Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral: Christianity, Victorian Gothic

Revival and Quebec's Colonial Hybrid Culture

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ABSTRACT

Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral: Christianity, Victorian Gothic Revival and Quebec's Colonial Hybrid Culture

Anna-Maria Moubayed

Built between 1884 and 1887, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue is a Roman Catholic Victorian Neo-Gothic church situated in the heart of Vieux-Longueuil, on the south-shore of Montreal. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral has never been studied in depth and no significant research explaining the church's architectural importance in terms of style, decoration, liturgical functions and cultural identity has ever been published until this date.

The thesis will demonstrate that Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral's architectural style evokes its cultural history, illustrates Catholic ideals, beliefs and hopes, and forms its cultural identity. I will argue that the choice of the church's architectural style is not only appropriate to the main artistic trends of the period, but that it also reflects the church's historical reality composed of both French and English cultures. Furthermore, I will assert that Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral's Neo-Gothic architecture suits perfectly a Catholic church's liturgical functions and allows a prayerful and meditative atmosphere. I intend to answer my thesis question by considering the relationship between Longueuil's co-cathedral and the theories on religious architecture offered by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) and the Cambridge Camden Society (founded in 1839), thereby placing the structure in an aesthetic, historical and theoretical context.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

> Architecture, of all the arts, is the one, which acts
> the most slowly, but the most surely, on the soul.[1]
>
> - Ernest Dimnet

Built between 1884 and 1887, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral is

a Roman Catholic Victorian Gothic Revival church situated in the heart of

Vieux-Longueuil, on the south-shore of Montreal, on Saint-Élisabeth Street

at the intersections of Saint-Charles Street and Chemin de Chambly (fig. 1).

It is the largest religious construction to be built in the diocese of Saint-Jean-

Longueuil.[2] It has the title of co-cathedral because if shares the function of

being the bishop of Saint-Jean-Longueuil's seat. This occurs when a

historically important cathedral becomes too small to serve a growing

population. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue has never been studied in depth and no

significant research explaining the church's architectural importance in

terms of style, decoration, liturgical functions and cultural identity has yet

been published.

Nevertheless, since the 1970s, the *Société Historique du Marigot*, a

historical society based in Longueuil, has published four monographic

documents covering the parish's history and archival reports, the choice of

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[1] Ernest Dimnet, *What We Live By* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1932).
[2] Odette Lebrun-Lapierre, *Église Saint-Antoine, Longueuil* (Longueuil: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec, La Fabrique de Saint-Antoine de Longueuil and Société Historique du Marigot, 1981), 4.

site, the church's construction and its artistic inventory.[3] The first of these documents to be published was a journal devoted to Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral, by Odette Lebrun-Lapierre, from the series *Si Longueuil m'était conté...*, in 1976. It summarizes Lebrun-Lapierre's and Charles-Edouard Millette's archival research on the church's historical context, from the colonial period up to 1976. This document includes many archival data and archaeological facts, principally on the Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue parish's various church buildings from 1724 to 1887. Lebrun-Lapierre also offers a detailed but succinct descriptive account of the 1887 church building, the church that is still standing today. In 1981, a pamphlet was published conjointly by the *Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec*, the *Société Historique du Marigot* and *Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's Fabrique*. It provides short descriptions of some of the 1887 church's sections and sacred art. It contains very basic facts, including black and white photographs. Moreover, a survey by Hélène Charlebois-Dumais entitled *Saint-Antoine-de-Pades 1887-1987* was issued in 1987 to commemorate the church's contemporary building's 100th anniversary. It relates historical facts, archival sources and archaeological reports. The most recent of the publications on Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral, *La Paroisse de Saint-Antoine de Longueuil: Son histoire, ses pasteurs et sa co-cathédrale (1698-1998)* was published in 1999 by Robert Gauthier. It consists of a concise overview of the parish's history,

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[3] Société historique du Marigot was formerly the Société d'Histoire de Longueuil.

biographies of the parish's priests since 1698, and the co-cathedral's annotated art inventory.

From my point of view, these monographs resemble more an encyclopaedic account of Longueuil's cathedral rather than a scholarly study. Also, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue has compiled archival documents, which I was authorized to consult. These documents consist of various photographs of the church from the early twentieth century to today. It also contains original architectural documents and correspondence between the church's architects and the church's parish priest and administrative members. Combined with the co-cathedral's archives, the monographs provide useful reference and resource materials on which I built my in-depth academic research.

What is lacking in the literature on the subject of my thesis is the study of a more complex positioning for Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral based on the principle that art and, by association, architecture reflect a society and its various aspects. The literature on Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue does not offer a deep study of the church's architectural style in relation to its liturgical function as a Roman Catholic church, nor its rich and complex cultural background or its iconographical significance. Consequently, I intend to address these gaps into the following three chapters.

The thesis question I will address in my study is: How does Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral's Victorian Gothic Revival architectural structure articulate a Catholic church's liturgical functions, symbolism and

iconography within a French Canadian context? The thesis will be composed of three chapters. The first will summarize the origins and main characteristics of Gothic Revival religious architecture. The second chapter will discuss Gothic Revival architecture in the context of the British Empire and the complex culture in which Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue stands. The final chapter will be devoted to the analysis of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue as a Roman Catholic Victorian Neo-Gothic church within a hybrid culture composed of an amalgam of two distinct cultures (French and English) and their set of characteristics (arts, languages, customs, beliefs, etc.). The methodologies of this thesis will follow semiotics, iconography and formalism.

The thesis will demonstrate that Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral's architectural style evokes its cultural history, illustrates Catholic ideals, beliefs and hopes, and forms its cultural identity. I will argue that the choice of the church's architectural style is not only appropriate to the main artistic trends of the period, but that it also reflects the church's historical reality composed of both French and English cultures. Furthermore, I will assert that Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral's architecture, by being Neo-Gothic, suits perfectly a Catholic church's liturgical functions and allows a prayerful and meditative atmosphere. I intend to answer my thesis question by considering the relationship between Longueuil's co-cathedral and theories about religious architecture as offered by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) and the Cambridge Camden Society (founded

in 1839), thereby placing the structure in an aesthetic, historical and theoretical context.

CHAPTER I

The Origins and Main Characteristics of Gothic Revival Religious Architecture

Architecture remains while culture evolves and civilization vanishes. A building usually speaks for its society's history, manners, wealth, and beliefs. It is at once writing history and a manuscript reminiscent of history. As the Roman architect, engineer, writer and patron of architectural theory, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c. 80-70 BCE – c. 15 BCE) pointed in his treatise *De Architectura* or *The Ten Books on Architecture*, architecture must consider three qualities: *firmitas, utilitas, venustas*. Durability (strength), function and beauty are the pillars of architecture. In *An Essay on Universal History, the Manners and Spirit of Nations from the Reign of Charlemagne to the Age of Lewis XIV*, first published in 1756, the French philosopher Voltaire (1694-1778) writes that a society's main characteristics are climate, government and religion. Having these three essential architectural qualities and accommodating its society's three characteristics, a building is therefore capable of reflecting the dreams and aspirations of the society that builds it. Through its qualities, an architectural structure marks a point in time and becomes part of a civilization, while on some occasions it survives its civilization and becomes its symbol and artifact. How is a building the objective and subjective expressionism of a culture? Does aesthetic have determined function? This chapter will start by defining Medievalism and

High Victorian Gothic Revival. It will also discuss the relation between the liturgical function of the church, its aesthetic and design and its everlastingness component. This first chapter intends to set Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral in a stylistic context and theoretical discourse, keeping in mind its religious commitment to Catholicism.

A. Middle Ages

> Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret. (It was as if the world, shaking itself and putting off the old things, were putting on the white robe of churches).[4]

From the year 1000 to the year 1500, Catholic Europe, predominantly France, had slowly worked out its own form of artistic expression, largely through the Gothic style, which Ralph Adams Cram describes in *Gothic Architecture*, as "the most consummate art of building which the world has achieved."[5] In the Middle Ages, with the advancement of Christianity in the Western world, more precisely since the baptism of the barbarian Gaul King Clovis in 495, Romanesque, or Norman architecture, became the pan-European architecture style since the Roman Imperial architecture.

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[4] Ralph Adams Cram, "Gothic Architecture," *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, volume 6 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06665b.htm (accessed January 12, 2010).
[5] Cram, "Gothic Architecture," http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06665b.htm.

1. The Gothic

Prominently in France from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, Gothic style developed out of and conjointly with Romanesque and became an architecture style proper to the Christian religion, beliefs and liturgy. It is the style of the cathedrals, which some have survived centuries and still satisfy their initial function of a space of worship.

In England, Medieval Gothic architecture was introduced by France and is generally divided into seven styles: the Saxon, the Norman, the Semi-Norman, the Early English, the Decorated English the Florid and the Debased English.[6] These architectural denominations are distinguished by the form of their arches, the size and shapes of their windows, the style of their traceries, transoms and mullions, and their specific minute details and ornamentation. The international Medieval Gothic style is characterized by pointed arches, rib vaults, flying buttresses, walls reduced to a minimum by spacious arcades, trefoil patterns and large clerestory windows. Also a Gothic church is generally constructed after a cross shaped plan, with a central tower, transept running north and south and a central east-west central nave. The nave has normally lateral aisles, and at its west end one could find the narthex, the main entrance to the church which can also be described as a space of transition between the secular outside world and the sacred space of the church.

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[6] Matthew Holbeche Bloxman, *The Principle of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture, Elucidated by Question and Answers, 4th ed.* (Charleston: Bibliolife, 2006), 19.

2. An Old Legacy

Many Gothic buildings have survived time, civilizations and trends. Today, one can still see Gothic churches across Europe, such as the Roman Catholic Notre-Dame-de-Chartres Cathedral situated in Chartres, France (circa 1140-early 16th century), Notre-Dame-de-Paris in Paris, France (1163-circa 1345) and Blessed Virgin Mary Cathedral in Salisbury, England (1220-1310), and Our Lady of Strasbourg Cathedral in Strasbourg, France (1015-1439) (fig. 2, 3, 4, 5). Gothic churches have written history, they have witnessed history, while, some of them, are still part of our contemporary history. They are part of the past, and some are still part of the present and will still stand in the future. What do Gothic cathedral that survived reveal through their durability, utility and aestheticism about the society that built them?

Medieval Gothic religious architecture not only evokes a distant past and civilization, but also stands as a physical proof of a now no longer existing medieval age (fig. 6). Gothic architecture conveys durability and spiritual everlastingness, which according to Christian belief, will be obtained at the end of the world through resurrection. Gothic cathedrals are robust, imposing, with an overall austerity and grandeur. All of these characteristics may suggest a relative permanency or eternity. Also, as with any other Christian church, the Gothic cathedral primary functions as God's house, where the Christian liturgy is carried out. This very everlastingness

could be achieved spiritually through the celebration and performance of the

Christian liturgy through the sacraments, and relatively physically through

the quasi-permanent and predominant architectural structure, that is the

Gothic cathedral.

B. High Victorian Gothic

Developed across Europe in the middle and late nineteenth century,

Gothic Revival is an architectural reaction to the Classic Revival that had

taken hold over the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is

characterized by the use of medieval architectural forms. Britain promptly

took the lead in the spread of this style, making it "perhaps one of the most

purely English movement in the plastic arts."[7] The term "Victorian Gothic" is

Anglocentric because it predates Queen Victoria I's reign. On the subject of

High Victorian Gothic, Peter Collins writes in his book *Changing Ideals in*

Modern Architecture, 1750-1950:

> Architectural historians [of the Victorian era] were
> dominated by one notion, and one notion only;
> namely, that a modern building was essentially a
> collection of potential antiquarian fragments which
> one day would be rediscovered, and studied by
> future historians with a view to determining the
> social history of the Victorian age.[8]

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[7] Michael Bright, *Cities Built to Music: Aesthetic Theories of the Victorian Gothic Revival*
(Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 17.
[8] Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950* (Montreal: McGill
University Press, 1965), 131-132.

In *Cities Built to Music*, Michael Bright argues that the Victorians were self-conscious and concerned about their pictorial legacy to the future. In other words, they used architecture as an expression of the image they bestow to their culture, power, and morals or, as Bright points out, "as a rhetorical device by which to comment on the present in much the same way as [they] used the past to criticize the present."[9] In Victorian Britain, to build was to create meaning. Therefore, an architectural structure, particularly an ecclesiastic building, could be regarded as phonetic, an expression of a character, a function, as well an exhibition of a particular moral, ideal, and influence.[10] Why did the Victorians echo a medieval architectural past to express their culture and era?

1. Bringing the Past Into the Present

Because of the industrial revolution, European society, more precisely Britain, has begun to lose its Christian focus and was beset by crimes, industrial chaos and pollution.[11] The emergence of Gothic Revival as an architectural trend in England may be regarded as a counter-weight to, or perhaps, a reaction of England's industrialisation. To revive the Christian iconographical architectural style of the Middle Ages, was thus an attempt to revive a culture's ideals, traditions and beliefs.

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[9] Bright, 17.

[10] Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 8.

[11] Augustus W.N. Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (Oxford: St. Barnabas Press, 1969), 42.

a. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852)

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, a prolific Catholic English architect, theorist and designer, was an advocate of Gothic architecture. He designed hundreds of buildings and wrote eight major books on Victorian Gothic Revival architecture. Pugin was also involved in the foundation of the successful business of windows made from metalwork and stained glass.

Pugin believed that the building's moral value is independent of and more valuable than its aesthetic value.[12] He also asserted that the state of art is connected to the state of society and that the medieval social structure is a model, which modern societies, such as England, should follow.[13] Pugin's work focuses on the moral, ethical and functional superiority of the Middle Ages and the aesthetic superiority of the Gothic. He argued that Gothic Revival is stylistically homogeneous for it implies social order and contentment.[14] Therefore, Gothic Revival architecture was meant to function as an exemplary model of moral, ethical and religious qualities that would influence the British society of the industrial era.

At twenty-three years old Pugin converted to Catholicism. From then on, his faith became the focal point of his life. His faith and desire to evangelize made his fame, for without them, his work would have not been as strongly articulated and influential. As argued by the art historian Nikolaus

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[12] Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (3rd ed. London: Butler & Tanner Ltd, 1962), 148.
[13] Clark, 146.
[14] Pugin 1969, 42-3.

Pevsner: "to build Gothic is to [Pugin] a Christian duty."[15] In other words, architecture was his religious mission to which he devoted his entire concern, life and career. "The canon of Gothic architecture are to him points of faith, and everyone is a heretic who would venture to question them."[16] This is how committed he was to his religion and faith, which he thought to be inevitably expressed in Gothic Revival architecture.

In the sixteenth century, King Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church, which left England isolated from the artistic development of the other dominant European countries (Portugal, Italy, Spain, France). For Pugin, Gothic Revival architecture was the revival of "the ancient ecclesiastical architecture of England (...), [prior to Henry VIII's Reformation], so interwoven with our holy and ancient faith (...)," he writes, "so appropriate for Catholic devotions (...) so associated with every recollection that should bind the Catholic of this day with the faith of his[/her] fathers."[17] Pugin saw the Reformation as the destruction of the purity and glory of Medievalism, Gothic architecture and ideals. "With the Reformation," he notes, "the spell was broken, the Architecture itself fell with the religion to which it own its birth."[18]

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[15] Nikolaus Pevsner, "Preface," in Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 9.
[16] Pevsner, "Preface," 7.
[17] Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 26.
[18] Stanton 1971, 26.

b. Cambridge Camden Society (Ecclesiological Society)

The Cambridge Camden Society (or Ecclesiological Society) is an Anglican architectural society founded in 1839 by undergraduate students and clerics at Cambridge University, England. This High Church movement examined historical accuracy in church designs through a monthly architectural periodical, *The Ecclesiologist*, published from 1841 to 1869, which also promoted the Gothic Revival style as a matter of religious identification and national prestige.[19] Although not in total accordance with Pugin's principles, the Cambridge Camden Society's studies were very influential in the advancement of Gothic Revival as a purely English and moralistic style.[20] Gothic Revival progressively became the official architectural style used for the construction of Britain's institutional buildings, and therefore contributed to the display of Imperial governance across the Empire.

Like Pugin, the Ecclesiological Society also turned to Medieval Gothic architecture, which it believed to be the ideal architectural form because it allows irregularity and could therefore adapt to the needs dictated by the building's various functions.[21] Moreover, the Cambridge Camden Society's doctrine stressed the importance of using local materials and local traditions

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[19] Crinson, 118.

[20] The main difference between Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society resides in their religious views (Pugin was Catholic and the Cambridge Camden Society was Anglican). This influenced their artistic choices in terms of liturgy and iconography.

[21] James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), 93.

to construct a church building; an assertion with which Pugin agreed.[22] The Ecclesiological Society also considered buildings to be part of nature and representative of a nation.[23] That said, does Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral incorporate local materials and traditions in its structure? Is it faithful to its nation? Is its structure faithful to its function ?

2. Issues of Representation and Meaning in Architecture

When one focuses on the material form and individual style of a building, one see that architecture, like literature has a structure and a frame. In *Between Materiality and Representation: Framing and Architectural Critique of Colonial South Asia*, Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash argue that one can characterize a building as the vocabulary and grammar of its architecture.[24] From an abstract and theoretical level, a built structure encompasses literature, aesthetics and a certain structural order. Therefore, in a semantic perspective, one can interpret architecture as a form of meaningful text in which cultural politics and aestheticism of modernity are represented.

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[22] White, 32.
[23] White, 32.
[24] Peter Scriver and Vikramadity Prakash, eds., "Between Materiality and Representation" Framing an Architectural Critique of Colonial South Asia," *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British Indian and Celyon* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 10.

a. Architecture as Subjective Expressionism

In *Cities Built to Music*, Bright defines subjective expressionism as the buildings' expression of the thoughts and feelings of those who erected them.[25] G.F. Bodley argues that architecture is like music, since it "expresses abstract ideas, such as power, simplicity, grandeur and beauty. For neither music nor architecture sets forth facts, they express ideas."[26] From Bright's point of view, architecture sought to become poetry as poetry, he argues, contrarily to music, proved most articulate in expressing ideas.[27] Writing about Gothic Revival architecture, in *The Gothic Revival,* Kenneth Clark argues that "more than any other movement in the plastic arts the Revival was a literary movement (...)."[28] What does it say? Which feelings and ideas is Gothic Revival expressing? In his book *Contrast*, Pugin associated Classicism with paganism, which is inconsistent with the religious beliefs of the Christian people. Thus, he believed this style to be improper for Christian purposes. For that reason, he also thought Neo-Classicism unsuitable for Catholic functions, since this style derives from Classical architecture: the architectural style of pagan buildings, such as the Parthenon, dedicated to pagan gods, such as Athena. Pugin thought that only Gothic, an architectural movement that evolved from the Christian faith, was proper for Christian worship. Gothic architecture therefore expresses its builders', and by

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[25] Bright, 85.
[26] G.G. Bodley, "Architecture Study and the Examination Test," *Architecture: A Profession or an Art*, ed. R. Norman Shaw and T.G. Jackson (London: Murray, 1892), 57.
[27] Bright, 85.
[28] Clark, 9.

association its society's morality, faith, and sincerity. In that sense Gothic Revival architecture could be understood as a manuscript of its society's hopes, beliefs, and ideas, at least this was Pugin's hope. However, some scholars may question this idea. As time passes, a building is detached from its original historical and sociological context and its meaning is reinterpreted. It can also experience transformations over time, and those transformations, although part of the general design of a building, are specific to their respective eras.

b. Architecture as Objective Expressionism

As argued by Bright, in architecture, objective expressionism means that the building expresses its purpose or function. According to Pugin and the Ecclesiological society, Gothic architecture, a style developed specifically to suit Christian liturgical functions and beliefs, is the architectural style *par excellence* to be used in the construction of a Christian church.

In 1841, Pugin published *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, a book that outlines his plans and suggestions for the ideal church. It is a philosophical defence of the use of the Gothic for the building of churches. In this book, Pugin argues that buildings express their social roles and their style should clearly delineate their purpose. Buildings should be truthful; the relation of a structure and its specific function should be clear to those engaging with the structure. Ornament is not only incorporated for

aesthetic purposes but for functional ones as well. In the same strain of thought, materials should be carefully chosen to be appropriate to function. In brief, Pugin argues a building should express the purpose for which it was built.[29] He continues by stating that Gothic Revival implies social order and contentment achieved through a Christian focus, a focus that the British society was at the time aiming to strengthen. In a sketch published in his book *Contrast*, Pugin demonstrates this situation by presenting a town as it would have been in 1440 in comparison with the same town in 1840 (fig. 7). In the 1840 drawing, the numerous church towers and spires were replaced by tall factory chimneys, and churches in ruins.

C. Architecture and Liturgy

The purpose of a church building is worship. On a daily basis, a person could enter a church building, where s/he would find a serene, calm and meditative space for worship. Sculptures, stained glass, frescoes and paintings linked with scriptures, lives of the saints and Christian beliefs and values provide the person who wishes to pray a meditative and comforting space. Also, the odour of incense, the colourful play of light provided by the stained glass and, on some occasions, religious music also encourages a prayerful atmosphere within a church. When it comes to masses and celebrations, which are organized types of worship called liturgy, the church, as a piece of architectural work, becomes essential for it provides the space,

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[29] Pugin 1969, 42.

symbolism, structure, and rhythm that reinforce the liturgy. How can we define liturgy?

Christian liturgy can be defined as part of the official tradition of Christianity. It is also a set of rituals celebrated by the people of the church, presided over by priests and deacons. Within the Catholic tradition, the emphasis is placed on the Eucharist as well as the other six sacraments (baptism, reconciliation, confirmation, marriage, Holy orders, and extreme unction). A typical church, despite some regional differences, has a daily Eucharist, as well as dominical weekly Eucharist. Funerals and weddings are celebrated throughout the year. The other sacraments are celebrated yearly or more often according to necessity. Liturgy and prayer are the main source to a Christian identity. The liturgical tradition is handed down from generation to generation, like a church building, which is also assumed to be handed down from a generation to the next and sometimes takes generations to build.

D. Aesthetic and Function in a Christian Perspective

To clearly understand the relationship that exists between aestheticism and function within a Gothic Revival religious structure, I will highlight some ideas and theological perspectives common to the Christian faith. This will permit a better understanding of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's stylistic and functional contexts, keeping in mind its religious commitment to

Catholicism. I will turn to Erwin Panofsky's account on Saint Augustine's writing on the subject of beauty. I will also summarize what the Christian Catechism writes on beauty and its function.

