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Church Architecture in
Montreal during the
British-Colonial Period
1760-1860

Clarence Epstein

Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
1999



Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis was completed by myself
and that the work is my own.

Clarence Epstein

Abstract

The French-colonial trading town of Montreal underwent a remarkable transformation from 1760 to 1860. Following the British conquest of New France, the powers vested to Catholic missionary orders were assumed by a Protestant administration. Given the diversity of settlers who were forced to live side by side in the more densely populated urban areas of the colony, ecclesiastical design became a vehicle for the expression of national and denominational identities. By examining church production in Montreal during the period, those cultural imperatives inscribed by French, English, Scottish, Irish and American denominations become apparent. The assimilation of building traditions resulting from the interaction of communities was critical in determining the architectural character of Canada's first metropolis.

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Abbreviations

ACAM	Archives of the Chancellery of the Archdiocese of Montreal
ACSASP	Archives of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul
ADMA	Anglican Diocese of Montreal Archives
AFNDM	Archives de la Fabrique Notre-Dame-de-Montréal
ANQM	Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal
AOMI	Archives des Oblats-Marie-Immaculée, Montréal
ASQ	Archives du Séminaire de Québec
ASSSM	Archives du Séminaire St. Sulpice de Montréal
BLL	British Library, London
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i>
MMA	McCord Museum of Canadian History Archives
MRG	Montreal Research Group, Canadian Centre for Architecture
NAC	National Archives of Canada
PCAT	Presbyterian Church Archives, Toronto
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew, London
RAPQ	<i>Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec</i>
RHAF	<i>Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française</i>
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SGCA	St. George's Church Archives
SPCA	St. Patrick's Church Archives
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
TMCA	Trinity Memorial Church Archives
UCAM	United Church Archives, Montreal
UCAT	United Church Archives, Toronto
UCMA	Unitarian Church of Montreal Archives
USPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Oxford
not.	Notarial Records

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Introduction

During the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries, Montreal was the cultural and commercial axis of Canada, but in the last thirty years it has suffered major setbacks.¹ Accused of being the cradle of the country's English-speaking élite, the city has become a prime target of Quebec's nationalist movement. In their bid to bring Montreal back into the "French" fold, certain factions are committed to suppressing its intrinsically multi-cultural face.

Although it seems ironic, the institutions of French Canada would have never survived had it not been for the tolerance of the British administration following the cession of New France in 1760. Owing to the capacity of the Catholic Church to exact social control over the populace, certain clerics were permitted to stay in the colony.² The sense of communal identity instilled by the Church shaped French-Canadian mores until recently, and it should come as no surprise that prior to 1950 almost eighty percent of the parish and regional histories of Quebec were written by members of the clergy.³

¹For a discussion of the events surrounding the Quiet Revolution see William D. Coleman, *The Independence Movement in Quebec 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

²K.A. Mackirdy et al, *Changing Perspectives in Canadian History, Selected Problems* (Don Mills, Ont.: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1971), 80.

³Fernand Ouellet, *The Socialization of Quebec Historiography Since 1960* (Toronto: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 1988), 7. For a listing of historians see Serge Gagnon, *Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920* (Quebec: Presses Université Laval, 1978), 34.

The release of the findings of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences in 1951, however, had a substantial bearing on the course of historiography. French Canadian scholars began to see the social sciences in another light. The *Annales* paradigm, a Paris-based approach to history that sought to reconstruct the life of societies in their totality, was embraced by a new generation of academics. Understandably, they were eager to revise the predominantly-narrative method employed by their cleric predecessors.⁴

Unfortunately, through this advancement of an alternative historiography, a dangerous line was crossed between a modern, liberal interpretation of Quebec history and the selective, if not manipulative reading of archival sources. Assuming the roles of iconoclasts, certain historians fixated on French-Canadian secular accomplishments while selectively omitting or treating as secondary any religious and/or British influences that had figured into the Quebec experience. These revised accounts of French Canada reached a dangerous point wherein the stories of a people and a province were indiscriminately fused.

One scholar who rejected this extreme nationalist bent was Fernand Ouellet. His *Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850*, published in 1966, stimulated debate about the course of the province's development. Although his contribution to our understanding of Quebec is pivotal,

⁴For a discussion of one adaptation of this school of thought in the country see Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing 1900-1970* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), 186.

