been an important characteristic of Methodist church architecture. Structurally and stylistically, many Methodist places of worship incorporated little more than was necessary to afford modest shelter from the elements. Despite this, it would be erroneous to dismiss Methodist churches simply as functional, and of no historic interest or consequence. This has been done all too often by architectural historians more intent on material style than spiritual design. As previously noted, Methodists in the Ottawa Valley had a tendency to associate their place of worship with religious ideals of a complexity that transcended the preoccupations and daily banalities of adequate shelter. Indeed, the manner in which Methodists understood church building was closely linked to the Methodist perception of their own role in a complex inter-relation of Divine favor and mortal duty before God. Just as God gave generously of spiritual and material blessing, so was it the duty of Christians to give generously to God. Part of this Christian duty was to build a place where God could be properly honored.

By the middle years of the nineteenth century, Methodists in Central Canada were becoming increasingly aware that they no longer were the simple pioneers of old. The emotional saddlebag preacher fervently extolling the Word of God in a barn or remote clearing was fast becoming a dated commodity. Likewise, the isolated settlers, destitute of the Gospels, tearfully denouncing their sins and loudly rejoicing in God's

pardon, belonged more to the earlier years of an occasionally romanticized past. Methodists were becoming increasingly preoccupied with public opinion and progressively aware of the widening gulf between the condition of the places where they lived, and the places where they prayed. There was a creeping concern that this distance should be reduced in the not too distant future. It was in fact suggested that: "The future prosperity of Methodism is more intimately connected with this subject than many are disposed to imagine."⁴

Methodists were thus gradually acquiring lifestyles of increasing affluence. Along with their material prosperity, they were also beginning to hold more prestigious social positions in developing towns and villages. As this happened, many Methodists became more interested in building places of worship that were larger and closer to the preoccupations of their own daily lives. Unfortunately the manner in which many of their earlier houses of worship were built did not lend itself especially well to construction on an increased scale, or to reflecting the improved conditions of the parishioners.

While in many cases, the construction of a church building clearly attested to a renewed interest in grace and spiritual progress, rules regulating this construction continued to be vague. Within the Methodist Churches, there had been very little discussion of specific architectural needs. Questions concerning size, style, external presentation and the creation of suitable sanctuaries were only now beginning to emerge. Although church-building was in and of itself a noble enterprise, determining the most appropriate construction for the manner in which Methodists experienced their

4 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

religion presented some difficulties. This was a predicament Methodists in the Ottawa Valley had experienced first hand. A report concerning recent advances on the Richmond Circuit noted:

Most of this time seemed like one continued Sabbath and the very atmosphere sacred. God was moving onward in the majesty of his love, and from day to day rolling upon us a sea of glory. The power of the Highest overshadowed us and the windows of heaven were opened and we had hardly room to receive the blessings that descended. Our house of worship was filled from day to day and often overflowing, though the attention of the people to religion was intense and long-continued, there was no trespass upon the rules of Christian decorum, all was solemn and peaceful.⁵

This description of the Richmond experience was typical of mid-nineteenth century Methodist discussion of the transcendence of God. The actions of the Almighty were frequently described in powerful meteorological terms. When God wished to make his presence felt to the Methodists of the Ottawa Valley, He did so in clouds of power, seas of glory, and showers of grace. Any structure built by human hands would be ill-suited to accommodate the rank and eminence of the theophanies as described above. However, the chronicle of this encounter between his earth-bound parishioners and the unsullied nobility of the Divine, illustrates how the Methodist church building served as a point of contact between two very different worlds. When this happened, everything was transformed, even time and place took on new properties as the atmosphere was sanctified and weekdays became holy days. Another point of interest is the insistence of the author on the behavior of those gathered in the church. All was

5 *Christian Guardian*, January 1848, n.p..

quiet and dignified. These remarks were clearly directed more to a general public and denote an increasing desire among Methodists to distance themselves from a reputation that portrayed them as prone to public and vocal displays of extreme emotions. Evidence suggests that Methodist tolerance for this type of behavior was diminishing as the preferred place of worship shifted from the outdoor camp to indoor church services.

Despite their modest demeanor, these church buildings were increasingly being depicted as a point for contact with the benefits of religion. Through them, one could gain access to spiritual nourishment and divine grace. Methodist preachers were now suggesting that simply by virtue of frequenting places built for collective worship, an individual of limited religious conviction could be exposed to the beneficial effects of divine grace. The Methodist church building was therefore not simply coming to be recognized as instrumental in exposing people to the opportunities of salvation, but was a means by which the weak could be retained within a positive sphere of spiritual influence. This is not to suggest that the building itself was considered to wield any power. Instead, church buildings appear to have been perceived more as a receptacle into which God poured his divine grace to the assembled congregation. By frequenting the church building itself, an individual could gain access to other elements of faith. The physical presence of a church would be a stabilizing force within the community and a means by which new converts might be attracted to Methodism.

While some Methodists were presenting the church building as a unique point of entry through which many dimensions of spiritual grace could be accessed, others were drawing attention to the fact that none of this would be possible if the church building itself was unattractive. A church building devoid of visual merit was unlikely to entice

the casual or lukewarm Christian to enter. Furthermore, it was precisely such individuals who were in the greatest need of being drawn into a sphere of saving grace.

As one correspondent to the *Christian Guardian* pointed out:

... we would also observe that unless suitable accommodation be provided, hundreds will find a home elsewhere, who, perhaps, were there a comfortable Methodist Church in their vicinity would attend it, and there find Him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write.... It should be remembered, however willing members of Society may be to endure inconveniences arising from want of suitable worship, others will not submit to such inconveniences, particularly where they can avail themselves of suitable church accommodation without difficulty. And it is to be feared that numbers attend nowhere on the Lord's day, because there is no suitable place in which the service is held in their neighbourhood.⁶

The reader was assured that while the correspondent did not intend to act as an apologist for the type of individual who would only attend religious services performed in a comfortable setting, it was useful to remember one important point. If such people could be persuaded to enter the church building, they would be much easier and more receptive targets for the pouring out of the graces necessary for the transformation of their lives. This was an occasion not to be missed, and an obligation not to be taken lightly. It was part and parcel of a Christian's duty to God. Methodists in Central Canada, determined that none should be lost, moved quickly to fill the void (see Fig. V - 3).

6 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

However, while some Methodists were emphatically insisting on the need for suitable places of worship, others were politely voicing some practical inquiries: "What is meant by a suitable place of worship?"⁷ The *Christian Guardian* attempted to answer this question by volunteering that the suitability of a place of worship was directly dependent on the material well-being of those who were intending to build. The projected construction should be a reflection of the material blessings the community had received:

... a just reply can be given only in view of the circumstances of those who make the inquiry. What may be suitable in one place may be unsuitable in another place; but in no case, we believe, should the house of God be *inferior* to the house of his servants; and well may that servant blush who leaves his own comfortable and richly-furnished dwelling to worship his master on the holy Sabbath, in a house that will bear no kind of comparison with the building he so recently left. "Shall the servant be greater than the lord?"⁸

While this reply was not without a certain element of common sense, it did little to address questions of orientation, size and stylistic propriety that were so prevalent in the replies Anglican Church authorities gave to similar inquiries. The Methodist discussion began timidly at first with only a few modest and rather vague suggestions:

Whatever may be the dimension of the structure to be erected, or whatever materials to be used, perhaps there will be no second opinion as to the propriety of keeping in view, in all arrangements, both the durability and neatness of the edifice, while, at the same time, in perfect

7 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

8 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

accordance with Methodist simplicity, extravagance and unnecessary ornament should be avoided.⁹

The question was not destined to remain that simple however, and answers of much greater complexity were soon to be demanded. This was especially true as Methodists became increasingly aware of Anglican church-building activities. By the middle years of the nineteenth century, the matter of better-looking churches became the object of much questioning and in certain instances, moral dilemma. In some communities, more conservative elements were persistently reluctant to assign God to a place built by human hands, while others worried that without church buildings, Methodism could not survive.¹⁰ Still others feared that although churches should be built, it might be in some way sinful to build churches that were too elegant or stylish. Methodists sent their questions and opinions to their denominational journals. Replies or rebuttals were published and the debate raged back and forth with comparatively little guidance from Church officials.

Although the exigency for proper church buildings had been recognized for some time by the mid 1850's, the necessity for some very practical guidance was clearly evident. No longer was it enough to simply build a place of worship. It was indispensable that certain rules of architectural balance and proportion be observed. A correspondent to the *Christian Guardian* observed that:

I think that at the present a good deal of attention is being paid by our connexion (sic) to the matter of church building.... But sometimes

9 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

10 *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1847, p. 82.

mistakes occur. The buildings designed for a 'house of prayer' is as shapeless or ill shaped, nondescript kind of thing; without symmetry, without regular proportions; commenced and finished without a plan or design.... Some are inconveniently low, others needlessly high,... and in other respects built in defiance of all rules of Architecture, and when built, inconvenient and unhandsome, nor as durable as though the plan and work had been done according to the rules of the building Art.¹¹

In addition to calling for certain architectural virtues, Methodists were beginning to repeat the Anglican call for churches that were unequivocally identifiable as a place of Christian prayer. One individual admitted, "I confess I do not like to have the traveler ask when passing the place where I worship: "is it a *mill*, or a *barn*, or a *factory* or what is it?"¹² He was however quick to set himself apart from any desire to build towers and elevated steeples or other architectural appendages that were too readily associated with Anglican tradition. It was nevertheless necessary for there to be "something in the general appearance and impression of the edifice which tells the passerby *It is a house of God.*"¹³ To achieve this end the correspondent volunteered the following advice:

The house of worship should be correct in its proportions, neat and tasteful in the manner of its execution, and the interior should be fitted up in a way suited for the purposes for which it is designed. Ease of speaking and hearing as well as general *bodily comfort* should be regarded. There is more in *association* than most people are aware, especially with the young. Hindrances should not be thrown in the way

11 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

12 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

13 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

of persons coming to the house of prayer. It is very easy to make an unfavorable impression, but not so easy to remove it once made.¹⁴

A pronounced reluctance to adopt solutions that were too Anglican is evident. Many Methodists were troubled by the ritualism of the Anglican Ecclesiology, and what they perceived to be its Romish trappings. They were however prepared to acknowledge that, like their Anglican neighbours, Methodism was in need of a good and standardized set of reliable plans.¹⁵

In places where large churches are required, there are competent architect to furnish plans and specifications; and it will do to employ and pay them for it. But houses built after such models are altogether beyond the means and wants of country places. What we want is not plans for churches of the largest dimensions; but for houses as low as 26' x 36' and from this size to 40' x 50' and 45' x 60.' Throughout our country, churches of such dimensions are far more numerous than those of a larger size and they are better - that is they meet the wants of the people and are within their means. In country places, we cannot gather large congregations; nor do we need large houses. The people attend from only a few miles around. It is desirable that in all principal societies and neighborhoods, we should have churches as far as possible.¹⁶

To achieve this end the author made the following suggestions:

Let a competent architect be employed. One sufficiently acquainted with our peculiar forms and usage to know how to construct the internal part of a church so as to be adapted to our use - let him furnish plans of

14 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

15 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

16 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

churches of various sizes - with front and side views - plans of internal arrangement, with specifications and such directions as would be necessary for the guide of mechanics and as would be understood by our people; and let him be paid for his work from the chapel relief fund. Let such plans as may be approved of by a competent committee be adopted.¹⁷

The correspondent also confessed to harbor hopes, "for improvements in the internal arrangements of our churches, as well as in the external structure & appearance." Such improvements would be greatly facilitated by the abolition of galleries and "pulpits so deep that a short man feels up to the neck when he is in them, or elevated near to the ridge of the house." Furthermore as, the author went on to explain, not only could one take great pleasure in a job well done, "if we go rightly at it, it is as easy to do things right as wrong."¹⁸

Once again, while the advice itself might not have been detrimental to improved construction, it was far from providing potential church-builders with an explicit set of blueprints. In 1861 the *Christian Guardian* published a lengthy article in which several subjects related to the building of churches were discussed. The article was, originally, a response to a reader who had written to express doubt concerning the morality of building costly and handsome churches. This doubt was one clearly not shared by the author of the reply. "Handsome," the respondent explained, "means moderately beautiful, well made, having symmetry of parts."¹⁹ The reader is asked: "Where's the virtue of piling up wood or stone or brick in a shape defiant of the rules of taste and

17 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

18 *Christian Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 94.

19 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

disagreeable to the eye, because it is for a house where people meet to worship God?"²⁰ Then informed in no uncertain terms: "A just taste as exercised on architectural preparation and the fitness of things is not sin. There is more religion in following than in violating it."²¹

The author then proceeded to launch into a lengthy justification for the construction of 'handsome' churches. The arguments presented are buttressed by carefully selected Biblical passages. The reader is reminded of the fact that while the Jews wandered in the desert, the "most costly tent" was the one used to house the tabernacle.²² In Jerusalem, the "most costly house" was the temple.²³ The word 'costly' the reader is informed, appears often in the Old Testament in connection with building the house of God: 'costly stones,' 'costly stones and cedars.' The author also noted that no one appears to question the wisdom of Solomon in this undertaking, and that his father David²⁴ "refused to offer to the Lord what had cost him nothing."²⁵ Furthermore, when Mary washed the feet of Jesus with 'costly ointment,'²⁶ Jesus himself had "commended the deed" and the only one to object was "a certain utilitarian."²⁷

The author also protested sharply against the equation of well built churches with churches that were architecturally trendy. It had been suggested that well built

20 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

21 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

22 Exodus 26: 1-37.

23 Kings 5: 15-32; Kings 6: 1-36.

24 Chronicles 21: 23-25.

25 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

26 John 12: 3-6.

27 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

churches might be “unspiritual,” possessing only “a decent body but no soul.”²⁸ Against this, the author launched into a searing tirade against “stinginess with the garb of piety,”²⁹ announcing that “This stigmatizing whatever is generous and bountiful and tasteful and costly in the offerings and preparations of Christianity as fashionable religion is worse than a fallacy: it is a mischievous delusion.”³⁰

What this author did not include, and what was still missing for potential Methodist church-builders, was any concrete direction on the subject of actually building a church. There were still no specific examples of what might constitute a just display of generosity. Methodists were still without direction on the subject of orientation, proportion and the required dimensions of specific internal furnishings. Nor was there any indication as to just where that crucial, but elusive line between fine craftsmanship and fashionable frivolity might run (see Fig. V - 4).

In 1854, the Wesleyan Methodist minister in charge of the Clarendon and Portage du Fort missions, Rev. W. T. Hewitt, noted in his annual report that “Puseyism has made several attempts to raise its head, but the atmosphere is too evangelical for its growth, it is sickly, it is dying.”³¹ He was later appointed to a neighboring region of

28 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

29 “We object to the covert idea implied in the association of “fine churches” with fashionable religion. Our interrogation links these together and claims to be in the opposition against us. Begging his pardon, there is some religious caut (sic) in his phrase, it begs the question. By fashionable religion we suppose he means that which is formal merely, unspiritual having a decent body but no soul. Now it be really so, by any law of nature or grace that people can not worship devoutly in a handsome and costly church then we give it up. If they must abjure taste, comfort, good architectural proportions, neat furniture and all en [sic] crossing their thresholds and starting to the house of God, under pain of not worshipping him in spirit and truth, than away with paint and planed planks, don’t even peel the poles; let us have dirt floors and things to match.” *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

30 *Christian Guardian*, 21 February 1861, p 33.

31 Rev. W. T. Hewitt, *Annual Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connection with the English Conference 1854*, p. xxxviii.

western Quebec, near Thurso, an area with a strong Baptist community and in which Methodist progress had been slow. In 1858, Hewitt complained that there was still no church in the Lochaber Mission and the local Baptist community was taking advantage of this weakness. "Immersionists," he declared solemnly, "have tried to sink the Wesleyan ship."³² His remarks are in many ways reflective of the problems that faced Methodist church-builders during the second half of the nineteenth century. They were charged with the delicate task of building a suitable place of worship, without appearing to succumb to Puseyism or to mean-spiritedness. Surviving evidence suggests that many Methodist church-builders in the Ottawa Valley felt that Gothic was the style best suited for this task.

In response to the needs of many remote or newly formed communities, the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the construction of numerous small Methodist churches. The majority of these were country churches. A few were built in stone. Many later churches were built in brick, the vast majority however were constructed in wood. Regardless of the building material used, these churches were all very similar in their architectural massing. They had simple rectangular ground plans and were most commonly entered by way of a single axial entry. Earlier churches were rarely fitted with towers, although these became more common during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. This most basic interpretation of Gothic had a number of advantages. It was simple yet dignified. It was easy to build but was also, in architectonic terms at least, well beyond the social and stylistic confines of a log structure. Methodist church-builders also used this same basic plan for the construction

32 Rev. W. T. Hewitt, *Annual Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Canada in Connection with the English Conference, 1858*, n.p. City of Ottawa Archives, Box MM2.

of churches in towns and cities where a larger population required a correspondingly larger church.

One of the oldest and few surviving examples of this type of church is a small clap-board structure built along the 9th Line road of Fitzroy Township (see Figs. V - 5 & 6). Known today as Diamond Church,³³ it was built by the Wesleyan Methodists of Fitzroy Township in 1862. The church is set back slightly from the road way but fronts the property line. It is entered by way of a single axial doorway in the eastern facade. Inside the church is a simple rectangle room, forty-five feet long and thirty feet wide. The western end of the church is flat. There are no windows, no architectural embellishments. The sanctuary is placed against the western wall of the church. It is understated with a floor that is raised only slightly above the ground level of the nave. There is a modest pulpit and unpretentious sittings for those ministering. The whole is surrounded by a low rail. While this arrangement continued to be used in some parishes through to the final years of the nineteenth century, changes within the Methodist community itself were occasioning a new openness to architectural evolution.

During the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, there were profound changes within the Methodist Church itself. This was marked most conspicuously by a significant shift towards greater unity among the various Methodist confessions. In 1874, the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, the Canada Conference of the Methodist New Connexion and the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern

33 At the time of its construction in 1862, the church was referred to as "Stevenson Church" and during the 1870s it appears in reports as the 9th Line Church of the Fitzroy Mission. The name Diamond appears to have been used for the first time in 1885, although the nearby settlement had been known as Diamond Village since 1859. The name itself comes from the village of Diamond in County Antrim, Ireland, the birthplace of some of the local settlers. O.A.C. United Church Records Collection, Box 9/Fir 26-(a).

British North America united to form the Methodist Church of Canada. A decade later, in 1884, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada and the Bible Christian Church joined forces with the Methodist Church of Canada. This new union was known simply as the Methodist Church. One of the most visible outcomes of this trend towards a greater unity was the expansion of congregation size. With their new augmented membership the material resources of many Methodist congregations increased significantly. This new prosperity resulted not simply from the combined resources of the Methodist communities, but also from a growing affluence of church members as individuals. Furthermore, at the same time that the differences that had for so long fragmented Methodist communities and limited church building resources were being resolved, Methodists were in a position to indulge in more emphatic architectural statements. Methodist church-builders in the Ottawa Valley did not lag behind their contemporaries in other parts of the Ontario and Quebec. In December of 1881, the *Canadian Christian Advocate* published an article in which the worth and progress of current church-building programs were set forth:

During the past decade, that is to say from 1871 to 1881, our denomination has exhibited a very extraordinary spirit of Church enterprise in the direction of building churches, parsonages, and colleges. The last published statistics of the church show an increase of church property, for the same period of eight hundred and eleven thousand, three hundred and fifty dollars...the figures adduced give ample evidence of real advancement, and, in our opinion, are well calculated to assure all who are engaged in the work of building up the Methodist Episcopal church in this Country.³⁴

34 *Canada Christian Advocate*, 24 December 1881, n.p..

The author continues to present, perhaps with an attempt at humor, a Methodist community in which attitudes towards the building of churches are at variance with those from the days when modest wooden structures cautiously replaced camp grounds. Methodists were not simply building larger and more architecturally imposing churches, they were building churches with equally imposing mortgages.

Of course this denominational zeal and progressive spirit developed in the past few years have led us into debt. It could not be otherwise; and in this we are sharing the experience of every active and aggressive Church in the country. We ought to be thankful for this common experience. Thank God that no one denomination in this land can claim the monopoly on church debts. They are within the reach of us all.³⁵

The author then proceeds to note that a congregation should not to be ashamed of the mortgage on their church building, for it "shows that they have a character that can be trusted," and "proves the estimate the world puts upon the honor and faith of the church." The author continued to state that a mortgage on one's church building was nothing less than "a sublime exhibition of faith on the part of the church herself," and then asks rhetorically: "And what would the church be, after all, without this faith?"³⁶ The building of churches is then presented, as in earlier arguments, as co-related to God's favor and as an outcome of good works. It is the Methodist church-builders of the Ottawa district that are held up as a most laudable example for the rest of the country.

35 *Canada Christian Advocate*, 24 December 1881, n.p..

36 *Canada Christian Advocate*, 24 December 1881, n.p..

... had not been for this pushing spirit of enterprise, this exalted faith in God and in the people exercised by the brethren on the advanced lines of Church work, our denomination would not yet be occupying the position in this country she has now attained... This very venture put our people on the line of development and growth, and then immediately followed an era of Church enterprise and has planted commodious and beautiful churches in almost all sections of our work...

One district alone, Ottawa, we are told has, during the past eight years, raised over one hundred thousand dollars for building and relieving churches within the bounds of the district,... If our church has accomplished anything for God in this country and made headway in face of difficulty and danger, it is due, humanly speaking, to the men who have believed in things and in God and evinced their faith by heroes deeds and personal consecration.

The value of our church property has very nearly trebled in the past ten years, our people have greatly increased in wealth, and there is amongst us at present a spirit of enterprise and liberality unprecedented in the history of the denominations. We are in common with other sections of the Church of God, bearing the burdens and doing work for our common Lord. ..."³⁷

Amidst all the lively verbosity of this text, not a single word is devoted to stylistic preference. There is no discussion of the liturgical merits of one architectonic configuration over the other. Nor is there any mention of how these new church buildings should proclaim themselves to the world, other than perhaps by their increasing size and mortgage. Despite the silence on the matter of style, the increased preoccupation with construction was not without justification. With the unification of

several congregations that had formerly belonged to separate Methodist confessions, it was now not unusual for Methodist communities to find themselves in possession of two church buildings, neither of which could contain the whole congregation. Furthermore many of these newly formed communities seeking to strengthen and affirm congregational unity chose to rebuild new, larger churches. In addition to this, the growing importance of Sunday school within the Methodist church, led to a demand for churches that were more than simple single room rectangular boxes. Extra space was now needed either beneath, beside or within the church building itself.

In rural communities, Gothic continues to be used for the construction of new church buildings. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, trace elements of Anglican influence can be identified. Despite this cautious adaptation of Anglican Gothic, there is no corresponding stylistic philosophy or theory. Externally, this influence is most evident in the new popularity of towers. Some were frontal and axial, but a great number were also placed asymmetrically on one corner of the facade. The gable end is frequently opened by a large gothic window. Methodist church builders were not generally inclined to refer to this as the "western" end of the building nor were sanctuaries necessarily placed at the "eastern" end of the church. Physical orientation continued to be dictated by the secular site plan. The slope of the roof on many of these new churches tended to be somewhat steeper than the roof angle of many earlier buildings, still Methodist church builders in the Ottawa Valley never indulged in the dramatic angles as seen on Anglican churches such as the Good Shepherd in Plantagenet. Inside, galleries are becoming less common while coloured window glass was enjoying an unprecedented popularity.

In urban centers where the population and material resources of a congregation tended to be significantly larger, many Methodist church builders were choosing to move away from the central aisle plan in favour of a new amphitheater or “Akron” plan (see Fig. V - 7). This new approach to the organization of church space was originally proposed by Lewis Miller (1829-1899), an American businessman based in Akron, Ohio. Of the many changes that occurred within the Methodist church building tradition during the nineteenth century, the introduction of the Akron plan is seen by some scholars to be the single most significant change:

The climax was the advent of the Akron plan... Organ pipes, choir, pulpit platform, altar table and communion rail were tucked in descending order in a corner, surrounded by semicircular pews on a sloping floor. Adjacent Sunday school space could be opened by sliding doors... It was a highly functional arrangement of space that occurred at a time of eclecticism in architectural style. Because of the eclectic styles, most leave much to be desired aesthetically but they do document the worship form.³⁸

It is however specifically this stylistic versatility that accompanies and in many ways characterizes the introduction of the Akron plan that leads Methodist church builders away from the use of Gothic and towards a preference for Romanesque style windows and moldings. This is not to say that Gothic elements did not appear in amphitheater plan churches. There were in fact a number of these churches built in the Ottawa Valley with Gothic style window heads, molding and pinnacles. The use of Gothic was however entirely

38 J. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 163.

superficial (see Fig. V - 8). It could be used interchangeably with any stylistic variation of the builders choosing and bore no relation to the liturgical arrangements of the church interior and made no statement of belief (see Fig. V - 9).

BAPTISTS

During the nineteenth century, architectural terminology appears with considerable regularity in Baptist literature. This discussion of religious architecture rarely related in any physical manner to the architectonic manifestations. When Baptists refer to points of theology or doctrine in the same sentence as architectural terminology, it is far more likely that spiritual instruction not the embodiment of principals of faith, is being discussed.³⁹ This attachment to the use of architectural

39 Typical of this was the exegesis of 1st. Corinthian III, 10-15, presented by Rev. J. Cooper to the Elgin C. Ministerial Conference in London, under the heading "The Building, The Builder and His Works." In the lengthy discussion, the author suggested that the key to understanding the whole letter lay in line nine where Paul's own use of symbolism shifts from the horticultural to the architectural. Having explained this he then uses the text as a platform from which to reaffirm the Baptist position concerning church-state relations and infant baptism: "What are we to understand by this building? What is its material? How is it erected? Does the Apostle refer to doctrines or to persons? Would he have us understand that he is speaking of the temple of truth, or of man? The general opinion is that he is speaking of doctrines and that his meaning may be stated as follows: The foundation being Christ, the gold, silver, and precious stones represent the true doctrines of the Gospel; that truth which has come from Christ, and which like the precious metals is indestructible... The wood, hay, and stubble on the other hand, represent false or unsound doctrines to which, when the true test shall be applied, they shall be like wood in the fire... According to this view, the passage is an exhortation to test the doctrines we preach.