In *Idea*, Panofsky writes that Saint Augustine recognizes art as permitting the contemplation of a beauty type residing in the artist's mind. This beauty is then transferred without mediation to the matter.[30] According to Saint Augustine, this visible beauty, or aestheticism, is only a poor allegory of, and a partial reflection of the invisible beauty the one in the artist's mind, the one that takes its roots from the absolute beauty.[31] The absolute beauty, which Saint Augustine and the Christians identify as God, is thought to be transcendental. Writing about music, Saint Augustine argues that if it brings you closer to God, then it is of use. Yet, if it does the opposite, it must be excluded from the liturgy. If one takes Saint Augustine's account on beauty and applies it on the ornamentation of a religious architectural work, one may conclude that the decorative aspect of a church must have meaning, and must reflect what the worshipers believe in (in the case of the Christians, that would be God) and all of the Christian principles. To decorate for the sake of decorating would be a distraction from the purpose and function of ornaments in a religious setting, which according to Saint Augustine and Pugin, should carry people closer to God.

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[30] Erwin Panofsky, *Idea* (Paris : Éditions Gallimard, 1989), 51.
[31] Panofsky, 52.

Since my research focuses on a Catholic Church building, I thought

interesting to point out the Catholic Church's account on aestheticism and

function. According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*,

> *Sacred art* is true and beautiful when its form
> corresponds to its particular vocation: evoking and
> glorifying, in faith and adoration, the transcendent
> mystery of God - the surpassing invisible beauty of truth
> and love visible in Christ (...) Genuine sacred art draws
> man to adoration, to prayer, and to the love of God,
> Creator and Saviour (...) The fine arts, but above all
> sacred art, of their nature are directed toward expressing
> in some way the infinite beauty of God in works made by
> human hands. Their dedication to the increase of God's
> praise and of his glory is more complete, the more
> exclusively they are devoted to turning men's minds
> devoutly toward God.[32]

This passage states the relationship recognized by the Catholic Church

between beauty, function and God. It is essential to the understanding of the

symbolism and iconography of a Catholic religious architecture, such as

Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, since it is the official Catholic account on that

subject.

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[32] U.S. Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (2nd ed. New York, London,
Toronto, Sydney, Auckland: Doubleday, 2003), 2501-2503.

CHAPTER II

Gothic Revival Architecture Across the British Empire and the Complex Culture in Which Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral Stands

In these copying days (...) it is something to have an architect who has thoroughly studied the style in which he is to build that he can copy it correctly, and his buildings have not only the general form but really the meaning and some of the spirit of the ancient ones.[33]

- A.W.N. Pugin

Culture is a complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society.[34]

- Edward B. Tylor

Culture: the cry of men in face of their destiny.[35]

- Albert Camus

In this chapter, I intend to examine the implications of the British Empire's ostensible dominance over its colonized nations, manifested through institutional buildings, such as churches, built in a new architectural style, proper to the English Western culture: the Gothic Revival. How is a Gothic Revival architectural form an index of its cultural identity and history? To answer this question, I will present case studies of Gothic Revival churches, in different British colonies and show how their architecture reflects English and colonial cultures as well as their implications for these cultures. My case studies will include the following churches: Christ Church (1844-1857), an

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[33] A.W. N. Pugin, "The Present State of Ecclesial Architecture in England," *The Westminster Review* 151 (London: Samuel Clarke, 1844), 106.
[34] Edward B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture* (New York: J.P. Putnam's Sons, 1871), 1.
[35] Albert Camus, *Notebooks 1935-1942* (New York: Random House, 1965), 10.

Anglican church in Shimla, India; St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church (1868-1900) in Sydney, Australia, which I have visited in the summer of 2008; and Notre-Dame-de-Montréal (1824-1829) the Roman Catholic Basilica of Montreal Canada, a church that I had many occasions to go to. I will also briefly examine the Gothic Revival movement in the United States.

Moreover, I will portray Longueuil's cultural realities in the end of the nineteenth century within a British Imperial context to assure a better understanding of one of Longueuil's cultural components: Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue.

A. Culture

In its most simple designation, culture is a complex whole that sums ideas, beliefs, customs, morals, knowledge, and material artefacts developed, experienced and lived by a distinct society.[36] According to Immanuel Wallerstein, one usage of culture may be a set of characteristics, which distinguish one group of people from another.[37] In *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, Anthony D. King also defines culture. "A culture, whether in its material or symbolic form," he writes, "is an attribute which people(s) are said to have."[38] In *Culture, Architecture and Design*, Amos Rapoport

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[36]Andrew M. Colman, *A Dictionary of Psychology* (Oxford University Press, 2006), http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t87.e2018 (accessed February 24, 2009)

[37] Immanuel Wallerstein, "Culture as the Ideological Battleground of the Modern World-System," in *Global Culture, Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Mike Featherston (London, Newbury Park and New Delhi: Sage, 1990), 33.

[38] Anthony D. King, "Introduction: Spaces of Culture, Spaces of Knowledge," in *Culture,*

argues that encyclopaedic definitions of culture such as these are useful, but they do include almost everything that characterizes a human being.[39] Therefore, they are not specific enough and they may result in making the understanding of culture confusing. Rapoport identifies culture as "not a thing but rather an idea, a concept, a construct: a label for the many things people think, believe, and do and how they do them."[40] He continues his analysis by identifying three types of definitions addressing the question of: what is culture? He defines the first type as a way of life developed and adopted by a community. This type includes a nation's behaviours, rules, ethics and ideals. The second type is a definition portraying culture as a system of representations or conceptual patterns that are transmitted from a generation to another. It is embodied through language and the built environment. Rapoport's last definition of culture presents culture as a means of production. In other words, culture enables the humans to subsist by exploiting various natural resources.[41] In *The Global and the Specific: Reconciling Conflicting Theories of Culture*, Janet Wolff gets even more specific about culture by writing that it is both anthropological: in enclosing beliefs, values, and ways of life, and humanistic in terms of being artistic.[42]

Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 1.

[39] Amos Rapoport, *Culture, Architecture and Design* (Chicago: Locke Science Publishing Company, Inc, 2005), 77.

[40] Rapoport, 77.

[41] Rapoport, 78.

[42] Janet Wolff, "The Global and the Specific: Reconciling Conflicting Theories of Culture," in *Culture, Globalization and World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 170-5.

She suggests that culture, in its diverse embodiments, is inspired, and contributes to the production of a way of life, a structure of values and beliefs, which, in turn, influence culture as an artistic and formal practice.

One of the numerous cultural products of a society is building. The latter embodies both what Wolff identifies as the anthropological and the humanistic characteristics of a culture by accommodating specific functions, and by reflecting various facets of the society in which it is erected. From Rapoport's point of view, a building is a system of representation constructed from a society's ideas, language and traditions. Obviously, today societies are infinitely more complex than they were in the 1800s because of globalization and cross-cultural exchange. Thus, some contemporary societies may have more than one set of ideas, languages and traditions. When I join Wolff's point of view with Rapoport's discourse on culture, I come to the conclusion that a building is like a book witnessing and narrating the various facets of the nation on which it stands. How can one witness the effects of colonialism on a foreign culture by looking at a building? How exactly is the building a narrative of its society?

B. Englishness

When a power such as the British Empire is involved in a colonizing mission, its ultimate goal is to subdue the culture of that place. In the case of the British Empire, during its imperial century (1815-1914), it sought to

impose the *Englishness* of its cultural identity upon the foreign culture. As promoted by Pugin and the Ecclesiologist Society in the mid nineteenth century, Gothic Revival was used in Britain principally for religious institutions. It also became the architectural norm for British institutional and governmental buildings across the Empire.[43] I understand it as being an idiomatic progression that operates across material and social spaces. I interpret the English Gothic Revival churches built across the British Empire as nomadic cultural messengers, that can be regarded as icons, which pollinated English cultural elements such as moral, ideals, history, beliefs, way of life, etc., to the English colonies, which themselves possessed different distinct cultures. Seen from this point of view, the Gothic Revival churches across the British Empire could be considered as being part of the imperial colonization program. Therefore, this artistic style reflected and still today reflects British culture by expressing its language, tradition, ideas and socio-historical context.

Are there any implications of the Empire's perceived dominance over its colonized nations? What happens to a culture when it is confronted, sometimes violently, to another culture through a colonialist system? The imposition of a specific style of architecture such as the Gothic Revival on foreign and non-Western nations may be regarded as a violent gesture since

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[43] Jan Morris, *Stones of Empire: The Building of the Raj* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 29.

this style also carries foreign values, culture, history and a socio-political context.

1. The British Empire's Colonial Programme

The British Empire was characterized by two imperial periods. The First Empire was a settlement empire, an extension of Britain itself. It was lost in 1776 with the Independence of the American colony. The Second Empire (1783-1815), the one that we are interested in this research, was one in the classical vein an empire of conquest.[44] Also known as the Victorian Empire, this era refers to the British colonization of Canada, Australasia, South Africa and the West Indies. These colonies actually provided highly profitable resources for the British industries and covered a territory of 25 899 881 Km² inhabited by approximately 400 million British subjects.[45]

The Second British Empire could not establish its authority on its colonies as violently as imposing a totalitarian British culture, which encloses British materials, techniques, ideas and beliefs. To successfully impose its power and subordinate its colonies, the Empire had to create a kind of transition within the colony's culture, which involved an interaction between two major factors: British attitudes and local realities.[46] Adaptation is

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[44] Morris, 5.
[45] Timothy Paterson, *The British Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A World History Perspective* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 3.
[46] Crinson, 7.

therefore key to the Empire's colonial success. But first, let us define colonialism.

In *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*, King asserts that colonialism is "a powerful relationship of dominance enforced by an alien culture".[47] Rupert Emerson understands colonialism as the "establishment and maintenance, for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate from and subordinate to the ruling power."[48] King continues by stating: "colonialism can be seen as the primary channel by which the benefits of Western civilization have been brought to a large portion of humankind."[49] Emerson specifies these benefits as being "the ideas and techniques, the spiritual and material forces of the West."[50] In some occasions, "the British established and presented themselves within a different host culture in a pointedly material way. Any conception of the Orient [or the host culture] was forced into subordination."[51] This dominance over another culture was the means by which the colonizing power extended its markets for the production of commodities and by which the colonies, in turn, provided raw materials to the colonizer.

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[47] Anthony D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 43.
[48] Rupert Emerson, "Colonialism: Political Aspects," *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, David L. Sills ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 1.
[49] King 1990, 49.
[50] Emerson, 3.
[51] Crinson, 5.

2. Cultivating an Image Across the Empire

As Mark Crinson argues in his book *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture,* "the British Empire has performed informal imperialism on its colonies by controlling them through ostensible (...) means and economic orbit integrated to European power."[52] A result of this endeavour could be understood as the non-Western society being westernized. Crinson continues by stating that "as an embodiment of British presence, architecture was the form in which British ambitions and identities were made physically apparent."[53] Architecture is not merely subjected to ideas of racial theory, tourism, religious views and social programs, he writes, "but the experience of material, conceptual, constraints within the production of architecture itself helpful form or remould ideology."[54] One could compare the British Empire's establishment of a prestigious, almost mythical history to the Roman Empire's one. In order to create for itself a glorious past, the Roman Empire borrowed Greek mythology and history to fabricate its own mythology and historical past. For instance, the Roman writer Virgil, in *The Aeneid,* relates the story of a Greek hero, Aeneas, who fled his motherland, Greece, after the Trojan wars. He navigated to Italy, where he founded Rome. This fabrication of history presents a nation, the Roman Empire, with a rich, old and glorious past. As a result, this story emphasizes Roman imperial prestige and authority.

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[52] Crinson, 2.
[53] Crinson, 3.
[54] Crinson, 4.

As argued earlier, Gothic Revival was the fashionable form of architecture across the British Empire and was spread by means of the British colonization programme.[55] The style is closely linked with Medievalism; hence it is rather conservative. It evokes continuity, stability, wealth, religious authority and traditions.[56] The nations conquered by the British Empire have not originally experienced a Western context. Thus, they were unaware of Western culture, including Western history, ideas, technology, institutions and beliefs. Before encountering the British culture, countries such as Egypt, India, Turkey and Hong Kong had other well established cultures of their own, whereas Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United States were originally inhabited by native peoples with well-established customs.[57] For that reason, Gothic Revival architecture in some British colonies can be understood as idiosyncratic since the Medieval Gothic period never occurred in these parts of the world. To impose an architectural style that encloses clear English culture references on a foreign colonised culture may be regarded as a mnemonic strategy, which achieves colonizing functions as well as operating as reminder of home. [58]

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[55] Sarah Randles, "Rebuilding the Middle Ages: Medievalism in Australian Architecture," *Medievalism and the Gothic Architecture in Australian Culture*, ed. Stephanie Trigg (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006), 146.
[56] Randles, 148.
[57] Prior to the British conquest, the French had already colonized some parts of Canada and United States. Therefore, during the Second Empire, the Gothic Age was already part of the French Canadian and French American culture (which were originally Western cultures), although not visible, due to their relocation.
[58] Joan Kerr and James Broadbent, "The English Background," *Gothick Taste: In the Colony of New South Wales* (Sydney: The David Ell Press, 1980), 12.

I understand this British colonial stratagem as an attempt to re-invent the non-Western world's history by linking its history to the Western one. This strategy is another means by which the British Empire reiterated, perhaps subtlety and gradually, its assumed superiority and power over its subordinated nations. One may argue that this tactic is similar to the Ancient Romans, who aimed to fabricate, or perhaps re-invent their history and culture to falsely incorporate it into their own past and present histories.

C. Gothic Revival Churches Across the British Empire

When the British accosted civilizations such as India, Egypt, Australia and South Africa, they forced such nations to engage with European modernity, which consequently resulted in social change. "Whether through external imposition in a colonial context or by a self-determined engagement," which, according to art historian, Zeynep Çelik, is an indirect impact resulting from colonization. "[Conquered] cultures (...) responded [to the British Imperial programme] by adapting, appropriating or resisting modernization processes coming from the West."[59] Although some of the British colonized territories are now completely independent from the British Empire, the architecture that remains on their grounds is not only physically but also culturally British.

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[59] Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts eds, *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture* (Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 3-4.

1. The British Raj

> To rule this people [Indians] with ease and
> moderation was to leave them in the possession of
> what time and religion had rendered familiar to
> their understandings and sacred to their
> affections.[60]

For a long time, India was to the Europeans an exotic land filled with spices and rich resources. By the end of the 15th century two Europeans tried to reach the Indies. Christopher Columbus, who for the Spanish crown, had crossed the Atlantic in 1492, went to his deathbed still convinced of his discovery of India. In 1497, sailing for the Portuguese crown, Vasco de Gama did arrive at the south tip of Africa and was able to reach Calicut on the Malabar coast of south-western India.[61] De Gama's voyage fired the commercial hopes of the British. Since then, the English wanted to follow the Spanish and Portuguese endeavour. In 1583, a group of English merchants organised an expedition to India where they discovered all sorts of spices and drugs, textiles, elephant tusks and nuts. Under the pressure of these English merchants in hoping to enrich Britain, Queen Elizabeth I granted in December 1600 a charter to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.[62] The company soon became very powerful in India. From 1601 to 1623, the British in India competed with the Dutch and were expelled from the East Indies. They moved to the West

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[60] Stephen F.B.A. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: 1707-1858* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 18.
[61] Denis Judd, *The British Raj* (London : Wayland Publishers, 1972), 11.
[62] Judd, 13.

Indies, then occupied by the Portuguese. In the eighteenth century, the British fought France three times for control of India. The British defeated the French in 1757.[63] By the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815, the British East India Company had become the dominant power in India. The British Raj period, or the British reign, is the name given to the period involving the British colonial rule in India between 1858 and 1947.

As argued by Stephen Neill in *A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858*, the British authorities in India had guaranteed to the Indians full tolerance of their pre-established religious customs and practices as well as in other areas of life.[64] How far was the British Imperial policy of tolerance and non-interference to be carried in India? In the nineteenth century, the Western world was largely under the influence of Christianity; therefore it embraced monogamy as the basis of a civilized society. However, in an act of tolerance, when it established itself in India, and for instance, ruled over the Indian Muslims, Britain did not attempt to change the rules of the Qu'ran and allowed polygamous marriages in its host culture.[65]

In an architectural perspective, the cultural norms, aspirations and vision of both the colonizer (the British) and the colonized (the Indians) were materially and symbolically exemplified in the walls and spaces of their built

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[63] Judd, 27.
[64] Neill, 156
[65] Neill, 156.

environment. Buildings framed their inhabitants in specific ways.[66] Polygamous marriages might have been tolerated, but were not encouraged by the British who were building Western institutional structures such as churches. The same attitude can be observed in the British attempt to put an end to slavery and infanticide in India though the erection of schools, churches, and governmental structures which had educational and social functions. In that sense, colonial architecture comprises a framework in which values and identities of the new colonial Western modernity emerged. Let us look more closely at an example of a British colonial building in India: Christ Church in Simla (fig. 8).

a. Simla, India

Simla, now Shimla, is the capital city of Himachal Pardesh, a state in north India. It is a small town facing the Himalayas at an altitude of 2 128 meters. In the early nineteenth century, it served as summer residence for British officials, military and civilians, who were away from their homeland. By 1864, Simla, or "the little England in India," became the official Indian summer capital of the British Raj. As argued by Pamela Kanwar in *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj*, Simla's topography and temperate climate, along with its thick white fog during the heavy rainfall period,

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[66] Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash eds, *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Celyon* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 6.

evoked memories of England.[67] Writing about the English in India, Kanwar continues by stating: " [Simla] offered an opportunity to build around themselves a world of make-believe."[68] In a letter to her sister written in 1837, Emily Eden, the sister of George Eden, Lord Auckland (1784-1849) who was the Governor-General of India from 1836 to 1842, wrote on the subject of Simla's monsoons: " [they have] a smell of London, only without the taste of smoked pea soup, which is more germane to a London fog."[69] Pat Barr, in *Simla: The Story of a Hill-Station* captured quite well the essence of the British Raj's Simla. Barr writes:

> [Simla] was a dream of coolness in a very hot land;
> a hope of healthy rest from the burdens of imperial
> office; a haven of familiarity pinnacled above the
> alien dust of the plains; a solace for the wounded
> and desolate, the ill and the bored; a promise of fun
> and flirtation; above all, a bitter-sweet memory of
> home – cuckoos and thrushes, pines in the mist,
> honeysuckle and roses in the rain.[70]

For the British in India, Simla was a space dedicated to the revival of their memories of England; the revival of *Englishness*. To physically incorporate *Englishness* within a foreign territory the British turned to Gothic Revival architecture, which became part of their colonial strategies. In *Simla: A Hill Station in British India*, Pat Barr and Ray Desmond describe the architect and engineer of the Simla Imperial Circle, Capitan H.H. Cole's writing about

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[67] Pamela Kanwar, *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj* (Bombay, Calcutta and Madras: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1.

[68] Kanwar, 1.

[69] Emily Eden, *Up the Country: Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India 1837-1840*, Volume 1 (London: Spottiswoode and co., 1866), 144.

[70] Patt Barr and Ray Desmond eds., *Simla: A Hill Station in British India* (London: The Scholar Press, 1978), 7.

British constructions in Simla. Cole writes that British building in Simla should embody a distinctive classical or Gothic emphasis in order to stamp European and Christian ideals on India.[71] This is an example of the British's desire to incorporate mnemonic landmarks, reminding them of their homeland's various social and cultural facets, and to establish their authority and superiority over the conquered "Other". The British wanted to mark their superiority not only on the battlefield, but also through the built environment, through the assertion of their English culture over India, since buildings are more lasting as an image of power and superiority than ephemeral battles are.

Architecture can define and frame the gap between two cultures within a colonial context such as the British Raj because it can provide spaces of cultural exchange and intersection where hybridism and innovation are facilitated.[72] Architecture is made of materials and symbols, which are tangible frames of references. Occasionally, it is also a cross-cultural syncretism since it liberates colonial ambiguities from the hybridity and location (or sometimes dislocation) of the native and foreign Western cultures. Thus, it permits the emergence of a new culture: the colonial. Colonial architecture in a town like Simla in India not only reflects the *Englishness* of the colonizer, but it also reflects the hybridity and the cross-

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[71] Barr and Desmond eds., 16.
[72] Hackforth-Jones and Roberts eds., 11.

cultural syncretism of two cultures that have encountered each other: the British and the Indian.

i. Christ Church, Simla

Church services in Simla first began in 1836 in an old thatched building. Besides being in a poor condition, Simla's early church soon began to be too small to hold the approximately 400 English parishioners.[73] In 1844, it was decided to build a large church to accommodate Simla's strong church-going population. Christ Church became the Anglican church of Simla in 1857 (fig. 8). It remains one of the enduring legacies of the British Raj as it is today the second oldest church in northern India. Christ Church was designed by Colonel John Theophilus Boileau (1805-1886), a British astronomer who, from 1840 to 1857, was in charge of Simla's Magnetic Observatory, later known as the Observatory House.[74] At the age of 21, Boileau also designed St. Georges Cathedral (1826) in Agra, as well as several other important buildings there such as a jail, barracks and college (fig. 9). He took part in the restoration of several Indian historical structures, which included the Taj Mahal (1632-1653) (fig. 10).

Christ Church is Early Neo-Gothic in style with a central tower flanked by a bay on each side and toped with a gamble roof (fig. 11). Its corner stone was laid by Reverend Daniel Wilson (1778-1878), the Bishop of

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[73] *Christ Church: God's Own Home*, http://www.indiaprofile.com/heritage/christchurch-shimla.htm, retrieved November 18, 2009 & Kanwar, 27.
[74] Kanwar, 27.

Calcutta on September 9, 1844.[75] Its construction was financed among private contributions. However, in 1856, the British government took control of the church, which was consecrated the next year, on January 10, 1857 by Reverend Thomas Dealtry (d.1861) Bishop of Madras.[76] In the 1860s the church clock tower, donated by Colonel Dumbleton, was added with six new bells, and its Tudor-style porch completed in 1873 (figs. 12, 13).[77] It incorporates exterior buttresses that hold the church's internal structure together (fig. 14). Christ Church's pinnacles echo Indian architecture such as the minarets surrounding the Taj Mahal, while their motifs, although minimalist, refer to Hindu temples' densely horizontal and lateral zigzag rib motifs (figs. 10, 11, 15, 16, 17).

Christ Church was built from local materials, such as the foundation stones extracted from a local quarry.[78] The exterior of the church is made of yellow bricks and lime mortar. The church's gable roof is made with pigmented red tiles. The church very distinctive yellow colour is also a result of the use of local materials since the bricks were made of local yellowish clay. The mix of red and yellow for the Gothic Revival church's exterior is not conventional. Perhaps the colours were meant to echo the spices of India and its bright colours found within its markets and natural environment.

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[75] Barr and Desmond eds., 88.

[76] Barr and Desmond eds., 88.

[77] Colin C. Garett, *One Hundred Years: Christ Church, Simla 1844-1944* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1944) & Jacqueline Banerjee, *Christ Church*, http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/art/architecture/gothicrevival/2c.html (accessed November 18, 2009).

[78] Banerjee, http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/art/architecture/gothicrevival/2c.html.

