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The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Kingston, 1844-1856

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At the annual Easter vestry meeting of St. George's Anglican Church in Kingston held on 8 April 1844, the Honourable Peter Boyle de Blaquièrre, a younger son of John, Baron Blaquièrre of Ardkill in Ireland, stood to address the men of substance who attended. A member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada and then of its successor in the United Province of Canada, he probably spoke on behalf of a group of Tory members of St. George's, men like John Solomon Cartwright (a leading lawyer and landholder), the Honourable John Macaulay (a prominent businessman and fellow member of the Legislative Councils, who had received his early formal education from the Reverend John Strachan), and Thomas Kirkpatrick (a prominent lawyer and politician, who was the first mayor of Kingston). He moved that funds be raised to build two additional Anglican churches in the greater Kingston area, one on the eastern side of town and the other "on Lot 24 in the Western side of the Town." He argued "that

the great increase to the population of Kingston which had taken place within the last three years, rendered it absolutely necessary to provide additional Church accommodation for members who have not, and from various circumstances cannot otherwise find the means of Public Worship in our Communion."¹ The need for two new churches in Kingston existed and it was the responsibility of the members of St. George's to take the initiative in erecting them. The vestry agreed.

By the 1840s, Anglicans in Canada West were experiencing strong competition not only from Roman Catholics, but also from Presbyterians and Methodists. Building churches became a way not only for displaying wealth and status, but also for nurturing and expanding the membership of the Anglicans.² The cornerstone for St. Mark's Anglican church, Barriefield, was laid on 3 July 1843, less than a year before de Blaquièrre's speech, and most of the building was finished by the end of June 1844.³



Figure 1. Barriefield, St. Mark's Anglican Church (1843-4); Photo: Paul Christianson, 2008

The cornerstone for St. James' Anglican church, Stuartville, was laid on Lot. 24 on 28 September 1844 and the church opened on 24 August 1845.⁴ Both of these were Gothic revival structures built of local limestone. (fig. 1 and 2)

The ceremony for laying the "foundation-stone" of St. Paul's on the Monday after Easter, 7 April 1846, made this clear: "After the usual Morning service for the day had been celebrated in St. George's Church, and the business of the Annual Vestry Meeting had been transacted, the Clergy, the Building Committee of the new Church, and the children of the Sunday school of St. George's Parish, walked in procession from St. George's Church to the burying-ground on Queen-street, in which St. Paul's Church is to stand."⁵ The large building committee of twenty men, gathered from the leading members of St. George's and chaired by the Honourable John Macaulay, played an important role, with

Macaulay officially laying the stone. They had already selected the Toronto architect Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane to design and oversee the building of St. Paul's Anglican church.⁶ This church would commemorate the memory of the "Reverend Robert David, CARTWRIGHT, late Assistant Minister of the Parish of Saint George." Contributions from Cartwright's "friends in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in this Country" provided the bulk of the funding.

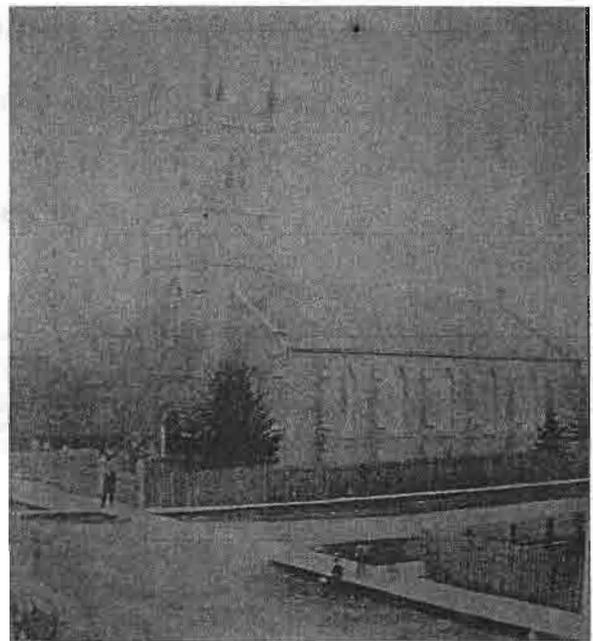


Figure 2. Kingston, St. James' Anglican Church (1844-5), ca 1850; courtesy of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives, (Kingston, Ontario), St. James' Church (Kingston), fonds.

At the ceremony, the "Venerable Archdeacon of Kingston, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Herchmer and Bartlett," officiated, with the "Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D. L.L.D., Lord Bishop of Toronto" attending, and the "the children of St. George's Sunday-school" singing the 123rd Psalm. Unlike the cornerstone ceremony at St. James' where

Bishop Strachan took the leading role, the laymen and clergy of St. George's would dominate that at St. Paul's. Already "considerable progress" had already "made in carrying up the walls of St. Paul's Church."⁷

Opened for worship slightly over a year later, St. Paul's had cost £2,500 to build, according to a correspondent to the *Church* and was close enough to completion in 1854 to contemplate consecration, when a tragic fire burned the roof and interior, leaving only the walls standing.⁸ The newspaper account in the *Kingston Daily News* from three days after the fire reported that the fire "destroyed this noble structure, leaving nothing but the blackened walls."⁹ Three months later, the *Church* noted of the original St. Paul's that: "The walls are the only portion of it remaining, except the font, the books, and some of the furniture of minor value."¹⁰ A charred timber also exists in the tower. (fig. 3)

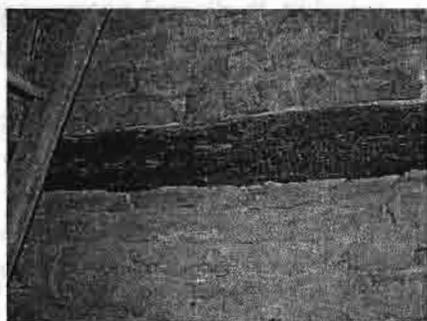


Figure 3. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican Church: charred beam inside tower; Photo: Paul Christianson 2010.