In the other view this temple is thought to be persons. Christ is the foundation; the aggregate of professed believers in Christ. Some believe in vain - dead while they live. The gold, silver, and precious stones represent those who are truly Christ's - good material on a good foundation. The wood, hay, and stubble, are false professors, attached to the Church, but not in Christ, and who lack that indestructible quality which renders the other fire-proof. The former is the popular view and sustained by the great bulk of commentators. We shall now endeavor to prove that the latter is the Apostle's meaning...

...They [the Corinthians] were thus the objects of his special care and his pious fear, for in losing them, he would lose his reward. To whom he says: "I have planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the increase," "ye are God's husbandry," that is his field or vineyard; we must observe that he is still speaking of persons, and that just as an efficient gardener can point to his garden and say "That is my work," so Paul's highest ambition was to convert souls and at last present everyone he taught perfect in Jesus. Then the figure is changed from the garden to a building. "Ye are God's building." This figure runs through the whole paragraph and is the key to its meaning. ...

To understand the Apostle speaking here of doctrines rather than of persons does not harmonize with his other teachings. This building, of which as a wise master-builder, Paul laid the foundation in the 10th verse, is the temple of God in the 17th verse. But this is not a temple of truth, but of persons. "Not strangers and foreigners but fellow citizens with the saints of the household of God; built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone, in whom all the building fitly framed together grows into a holy

symbolism is effectively illustrated by an incident that occurred in the Ottawa Valley during the mid 1860s. The affair involved several British military officers, (all members of the Horse Guard), who had been stationed in Ottawa, in connection with several engineering and surveying projects. A few of the officers, in particular Lord Cecil and Lieut. Dunlop, had taken to preaching the gospel among soldiers and

temple in the Lord, in whom also ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit. Eph. 2. 19-22. Who can doubt that the conception here is identical with that in our paragraph. Saints are built on the foundations of the Apostles and Prophets. This is the genitive of agent or originating cause. The Apostles were not the foundation, Rev. 21, 14; ... Peter also tells us that believers coming to Christ as a living stone, are built up as living stones on him; the same word is applied to him and them, for when they come to him they become alive as he is; and they are built up a spiritual house, and offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through him." We know of no text where Paul speaks of the temple of truth, or the Holy Spirit dwelling in true doctrine; or in a correct system of theology.

To make this a temple of doctrines rather than of persons introduces confusion of thought... As a wise master-builder Paul says he laid the foundation, and another (builder) buildeth thereon, but if he lay unsuitable material on that foundation his work shall be destroyed. Now, to say that the builder *teaches*, is to confuse figures which Paul does not. He says the builder *builds* a temple; and of believers themselves, he says, "Ye are my work" - ye are the living stones - the gold, silver and precious stones of which the temple of God is composed. That the building itself is the builder's work is certainly the truth which is here taught. In the capacity of a builder Paul's mission was twofold. First, he expounded the doctrine of Christ for the salvation of men....

The view we are opposing extracts the spirit from the whole paragraph, and makes it tame and insipid. ...

This is one of the many passages in Paul's writings that have been obscured by the systematic introduction of the world into the church. Lax practices in the church will lead to lax interpretation of Scripture. Every favorite *ism* must be brought under the wing of the holy book, and to everything that ecclesiastical authority has decreed to be expedient, it must lend its high sanction. Foremost in this wholesale corruption of the living temple stands the State Church. The country is cut into sections, and every man in the parish is expected to be a member of the parish church, whether he understands anything about conversion or not. And not only is this privilege thrown open to all adults but it is also thrown open to children. Infant baptism is the life blood of Church State *ism* [sic]. In the language of one party, baptism signifies and seals the child's grafting into Christ. Another calls it an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace and a third more plainly still declares that the baptized is no longer outside of the member saved, but has in the rite been made a member of the body of Christ and heir of the kingdom of heaven. The children of Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists are taught often this manner in their Sabbath schools, and when children don't believe what they are taught, teachers are wont to regard it as a calamity. In some of these communions the doctrine is openly preached and spread, that a young person even though not converted, is safer in the church than in the world, just as a lamb is safer in the fold than in the woods. Let any one examine the commentaries written by Pedobaptists on this paragraph, and he will perceive that with scarcely an exception they will trip on this point, and very conveniently confine the loss of the unskillful builder to his unsound doctrine, without any regard to his corrupted membership...." *Canadian Baptist*, 5 September 1867, p. 2.

civilians. News of their ministrations does not appear to have sat particularly well with their senior officers who referred the matter to their superiors in London. The higher authorities in turn suggested that if the young officers intended to remain in the service of the Horse Guard, they would be well advised to refrain from public preaching. The men chose instead to resign their commissions and the whole affair excited enormous discussion in the local Baptist community. The various activities of Lord Cecil and Lieut. Dunlop were monitored with considerable interest.

“Lord Cecil and Lieut. Dunlop have resigned their commission in the army. Orders have come from high quarters, England, that they must cease preaching the gospel to soldiers or civilians. Lord Cecil resigned his commission before these peremptory orders arrived. Both he and Dunlop were brought to this conviction by what the Lord said to David “Because thou hast been a man of blood, thou shalt not build me an house.”⁴⁰

Notwithstanding the reason given by Lord Cecil and Lieut. Dunlop for resigning their commissions, there is no evidence that either one of them was actively, (or even remotely) involved in the advancement of church architecture.⁴¹ Their activities continued to be a source of ongoing interest and the men were depicted to some extent as martyrs for the Baptist cause.⁴² Their “going down into the water,” was duly noted, and in several instances, their preaching was credited with the outbreak of revival.⁴³ Despite all the resignations and revivals, there is no evidence to suggest that these former men of blood made any effort to build a house for the Lord or that the matter of

40 “Ottawa Correspondence,” *Canadian Baptist*, 23 July 1868, p.1.

41 A Lieut. Turner also appears to have been involved with this group, although it is not clear if he was actually preaching or if he too resigned his commission in the Horse Guards.

42 *Canadian Baptist*, 15 August 1868, p. 2.

43 “The Revival on the Ottawa,” *Canadian Baptist*, 24 September 1868.

church building was of any particular importance to them. Still, this should not suggest that the Baptists of Central Canada put no value on the building of churches. The Baptist press is full of notices announcing the opening of newly built churches (see Fig. V - 10). There does not however appear to have been any fixed policy regarding the organization, building or financing of churches. The lack of direction is well illustrated by a letter that appeared in the *Canadian Baptist*, in January of 1867.

Chapel shareholders - Mr. Editor - As the Canadian Baptist is the organ through which the principles of Baptists are made known to the world, you will please give space to the following in regard to the _____ new Chapel as it may be beneficial to others in the way of Chapel building.⁴⁴

The editors refused to publish the location of the chapel in question but published the letter nonetheless on the ground that "the principle involved in the following plan of chapel building and management is what mainly interests the public."⁴⁵ The letter was lengthy and somewhat convoluted, however, from the evidence as presented it appears that arrangements to build a Baptist church were made based on the sale of forty shares. When the church building was completed, those who held full shares that were paid up were given first choice of the best seats. The complainant claimed that six pews were also reserved for a choir, one for the minister's family, and eight at the door for strangers. The whole affair had apparently been the source of considerable chagrin in the parish. So that this same fate might not trouble other parishes, the correspondent recommended that those planning to build Baptist Churches might wish to consider the following:

44 *Canadian Baptist*, January 1867, p. 2.

45 *Canadian Baptist*, January 1867, p. 2.

1. That it is unwise for the parties to undertake the building of a chapel or place of worship as share holders.
2. That it is not right for the share holders after the opening of the chapel and setting it apart as God's house to make it a house of merchandise in taking possession of the pews as private property for themselves. ...⁴⁶

What little practical advice there was to be had appears to have been shared primarily through the Baptist press. The *Canadian Baptist* also took it upon itself to inform its readership on matters related to civil regulation.

We would call the attention of the deacons and trustees of Baptist Churches to the requirements of law with the references to the doors of Churches "opening outwards." The Act goes into force very soon and neglect will render them liable to penalties. The Act goes into force almost immediately."⁴⁷

Even after the founding of the Church Edifice Society, in 1868, the *Canadian Baptist* continued to be the preferred vehicle for the diffusion of practical information. On one occasion readers were warned that the laws of Ontario should not be confused with the laws of Quebec. Baptists in Ontario, it seems, suffered from the erroneous belief that church property in general was not subject to tax. The *Canadian Baptist* pointed out that, contrary to the situation in Quebec, in Ontario, "no church property except the building used for worship and the ground connected with it is exempt from municipal taxes."⁴⁸

46 *Canadian Baptist*, January 1867, p. 2.

47 "Church doors Opening Outward," *Canadian Baptist*, 15 August 1867, p. 3.

48 *Canadian Baptist*, 13 December 1888, p. 3.

In 1870, the *Canadian Baptist* published what it claimed to be an “almost exhaustive list of topics [that] will be useful not only for Conventions, Institutes and teacher’s meetings but for pastors, superintendents, speakers and writers on Sunday school subjects generally.” The article lists the 142 different suggested topics. While the roster contained subjects ranging from “How can a Sunday school be made attractive without a loss of spiritual power?” to “Hints on the art of preaching to children” to “how to best praise God in singing.”⁴⁹ There was not a word on church-building or even a suggestion that the merits of having one’s own church building be discussed. Still, advertisements in the Baptist press suggest that this was not a subject without market. By the mid 1870s, the *Canadian Baptist* regularly published advertisements from commercial enterprises along with its religious articles and general news. Among those who advertised on a regular basis were several companies specializing in the production of church fittings and stained glass. The samples illustrated in many of the advertisements depicted windows with religious figural imagery. By the 1880s, the *Canadian Baptist* was carrying an ever increasing quantity of secular advertisements. A considerable variety of material including hats, pianos, insecticides, corsets and ‘Egglestons elastic trusses for hernias’ was with advertised alongside stained glass and religious imagery. Through out this time however, there is no discussion by journalists or correspondents as to when or how such windows might be integrated into a church building.

When architectonic progress was discussed in a public forum, it was done so with considerable verbal economy. Typically a church opening just outside of the Ottawa Valley was described in the following terms:

49 *Canadian Baptist*, 23 June 1870, p. 2.

This is the first and only Protestant place of worship in East Hawkesbury. The building is 36 x 24 feet; it is frame. The posts are grooved and filled in with sided timber; making a very solid and compact wall, and they intend to finish the outside with brick in the spring. Inside it is both neat and comfortable.⁵⁰

It was also noted that a delegation from Ottawa had experienced trouble running its boats down the river and been unable to attend. Equally cryptic in terms of stylistic discussion was a report concerning Baptist activity in Ottawa where a fine, if somewhat austere Gothic church had recently been completed:

You will be interested to know what is going on in the Capital City of Ottawa. Well a merciful God has not overlooked the struggles and labors of love of his people here... A few years ago there was not a vestige of a Baptist Church in Ottawa City, it now members over 60 persons. Last year they cleared the chapel of debts...The Protestant ministers of this city (Church of England excepted) met in the Baptist Chapel for united prayer on the first Monday of the month."⁵¹

After a visit to Almonte in 1868, the Baptist minister from Perth voiced his concern that although "nearly all the Evangelical denominations have flourishing interests here and beautiful places of worship..."⁵² the Baptists were still meeting in the local school house. The Rev. William Caldwell expressed hope that the situation in Almonte would soon be rectified;

⁵⁰ *Canadian Baptist*, 5 December 1867, p. 2.

⁵¹ *Canadian Baptist*, February 1868, p. 3.

⁵² "The Cause in Almonte," *Canadian Baptist*, March 1868, p. 2.

In the name of the Lord they have determined on building a place for his worship... It will require a thousand or twelve hundred dollars to build anything commensurate with the growing wants of the place and in keeping with the already existing places of worship. Our brethren do not treat them as rivals but as friends. When the Rev. J. Donovan visited them on behalf of the Eastern Convention he was invited most liberally to occupy one of the Presbyterian pulpits⁵³

The Rev. Caldwell's remarks suggest that despite claims by various Christian confessions that their church building efforts were singularly for and in recognition of God's greater glory, a certain degree of architectural competition might not have been uncommon. While overt architectural rivalry was denied, the idea of building a place of worship that was not on par with the other churches in town was clearly out of the question. To amend this want, the Baptists of Almonte (see Fig. V - 11) built for themselves "a beautiful Gothic stone chapel."⁵⁴ By comparison to other local churches this was a modest affair, measuring only 30 X 40 feet. The occasion of its official opening was an important one nonetheless and ministers from the neighbouring village of Perth and the townships of Beckwith and McNab came to preach. Of the three sermons,⁵⁵ it was that of the Rev. E. Rainboth who spoke on Acts VII -49; "Heaven is my throne and the earth my footstool. What house will you build for me, says the Lord, or what is my place of rest?" that best reflected the Baptist attitude towards church space.⁵⁶

53 "The Cause in Almonte," *Canadian Baptist*, March 1868, p. 2.

54 *Canadian Baptist*, 21 January 1869, p. 2.

55 Rev. Caldwell of Perth preached on John IV - 24, and Rev. John Stewart of Beckwith on II Corinthians III - 18.

56 This attitude is especially clear when read in the context of the preceding line, Acts VII-48: "Yet the most High does not dwell in houses made with hands."

Despite the increased building of churches, Baptists were uncomfortable with any suggestion that God could be pinpointed to a single spot. Baptist communities were building churches with the hope of increased denominational regularity, the fact cannot be ignored that for much of the nineteenth century, the single most important sacrament, that of Baptism, was not performed inside built space. From Western Quebec one Baptist minister reported;

I had a rough ride among the mountains, 20 miles north of Thurso... I remained with them 8 days, preached 16 sermons and baptized 16 in the likeness of Jesus. The baptism was in a stream purer than the Jordan, and although the ice had to be broken, with snow 3 feet on the level, the Candidates scarcely knew but it was summer..... An old mother remarked during the ordinance 'O, that looks like a grave.'⁵⁷

Furthermore, during the nineteenth century, Baptists in the Ottawa Valley did not always confine their preaching activities to places built by human hands. Instead, it was common for religious services to be held at the same place where their primary sacrament was performed, that is to say at the water's edge. In 1871, one minister was described as preaching, "...to a large audience on the banks of the Madawaska River under some sturdy Elms that formed a leafy temple of worship."⁵⁸ Visible and tangible expression of Baptist belief was clearly not best expressed through architectural embodiment. In the mean time however, Baptist churches continued, to be neat, plain and Gothic (see Figs. V - 12 & 13).

57 It was not uncommon for Baptists to equate Baptism with descending into the grave with Christ. *Canadian Baptist*, March 1871, p. 2.

58 The Madawaska is a tributary of the Ottawa River. *Canadian Baptist*, 21 September 1871, p. 2.

PRESBYTERIANS

Presbyterians continued to draw frequently on older building traditions. For many congregations, this meant a continued use of Gothic. It did not however mean a dramatic reversal to early medieval Gothic (see Figs. V - 14 & 15). As one scholar of Scottish churches noted tersely:

In church building, the general architectural trend was towards a perpetuation of Gothic. The much reiterated theory of an Episcopalian revival of Gothic has no sanction in fact, for this style was used during Episcopalian and Presbyterian regimes alike and required no resuscitation for it had never lapsed.⁵⁹

In the Ottawa Valley, surviving Presbyterian architecture offers little evidence to the contrary, especially prior to the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Gothic was used primarily to distinguish small austere structures as a place of Christian worship. In this the external presentation of Presbyterian churches differed little from those of other Anglo Protestants. Surviving evidence of structural expression clearly indicates that while Presbyterian church builders were using Gothic with considerable versatility they did so with a frugality of form reflective of their Calvinistic heritage. Country churches continued to be small rectangular structures with axial entries, and unembellished Gothic windows (see Fig. V - 16). Whether these churches were of wood, stone, or brick was dependent primarily on the means and resources of a community. When a

⁵⁹ This author betrays his own position on church-building as being one somewhat hostile to the movements that occurred within the Church of England: "For an adequate study of Scottish post-Reformation church architecture, some appreciation of the factors which contributed to it is necessary... popular conceptions both of the Middle Ages and of the Reformed period are still largely the product of the Romantic Movement and of the dubious Ecclesiology to which it gave rise." G. Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches 1560-1843*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) p. 38.

larger building was needed to accommodate a more populous congregation, the ground plan was simply elongated as illustrated in 1854 by the enlargement of the original stone church of St. Andrew's in Ottawa.⁶⁰

Presbyterian churches of the Ottawa Valley reflect a continued commitment to Calvinistic austerity. This is readily evident in the severity and understated bareness of the internal furnishings. It has been noted that in terms of the traditional liturgical arrangements of Presbyterian churches:

"Architectural essentials were - and still are- facilities for the administration of the Reformed sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and for the preaching of the Word, with conditions in which the people might hear, see, and participate intelligently.⁶¹

There is little indication that Presbyterians in the Ottawa Valley did not conform. Frequently, the pulpit by virtue of its size usually claimed visual supremacy. However, in keeping with Calvinistic teachings on the importance of sacramental unity, the Eucharistic Table and facilities for Baptism typically shared the same axial centrality. Occasionally the central portion of the end wall of the sanctuary was defined by applied molding that took the form of a large Gothic arch. This arrangement has no structural significance and is of minimal decorative value. It did however serve to draw the eye in towards the focal point of cult activity. To this minimal embellishment little else was added without due cause and reflection. This is illustrated by the efforts of one minister who wished simply to add several candle sticks to the furnishings of the sanctuary:

60 Minutes of the Temporal Committee meeting, 19 April 1854. Public Archives of Canada, MG-9 D7-35 vol. 23 Part 1.

61 Hay, *Architecture*, p. 22.

The Rev. M. Spence having handed to the meeting an extract from the minutes of the Kirk Session relative to changing the Sabbath afternoon service to the evening, and applying to this committee for the means necessary to light the church and the Committee having taken the same into consideration, agree to provide Branch Candlesticks for the pulpit and the Precentor's Desk and authorize the Treasures to provide the same.⁶²

During the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, Ottawa Valley Presbyterians, who like their Methodist neighbours, had suffered from considerable fragmentation during earlier decades, gradually moved towards a greater confessional unity.

In 1861, the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada and the United Presbyterian Synod in Canada in Connection with the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland joined forces. Later in 1875, Synods of the Church of Scotland united with other Presbyterians to form the Presbyterian Church of Canada.⁶³ Many Presbyterian congregations now found themselves in a situation similar to that of certain Methodist communities. The modest church building of earlier days was not always well adapted to the augmented numbers of a unified congregation. Unsegmented resources often

62 Public Archives of Canada, MG D7-35 vol. 23, part 1; Minutes of the Temporal Committee Meeting, (St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, Ottawa), 23 May 1853.

63 Traces of this once prevalent divisiveness can still be identified in some contemporary accounts of local Parish history. In one instance it is suggested that several psychological and theological differences keep the Church of Scotland Synods from joining the initial move towards Presbyterian Unity. Members of the Church of Scotland are identified as being much less temperance-minded, less evangelical, more lax in doctrine and as politically rigid conservatives, who "made pretensions of being a state establishment of religion" and regarded other Presbyterian bodies as "dissenters from the Scottish Religious Establishment." G. Lucas, *St. Paul's, Carp Ontario, 1824-1974.*, p. 27.

allowed for more emphatic statements of architectural purpose. Despite this Presbyterian church-builders did not indulge in flamboyant displays of architectural decor. They advanced, but with extreme caution, into a slightly expanded use of gothic. This was usually most evident in the construction of asymmetrical entries that were frequently surmounted by towers and elongated steeples. When the church was entered by way of a side door or vestibule in the tower base, the gable wall that stood opposite to the sanctuary was often opened with a large Gothic window. There is no evidence to suggest that Presbyterian church builders sought to introduce a revived form of medieval Gothic. Likewise discussion of architectural symbolism is almost non-existent (see Fig. V - 17).

After having avoided any comprehensive or even systematic discussion of the subject for the better part of a century, the Presbyterians of Central Canada decided in 1890 that the time had come to address the question of church architecture. To this end the Presbyterian church in Canada announced that it had...

determined upon making an effort to improve the architecture of its churches and with that object, proposes it issue a pamphlet containing approved designs with letter press explaining the same and also treating the question of church architecture from different points of view.⁶⁴

There is little to suggest that Presbyterians had come to this decision with undue haste. For despite their lack of discussion on the subject of church architecture, Presbyterian church builders has been quietly adopting amphitheater plan churches (see

64 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, December 1890, p. 134.

Fig. V - 18). These buildings, like those built by many Methodist communities, were distinguished by their stylistic versatility. Similarly, the architectural shell offered few clues about the liturgical arrangements within. Neo-Romanesque or Gothic elements could be used interchangeably according to the taste of the builder. In contrast to the direction given by Anglican officials on the subject of church architecture, Presbyterian officials provided no such guidance. There were no prepared guidelines in which basic architectural criteria was set forth. Nor was there any real discussion concerning size, proportion, or the requisite furnishings of a Presbyterian church (see Fig. V - 19). Instead Presbyterian officials in Central Canada decided to acquire new church plans by holding a public architectural competition. The project was advertised in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*:

It is proposed to have a competition of designs of churches as per the list of requirements given hereafter, and to publish those designs which may meet with the approval of the experts. The plans and perspectives only, with possibly one elevation will be illustrated, as it is not desirable to give sufficient drawings to allow the design being made use of except through the author. The intention of the committee of the Presbyterian church which has this matter in hand, is that the author of a design which may be approved of by any congregation proposing to build shall be employed at the usual commission.⁶⁵

Details relating to the interests of the architectural profession were carefully attended to. Prizes of seventy-five, fifty and twenty-five dollars were to be awarded to "the three best designs in order of merit irrespective of the class under which they may

65 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, December 1890, p. 134.

be sent in.”⁶⁶ Organizers of the competition were also very particular in terms of how these plans were to be presented:

The drawings are to be prepared in black and white to a scale of 8 feet to the inch, Plans and elevations in line only with windows blocked in or not as preferred by the designer. The perspective should be a thoroughly good drawing, and may be rendered thought fit; but a large amount of extraneous material should not be put in. The perspectives to be set up from a plan drawn four feet to an inch.⁶⁷

Each set of plans was to be accompanied by a description of the proposed design. Furthermore, in addition to justifying the choice of building material, competitors were also required to provide cost estimates of the church building project. However the committee reserved the right to correct the submitted cost estimates if they were thought to be unduly modest. All decisions set forth by the committee of experts were to be final. Interestingly and in decided contrast to Anglican procedure the jury of experts was appointed not by officials of the Presbyterian church but by the Council of the Ontario Association of Architects and plans were to be submitted directly to Registrar of the Ontario Association of Architects in Toronto.

66 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, December 1890, p. 134. This does not appear to have been considered an overly generous purse even in the late eighteen-hundreds. Organizers soon felt it necessary to justify the sum offered. “The Committee does not expect that all three prizes which it has decided to give are sufficient inducement to competitors to send in designs, and it has only proposed to give these prizes as a small acknowledgment on its part of the obligation under which the Committee will be placed to those who may send in designs.” *Canadian Architect and Builder*, February 1891, p. 24.

67 It was also stipulated that “The experts will be instructed to favor the designs for small and inexpensive buildings in preference to those for large and costly ones... Bad or inferior drawings will not be illustrated no matter how good the design may be, but an opportunity will be afforded the author to prepare or have prepared, suitable drawings... The excellence of a plan will consist in the closeness with which the conditions have been fulfilled, the quality of the design and the inexpensiveness of erecting the building. No limit has been made as to the cost in any class, as it is desirable that the designers should not be hampered except in so far that he must bear in mind that a good design which is inexpensive is superior to an equally good or even better design which will cost more money.” *Canadian Architect and Builder*, December 1890, p. 134.

The Presbyterians did identify seven distinct categories of churches. Each category was identified in terms of its environmental setting; desired capacity, the requirements of ancillary rooms and requirements and finally heating needs. The two smallest churches were to serve a country parish and small village parish respectively. The country church was to seat 150 to 200, while a small village church was to accommodate 250 to 300 worshipers. Both types of church were to be heated by stoves and each was to have a single service room that doubled as vestry and library. Churches in larger villages were to accommodate 350 to 400 people but were to have a separate vestry and a library. This category of church was to be heated with a furnace.

In small town churches, that is to say those needing a seating capacity of 350 to 400, there was to be a vestry and a school room. Large town churches were to accommodate 500 to 600 people while city churches were to provide seating for 600 to 1,000 people. Churches in these two categories were to have a vestry, a library, a school room and a kitchen. Large City churches, that is to say those seating 1,000 to 1,300 people, were also to have a vestry, library and kitchen but were to have facilities for more than one school room. In the last four categories of churches the architect was responsible for integral design of an adequate heating system.⁶⁸

While there was reasonable clarity as to just how the architectural illustrations should be drafted - there was no such precession concerning the liturgical

68 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, December 1890, p. 134.

arrangements.⁶⁹ Furthermore contest organizers don't appear to have been swamped with applications or inquiries. Inquiries addressed to the committee were not always rewarded with the type of detailed explanations that might inspire or even encourage an architect contemplating the project. More significantly contest organizers appear to have been particularly evasive when replying to questions concerning liturgical arrangements. It appears that the project planners anticipated a greater influx of submissions than actually materialized. The competition was again announced in *The Canadian Builder and Architect*, again during the early spring of 1891. When they re-advertised the competition, they addressed inquiries on the matter of liturgical concerns. But only in the most summary terms:

Some competitors have asked for information as to the proper position of the choir. As the competition is one which is for the purpose of securing good designs, both as to plan and exterior elevations, it was thought better not to hamper the competitors in any way. Each competitor will therefore place the choir in such a position as he may deem will give the best

69 The following is a statement of the classes of buildings which are required to meet the wants of the average congregations in each of the classes in which it has been thought well to divide church buildings:

"1st. Country Church to seat from 150 to 200 persons, with one room to be used as a vestry and library. Church to be heated with stoves.

2nd. Village church, capacity 250 to 300 persons, with one room to be used as a vestry and library. Church to be heated with stoves.

3rd. Large Village Church, seating 350 to 400, with vestry and library. To be furnace heated.

4th. Small town church seating 350 to 400 persons with vestry or school room.

5th. Large town church with seating capacity of from 500 to 600, with vestry, library, school room and kitchen.

6th. City church, seating from 600 to 1,000, with vestry, library, school room and kitchen.

7th. Large city church, seating from 1,000 to 1,300, with vestry, library school rooms and kitchen.