The church's interior is very simple in design with uniformly yellow walls (fig. 18). John Lockwood Kipling (1837-1915), who was also the father of *The Jungle Book*'s Rudyard Kipling, designed the church's chancel window in 1892 (fig. 19). Among these windows are those depicting the six Christian virtues, which are faith, charity, hope, fortitude, patience and humility. The windows, rather than admitting light within the building, also control it by transforming the sunrays into colourful patterns, which texture the church's sober interior. The control could also be perceived in the stained glass windows creating an enclosed sacred area separating the sacred from the outside world. They contribute to the prayerful atmosphere of the church in that way. They also provide reflective and moralistic images and biblical symbols upon which the church's parishioners could reflect.

Furthermore, the church's interior bears many memorial plaques to officials, soldiers and administrators. Small plaques on the front rows of pews expressed rank and hierarchy, so important to British India. For instance, the first two rows on the right are marked *H.E. The Viceroy*, the one behind that marked, *H.E. The Commander in Chief*, while across the aisle the forward pews are marked, *H.E. The Governor of The Punjab* (fig. 20).[79] The British hierarchy is not only established inside the church's walls but also through its topographical location. Christ Church is erected on a hill, as if it were looking down upon the chaotic Indian bazaar occupying the lower ridge of the hill (fig. 21, 22). The church, being Gothic Revival in style and

[79] E.J. Buck, *Simla Past and Present*, 2nd ed. (Bombay: The Times Press, 1925), 27.

representing the colonizer by being Anglican, may be examined as a symbol, and clear visual indication of the British's conquest and permanent establishment in Simla, and perhaps more generally India. In these terms, the church acts as a colonial means of subordination, and camouflages itself with motifs and colours proper to the Indian culture.

2. The British Empire at the Antipodes

The British colony of Australia was first a Second Empire British colony for convict settlements. Michael Hayes (?1767-1825), a convict in New South Wales, Australia had informed his brother, Father Jeremiah O'Flynn (1788-1831), of the need for the Irish convicts in the British colony of Australia to be secured with a cleric. Father O'Flynn became the first Catholic missionary to establish himself in New South Wales, Australia, then controlled by Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1761-1824). He influenced the British government to allow the first official Roman Catholic missionaries to be sent to Australia in 1820.

While Gothic Revival was popularized by the British Empire and was spread across the colonies to embody the Imperial authority, in Australia, as in other British colonies like we have seen in Simla, India, the style echoes elements of the colony's unique identity. As argued by Sarah Randles in her essay, "Rebuilding the Middle Ages: Medievalism in Australian Architecture," Australian interpretations of the European Middle Ages, embodied through

public, commercial, institutional or residential buildings, evoke a distant European past, given that the Australian buildings are historically and geographically separated from their primary sources in terms of period and location.[80] Gothic Revival in Australia has to be different from its European source. Although European Gothic designs were incorporated into Australian buildings, they were subtly altered to suit contexts proper to Australia, such as climate, materials, demography, topography, environment, culture, tradition, building techniques and communities. How is Australian identity represented in the Gothic Revival St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney? How is this building a symbol of British colonization and growing Australian nationhood?

The earliest buildings to embody medieval features in the Australian colonies from around 1800 were Gothic Revival in style. After the Macquaries governance, in the 1840's, especially in New South Wales, High Victorian Gothic succeeded the Early Gothic style. The High Victorian Gothic aimed to be more authentic by examining in more depth medieval architectural features. It was used almost exclusively for ecclesiastical purposes since it was the normal style for rural churches back in England.[81]

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[80] Randles, 145.
[81] Kerr and Broadbent, 23.

a. St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Sydney Australia

The first officially appointed Roman Catholic chaplains of the Australian colony, Fathers Philip Conolly (1786-1839) and John Joseph Therry (1790-1864), started to raise funds to build St. Mary's cathedral in 1820. With half the Catholic population consisting of Irish convicts and the rest being paroled prisoners, it was not easy to raise the amount of money needed. However, the Catholics in Australia agreed with Fathers Therry and Conolly and wanted more than just a humble building in order to prove their church was as good as anyone else's. In 1824, William Sorell (1775-1848) working for Governer Macquarie's government, allotted them five acres of land in the convicts' barracks in Hobart, an area where now stands St. Mary's Cathedral and which is ironically considered today as a prestigious area of Sydney.[82]

Originally, the architect Francis Greenway (1777-1837), a convict and architect, was appointed to design the church. However he resigned in 1823.[83] Father Therry, who had no architectural training, but who had nevertheless designed churches in Sydney and Windsor, was commissioned to elaborate the new church's design. Joan Kerr and James Broadbent in *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales* argue that French churches were suitable

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[82] Linda Monks, "Conolly, Philip (1786 - 1839)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Online edition (Sydney: Australian National University), http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010229b.htm (accessed February 7, 2009)
[83] Kerr and Broadbent, 23.

models for the oppressed Catholics of Ireland exiled in Australia.[84] The choice to incorporate French elements into the design of St. Mary's may be linked to Father Therry's French ancestry and therefore his familiarity with the French architecture. For these reasons, Father Therry designed St. Mary's (1824-1833) with a Latin cross plan, an apsidal east end, an impressive rose window at the entrance, and Gothic features such as the pointed arches and crenallated turrets. All of these architectural characteristics are typically French in style and echo the Medieval Gothic. In 1851, St. Mary's structure was extended following recommendations by Pugin, to incorporate a more correct Gothic style.[85]

In 1833 Father Therry celebrated the first mass in St. Mary's, and in 1835, with the arrival of the first bishop and archbishop of Sydney, John Bede Polding (1794-1877), St Mary's was elevated to the status of Cathedral. Unfortunately, this church burnt to the ground on June 29th 1865.[86] In October of the same year, Archbishop Polding commissioned the architect William Wilkinson Wardell (1823-1899) to plan alterations which survived today in St Mary's present design.

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[84] Kerr and Broadbent, 23.
[85] St. Mary's Cathedral, "History," *St. Mary's Cathedral Website*, http://www.stmaryscathedral.org.au/History.html (accessed February 8, 2009).
[86] Randles, 151.

i. William Wilkinson Wardell (1832-1899)

In c.1843, William Wilkinson Wardell became as famous as Pugin. Wardell designed thirty-five Gothic Revival churches in Britain prior to his arrival in Australia in 1858. He avidly read Pugin's writings and had an enormous respect for the man.[87] He collaborated on works and churches designed by Pugin. Moreover, Wardell and Pugin were direct rivals for commissions.[88] Wardell's patronage was composed almost exclusively of the Roman Catholic Church. While Wardell's urban churches were well finished, they were not lavishly ornate nor were they always completed to his designs. Occasionally, Wardell gave his services free or at a greatly reduced fee, gave financial assistance where possible or contributed a valuable gift to a parish or a community. Wardell's health eventually forced him to take the momentous decision in 1858 to leave London at the peak of his professional career, and emigrated to Melbourne with his wife and younger children.[89]

Archbishop Roger William Bede Vaughan (1834-1883) dedicated Wardell's Gothic Revival St. Mary's Cathedral in September 1882.[90] Stylistically, it is characterized by an overall preoccupation of economy and decency (fig. 23, 24). St. Mary's website claims it to be "the last Gothic

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[87] Ursula M. De Jong, *St Patrick's Cathedral and William Wardell: Architect, the Man, His Plans, Life and Times* (Melbourne: Archdiocese of Melbourne, St Patrick's Cathedral, 1997), 3.
[88] De Jong, 3.
[89] De Jong, 4.
[90] S.H. Ervin Museum and Art Gallery, and National Trust of Australia, *The History of St. Mary's Cathedral, 14th August -27th September, 1982* (Sydney : The Museum, 1982), 3.

Cathedral to be built in the world."[91] I had the chance to visit and examine St. Mary's in July 2008. I also had the chance to consult some architectural documents and monographs on St. Mary's at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. I found the cathedral imposing and quite striking in terms of style and attention to simplicity and detail, both in its interior and exterior (fig. 25, 26). Its west porch is the church's main entrance. It is composed of a central bay flanked by to symmetrical towers, which are again flanked by two turrets (fig. 26). When I entered the cathedral, the first thing I did was to look up to the ceiling and I felt really small. The interior is grand with a very high ceiling and its skeleton was left visible which create the effect of an organised calculated web (fig. 27). It is composed of a complex set of wooden ribs and cross arches. The general sepia colour of the interior echoes the church's exterior and provide a welcoming, warm space that smelled of incense and candles. Both its exterior and interior are dressed with red brick, which harmonizes the general architectural work. The church's reddish colour is faithful to the Australian environment as it reminds us of the red sand that one may find within the Australian desert (figs. 26, 28). Especially in Australia, where, during the British early Imperial programme, there were no signs of indigenous permanent buildings and where the land had not yet been significantly altered by human endeavours. Rather than analysing St. Mary's from a figurative and stylistic perspective, I will rather examine its

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[91] *St. Mary's Cathedral,*
http://www.sydney.catholic.org.au/html/stmarycathedral/getmarried.htm (accessed August 26, 2008).

implications in a colonial perspective in terms of the space it represents and its official symbolic personification of the Western ideology.

ii. Colonialism and Nationalism

In *Medievalism in Australian Architecture*, Sarah Randles argues that St. Mary's could be read as part of the Irish struggle against British colonialism, even if the Irish themselves participated in the colonization of this new country by being the colonizers of the indigenous.[92] In *Catholic Church Architecture*, Pugin explains how his Australian ecclesiastic designs have colonizing purposes; "colonizing, in this case, not for Britain, but for Catholicism."[93] To establish oneself at the antipodes, was, from Pugin's point of view, a means to carry the seeds of Christian design to grow and flourish (...) and soon the solemn chancels and cross-crowned spires will arise."[94]

Before being colonized by Britain and transformed into a field of convicts' barracks, the lot on which St. Mary's stands today was owned by the original Australian indigenous people. The latter were "dispossessed from their land and supplemented by a culture whose building embodies the past of another culture."[95] For the indigenous Australians, St. Mary's stands as a falsified history, which, through its medievalism and Catholicism, symbolizes everlastingness of a glorious Christian past. Yet St. Mary's was relatively

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[92] Randles, 153.
[93] Randles, 153.
[94] Augustus W.N. Pugin, "Catholic Church Architecture," *Tablet* 9 (1848): 563.
[95] Randles, 153.

new in the history of Australia and had nothing to do with its host cultural and religious realities and past history. Here, the indigenous past is refuted and forgotten. It is a violent act of colonialism, hidden behind a building, which, as Christians would say, aims to be the house of God, or the closest one can get to Heaven while still being on Earth.

From all the case studies I have presented in this thesis, St. Mary's is the most violent one in terms of colonialism. It does not take into consideration the original culture of Australia, contrary to Christ Church in Simla, which incorporates some elements of Indian culture. Yet, as James O'Farrell writes in *St. Mary's Cathedral 1821-1971*, Gothic Revival buildings in Australia such as St. Mary's had developed a nationalistic Australian character.[96] Therefore, through Gothic Revival buildings, Australian nationalism has experienced a drastic change. The arrival of Westerners on Native Australian ground meant that Australia was occupied by two distinct groups of cultures: the British (including the Irish) and the Indigenous (including all the aboriginal groups of Australia). The advancement of Gothic Revival building, besides being an architectural means used by the British to impose their power and history, became a means of expressing Australian character. So, does "Australian" character mean Native Australian or British? Both. Was this new Australian nationhood an amalgam of both British and indigenous cultures? Certainly not since the style has no hint of

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[96] James O'Farrell, *St. Mary's Cathedral 1821-1971* (Surry Hills : Devonshire Press for St. Mary's Cathedral, 1971), 75-76.

indigenous aspects, except perhaps the use of local Australian materials (such as wood and red brick made of red clay). This new nationalism is the one of the Australian: the Western people of Australia, living an Australian life geographically isolated from the Western world.

3. Gothic Revival in the United States of America

Closer to Canada, Britain lost thirteen colonies in North America during the Independence war in 1783, a territory that became the United States of America. In the 1840's High Gothic Revival architecture appeared in the architectural style of the American church, largely because of the Ecclesiological Society's influence on church design outside England. Soon after its creation, the Cambridge Camden Society had a branch in the United States, the New York Ecclesiological Society, which endorsed the designs of its British equivalent while supporting Pugin's writings.[97] It was very influential since it regulated architectural designs submitted to it and criticized, sometimes severely, churches that were built outside its supervision and which did not follow its standards. For instance, it was particularly concerned with the architectural honesty in terms of use of materials. The Society was resolute in its disapproval of cheap materials that were used to imitate more costly materials, particularly plaster that was

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[97] Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997), 130.

painted to look like stone or used to create false ribs and vaults.[98] The New York Ecclesiological Society also published a journal *The New York Ecclesiologist* where architectural plans that the society approved of were presented, which became influential designs often copied and adapted.

4. Canada and the Quebec Act

The British Empire conquered French Canada in 1760, which in 1763 became the British colony of Quebec. The French civil tradition for private law had now ended. But in 1774, with the Quebec Act, King George III restored the former French civil tradition and allowed public office holders to practice the Roman Catholic faith. The Quebec Act did much to secure the allegiance of the Canadians to Britain. Furthermore, according to Franklin Toker in *The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal: An Architectural History,* after the war of 1812, which brought much emigration to Montreal, the French Canadians of Montreal found themselves face to face with Anglophone enculturation.[99] The only university of the colony, McGill University in Montreal, was English speaking. A little over two thirds of the population were Catholics. Due to the wars and conflicts previously mentioned, relations amongst the French and British, as well as between the

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[98] Stanton 1997, 161.
[99] Franklin Toker, *The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal: An Architectural History* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970), 12-13.

Sulpician order and the British, while leaving at times towards alliance, at other times were very tense.

a. Notre-Dame-of-Montreal Basilica

The first Gothic Revival church to have been built in Canada is the Roman Catholic Notre-Dame-of-Montreal Basilica (1824-1829) opened in 1829 (fig. 29). The Parish Fabrique of Notre-Dame-of-Montreal appointed James O'Donnell (1774-1830), an architect from New York, to design the church. He was originally Irish and Protestant. He converted to Catholicism on his deathbed. With the Fabrique, O'Donnell decided to design the church in a Gothic Revival style, inspired by St. Paul Episcopal Church, an Anglican Church in Alexandria, Virginia designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820) in 1817-1818 (fig. 30). The original plans of Notre-Dame were lost but the church is still standing today in the Old Montreal at the intersection of Notre-Dame Street West and Saint-Sulpice Street.

The church exterior is made of grey stone and is composed of a three central bays flanked by two symmetrical medieval castle-like square towers (fig. 29). The towers named Perseverance and Temperance, were completed in 1843 by the architect John Ostell (1813-1892). The church interior design consists of two phases. The first was sober and was planed by O'Donnell. It was composed of a plaster and lathe construction suspended from the roof. A

stained glass window was placed at the church's east end, behind the high altar (fig. 31).[100]

From 1872 to 1879, the church interior was renovated by architect and artist Victor Bourgeau (1809-1888). As one sees it today, Notre-Dame's interior design is still Gothic Revival. The ceiling is coloured in deep blue and ornamented with golden stars (fig. 32). The rest of the church's walls are a polychrome of blues, azures, reds, purples, silver, and gold (fig. 33). The basilica is filled with hundreds of complex wooden carvings and quite a few religious statues. The stained glass window adorning the Notre-Dame's east side was blocked off and plastered over during the second phase of design conducted by Bourgeau.[101] Bourgeau erected an almost eighty feet high reredos, which would accommodate statues (fig. 33). Also, the church has stained glass windows, around its side aisles, which, contrarily to the norm, do not depict biblical scenes, but rather scenes from the religious history of Montreal that is French, such as *Maisonneuve carrying the cross on Mount-Royal, 1643* (fig. 34).

There are various opinions among scholars on the subject of Notre-Dame as a being a colonial architectural symbol of British conquest. In *La Paroisse: Histoire de l'Église Notre-Dame de Montréal,* Olivier Maurault argues that the church was "a truly national monument, where the religious and patriotic sentiment of French Canadians expresses itself within

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[100] Toker, 35.
[101] Toker, 68.

incomparable brilliance."[102] Some scholars have a very different opinion than

Maurault's. For instance, as Ramsey Traquair wrote, in *The Old Architecture*

of Quebec, "In 1824, Notre-Dame-of-Montréal was rebuilt in a bastard

American Gothic. This was the first great blow to the old French tradition; it

died hard, even today traces of it can be found, but we may close our history

in the mid 19th century."[103] In *L'Architecture en Nouvelle France*, Gérard

Morisset disagrees with the basilica's Irish Protestant and New Yorker

architect, James O'Donnell's choice of the Gothic. He continues by stating

that this style ignores the French Canadians' own tradition and Quebec's

climate. He defines the Gothic as being of English origin, with cut and dry

forms and irrational construction." [104]

It is strange that someone would express this type of sentiment seeing

as this style, the Gothic, was first originated in France. Perhaps the Gothic,

through the Gothic Revival style has become a symbol, it has been completely

appropriated by the British Empire, and its French origin has been lost in the

process, to the point that even some French Canadians seem to no longer

recognize part of their cultural heritage.

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[102] Olivier Maurault, *La Paroisse: Histoire de l'Église Notre-Dame de Montréal* (Montréal: Thérien Frères Limitée, 1957), 215.
[103] Ramsey Traquair, *The Old Architecture of Quebec* (Toronto: The MacMillan Co., 1947), 2.
[104] Gérard Morisset, *L'Architecture de la Nouvelle France* (Québec: Collection Champlain, 1949), 87.

D. Longueuil's Cultural and Historical Identities

How can one witness the effects of colonialism on a foreign culture by looking at a building such as Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue?

1. A Cathedral

By definition, a cathedral is the principal church of a province or diocese, where that bishop's throne, the cathedra, is placed (fig. 35). Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue has been given the title of co-cathedral because it is the diocese's second cathedral, the first being Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste, in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu (dedicated in 1877) (figs. 36, 37). Since Saint-Jean-Longueuil diocese encompasses a quite vast territory and because Longueuil is an important city in terms of its number of inhabitants, estimated at half a million in the early 1980s, it received the title of co-cathedral in April 1982 under the governance of the former bishop of Longueuil, Bishop Bernard Hubert (1929-1996).[105]

2. St. Anthony of Padua

Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral is consecrated to St. Anthony of Padua (1195-1231), a Portuguese Franciscan Minor Brother, renowned for his miracles and sermons, which he performed and preached in France and Italy. He is often portrayed with a book, the Infant Jesus, and a lily (fig. 38). From

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[105] Charlebois-Dumais, *Saint-Antoine-de-Pades 1887-1987* (Longueuil: Société Historique du Marigot, 1987), 65.

the colonial period until this day, although many French Canadian Catholics secluded themselves from their religious practices following the Quiet Revolution, the Catholics of Quebec's devotion to St. Anthony of Padua is strong.[106] Since the colonial period, St. Anthony's name has been adopted as a patronym for various missions, parishes, villages, and street names. In Longueuil, Charles Le Moyne (1626-1683), Sieur de Longueuil has placed his seigneury under the protection of St. Anthony, which explains how Longueuil's parish and church was named after that saint.

3. History of Longueuil's Parish

As it stands today, Longueuil's co-cathedral is the fifth Catholic building to occupy the lot at the corners of St-Charles Street and Chemin de Chambly. Longueuil's colonial history starts with the Carignan-Salières regiment around 1668. From 1668 to 1698, itinerant missionaries were responsible for Catholic worship in Longueuil and the two closest churches were in the seigneury of Boucherville on the south shore of Montreal, and Notre-Dame-of-Montreal on the Island of Montreal across St. Lawrence River.[107] In 1675, since Longueuil did not possess a parish church yet, Charles Le Moyne offered one of his manor's rooms where mass could be celebrated in Longueuil (figs. 39, 40). The room converted for Catholic

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[106] Charlebois-Dumais, 6.
[107] Lebrun-Lapierre, 3.

worship had the capacity to welcome the 108 inhabitants of his seigniory and although unofficial, it became Longueuil's first space of worship.

In 1698, Baron Charles Le Moyne (1659-1729), the son of the first Seigneur of Longueuil had inherited his father's seigniory and initiated the construction of a fort to insure protection and defence of his Censitaires (tenants) against the Iroquois. Reverend Pierre Millet (1635-1711) was appointed the first parish priest of Longueuil after the canonical erection of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue parish.[108] A private chapel of 13.7 meters long by 7 meters large in Le Moyne's castle fort of Longueuil replaced the previous room. It would serve as the parish church until 1724 (figs. 41, 42).

In 1723, the population of Longueuil grew to 382 inhabitants and Le Moyne's private chapel became too small to accommodate all the parishioners. Baron Le Moyne along with the new parish priest, Father Joseph Ysambart (1693-1763) decided to raise sufficient funds and was responsible for the erection of a new church. We know that it was erected between 1724 and 1727 (fig. 43). The church was constructed of fieldstone masonry and a rooftop made of clapboard. It was rectangular and ended with a pointed arch doorway. It is argued by Odette Lebrun-Lapierre in *Si Longueuil m'était conté... Saint-Antoine-de-Pade*, that Longueuil's third space of worship followed the Récollet plan. An oeil-de-boeuf, or bull's eye window, an oval window set horizontally as a dormer, adorns the church's façade. The

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[108] Gauthier, Robert, *La Paroisse de Saint-Antoine de Longueuil: Son Histoire, Ses Pasteurs, Sa Cocathédrale (1698-1998)* (Longueuil: Éditions du Marigot, 1999), 33.

latter is toped by a gable and a bell tower. The church's dimensions were 24.4 meters long by 12 meters large, with a total capacity of 44 benches to accommodate 200 to 300 people.

In 1790, Longueuil was inhabited by 1 613 people, and again, the parish church became too small. Reverend Augustin Chaboillez (1773-1834), then priest of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, decided to replace the existing church by building a larger one. Following Paster Pierre Conefroy's (1752-1816) plan, the fourth space of worship to occupy the present Longueuil's co-cathedral was a larger temple built between 1811 and 1814, constructed partially with the stone remains of the former Le Moyne's castle fort (figs. 44, 45).[109] The new church was 38.4 meters long by 15.5 meters large by 10.4 meters height. The gable-roofed church included two chapels in its transept and a sacristy behind its apse.

In 1846, Longueuil experienced economic growth through the establishment of St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad. Two years later, the company merged with Grand-Trunk and made Longueuil the terminus destination of its activities. Hence, Longueuil became the site of the company's storage, castings, reparation workshops, and engines hangars. The arrival of this new industry in Longueuil implied work opportunities for engineers, mechanic technicians and many workers. Originally composed of an almost exclusive Catholic French Canadian population, Longueuil welcomed people with British origins from Anglican religious backgrounds.

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[109] Lebrun-Lapierre, 15.