This evidence suggests that the existing walls of the tower and the front and side walls of the nave are largely the remains of the St. Paul's designed by Lane. However, since no photographs, drawings, or even detailed descriptions of the St. Paul's church designed by Lane have survived, our knowledge of its appearance must derive from a comparison of the existing fabric of the rebuilt church with other churches designed by the same architect in the 1840s.

The son of a Royal Artillery officer, Lane was born in 1817, grew up in Devon, and must have received considerable architectural training in England. There he must also have observed churches from many centuries and may well have worked on some of the early churches constructed with financial support from the Church Building Commission.¹¹ He had mastered the early historically derived style seen in the Commissioners' churches of the 1820s and 1830s and brought considerable skill when he emigrated to Canada around 1840. By 1841, Lane was living and working in Cobourg, where he designed a new front and tower for St. Peter's Anglican church. By 1842, he had moved to Toronto where he designed and built three influential Anglican churches, Little Trinity (1843-4), St. George the Martyr (1844-5), and Holy Trinity (1846-7), all in brick. In addition, he added a new Gothic Revival tower and transepts to St. Mark's Anglican church in Niagara-on-the-Lake in 1845).¹²



Figure 4. Toronto, Little Trinity Anglican Church (1844-5).

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/ettml/2136656011/in/set-72157600457339777/>

Little Trinity and Holy Trinity were designed in Perpendicular styles and St. George the Martyr in Early English. (fig. 4, 5, 6, and 7)



Figure 5. Toronto, St. George the Martyr Anglican Church (1844-5); engraving by F.C. Lowe in William Henry Smith, *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* (Toronto, 1846), between pp. 192-3.

Figure 6. Niagara-on-the-Lake, St. Mark's Anglican Church: photograph by R. Bobak, 2009: http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_Q2L1ONLb7Hc/SwH2EJK6bal/AAAAAAAAAEsk/L2Z7aj1T5Ww/s1600/St.Mark%27s+Byron+St.JPG



On the basis of the reputation that he had begun to establish, Lane was commissioned to build a striking stone church on the site of the Lower Burial Ground in Kingston.



Figure 7. Toronto, Holy Trinity Anglican Church (1846-7); <http://www.yorku.ca/rsgc/HolyTrinity.html>

The original St. Paul's was a somewhat broader structure than the other Anglican churches built in the Kingston area in the 1840s, some fifty feet wide by seventy-five feet six inches long.¹³ With its western tower and entrances, five Early English windows on each side of the nave, two lancets in the west façade and probably three lancets in the east façade of the nave, substantial buttresses, and solid shape, St. Paul's had many of the elements of the Gothic Revival churches recently built in Barriefield and Stuartville and of the much larger St. George the Martyr in Toronto, which was then nearing completion. (fig. 8) The stonework at St. Paul's in general did not use the relatively small stones laid in irregular courses with larger stones added for emphasis employed in the walls of St. Mark's and St. James', however, and his design differed in other ways, as well.



Figure 8. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican Church in the 1870s; photograph by Richard W. Barrow in the collection of Jennifer McKendry, courtesy of Jennifer McKendry

Lane designed complex walls starting with three courses of large blocks of ashlar, capped by a narrower, horizontal moulding in smooth stone that acted as a plinth course.¹⁴ (fig. 9) The ashlar courses with their moulding form a visible foundation for both the walls and buttresses of the nave and tower. The walls above consist of somewhat smaller, but still large, carefully worked, rectangular blocks of stone laid in relatively uniform courses. (fig. 10) The ashlar provides a contrast with the less finished rectangular stones of the fabric. The whole ensemble of the exterior side walls of the nave—the sturdy buttresses, the ashlar base with its horizontal plinth course, the regular stonework, the smooth horizontal stone moulding at the same level as from drip stones (along the side) and gablets (at the ends) that mark the second narrowing of the buttresses, and the tall lancets—provides a noticeably attractive composition with a varied texture. (fig. 11) At St. George the Martyr, Lane placed gablets (which were not yet commonly used in Canada West) on the second narrowing of the buttresses on the front and sides of the nave and also used horizontal mouldings on the plinth course and just below the windows on the sides of the nave. (fig. 12)



Figure 9. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; north façade of the nave; Paul Christianson, 2009

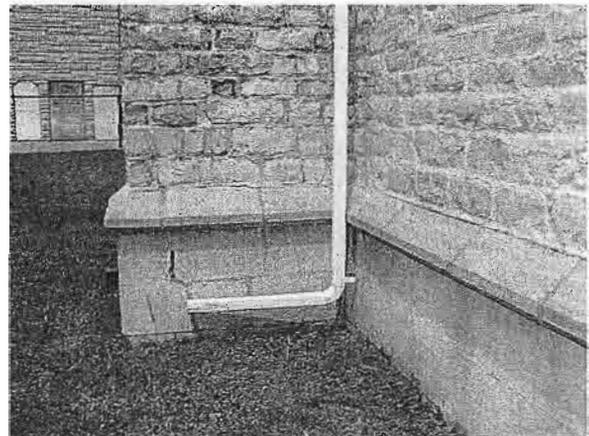


Figure 10. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail of stonework on north façade of the nave; Paul Christianson, 2009.



Figure 11. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican: northwest corner of the nave; Paul Christianson, 2009

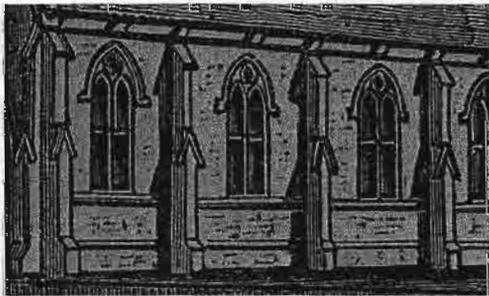


Figure 12. Toronto, St. George the Martyr Anglican; detail of south façade from engraving by Lowe.