Ouellet's work considered the island city of Montreal as one element within a larger societal framework. If one bears in mind how London's character differs from that of the rest of England, or Paris from the rest of France, distinguishing urban precincts from rural ones often leads to different conclusions about the evolution of a place. For this reason, there is a methodological problem inherent in Ouellet's approach stemming from his failure to address the role of cultural interaction in Montreal as an atypical feature of the Quebec experience.

Unlike rural areas of the colony where both the French language and Catholicism remained in the ascendant, migratory trends following the imperial transfer fundamentally altered the composition of the port town. Considering how groups of Scots, English and Irish settled among a pre-existing French colonial populace, a cultural synergy was created that was neither decisively French nor British.⁵ Due to its unique constituency, Montreal evolved independently from other regions of the massive colony. It became the nexus from which other Canadian urban centres such as Quebec, Toronto and Ottawa, to name a few of the larger ones, drew inspiration.

Following Ouellet's seminal work, two doctoral theses produced in the mid-1970s made greater strides in explaining the derivations of its urban character traits. Jean-Claude Marsan produced a dissertation in 1975 for the

⁵For a discussion of the visual discourse see Gillian Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric: The image of 'the native' and 'the habitant' in the formation of colonial identities in early nineteenth-century Lower Canada," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, XVI/1 1994, 10-26.

University of Edinburgh titled "Montreal in evolution: historical account of the development of Montreal's architecture and environment"; and two years later Jean-Claude Robert submitted "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation" to the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. They broke new ground in the field of Canadian urban history: Marsan's attempt to assess more than three hundred years of architectural development and Robert's examination of the modification of cultural order in the nineteenth century acted as catalysts for further enquiry into the particularity of Montreal's development.

One outcome of their efforts to increase social awareness of the urban character, was the response by heritage and architecture conservation movements in the late-1970s and 1980s. It was also at this time that the Montreal Research Group at the Canadian Centre for Architecture undertook an exhaustive study of the town in the eighteenth century. Combining approaches in social and architectural history, the Group, directed by Phyllis Lambert, provided a spatial interpretation of Montreal that has been unrivalled on the international scene. The late Richard Krautheimer commented that he wished "somebody had done something comparable for just a tiny part of Old Rome".⁶

Rather than capitalising on such outstanding efforts, however, architectural research on Montreal has been patently inadequate in recent years. Perhaps blame for the

⁶Krautheimer's comment was made to Lambert in 1978. See her article, "Publications and the Transfer of Culture: France and Colonial Montréal, 1670-1750," in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. Cecil L. Striker (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 91.

weak output should be placed on the continuous deterioration of the province's university system. As financially-strapped institutions try to find ways to squeeze funds from government coffers, arts and social science faculties are often passed over because of their inability to attract adequate corporate sponsorship. Inevitably the production of graduate work in these fields decreases and wide gaps in knowledge become more obvious. Furthermore, the competition for the few grants and fellowships available to young Quebec scholars has become so fierce that unless study proposals are deemed politically correct, they are more often than not rejected.

This trend of political correctness in Montreal universities in particular, has limited the scope for debate and has crippled intellectual life in the city.⁷ Instead of tackling the social issues inherent to its civic architecture, the majority of the academic output has centred on architects' biographies and monographs on individual buildings. The scholars cannot be blamed for their efforts, since archival resources have not been examined in any detail, nor more importantly, have they been cross referenced. It is in the light of these wide gaps in basic information, that I have focussed on ecclesiastical architecture, a collective process that touched every ethnic group and denomination.

⁷Ouellet discussed this issue in a convocation address given in 1995, The address was published as "Trying to Understand and Explain the Role of Intellectuals in Society," *Occasional Papers* No.4, February 1996, Department of History, University of Saskatchewan.

No other visual marker assumed more guises, nor could any other built form be used more appropriately as a tool for understanding the evolution of belief systems and value systems in the increasingly segregated society of Montreal during the British occupation.⁸ In no small part has the work of Fernand Braudel and the Annales School been crucial to my approach.⁹ Braudel's assertions that people tend to view life based on choice in the framework of their own experience was put into context by the English historians, H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff. They argued that the study of man in his time is more or less artificial as compared with the totality of his personal encounter.¹⁰ In an attempt to maintain this approach I was forced to question my upbringing, the prejudices of my teachers and the socio-political issues that affect my day to day existence.¹¹

⁸See John A. Agnew, ed., *The City in Cultural Context* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), 7. See also "An Introduction to British Urban History 1820-1914," in *The Victorian City A Reader in British Urban History*, ed. R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (London: Longman, 1993), 12.