In the last four clauses the designer will himself settle the method of heating and arrange the same.

All designs to be sent in on or before the 14th day of March 1891, addressed to the Registrar of the Ontario Association of Architects, Toronto." *Canadian Architect and Builder*, December 1890, p. 134.

results architecturally and at the same time fulfill the wants of a Presbyterian congregation.

It is hoped that many of the abler young men in the profession will take this opportunity to attempt to solve the problem of fulfilling the wants of a Presbyterian congregation and at the same time designing a thoroughly ecclesiastical building.⁷⁰

Despite the reluctance of Presbyterian officials to disclose the architectural necessities of Presbyterian worship, they were very careful to stress that architectural authorship would be duly acknowledged and that design copyright would remain inviolate.⁷¹ The call for submissions was reissued on several occasions each time stressing professional standards but remaining very noncommittal concerning liturgical arrangements.

"Competitions For Church Designs- We should like to draw the attention of our readers to the Competition for Church Designs. The Committee of the Presbyterian Church which has the matter in hand, is desirous of having as many designs sent in as possible, and is prepared to publish all those of merit.

There was no mention of how the interior of the church was to be arranged. Nor was there any mention of stylistic preference or the inclusion of any specific

⁷⁰ *Canadian Architect and Builder*, February 1891, p. 24.

⁷¹ The Council of the Ontario Association of Architects has undertaken to conduct the competition, because it believes that much benefit may result to the church architecture of the Province through the effort that is now being made by this denomination. There is no intention to publish any designs which may be submitted in a manner which will allow there being used by any congregation which desires to erect a church, without employing the author. Only the perspective and the plans will be shown, with the object of 1st, giving examples of what is considered good ecclesiastical architecture by competent judges; and 2nd, to afford congregations proposing to build such information as will enable them to select such information as will enable them to select an architect capable of designing a church such as they may want, with some artistic excellence.... *Canadian Architect and Builder*, February 1891, p. 24.

architectonic expression of Christian belief. Furthermore, and in contrast to the middle years of the century when the discussion of religious architecture aroused considerable public fascination, interest in the Presbyterian project was most conspicuous by its absence. In July of 1892 the committee of experts who had been appointed to examine the plans of the Presbyterian Church Design Competition submitted the following report:

as experts, we have examined the competitive designs sent in for Presbyterian churches, and with much regret we beg to say that in our opinion there is not a sufficiently large number of suitable designs among them to warrant the committee in publishing a pamphlet.⁷²

This is not to suggest that the whole project was without benefit, as several satisfactory designs were identified.

The design for "a country church" under the motto "John Nox" is unquestionably the best of those submitted, that for "a village church" under the same motto coming next in merit, and to the author of these we have awarded first prize.

Although there is considerable talent displayed in several of the sixteen sets received, there being some excellent suggestions in unfinished drawings, there are nevertheless none, with the exception of the two above mentioned, entirely fulfilling the requirements of the competition, which called for plans of particular treatment intended specifically to meet the wants of Presbyterian congregations, at the same time having sufficient artistic merit to assist in raising the standard of church architecture in this country. This then being the object of the competition, neither those designs partaking largely of the character of existing buildings, nor those lacking study, or of questionable architectural

72 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, July 1892, p.71.

merit, can be said to have attained the end in view, and for that reason such have not been placed.⁷³

The committee then suggested that attempts be made once again over the course of the forthcoming winter to secure a greater selection of plans.

73 *Canadian Architect and Builder*, July 1892, p.71.

ROMAN CATHOLICS

Roman Catholics made frequent use of Gothic during the second half of the nineteenth century, however, they did so in a manner that was distinctly different from the Anglican or Anglo-Protestant use of Gothic. Of all the Christian denominations that made application of the Gothic style, it was unquestionably the Roman Catholics who explored the decorative potential of Gothic most fully. In fact Roman Catholic church builders in the Ottawa Valley placed such an emphasis on the decorative possibilities of Gothic that it must be seen as a distinctive characteristic of their use of Gothic. This is especially true of their treatment of internal features.

Early Catholic churches in the Ottawa Valley had boasted few embellishments. As previously noted however, this stark plainness was not due to a quest for primitive simplicity or the espousal of Cistercian principles, but rather to a general lack of material resources. Frequently, financial restrictions were such that completion of the church interior was not an integral part of the original construction project for many parishes.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Roman Catholic communities were on the whole no different from other contemporary Christian communities in the Ottawa Valley and by the second half of the nineteenth century many congregations were in a position to invest their church buildings with greater financial resources. Consequently a number of churches that had been built during the first half of the nineteenth century have architectural interiors that date to the second half of the nineteenth century. The most conspicuous

⁷⁴ There is little surviving evidence of early interiors which, for the most part, appear to have been plain, painted in equally plain colors or simply white-washed. The church of Our Lady of the Visitation, South Gloucester, was finished in 1849, however the interior decor was not finished until 1860 and box pews were not built until 1874.

example of this is the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Ottawa,⁷⁵ although similar projects existed on a lesser scale in many other parishes. One of the earliest preserved examples of this can be seen at the Our Lady of the Visitation in South Gloucester (see Fig. V - 20). This church is roughly contemporary to Notre-Dame Cathedral in that the external Gothic shell was built during the late 1840s and the interior fittings were installed during the 1860s and 1870s. Similarly many Catholic congregations that built new churches during the second half of the century did not include completion of the interior as an integral part of the initial building campaign. This is illustrated by the ongoing work in large urban churches such as St. Patrick's built in Ottawa during the early 1870s, as well as in smaller rural parish churches such as St-Isidore-de-Prescott and the church in St-Eugène (see Fig. V - 21).

The South Gloucester church and the Ottawa Cathedral offer a clear example of the diversity with which Gothic was used to decorate Roman Catholic churches. The Gothic interior of the South Gloucester church is distinguished by the use of light colors and slender marbled columns. The walls, vault fields and spandrels of the intercolumnations of colonnades are painted a creamy yellow. The primary decor is non-figural, consisting essentially of a delicately gilt floral scrolling that clings to the corners of the spandrels and edges of the vault fields. The Gothic arches of the nave's windows, the arch moldings of the colonnades and the ribs of the vaults are all painted white to animate the upward momentum. This church presents a dramatic contrast to the deeply colored walls and heavy Gothic embellishments that characterized the

75 Perhaps the most striking example of this is the interior decoration of Notre-Dame, in Ottawa. In 1864, Mgr. Guigues put a stop to work inside the Cathedral, and decoration did not resume until 1878, four years after his death. Pagé, Norman. *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa*, (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1988), p. 130.

Cathedral. At Notre-Dame, the walls are muraled in deep and regal tones of red and cobalt blue. The moldings of the colonnades are affixed with carved crockets, and the spandrels with floriated appliqué. The ribs of the vaults are polychrome and the vault fields are painted dark blue with a generous sprinkling of gold stars. The sanctuary contains a monumental reredos encompassing the entire sanctuary.⁷⁶ While this is unquestionably a masterpiece of nineteenth century architectural sculpturing, it is peopled with a collection of statues that step forth with emphatic gestures from the space defined by their gothic pedestals and canopies in a decidedly un-Gothic manner.

During the final quarter of the nineteenth century, for Roman Catholics churches in the Ottawa Valley, the taste for ornamentation was omnipresent although the majority of churches were finished with a decor that was somewhat less flamboyant than the Cathedral. A church was not often considered fully completed until it was furnished with devotional statuary and Stations of the cross. Amid the considerable variety of embellishments used by Roman Catholic church-builders, the single most striking trait is the attempt to create an atmosphere of vertical ascension. This was achieved primarily through the retention of a basilical type floor plan even if the pillars of the central colonnades were structurally redundant. The addition of slender colonnettes to the principal columns was used to draw the eye upwards towards the molding of the arcade. This in turn drew the eye upwards to the ribbing of the vaults and the apex of the church. Invariably these vaults were of plaster. They were not an integral part of the external shell and had no structural relevance. While this must also be seen as a defining characteristic of the Roman Catholic use of Gothic in the Ottawa Valley, it

76 This work is discussed in detail in N. Pagé, *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Ottawa*, p. 106-126.

remains strictly decorative and is not affiliated with any deeper discourse of Christian expression.

This somewhat superficial application of Gothic is again demonstrated through the manner in which the Roman Catholic church builders adapted Gothic to traditionally non Gothic architectural formulas. Certain Ottawa Valley parishes such as Ste-Anne, Ottawa⁷⁷ and St. Dominique, Luskville,⁷⁸ chose to continue an architectural tradition popular in Quebec since the days of the French regime.⁷⁹ Other communities, however did not wish to abandon traditional configurations, but still wished to use Gothic, which was considered to be somewhat more fashionable. This posed no particular problem. Roman Catholic church builders simply, and without any evidence of discussion or hesitation simply replaced the round headed arches with Gothic arches. St. Paul (1857) in Plantagenet, St. Luc (1863) in Curran testify to this trend.

Although Gothic had been popular among Roman Catholic church-builders, it was not recognized by Roman Catholic authorities as the only way to build Catholic

77 C.I.H.B. Archives, File 061070026-00530. In keeping with these desires, the churches were entered by a principal axial entry that was flanked to either side by two lesser doors. All three doors stood beneath round headed archways, the upper portion of which was usually filled with a window. Above the doors were, windows, statue niches or a combination of both. These facades were frequently pierced by an oculus just below the apex of the gable end. A bell turret or steeple was set back slightly in retreat of the facade. To accentuate the facade, acroterion were often added to either end of the gable base.

78 C.I.H.B. Archives, File 050046000-00052. Both Ste-Anne and St-Dominique are well preserved.

79 G. Morisset, *L'architecture en Nouvelle-France*, (Quebec, 1949); L. Noppen, *Les églises du Québec 1600-1850*, (Quebec: Fides, 1977); P.G. Roy, *Les vieilles églises de la province de Québec, 1647-1800*, (Quebec, 1925); R. Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Quebec*, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1947); L. Voyer, *Églises disparues*, (Quebec: Libre Expression, 1981); D. Tremblay, "Caractères et tendances de l'architecture religieuse dans le Québec," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, no. 323, June, 1952, pp. 228-30.

churches. Nineteenth century writings on the subject suggest in fact that style was only a subordinate consideration:

Le style basilical est simple, majestueux, économique... Le style byzantin n'est pas à dédaigner avec ses coupes et sa richesse de décoration... Le style roman est sévère, lourd, imposant, mais d'ordinaire il est sombre et a des nefs trop étroites... Le style ogival, que l'on a dit l'apogée de l'art chrétien, a des grâces particulières dans son ornementation. Toutefois que sa nef, longue et serrée, se prête peu aux réunions ou l'on veut voir et entendre.... Le style de la renaissance inaugure le retour aux formes classiques.... Le style moderne accentue de plus en plus les traditions de l'antiquité grecque et romaine, mais pour les détails seulement car il crée de toutes pièces les vaisseaux les plus commodes pour l'exercice du culte.⁸⁰

This text can hardly be understood to advocate stylistic significance. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic church builders were turning more and more to the Classical components of "Le style moderne." Increasingly, elements reflective of a new interest for Italian culture were introduced. In consequence pointed arches disappear in favour of barrel vaults with banding, saucer domes, classical columns, imposts, and classical frontons above side altars. Quadripartite and sexpartite rib vaults with starred vault fields give way to ornate Italianate plastering and historiographed ceilings with a much expanded use of figural imagery.⁸¹ At this same time, Catholic church builders were also raising structures with larger windows and

80 Barbier de Montault, *Traité Pratique*, p. 25.

81 This trend continues well beyond the nineteenth century. In Plantagenet the earlier Gothic church was eventually remodeled to be as un-Gothic as possible. While the exterior stone shell of the church has retained its Gothic windows, (which would have been difficult and expensive to change) the interior window frames were replastered and replaced by round headed windows. Inside, the unusual configuration of the spandrels of the colonnade suggest that gothic arches may again have been plastered out of existence

brighter interiors. The lateral walls of Roman Catholic churches were rising to unprecedented heights. This was accompanied by a similar expansion of the windows in the lateral walls (see Fig. V - 22).⁸² Stylistically the windows could be either round headed or gothic. In general this tendency was encouraged by church authorities who suggested:

Nous repoussons formellement le système prétendu mystique des églises sombres. Elles ont le double inconvénient d'entretenir une fraîcheur malsaine et d'empêcher de lire commodément. Or, de nos jours tout le monde tient à lire pendant les saints offices.⁸³

Once again however, there was no recommendation that this end could be better achieved through the use of Gothic.

One recommendation that was made to church builders is that the house of God should rise above the dwelling places of mortals. Ideally, according to Nineteenth century treatises on this subject, Catholic churches were to be prominently situated, preferably on a hill and slightly set back from the public road. There were several reasons for advocating such arrangements. It was thought that Christ, the '*object of spiritual ascension*', was well symbolized by a mountain and furthermore, that theophanies were more likely to occur in elevated places.⁸⁴ While the facades of most

82 A striking example of this can be seen in a photograph (c. 1895) depicting the original church of St. Hughes, Sarsfield (1867), and the new church under construction immediately beside it. Though incomplete, the walls of the new church rise well above the roof crest of the older building. Archives of the Archdiocese of Ottawa (Roman Catholic), Sarsfield collection, file P.

83 Barbier de Montault, *Traité pratique*, p. 55.

84 Many nineteenth century guides to church-building stress this point; see for example Mgr. Devie, *Manuel de connaissances utiles aux ecclésiastiques sur divers objets d'art notamment sur l'architecture des édifices religieux anciens et modernes, et sur les constructions et la réparation d'églises, avec plans et dessins lithographiés*, (Lyon: L. Lesne 1843), p. 300.; Barbier de Montault, *Traité pratique*, p. 12.

Catholic churches built in the Ottawa Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century had been proportionately scaled to the other elements of their built environment, this practice was not continued. Instead during the final quarter of the nineteenth century there was a marked move towards a new frontal monumentality. The facades of these churches were powerful, dominant and triumphant (see Fig. V - 23). There is considerable continuity in the configuration of these facades despite significant stylistic variation (see Fig. V - 24).

By the late nineteenth century Roman Catholic churches were systematically raised by several steps above the surrounding site. Many churches featured a colossal central tower set in relief of the main facade. In keeping with the earlier arrangements the principal door was centered on the longitudinal axis of the central nave, and flanked to either side by two lesser entries. The main entry was usually surmounted by a large central window, the side doors by lesser windows. The axial window, was in turn surmounted by a an oculus or single lancet.⁸⁵ At the base of the roof, on either side of the facade, earlier acroterion developed into or replaced by pinnacles. The tower itself rose far above the facade and traditionally supported a steeple and spire. At the greatest height was a large cross. This arrangement which was intended to recall or prefigure the tabernacle and candles of the high altar ⁸⁶ was applicable whether the church used Gothic, Roman or Italianate trimmings. In Ottawa Valley churches where the nineteenth century sanctuary decor has survived, there is frequently a noticeable stylistic unity and continuity between the facade and the architectonic configurations of

85 See St-Paul, Plantagenet (1877); St-Laurent, Carlsbad Springs (1885); Our Lady of Malacky, Mayo (1890); St-Hughes, Sarsfield (1894).

86 Par honneur pour la croix... des chandeliers se dressent à la base et sur les rampants. Barbier de Montault, *Traité pratique*, pp. 43-44.

the high altar.⁸⁷ This was not coincidental but reflects a very deliberate decision, and the belief that:

La façade a une importance capitale, car c'est par elle que l'église s'annonce dès l'abord. La tradition veut qu'elle soit plus ornée que toute autre partie extérieure de l'édifice.⁸⁸

Thematic continuity between the site, the type of building chosen and a new monumental treatment of the facade reflects one of the most significant architectonic developments in Roman Catholic church building in the Ottawa Valley. However while Gothic is used in the construction of some of these facades, there is no evidence to suggest that the Gothic style was considered in any way uniquely suited to the embodiment of Roman Catholic belief. In 1886 Mgr. Duhamel, second bishop of Ottawa explained to his clergy:

L'Église a prééminence sur l'État par son origine de même qu'elle lui est supérieure par sa nature, ses moyens et sa fin. La religion et l'Église mettent chaque chose à sa place...⁸⁹

Surviving evidence clearly indicates that in the Ottawa Valley, Roman Catholics preferred to proclaim their faith not primarily through the use of the Gothic style but by translating the teachings of their Bishop into an architectural presence.

87 St-Bernard, Fournier, is a good example of this.

88 Barbier de Montault, *Traité pratique*, p. 43.

89 Archives of the Archdiocese of Ottawa (R.C.), Mandements et Circulaires Duhamel, 3ième Série, No. 14, 1886, p.150-60.

COMPLACENT APPLICATION AND CHALLENGES

In January of 1872 the Church building committee of Christ Church (Anglican) Ottawa looked around at the building activities in the capital of the new country and announced that:

the time has fully arrived when the congregation of Christ church should furnish themselves with a building harmonizing with the improvements taking place in the architecture of the city.⁹⁰

This marked a significant change from the discourse of only a few years earlier, and is reflective more of attitudes from the earlier decades of the century rather than those recently advocated by Camdanian Ecclesiologists and other revivalists. It still was only after this declaration which clearly denotes a certain preoccupation with one's secular image that the committee noted that they were also in need of a building that was: "more worthy of the high and sacred purpose to which it is devoted."⁹¹ After several meetings in which neither the embodiment of Christian principle or the intrinsically Christian nature of Gothic were discussed, the building committee informed the parishioners of Christ Church that they had:

instructed the architect to prepare plans for a new church leaving the design to his own judgment and limiting him only by the condition that the entire cost of carrying out the work should not exceed \$25,000.⁹²

90 Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa (Anglican), 6-O-3; C-4 Christ Church Vestry Book, 30 January 1872.

91 Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa (Anglican), 6-O-3; C-4 Christ Church Vestry Book, 30 January 1872.

92 Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa (Anglican), Ottawa Deanery Collection, Box 6-0-3: C-4, Christ Church Vestry Book, 30 January 1872.

While the committee had not specified that the church be built in the Gothic style, the architect whose services were retained was King Arnoldi. It was Arnoldi who had worked so hard to retain the 'Early English' flavor of St. Alban's during the 1860's. By the 1870s however, Arnoldi was no longer working in the 'Early English' style Gothic, but in what was commonly referred to as 'Decorated' or 'Middle English' Gothic. In reality this form of Gothic was marked much more by High Victorian fashion than by a spirit of archaeological fidelity and liturgical concern (see Fig. V - 25). While most Anglican church architecture remained solidly grounded in the architectural and liturgical arrangements of the revivalist movement, many architectonic configurations were gradually being taken for granted (see Fig. V - 26). Much of the zeal and enthusiasm that marked the discussion of Gothic during the middle years of the century was disappearing from common parlance (see Fig. V - 27). During the final decades of the nineteenth century Gothic was losing its once privileged position as the preferred style for the architectonic expression of Christian belief. Some Anglicans were openly suggesting that the use of medieval Gothic was not necessarily indicative of architectural wisdom. In 1889, Sir Daniel Wilson published an article in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, in which he severely criticized architects in the service of the Church of England for perpetuating medieval models (see Fig. V - 28). Architecturally, he argued, these churches were ill suited to the needs and realities of Anglican worship:

large, commodious and frequently beautiful places of worship are being erected for other denominations, where the wants of the whole body of worshippers have been made the primary aim of the architect. ... There is no reason that a modern church shall be less beautifully architecturally, or less distinctively expressive in form and structure as

'the house of God,' because of it's being constructed in harmony with the manifest aim of the Book of Common Prayer...⁹³

Soon afterwards, architectural professionals were stating that they were no longer content to simply theorize about the suitable arrangements of church buildings. In fact an article that appeared in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, in 1890, demonstrates that architectural professionals were prepared to jealously defend not only their ability but indeed their right to build proper churches:

It is an undeniable fact that 90% of our churches are entirely devoid of any artistic quality, the greater number of the remaining 10% are not what they should be... In the opinion of many a building of simple parts is devoid of artistic merit, while the building of many parts is one of beauty. A building of simple well proportioned design looks so simple to the ignorant individual that he at once assumes that he could design one of equal merit and that consequently it does not amount to much... What a blessing it would be if the unnecessary architectural features on our churches, ... were done without, and their cost devoted to other purposes of a legitimate character. "⁹⁴

This text is a significant reflection of the milieu into which the discussion of church building had passed. By the end of the nineteenth century, much of the discussion about church architecture had returned to questions of esthetics and style. In as much as Gothic was now involved, stylistic choice had shifted from the theologian to the architect (see Fig. V - 29).

93 Sir Daniel Wilson, "Church builders," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, 1889, pp. 42-43.

94 "Notes on Church Architecture," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, 1890, pp. 52-53.

CHAPTER V

PLATES

**Fig. V - 1**

Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches of Fallowfield, photo c. 1890⁹⁵

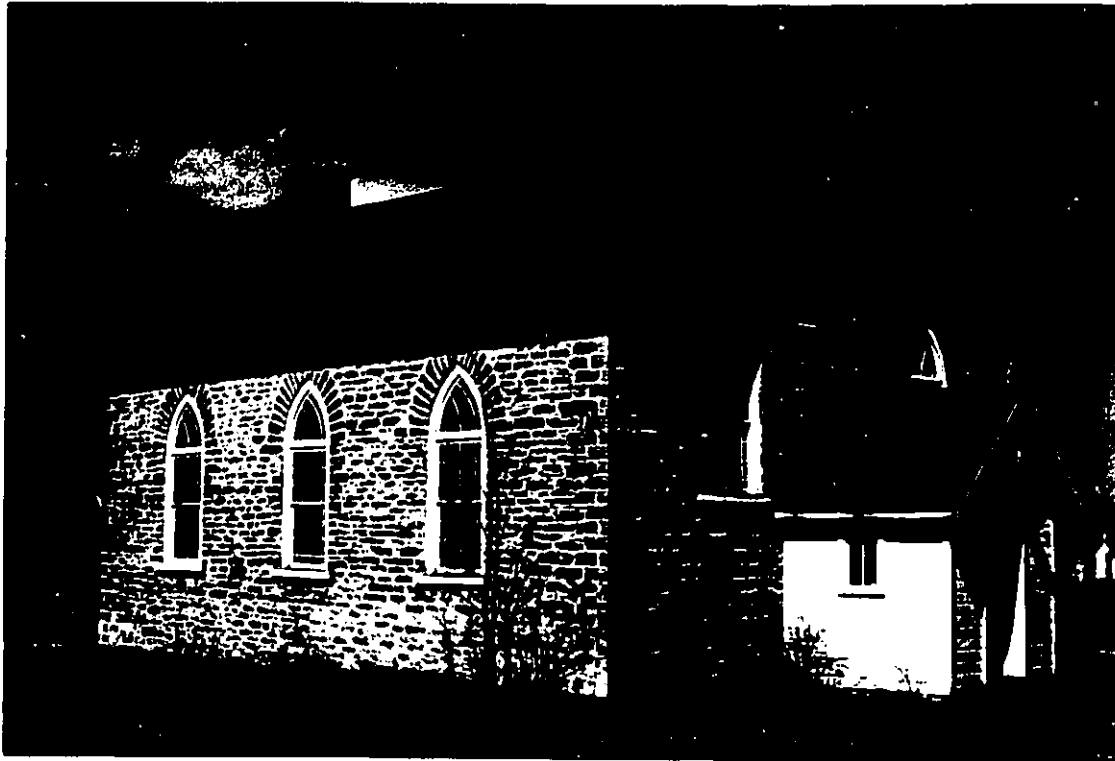
The Anglican church, St. Barnabas, 1889, seen here on the extreme left of the photograph reflects a strong influence of revivalist thoughts. Although the chimney that merges with the bell-less sanctecote is an architectural anomaly that would have drawn little admiration from Gothic purists, other parts of the church reflect greater architectural integration of Camdanian Ecclesiology. This is especially evident in the inclusion of the architecturally distinct chancel, the bipartite western window and the side entry. The use of Gothic as it appears in the Presbyterian church of 1891 (centre)

and Methodist church of 1888, (far right), is much more superficial. The unadorned facade of the Presbyterian church and the plain axial tower of the Methodist church are in no way at variance with the tall understated Gothic lancets of the buildings they front. This is Gothic much as it had been used by Presbyterians and Methodists in the Ottawa Valley, throughout much of the nineteenth century. All that was needed by some congregations to distinguish their church as a place of Christian worship, continued to be a bare reference to the pointed head of a Gothic arch.

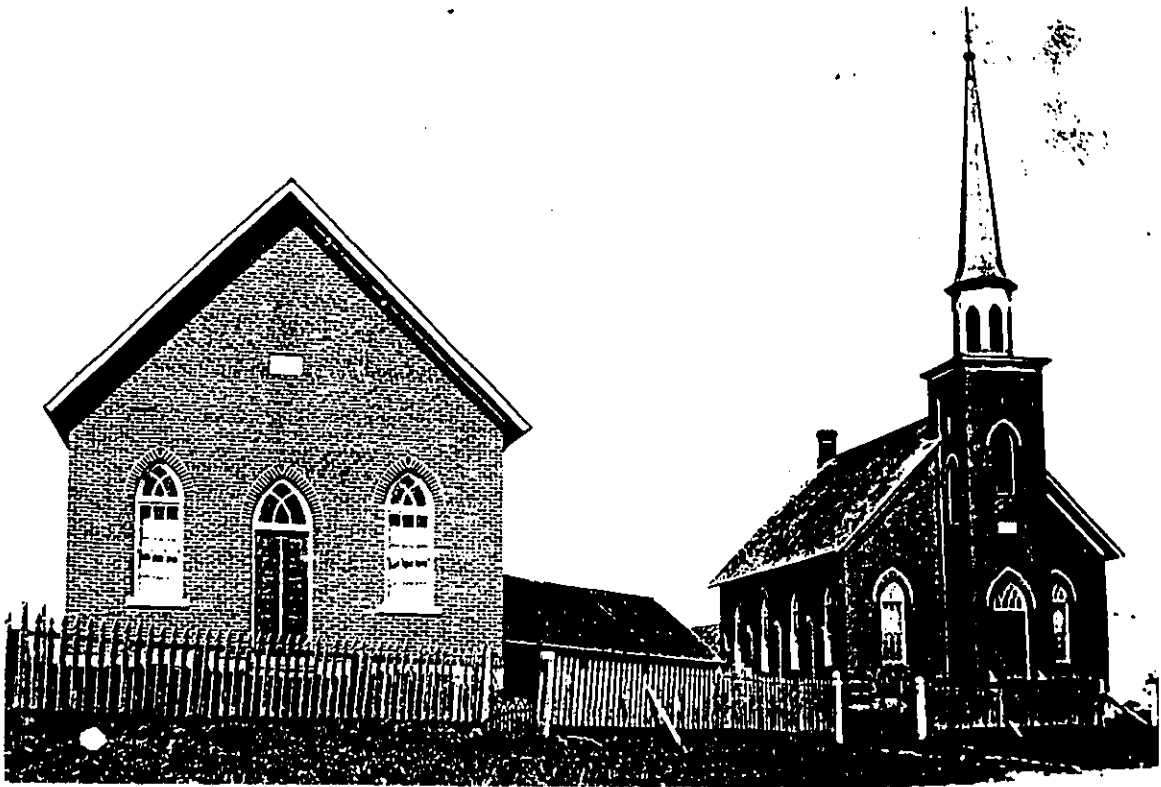
**Fig. V - 2****Ottawa First Congregational Church (Congregationalist), 1862-1888⁹⁶**

This Gothic structure was the second church to be built by Ottawa's Congregationalist community. It was intended to replace the church that had originally been erected during the mid 1840s. "First" applies to the parish, not to the structure. The building itself draws on several architectural trends. The nave or main body of the building reflects a continued use of Survival Gothic elements. This is most notable in the continued use of a single axial entry and the large elongated windows of the lateral walls. The generous slope of the roof and privileged dressing of the facade however, suggest a certain attention to contemporary discussion of revived medieval traits. This is especially evident in the geometrical tracery of the axial gable end window, and reinforced through the treatment of the frontal wall buttresses. The building is surrounded by a prominent string course. The floor level of the church is raised so as to allow for the construction of ancillary rooms in the basement of the church. Gothic was not used for the windows of these rooms which were never intended as the primary place of community prayer. The voussiors of the barely arched window heads serve as relieving arches.