These were repeated with some variations at St. Paul's.¹⁵ Clearly omitted from St. Paul's, but still present at St. George the Martyr and in many of Howard's churches, were perpendicular style hood moulds above the Early English lancets. Even so, to William Hay, who restored St. Paul's less than a decade later, or to any other architect inspired by the theories and churches of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), this must have seemed like a decidedly conservative, indeed Georgian, form of stonework for a Gothic Revival church.¹⁶

At St. Paul's, Lane repeated several other patterns that he had used at St. George the Martyr and Little Trinity. A complex ensemble marks the west façade, with a vertical thrust coming from the tower and its tall double buttresses (with gablets on the top of the second section) and the pair of lancets and pilaster in the level of the tower above the central door. The buttresses at the western corners of the nave (with gablets at the top of the second section), the highly peaked gables above the doors, and the narrow lancets above the peaks of the side doors reinforced the verticality of the tower. As at St. George the Martyr, Lane employed a tall, sturdy buttress on all external faces of the tower and buttresses on all external faces of the western corners of the nave.¹⁷ Only single buttresses exist at the eastern end of the sides of the nave (without matching buttresses on the eastern façade); since the ashlar base courses extend around the southeast corner of the nave without a break, this looks like a feature of Lane's building.

The horizontal lines formed by protruding smooth stone mouldings provide a balance. On the sides of the nave and the tower, the first of these forms a horizontal line and marks the plinth course above the ashlar foundation. On the tower, the second consists of a zigzag line formed by protruding smooth stone mouldings and gablets at the next narrowing of the buttresses continuing on to the peaks over the side doors, then back down and horizontally across the sides. The third marks the third narrowing of the nave buttresses and runs only across the west façade of the nave just below the lancets. The fourth starts at the third narrowing of the tower buttresses and continues around the tower below the lancets on the west façade and pilasters on all sides of the tower, while a fifth, a slightly protruding band of narrower stone, comes just before the top of the tower buttresses.

Another pattern repeated from both Little Trinity and St. George the Martyr was the striking tripartite entrance on the west façade, with a larger, double central door in the tower flanked by two smaller side doors leading into the nave for the convenience of worshippers entering and exiting the worship space. (fig. 13) The pattern of having three entrances in the liturgical west façade of St. Paul's would be followed by at least three later nineteenth-century enlargements of other Kingston churches, St. James' Anglican, Sydenham Methodist (now United), and St. Mary's Roman Catholic. The use of three doorways in the west façade of the nave of a church had been recommended as early as the sixteenth century by Charles Borromeo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Milan, in his *Instructiones Fabricate et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (Milano, 1577), book I, chapter 7.¹⁸

At St. Paul's, the pointed central entry stands between the front buttresses of the tower, emphasized by a sharply peaked ashlar gable with four levels of recessed stone arches and a shield with the message "A D 1845" above the door. (fig. 14) Although Lane incorporated the year of the laying of the foundation stone on the ogee decorations above one of the entrances at Little Trinity and on a plaque at the second level above the door at St. George the Martyr, the plaque at St. Paul's made his most effective statement.¹⁹ The side entrances on the west façade have less elaborate peaked gables, emphasized by two protruding smooth, stone mouldings crowning the peaks. (fig. 15)

The tower at St. Paul's was one part of the original plan that remained incomplete, but it may have included an additional stage with a bell and bell louvers.²⁰ Edwin Whitfield's lithograph of "Kingston, Canada West" from 1855 shows a tower with a belfry stage with louvered lancet openings and pinnacles at the corners on the top. (fig. 16)



Figure 13. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; west façade; Paul Christianson, 2009

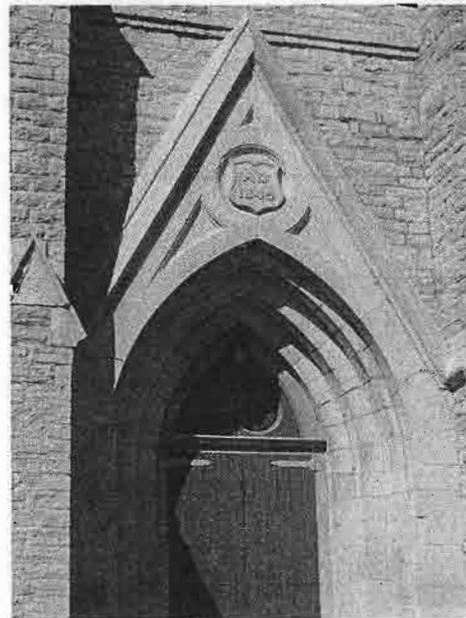


Figure 14. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail of main entrance; Paul Christianson, 2005.

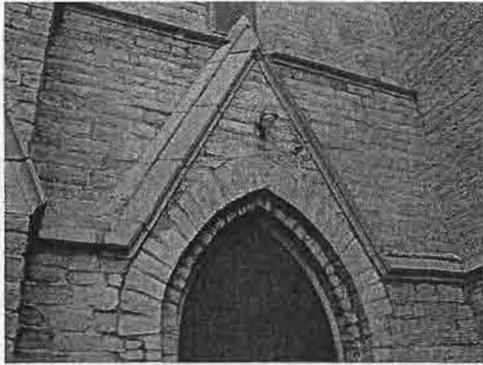


Figure 15. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail of north entrance on west façade; Paul Christianson, 2009.



Figure 16. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail from Edwin Whitfield "Kingston, Canada West" (1855), courtesy of Jennifer McKendry.

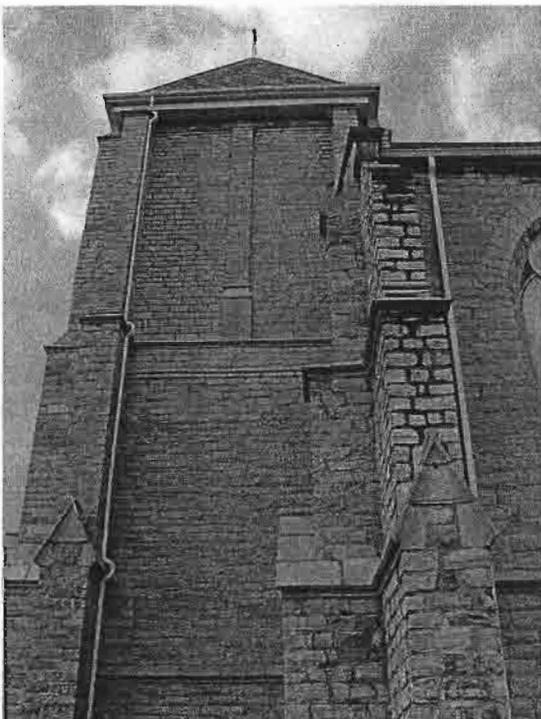


Figure 17. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail of south face of tower; Paul Christianson, 2009.