⁹Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 34. See also Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800*, trans. Miriam Kochan (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1967), 25; and Traian Stoianovich, *French Historical Method The Annales Paradigm* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 25.

¹⁰H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City, Images and Realities*, I (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), xxvi. For a discussion of Hegelian theory as it applies to aesthetic movements see Eric Fernie, *Art History and its Methods: A Critical Anthology* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 14.

¹¹Taken from Ernst Gombrich, "In Search of Cultural History," in *Ideals and Idols: essays on values in history and in art* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), 42-59.

Well aware that the French-Canadian bias toward Quebec history is inextricably linked to cultural perception, I cannot deny that my reading of Braudel is influenced by my own values acquired as a member of a so-called ethnic minority. Regardless of this labelling, as an English-speaker of Jewish background born and raised in Montreal, I contend that I am no less a product of the local environment than any French Canadian. It is because of, and not in spite of this fact, that my identity as both an insider and an outsider allows me the opportunity to critique the milieu.¹² Not unlike urbanist Robert Park's characterisation of the Jew's role in the development of the city, I have remained on the margin of several cultures and societies which never completely fused.¹³

It is due to this sensitivity to my surroundings that I have been able to view Montreal as the outcome of a social whorl in which action, reaction and interaction between dominant and subordinate groups determined the character of the place. In a letter sent to me by Alan Gowans - a pioneer in the research of Canada's built environment - I was reminded that "if Handel and Bach reworked musical themes, why shouldn't architectural historians do it; aren't we supposed to be dealing in frozen music?"¹⁴

¹²The insider/outsider analogy is explained in greater detail in J.M.S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

¹³Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII, 1928. Taken from Richard Sennett, ed., *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (New York: Meredith, 1969), 141.

¹⁴Letter to the author dated 20 April 1995.

Applying his metaphor to the present study, it can be claimed that the ecclesiastical buildings discussed are musical notes, which when presented in concert, reveal the innovative potential of academic interpretation.

Given that the temporal parameters of the dissertation span one hundred years, it would have been misleading to thread together chapters guided exclusively by chronological divisions, religious associations or architectonic distinctions. Instead, a combination of methods have been employed. My art historical training in decoding symbological systems proved to be invaluable, especially when studying the images of buildings within the larger civic context.¹⁵ Of the fifty building projects discussed, the majority have disappeared due to fire, sale, congregational relocation and urban expansion.¹⁶ As a result, the difficulty in finding interior views often necessitated the reconstruction of spaces based on first-hand impressions and building specifications.¹⁷

There is only so much that a visitor's description or a

¹⁵For iconographic interpretations of ecclesiastical design in Quebec see Marc Grignon, *Loing du Soleil: Architectural Practice in Quebec City during the French Regime* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

¹⁶Only ten churches built in this period remain standing in one form or another. For a summary of the state of heritage conservation in the city see Government of Quebec, *Le patrimoine de Montréal: document de référence* (Montreal: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 1998).

¹⁷The demand for space always superseded the need for decoration and proper furnishings. As a result many congregations embellished their interiors at much later dates.

notarial contract can reveal about artistic intention. Therefore to complement these research tools, works of fiction became useful in explaining the etiquette and social codes of the period.¹⁸ Similarly, I realised that terms such as Georgian and Victorian, as far as they relate to the British-imperial literary and historical models, act merely as guidelines from which local trends should be examined. It is only a coincidence that the starting date of the study, 1760, also marks the ascension of George III to the throne. That Victoria succeeded the Hanoverians in 1837 should not lead one to assume that the aesthetic movements flourishing during the last decades of the dynasty of Georges immediately declined in popularity and new movements embraced.¹⁹ Moreover, the year 1860 was chosen as an end date of the study because it was a crucial juncture in the building programmes of the city's leading denominations. The sliding methodology that I have employed, emphasises the nationalist and religious forces that determined the course of civic development.

Unlike convent chapels that were inextricable components of larger, private complexes²⁰, churches as well as

¹⁸The progressive methodological approaches of Edward Said were insightful. See *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993). For more on the colony-empire relationship see Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), ix.

¹⁹John Summerson coined the early-Victorian period as post-Georgian eclectic. See his article, "London, the Artifact," in *The Victorian City*, ed. Dyos and Wolff, 312.