By 1851, Longueuil was no longer considered a village but a municipality of over 3 000 inhabitants. Eventually Grand-Trunk transferred its operations to Pointe-Saint-Charles, which abruptly stopped Longueuil's economic expansion and pushed the town into a period of stagnation. Nevertheless, in 1882 a railway linking Montreal to Sorel crossed Longueuil, which launched Longueuil's economy (fig. 46). This resulted in Longueuil's population growth and the town's urban expansion. This is the context in which Bishop Ignace Bourget (1799-1885), then bishop of Montreal, recommended the building of a larger space of worship to accommodate once again the parish of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's population growth.

E. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral

Built between 1884 and 1887, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue was designed in a High Victorian Gothic Revival, with a Byzantine floor plan in the shape of a Greek cross crowned by a dome raised at the transept crossing (fig. 47). On August 6th 1884, the two prolific Canadian architects Albert Ménard (1847-1909) and Maurice Perrault (1857-1909) deposited the plans and specifications for the construction of the new church. The specifications include estimates of cost, bill of materials and various technical specifications implied in the construction of the new worship building. I was able to consult some of these documents in Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's private archives. For instance, in the specifications, one can read that the architects suggest the

use of the previous church's components, subsequent to its demolition, for the construction of the new one.[110] In November of the same year, the architects signed a contract with entrepreneurs Eugène Préfontaine and Octave Cosette to begin the construction of the church and the sacristy, which cost a total of $142 567, an amount paid with the parishioners' individual contributions.[111] The cornerstone was laid on June 25, 1885 and the church was completed and ready to welcome its parishioners by January 1887. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue was consecrated on June 2, 1887.[112]

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[110] Albert Ménard and Maurice Perrault, *Devis Église Saint-Antoine-de-Pades* (Longueuil: Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue Archives, 1884), P2.
[111] *Factures* (Longueuil: Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue Archives, 1884), DS-16.
[112] Lebrun-Lapierre, 4.

Chapter III

Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral as a Religious Gothic Revival
Catholic Church Within a Hybrid Culture

The subject of this chapter will be a comparison of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral with St. Andrew's Cathedral, in Victoria, British Colombia, a church that I had the chance to visit and study in the summer of 2008 (fig. 48). The latter has been built according to the same plans than Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue but a few years later, and was dedicated in 1892. This comparative study will allow us to seize the architectural variations demonstrating the different cultures involved in the construction of these two Canadian High Victorian Neo-Gothic churches. How does Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral, by its architectural and aesthetical forms express its culture, its function and the religion it represents? The following chapter will aim to address this question.

A. Stylistic Analysis of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue

My object here will highlight the co-cathedral's architectural forms, functions, symbols, and aesthetic elements. I will indicate my agreement or disagreement with the architectural modifications that the church has experienced since its erection, such as the interior decoration of its walls realised in the 1930s. The chapter will draw on what Pugin, Bright and Panofsky wrote respectively on High Victorian Gothic Revival architecture,

objective and subjective expressionism, and the aesthetic idea in relation to the architectural purpose of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral.

1. Form and Aestheticism

Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue church's size is impressive: 74 meters long including the sacristy, 41 meters wide at the transept, and almost 81 meters high to the top of the steeple (fig. 49). When seen from Chemin de Chambly, further south down the river, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue stands in elegance, with the Montreal Olympic Stadium. With the perfect lighting, such as a summer sunset, it seems as if the co-cathedral is elevated towards the sky, or in more religious terms, to put the church in its primary context, towards heaven (fig. 50).

i. Exterior Analysis

The church's massive base elongates upwards towards an elegant, refined, light and delicate linear silhouette of the cooper roofing structure, which was restored in 2000 (fig. 51). Originally, the church had a galvanized steel roof (fig. 52). Two asymmetrical towers flank the church's façade (fig. 53). The doorway is composed of three openings crowned by gables along with a rose window in its massive arch (fig. 54). The rose window is a typical French motif found in Medieval Cathedrals such as Notre-Dame-de-Paris, France. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's cross-arched openings, the pinnacles and

buttresses are all Gothic Revival characteristics (fig. 55). Seen from a bird's eye-view, the building is massive with its main nave crossed by a transept and a polygonal shaft supporting the dome at the intersection point (fig. 47). A polygonal ambulatory finishes the chevet (fig. 56). The combination of fine local greystone and more rustic fieldstone adds a kind of texture which helps accentuate the play of light and shade (fig. 57). The façade is ornate with a statue of St. Anthony, the patron saint of the church, created by the well-known Canadian artist, Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917) (fig. 58).

ii. Interior Analysis

Longueuil's co-cathedral's interior is a vast space lit by the upper windows of the choir, the dome and the rose windows of the transepts and main entrance (figs. 59, 60). When the crystal chandeliers are turned off, there is less lighting in the nave, which accentuates the natural luminosity of the sanctuary. The church was originally designed to admit natural light (fig. 61). The chandeliers held candles, which were lit during mass and special celebrations. The interior lighting of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue was originally meant to be dramatic with rays of light passing through the colourful stained glass to end their journey in an almost abstract pattern of bright colour on the church's faux-marble floor, statues, altar, walls, and on occasion, parishioners (figs. 62, 63). Today, the candles are replaced by electric lights (figs. 64, 65). The church has two western galleries. The first is

usually occupied by parishioners on great masses such as Christmas and Easter while the second is reserved for the Casavant Frères pipe organ and the choir (fig. 60). On top of the sanctuary is an additional gallery occupied by another organ, which buffet was sculpted by the sculptor André Achim (1793-1843) in 1821 (fig. 66). This organ is linked with the main one, on the western end of the church.

In 1930 and 1931, an obscure artist, Louis J. Jobin (not to be mistaken with the famous Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré sculptor Louis Jobin), was responsible for the church's redecoration.[113] The church's original white, plastered walls and wooden pilasters and column bases were painted with frescoes relating the life and miracles of St. Anthony of Padoua, Catholic symbols and motifs such as the cross, and trompe-l'oeil bricks and marble as well as an illusionary second gallery giving the impression of windows (figs. 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72). An interesting fact about the church is that on the side aisles are canvases depicting Saints' lives glued to the walls (fig. 73). Moreover, the arcade of the ambulatory provides a grandiose décor for the high altar (fig. 74). Along with the high altar, and the four adjacent chapels' altars (St. Anne, Virgin Mary, St. Joseph and Blessed Marie-Rose Durocher), the main altar was produced in 1886 by the sculptor Félix Ménard, the architect's brother and followed the plans of Ménard and Perrault (fig. 75, 76, 77, 78, 79). The statue of Saint-Anthony on top of the high altar is the work of Carli workshops, Montreal (fig. 80).

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[113] Louis J. Jobin, *Devis* (Longueuil: Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral Archives, 1930).

2. Function and Aestheticism

As a Gothic Revival Catholic church, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's visible beauty (or ornament) was not intended to be merely aesthetic. It was intended to have a Christian purpose and therefore to follow the concept of beauty presented by St. Augustine and Pugin, and stated in the Catholic Catechism. In general, the church's motifs and ornaments have an iconographic meaning or a liturgical purpose. If we turn to St. Augustine's and Pugin's writings, the purpose of art, for Christians is getting closer to God while the Catechism of the Catholic church states that the absolute beauty is God.[114]

i. Iconography

The church's stained glass iconography and symbolism are typically Catholic. They represent saints, such as St. Luke, and symbols, such as the dove (a symbol of the Holy Ghost), the Sacred Heart, the Chalice and Peter's keys of Rome (figs. 81, 82). These stained glass windows are aesthetic elements in the church's design. They are also images and symbols upon which a parishioner could reflect and meditate. These stained glass windows speak and educate. Furthermore, at the point where the transept crosses the nave are placed four pilasters (fig. 83). These pilasters have the architectural purpose of holding the weight of the dome by being the ending point of the arches. They also have an iconographical purpose as they symbolically

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[114] Panofsky, 52 & U.S. Catholic Church, 2501-2503.

represent the four pillars of Christianity: the four evangelists Mark, Matthew, John and Luke.

Other than being a representation of Christian faith, some of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's aesthetic motifs portray the society that built the church. For instance, the carved ornament on the church's exterior and the church's various altars' pinnacles: the *fleur de lys* is a symbol of French royalty and France in general (figs. 84, 70). As is common knowledge, Quebec has adopted this flower as its provincial flag. In Christian faith, the lily is further an icon of purity. Some Saints, such as St. Anthony of Padua, are often portrayed with it (fig. 38). Furthermore, across the church ceiling are painted crosses (fig. 85). They create a wallpaper effect while being obvious symbol of Christianity. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's parishioners were all Catholics and in great majority French-Canadian. The church's use of lily and cross is therefore representing the nature of its parishioners' culture: Francophone and Catholic.

I think that the 1930-1931 redecoration of the church has created an overload of colours, textures and patterns, which becomes a little bit distracting to the eyes. The mix of pink and green pastel tones in the trompe-l'oeil brick motif of the church's interior walls is a good example (fig. 61). However, maybe the strategy of decorating every corner of the church was adopted by Longueuil's parishioners in order to maximize its beauty and therefore create a transcendent space so they can achieve the definition of

beauty as depicted in the Catholic Catechism. Also, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's new main altar added in the 1970s, following Vatican II Council to replace the high altar, as well as the ambo are distractions since they are not echoing the general Gothic style of the church (fig. 86). They break the uniformity of the church by being too modern.

ii. Liturgy

The basic functions of a Catholic church building are to provide a space of worship for Eucharist (mass) daily and weekly. It is also important for people to celebrate the sacraments including weddings, funerals, and baptism. These rituals strengthen a community and mark the important events within one's life. How does a Gothic Revival church structure accommodate the Catholic liturgy? Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's architectural delimitation of space is not random (fig. 83). It follows Pugin's principle, which states that every part of a church building should complement one another. To understand the different parts of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, one must know their liturgical functions.

One may enter into the co-Cathedral from three sides. The main entrance is at the West façade. The auxiliary entrances are situated at the ends of the transept, at the church's north and south sides. Saint-Antoine's accesses to the church stairs by a series of stairs leading to the entrances (fig. 54). This prepares the parishioner for the transition between the exterior

world and the divine space of the church. After opening the first doors of the main entrance to enter the church, we get to the narthex. This space is one of transition, of preparation for the interior sacred space of the church (fig. 87). This is where the parishioner can find mass booklets and information about the church's activities. Then the visitor would open another door that leads into the church. The main entrance conducts to the nave and side aisles while the secondary doors provide entrance to the secondary altars of St. Anne (at the north) and Blessed Marie-Rose Durocher's altar at the south (figs. 75, 78). The choir loft is the second of two lofts, situated above the main entrance. It is here that we find the Casavant pipe organ and enough room for a large choir of over 70 people to be seated during mass.

Prior to the Vatican II Council, these altars, along with St. Mary's and St. Joseph's altars situated between the sanctuary and the transept, were used by several priests so they can each say their mass around the same time (figs. 76, 78). Today, this practice is no longer necessary due to co-celebration allowing several priests to use one same altar. The bay in which the south altar stands is today transformed into a chapel occupied by the remains of Blessed Marie-Rose Durocher, co-founder of the Saint-Nom-de-Jésus-et-de-Marie Congregation in 1844 (fig. 78).

In the nave, we have all the elements that belong to and are used by the faithful or the laity. The pews are there for people to sit, stand and kneel during celebrations (fig. 71). They also have the Stations of the Cross spread

along the walls of the nave, as well as statues and votive candles to encourage prayer and private devotions amongst the laity (fig. 88, 89).

The nave and the side aisles lead to the sanctuary, which is at the opposite end from the main entrance was once separated by a communion rail. It is still separated from the nave by the very fact that it is elevated and one must go up a few stairs to be within that area (fig. 90). This area is reserved for the priests or celebrants, acolytes, readers and altar boys and girls (figs. 90, 91). In this main section, one can find the presider's chair, the cathedra, the baptismal fonts, the credence table, and the pulpit (fig. 92). Where the baptismal fonts are reserved for baptisms, all the other elements are used during all masses and celebrations. The celebrant, unless he is the local bishop, uses the presider's chair. All priests, bishops and lectors read the biblical passages from the pulpit also called the ambo. The homily, once called the sermon, is now preached from the ambo, at one time it was done so from the high pulpit, after climbing up a series of stairs (fig. 93). The sanctuary is situated on the east end of the church for a purpose. The sun rises up from the east and as it rises, during the consecration part of the mass, the Eucharist is also risen up to be consecrated. The sun rising up is a symbol of Christ's resurrection, an important Christian belief, while the Eucharist is believed by the Christian as being the body of Christ. Therefore, the alignment of the sun and the Eucharist in the sanctuary on the church's

east side is a meaningful symbol to the faithful and reiterate the liturgical meaning of a mass.

B. St. Andrew's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Victoria, B.C.

The diocese of Victoria is the oldest Roman Catholic Diocese north of Toronto. When founded in 1846, the diocese of Victoria encompassed the entire present-day British Columbia mainland, including Vancouver Island, and the vast Alaskan and Yukon territories.[115] Victoria's first cathedral was a small chapel built in 1853 in the residence of Modeste Demers (1846-1871), Victoria's first bishop.[116] Five years later, bishop Demers erected a small wooden-framed church, which would be Victoria's cathedral (fig. 94). It is not until the fifth bishop John Nicholas Lemmens (1888-1897) that the second and present cathedral of Victoria was built (fig. 48). The church's construction ended in 1892. To reduce the debts of this new cathedral, bishop Lemmens travelled to Guatemala on a fundraising tour. There is no information that has survived about this specific travel. My research has led me to the understanding that St. Andrew's cathedral's archives were destroyed in the 1970s due to a lack of archival space. This is unfortunate from an archival legacy and research perspective since these documents would have helped in depicting a clearer historical context for St. Andrew's social, economical, structural and artistic concerns. Nevertheless, I will

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[115] Vincent McNally, Martin Segger, Marnie Davis and Patricia Braddy, *St. Andrews Cathedral, Victoria* (Victoria: Heritage Tour Guides, 1990), 3.
[116] McNally et al., 6.

discuss the church's architectural structure and socio-historical contexts by focusing on its aesthetic, formal and iconographical analysis.

1. Form and Aestheticism

The decision to build a new cathedral on View Street, Victoria was announced in 1882. John Teague was commissioned to built Victoria's first Roman Catholic cathedral, which is today a designated historical site.[117] It was dedicated by Bishop Lemmens at a pontifical high mass on October 30, 1892.[118] The attending congregation at that period was 2000 parishioners. In *St. Andrews Cathedral, Victoria*, Vincent McNally writes: "the church was indeed a major architectural landmark on the skyline of the young city."[119]

The design reflects catholic culture links to Quebec, more precisely to Saint-Antone-de-Padoue co-Cathedral in Longueuil designed by Maurice Perrault and Albert Ménard. Contrarily to what Vincent McNally writes, in *St. Andrew's Cathedral, Victoria*, the French-Canadian architectural influence of St. Andrew's does not come from a Cathedral designed by Maurice Perrault and Albert Ménard in (sic) Vaudreuill, Quebec, but from Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, Longueuil.[120] There are no Cathedrals in Vaudreuil and Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's architecture is very similar to St. Andrew's. In floor space, St. Andrew's is one of Victoria's largest worship buildings.

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[117] McNally et al., 8.
[118] McNally et al., 8.
[119] McNally et al., 8.
[120] McNally et al., 8.

i. Exterior Analysis

St. Andrew's exterior in built with a red brick envelope articulated with ashlar stringcourses and diaperwork (fig. 95). The masonry bearing walls are raised on a foundation of brickwork and massive granite blocks directly resting on clay hardpan. These solid walls carry the heavy weight of timber trusswork supporting the roof and covering a complex interior cross-vaulting frame.

The double towered asymmetrical façade is typical of French Gothic, and similar to Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue. The central bay is 22 meters with a recessed rose window and is dominated by the main tower terminating in a 358 meters spire. This tower was designed to incorporate a clock and a chime of bells. On the north side, opposite to the main tower, a shorter tower was built to create an aesthetic balance, and was purposely truncated to emulate a Gothic, unfinished look. Nevertheless, as it stands today this truncated tower's spire is shorter than its original state (fig. 96). In fact, soon after 1900, a heavy storm destroyed part of the spire along with a tinwork statue of the cathedral's patron saint, Saint Andrew placed atop the central pinnacle. It is in the early 1900 that the church's original tin roof was replaced with slate (fig. 97).

ii. Interior Analysis

The nave is crossed by a transept and ends at the west end by a narrow sanctuary designed in such fashion that the main altar may be clearly visible from any angle in the church (fig. 98). Two galleries are built on top of the narthex to provide the parishioners additional space (fig. 99). The lower gallery was originally occupied by sisters and school children but is today opened only on grand masses such as Easter and Christmas. The upper gallery accommodates the choir and the organ. Moreover, there are three rose windows, one at the nave's west end and two others at the transepts' ends. The rose windows and the bold detailing emphasize the central crossing, where the nave and the transept meet (figs. 100, 101).

Additionally, there are twenty-one stained glass windows commemorating the lives of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints. These windows are placed through the side aisles and the chancel (fig. 98). Along with the artificial lighting, they provide vivid and colourful light to the church's interior. A trefoil stained glass window crowns each glass window (fig. 102). The trefoils were left unfinished except the ones in the clerestory, which were decorated with traditional Christian iconography of the mass and private devotions.

After Vatican II Council, the high altar and the pulpit were destroyed in order to modernise the church, which in my opinion is a significant loss in terms of craftsmanship and historical significance and value. Nevertheless, a

few pictures have survived and I was able to consult them in the British Columbia Archives. They show the church's interior, including the high altar and pulpit. The high altar was originally elaborated wooden high Victorian Gothic in style and extended at the far end of the apse (fig. 103). The altar was designed to provide space for two side chapels. A pulpit detailed in fir was surmounting the first pilaster on the church's north side. The preachers would walk up the stair to the pulpit to say their sermons so their voices could be projected in the church and be clearly heard by all the parishioners.

St. Andrew's interior ceiling is composed of barrel vaulting created by balloon frames to which is applied a lath-and-plaster finish (fig. 104). Even the aisle pillars are constructed in this fashion, masking quite slender cast-iron columns inside. The ceiling was originally painted in dark blue with gild stars and boarding the arches were painted scrolls bearing the Latin word *titulae*.[121] We see here that St. Andrew's chose a different approach than its original one and repainted its walls and ceiling in white and a pastel blue (figs. 97, 98). Moreover, behind the high altar side chapels were painted two wall painting depicting episodes of the lives of the Virgin and Christ. Unfortunately, I could not find any visual document showing these frescoes. According to the sacristan Harrison Ayre, these wall and ceiling frescoes were also removed to accommodate the liturgical modifications decided at Vatican II Council.[122] Bellow the church's floor level at the northwest corner of the

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[121] McNally et al., 9.
[122] Interview with Harrison Ayre, St. Andrew's Cathedral, August 2, 2008.

church is a chapel crypt, which can be accessed via a spiral staircase from the sacristy.

2. Function and Aestheticism

In order to address the iconography and liturgical functions of St. Andrew's cathedral, I will focus on its actual high altar, which incorporates Native art within biblical and liturgical themes. The high altar was carved in 1988 by master caver of the Coast Salish art tradition, Charles W. Elliott (fig. 105). The altar's base consisted of two bentwood boxes traditionally used for carrying and storing food, belongings as well as burial boxes for the dead. Each of these boxes is designed to rotate to show four different designs and may be employed for different liturgical seasons and feasts. On top of the two boxes is the mensa, made of yellow cedar and abalone shells and Amerindian designs adorn the frontispiece.

i. Iconography

The high altar boxes' iconography is a mix of Christian icons and Native mythology. For the purpose of this research I will focus on two sides of box I only. Box I's side one represents Jonah in the belly of the whale (fig. 106). Traditionally, Jonah is a figure of Christ shown in transition in the whale's belly, in a movement from death to resurrected-life. The whale swimming in the water depicts transition, journey or movement to spiritual

life. In *St. Andrew's Cathedral, Victoria*, Patricia Brady argues that by placing the figure of Jonah's hands within the pectoral fins, Elliott aimed to show the unity of Christ's human and divine nature.[123] The whale may also symbolize a tomb and a womb: an eternal cycle of life. This box's side may be used for Lent and Advent, as they are both periods of preparation, of transition to the birth and the death, and resurrection of Christ.

Box I's second side has further references to First Nation iconography (fig. 107). This box depicts the Incarnation. A thunderbird is distinguished by a plume or a horn and represents the Spirit, God's creative power. Its wing's feathers transform into the branches of a cedar, which symbolizes the unity between physical and spiritual. The mythological Amerindian transformer or Hwels is depicted on this panel as a type of Christ figure.[124]

ii. Liturgy

Through its iconography and aestheticism, St. Andrew's high altar acknowledges and incorporates artistic and mythological elements of the First Nation, which were Victoria's original society prior to the British colonial programme. The altar, built later than the church itself, although not Gothic in style, embraces the Gothic Revival principle of adaptability and incorporation of the host culture's aesthetic elements. Nevertheless, in this case, it is not only aestheticism that is borrowed, but also Native

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[123] McNally et al., 19.
[124] McNally et al., 19.

iconography, mixed with the Christian one. The result is fascinating and truly represents the social and historical aspects of Victoria. This altar sees and recognises the social heritage of its society, and I would argue, aims to remember and acknowledge the First Nations of Victoria. St. Andrew's various sections work similarly to those of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, since both churches are Catholic and have more or less the same plan.

In my research process, while I was visiting St. Andrew's Cathedral, I came to encounter carvings by the prominent Amerindian artist Charles W. Elliott. The length and primary purpose of this research could not have allowed me to pursue further investigation on the religious and symbolic art of this artist. Nevertheless, it would be very interesting to conduct research on the spiritual and symbolic Amerindian art in a Catholic colonial context from a transculturalist, post-colonial, iconographical, and semiotic perspective.

C. Comparative Study of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue Co-Cathedral and St. Andrew's Cathedral

Knowing that St. Andrew's architecture is mainly inspired from Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, we cannot omit to mention that it has some alterations due to it socio-historical context. What are their differences, similarities and what do they reveal?

Both Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue and St. Andrew's are Catholic space of worship reflecting the society in which they were built. Compared to St. Andrew's, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's structure is larger and consists of a dome at the nave and transept crossing. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's dimension suggests the number of parishioners that the structure could welcome. Being larger than St. Andrew's, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's community is therefore assumed to be larger. The structure dimension in this case reflects the social demography for which the church is built. Furthermore, the fact that Saint-Antoine's plastered ceiling was carefully painted with many detailing and frescoes depicting St. Anthony's life suggests the parish's wealth. One may argue that Longueuil's parishioners were perhaps wealthier than St. Andrew's, although they were also numerous.