⁹⁶ City of Ottawa Archives, 941r 81, Box 5.

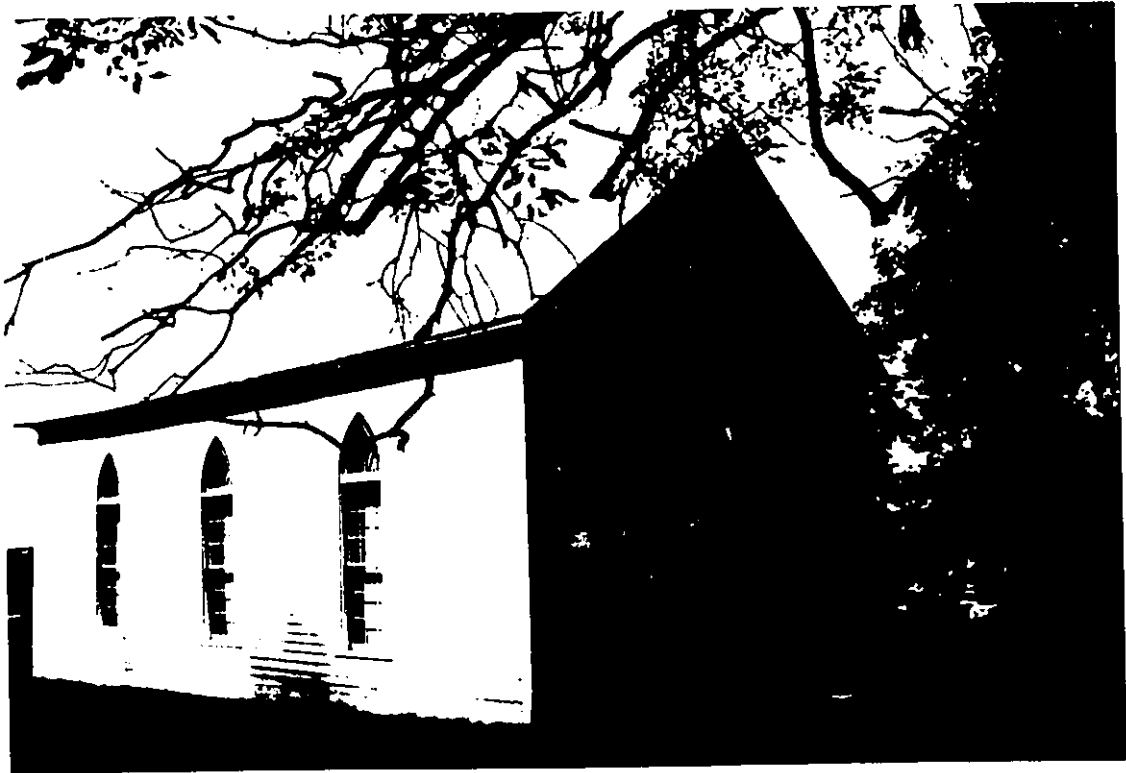
**Fig. V - 3****Prospect Church (Methodist), Prospect, 1847⁹⁷**

Many builders of small rural Methodist churches continued to build much as they had in the earlier years of the century. A great number of newer churches were solidly built and devoid of gratuitous embellishments. Occasionally, as seen here, the slant of the roof accounts for a greater percentage of the total vertical elevation than it had in previous years. This is generally attributed to a stylistic (but not liturgical) influence effected by architectural revisions in the Anglican church.

**Fig. V - 4**

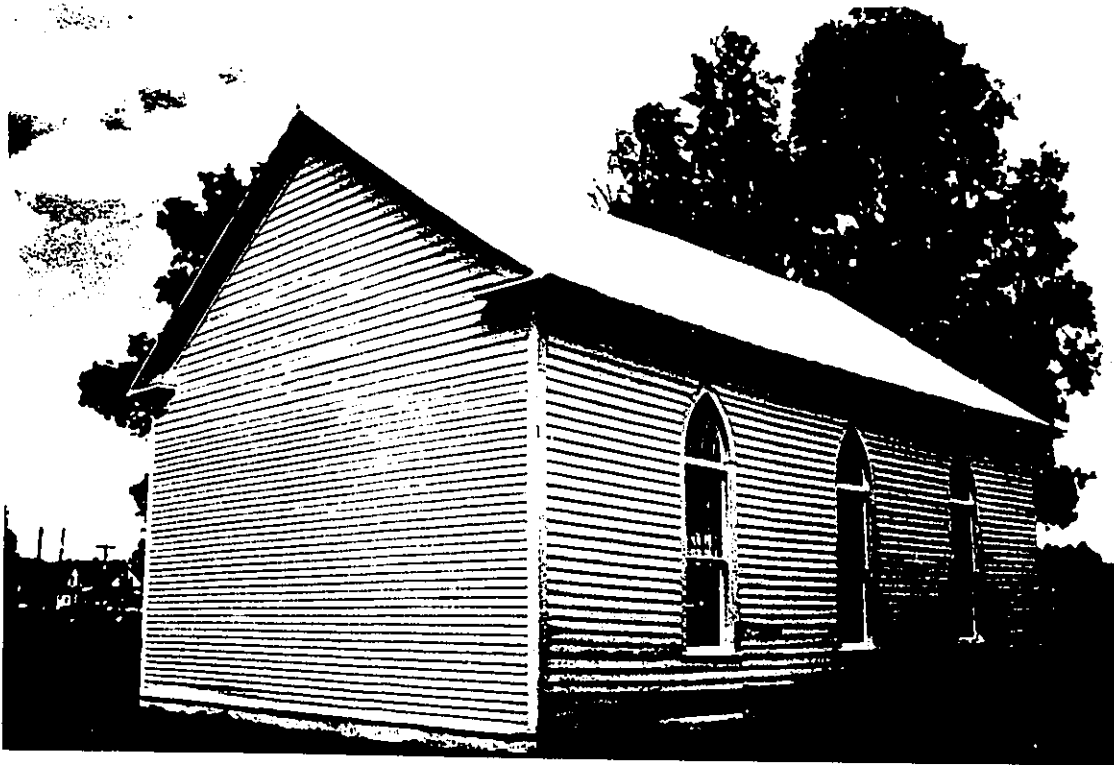
Presbyterian Church, 1891, and Methodist Church, 1888, Fallowfield⁹⁸

A closer view of these two churches, also seen in the corner of Fig. V-1, shows that even in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, many Presbyterian and Methodist church-builders continued to build much as they had during earlier years. Although brick is now used with greater regularity than stone once was, the external appearance of the church building reflects very little change.

**Fig. V - 5****Diamond Church (Methodist), Fitzroy Township, 1862⁹⁹**

The only embellishment to be found on the facade of this church was in the upper portion of the arched entryway. Here a delicate interlacing of slender glazing bars held the tiny panes of clear glass in place. Regency tracery is used in the arched portion of the window. The cave returns on the gable walls show faint traces of a distant Classical ancestry. The axis of the church runs east-west owing to the alignment of the facade, which is perpendicular to the township road that runs northwards to the village of Fitzroy Harbour.

⁹⁹ Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. V - 6****Diamond Church (Methodist), Fitzroy Township, 1862¹⁰⁰**

The side walls are opened by three gothic lights of moderate width that descend almost to the floor level. The window sashes are filled with plain glass and like the front door the only embellishment is in the interlacing of the glazing bars that echo the pattern above the front door. The western end of the church corresponds to the placement of the sanctuary. This end wall however remains blank and there is no architectural suggestion of privileged space.

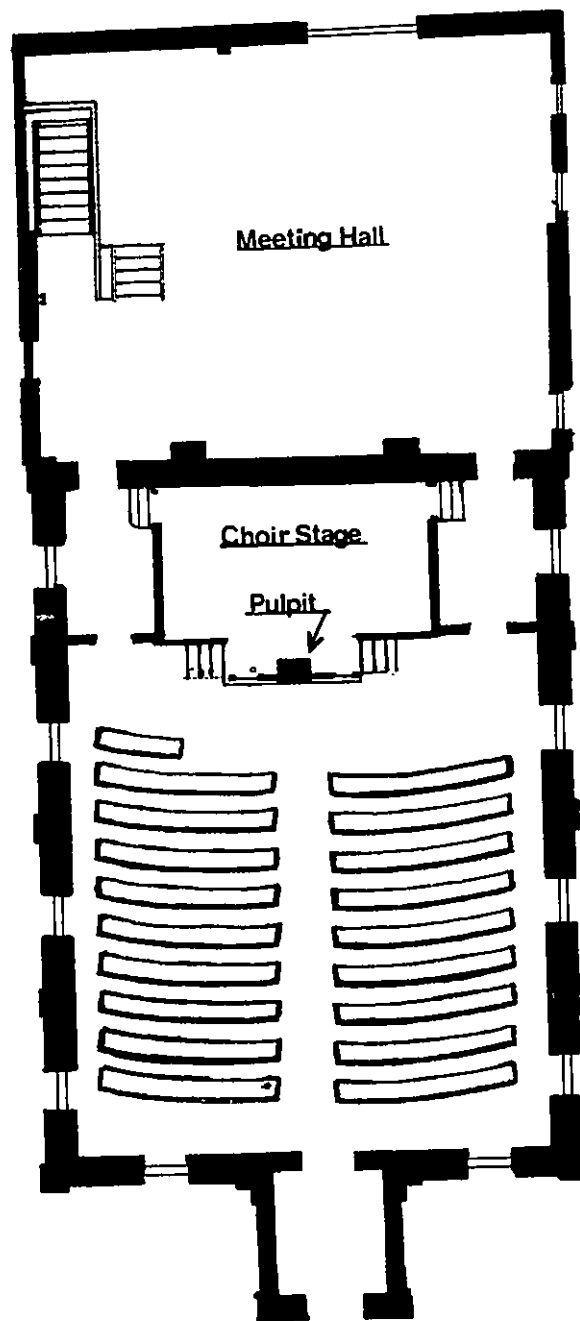
**Fig. V - 7****Shawville Methodist Church (Methodist), Shawville, 1890 ¹⁰¹**

Although builders of this church borrowed heavily from architectural changes introduced by Gothic Revivalists in the Anglican church, they did so only in terms of architectonic massings. This is especially evident in the generous slope of the roof, the lower lateral walls and the use of an asymmetrical tower and entry. The stylistic use of Gothic had however come to be so closely associated with what many Protestants perceived to be a drift towards Rome and was to be scrupulously avoided.

**Fig. V - 8****Almonte (Methodist), Almonte, 1891¹⁰²**

This church is not untypical of how Gothic came to be used during the final years of the nineteenth century. Despite the use of broken archheads most commonly associated with Gothic church-building, this church is reflective of neither Survival Gothic nor of Revival Gothic. The heavy earth-bound masses suggest little of the liturgical practices of those who gathered within.

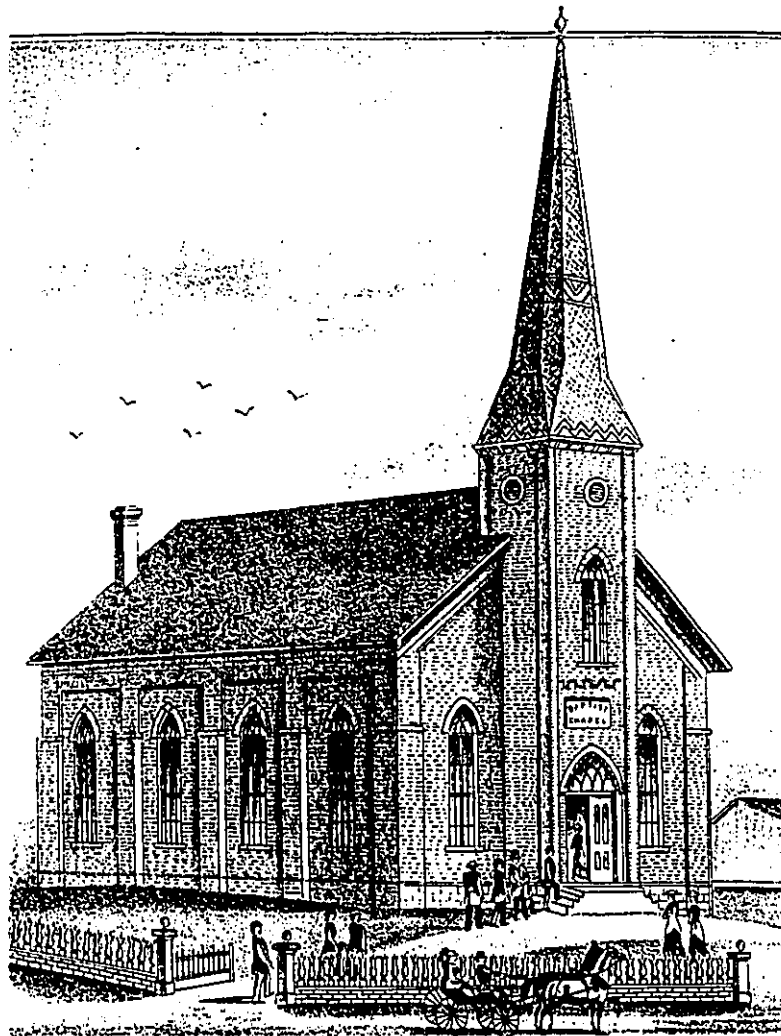
102 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. V - 9**

Methodist Church (Methodist), Fallowfield, Floor Plan, 1888¹⁰³

This church offers an interesting example of how Methodist church-builders began to merge amphitheater-style ground plans with traditional Survival Gothic style structures. Although a central aisle remains, the alignment of the pews is gently curved and attention is focused on an axial pulpit at the front of an elevated choir stage.

103 Illustration after Bruce Elliot, *The City Beyond: A history of Nepean., birthplace of Canada's Capital 1792-1990*, City of Nepean, Nepean, 1991, p. 66.

**Fig. V - 10****Baptist Chapel, (Baptist) Osgoode Township¹⁰⁴**

This 1870s engraving clearly shows that Baptists in the Ottawa Valley were using Gothic to distinguish their churches as a place of Christian, if not specifically Baptist worship. Here church-builders borrowed from several forms of Gothic. The main body of the church with its high walls and axial entry shows elements that have survived from earlier times and differ little from earlier Anglican churches or contemporary Methodist and Presbyterian structures.

104 Illustration Source: Belden, *Carleton County*, 1879, p. 49

**Fig. V - 11****Baptist Chapel (Baptist), Almonte, 1868¹⁰⁵**

Typical of Baptist chapels built throughout eastern Ontario and western Quebec, the Almonte chapel is a near perfect replica of the Baptist chapel built nearby in Phillippsville three years earlier. Benches were placed to either side of a central aisle. An axial pulpit stood on a small platform opposite the entry. The principal sacrament, Baptism, was not practiced inside the church building but on the shores of the river behind the church.

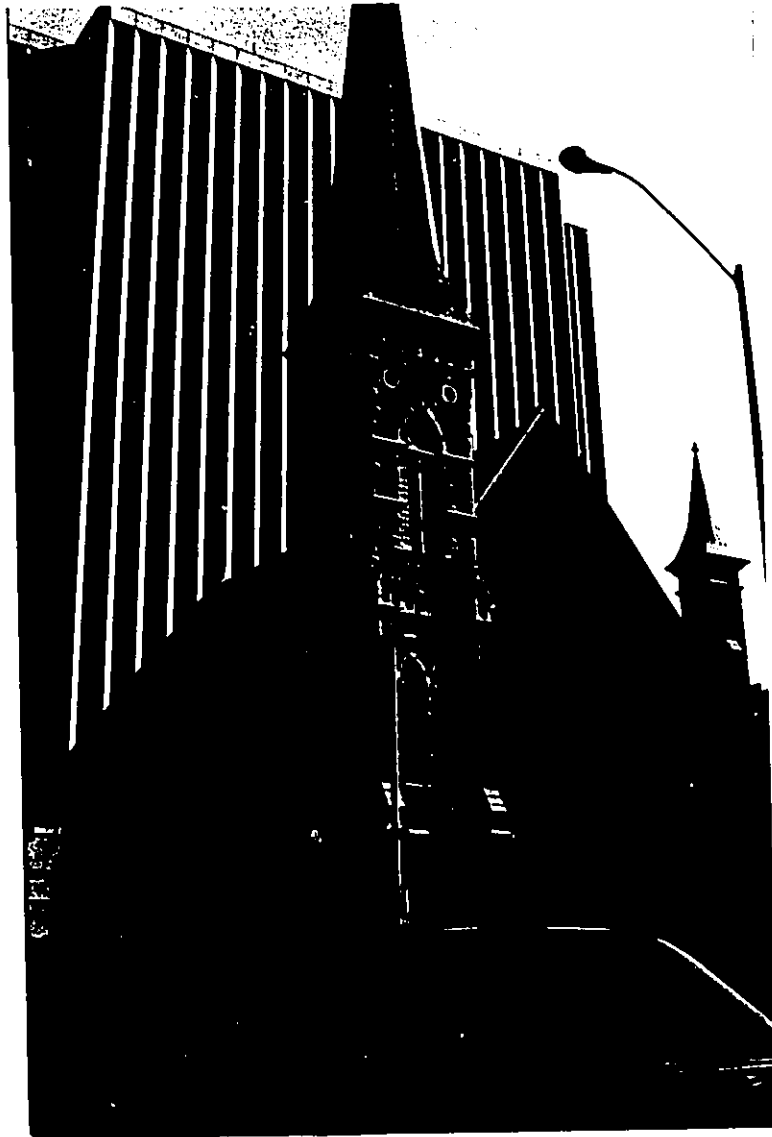


Fig. V - 12

St. Mary (Anglican), Russell, 1856¹⁰⁶

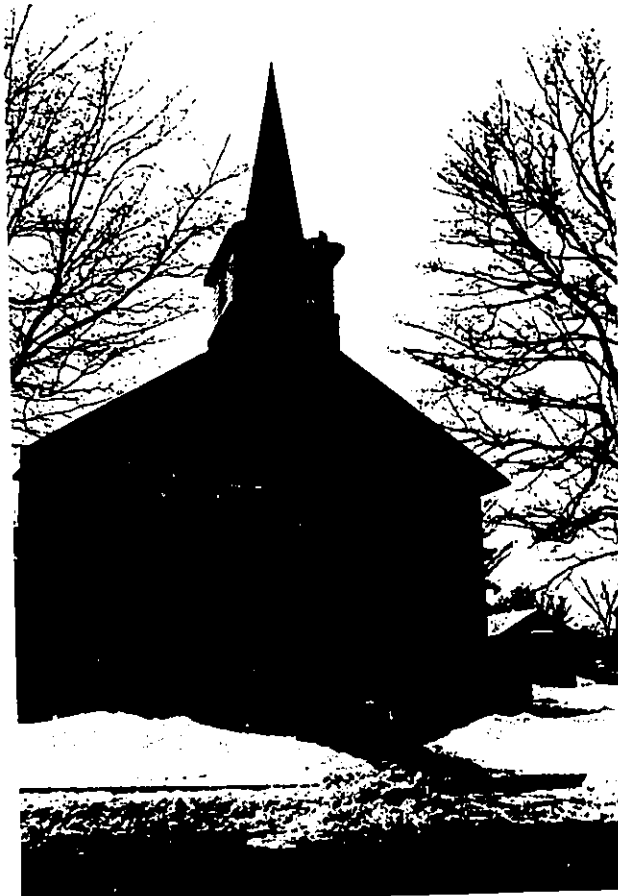
This church was sold to the local Baptist congregation in 1894 and subsequently moved to its present site. The local Baptist community is said to have neglected to have secured permission from J. Turnbull before moving the church across his property. Turnbull put a halt to the move and the church remained unceremoniously stranded in his field until a settlement was reached.

106 Illustration after, W. Stanley, *From Swamp to Shanty 1827-1987: History of Russell*, (n.p., n.d.), p. 83.

**Fig. V - 13****First Baptist (Baptist), Ottawa, 1877 -1881¹⁰⁷**

This church was originally built in 1877 but underwent significant reconstruction and structural modifications after the ceiling collapsed in 1881. This church is much more reflective of contemporary Gothic fashion than many of its rural counterparts. This may be attributed in part to its location in the national capital and is also suggestive of a desire to establish a certain degree of architectural parity with St. Andrew's

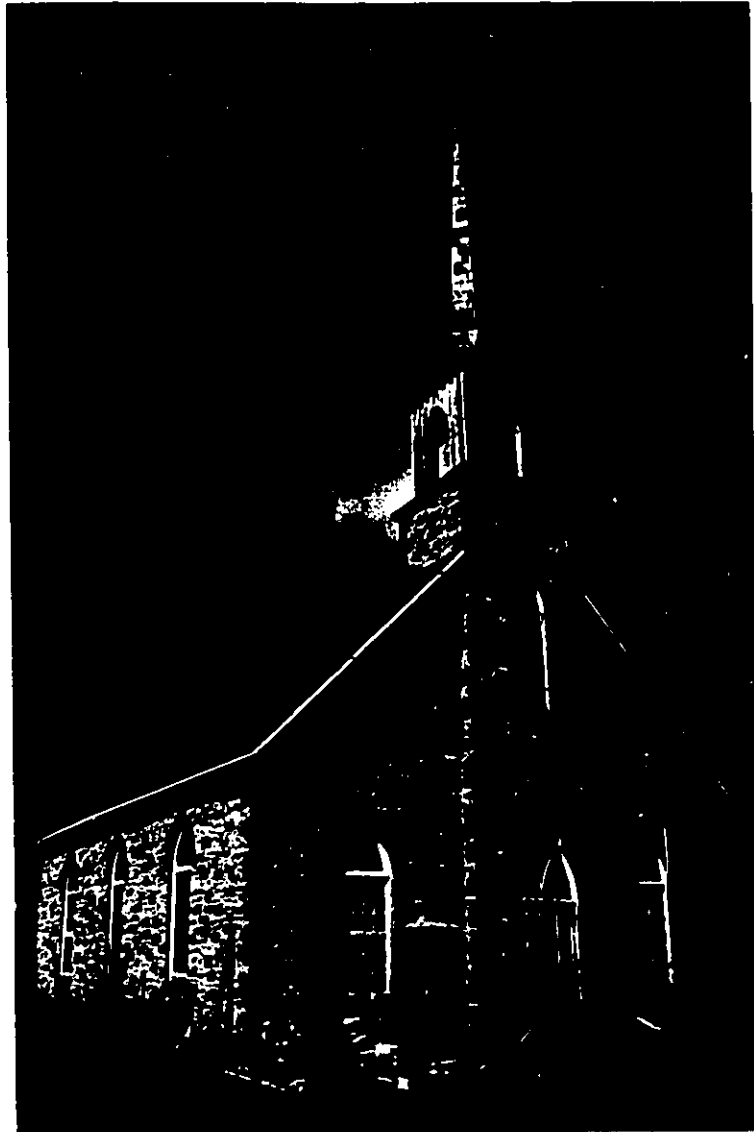
Presbyterian church and the Anglican Cathedral. Builders retained the axial entry but added an asymmetrical tower with a steeple reflecting of contemporary fashion. Early English triplets were placed in the principal gable end, but are more reflective of contemporary taste than of Baptist Ecclesiology. The Early English style wall-buttresses placed between the lancet windows of the lateral walls serve a dual purpose, being of both fashionable and structural use.

**Fig. V - 14****St. Andrew (Presbyterian), Almonte, 1861¹⁰⁸**

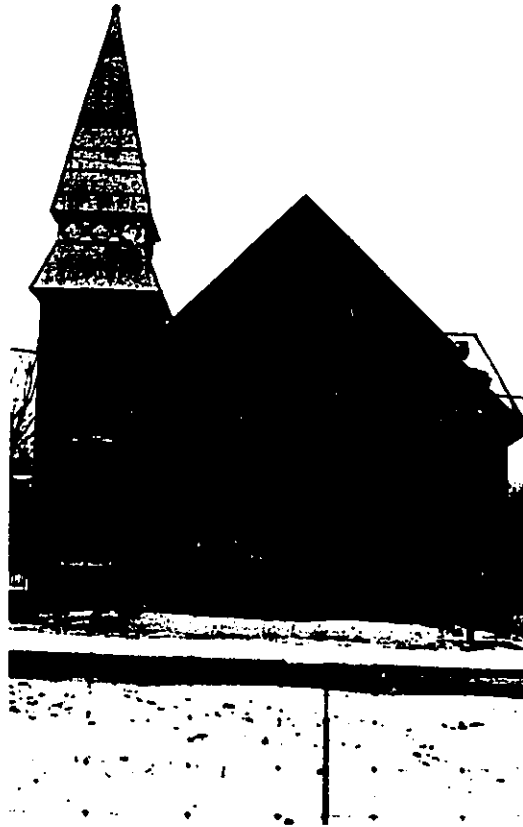
Originally built by a congregation associated with the Church of Scotland, this church is an excellent example of the continued use of Survival Gothic well into the second half of the nineteenth century. The spire is a late and perhaps somewhat unfortunate addition to an otherwise fine example of sober Scottish masonry.