²⁰For a detailed study of conventual architecture see Robert Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal* (Lasalle, Que.: Editions Hurtubise, 1980). Ecclesiastical architecture as it relates to Montreal's female religious

meetinghouses and synagogues were free-standing structures operating within a larger urban circuit. Their multiple functions as public spaces, meeting places and power bases consistently reinforces how societal demands affected the course of ecclesiastical design. For every chapter a prefatory section serves to situate the subject matter within the social history of the city.²¹

A specific ordering has been imposed on the two principal Parts of the thesis in order to address the relevance of this building type to the cultural dynamic of Montreal. Part One, comprising the first three chapters, deals with the contributions of the three dominant national groups that dictated architectural taste from 1760 to 1830. Although the accomplishments of seventy years are examined in this first Part, it must be understood that the population remained small and the building activity, relatively slow. In the absence of professional architects, an assortment of contractors, masons and carpenters assumed responsibilities for the ten houses of worship erected. (Appendix A) As a consequence, the quality of craftsmanship reflected the limited capacity of the building industry.

With the arrival of substantial numbers of British immigrants by the 1830s, the social and religious makeup of the city was modified substantially. A greater emphasis was placed on asserting denominational allegiances in an ever-increasing sectarian society, with the immediate result

Orders will be addressed by Tanya Martin in her thesis in progress at the University of California, Berkeley.

²¹For a discussion of the city as a mirror of a broader reality see *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Meredith, 1969), 3.

being an explosion in church building. In the thirty years between 1830 and 1860, Montrealers witnessed the erection of thirty five houses of worship - more than triple the amount built in the seventy years prior. (Appendix A) The religious establishment came to be contested by the growing Protestant factions as the French Canadian community lost its majority status.²² The conspicuous presence of Nonconformist groups further divided the ecclesiastical power base.

Part Two, comprising the last three chapters, considers the means by which denominations distinguished themselves within a rapidly-industrialising British colonial city. One of the key factors in building production was the involvement of professionally-trained architects who were capable of articulating congregational identity and social status for their patrons. Their works were unquestionably more sophisticated than those executed by the mason/builders of the previous period. The pinnacle of architectural achievement was the official opening of the Anglican bastion of Christ Church Cathedral in 1860, in the presence of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. That year *Harper's Weekly* declared Montreal "beyond all question the first city in British North America".²³

It was also in 1860 that Bishop Fulford was named as the first Metropolitan for the province, a title that was decreed to be held exclusively by the Montreal Anglican

²²Eric Durocher, "The English-Speaking Catholic People of Montreal," in *L'Eglise de Montréal 1836-1986*, ed. Rolland Litalien (Montreal: Fides, 1986), 320.

²³*Harper's Weekly*, 18 August, 1860.

diocese. This official appointment came at the expense of driving the wedge further between religious camps. At a dinner held in honour of the Prince's visit, Fulford met for the first time the Catholic Bishop of Quebec. How unusual that in the ten years since his arrival to the province, Fulford had yet to cross paths with one of his clerical counterparts. He noted in his journal: "I had never met [the monseigneur] before - a pleasing old man but speaks no English - and I speak little French".²⁴ This absence of communication could not have summed up any more succinctly the reluctance of the Established Churches to compromise their positions.

Given the particular character of Montreal that resulted in the hundred years between its surrender by the French and its acclamation as the hub of British America, the relationships between ecclesiastical architecture and cultural expression demand further investigation. By studying the development of these buildings it is possible to identify the cultural imperatives of Frenchness, Englishness, Scottishness, Irishness, as well as the various Catholic, Protestant and Jewish tendencies. As manifestations of the complex value systems operating within a pluralist society, the evolution of this building type reflected the societal composition of Canada's first metropolis.²⁵

²⁴27 August 1860, Private Journal from June 17, 1854 to September 12, 1860, Private Journals II, R.G. 2.1 vol.2, Fulford Papers, ADMA.

²⁵For more on the notion of cultural differentiation see Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1990), xiii.

Part One

Chapter I

Compromising British Ideals 1760-1815

i. The Colony in Transition

Following the surrender of Montreal in 1760, the Marquis of Vaudreuil signed the Articles of Capitulation, effectively bringing an end to the Seven Years' War on the continent. The cession of New France was a major windfall, helping to consolidate Britain's territorial holdings in eastern North America and creating potential passages to the fertile west. The acquisition of the colony, however, also brought about the task of integrating a Catholic populace into a Protestant system. In urban centres such as Quebec and Montreal where French institutions were most entrenched, merely replacing the emblems of the *Ancien Régime* with the new royal arms and insignia would not erase more than a century of Gallican influence. To ensure a smooth transition of powers, the British were left little choice but to pursue a course of social toleration by agreeing to many concessions.