St. Andrew's was built in Victoria, on a First Nations territory, a history that is reflected through its ornamentation. The main altar depicting indigenous art, and reflects the Gothic Revival movement adapting to the host culture (fig. 105). Like Simla's Christ Church, St. Andrew's reflects both *Englishness* by being Gothic Revival in style, and hybridity through its cross-cultural references to both the culture in which it stands, the British, and the society encountered by the British, the Amerindians. St. Andrew's is an example of cross-cultural syncretism since it liberates colonial identities and ambiguities and underlines the location (or dislocation) of native culture.

Today, and since its beginning, St. Andrew's was composed in quasi totality of English (now English Canadians) parishioners. The Amerindians architectural ornaments might acknowledge and honour the Native people of Victoria and British Columbia, but they might also be looked at as being signs of subordination. Linking First Nation's mythology to Christian iconography becomes a merely perfect amalgam of two distinct cultures and beliefs, into a single new culture and belief. This fusion of two cultures, myth and religious symbols may also be looked at as a sign of globalisation, or in a semiotic perspective, as two distinct views on life that connect together by meaning the same thing, but in different ways.

It is different in the case of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue. In fact, when the British defeated the French of New France, the host culture in Longueuil was predominantly French, as the Amerindians have been colonized long before. As we know, the nineteenth-century British has appropriated themselves the Medieval Gothic, which was originally a French architectural movement. The English's power in this case is not as strong as it is in the case of St. Andrews. If Gothic Revival architecture was used by the English as a subtle means to colonize, it might have failed in the case of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue's parishioners, since they were French and Catholics, which makes them closer to the Medieval Gothic than the English Protestants. Nevertheless, since Gothic Revival was appropriated by the English, it might have lost its initial *Frenchness*; its language has therefore shifted.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the church undertook in October 2009 a ten year restoration programme for its ceiling, which recently started to crumble. In a time when churches are facing Quebec's complex religious contemporary reality, which involves the closure and re-definition of some churches due to the decrease of churchgoers, it seems unlikely that Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral, due to its role, unique character and historical and cultural landmarks, will face a re-definition of its primary function, that being, as Catholics believe, a space of worship and the house of God. One need only to look at the more modern neighbouring churches within Longueuil to realize that the co-cathedral stands out in several liturgical ways through use of traditional vestments, musical repertoire spanning over centuries, and parishioners coming from a vast region of the south-shore of Montreal, to attempt this unique cultural expression of faith.

This thesis has presented a more complex positioning of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral by demonstrating its architectural significance in terms of style, decoration, liturgical functions and cultural identity. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue co-Cathedral can be understood as an encyclopaedia of its historical, cultural and religious realities (fig. 108). In an art historical context, this thesis advanced the understanding of Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue as being more than a building, by placing the church's High Victorian Gothic

Revival architecture in relation to the liturgical functions of a Catholic building and to the complexities of Quebec and Canadian cultures, or in more theoretical terms – to its hybrid nature.

The hybridity of both cultures in this case does not mean a hybridity of architectural elements, but rather of the use of the Gothic Revival in a socio-historical context in which the Gothic symbolized British imperialism, but really originated from the French. Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, is therefore a rare example of the amalgam of a dominant Western culture trying to subordinate another Western culture by appropriating a subordinated culture's element to symbolize its own power and dominance.

As has been demonstrated within the thesis's three chapters, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, as a French-Canadian Catholic parish, embodies the architectural style that Pugin considered to be the style *par excellence* for Catholic worship. Although High Victorian Gothic Revival architecture is highly identifiable to the British Empire's colonization, the roots of Gothic architecture lie in France – over a hundred years of cultural integration, and adaptation in everyday use for all Catholics of Longueuil.

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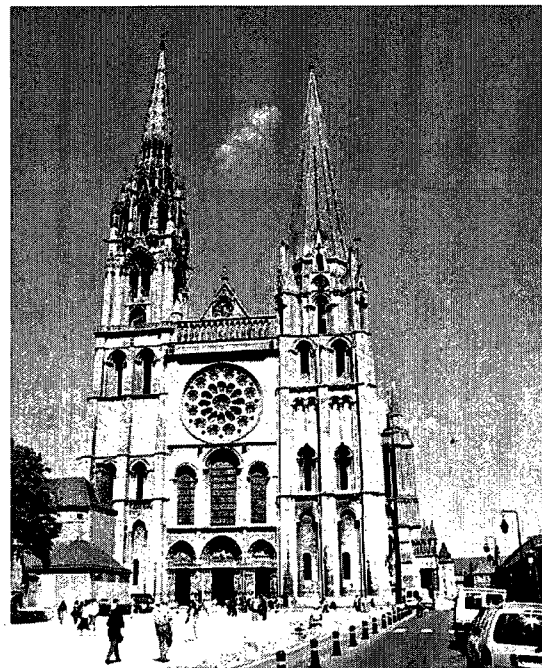
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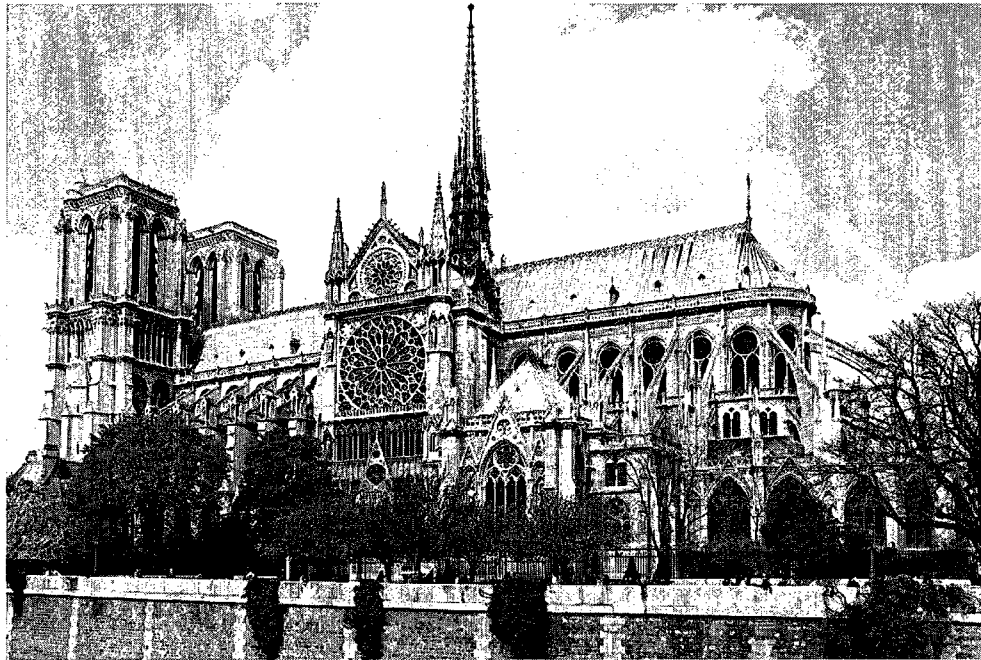
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THE SAME TOWN IN 1840

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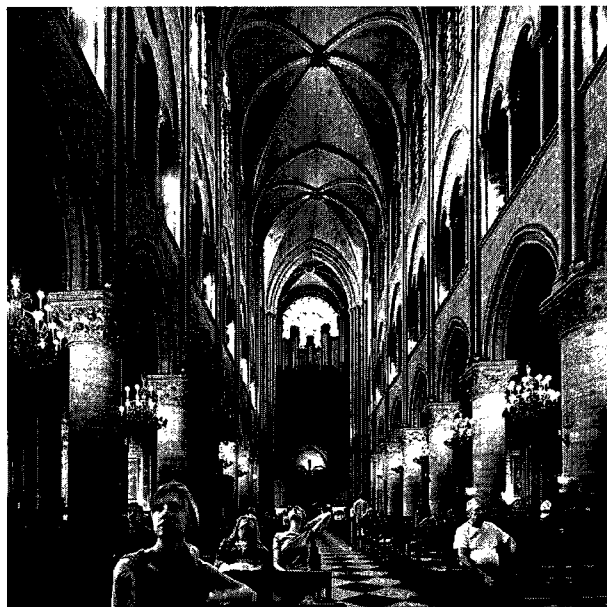
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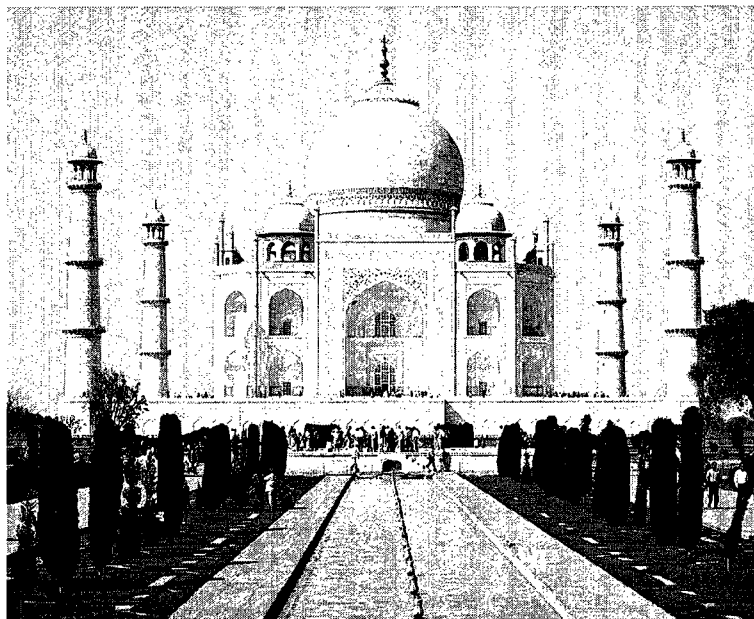
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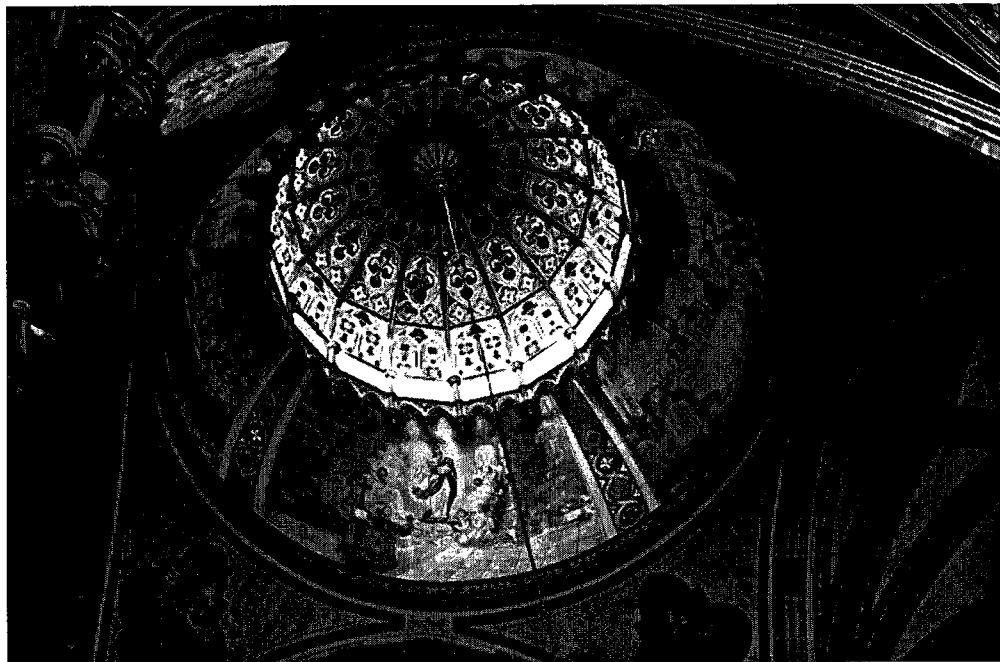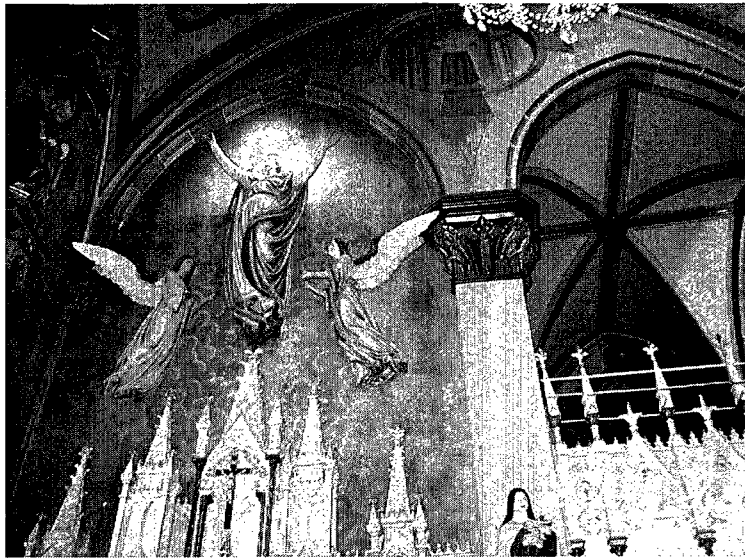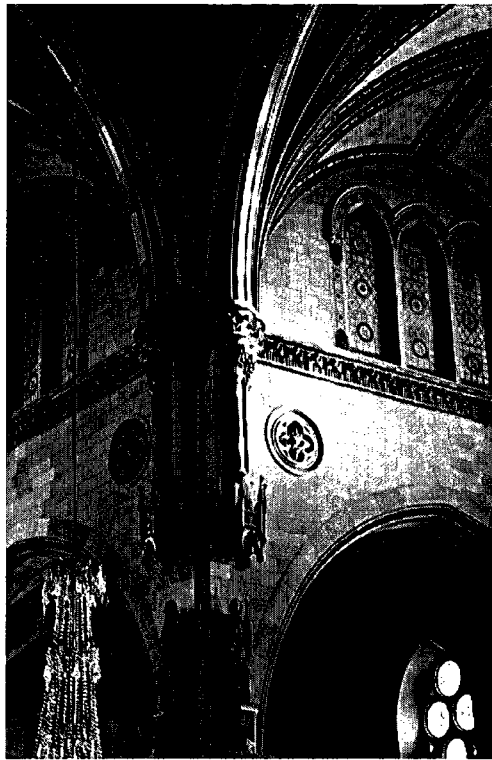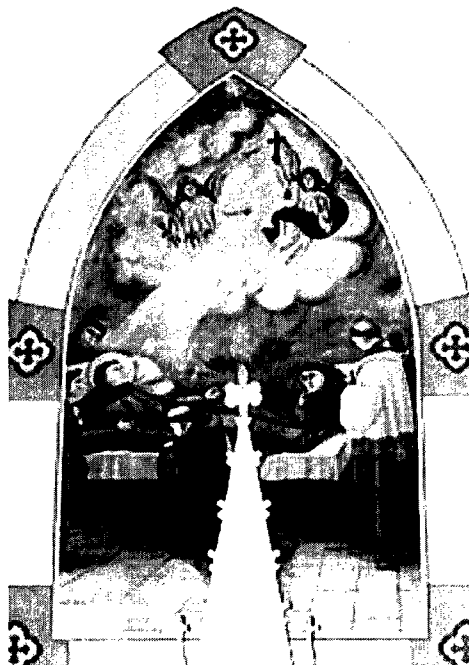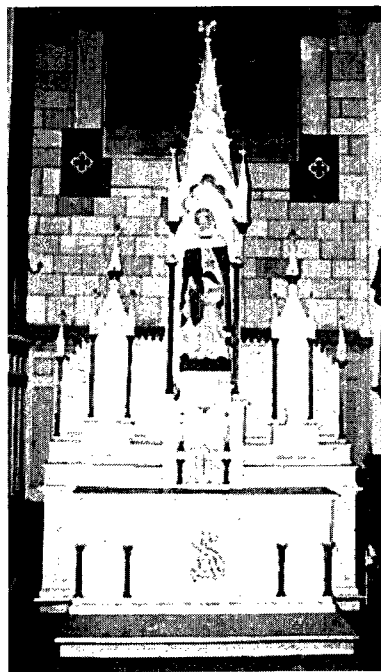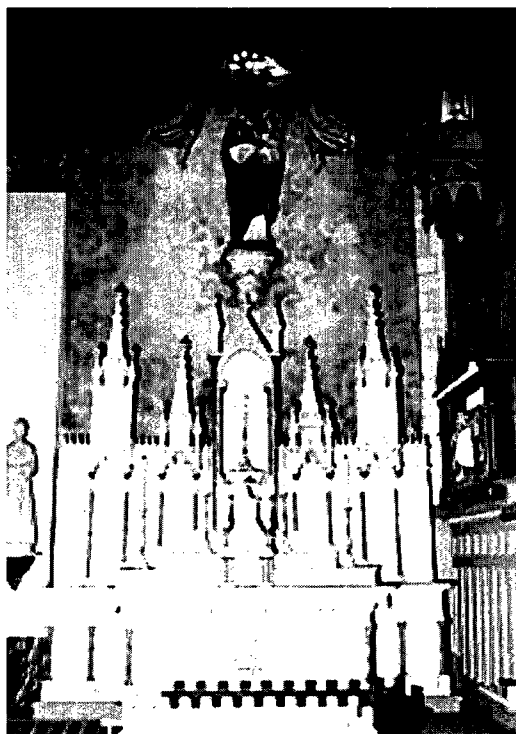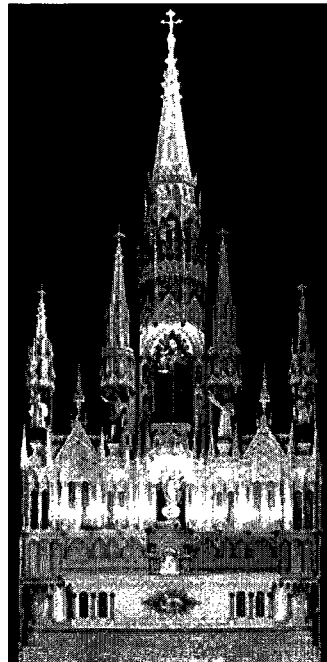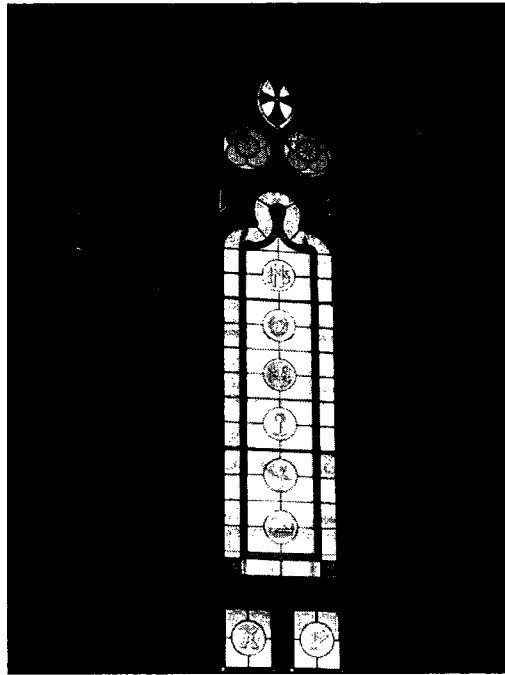