**Fig. V - 15****St. Andrew (Presbyterian), Almonte, 1861¹⁰⁹**

The addition of a transept to this church was to facilitate the placement of a larger portion of the congregation in greater proximity to the pulpit. There is nothing about this particular church to suggest that builders were influenced either by Anglican style or contemporary fashion.

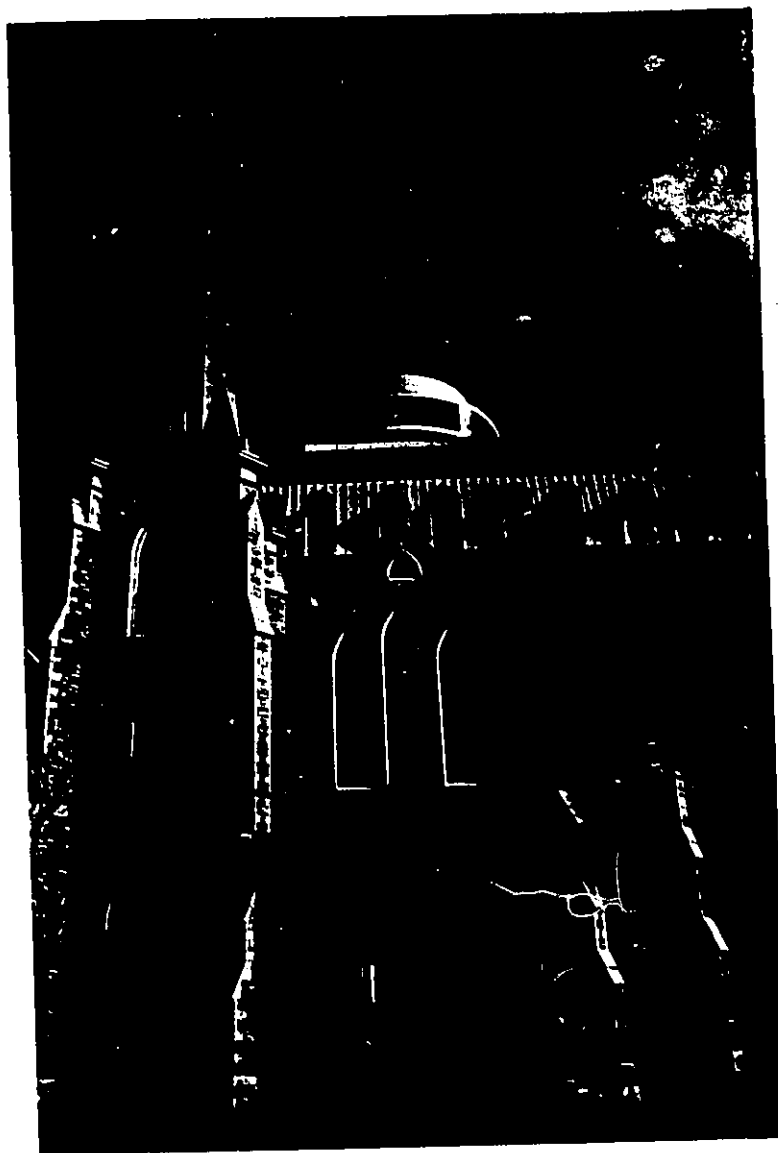
**Fig. V - 16****Melville Auld Kirk (Presbyterian), Ashton, 1879¹¹⁰**

When the Gaelic-speaking parishioners of Ashton rebuilt their church in 1879, they combined both traditions with elements of Scottish Survival Gothic as seen in the strong axial tower and the accentuated quoins, and elements of Anglican Revivalist Gothic as seen in the sharp slope of the roof and the low lateral walls. The building is now used as a private residence.

**Fig. V - 17****Lochwinnoch Church (Presbyterian), Lochwinnoch, 1894¹¹¹**

Externally, the Lochwinnoch church reflects traces of Anglican influence, notably in the large gable end window and the side entry in the base of a tower. Inside however, there is no central aisle. The sanctuary is accessed by way of side aisles that run on either side of a central block of pews. These pews are located immediately in front of an axial pulpit that stands in front of the end wall, beneath the tracery of a large Gothic arch. There are no windows or other architectural features associated with the sanctuary.

111 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. V - 18****St. Andrew (Presbyterian), Ottawa, 1872¹¹²**

Despite the presence of what appears to be a forceful central entry with its skillfully carved archivolt and elevated gable, this church presents an architecturally powerful facade that has little to do with the interior. This entry does not lead into the main body of the church but instead opens onto a large landing that is also accessible from an entry

in the base of the side tower. Oversized Early English triplets are used to light the main body of the church. The sanctuary is located in the small transept, seen here on the right. A second transept is hidden behind the tower, and was used to allow the seating of more parishioners immediately in front of the pulpit.

**Fig. V - 19****Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian), Pembroke, 1881¹¹³**

The interior of this church offers a useful illustration of how Presbyterian church builders in the Ottawa Valley were now using cruciform ground plans with amphitheater-type fittings. Here a second story balcony swings out of a small transept and curves around the main body of the church. The window, installed in 1894, reflects

¹¹³ Photo: V. Bennett.

a new tolerance for figural imagery amongst Presbyterian congregations. The use of religious iconography however remained strictly confined to the church windows and does not appear on the walls of the church nor does this interest translate into the use to three-dimensional statuary.



Fig. V - 20

Our Lady of the Visitation, (Roman Catholic), South Gloucester, c. 1870¹¹⁴

Although the vaults are of plaster and of no structural consequence, a decorative Gothic has been used to accentuate the height of the church building. Despite the accent placed on vertical monumentality, decorative Gothic has also been skillfully used to draw attention to the liturgical focal point, the high altar.

114 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. V - 21**

St-Isidore-de-Prescott, (Roman Catholic), St-Isidore-de-Prescott, 1897¹¹⁵

A heavier, but equally skillful use of decorative Gothic can be seen in this later nineteenth century photograph of St-Isidore-de-Prescott. Once again, Gothic styling has been used to draw attention to the high altar. The success of these efforts is somewhat challenged by the presence of a practical but very conspicuous stove pipe that appears to join the principal altar with the apex of the central vaults. In reality the stove pipe opens above the central nave, not in the sanctuary area.

115 Photo Source: Archdiocesan Archives Ottawa (R.C.), St-Isidore-de-Prescott Collection.



Fig. V - 22

St. Hughes (Roman Catholic), Sarsfield, 1867 and 1895¹¹⁶

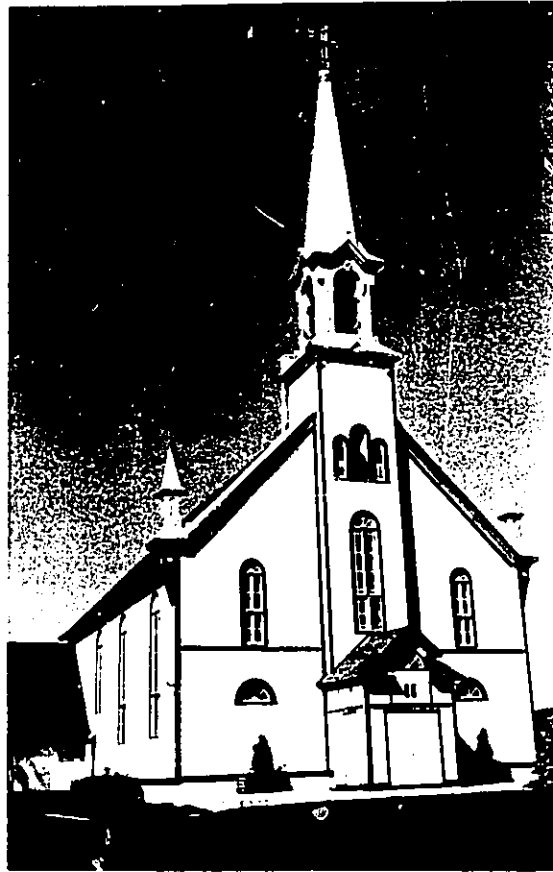
Fewer illustrations offer a more striking demonstration of the architectonic revolution that occurred within the Roman Catholic church when the increased influence of Ultramontanist thought encouraged a general abandonment of the Gothic style in

¹¹⁶ Photo Source: Archdiocesan Archives Ottawa (R.C.), Sarsfield Collection.

favour of a greater Italianate influence. The original Gothic church of St. Hughes, Sarsfield, (1867), is shown here during the course of demolition, while the windows and walls of the new St. Hughes (1895) rise well above the roof line of the original modest structure.

**Fig. V - 23****St. Mary (Roman Catholic), Almonte, 1869¹¹⁷**

Increasingly the facade of Roman Catholic Churches acquires a new importance. At the church of St. Mary in Almonte, frontal monumentality is achieved through an emphasis of the central tower that draws strongly on earlier Anglo-Irish prototypes.

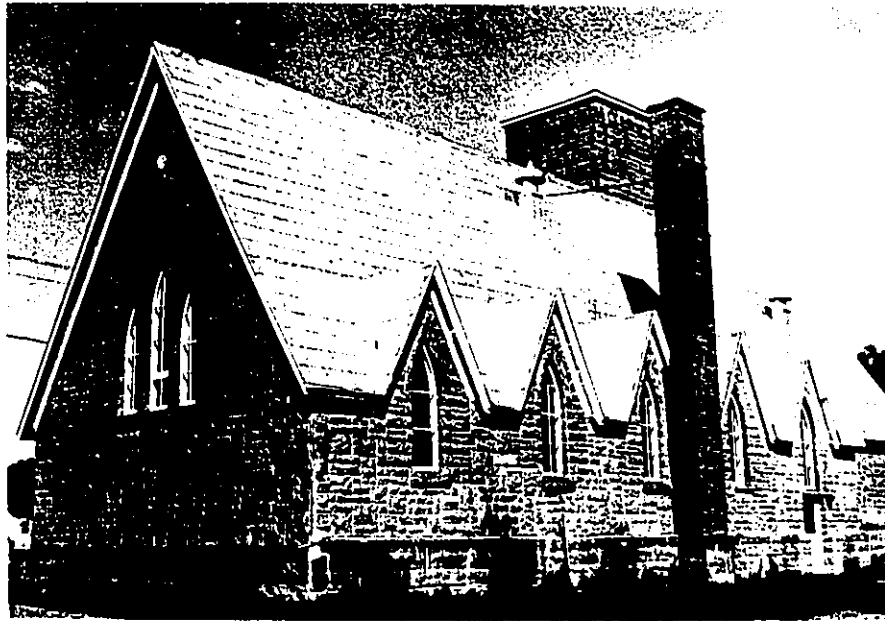
**Fig. V - 24****Our Lady of Malaky (Roman Catholic), Mayo, 1897¹¹⁸**

By the late nineteenth century, Roman Catholic church-builders were achieving equally dramatic facades without any reference to the Gothic style. It is worth noting that this stylistic change rarely affected the architectonic massing of the church facade itself.

**Fig. V - 25****Christ Church Cathedral (Anglican), Ottawa, 1872¹¹⁹**

Although the architect King Arnoldi was well versed in the use of revived Medieval Gothic, Christ Church in Ottawa is much more a product of Victorian taste than Camdanian Ecclesiology. There is a striking similarity with the facades of Presbyterian church of St. Andrew and the First Baptist Church. The asymmetrical tower, large

gable end window, the fashionable steeple and spire all bear witness to this. The church underwent significant modifications when the chevet was lengthened during the 1930s. Stepped gables and pinnacles were removed from all end walls except that of the principal facade. The principal facade has been altered the least since the time of construction. Changes are found primarily in the suppression of the iron finials that once topped the pinnacles. The large cross that once marked the apex of the gable end has also been removed. The figural imagery of the western window dates from the mid twentieth century.

**Fig. V - 26****St. Paul (Anglican), Shawville, 1872¹²⁰**

While the builders of St. Paul in Shawville were clearly inspired by Early English Gothic, they lacked the stylistic agility seen at St. Paul's in Almonte. Again the walls are low and the slope of the roof great; the chancel is architecturally distinct. Early English triplets are used, but at the wrong end of the building. Window gables are used to break the roof line of the lateral wall however, there is a static dryness that is not a factor at the Almonte church.

**Fig. V - 27****St. John the Evangelist (Anglican), Quyon, 1885¹²¹**

The builders of St. John the Evangelist were unquestionably guided by the directions of Gothic revivalists within the Anglican Church, but were a long way from their medieval prototypes. The church is entered through a mitred arch on a side porch and the western gable end is opened by lancet couplets. The chancel is architecturally distinct. The lateral walls of the church are low and much of the vertical ascension is taken by the roof. The bell tower that rises above the vestry is exceptionally massive and strays from the use of Gothic on the second story. This is neither Survival Gothic nor a pure use of Revivalist Gothic, instead it foreshadows a new use of the Gothic style that was to find a fuller expression in a Canadian context during the opening decades of the twentieth century.

121 Photo: V. Bennett.

**Fig. V - 28****St. Paul (Anglican), Fitzroy Township, 1887¹²²**

This small country church combined a number of church-building traditions. The church is small and entered by an axial tower on the main facade of the church. It is however carefully oriented with the sanctuary to the east and the main entry at the west. The tower is not the massive sort traditionally found fronting Survival Gothic churches. Instead this tower is gradually staged back much in the manner of Early English buttress building and was topped by a bellcote. This arrangement allows for both considerable stylistic continuity and economy.

**Fig. V - 29****St. Stephen (Anglican), Greermount, 1886¹²³**

This isolated church is very dramatically located in a clearing surrounded by very thick brush. The setting has changed little since the time of its construction when parishioners hauled material to the site themselves and camped on the grounds during construction. While the building is clearly influenced by the liturgical priorities of Camdanian Ecclesiology, this church is by no means a transplant from medieval England but rather a striking example of Canadian adaptation and interpretation.

¹²³ Photo: V. Bennett.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the process

Throughout the years of the nineteenth century, Gothic was continuously associated with a community space built for the collective practice of Christian worship. Surviving documentation distinctly indicates that Gothic was consistently used as an expression of Christian belief. However, material discussed in this study clearly demonstrates that the use of Gothic, like the Christian communities that used it, was neither monolithic nor static. Furthermore, it is now evident that before Gothic can be discussed, either in terms of an architectural style or as a symbolic expression of Christian belief, a number of complex factors, both peripheral and integral, must be addressed.

Evidence suggests that prior to any discussion of architectural style, it would be beneficial to situate the church building itself within the secular context and material

cosmos of which it is both a part and a product. Firstly, from a secular perspective, and in terms of extra-stylistic considerations, it is necessary to determine what role the church building itself held within the broader context of the secular community. This approach is not uncommon to studies that simply address architectural history: consistently greater priority is given to the physical description of a church building. All too frequently this approach does not allow for a discussion of the church building as a means through which religious thought is embodied. Secondly, it should be remembered that regardless of an individual's devotion to, or disregard for Christianity, for much of the nineteenth century, the Christian church was usually the largest single public building in a town or village in the Ottawa Valley. In many instances a church building was the only building in which a greater portion of the population could gather. Often it was the local church that offered early settlers the only reprieve from the labour and isolation of their farms. While this admittedly may not be an overwhelming preoccupation for late twentieth century scholars who live in a society of comfortable mobility with easy access to numerous large scale civic buildings, stadiums, and commercial complexes with sprawling roofs that cover several acres. Still, contemporary scholars of religious architecture would be ill advised to dismiss the secular environment of these early churches with undue haste. In the context of the early nineteenth century this is an element that must not be ignored.

In the earliest days of Ottawa Valley settlement, the church building was habitually used to accommodate the secular needs of a community. Most frequently, the church doubled as a school house or town hall. Despite this multiplicity of use, there was never any question of plurality of purpose. Initially, the secular use of a church building was not considered to have distracted significantly from its primary function. Instead, a greater emphasis and concern was placed on the church building as a sign that the

settlement in which it stood held promise of survival. This attitude was prevalent even when the church buildings themselves were little more than log cabins or modest variations of domestic architecture. By virtue of their very presence, these churches also suggested commitment on the part of the religious community to whom they belonged. They were, in their own way, a vote of confidence and a sign of belief in the inevitability of forthcoming prosperity.

Other times, communities were already well on their way to becoming important centers of commercial activity or villages. These centers of promising undertaking, which were usually linked to lumbering and milling operations or the construction of canals were peopled by entrepreneurs, engineers, military personnel and individuals skilled in a variety of trades. As more people were drawn to these areas and stronger, more concentrated settlements soon began to emerge, and in these same places, a different type of church building began to appear. These churches were often more than the vernacular log structures of isolated communities. Furthermore, churches built in emergent towns often drew not only on a wider range of people but occasionally had better access to funding. Many were built in stone. Their facades were often architecturally accentuated or emboldened by the addition of frontal towers. Many of these early church buildings were seen, by the community of believers that they served, to emphasize or underscore their own sense of permanence not only in terms of denominational commitment but also in secular society.

Marked as a House of God

Though stern and austere, the spiritual dimension of many churches built in the Ottawa Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century was not one that found its

fullest expression through an atmosphere of sacred mystery and pious contemplation. While few of these buildings were imbued with an aura of transcendent mystery, there is little data to propound that an atmosphere of spirituality was either strictly enforced or even cultivated. Church-builders may have attempted to raise structures that were architecturally imposing, however, this was a statement directed towards the surrounding environment and to a large degree, a proclamation of social standing. It is important that architectural declarations of this era not be confused with the architectural monumentality that was to become popular in the later decades of the century. During the first half of the nineteenth century structural monumentality must be understood in terms of a socio-political statement rather than a socio-theological one.

Preserved material shows that when builders did not strive to achieve structural monumentality, there were few visible features to distinguish a church from much of the local domestic architecture. Frequently, it was only the pointed Gothic arches of the windows that identified a structure as a place of Christian prayer. As such, it is undeniable that on the strength of a simple Gothic reference, a building was distinguished from the secular structures of everyday life and marked as a Christian church.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Ottawa Valley church-builders usually sought to raise their buildings in the midst of human activity, or in a manner that was best adapted to local custom. Rarely were specific geographic features sought. Instead, they were aligned so as to be most convenient for those individuals who financed the better part of their construction. This was not always the most felicitous solution, but it was considered to be a positive reflection of moral fabric and work ethic of the community and was rarely detrimental to the value of nearby land. In the same way that a

center of activity tended to attract church-building projects, the building of a church was often a pivotal point in determining the center of future development. Often, construction was organized or generously supported by individuals who had a personal (and not infrequently financial) interest in seeing the area developed. This is not to suggest that church-builders were motivated uniquely by a sense of personal gain, for religion in the nineteenth century was very much intertwined with everyday life.

The use of Gothic during the early years discussed in this study was neither technically complex, nor was it gravid with symbolic refinement, or intended to be. This preference for stylistic austerity also precluded a Gothic that was either ornate or flamboyant. The unscholarly and flamboyant use of Gothic that resulted in the "arboreal petrifications" and theatrical displays associated some late eighteenth and early nineteenth century productions was not common in the Ottawa Valley. At the same time, this early Gothic was rarely bound by archaeological precession or historically correct detailing. Instead, the Gothic used was an expression that drew on the tradition of the builders and craftsmen, and on the memory of merchants and military men. Strict canons of measure or proportion were neither rigorously aspired to, nor were they demanded despite the many churches built in the Ottawa Valley during the eighteen-twenties and eighteen-thirties that were well balanced and proportioned. Working largely from recall and with limited material and financial resources, early church-builders in the Ottawa Valley were not in a position to indulge in architectural trivia or gracious embellishment. Theirs was an intensely succinct expression of Gothic. More often than not, the 'Gothicness' of a structure was expressed primarily through the practice of pointed window in a simple rectangular building. This early use of Gothic did not have the ideological implications that were later to be associated with Gothic church architecture. Characterized by its

abstemious simplicity and an austere dignity, Gothic, as it first appeared in the Ottawa Valley, is not a Gothic of revival but one of survival.

During the late second and early third quarter of the nineteenth century, the building of churches took on a new significance. This coincided with an influx of settlers from such denominations as the Methodists who had been active in the Ottawa Valley from an early date but lacked numerical strength.

By the late second quarter of the nineteenth century, both Episcopal and Wesleyan Methodists make strong inroads into the Ottawa Valley. The remarkable increase in the number of Methodist stations, as listed in Missionary reports, was particularly evident from the early 1830s¹ to the mid 1850s.² As Episcopal and Wesleyan Methodists

1 In 1833, activity in the Ottawa Valley was summarized as follows, "Clarendon Mission - This mission is about 100 miles north of Brockville, on the north side of the Ottawa river, opposite the Bonchère river, on the Upper Canada side. The mission embraces the Township of Clarendon and Bristol. There are six appointments for preaching besides several prayer meetings. There are four classes and 47 members in the society. A Temperance Society has been formed on the plan of entire abstinence - it now numbers 50. It is about six years since this settlement commenced. The emigrants are mostly from Ireland and Scotland, and a very enterprising and hospitable people." *8th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America - 1833*, p. 6-7. By 1836 there was a 'Bytown Circuit,' 'Hull Circuit Branch' and the 'Mississippi Circuit Branch.' No specific locations were given although the 'Ottawa Circuit Branch' did include St. Andrews, La Chute, Chatham Chapel and Hawkesbury. *11th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada - 1836*, pp. 21-25.

2 By the mid 1850s the Methodist missionaries were working numerous Circuits and substations within the Ottawa Valley. For the year 1854-1855, the Wesleyans were working the following areas: Carleton Place Circuit, including a station at Eighth-Line Branch, Bellamy Branch, Lanark Branch, Blair's Branch, Boyd's Branch, and the Pakenham Circuit which included the Pakenham Branch and Fitzroy Branch. The Ottawa Circuit had a larger population and was devoted solely to the Ottawa Branch, as was the case of the Aylmer Circuit and Chelsea Branch. The Richmond Circuit included the Richmond Branch, North Gower Branch, Beckwith Branch, Argue's Branch and Shillington Branch. The St. Andrew's Mission included La Chute, Chatham Branch, North Gower Branch, St. Andrew's Branch. The L'Orignal Circuit took in L'Orignal Branch, Longueuil Branch, VanKleek Hill Branch, West Hawkesbury Branch, East Hawkesbury Branch. There was now a Lochaber Mission which had expanded to include Lochaber Branch, Lochaber Gower Branch, Bay Branch, Upper Cumberland Branch, Lower Cumberland Branch, Buckingham

competed for membership, there emerged an increasingly urgent discussion of the need for church buildings. Once again, it should be remembered this frequently meant simply a log cabin. Despite the modesty of the constructions, this discussion nevertheless presented a significant contrast from earlier days when camp meetings held precedent over the construction of permanent church buildings. Increasingly, Methodists were seeking to define the moral duties of church-building. Among the individual communities of the Ottawa Valley, documentation suggests that the reason for building a church vary. Some communities were concerned that they must build to establish a sense of permanence, others worried that only through building could they secure membership, still others appear to have built as a direct result of revival inspiration. When revivals were involved, there were few better ways to demonstrate one's community's devotion to God than through the construction of a separate place of worship. However, while Gothic is frequently used, data currently available does not allow this phenomenon to be linked to or be a product of Gothic ideology. There is no information to suggest that any specific stylistic allegiance was advocated.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, there is a gradual shift in emphasis concerning the responsibility of church-building. An increasing level of responsibility was now being placed on individual church-members who were exhorted to build as a demonstration of commitment to Christian duty. Again this is not a

Branch. The Osgoode Mission included the Metcalfe Branch, Bowesville Branch, Long Island Branch, Gloucester Branch, Russell Branch and Cumberland Branch. The Gatineau Mission included the Wakefield Branch, Hull Branch and Templeton Branch, while the Clarendon and Portage-du-Fort Mission included, Clarendon Branch, Portage-du-Fort Branch, Clarendon Front Branch and Quyon Branch. There was also a Westmeath Mission, Huntley Mission and Grenville Mission which included a Grenville Branch and 'Augmentation' Branch. *30th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, 1854-55.*

specifically Gothic phenomenon, but Gothic makes a strong showing in the material evidence. The buildings themselves were gravid with immense but intangible symbolism. This resulted in a sophisticated and highly abstract understanding of the church building that went well beyond architectonic limits. Despite this important role in the Christian experience, there were no proclamations of stylistic preference.

In the Ottawa Valley, discussions of this sense of obligation to build a church offer an important insight into the adaptability and commitment of many nineteenth century Christians. As the century progresses, various Christian denominations are called upon to give visual testimony of their gratitude to God. Preachers often reminded their congregations that the material benefits they now possessed were gifts from God. Public acknowledgment of these gifts was easier for some than others. Many Christian traditions did not allow for unrestrained material expressions of belief. On this specific point, most Ottawa Valley Protestants were somewhat disadvantaged when compared to their Roman Catholics neighbours. Even after the considerable reforms imposed by the Council of Trent, Roman Catholics had retained a rich and varied tradition of visual and material expression. Most other Christian confessions present in the Ottawa Valley had traditionally refrained from this practice. Reformed Anglo-Protestants had gravitated to an interpretation of the scriptures that was centered on reading and hearing the Word of God. In many instances they denied the validity of most material expressions of religious belief such as devotional statuary, painted stations of the cross and large scale crosses or crucifixes. As a direct consequence, much of their outward expression of religious belief was unavoidably aniconic. This in and of itself had posed no particular problem, that is until it is suggested that increased material well-being is expression of God's favour and should be acknowledged in an equally tangible manner. Findings suggest that in

response to this, many Protestant congregations who lived and worshipped in the Ottawa Valley during the nineteenth century turned to the building of churches as the preferred manner in which to give material expression to their devotion and gratitude. Through church architecture, the material embodiment of Christian belief could be visually and tangibly manifest without falling into the traps of idol-making image worship.