It may not have survived the fire, or it may not have been built.²¹ Like those at Little Trinity and St. George the Martyr, the tower seems external to the walls of the nave, but the sturdy walls supporting it actually intrude into the plane of the western wall of the nave. St. George the Martyr had a tower of five stages, with the belfry louvers at stage four (well above the peak of the nave), pinnacles at the corners of stage five, and a soaring spire above. The whole stood one hundred fifty feet tall. The existing tower at St. Paul's has two distinct stages on the entrance façade, three on the sides, the boundary of each stage marked by protruding horizontal mouldings in smooth stone, as noted above. On the west façade, the door, with a trefoil window in the wooden space above the door, and its elaborate gable occupy stage one, while stage two has two lancets with an awkward ashlar pilaster with an elongated base in between. At the same level, stage three of the sides has no piercings, but only a flat wall divided by the same awkward pilaster. (fig. 17) The peak of the original roof of the nave, following the slope used at St. George the Martyr, would have reached about half way up this stage. After the fire, and perhaps before, the tower was roofed with a shallow peaked roof.

When the original St. Paul's opened for worship in 1847, it probably consisted of the tower, entrances, and the nave, as described above. Lane may have designed a longer nave, an externally differentiated chancel, and an external vestry and vestibule, as at St. George the Martyr; if so, these probably were not built, because of the scarcity of funds. The *Church* reported in 1855 that: "The wishes of the kind-hearted friends of John and Robert Cartwright exceeded their means; they began a Church in the style in which they were unable to complete it."

The Church opened in 1847 was not the Church contemplated in 1844 and begun in 1845.²² The church designed in 1844 probably had a tall tower, possibly a steeple, and perhaps a shallow externally differentiated chancel.²³ As late as 1851, the St. Paul's vestry plaintively reported to the Toronto Synod in that: "our pews are still unpainted; something remains to be paid upon the organ; and a debt of more than thirty pounds has just been incurred for repairing the roof of the Church."²⁴

Not do we know whether the original St. Paul's had the dramatic internal wooden roof beams that Lane designed for St. George the Martyr or the plain plaster ceiling of Holy Trinity, but no evidence points to the inclusion of the internal pillars needed to support the former and the pocketbooks of Kingston could probably have only afforded a plain auditory preaching space.²⁵ The most magnificent structure in the interior was the splendid large, octagonal white marble Gothic Revival baptismal font on a pedestal, with its lively tall walnut cover, given by Sarah, the widow of Robert David Cartwright in memory of her husband and his twin brother John Solomon, an elegant gem saved from the fire. (fig. 18) For all of the difficulties and frustrations that the architect must have experienced in trying to bring his plan into fruition, Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane created a significant Early English exterior (in many ways more sophisticated than that of St. George the Martyr) and a notable worship space at St. Paul's.

Although only a year younger than Lane, William Hay was much more up-to-date in his architectural ideas, which drew strongly upon those of Pugin and the early Ecclesiologists. Born in 1818 in Cruden, Scotland, and brought up as a Scottish Episcopalian, Hay studied architecture in

Edinburgh and London. Sent to British North America by George Gilbert Scott in 1847 to supervise the construction of the Anglican Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in St. John's Newfoundland, he returned briefly to Edinburgh after finishing the nave in 1850. Hay moved to Toronto in 1852 and quickly became a leading architect in Canada West.²⁶ The architectural articles that he published in the *Anglo-American Magazine* brought his ecclesiological views on churches to a wider audience and probably helped to generate commissions.²⁷ In February 1855, the *Church* reported that: "Immediately after the fire the Churchwardens procured from Mr. Hay, of Toronto, a design for the restoration of the Church, which they submitted to the congregation for inspection. The design was approved of, and the only difficulty which presented itself was the raising of funds necessary to carry it out."²⁸



Figure 18. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; Baptismal Font given in memory of the Rev. Richard Cartwright and his twin brother John Solomon Cartwright (1846); Paul Christianson, 2009.

Since the stone walls of St. Paul's still stood, Hay's plan involved cleaning and repairing the old walls and tower, building a new roof, redesigning the interior, and adding an extensive chancel and, possibly an organ chamber to the east end. The minutes of the Kingston Branch of the Church Society for 1856 reported in March 1856, that: "the fabric of St. Paul's church has already been brought to a forward state towards complete restoration, and is expected to be ready for the celebration of divine service early in the course of the ensuing summer. A chancel has been added, with great taste, to the original nave; and off the latter, two side aisles have been formed, and the whole being tiled with blue slates, the general appearance of the edifice bears an ecclesiastical air of peculiar propriety and simple beauty, and the church, when completed, will, in these respects, if not surpass, at least equal, any other in the Province."²⁹ The shape of the roof and its slate shingles, along with the addition of aisles and an extensive chancel all pointed to Hay's commitment to a different school of church design.

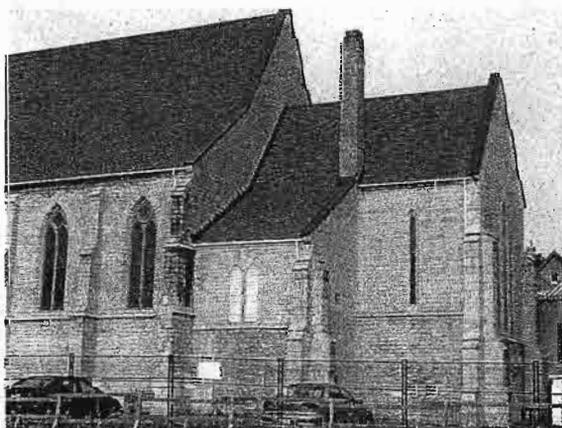


Figure 19. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; roofline, chancel, and organ chamber from the southeast; Paul Christianson, 2009.