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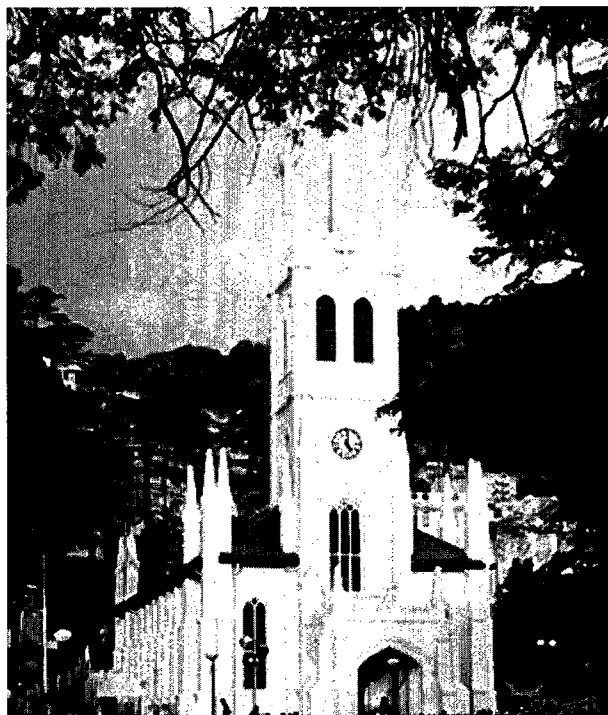
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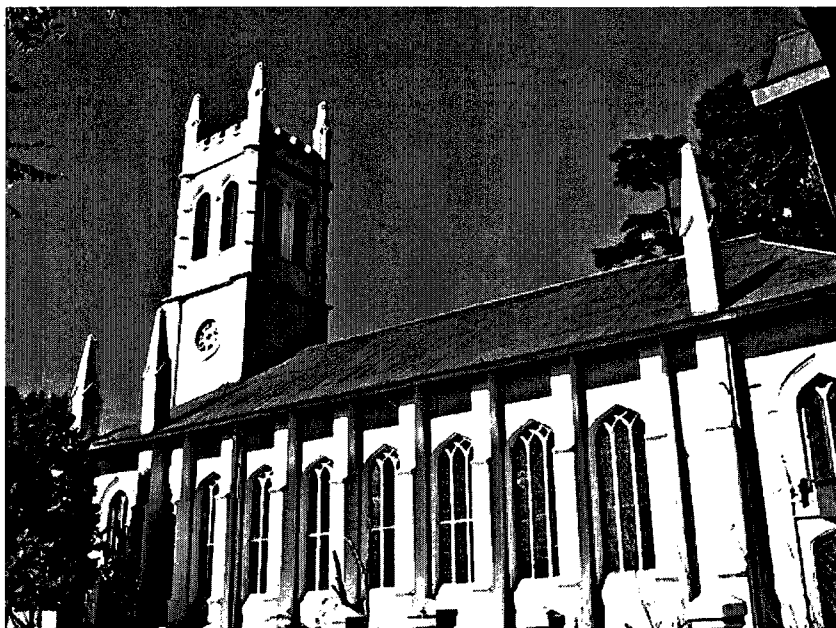
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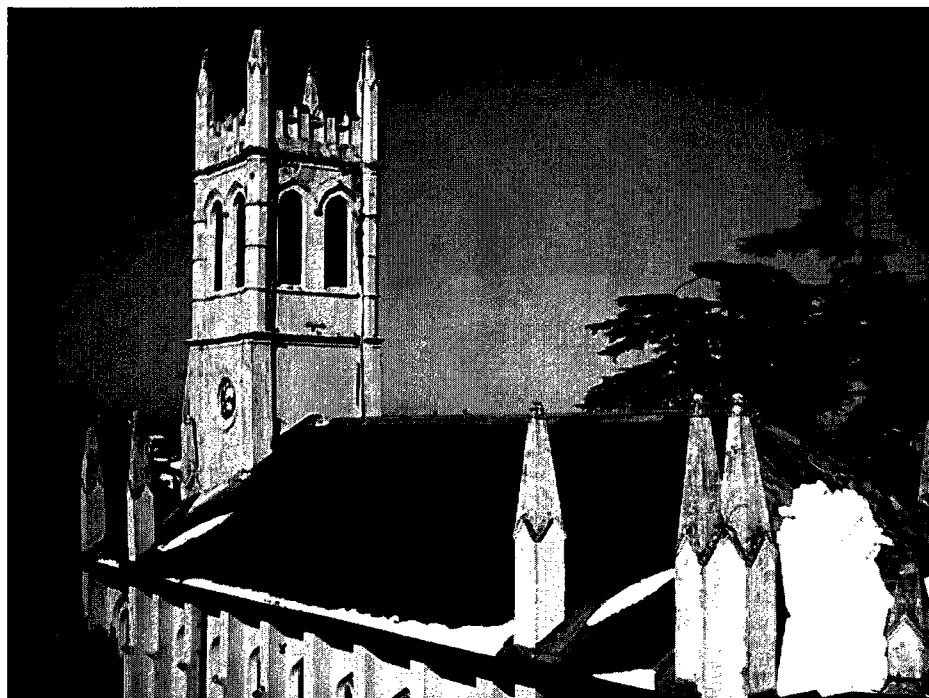
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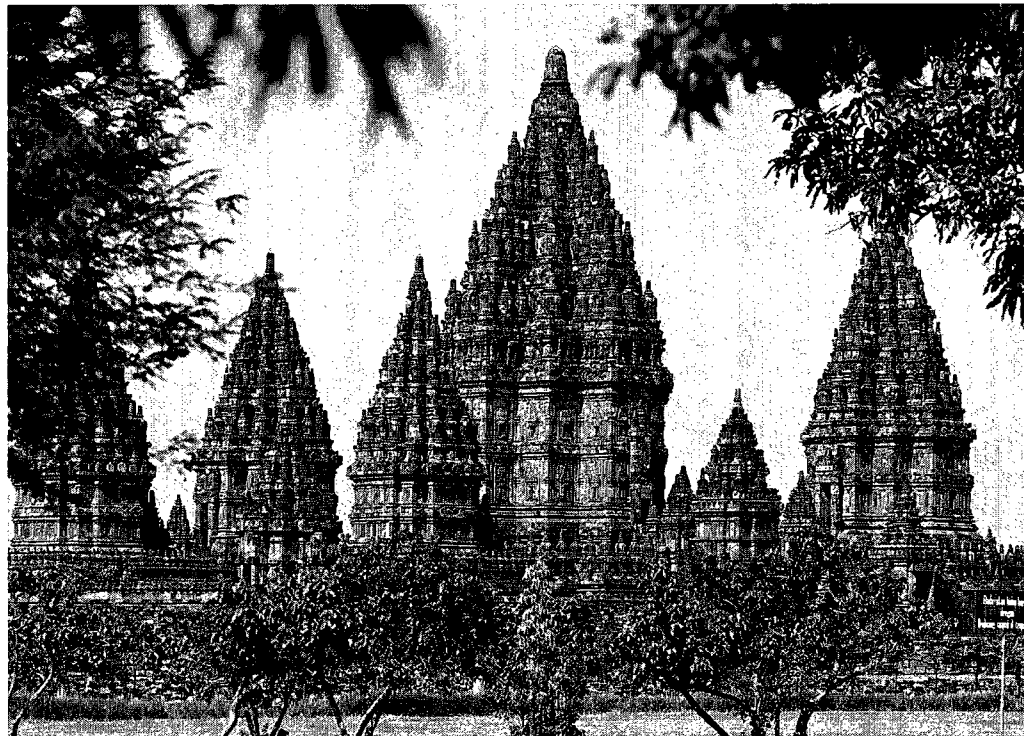
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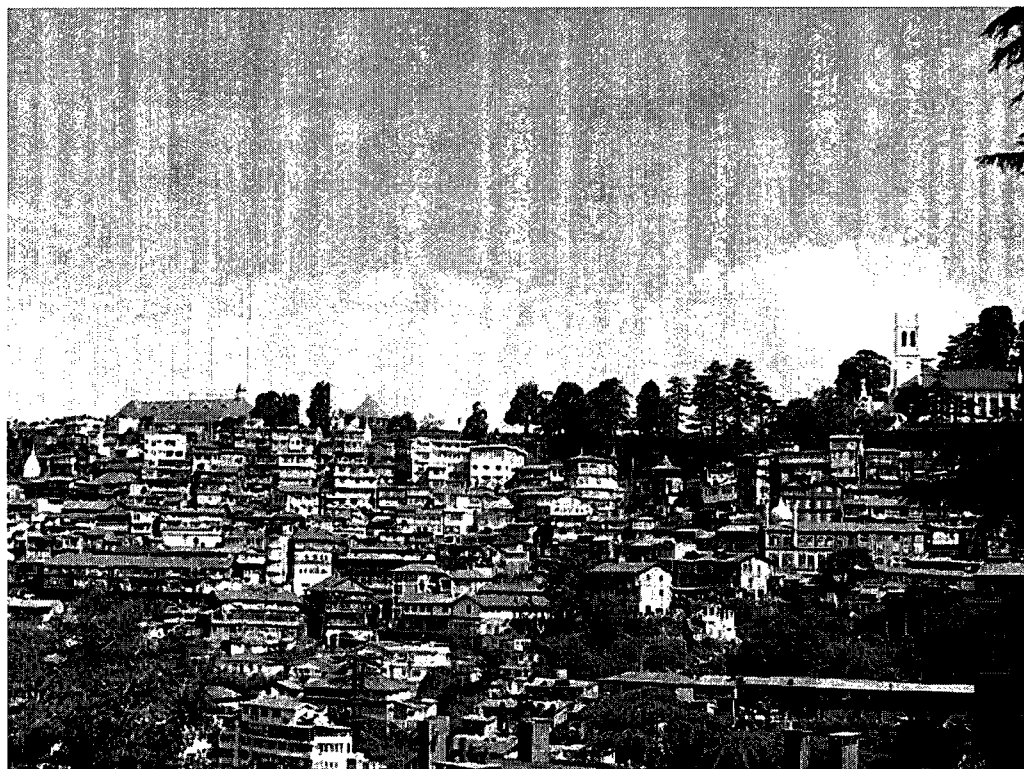
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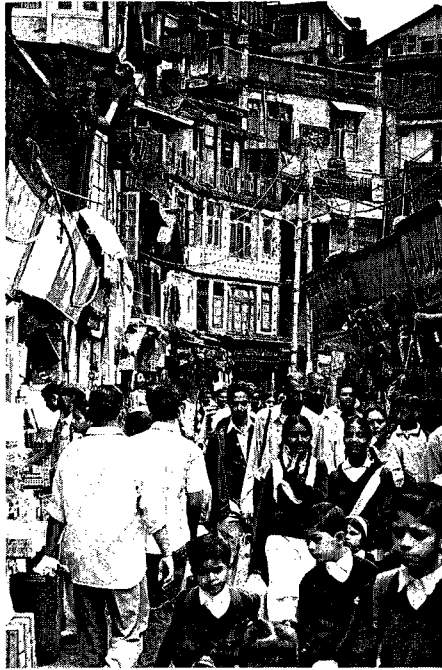
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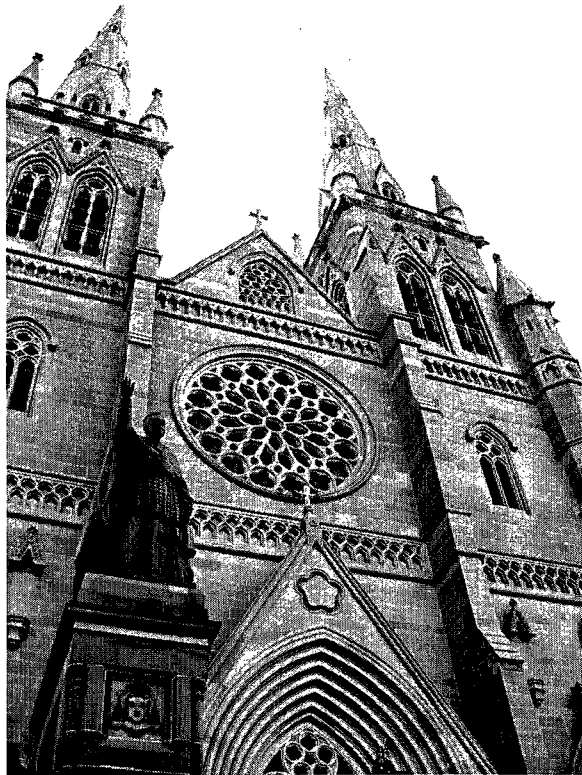
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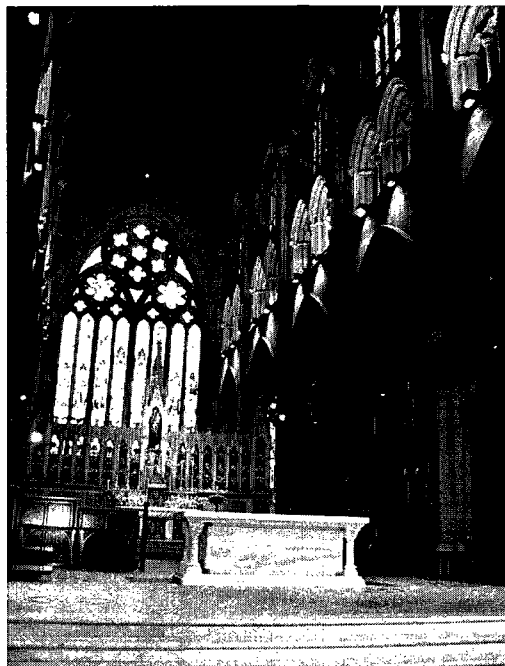
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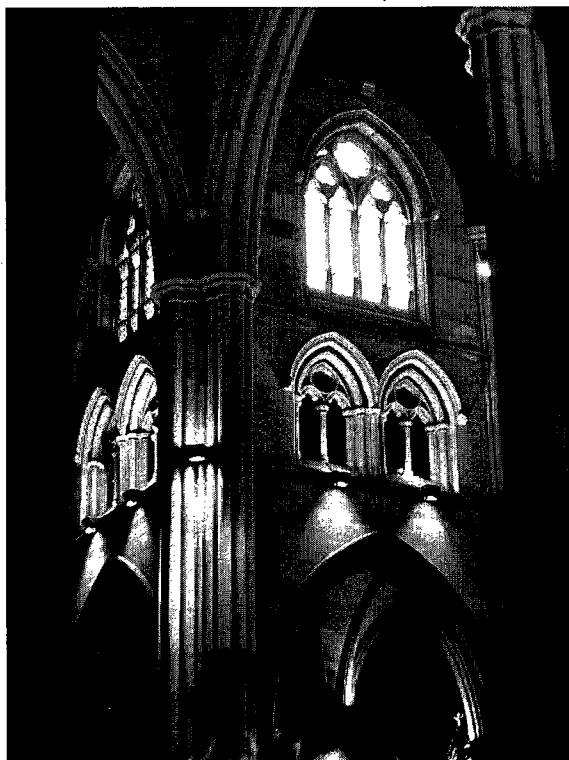
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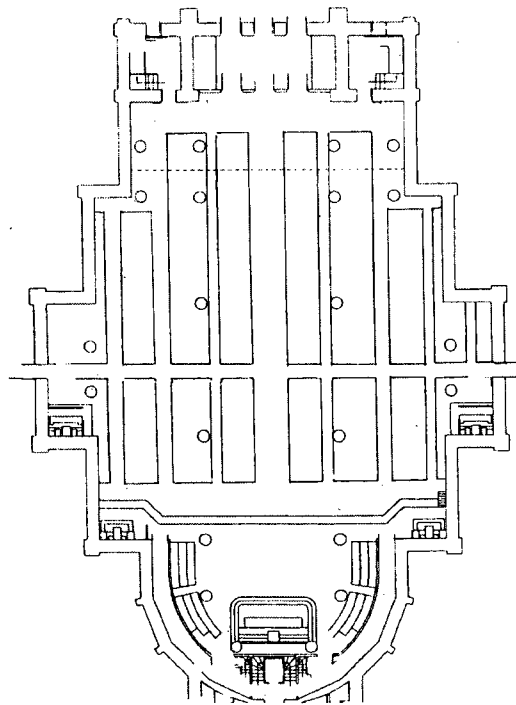Figure 28
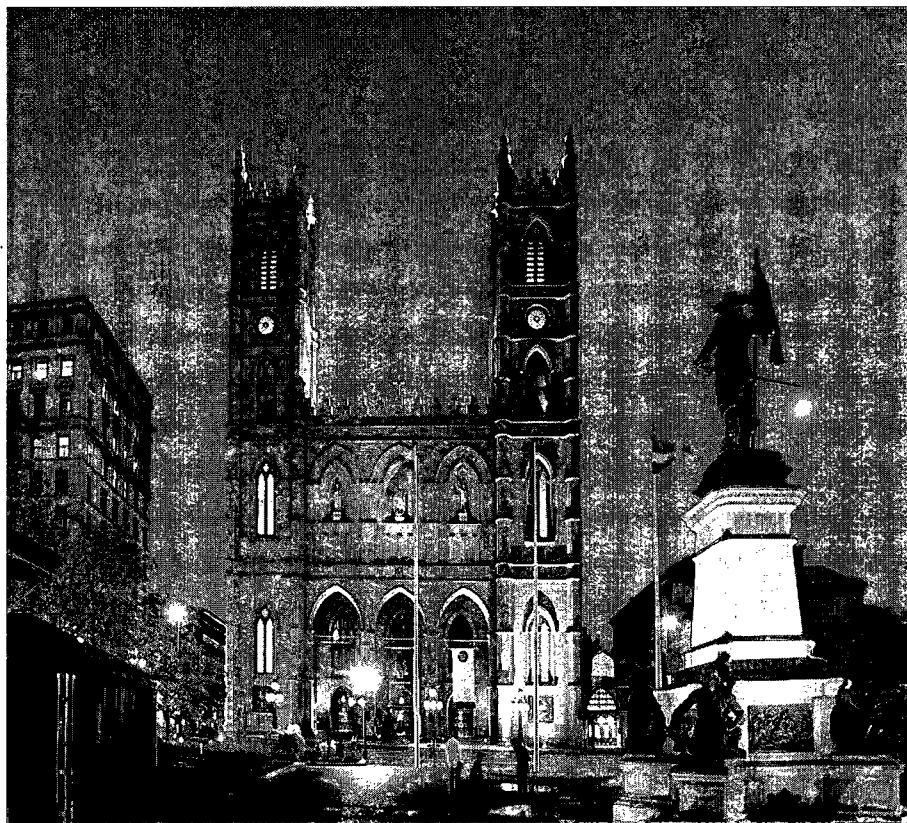
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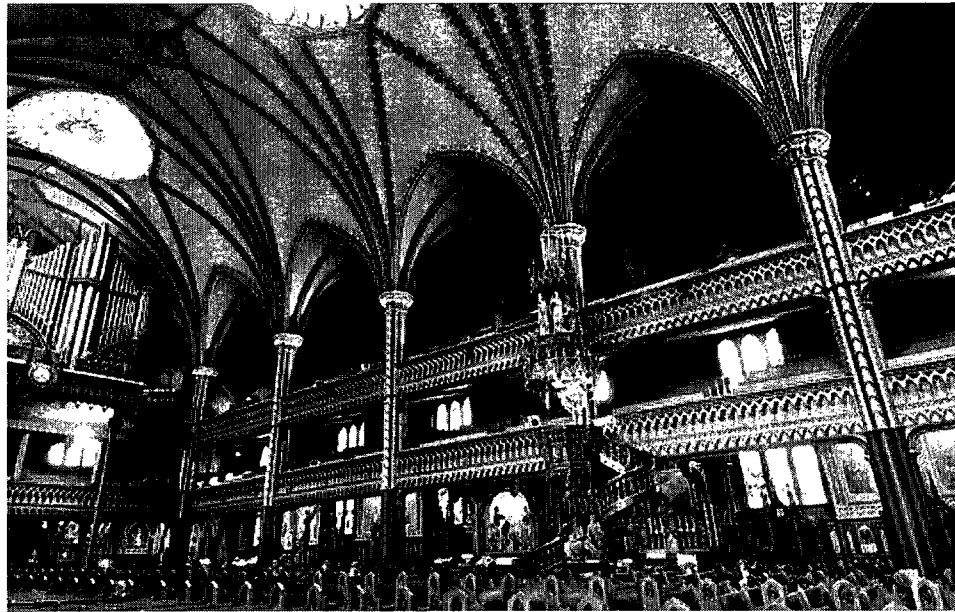
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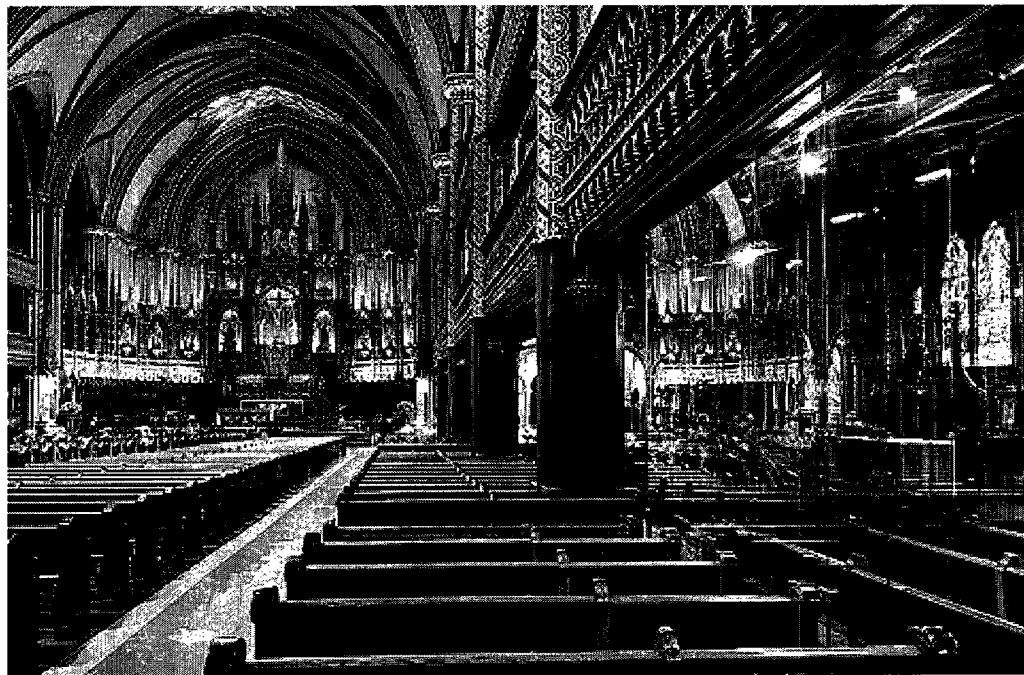
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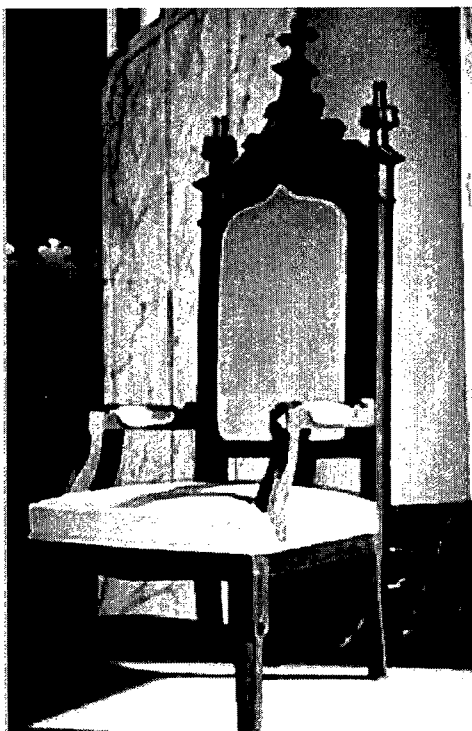
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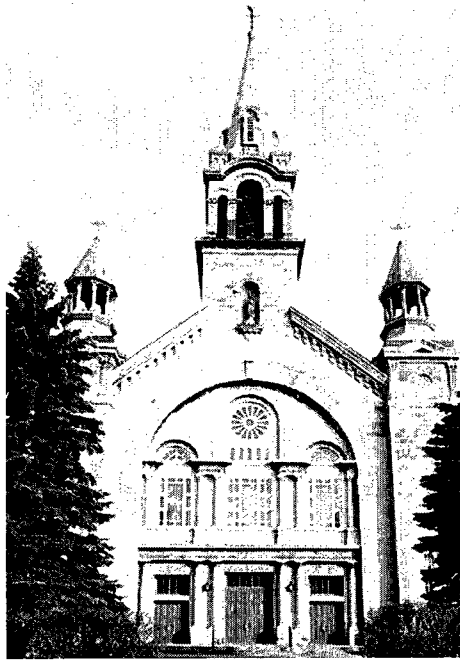
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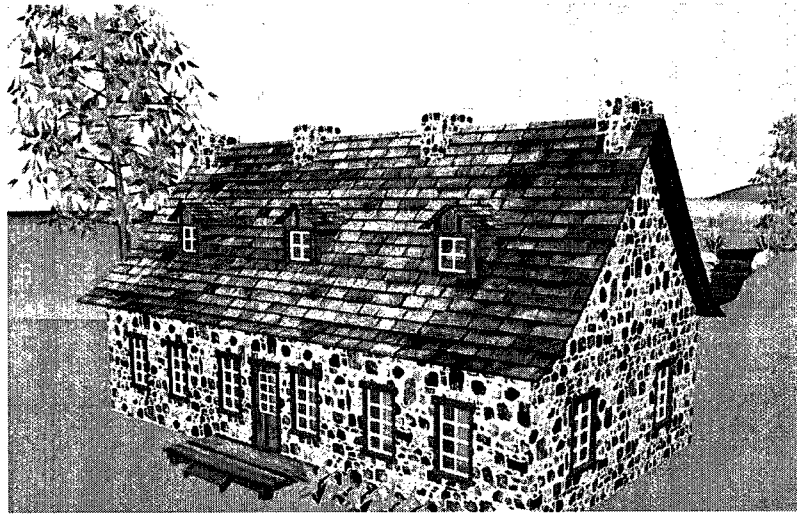
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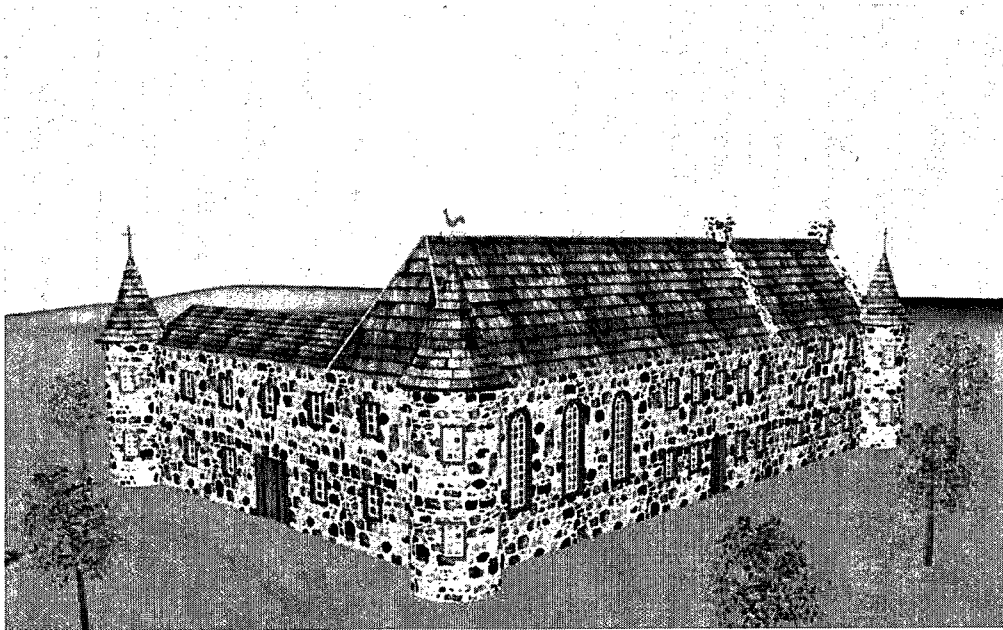
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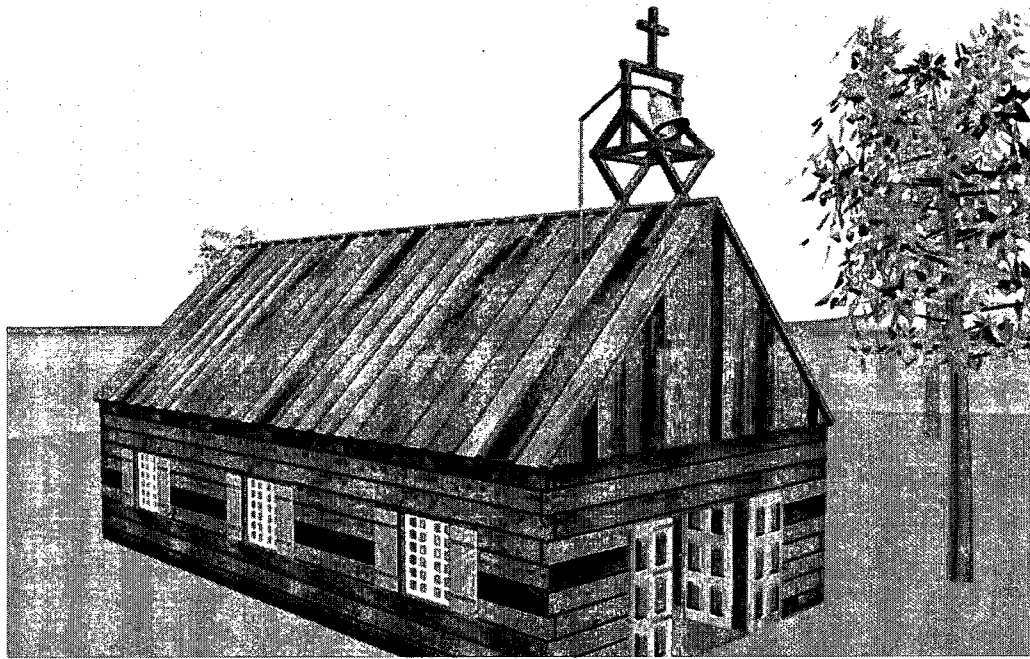
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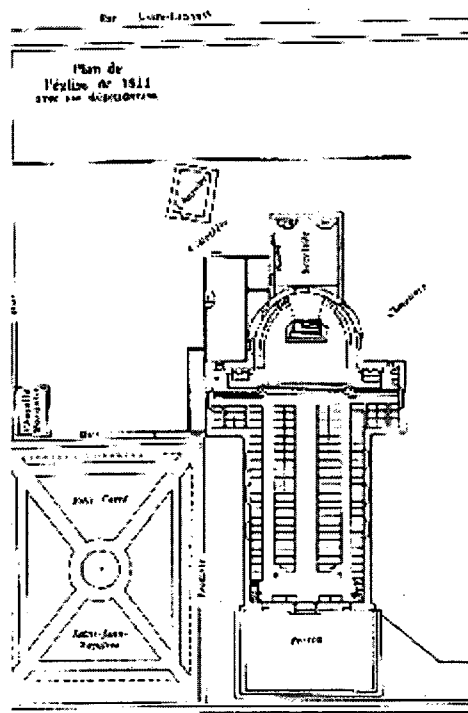
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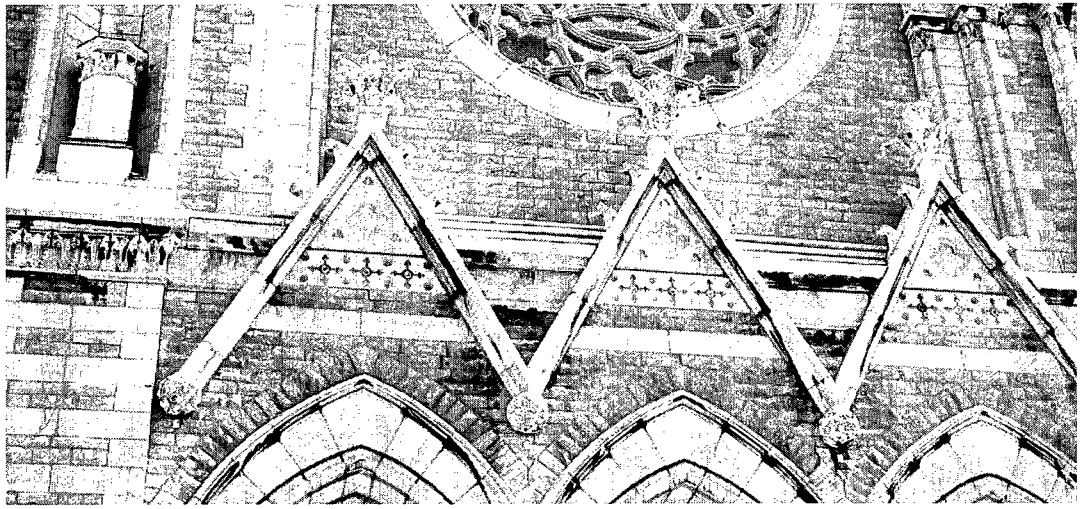