With the increasing sense of obligation to build churches came an increasing uncertainty as to how places of worship should best be built. This tendency was especially evident among Anglicans and present to a considerably lesser but none the less important degree among Methodists. These transformations were motivated by different forces from both inside and outside various denominations. Methodists, for example were acquiring an unprecedented level of social acceptance. Parallel to this, they place a new importance upon the dignity and decorum of worship. Their services are moved from outside to inside. There is now a new preference for religious ceremonies to be held inside church buildings and the popularity of the old style, outside at camp meetings, goes into decline. Others, most notably the Anglicans, were finding that their traditional place of social primacy was being called into question. Many of these questions arise at a time when long-standing church-state relations were in a period of transition. At the same time, traditional Anglican church building forms that had for years been taken for granted, were thought to no longer fully respond to Anglican needs and concerns. The middle decades of the nineteenth century was thus a time when church buildings were physically and in certain traditions ecclesiastically transformed. While the Anglicans of Central Canada may have considered the mid nineteenth century to be a time of denominational hardship, documentation shows that this period was one of the most intense and dynamic

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in terms of thought concerning the question of church-building. Increasingly, the answer is in some form of Gothic dialect.

However, while an increased number of Christian denominations may have been choosing Gothic for their church buildings, only within the Anglican church was the Gothic style presented as the unique vehicle for the architectonic expression of Christian principle. Furthermore, in the Anglican church, Gothic was given widespread and extensive Episcopal endorsement. It is perhaps no coincidence that ideas from Oxford and Cambridge gained wider circulation in Central Canada at the very time that the Church of England in Canada was feeling alienated from civil government and the authority of its clerical hierarchy was being underrated. While the Oxonians did not seek to actively occupy themselves with architectural concerns, as did the Camdanians, both were to have considerable influence on the attitudes many Anglicans held towards worship and the environment in which worship took place. Although the influence of both is popularly associated with the revival of medieval gothic, both groups also advocated the removal of the state from church affairs. This being said it is important to understand that there is nothing to indicate that Anglicans as a whole were anything less than the most patriotic of citizens and their loyalty to the crown was never questioned. Instead they express this sentiment through a distancing from secular affairs and a renewed emphasis on their confessional history and clerical authority.

When Anglican church-builders approached church authorities for architectural advice they were answered emphatically, expansively and with great precision. On the surface most of the recommendations served to the Anglican public might seem innocent enough, good sensible architectural advice, and indeed it is undeniable that they did

contain a large amount of very practical advice. However, increasingly evident throughout, was the insinuation that were church-builders to be negligent in following these recommendations, the proper practice of Anglican ritual and worship would be difficult, and an atmosphere becoming of Anglican Worship would be impossible. There is clearly a desire not simply to raise churches that were identifiable as places of worship but for the construction of churches that were specifically and overtly dedicated to Anglican worship. Typical of this was the advice given to church-builders by Bishop Mountain. His choice of Frank Wills as consulting architect and his bibliographic recommendations indicate that Anglican church-builders in Central Canada were being directed towards a very specific interpretation of revived medieval Gothic. Despite this, many church officials were clearly hesitant to openly advocate Camdanian or Oxonian opinion and frequently used other reasons to justify the introduction of archaeological elements. Many changes suggested by the advocates of Camdanian Ecclesiology were presented to Canadian readers as sensible examples of climatic adaptations. While a case could have been made for much of this, one cannot help but wonder why it took Anglicans so long to identify the problem and why other Christian denominations were either immune to or unaware of these offending climatic conditions. It is however worth noting that, despite the caution with which certain features were introduced into the Canadian repertoire of Anglican church-building, there exists no parallel body of literature within the Anglican church that overtly and systematically affronts the Gothic church-building tradition.

By the late 1840s and early 1850s the new ideas concerning the building of churches that had been circulating in Central Canada for some time, were beginning to appear in a more concrete form in the Ottawa Valley. Many features previously identified

as deformities, such as high walls and squat roofs, could be easily modified without incurring accusations of Tractarian advocacy or ritualistic practice.

The single, most significant change that appears on Anglican church buildings during this period is the architectural distinct chancel. Findings clearly attest that this is not a gratuitous architectural appendage, but is a direct result of a fundamental transformation in liturgical priorities. During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the emphasis and focal point of Anglican worship is redirected from the gospel to the Eucharist, hence the new importance and supremacy given to Eucharistic celebrations. However, although the Eucharist was now shared by more people and with greater frequency, its sense of awe and privilege was not diminished. This was due primarily to the introduction of the Gothic chancel. Architecturally and symbolically, these chancels were used to set privileged space apart.

Throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century, Anglo-Protestant congregations that were not part of the Anglican Church, discussed the subject of church-building to varying degrees. The discussion of Gothic in the context of secular journals reflects a widespread interest, if not unqualified acceptance, in the use of revived medieval Gothic as an architectural style truly adapted to Christian needs. This gave rise to considerable discussion among other Protestant denominations. Questions and opinions on the matter of church-building were often sent for publication to various confessional journals. Replies or rebuttals were published, and the debate raged back and forth with comparatively little guidance or concrete direction from Church officials on the subject of orientation, proportion or the required dimensions of specific internal furnishings. There were few specific examples of what might constitute a just display of

generosity and there was rarely any indication as to just where that crucial, but elusive line between fine craftsmanship and fashionable frivolity might run.

By the 1860's there is a tone of greater urgency among those seeking to define a Methodist church-building tradition. As discussed previously, the Methodist understanding of church-building as demonstrated through their own descriptions of revivals, building projects and Divine visitations, suggests that the traditionally curt dismissal of their architectural efforts is both unfortunate and uninformed. Coupled with a spiritually complex and highly abstract understanding of church space, Methodists began to place an increasing importance on the building of churches. In addition to this, they were also placing an increased importance on the manner in which churches were built. There is however no evidence to suggest that the question was addressed in a systematic manner by church authorities. There were still no specific examples of what might constitute a just display of generosity. Methodists were still without direction on the subject of orientation, proportion and the required dimensions of specific internal furnishings. Throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Methodists continued to be faced with the problem of building churches that reflected their commitment and, of course, their generosity, without pretentious displays of architectural caprice. Although Gothic continued to be used, Methodists did not enter into scholarly studies, produce architectural treatises or publish the building guides or copy books that were characteristic of the Anglican revival of Gothic.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Baptists gained significant numerical strength in the Ottawa Valley. While Baptist congregations built a number of small churches and several architecturally significant structures, including the large

Gothic church that still stands in Ottawa at the corner of Elgin and Laurier, very little discussion is devoted to architectonic undertaking. In contrast, Baptists made extensive use of architectural symbolism, especially as a tool for exegetical analysis. However, there is little indication of any preoccupation with translating this symbolism into solid structure. While the architectonic interests may appear comparatively undervalued in the Baptist tradition, it must be remembered that while baptism is the keystone Sacrement and the one in which their Christian belief and practice achieved its highest expression, it was often not experienced in built space. Nevertheless, Gothic elements appear in a number of their church buildings. As with the Methodists, however, there is no data to indicate that Baptists were active participants in the revival of medieval Gothic

Presbyterians continued to use Gothic, having never really abandoned it since the days of the Reformation. Despite this long tradition, Presbyterians do not appear to have ever felt any great need to discuss the subject. Initially, Presbyterian church-builders in Central Canada continued Scottish tradition. They built rectangular churches with large Gothic openings. The dimensions were simply adjusted to meet the needs of the congregation without much structural or stylistic compromise. Occasionally, centers of liturgical significance, such as the wall against which the pulpit stood, were decorated with trace molding in the form of a Gothic arch.

When the amphitheater plan began to gain popularity, many Presbyterian parishes continued to incorporate decorative Gothic elements into the shell of their building. There was however, rarely any affiliation between the Gothic exterior and the liturgical arrangements within. When the Presbyterians of Central Canada decided in 1890 that the time had come to address the question of church architecture, they did not seek advice

from their own clergy or even specifically from within their own denomination. In contrast to the Anglican Church where the clergy played an important role in defining the religious symbolism and theological content of their church buildings, Presbyterian church officials were conspicuously absent from these discussions. Instead, the Presbyterian Church turned to the trade journals and public sector in the hopes of finding a suitable response to their church-building needs.

Although Roman Catholics usually declined to share church buildings or style with those of questionable theology, their reverence for the building itself was never so strict that they were impractical. Early chapels were often recycled to enjoy a second career as a rectory or a school house,³ and the rectory-chapel was an excellent example of the results of planned obsolescence. Roman Catholic bishops in the Ottawa Valley frequently took an active interest in the architectural details of a church building⁴ and often suggested construction or architectural modifications in none too subtle terms,⁵ but were remarkably mute on the matter of style.

Gothic had not played a part in the French Catholic church-building tradition during the French Regime and its introduction to Central Canada was occasioned by a rather convoluted route. The first Roman Catholic church of consequence built in

3 Archives of the Archdiocese of Ottawa (Roman Catholic), Mgr. Duhamel, *Registre des visites épiscopales*, 1875, Episcopal visit to L'Ange-Gardien. Although it was not common practice, Catholics would occasionally purchase a church building from another denomination.

4 In the correspondence of Mgr. Giguès, there is a contract with detailed architectural specifications of the construction of an unnamed church, "Specifications d'une église à bâtir pour Mgr. l'évêque d'Ottawa", 1873, Archives of the Archdiocese of Ottawa (Roman Catholic), G1-1-14-1.

5 Archives of the Archdiocese of Ottawa (Roman Catholic), Mgr. Duhamel, *Registre des visites épiscopales*, contains numerous recommendations for improvements, modifications, new installations and repairs.

reasonably proximity to the Ottawa Valley was Notre-Dame of Montreal. In many ways this church paved the way for the introduction of the Gothic style, being one of the earliest monumental Neo-Gothic churches in North America. However, Notre Dame owed much more to the Gothic of the Commissioners' Churches of Anglican England than to any serious attempt to introduce archaeologically inspired structures. This is not to suggest however that the introduction of Gothic into the Catholic church-building programme is merely symptomatic of Anglo influence.

The construction of Montreal's St. Patrice by French expatriates offered a stronger case that the Gothic style was not only a viable option for the construction of Catholic churches, it also demonstrated that this could be done with a decidedly French flavor. Here again, the architects sought to create a powerful sense frontal monumentality and inner vertical ascension. Similarly, it was through the efforts of French clergy that Gothic appears to have been first introduced to Catholic church building in the Ottawa Valley. The well-documented efforts to Gothicize the neoclassic grounding of Ottawa's Notre Dame coincide with numerous other, less conspicuous, Gothic projects. However all are equally silent on the subject of style

Characteristic of Catholic Gothic in the Ottawa Valley, is the attempt that was made to create an atmosphere of inner monumentality and vertical ascension. This appeared from an early date in both French and Irish parish churches, but is much more reflective of continental Gothic. Catholic church-builders in the Ottawa Valley showed a definite affinity for the great internal heights that were recommended by Pugin, however they achieved these heights in a decidedly un-Puginesque manner. This becomes

gradually more obvious as the century progresses and the internal architecture of new and earlier churches is completed with iron columns, plastered vaults and false ceilings.

During the third and fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic churches in the Ottawa Valley display a new thematic continuity between the type of site chosen and the impressive and monumental treatment of a church's facade. Through the elevation of glorious and triumphant facades, Catholic church-builders sought to translate the preaching of their clergy into architectural reality. There is however no documentation to indicate that the architectonic ideals of Roman Catholic belief were thought to be best expressed through the use of Gothic. On the contrary, by the later decades of the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic church-builders were moving away from the use of Gothic in favour of a new Italianate influence.

Material examined in this discussion clearly demonstrates that the nineteenth century was a time when many denominations were seeking to redefine their own architectural needs. The understanding of church space as space apart gained widespread acceptance over the course of the nineteenth century among all denominations. As a result, there was, among some communities, not simply an identification of new architectural needs, but a new openness to architecture altogether. This is most notable in the widespread construction of churches of all kinds. While a greater openness to new architectural ideas is evident, it should be remembered that a certain degree of reservation and resistance to change persisted. Nevertheless, by the close of the nineteenth century, even the most conservative parish accepted architectural arrangements that would probably have shocked even the most *avant gardists* at the beginning of the century.

In light of the wholesale adoption of pre reform prototypes, one might logically expect to see Anglican and Roman Catholic architecture becoming progressively closer as the century unfolds. This is however not what happens, as Roman Catholics, inspired by the Ultramontanist movement, move closer to Rome and Italianate architecture and increasingly farther from Gothic architecture.

Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians continue to use Gothic as a decorative element in the construction of their churches, although considerable modifications take place inside. Like the Roman Catholics, the churches they raised during the first half of the nineteenth century had been proportionately scaled to the other elements of their built environment. However, this tradition was progressively abandoned during the later decades of the nineteenth century in favour of a new frontal monumentality. The facades of many Protestant churches built during the fourth quarter of the century, were powerful, triumphant, dominant and progressively less Gothic.

In short, the revival of medieval Gothic and the continued use of Gothic not simply as symbolic of a place of Christian worship but as a unique embodiment of Christian principle must be seen as an Anglican phenomena. Despite the fact that other Christian denominations made considerable use of Gothic features, their officials were generally not inclined to openly advocate the use of Gothic. Attention to the details of specific cult arrangements and the practice of these with dignity and precession was of far greater interest to many. No denomination other than the Anglicans entered the research and discussion of Gothic church-building with such zeal and commitment. No other denomination approached architectural embodiment of Christian principles or the use of

architectural symbolism, with paralleled sobriety. Nor was the liturgy of any other denomination translated so intimately into the physical body of the church. Within the Anglican tradition, the introduction of revived medieval Gothic denoted a systematic rethinking of the visual, physical and ritualistic atmosphere in which worship takes place.

The surviving evidence of Christian parish architecture in the nineteenth century Ottawa Valley presents an interesting and sometimes eclectic picture of Central Canada's past. While a number of denominations unquestionably took many cues from British or European prototypes, and were to some extent influenced by contemporary taste, they showed great ingenuity for adapting the principles of their faith to difficult and varied circumstances. While the unqualified term 'Gothic' is used much too frequently as a catchall term for buildings with windows that have pointed tops, surviving evidence clearly indicates that there is a deeper and indeed much more complex dimension to 'Gothic'. Furthermore, there is reasonable evidence to suggest that a further exploration of the Gothic style and its many nuanced uses could contribute significantly to our understanding of nineteenth century Christianity and that scholars of religious, intellectual and architectural history could profit significantly from such an undertaking.

In this study we have demonstrated that the study of religious architecture must be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective that includes both religious studies and architectural history. Neither one can be ignored. The quantity of material encountered during this research clearly indicates that there are several as yet uncharted paths for important future research. In saying this, it is essential to keep in mind several important points. Firstly, as the attitude towards church-building differs greatly between the various Christian denominations, and in the interest of furthering scholarly

understanding, the material culture of religious history must not be crammed into architectural classifications that are frequently applied with equal assurance to domestic and institutional architecture. Evidence has shown that similar stylistic presentations can be interpreted with considerable diversity. Second, the study of the church building must also be understood in the context of that denomination's discussion on the subject of church building. To date, a number of restrictions are still imposed by the lack of scholarly study within the context of individual denominations. However, it is essential that researchers never lose sight of the importance of the multiconfessional context in which the individual members' denomination lived and built. Continued work in this field will lead to greater understanding of the cross fertilization of stylistic and regional influence. Thirdly, scholars proposing a holistic discussion of a specific denomination, can only with difficulty, justify ignoring the environment in which a denomination built for collective worship.

It is hoped that this study has shown the importance of examining religious material culture from an interdenominational perspective and that it has also helped draw attention to a rich and often untapped resource for the study of Religion in Canada. Further exploration of religious architecture will contribute in a significant and very concrete manner to our understanding of nineteenth century Canada as a whole.

APPENDIX I

Architectural findings for all church buildings surveyed in this study were entered in a computerized architectural inventory. As noted in the introduction, data was gathered from denominational and public archives, missionary reports, a wide variety of nineteenth century confessional and secular publications as well as from surviving structures. Material has been organized in nine major categories:

1. General Information
2. Site
3. Facade
4. Interior
5. Cult space
6. Annexes
7. Builders
8. Archival resources
9. Visual documentation.

Classification of material within these categories is as follows:

- 1. General Information:** Each church building has been entered in alphabetical order according to the name of the town, village or township in which it was built. The county and province in which the church was built is also noted. The place names used correspond to the site names currently used by the Cartographic Division of the Ministry of Energy, Mines and Resources on their 1:250,000 scale maps as revised in 1982. As many of these names do not conform to those popularly used during the nineteenth century, a

cross-referenced index of nineteenth and twentieth century place names in the Ottawa valley has been provided in Appendix III.

There may be several entries for an individual parish or congregation. The number of entries will correspond to the number of separate structures raised during the nineteenth century. Also noted in this category is the denomination, date of construction, orientation, style, church name, model and material. Provision has also been made in this category for noting of significant historical events (if any) associated with the history of the building. As many church buildings remained in the planning stage for long periods of time, and many more were not completed the same year that construction began, the date of construction entered corresponds, as closely as possible, to the date on which construction began. Frequently a number of other dates are closely related to the construction of a church building and can provide valuable insight into the church building history of a community. This information is noted in the parenthesis that follow the date of construction. These supplementary entries were used to record the following information:

- (2) Second church built by the congregation
 - (3) Third church built by the congregation
 - (a) Major alterations to the original structure
 - (b) Blessing of the edifice
 - (c) Circa
 - (d) Destruction (fire etc.)
 - (f) Closure
 - (m) Moved (a building is physically transported to a new site)
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- (n) New location (the location of a new church differs from the location of an earlier structure)
 - (p.o.d.) Purchased from an other denomination
 - (r) Removal or dismantling of a building
 - (s) Secularization
 - (t.a.q.) *Terminus ante quem*
 - (t.p.q.) *Terminus post quem*

- 2. Site:** Identifies the original environment in which the church was built.
- 3. Facade:** Notes major features such as windows, doors and structural elevations.
- 4. Interior:** Notes the length, width and height of the nave, seating capacity, supplemental seating and ceiling treatment.
- 5. Cult space:** Defines structural space and corresponding measurements, liturgical furnishings, floor level and lighting.
- 6. Annexes:** Notes the presence of vestries, sacristies and meeting halls.
- 7. Builders:** Notes when ever possible, leading members of building committees, architects, contractors, builders, masons, carpenters, painters and plasters.
- 8. Archival resources:** Includes primary archival sources as well as the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings (CIHB) file number when relevant.
- 9. Visual documentation:** Computer scan of ground plan and/or photo when possible.

A complete sample form has been included on the following page.

Town: OTTAWA	County: Ottawa C.	Province: O
Denomination: ANGLICAN	Date: 1866	(1/t.1867)
Orientation: West-East	Style: Gothic	
Church name: St. Alban	Model: Medieval Revival	
Material: Stone	Event: Chancel completed in 1877	

Site: Suburban. Major modifications to original plans after blue clay and sand pits discovered in spring of 1866. Projected 190 foot tower abandoned due to unstable footing.

Facades & Entries : Southern side porch with understated gable end
Windows: Elongated Gothic couplets flank either side of central axis in western gable end
Structural /Decorative Elevations : Ridge crestings on apex of roof. Sanctecote above chancel arch; wrought iron finials mark apex of entry, vestry gables, eastern gable end and sanctecote.

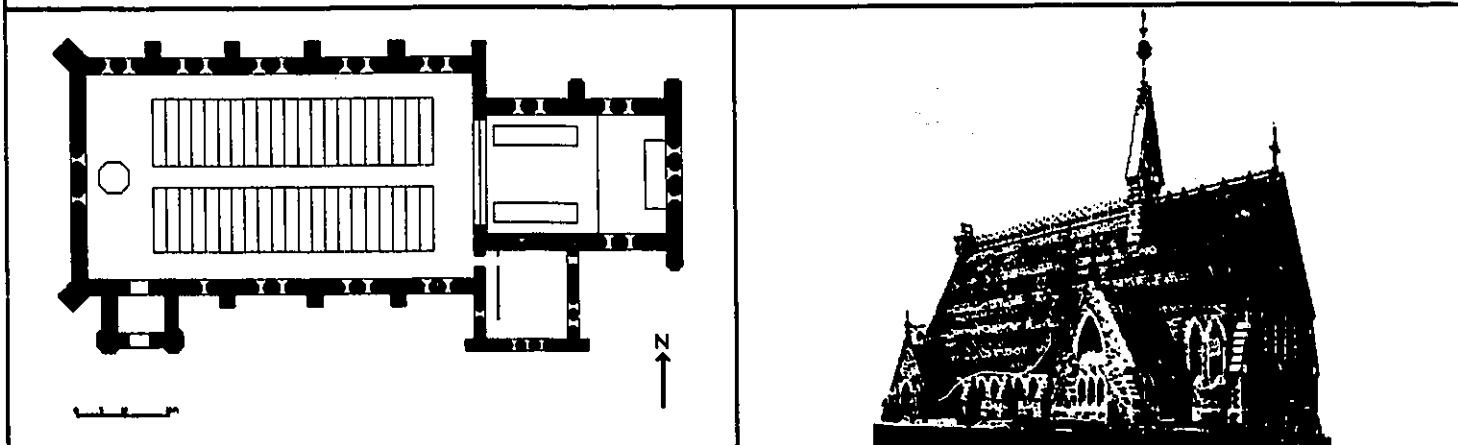
Nave : Axial central aisle. All seating on benches-no pews. **Capacity:** 600
Length: 78 feet **Width:** 38 feet **Height:**
Windows: Pairs of small lancet windows grouped between stepped wall buttresses
Seating+: In-chancel choir **Width:** 22 feet **Depth:**
Ceiling: Un-ceiled wooden pannels. Four seven foot dormers cut into roof

Sanctuary: Architecturally distinct, but continues roof line of nave.
Length: 40 feet **Width:** 22 feet **Level:** 3 steps above nave
Altar: Axial altar - stands a total of 7 steps above floor level of nave.
Chevet: Rectangular with flat eastern end axial light. Couplets in north and south walls.
Windows: Main lancet flanked by two of lesser height; replaced by 'Trinity in Unity' motif with raised treffle.

Sacristy/annexe(s): Vestry on southern side of chancel 16 X 16 feet.
Other spaces: Chapel and school room in basement.
Choir: Contained in sanctuary seats 35.

Architect: Thomas Fuller, project finished by King Arnoldi.
Building Committee: Rev. Bedford Jones and committee of eighteen prominent citizens.
Builder/Contractor: Mr. Painter & Mr. Taylor (Original building project).
Mason: James Matthews (Chancel). W. McKay (paint)
Carpenter: Stewart & Gilmor (Chancel). J. Strachan (plaster)

Reference: A.D.A.A.- Ottawa **Address:** Daly & King Edward
CIHB: 06-107-0002-00125



APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF CHURCHES

A. CHURCHES BUILT FROM 1820 TO 1839

Date	Location	Prov.	Denom.	Name
1820	St-André Est	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1821	Montebello	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Bonsecours
1821	St-André Est	Quebec	Anglican	Christ Church
1822	Franktown	Ontario	Anglican	St. James
1823	Richmond	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1823	Hull	Quebec	Anglican	St. James
1824	Prospect	Ontario	Methodist	
1825	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1825	Richmond	Ontario	Catholic	St. Peter
1826	Aylmer	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1826	Aylmer	Quebec	Methodist	
1827	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	
1827	Richmond	Ontario	Methodist	
1828	March	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary
1828	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1829	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Paul

1830	Grenville	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1831	Burrit's Rapids	Ontario	Anglican	Christ's Church
1831	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques
1832	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1832	Grenville	Quebec	Anglican	St. Matthew
1832	L'Orignal	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1832	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	Christ Church
1833	Carleton Place	Ontario	Methodist	
1833	Farrellton	Quebec	Catholic	St-Camille
1833	L'Orignal	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jean-Baptiste
1833	Monfort	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-du-Rosaire
1833	Fallowfield	Ontario	Catholic	St. Patrick
1834	Aylmer	Quebec	Congregational	
1834	Beckwith	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1834	Carleton Place	Ontario	Anglican	St. James
1835	Beckwith Twshp	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1836	Cushing	Quebec	Presbyterian	St. Mungo's
1837	Corkery	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1837	Huntley	Ontario	Anglican	Christ Church
1838	Osgoode	Ontario	Methodist	
1838	Spring Hill	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1838	Gloucester	Ontario	Methodist	
1838	Osgoode	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1839	Templeton	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Rose-de-Lima
1839	Pointe Gatineau	Quebec	Catholic	St-François-de-Sales
1839	South March	Ontario	Anglican	St. John

B. CHURCHES BUILT FROM 1840 TO 1859

Date	Location	Prov.	Denom.	Name
1840	Johnston's Corners	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1840	Manotick	Ontario	Union	Union Church
1840	Osgoode	Ontario	Baptist	
1840	Osgoode	Ontario	Catholic	St. John the Evangelist
1840	Shawville	Quebec	Anglican	St. Paul
1840	Allumettes, Ile des	Quebec	Catholic	St-Alphonse-de-Liguori
1840	Calumet	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Anne
1840	Metcalf	Ontario	Catholic	St. Catherine
1840	Chelsea	Quebec	Catholic	St-Étienne
1840	Aylmer	Quebec	Catholic	St-Paul
1840	Buckingham	Quebec	Catholic	St-Grégoire-de-Naziance
1841	La Passe	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-du-Mt-Carmel
1841	Lac Sainte-Marie	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Marie
1841	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	Notre-Dame
1842	Almonte	Ontario	Catholic	St. Mary
1842	Grenville	Quebec	Methodist	
1842	La Passe	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-du-Mt-Carmel
1842	Shillington	Ontario	Methodist	
1843	Aylmer	Quebec	Anglican	Christ Church
1843	Grand Calumet	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Anne
1843	Mt. St. Patrick	Ontario	Catholic	St. Patrick
1843	Osceola	Ontario	Catholic	St. Pius
1844	Cumberland	Ontario	Presbyterian	Carmel Church
1844	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	York St. Church
1844	Smith's settlement	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1844	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Anglican	Holy Trinity
1844	Pakenham	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mark
1844	South Gloucester	Ontario	Presbyterian	Free Kirk
1844	Wakefield	Quebec	Catholic	St-Joseph