Figure 20. Toronto, St. Basil's Roman Catholic and the College of St. Michael (1855-6); lithograph reproduced in Angela Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture* (Montreal, 1995), p.21, fig. 3.2

The new roof, instead of continuing the moderate pitch used by Lane, now had a steep pitch in the central portion and shallower pitch at the sides, a profile that Hay also used at St. Basil's Roman Catholic Church, part of his design for St. Michael's College from 1856.³⁰ (fig. 19 and 20) The slate roofing still existing on the tower displays the "ecclesiastical air" noted in early 1856. In order to accommodate the additions and support the new roof, a very large portion of the original eastern wall of the nave had to be taken down first, with only a small portion remaining. The stone was recycled into creating the buttresses and walls of an extensive new chancel and organ chamber, with what must have been the ashlar blocks from the original foundation layer of the east façade reused in the double buttresses at the east corners of both and in the east wall of the chancel. (fig. 21, 22)

Tall, narrow graduated triple lancets pierce the east wall of the chancel, with single lancets on the north and south walls, nearly half way between the east end and the east wall of the organ chamber.



Figure 21. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; external detail of the organ chamber; Paul Christianson, 2010.

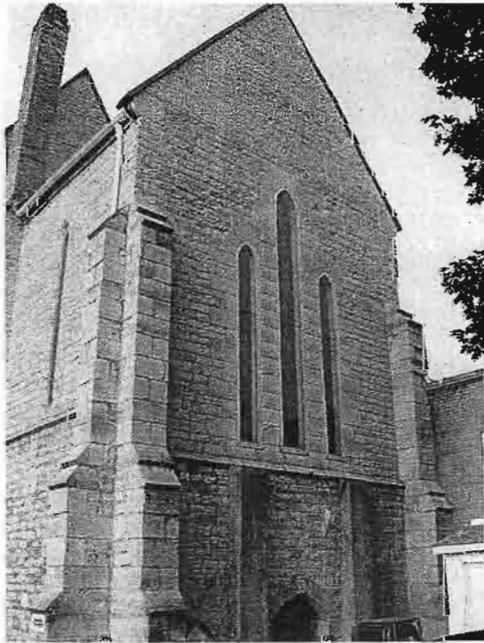


Figure 22. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; external detail of east end of the chancel; Paul Christianson, 2010.

Wider double and wider lancet shaped shutters pierce the south wall of the organ chamber. All of the lancets in the

chancel are beveled internally and externally and all of the lancets (plus the openings for the organ chamber) follow the pattern recommended by Pugin of alternating longer with shorter stones along the sides. (fig. 23) The protruding horizontal moulding of smooth stone from the original wall was reused under the openings of the chancel and organ chamber. That of the chancel matches the height of the corresponding moulding on the nave, but that on the organ chamber does not.

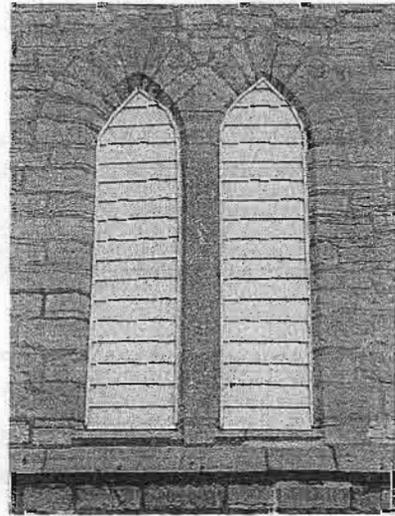


Figure 23. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail of openings in organ chamber: Paul Christianson, 2010.

This mismatch suggests that the organ chamber may have come later, but no evidence for this appears in the surviving vestry minutes from 1863 to 1883.³¹ Hay's lancets on the sides and east end of the chancel differ significantly in shape and setting (they did not use wooden frames) from those of Lane. (see fig. 19 above) Any new stone was worked into blocks similar to the original, except that some of them are square rather than rectangular and provide a less regular surface.

Interior support for the new roof was provided on each side by four wooden pillars carrying five wooden pointed arches that ended at the end walls of the nave. (fig. 24)

This created a very lofty interior space nave and allowed for aisles directly ahead of each of the three entrances on the west façade. It meant that those in the outermost pews on each side were a bit isolated from their fellow worshipers. The floor of the chancel stood three steps above the floor of the nave, with the altar space raised by another two steps. Hay's chancel measured nineteen feet two inches wide by thirty-eight feet six inches deep. (fig. 25)

The three narrow, tall, graduated lancets on the east wall add to the perception of height, while the doubly raised floors add to the perception of depth. The tall, narrow lancets that pierce the eastern portion of the north and south walls of the chancel and add a stronger glow to the area surrounding the altar in the morning. A quatrefoil window, set in an ashlar surround, looms high on the western part of the north wall.³² (fig. 26) An open pointed arch on the inner corner of the southeast wall of the nave paired by a matching open-pointed arch in the southwest corner of the chancel open the space of the organ chamber, with the keyboard originally on the nave side, the pipes above, behind, and on the chancel side. (fig. 27) A large "box pulpit" stood just in the nave near the organ, while the marble baptismal font from 1846, given in memory of the Cartwrights, stood in the chancel.³³ This hardly left much room for choir stalls in this space. The stained glass windows in the graduated triple lancets at the east end of the chancel, however, were given in memory of the first incumbent of St. Paul's not long after his death on 3 December 1855, and, most likely, formed a part of Hay's restoration.³⁴ (fig. 28) Other portions of the existing interior were not. In 1863, a gallery was added to the west end of the nave to increase seating.



ST. BASIL'S—ROMAN CATHOLIC.
 Figure 24. Toronto, St. Basil's Roman Catholic; engraving of interior from J.R. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, 6 vols. (Toronto, 1894-1914), v, p. 455.