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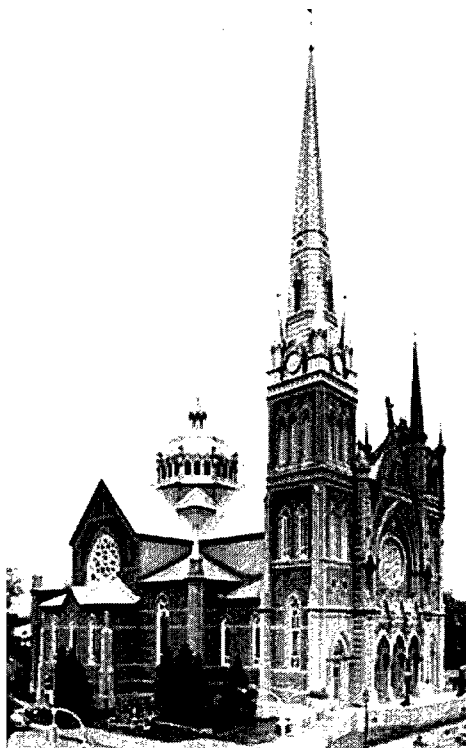
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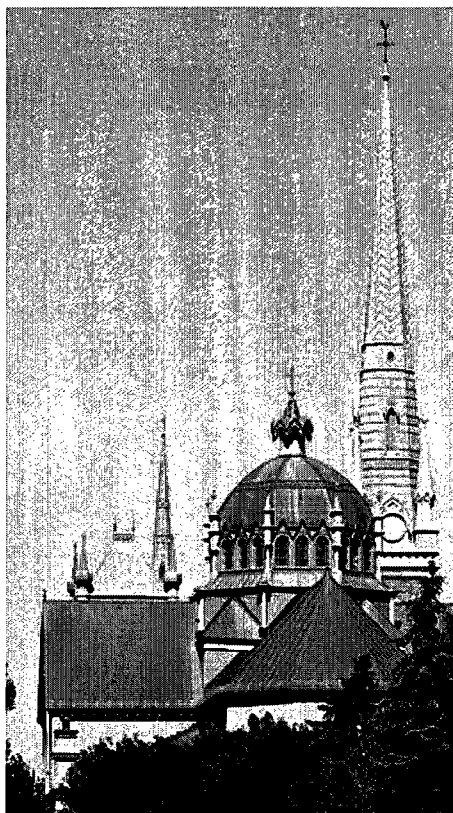
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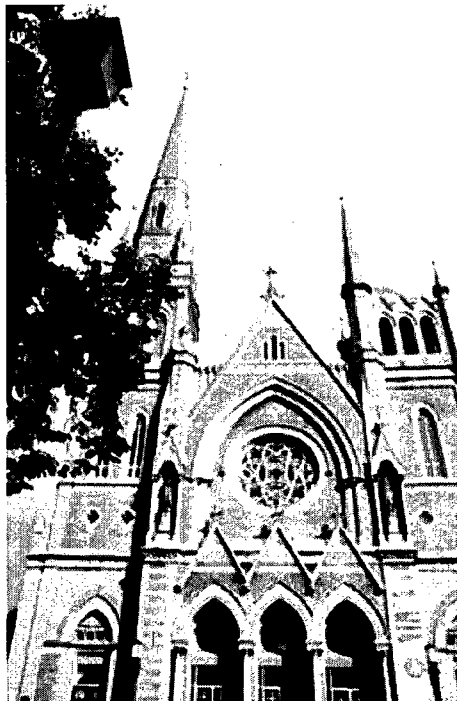
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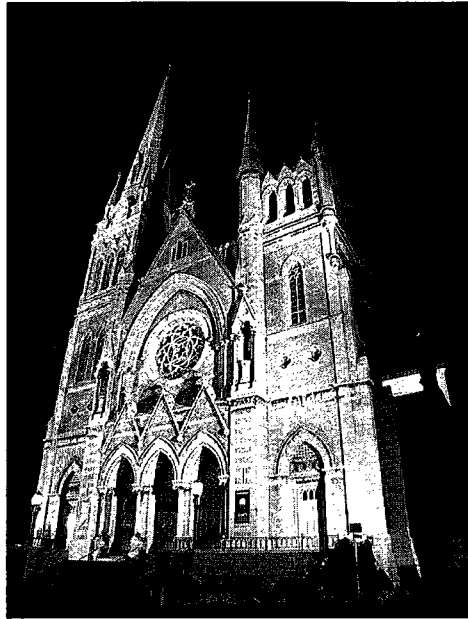
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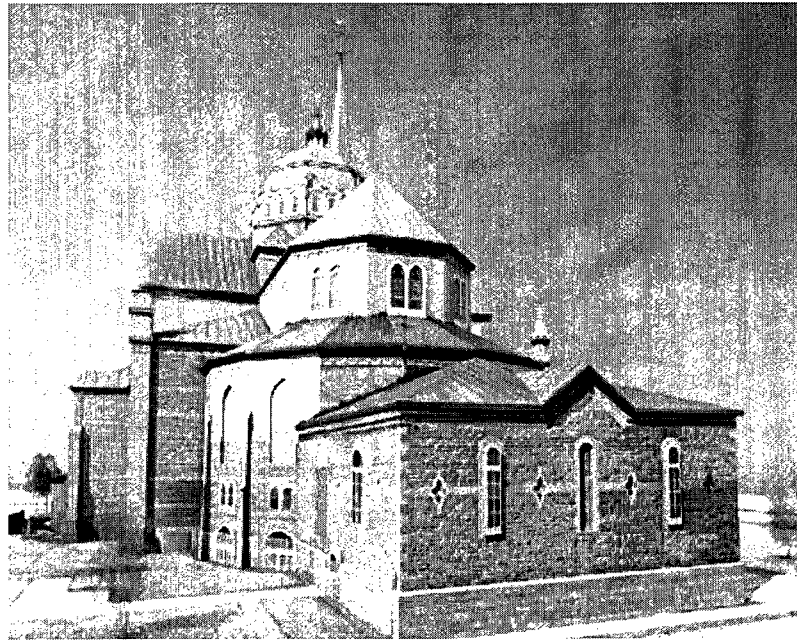
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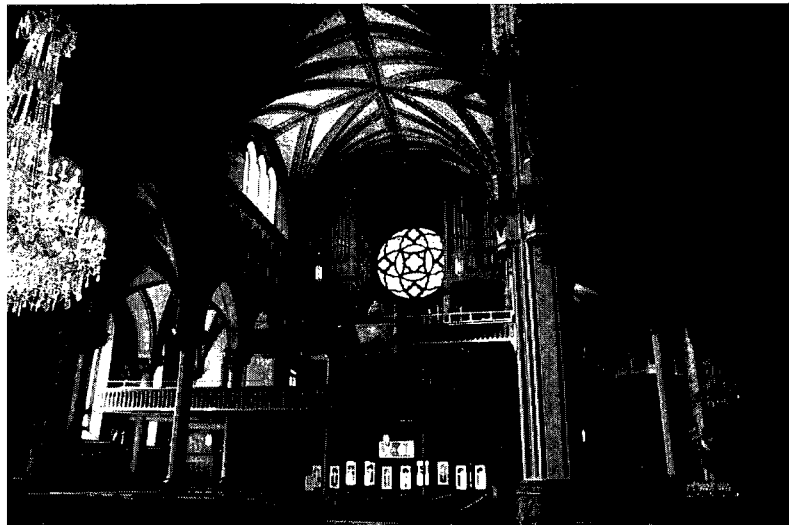
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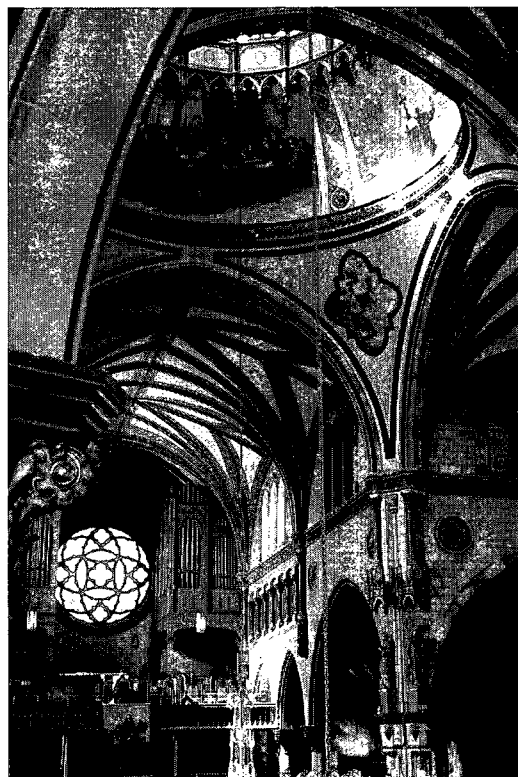
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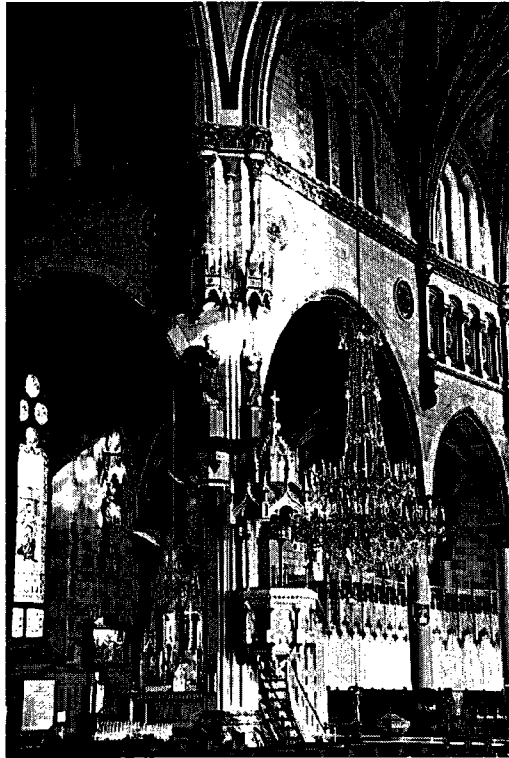
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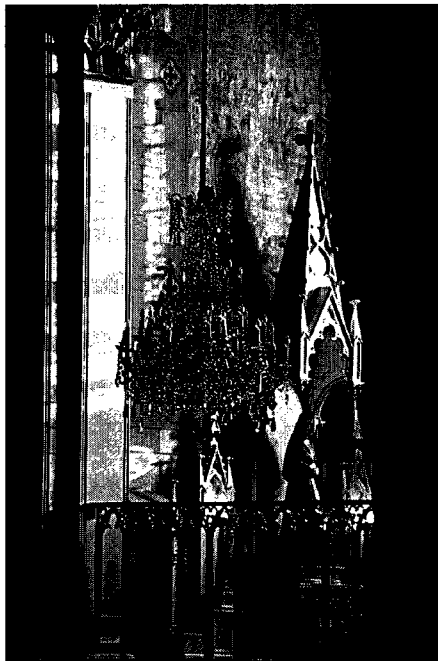
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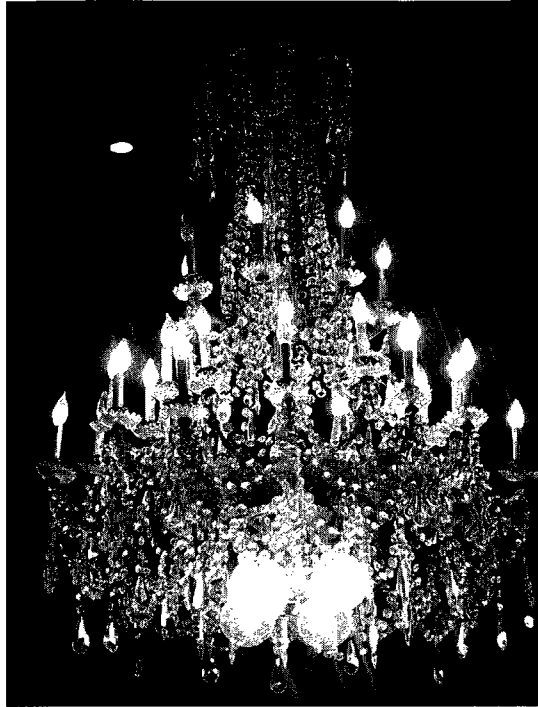
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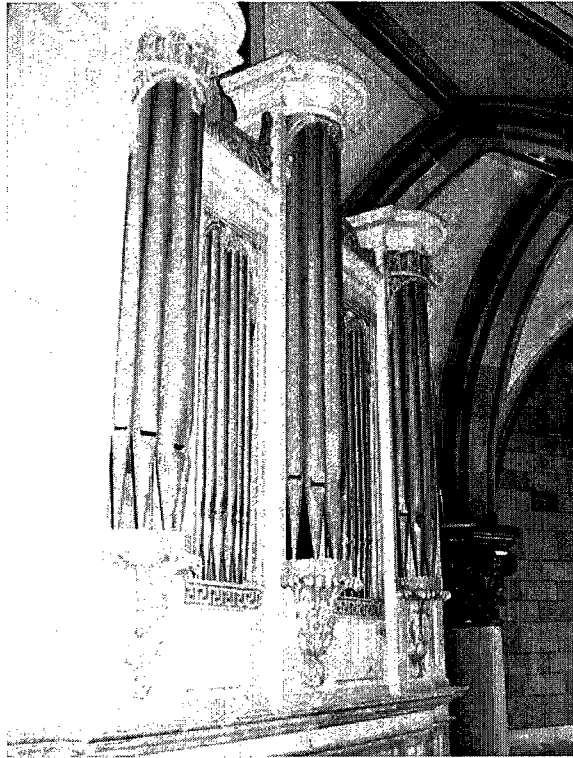
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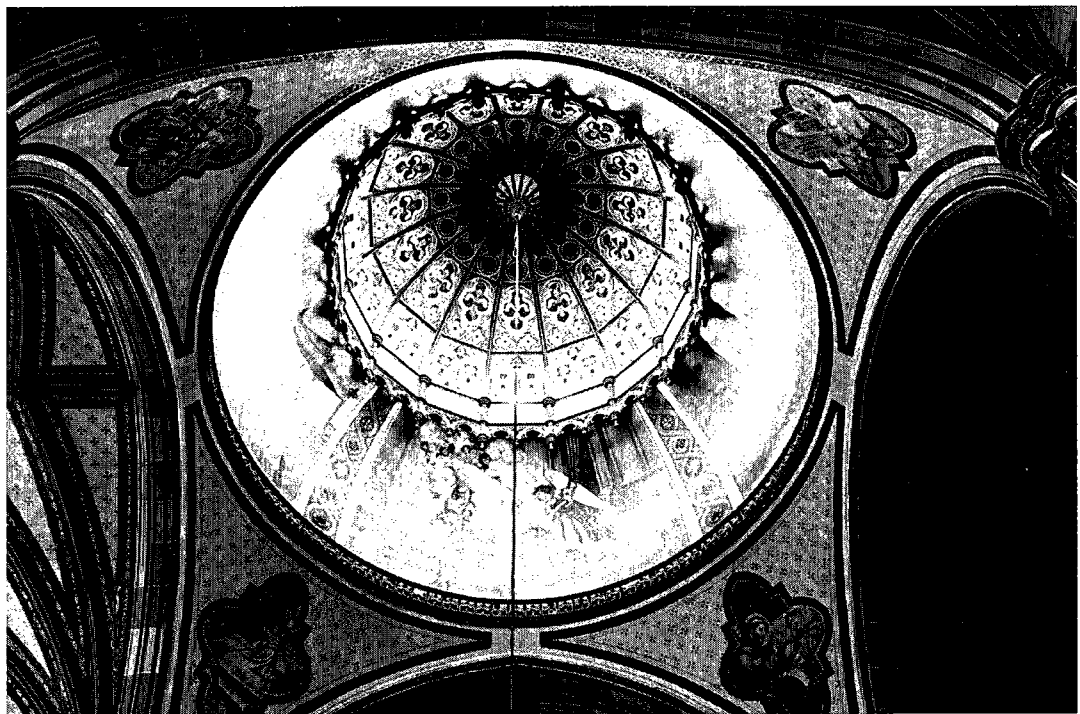Figure 78