1844	Douglas	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1845	Eganville	Ontario	Catholic	St-Fidèle
1845	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Catholic	
1845	Hazeldean	Ontario	Anglican	
1845	Masham	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Cécile
1845	Osgoode	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1845	Renfrew	Ontario	Catholic	St. Francis Xavier
1845	Spring Hill	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1845	St. André Est	Quebec	Methodist	
1845	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Anglican	
1845	Ashton	Ontario	Anglican	Christ Church
1845	Hull	Quebec	Catholic	Chapelle-des-Chantiers
1845	Huntley 3rd Line	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1845	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	Knox Church
1845	Black's Corners	Ontario	Presbyterian	Knox Presbyterian
1845	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1845	Plantagenet	Ontario	Catholic	St. Paul
1846	Admaston Twshp.	Ontario	Methodist	Rosebank
1846	Goulburn 10th Line	Ontario	Methodist	Magee Wesleyan Chapel
1846	Nepean	Ontario	Union	
1846	South Gloucester	Ontario	Catholic	Our Lady of the Visitation
1847	Ottawa	Ontario	Congregational	1st Congregationalist
1847	Prospect	Ontario	Methodist	
1847	Pembroke	Ontario	Catholic	
1847	Renfrew	Ontario	Presbyterian	Canaan Church
1847	Grenville	Quebec	Methodist	
1848	Bearbrook	Ontario	Anglican	Trinity Church
1849	Aylwin	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-la-Visitation
1849	Franklin Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1849	Huntley 3rd Line	Ontario	Methodist	3rd Line Wesleyan
1849	Lac des sables	Quebec	Catholic	
1849	Osgoode Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	
1849	White Lake	Ontario	Presbyterian	

1849	Dwyer Hill	Ontario	Catholic	St. Sylvester
1849	Onslow	Quebec	Catholic	St. Brigitte
1849	Portage-du-Fort	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Mélanie
1849	South Gloucester	Ontario	Catholic	Our Lady of the Visitation
1849	St-André-Avellin	Quebec	Catholic	St-André-Avellin
1849	Bristol	Quebec	Catholic	St-Édouard
1850	Bonchere	Ontario	Methodist	
1850	Carlsbad Springs	Ontario	Anglican	
1850	Kars	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1850	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1850	Portage du Fort	Quebec	Catholic	St-Jacques & Ste-Rosalie
1850	Nepean	Ontario	Catholic	St. Jude
1850	Osgoode Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	
1851	Hazeldean	Ontario	Union	
1851	Thorbolton Twnshp	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1851	Perkins	Quebec	Catholic	St-Antoine-de-Padoue
1852	Buckingham	Quebec	Anglican	St. Stephen
1852	Pakenham	Ontario	Catholic	St-Pierre-Célestin
1852	Orleans	Ontario	Catholic	St-Joseph
1852	Ashton	Ontario	Presbyterian	Melville
1852	Eganville	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques
1853	Bell's Corners	Ontario	Union	Union Church
1853	L'Orignal	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jean-Baptiste
1853	Leitrim	Ontario	Anglican	St. James
1853	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	
1853	Pakenham	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1853	Richmond	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1853	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1853	Argenteuil	Quebec	Catholic	St-Philippe
1853	Grenville	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-des-Sept-Douleurs
1853	St-Eugène	Ontario	Catholic	St-Eugène
1853	Gatineau Mission	Quebec	Methodist	
1853	Osgoode Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	

1854	Angers	Quebec	Catholic	L'Ange-Gardien
1854	North Gower	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1854	Prospect	Ontario	Anglican	St. Augustine
1854	Thorne Center	Quebec	Anglican	St. George
1854	Thurso	Quebec	Catholic	St-Jean-l'Évangéliste
1854	Aylmer	Quebec	Catholic	St. Paul (N.-D.)
1854	Fort Coulonge	Quebec	Anglican	
1854	Chelsea	Quebec	Catholic	St-Étienne
1854	Metcalf	Ontario	Methodist	
1855	Alfred	Ontario	Catholic	St-Anaclet
1855	Kenmore	Ontario	Baptist	
1855	Montebello	Quebec	Catholic	Chapelle L.J. Papineau
1855	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	Knox Church
1855	Buckingham	Quebec	Catholic	St-Grégoire-de-Naziance
1855	Osgoode Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	
1856	Cumberland	Ontario	Catholic	St-Eugène
1856	Lowery	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1856	Russell	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary
1856	Lowery	Ontario	Presbyterian	Lowery Congregation
1856	Metcalf	Ontario	Anglican	Holy Trinity
1856	North Gower	Ontario	Anglican	Trinity Church
1856	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1856	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St. Joseph
1856	Pontiac	Quebec	Catholic	
1856	Portage du Fort	Quebec	Anglican	St. George
1856	Vinton	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Élisabeth
1856	Embrun	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques
1856	Gatineau	Quebec	Methodist	
1857	Bromley	Ontario	Presbyterian	Barr's Church
1857	Chapleau	Quebec	Catholic	St-Alphonse
1857	Mayo	Quebec	Catholic	Our Lady of Malacky
1857	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1857	Westmeath	Ontario	Methodist	

1857	Wright	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-la-Visitation
1857	Angers	Quebec	Catholic	L'Ange-Gardien
1857	Arnprior	Ontario	Catholic	St. John Chrysostome
1857	Aylwin	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-la-Visitation
1857	Quyon	Quebec	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1857	St-Eugène	Ontario	Catholic	St-Eugène
1857	Clarence	Ontario	Baptist	
1857	Plantagenet	Ontario	Catholic	St. Paul
1857	Cantley	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Élisabeth
1858	Cambridge Ctr	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1858	Clarence Creek	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Félicité
1858	Dunrobin	Ontario	Methodist	
1858	Manotick	Ontario	Catholic	St. Bridgid
1858	Onslow	Quebec	Catholic	St. Brigitte
1858	Russell	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1858	Bearbrook	Ontario	Catholic	
1858	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1858	Jock	Ontario	Catholic	St. Margaret & St. Peter
1858	Osgoode	Ontario	Catholic	St. John the Evangelist
1858	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1858	Richmond	Ontario	Catholic	St. Peter
1859	Aylmer	Quebec	Methodist	
1859	Ferguson's Falls	Ontario	Catholic	St. Patrick
1859	Lemieux	Ontario	Catholic	St-Bernard
1859	Renfrew	Ontario	Methodist	
1859	Wakefield	Quebec	Catholic	St-Joseph
1859	Douglas	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1859	Embrun	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques
1859	Fournier	Ontario	Catholic	St-Bernard
1859	Metcalfe	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Catherine
1859	Papineauville	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Angélique
1859	Richmond	Ontario	Anglican	St. John

C. CHURCHES BUILT FROM 1860 TO 1879

Date	Location	Prov.	Denom.	Name
1860	Aylmer	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1860	Metcalfe	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1860	Morin Heights	Quebec	Anglican	Trinity Church
1860	Sebastopol	Ontario	Catholic	St-Benoît
1860	St-Eugène	Ontario	Catholic	St-Eugène
1860	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1860	Alfred	Ontario	Anglican	St. Peter
1860	Grand Calumet	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Anne
1860	South March	Ontario	Catholic	St. Isidore
1860	Stanley Corners	Ontario	Anglican	St. Thomas
1860	Burdenell	Ontario	Catholic	St. Mary
1861	Almonte	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrews
1861	Chute-à-Blondeau	Ontario	Catholic	St-Joachim
1861	Denbigh	Ontario	Lutheran	St. Paul
1861	Horton	Ontario	Anglican	St. Barnabas
1861	Ottawa	Ontario	Baptist	First Baptist Church
1861	Cumberland	Ontario	Catholic	St-Antoine-de-Padoue
1861	Burdenell	Ontario	Catholic	St. Mary
1862	Augsburg	Ontario	Lutheran	St. John
1862	Cumberland	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mark
1862	Cumberland	Ontario	Methodist	
1862	Cumberland	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1862	Grenville	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-des-Sept-Douleurs
1862	Navan	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary
1862	Ottawa	Ontario	Congregational	1st Congregationalist
1862	Ripon	Quebec	Catholic	St-Casimir
1862	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Catholic	St-Grégoire
1862	Chénéville	Quebec	Catholic	St-Félix-de-Valois
1862	Eardley	Quebec	Catholic	St-Dominique

1862	Luskville	Quebec	Catholic	St-Dominique
1862	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Methodist	Diamond Church
1863	Almonte	Ontario	Methodist	
1863	Arnprior	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1863	Beachburg	Ontario	Methodist	
1863	Black River Falls	Quebec	Methodist	
1863	Bonnecher	Ontario	Lutheran	St. John
1863	Bouchette	Quebec	Catholic	St-Gabriel
1863	Corkery	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1863	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Anglican	St. George
1863	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Anglican	St. George
1863	Almonte	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1863	Angers	Quebec	Catholic	L'Ange-Gardien
1863	Curran	Ontario	Catholic	St-Luc
1863	Clarendon	Quebec	Anglican	St. Alexander
1863	Rankin	Ontario	Lutheran	Grace Lutheran
1864	Buckingham	Quebec	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1864	Burdenell	Ontario	Methodist	
1864	Eardley	Quebec	Anglican	St. Luke
1864	Farrellton	Quebec	Catholic	St-Camille-de-Lellis
1864	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. George
1864	Pembroke	Ontario	Anglican	
1864	Tacote	Quebec	Methodist	
1864	Templeton	Quebec	Anglican	Christ Church
1864	Thurso	Quebec	Baptist	
1864	Wakefield	Quebec	Catholic	St-Camille-de-Lellis
1864	Charteris	Quebec	Anglican	St. Matthew
1864	Clontarf	Ontario	Catholic	
1864	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	Ottawa West Church
1864	Eganville	Ontario	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1864	Onslow Twnshp	Quebec	Methodist	
1865	Almonte	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. John
1865	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	All Saints

1865	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Methodist	
1865	Westmeath Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	
1865	Wilberforce	Ontario	Methodist	
1865	Harrington	Quebec	Methodist	
1865	Huntley 5th Line	Ontario	Methodist	Bethel Church
1866	Amprior	Ontario	Methodist	
1866	Huntley 4th Line	Ontario	Methodist	
1866	North Wakefield	Quebec	Methodist	
1866	Poltimore	Quebec	Anglican	Christ Church
1866	Russell	Ontario	Methodist	St. Paul or Forester's Hall
1866	Thorne Centre	Quebec	Catholic	
1866	Alice	Ontario	Lutheran	St. Peter
1866	Arundel	Quebec	Methodist	
1866	Eardley Twshp	Quebec	Methodist	Eardley Circuit
1866	Fallowfield	Ontario	Catholic	St. Patrick
1866	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Alban
1866	North Wakefield	Quebec	Methodist	
1867	Amprior	Ontario	Methodist	
1867	Aylwin	Quebec	Methodist	
1867	Beachburg	Ontario	Methodist	
1867	Bromley Charge	Ontario	Methodist	
1867	Eganville	Ontario	Methodist	
1867	Hull	Quebec	Anglican	St. James
1867	Leslie	Ontario	Methodist	
1867	Ripon	Quebec	Catholic	St-Casimir
1867	Sarsfield	Ontario	Catholic	St-Hugues
1867	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	York St. M. E. Church
1867	Perkins	Quebec	Lutheran	St. John
1868	Almonte	Ontario	Baptist	
1868	Grenville	Quebec	Methodist	
1868	Osceola	Ontario	Catholic	St. Pius
1868	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	Bank Street Church
1868	Roxboro	Ontario	Methodist	

1868	Roxboro	Ontario	Methodist	Raymond Church
1868	Caldwell	Quebec	Anglican	St. Luke
1868	Maniwaki	Quebec	Catholic	Notre-Dame
1868	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Bartholomew
1868	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	Bank Street Church
1868	Burdenell	Ontario	Catholic	St. Mary
1868	Osgoode Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	
1869	Clarence Creek	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Félicité
1869	Denbigh Cricuit	Ontario	Methodist	
1869	Mt. St. Patrick	Ontario	Catholic	St. Patrick
1869	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St. Patrick
1869	Vinton	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Élisabeth
1869	Almonte	Ontario	Catholic	St. Mary
1869	Arnprior	Ontario	Anglican	Emmanuel Church
1869	Carleton Place	Ontario	Presbyterian	Zion Presbyterian Church
1869	Martendale	Quebec	Catholic	St-Martin
1869	Hull	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Grâce
1870	Ashton	Ontario	Methodist	
1870	Doyle Settlement	Ontario	Catholic	St. Ignatius
1870	Golden Lake	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jean-Baptiste
1870	Huntley 5th Line	Ontario	Methodist	
1870	Inkerman	Ontario	Methodist	
1870	Leslie	Quebec	Anglican	St. James
1870	Mille Isles	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1870	Ramsayville	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1870	Riceville	Ontario	Baptist	
1870	Sand Point	Ontario	Catholic	St-Alexandre
1870	Aylwin	Quebec	Anglican	St. John in the Wilderness
1870	Clayton	Ontario	Anglican	Grace Church
1870	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic Apostolic	
1870	Riceville	Ontario	Methodist	
1870	Shrewsbury	Quebec	Unknown	
1870	North Gower	Ontario	Unknown	

1871	Admaston Twshp	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1871	Angers	Quebec	Catholic	L'Ange-Gardien
1871	Arnprior	Ontario	Catholic	St. John Chrysostome
1871	Collefield	Ontario	Methodist	
1871	Dunning	Quebec	Methodist	
1871	Masham	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Cécile
1871	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	Chapel N.-D.-du-Sacré-Coeur
1871	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	Bank Street Church
1871	Renfrew	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1871	Alfred	Ontario	Catholic	St-Victor
1871	Collefield	Ontario	Methodist	
1871	Orleans	Ontario	Catholic	St-Joseph
1871	Vanier	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Lourdes
1872	Aylmer	Quebec	Methodist	
1872	Bell's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1872	Bell's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1872	Bell's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1872	Blanche	Quebec	Union	Mulgrave Protestant
1872	Calabogie	Ontario	Methodist	
1872	Carp	Ontario	Methodist	Wesleyan Methodist Church
1872	Hull	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1872	Huntley 3rd Line	Ontario	Methodist	3rd Line Wesleyan Church
1872	Kazabazua	Quebec	Methodist	
1872	Lavant	Ontario	Catholic	St-Declan
1872	North Onslow	Quebec	Methodist	
1872	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Anne
1872	Pointe Gatineau	Quebec	Catholic	St-François-de-Sales
1872	Rockliffe	Ontario	Catholic	
1872	Cantley	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Élisabeth
1872	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	Christ Church
1872	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jean-Baptiste
1872	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1872	Pembroke	Ontario	Catholic	St. Columba

1872	Shawville	Quebec	Anglican	St. Paul
1873	Alice	Ontario	Methodist	
1873	Antrim	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1873	Lockesly	Ontario	Methodist	
1873	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	West End Methodist
1873	Quyon	Quebec	Methodist	
1873	Renfrew	Ontario	Methodist	
1873	Lac Sainte-Marie	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Marie
1873	Laus	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.
1873	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1873	Pembroke	Ontario	Lutheran	Grace Church
1873	Quyon	Quebec	Catholic	
1873	Wendover	Ontario	Catholic	St-Benoît-Labre
1873	Renfrew	Ontario	Catholic	St. Francis Xavier
1873	Osgoode Twnshp	Ontario	Methodist	
1874	Augsburg	Ontario	Lutheran	Zion Church
1874	Breckenridge	Quebec	Anglican	St. Augustine
1874	Britannia	Ontario	Methodist	
1874	Cantley	Quebec	Methodist	
1874	Carp	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1874	Cobden	Ontario	Methodist	
1874	Danford	Quebec	Methodist	
1874	Draffus	Ontario	Methodist	
1874	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	New Edinburgh Church
1874	Sand Point	Ontario	Methodist	
1874	Stewartville	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1874	Stittsville	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1874	Templetown	Quebec	Methodist	
1874	Bearbrook	Ontario	Methodist	
1874	Ottawa	Ontario	Lutheran	St. Paul
1874	Hazeldean	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1874	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	Knox Church
1875	Allumettes, Ile des	Quebec	Catholic	St-Alphonse-de-Liguori

1875	Boyd	Ontario	Unknown	
1875	Breckenridge	Quebec	Unknown	
1875	Bristol	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Mélanie
1875	Caledonia Springs	Ontario	Methodist	
1875	Franktown	Ontario	Catholic	St. Elizabeth
1875	George's Lake	Ontario	Methodist	L'Original Circuit
1875	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Catholic	St-Alphonse-de-Liguori
1875	Kars	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1875	Kenmore	Ontario	Baptist	
1875	Leslie	Ontario	Catholic	St-Charles
1875	Lockesley	Ontario	Methodist	
1875	Low	Quebec	Catholic	St-Martin
1875	Masham	Quebec	Methodist	
1875	Mayo	Quebec	Catholic	Our Lady of Malacky
1875	Osgoode	Ontario	Catholic	St. John the Evangelist
1875	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	MacKay Presbyterian
1875	Plantagenet	Ontario	Anglican	Ch. of the Good Shepherd
1875	Chelsea	Quebec	Methodist	
1875	Chénéville	Quebec	Catholic	St-Félix-de-Valois
1875	Edwards	Quebec	Methodist	Alice Mission
1875	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul (later St. Luke)
1875	Thurso	Quebec	Catholic	St-Jean-l'Évangéliste
1875	Bristol	Quebec	Anglican	St. Thomas
1875	Calumet	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Anne
1875	Carlsbad Springs	Ontario	Catholic	St-Laurent
1876	Cantley	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1876	Eardley Twshp	Quebec	Methodist	Aylmer circuit
1876	Hartwell	Quebec	Catholic	St-Felix-de-Valois
1876	Lachute	Quebec	Catholic	
1876	Manotick	Ontario	Anglican	St. James
1876	Nepean	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1876	Ottawa	Ontario	Methodist	Dominion Methodist
1876	Pakenham	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mark

1876	Shawville	Quebec	Methodist	
1876	Silver Creek	Quebec	Anglican	St. Thomas
1876	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Catholic	St-Grégoire
1876	Wilno	Ontario	Catholic	
1876	Embrun	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques
1876	Emmet	Ontario	Catholic	St-Stanislas-d'Emmet
1876	Fort Coulonge	Quebec	Catholic	St-Pierre
1876	Lachute	Quebec	Catholic	
1876	Pakenham	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mark
1876	St-André-Avellin	Quebec	Catholic	St-André-Avellin
1876	Rockland	Ontario	Anglican	
1877	Beech Grove	Quebec	Methodist	Bethel
1877	Blair's	Ontario	Methodist	
1877	Mohr's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1877	Munster	Ontario	Methodist	
1877	Nolan's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1877	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	Holy Trinity Church
1877	Richmond	Ontario	Methodist	
1877	Wakefield	Quebec	Catholic	St-Pierre
1877	Bois Franc	Quebec	Catholic	St-Antoine-de-Padoue
1877	Chelsea	Quebec	Anglican	St. Mary Magdalen
1877	Lefaivre	Ontario	Catholic	St-Thomas
1877	Pointe Alexandre	Ontario	Catholic	
1877	Ottawa	Ontario	Baptist	First Baptist Church
1878	Rockland	Ontario	Methodist	
1878	Inlet	Quebec	Lutheran	St. Matthew's
1878	La Garde	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-la-Garde
1878	Renfrew	Ontario	Methodist	
1878	South March	Ontario	Methodist	
1878	St. Albert	Ontario	Catholic	St-Albert
1878	Wolfe	Ontario	Catholic	St-Faustin
1878	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Baptist	
1878	Lachute	Quebec	Anglican	

1878	St. Isidore	Ontario	Catholic	St-Isidore
1879	Bell's Corners	Ontario	Anglican	Christ Church
1879	Bouchette	Quebec	Catholic	St-Gabriel
1879	Burrit's Rapids	Ontario	Methodist	
1879	Carp	Ontario	Methodist	St. Paul
1879	Cumberland	Ontario	Presbyterian	Carmel Church
1879	Dirleton	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1879	High Falls	Quebec	Lutheran	St. Paul's
1879	Kenmore	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1879	La Salette	Quebec	Catholic	Notre-Dame-de-la-Salette
1879	Long Island Village	Ontario	Methodist	
1879	North Gower	Ontario	Methodist	
1879	Osgoode Twshp	Ontario	Baptist	Baptist Chapel
1879	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	Trinity Church
1879	Bearbrook	Ontario	Presbyterian	Patterson Church
1879	Maniwaki	Quebec	Catholic	St-Cajétan
1879	North Gower	Ontario	Anglican	Holy Trinity Church

D. CHURCHES BUILT FROM 1880 TO 1899

Date	Location	Prov.	Denom.	Name
1880	Bouchette	Quebec	Catholic	St-Gabriel
1880	Carleton Place	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1880	Heyworth	Quebec	Unknown	
1880	Johnston's Corners	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1880	Kazabazua	Quebec	Anglican	
1880	Kennedy's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1880	Kinburn	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1880	South Onslow	Quebec	Methodist	
1880	Admaston Twshp	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1880	Blackburn	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary the Virgin
1880	Calumet	Quebec	Anglican	Holy Trinity Church
1880	Cobden	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1880	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jean-Baptiste
1880	Becketts Landing	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1880	Chelsea	Quebec	Catholic	St-Étienne
1881	Arnprior	Ontario	Baptist	
1881	Caledonia	Ontario	Catholic	
1881	Carleton Place	Ontario	Methodist	
1881	Fort William	Ontario	Catholic	St-Siméon
1881	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Congregational	
1881	L'Orignal	Ontario	Methodist	
1881	Micksburg	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1881	North Onslow	Quebec	Anglican	St. Matthew
1881	Pembroke	Ontario	Baptist	
1881	Pembroke	Ontario	Methodist	
1881	Pembroke	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1881	Ponsonby	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Valérie
1881	Renfrew	Ontario	Methodist	
1881	Russell	Ontario	Methodist	St. Paul

1881	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Congregational	
1881	Suffolk	Ontario	Catholic	St-Émile
1881	Bonfield	Ontario	Catholic	
1881	Osceola	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1881	Poltimore	Quebec	Lutheran	St. Paul
1881	St. Albert	Ontario	Catholic	St-Albert
1881	White Lake	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1881	Carleton Place	Ontario	Anglican	St. James
1881	Wright	Quebec	Anglican	St. James
1881	Carlsbad Springs	Ontario	Catholic	St-Laurent
1882	Stark's Corners	Quebec	Methodist	
1882	Lachute	Quebec	Methodist	
1882	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Baptist	
1883	Beachburg	Ontario	Anglican	St. Augustine
1883	N.-D- de la Salette	Quebec	Catholic	Notre-Dame
1883	Ponsonby	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Valérie
1883	St-Rémi-d'Amherst	Quebec	Catholic	St-Rémi
1883	Argenteuil	Quebec	Catholic	St-Philippe
1883	Greermont	Quebec	Anglican	St. Stephen
1883	Pembroke	Ontario	Lutheran	Christ Church
1883	Pembroke	Ontario	Lutheran	Zion
1883	Renfrew	Ontario	Presbyterian	Canaan Church
1883	St. Anne	Ontario	Catholic	St. Anne
1884	Cobden	Ontario	Methodist	Queen's Line Pastoral
1884	Pontmain	Quebec	Catholic	Notre-Dame
1884	Richmond	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1884	Casselman	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Euphémie
1884	Cobden	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1884	Kerr Line	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1884	Limoges	Quebec	Catholic	St-Viateur
1884	Luskville	Quebec	Catholic	St-Dominique
1885	Aldfield	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Sophie
1885	Bourget	Ontario	Catholic	Sacré-Coeur-de-Jésus

1885	Grand Lac	Quebec	Catholic	
1885	Guigues	Quebec	Catholic	
1885	Huntley 6th Line	Ontario	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1885	Marathon Village	Ontario	Anglican	St John
1885	North Onslow	Quebec	Anglican	St. Matthew
1885	Orleans	Ontario	Catholic	St-Joseph
1885	Russell	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1885	South March	Ontario	Catholic	St. Isidore
1885	Spring Hill	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1885	Appleton	Ontario	Methodist	
1885	Founier	Ontario	Catholic	St-Bernard
1885	Queen's Line	Ontario	Methodist	
1885	Quyon	Quebec	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1885	Rapides des Joachims	Quebec	Catholic	
1885	Rockland	Ontario	Catholic	Très-Sainte-Trinité
1885	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1886	Beech Grive	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1886	Rockland	Ontario	Catholic	St. Thomas Aquinas
1886	Kilmaurs	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1886	Laus	Quebec	Catholic	Notre-Dame
1886	Leslie	Quebec	Anglican	St. James
1886	Nolan's Corners	Ontario	Anglican	St. Bede
1886	Russell	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary
1886	Bonfield	Ontario	Catholic	
1886	Douglas	Ontario	Catholic	St. Michael
1886	Harwood Plains	Ontario	Catholic	St-Isidore
1886	La Passe	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-du-Mont-Carmel
1886	Osgoode	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1886	Renfrew	Ontario	Baptist	
1886	St. André Avellin	Quebec	Catholic	St-André-Avellin
1886	Vanier	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Lourdes
1886	Wentworth	Quebec	Catholic	St. Michael
1886	Middleville	Ontario	Baptist	Middleville Baptist

1886	Kinburn	Ontario	Methodist	
1887	Appleton	Ontario	Methodist	
1887	Duhamel	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-du-Mont-Carmel
1887	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1887	Fitzroy Harbour	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1887	Grenville	Quebec	Baptist	
1887	Jock	Ontario	Methodist	Victoria Church
1887	Munster	Ontario	Anglican	St. Stephen
1887	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Margaret
1887	Palmer Rapids	Ontario	Lutheran	St. Stephen
1887	South Indian	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1887	Chute-à-Blondeau	Ontario	Catholic	St-Joachim
1887	Douglas	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1887	Eganville	Ontario	Lutheran	St. Luke
1887	Lévesqueville	Ontario	Catholic	St-Thomas
1887	Buckingham	Quebec	Catholic	St-Grégoire-de-Naziance
1888	Dwyer Hill	Ontario	Catholic	
1888	Fallowfield	Ontario	Methodist	
1888	Goulburn	Ontario	Catholic	St. Sylvester
1888	Onslow	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Brigitte
1888	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. George
1888	Ottawa	Ontario	Congregational	1st Congregationalist
1888	Rockland	Ontario	Baptist	
1888	Russell Township	Ontario	Methodist	North Russell Church
1888	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Methodist	
1888	Argenteuil	Quebec	Catholic	St-Philippe
1888	Bourget	Ontario	Catholic	Sacré-Cœur-de-Jésus
1888	Casselman	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Euphémie
1888	Clarence Creek	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Félicité
1888	Masson	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-des-Neiges
1888	Carleton Place	Ontario	Baptist	
1888	Ottawa	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Paul
1889	Amprior	Ontario	Lutheran	St. John