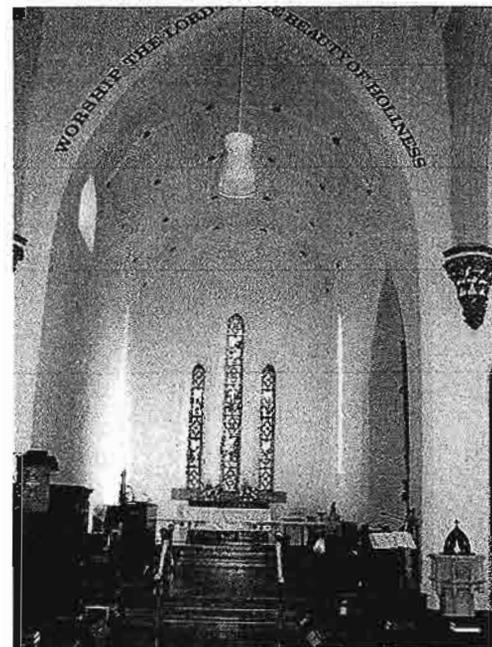


Figure 25. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; interior of chancel; Paul Christianson, 2010.

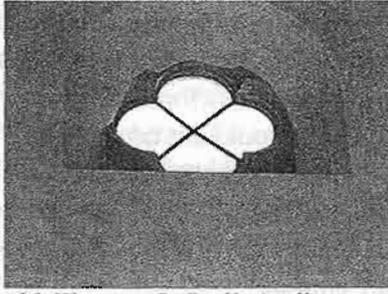


Figure 26. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; quatrefoil window in chancel; Paul Christianson, 2010.



Figure 27. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; detail of internal openings of the organ chamber, Paul Christianson, 2010.

In 1878, a central pointed barrel vault plaster "ceiling according to a sketch by Mr. Power" (proposed and built for better climate control) plus a lovely paneled ceiling in the chancel were added, as were the plaster coverings and capitals of the pillars also designed by Power.³⁵ (fig. 29) The renovations and new work of 1878 also included repainting the interior, a new pulpit, reading desk, lectern, and a new bishop's chair, altar rails, and probably choir stalls for the chancel.³⁶

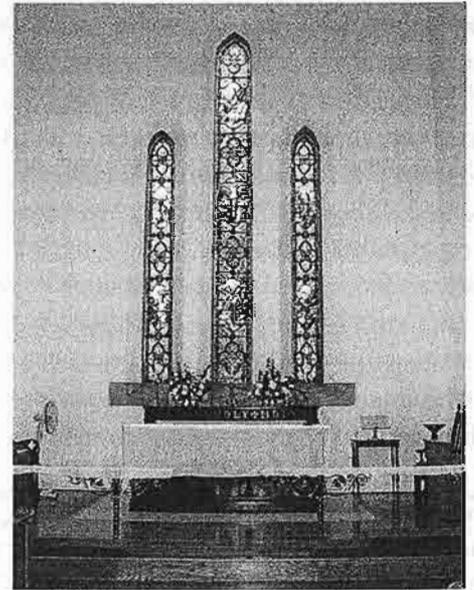


Figure 28. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; altar and window on east end of chancel; Paul Christianson, 2010.

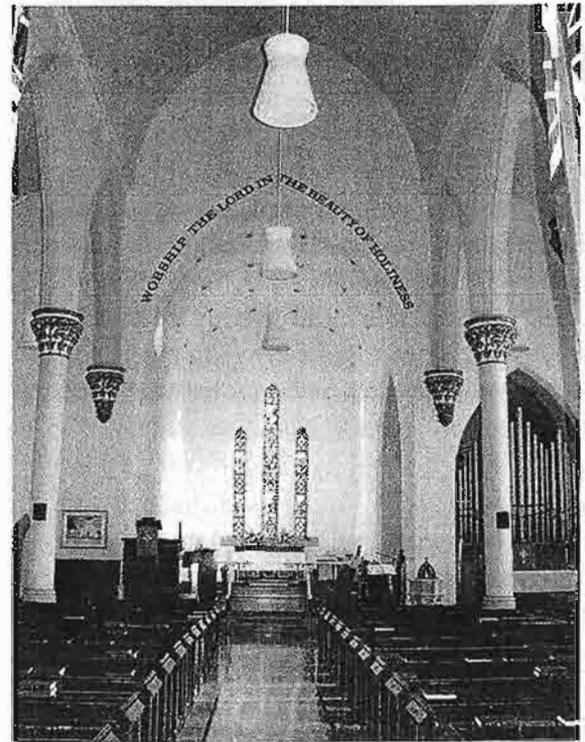


Figure 29. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; current version of the interior with the plaster ceilings, arches, and pillar exteriors as changed in 1878; Paul Christianson, 2010.

A photograph of the interior from circa 1890 shows these changes (including the choir stalls that now stand in the gallery), plus the wooden altar that still stands in the east end (and the accompanying reredos given by the Reverend W. B. Cary in memory of his mother who died in 1887).³⁷ (fig. 30) The description of the service that reopened St. Paul's after the renovations of 1878 indicate that choir stalls then stood in the chancel. The altar and reredos probably replaced an earlier communion table or a wooden altar designed by Hay. These changes came at an aesthetic price. The addition of the gallery shortened and lowered a portion of the interior space, while the plaster pillar arch, aisle, and chancel ceiling coverings created a more enclosed space. Even the unfinished beams and boards supporting the roof, beautifully fitted together, and supported by wooden pillars linked by wooden arches created a more impressive ensemble than the lathe and plaster that replaced them. (fig. 31)

The interior of reconstituted and expanded St. Paul's was "now being restored to more than its former beauty," reported W. S. in his article in the *Daily News* on the reopening of the church for worship on 4 August 1856.³⁸ Within the stone walls of the church designed by Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane, William Hay brought forth a much more striking interior that added additional height to the nave, made that height soar by channeling it between four pillars and five pointed arches, extended the depth of the space through a narrower, lower (but still quite high), long, raised chancel, with tall, narrow lancets that increased the perception of height and allowed light to pour into the space surrounding the altar at the east end. The externally differentiated new chancel stretched to nearly half the length (45%) of the original nave, well beyond the minimum requirements of the Ecclesiologists, and, along with the new organ chamber with its eastern location, provided room for a choir in the

chancel, which was becoming highly attractive to the growing number of ritualists among the Anglican clergy.³⁹ The transformation of worship at St. Paul's would not take place immediately, for St. Paul's continued to have evangelical incumbents until 1876, but Hay's additions made it possible without changes to the fabric of the church.⁴⁰



Figure 30. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican ca. 1890; photograph of the interior from the family; courtesy of the Queen's University Archives.