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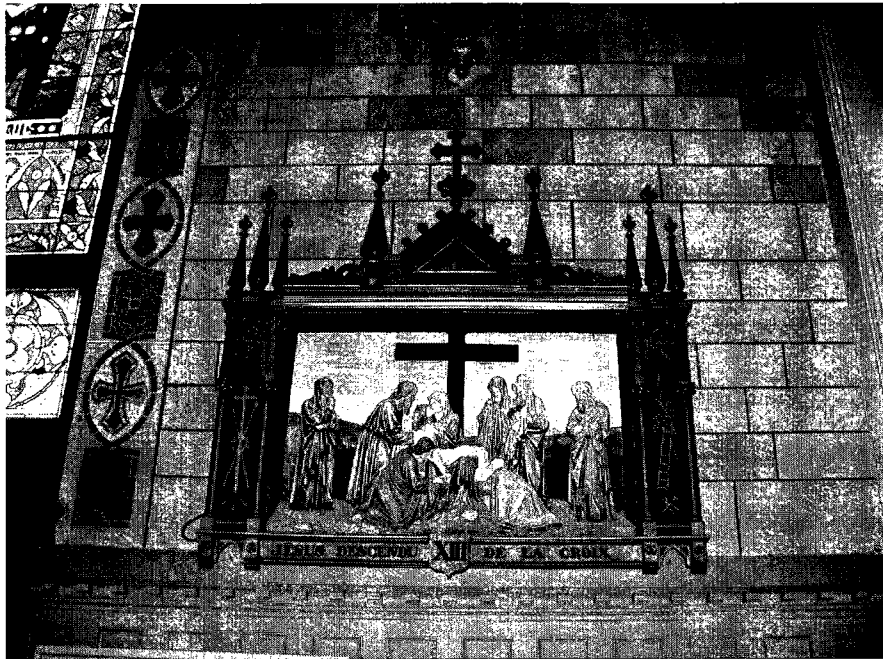

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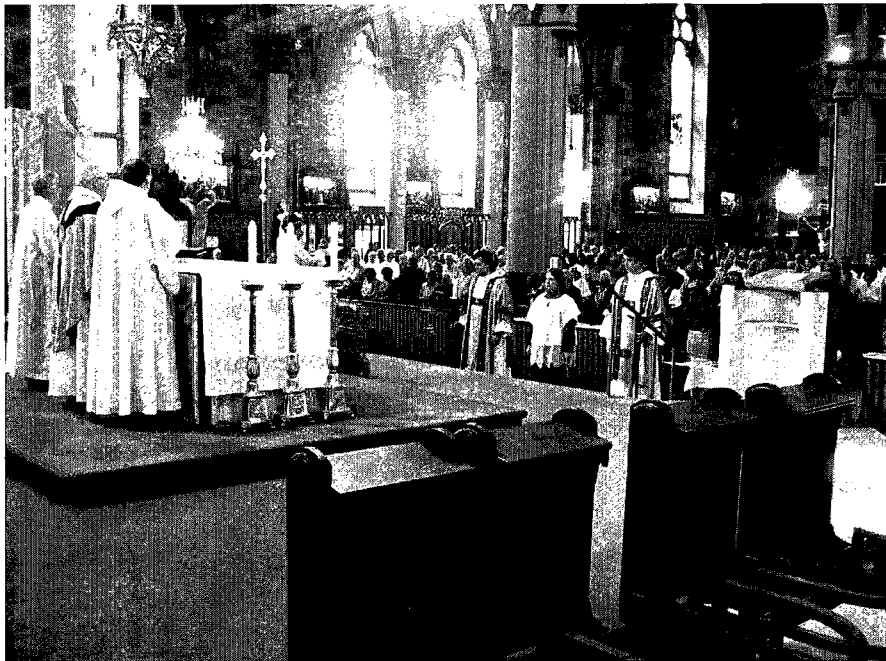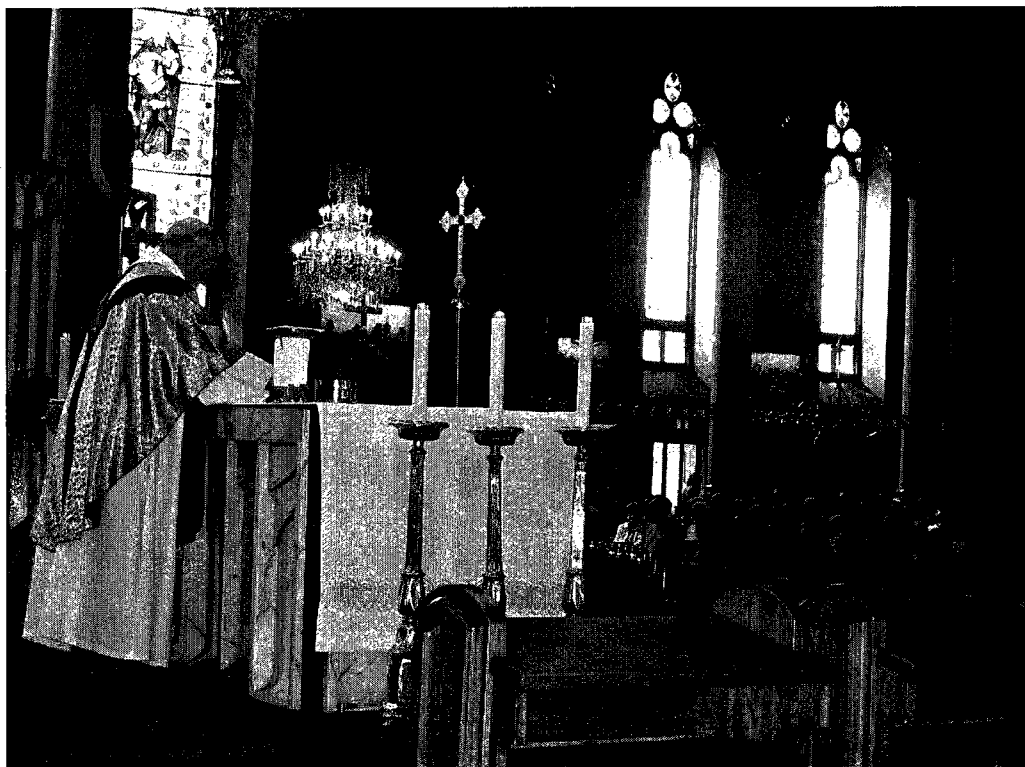Figure 88

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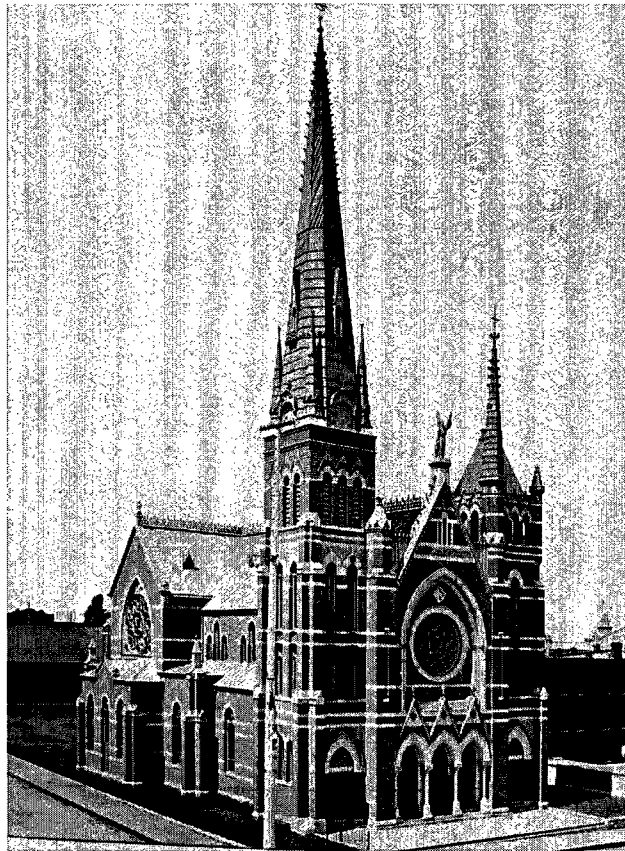Figure 91

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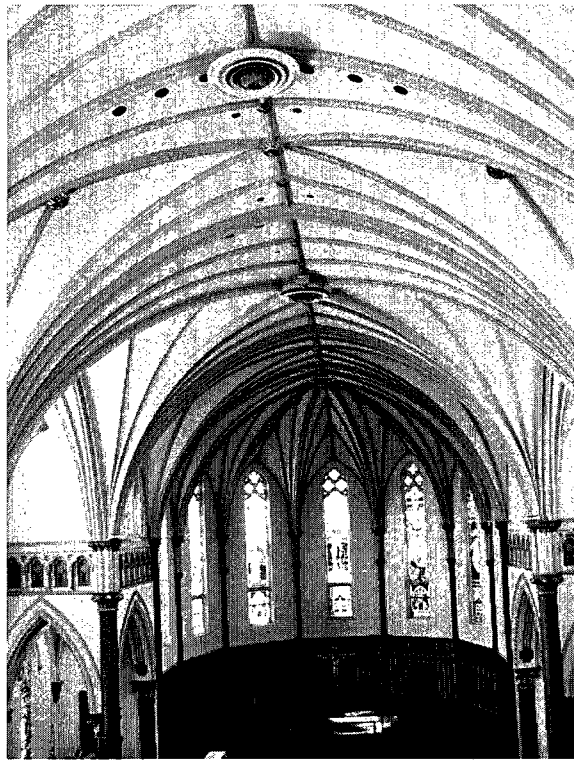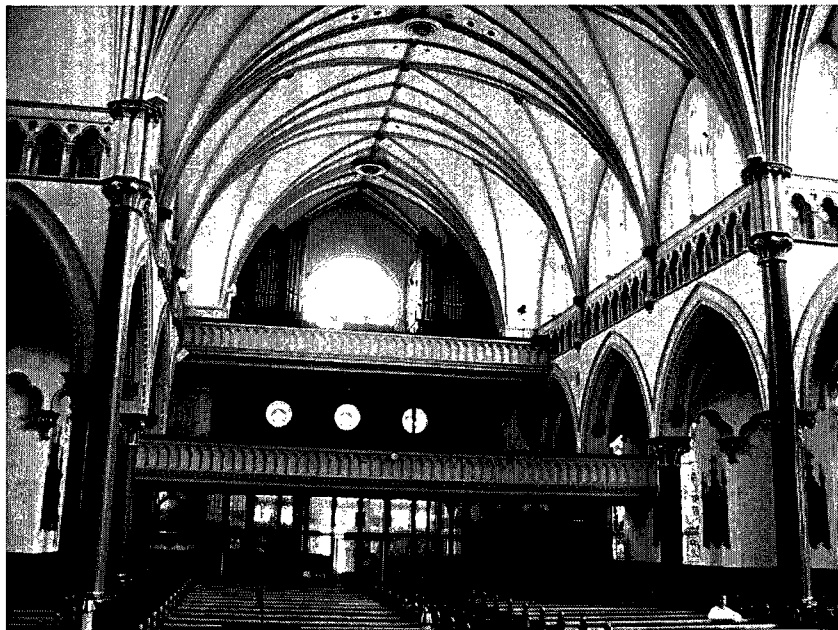
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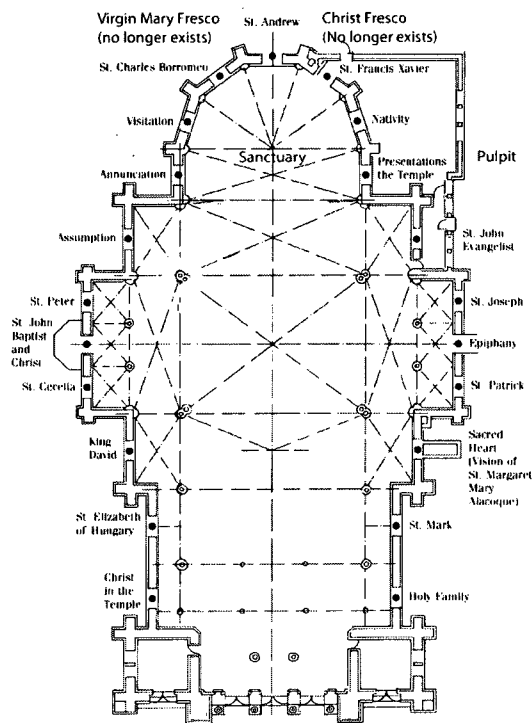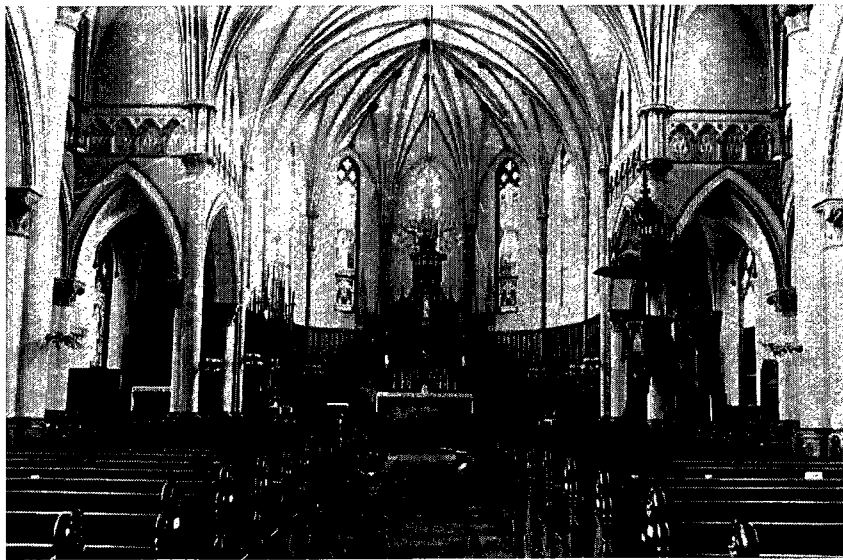Figure 96

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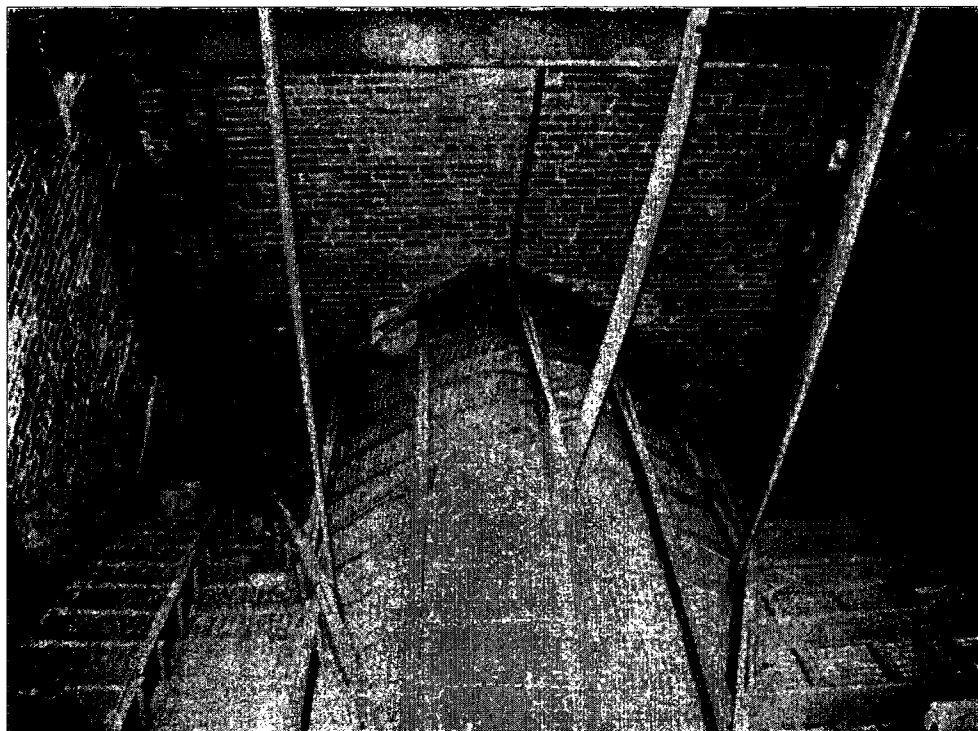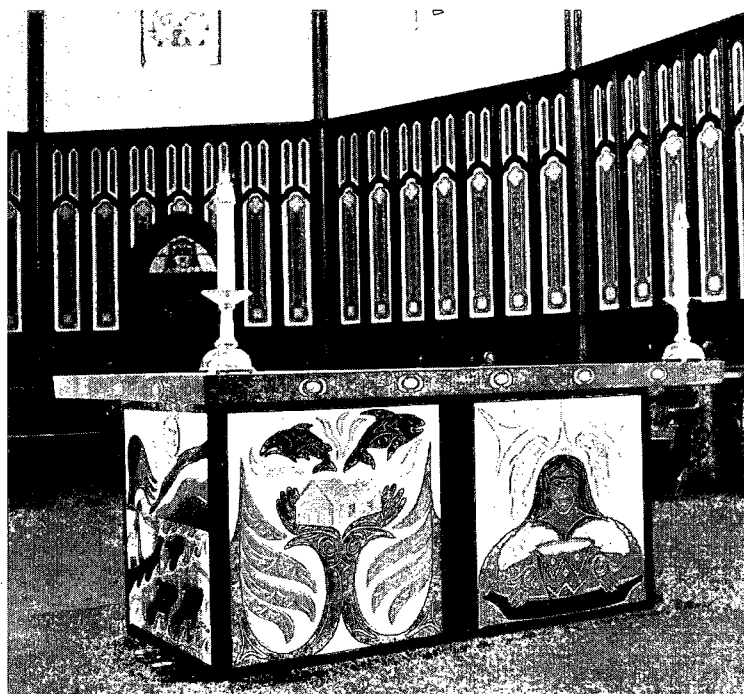

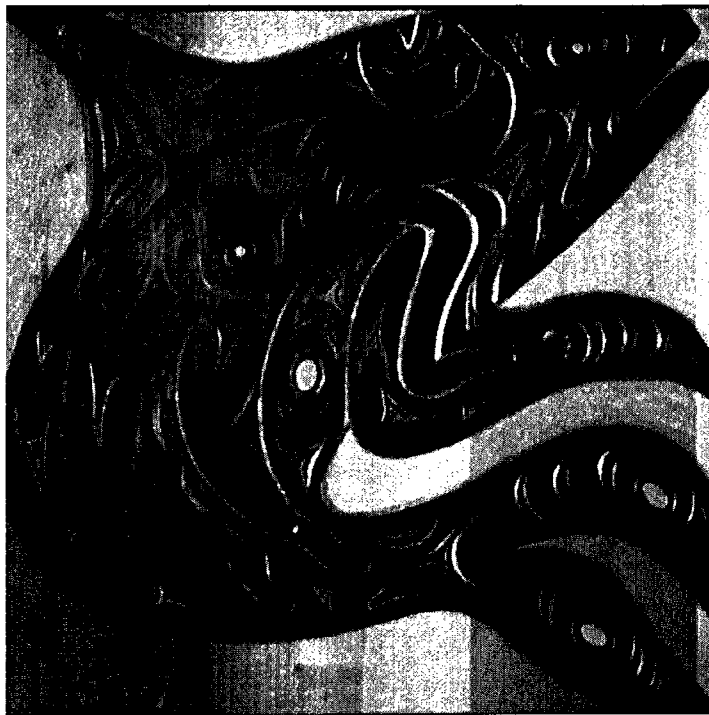Figure 99

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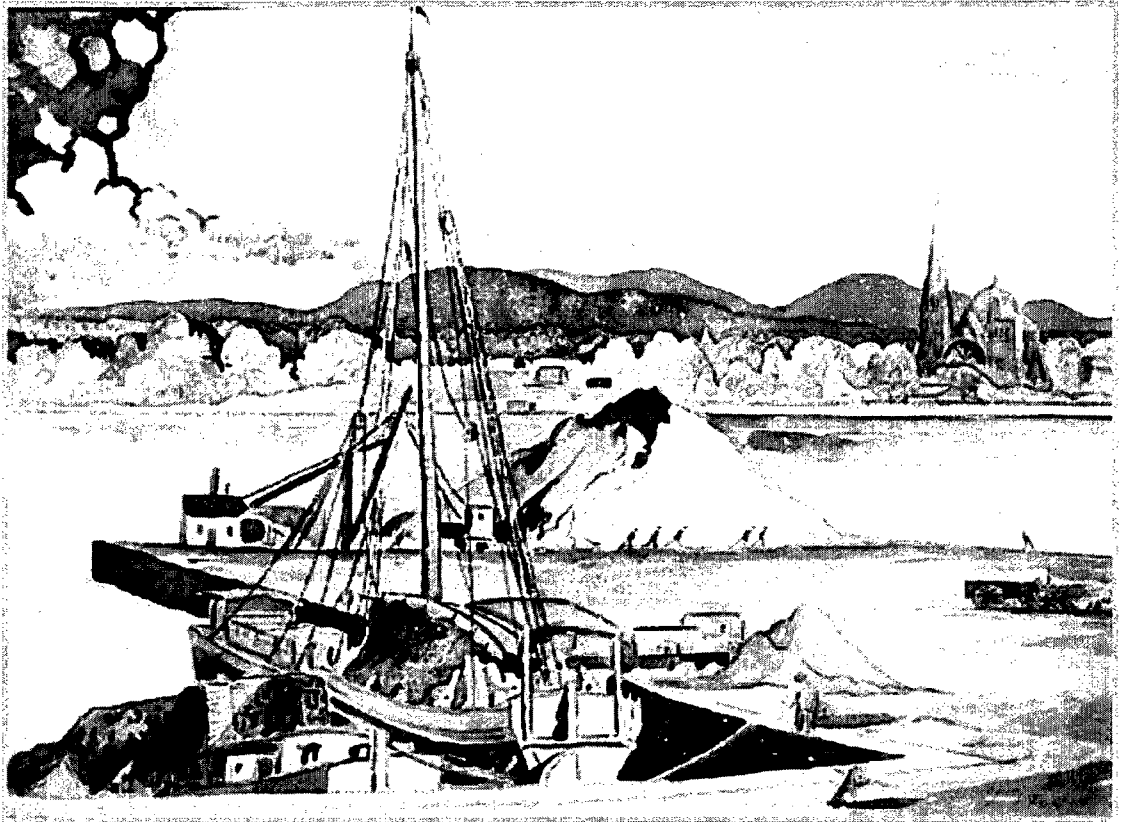
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