1889	Black Donald	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jean-Baptiste
1889	Darling	Ontario	Catholic	St. Declan
1889	Fallowfield	Ontario	Anglican	St. Barnabas
1889	Palmer Rapids	Ontario	Lutheran	First Lutheran
1889	Alcove	Quebec	unknown	
1889	Rockland	Ontario	Catholic	St. Thomas Aquinas
1889	Brightside	Ontario	Catholic	St. Declan
1889	Carp	Ontario	Anglican	St. James
1889	Cobden	Ontario	Catholic	
1889	Griffith	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-du-Rosaire
1889	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	All Saints
1889	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Luke
1889	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St. Bridgid
1889	Templeton	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Rose-de-Lima
1889	Ottawa	Ontario	Episcopal	St. David
1889	Thurso	Quebec	Catholic	St-Jean-l'Évangéliste
1889	Vars	Ontario	Anglican	St. Andrew
1890	Breckenridge	Quebec	Unknown	
1890	Buckingham	Quebec	Baptist	Buckingham Baptist
1890	Buckingham	Quebec	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1890	Curries	Ontario	Catholic	St. Joseph
1890	Greely	Ontario	Anglican	All Saints
1890	Martendale	Quebec	Catholic	
1890	Morin Heights	Quebec	Standard	Hornwright Church
1890	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Barnabas
1890	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Matthias
1890	Suffolk	Ontario	Catholic	St-Émile
1890	Bayswater	Ontario	Catholic	N.-D.-du-bon-Conseil
1890	Fort Coulonge	Quebec	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1890	Haley's Station	Ontario	Anglican	
1890	Osceola	Ontario	Catholic	St. Pius
1890	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1890	Ottawa	Ontario	Society of Friends	

1890	Poltimore	Quebec	Catholic	
1890	Mayo	Quebec	Catholic	Our Lady of Malacky
1891	Almonte	Ontario	Cameronian	
1891	Appleton	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Arnprior	Ontario	Lutheran	
1891	Arundel	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-d'Arundel
1891	Arundel	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Blankeney	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Bristol les mines	Quebec	Baptist	
1891	Brownsburg	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Brownsburg	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Bryson	Quebec	Anglican	St. James
1891	Bryson	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Bryson	Quebec	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1891	Caldwell	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Caledonia	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Calumet	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Cambria	Quebec	Anglican	
1891	Cambria	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Castleford	Ontario	Baptist	
1891	Castleford	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Chelsea	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Chute-à-Blondeau	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Clayton	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Clayton	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Curran	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Denbigh	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Eardley	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Eganville	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Eganville	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Fallowfield	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Kars	Ontario	Methodist	Kars Methodist Church

1891	Lac des quinze	Quebec	Catholic	
1891	Lemieux	Ontario	Catholic	St-Joseph
1891	Limoges	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Low	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Luskville	Quebec	Anglican	
1891	Luskville	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Maniwaki	Quebec	Anglican	
1891	Manotick	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Mohr's Corners	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Namur	Quebec	Catholic	
1891	Namur	Quebec	Presbyterian	St. Paul
1891	Navan	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary
1891	North Onslow	Quebec	Catholic	
1891	Palmer Rapids	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Papineauville	Quebec	Anglican	
1891	Papineauville	Quebec	Baptist	
1891	Pembroke	Ontario	Anglican	
1891	Plantagenet	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Portage du Fort	Quebec	Methodist	
1891	Portage du Fort	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Quinville	Quebec	Catholic	St. Columban
1891	Quinville	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Rankin	Ontario	Anglican	
1891	Rapides des Joachim	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Sand Point	Ontario	Anglican	
1891	Sand Point	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Sebastopol	Ontario	Catholic	
1891	Shawville	Quebec	Baptist	
1891	Snake River	Ontario	Anglican	
1891	Snake River	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	South Gloucester	Ontario	Methodist	
1891	Ste-Anne	Ontario	Presbyterian	Ste-Anne
1891	Thorne Centre	Quebec	Methodist	

1891	Thurso	Quebec	Presbyterian	
1891	Westmeath	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1891	Embrun	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques
1891	L'Orignal	Ontario	Anglican	Church of the Nativity
1891	Long Sault	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Bonsecours
1891	Pembroke	Ontario	Lutheran	St. John
1891	Renfrew	Ontario	Lutheran	St. James
1891	Blanche Lake	Quebec	Anglican	St. Andrew
1892	Hawthorne	Ontario	Methodist	
1892	L'Orignal	Ontario	Methodist	Zion
1892	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Stephen
1892	Pakenham	Ontario	Catholic	St-Pierre-Célestin
1892	Bromley	Ontario	Methodist	
1892	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	St. Joseph
1892	Hull	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Grâce
1893	Lac des loups	Quebec	Catholic	St-François-d'Assise
1893	Munster	Ontario	Methodist	
1893	Ottawa	Ontario	Baptist	McPhail Memorial
1893	Ottawa	Ontario	Catholic	Sacré-Coeur
1893	Aylmer	Quebec	Catholic	St. Paul /(N.-D.)
1893	Curran	Ontario	Catholic	St-Luc
1893	Limoges	Ontario	Catholic	St-Viateur
1894	Ottawa	Ontario	Congregational	2nd Congregationalist
1894	Russell	Ontario	Baptist	Russell Baptist
1894	Sarsfield	Ontario	Catholic	St-Hugues
1894	Snake River	Ontario	Presbyterian	Scotland Church
1894	Clarke's Settlement	Quebec	Anglican	St. John
1894	Lochwinnoch	Ontario	Presbyterian	Lochwinnoch Presbyterian
1894	Montebello	Quebec	Catholic	N.-D.-de-Bonsecours
1894	Thorne Centre	Quebec	Anglican	St. George
1894	Britannia	Ontario	Catholic	St. Bonaventure
1895	Bristol les mines	Quebec	Anglican	St. Barnabas
1895	Eganville	Ontario	Catholic	St-Jacques

1895	N.-D.-de-Lumière	Quebec	Catholic	Notre-Dame
1895	Wendover	Ontario	Catholic	St-Benoît-Labre
1895	Wilno	Ontario	Catholic	
1895	Ottawa	Ontario	Lutheran	St. John
1895	Calabogie	Ontario	Catholic	Précieux Sang
1896	Ladysmith	Quebec	Lutheran	St. John
1896	Lake Louisa	Quebec	Anglican	
1896	Metcalf	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1896	Mulgrave	Quebec	Baptist	Mulgrave Baptist
1896	Parkham	Quebec	Anglican	St. Alban
1896	Pointe au chêne	Ontario	Catholic	
1896	Tennyson	Ontario	Anglican	St. John the Evangelist
1896	Vankleek Hill	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1896	Vinton	Quebec	Catholic	Ste-Élisabeth
1896	Barry's Bay	Ontario	Catholic	
1896	Dunrobin	Ontario	Anglican	St. Paul
1896	Forrester's Falls	Ontario	Methodist	
1896	Hawkesbury	Ontario	Catholic	St-Alphonse-de-Liguori
1896	Thurso	Quebec	Catholic	St-Jean-l'Évangéliste
1897	Pakenham	Ontario	Presbyterian	St. Andrew
1897	Renfrew	Ontario	Methodist	Trinity Methodist Church
1897	Round Lake	Ontario	Catholic	
1897	Metcalf	Ontario	Anglican	Holy Trinity
1897	Navan	Ontario	Presbyterian	Wilson Church
1897	New Killaloe	Ontario	Catholic	
1898	Admaston Twshp.	Ontario	Methodist	Byer's Chapel
1898	Bell's Corners	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1898	Limoges	Ontario	Catholic	St-Viateur
1898	Nepean	Ontario	Presbyterian	Elim Church
1898	Ottawa	Ontario	Anglican	St. Matthew
1898	Antrim	Ontario	Anglican	St. John
1898	Casselman	Ontario	Catholic	Ste-Euphémie
1898	Kilroy Crescent	Quebec	Unknown	

1899	Admaston Twshp	Ontario	Holiness Mvnt	Beulah Chapel
1899	Ashton	Ontario	Methodist	
1899	Edwards	Ontario	Anglican	
1899	Radford	Quebec	Anglican	Holy Trinity
1899	St. Declan	Ontario	Catholic	St. Declan
1899	Wyman/Billerica	Quebec	Methodist	
1899	Burnstown	Ontario	Presbyterian	
1899	Charteris	Quebec	Anglican	St. Mathew
1899	Balsam Hill	Ontario	unknown	Beulah Chapel
1899	Westmeath	Ontario	Anglican	St. Mary
1899	Buckingham	Quebec	Anglican	St. Stephen

APPENDIX III

NINETEENTH CENTURY PLACE NAMES

ALMONTE , Ont.	Ramsay Village, Ont. Shipman's Falls, Ont. Shipman's Mills, Ont. Shipman's Village, Ont.
ALTA VISTA , Ont.	Ellwood, Ont. now part of OTTAWA known as Alta Vista.
APPLETON , Ont.	Appleton Falls, Ont.
ARCHEVILLE , Ont.	now part of OTTAWA , Ont.
ARGENTEUIL , Que.	see Chatham, Que.
ASHTON , Ont.	Goulbourn, Ont. Mount Pleasant, Ont. Summers Corners, Ont. (also Sumners Corners)
Bellamy's Mills, Ont.	see Clayton, Ont.
BILLING'S BRIDGE , Ont.	Farmer's Bridge, Ont. Gateville, Ont. now part of Ottawa known as Billing's Bridge.
BLACKBURN , Ont.	Dagville, Ont. Gloucester, Ont. now part of Gloucester known as Blackburn.
BLAKENEY , Ont.	Rose Bank, Ont.
Bonsecours, Que.	see MONTEBELLO , Que.
BOURGET , Ont.	The Brook, Ont.
BRISTOL , Que.	Bristol Corners, Que. Bristol Mills, Que. Inkerman, Que.

BRITANNIA, Ont.	now part of Ottawa known as Britannia.
Brook, The	see BOURGET, Ont.
Bytown, Ont.	see OTTAWA, Ont.
Cambridge, Ont.	see ST-ALBERT Ont.
CARLETON PLACE, Ont.	Carleton Junction Station, Ont. Carleton Place Junction, Ont. Murphy's Falls, Ont. (also Murphy's Falls) Murphy's Mills, Ont.
CARLSBAD SPRINGS, Ont.	Eastman Springs, Ont.
Castor, Ont.	see RUSSELL, Ont.
CHARTERIS, Que.	North Clarendon, Que.
Chatham, Que.	see ARGENTEUIL, Que.
Chaudières, Que.	see HULL, Que.
Chenail Écarté, Ont.	see HAWKESBURY, Ont.
CLARENCE, Ont.	Clarence Creek, Ont. New England, Ont.
Clarendon Center, Que.	see SHAWVILLE, Que.
CLARLINGTON, Ont.	now part of OTTAWA known as Carlingwood.
CLAYTON, Ont.	Bellamy's Mills, Ont.
Daggville, Ont.	see BLACKBURN, Ont.
Dawson, Ont.	see Prescott Road, Ont.
Des Chats, Ont.	see FITZROY HARBOUR, Ont.
Duncanville, Ont.	see RUSSELL, Ont.
DWYER HILL, Ont.	Goulbourn, Ont.
Eastman's Springs, Ont.	see CARLSBAD SPRINGS, Ont.
Eastview, Ont.	see VANIER, Ont.

Ellwood, Ont.	see ALTA VISTA , Ont.
EMBRUN , Ont.	Rivière-du-Castor, Ont.
FALLOWFIELD , Ont.	Nepean (Mission de), Ont.
Farmer's Bridge, Ont.	see BILLING'S BRIDGE , Ont.
FITZROY HARBOUR , Ont.	Des Chats, Ont. The Cats, Ont.
Fraserville, Que.	see THURSO , Que.
GALETTA , Ont.	Hubble's Falls, Ont.
Gateville, Ont.	see BILLING'S BRIDGE , Ont.
Gloucester, Ont.	see BLACKBURN , Ont.
Gloucester, Ont.	see SOUTH GLOUCESTER , Ont.
Gloucester-Nord, Ont.	see ORLÉANS , Ont.
Goulbourn, Ont.	see ASHTON , Ont.
Goulbourn, Ont.	see DWYER HILL , Ont.
Gower Point, Ont.	see LAPASSE , Ont..
Grand Chantier, Ont.	see STE-ANNE-DE-PRESCOTT , Ont.
Hamilton Mills, Ont.	see HAWKESBURY , Ont.
Harvey Mills, Ont.	see PAKENHAM , Ont.
Hattville, Ont	see PLANTAGENET , Ont.
HAWKESBURY , Ont.	Chenail Écarté, Ont. Hamilton Mills, Ont.
HAWTHORNE , Ont.	now part of OTTAWA known as Hawthorne.
Hintonberg, Ont.	now part of OTTAWA , Ont.
Hubble's Falls, Ont.	see GALETTA , Ont.
HULL , Que.	Chaudières, Que.

Inkerman, Que.	see BRISTOL , Ont.
Janeville, Ont.	see VANIER , Ont.
KARS , Ont.	Lindsay's Warf, Ont. Wellington Village, Ont.
L'ORIGNAL , Ont.	Longueil, Ont. Nouvelle Longueil, Ont. Treadwell, Ont.
La Blanche, Que.	see PERKINS , Que.
La Côte, Ont.	see VANKLEEK HILL , Ont.
LAPASSE , Ont.	Gower Point, Ont. Westmeath, Ont.
LEITRIM , Ont.	Cowansville, Ont. now part of OTTAWA known as Leitrim, Ont.
LEMIEUX , Ont.	Petit Moose Creek, Ont.
LIMOGES , Ont.	Limoges Station, Ont. South Indian, Ont. (South Indian Station, Ont.)
Lindsay's Warf, Ont.	KARS , Ont.
Lochaber, Que.	THURSO , Que.
Longueil, Ont.	see L'ORIGNAL , Ont.
LOWRIE , Ont.	Lowry, Ont. North Huntley, Ont.
MANIWAKI , Que.	River Desert, Que.
March-Sud, Ont.	SOUTH MARCH , Ont.
MASHAM , Que.	La Pêche, Que. Sainte-Cécile-de-Masham, Que.
MERIVALE , Ont.	now part of OTTAWA known as Merivale, Ont.
Miller's Corners, Ont.	see NORTH GOWER , Ont.
MONTABELLO , Que.	Bonsecours, Que.

Morphy's Falls, Ont.	see CARLETON PLACE , Ont.
Mount Pleasant, Ont.	see ASHTON , Ont.
Muddy Branch, Que.	see ARGENTEUIL , Que.
Nepean, (Mission de), Ont.	see FALLOWFIELD , Ont.
New England, Ont.	see CLARENCE , Ont.
NORTH GOWER , Ont.	Miller's Corners, Ont. Stephensville, Ont.
North Clarendon, Que.	see CHARTERIS , Que.
North Huntley, Ont.	see LOWRY , Ont.
Nouvelle Longueuil, Ont.	see L'ORIGNAL , Ont.
ORLEANS , Ont.	Gloucester-Nord, Ont. Saint-Joseph, Ont. Saint-Joseph-d'Orléans, Ont.
OSCEOLA , Ont.	Snake River, Ont.
OTTAWA , Ont.	Bytown, Ont. (now includes several small villages) Alta Vista (a.k.a. Ellwood) Archeville Billings Bridge Britannia Carlington Hawthorne Hintonbery Merivale Rochesterville Westboro
OUTAOUAIS , Rivière des	Grand Rivier,
PAKENHAM , Ont.	Harvey Mills, Ont.
Pélissier, Que.	see WAKEFIELD , Que.
PERKINS , Que.	La Blanche, Que. Perkins' Mills, Que.
Petit Moose Creek, Ont.	see LEMIEUX , Ont.

PLANTAGENET , Ont.	Hattville, Ont. Plantagenet Mills, Ont.
Prescott Road, Ont.	Dawson, Ont.
PRESCOTT , Ont.	Scotch River, Ont.
Ramsay Village, Ont.	see ALMONTE , Ont. This is not to be confused with RAMSAYVILLE which is located just south of OTTAWA .
Rivière-du-Castor, Ont.	see EMBRUN , Ont.
Rochesterville, Ont.	now part of OTTAWA , Ont.
Rose Bank, Ont.	see BLAKENEY , Ont.
RUSSELL , Ont.	Castor, Ont. Ducanville, Ont. Russell Station, Ont.
Scotch River, Ont.	see ST-ISIDORE-DE-PRESCOTT , Ont.
Scotch-Saint-Isidore, Ont.	see ST-ISIDORE-DE-PRESCOTT , Ont.
SHAWVILLE , Que.	Clarendon Center, Que.
Shipman's Falls, Ont.	see ALMONTE , Ont.
Shipman's Mills, Ont.	see ALMONTE , Ont.
Shipman's Village, Ont.	see ALMONTE , Ont.
Snake River, Ont.	see OSCEOLA , Ont.
SOUTH GLOUCESTER , Ont.	Gloucester, Ont.
SOUTH MARCH , Ont.	Lewisville, Ont. March-Sud, Ont.
South Indian, Ont.	see LIMOGES , Ont.
ST-ALBERT , Ont.	Cambridge, Ont.
ST-ISIDORE-DE-PRESCOTT , Ont.	Scotch-Saint-Isidore, Ont.
St-Joseph, Ont.	see ORLÉANS , Ont.
St-Joseph, Que.	see FARRELTON , Que.

St-Joseph-d'Orléans, Ont.	see ORLÉANS , Ont.
ST-PHILIPPE-D'ARGENTEUIL	Muddy Branch, Que.
STE-ANNE-DE-PRESCOTT , Ont.	Grand Chantier, Ont.
Ste-Cécile-de-Masham, Que.	see MASHAM , Que.
Stephensville, Ont.	see NORTH GOWER , Ont.
Summers Corners, Ont.	see AHTON , Ont.
The Cats, Ont.	see FITZROY HARBOUR , Ont.
THURSO , Que.	Fraserville, Que. Lochaber, Que.
Treadwell, Ont.	see L'ORIGINAL , Ont.
VANIER , Ont.	Eastview, Ont. Janeville, Ont.
VANKLEEK HILL , Ont.	La Côte, Ont.
VINTON , Que.	Franktown, Que.
WAKEFIELD , Que.	Pélissier, Que.
Wellington, Ont.	see KARS , Ont.
Westboro, Ont.	now part of OTTAWA , Ont.
Westmeath, Ont.	see LAPASSE , Ont.
WOODROFFE , Ont.	now part of OTTAWA known as Woodroffe.

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 - Fitzroy Harbour, St. George.
 - Galetta, St. Augustine.
 - Horaceville, (Pinhey's Point), St. Mary.
 - Huntley, 3rd Line, Christ Church.
 - Huntley, 6th Line, St. John.
 - North March, St. Mary.
 - Pakenham, St. Mark.
 - South March, St. John.
 - Woodlawn, St. Thomas.

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 - Bell's Corners, Christ Church.
 - Fallowfield, St. Barnabas.
 - Greely, All Saints.
 - Hazeldean, St. Paul.
 - Kars, St. John.
 - Manotick, St. James.
 - Metcalfe, Holy Trinity.
 - Munster, St. Stephen.
 - North Gower, Holy Trinity.
 - Osgoode, St. Paul.
 - Pierce's Corners, St. John.
 - Prospect, St. Augustine.
 - Richmond, St. John.
 - Russell, St. Mary.
 - Stanley's Corners, St. Thomas.
 - Vernon, St. George.

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 - Aylmer, Christ Church.
 - Aylwin, St. John in the Wilderness.
 - Blanch Lake, St. Andrew.
 - Bristol Corners, St. Thomas.
 - Bristol Mines, St. George.
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- Buckingham, St. Stephen.
 - Caldwell, St. Luke.
 - Campbell's Bay, St. George.
 - Charteris, St. Matthew.
 - Chelsea, St. Mary Madgalene.
 - Eardley, St. Luke.
 - Greermount, St. Stephen.
 - Hull, St. James.
 - Maniwaki, Christ Church.
 - Poltimore, Christ Church.
 - Portage-du-Fort, St. George.
 - Quyon, St. John.
 - Radford, Holy Trinity.
 - Shawville, St. Paul.
 - Thorne Centre, St. George.
 - Wakefield, Good Shepherd.
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- Lanark Deanery Collection
 - Almonte, St. Paul.
 - Carleton Place, St. James.
 - Clayton, St. George.
 - Franktown, St. James.
 - Innisville, St. John.
 - Lanark, St. Paul.
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- Ottawa Deanery Collection
 - Britannia, St. Stephen.
 - Hawthorne, St. George.
 - Leitrim, St. James.
 - Ottawa, All Saints.
 - Ottawa, Christ Church Cathedral.
 - Ottawa, St. Alban the Martyr.
 - Ottawa, St. Barnabas.
 - Ottawa, St. Bartholomew.
 - Ottawa, St. George.
 - Ottawa, St. John.
 - Ottawa, St. Luke.
 - Ottawa, St. Mathew.
 - Ottawa, St. Matthias.
 - Vanier, St. Margaret.
 - Westboro, All Saints.
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 - Alice, St. George.
 - Beachburg, St. Augustine.
 - Cobden, St. Paul.
 - Combermere, St. Paul.
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 - Eganville, St. John.
 - Lac Doré, St. Mark.
 - Mattawa, St. Alban.
 - Micksburg, St. Stephen.
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 - Petawawa, All Saints.
 - Renfrew, St. Paul.
 - Scotch Bush, All Saints.
 - Westmeath, St Aidan.
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 - Cumberland, St. Mark.
 - Navan, St. Mary.
 - Plantagenet, Good Shepherd.
 - Vars, St. Andrew.
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 - Alfred, St-Victor Parish Collection.
 - Almonte, Holy Name of Mary Parish Collection.

¹ The *Registre des visites épiscopales* contains material pertaining to many points of collective worship, not only established parishes. Included among the frequently discussed sites are, Alfred, Allumettes, Almonte, Angers, Argenteuil, Arnprior, Avellin, Aylmer, Bristol, Brook, Buckingham, Burdenel, Caledonia, Calumet, Cambridge, Cantley, Chelsea, Clarence Creek, Curran, Dawson, Douglas, Doyle Settlement, Eardley, Eganville, Embrun, Fitzroy Harbour, Fort Coulonge, Fournierville, Gatineau Gloucester, Gower Point, Goulburne, Grenville, Hagarty, Hawkesbuty Mills, Hartwell, High Falls, La Passe, La Peche, Lac St. Marie, Low, Malachi, Maniwaki, Manotick, March, Metcalf, Montebello, Mount St. Patrick, Nepcan, Notre-Dame de la Salette, Onslow, l'Orignal, Orleans, Osceola, Osgoode, Ottawa, Pakenham, Papineauville, Pembroke, Perkins Mills, Plantagenet, Ponsonby, Portage du Fort, Quion, Renfrew, Richmond, Ripon, Sand Point, Sarsfield, Scotch River, Sheen, South Gloucester, Springtown, St-Eugène, St. Isidore de Prescott, St-Joachim, Suffolk, Templeton, Thorne, Thurso, Vankleek Hill, Vinton, Wakefield, Wendover, West Huntley, Wright.

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- Bourget, Sacré-Cœur Parish Collection.
 - Brightside, St. Declan Parish Collection.
 - Casselman, Ste-Euphémie Parish Collection.
 - Châte-à-Blondeau, St-Joachim Parish Collection.
 - Clarence Creek, Ste-Félicité Parish Collection.
 - Corkery, St. Michael Parish Collection.
 - Curran, St. Luc Parish Collection.
 - Cyrville, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Parish Collection.
 - Dwyer Hill, St. Claire Parish Collection.
 - Embrun, St-Jacques Parish Collection.
 - Fallowfield, St. Patrick Parish Collection.
 - Fournier, St-Bernard Parish Collection.
 - Lefaivre, St. Thomas Parish Collection.
 - Lemieux, St. Joseph Parish Collection .
 - Metcalfe, St. Catherine Parish Collection.
 - Orleans, St. Joseph Parish Collection.
 - Osgoode, St. John the Evangelist, Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa St. Joseph Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa Ste-Anne Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, Basilique Notre-Dame Collection
 - Ottawa, Our Lady Of Good Council Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, Sacré Cœur Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, St-François-d' Assise Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, St-Jean-Baptiste Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, St. Brigid Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, St. Patrick Parish Collection.
 - Ottawa, St. Thomas d' Aquin Parish Collection.
 - Pakenham, St. Peter Celestine Parish Collection.
 - Plantagenet, St. Paul Parish Collection.
 - Richmond, St. Philip Parish Collection.
 - Rockland, Ste-Trinité Parish Collection.
 - Sarsfield, St-Hugues Parish Collection.
 - South Gloucester, Our Lady of the Visitation Parish Collection.
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- South March, St-Isidore Parish Collection.
 - St-Isidore-de-Prescott, St-Isidore Parish Collection.
 - St-Albert, St-Albert Parish Collection.
 - St-Eugène, St-Eugène Parish Collection.
 - Ste-Anne-de-Prescott, Ste-Anne Parish Collection.
 - Van Kleeck Hill, St-Grégoire-de-Naziance Parish Collection.
 - Vanier, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Parish Collection.

- Photograph Collection

Archives Deschatelets (O.M.I.), Ottawa, Ontario

- Parish and Mission Collection

Archives of the Diocese of Ontario (Anglican), Kingston, Ontario

- Merrickville Parish Collection
 - Burritt's Rapids, Christ Church Collection.

City of Ottawa Archives, Ottawa, Ontario.

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- Ashton Pastoral Charge Collection.
 - Bell's Corners Charge Collection.
 - Carp Charge Collection.
 - Cumberland Charge Collection.
 - Dominion Chalmers (Ottawa) Collection.
 - First Congregationalist (Ottawa) Collection.
 - Fitzroy Charge Collection.
 - Hawkesbury Charge Collection.
 - Mackay United Church (Ottawa) Collection.
 - Metcalfe Pastoral Charge Collection.
 - North Gower Charge Collection.
 - Prescott Collection
 - Riceville-Pendleton Charge Collection
 - Richmond-Stittsville Collection.
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- Russell Collection.
- Vankleek Hill Collection.
- Westboro Collection.

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Moncerf, Quebec. Ste-Philomène (Catholic). File 05-0155000-00004.
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