Figure 31. Kingston, St. Paul's Anglican; details of roof boards and supporting beams taken from inside the tower; Paul Christianson, 2010.

It must have seemed amazing to the people of Kingston to have seen three substantial, stone Gothic Revival Anglican churches arise in Kingston and Barriefield in the mid 1840s, while St. George's underwent the building of new galleries, a new tower, and a magnificent new entrance with its impressive Tuscan portico in the late 1830s and early 1840s.

By the time the tower was finished at St. George's, however, the balance had more than tipped to Gothic Revival with the new Anglican churches of the mid 1840s, a trend solidified by St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, much larger than any other church in Kingston, arising on a prominent height in the city. A smaller church, St. John's, Portsmouth would join this stampede before the end of the decade. The vision of two Anglican churches that would make a significant contribution towards providing spaces for all who wished to join in "Public Worship in our Communion" articulated by

Peter Boyle de Blaquièrre in April 1844 had not only become a reality by the end of the decade, but had helped to change the style of Christian church architecture in Canada West. Even in a city which prized its classical City Hall, chief Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, and would see a classical Customs House, Post Office, and Court House built in the near future, the tide toward Gothic Revival churches that started in Upper Canada as early as 1825, gathered a powerful momentum in the 1840s that would continue throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and beyond.

NOTES

¹ Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario, St. George's Kingston, Vestry Book, 1835-49, 2-KM-5, April 8, 1844. The only other appearance of de Blaquièrre in the minutes of vestry meetings at St. George's that I have found is March 24, 1845. After that, he attended St. James' until leaving Kingston shortly thereafter. Biographies of Cartwright, de Blaquièrre, Kirkpatrick, and Macaulay appear in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*; see the online version at <http://www.biographi.ca>. Much to the annoyance of Bishop Strachan, in 1850 de Blaquièrre would write a letter from Rockwood in support of the election of bishops by synods and later become the first chancellor of the "godless" University of Toronto.

² See Curtis Fahey, *In his Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa, 1991), ch. 3, 7.

³ See William J. Patterson, *Courage, Faith and Love: the History of St. Mark's Church, Barriefield* (Barriefield, 1993), ch. 1, and Paul Christianson, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, 35 (2010), pp. 17-30.

⁴ [Kingston] *News*, October 3, 1844, and the *Church*, September 5, 1845, p. 34.

⁵ *Church*, April 17, 1846, p. 162.

⁶ For Lane, see Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1975), pp.104-7, passim, and Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 76, 81-6, 251, 254, and Stephen A. Otto

and Marion Bell MacRae, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [<http://www.biographi.ca>].

⁷ *Church*, April 17, 1846, p. 162.

⁸ *Ibid.* and see: [Kingston] *Daily News*, November 11 and 13, 1854. In comparison, St. James' had cost only £900.

⁹ *Daily News*, November 13, 1854.

¹⁰ *Church*, February 12, 1854, p. 118.

¹¹ See, M. H., Port, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission, 1818-1856*, 2nd ed. (Reading, 2006)

¹² At St. Mark's, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Lane transformed an earlier classical church into a picturesque Gothic Revival structure, continuing its rounded windows in the transepts and tower, but recasting them in something of a Perpendicular style, and continuing the regular stonework of the original.

¹³ It was very close in dimensions to Little Trinity in Toronto, which measured forty-five by seventy by feet. For the size of Little Trinity, see Alan J. Hayes, *Holding Forth the Word: Little Trinity Church 1842-1992* (Toronto, 1991), p. 9. St. Mark's, Barriefield, was thirty-two by fifty-eight by feet, St. James', Kingston, some forty-five by eighty feet, and St. George the Martyr by far the largest at fifty by ninety-six feet, plus a chancel that stretched another eleven feet. For St. Mark's, see Christianson, *JSSAC*, p. 24 and for St. George the Martyr, see J. R. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, 6 vols. (Toronto, 1894-1914), iv (1904), p. 6. All of these are internal dimensions. I would like to thank William Patterson for drawing the

dimensions of St. Paul's to my attention and for discussions about the fabric.

¹⁴ Technically, this was a plinth course, with the wall above set back by more than an inch. At Holy Trinity, Lane used several courses of limestone from the Humber Valley (not ashlar, however) for the foundation and Ohio sandstone for the tracery and trim; see William Whitla, *The Church of the Holy Trinity: A Brief History* (Toronto: Holy Trinity Press, 2000), p. 2. He may have used a limestone foundation for St. George the Martyr, as well, which had a plinth course; see the drawing by Lane as engraved by F. C. Lowe and published in William Smith, *Canadian Gazetteer* (Toronto, 1846), p. 192.

¹⁵ Lane also used horizontal mouldings on all of his Toronto Anglican churches. Both Little Trinity and St. George the Martyr had a plinth course and a second, higher set of horizontal mouldings. The plinth course at Little Trinity carried around the buttresses, as at St. Paul's, while that at St. George the Martyr did not.

¹⁶ When Hay added an extensive, externally differentiated chancel during his renewal of St. Paul's, he did not provide it with an ashlar base, but reused the ashlar blocks that must have run across the original east façade in the double buttresses at the east corners of these structures. Hay also mixed smaller squared stones into the fabric.

¹⁷ Pugin used a similar pattern of buttresses for the towers of St. Mary's, Derby (1838), and St. Giles, Cheadle (1849-6); see Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2007), illustrations 22, 24. Since Lane used buttresses at forty-five degree angles at the corners of the chancel, vestry, and vestibule at St. George the Martyr and at the front edge of the tower at St. Mark's Anglican, Niagara-on-the-Lake, this was a deliberate choice.

¹⁸ See the translation into English made by Dr. Evelyn Carol Voelker at <http://evelynvoelker.com/>.

¹⁹ For Little Trinity, see Arthur, *Toronto*, p. 81, illus. 113, and for St. George the Martyr, see the photograph by Stephanie Fysh: http://www.flickr.com/photos/lu_13486291546/.

²⁰ In 1871, a motion "to consider the propriety of completing the tower of the church with the addition of a belfry and bell" was unanimously carried at the vestry meeting of April 10; see *Daily News*, April 11, 1871. It was decided to erect a school building instead; see *Daily News*, April 17, 1871.

²¹ Whitefield showed a non-existent spire on top of the tower at St. Mary's Cathedral, and probably non-existent pinnacles on top of the buttresses on the side of the nave at St. Paul's, a design uncharacteristic of Lane. See J. Douglas Stewart and Ian E. Wilson, *Heritage Kingston* (Kingston, 1973), pp. 197-8.

²² *Church*, February 12, 1855, p. 118.

²³ The continuation of the ashlar courses beyond the east wall of the nave suggests that the original building may have had a shallow, externally differentiated chancel like that at St. Mark's, Barriefield; if so, it was not evident in Whitefield's lithograph of Kingston from 1855.

²⁴ Quoted in Allan J. Anderson, *The Anglican Churches of Kingston* (Kingston, 1963), p. 60

²⁵ For the interior of St. George the Martyr, see *Landmarks of Toronto*, iv, p. 9, and H. M. Harman and W. G. Upshall, *The Story of the Church of St. George the Martyr of Toronto, Canada* (Toronto, 1945), p. 36; for the interior of Little Trinity, see Hayes, *Little Trinity*, pp. 18-19.

²⁶ For Hay's role in Newfoundland, see Peter Coffman, "St. John's Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland", *Journal for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, 31 (2006), pp. 3-22 and *Newfoundland Gothic*, Éditions MultiMondes, (Québec, 2008): pp. 109-10 124-5, 130-1; for Hay, see Frederick H. Armstrong, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [<http://www.biographi.ca>]. Malcolm Thurlby has stressed Hay's importance in "Nonconformist Churches in Canada 1850-74," *Ecclesiology Today*, 34(2005), pp. 64-5, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario", *Journal for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, 32 (2007), pp. 49-50.

²⁷ William Hay, "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture". *Anglo-American Magazine*, 2 (1853), pp.70-73 and "Ecclesiastical Architecture: Village Churches," *op.cit.*, 3 (1854), pp. 20-22.

²⁸ *The Church*, February 12, 1855, p. 118.

²⁹ *Daily News*, March 11, 1856; reprinted in the *Church*, March 28, 1856, p. 130.

³⁰ See Arthur, *Toronto*, p. 116, illustrations 182-4 and Angela Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture* (Montreal, 1995), p. 20-22 and p. 21, plates 3.2 and 3.3. The roof at St. Paul's, probably part of the design presented to the parish vestry in late 1854 or early 1855 (as mentioned by the article in the *Church*

from February 1855), was designed around the same time as that of St. Basil's.

³¹ The manuscript minutes of vestry meetings for St. Paul's have not survived for the period from 1844 to 1876. Printed minutes from the annual and some other vestry meetings appear in the Kingston newspapers for the period from 1863 onward, but none of these mention the building of an organ chamber, so it may date from Hay's period. A photograph of the interior from around 1890 shows the current organ chamber.

³² The quatrefoil window may have originally been located elsewhere, perhaps on the original east wall of the nave, or added at a later date. Before the construction of the vestry that now abuts the north wall (which looks like a twentieth-century addition), there was no discernable reason for placing the quatrefoil so high on the wall.

³³ *Daily News* and the *Daily British Whig*, November 11, 1878. These contain lengthy articles on the reopening of St. Paul's and the changes made.

³⁴ See the other brass plaque on the reredos which proclaims in gothic lettering that: "This window is an offering made in memory of the late WILLIAM GRIEG A.M. Clerk and for eight years Incumbent of this Church who died dec^r 5th 1855 aged 45 years."

³⁵ *AADO*, St. Paul's Kingston, Minute Book, May 1876-March 1883, 7KM1, May 6 and 20, July 15, 1878. Repairs to the exterior walls and roof, as well as to interior changes, including "coloring the walls, painting, staining, and varnishing the woodwork, and casing the pillars and ceiling" were adopted by the vestry on May 6 and May 20, 1878 (the tenders were accepted on the later date) and the final decision to go ahead with the external repairs was taken on July 15, 1878.

³⁶ *Daily News* and the *Daily British Whig*, November 11, 1878.

³⁷ See the brass plaque on the wooden reredos that went with the altar from after May 31, 1887.

³⁸ *Daily News*, August 5, 1856.

³⁹ For this whole complex issue, see Dale Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62* (Ashcroft Press, Aldershot, 1997), Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), and Richard W. Vaudry, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* (Montreal, 2003), ch. 6, 7.

⁴⁰ In 1856, the new incumbent—the Reverend J. Clarke—was praised as "a true evangelical Minister of the Gospel" by the correspondent to the *Daily News* and his successor, the Reverend J. A. Mulock, stood against ritualism during the following decades. For example, see the protests against "ritualism" made in the annual vestry meeting of St. Paul's in 1866 and in the annual vestry meetings of St. George's, St. Mark's, St. James', St. Paul's, and St. John's Anglican Churches in 1867. *Daily News*, April 8, 1866, April 23 and 24, 1867; *Daily British Whig*, April 24, 1867. Also see, Paul Christianson, "Theology and the Architecture of Anglican Churches in Kingston from 1825-1867," *Pittsburgh Township Historical Society: A Collection of Talks 2008*, (Kingston, 2009), pp. 33-45 at 41-2.