Since the Act of Union with Scotland (1707) which brought together Catholic Highlanders and Lowland Presbyterians, the anti-Catholic stance of the Crown had shown signs of softening. The British had realised that only after a populace could be guaranteed security within a foreign system of government, could they begin the process of

imposing a new political agenda.¹ In this regard, owing to the compromises necessary to assure stability in French Canada, cultural development remained in a state of flux in the first fifty years following the cession. The primary concern was not whether British conventions could be imposed, rather at what rate and to what extent?

The first work of fiction written about this transitional period, *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), consists of a series of correspondences by various individuals in the colony and London. Addressing the social and cultural impact of the take over, the author, Frances Brooke (1724-1789) was inspired by a term of residence in Quebec when her husband was chaplain of the garrison. While Brooke was clearly fascinated by the interaction of national groups, she maintained an ethnocentric view on the merits of assimilating the French Canadians:

[...] if they are won by the gentle arts of persuasion, and the gradual progress of knowledge, to adopt so much of our manners as tends to make them happier in themselves, and more useful members of the society to which they belong: if with our language, which they should by every means be induced to learn, they acquire the mild genius of our religion and laws, and that spirit of industry, enterprize [sic], and commerce, to which we owe all our greatness.²

More than a century after Brooke, Victorian novelists were

¹As one of the most progressive empires in modern history, Britain was known to force, manipulate and collaborate whenever necessary so as to profit her interests. Charles Glaab, *A History of Urban America* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 5.

²From Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague* (1769; reprint, Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1961), 176, letter 123.

intrigued by the romanticism of this era in imperial history. Basing story lines on the relationship between the French and British aristocratic classes whose experiences seemed tragic to their readers, writers chose to explore the emotional dimensions of the Conquest. Some of their characters were rendered stoic or heroic, others fragile and vulnerable. All of them, however, were implicated in the search for national identity - a popular theme in the years leading up to Canadian Confederation in 1867.³ In *Les anciens canadiens* (1863) by Philippe Aubert de Gaspé (1786-1871), the author drew upon his own childhood memories to create the main characters - Jules d'Haberville, the son of a French seigneur, and a Scots named Archibald Cameron of Locheill.⁴

Having formed a boyhood friendship dating back to their days as Catholic students at the Collège in Quebec, the two constantly poke fun at each other's personality traits: Jules mocks the Scots' austere disposition while Archibald makes light of the Frenchman's indulgent practices. When the day comes that they are called upon to fight in the critical, continental war, their national allegiances - once a source of innocent prodding - invariably force them to part ways. Not long after, when they confront each other on the blood-soaked Plains of Abraham, instead of duelling to the death as sworn enemies, they set aside their political differences and embrace as a gesture of fraternal love.

³For an analysis see Leonard Doucette, *Theatre in French Canada: Laying the Foundations 1606-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 149.

⁴Translated one year later into *The Canadians of Old* by Georgiana M. Pennée (Quebec: Desbarats, 1864).

In spite of this portrayal of a romanticised union of nationalities, there was no question that the French aristocratic class, represented by the character of Jules, was stripped of privilege and status following the British victory. As the leaders of New France, the moral defeat of the nobility intimated the loss of direction for an entire colonial population. The historian François-Xavier Garneau wrote:

The evils they had previously endured seemed light to them compared to the sufferings and humiliations which were in preparation, they feared, for them and their posterity.⁵

Forsaken by their sovereign and weary of the intentions of their new administrators, French Canadians turned to the Catholic Church as the sole source of support in their time of need.⁶ For some of the clergy, ironically, the military defeat made them more influential than before. In the early years following the cession there was minimal interference with the operations of the Church. Although convents were denied official recognition until their roles under the new regime were defined, certain agreements were struck between the Catholic Church and the British State.

⁵François-Xavier Garneau, *History of Canada, from the Time of Its Discovery till the Union Year (1840-41)*, trans. Andrew Bell, 2 (Montreal, 1860), 84. See also Michel Brunet, "The British Conquest: Canadian Social Scientists and the Fate of the Canadiens," in *Approaches to Canadian History I*, ed. Ramsay Cook et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 84-98.

⁶For general discussions see: H.H. Walsh, *The Church in the French Era: From Colonization to the British Conquest* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), 202; John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), 55; and John G. Bourniot, *Canada under British Rule 1760-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 37.

Indebted as the military was to the female nursing orders who took care of its wounded and sick soldiers, it was deemed in the Articles of Capitulation that sisters would "be preserved in their constitutions and privileges".⁷ There was less compassion, however, for members of the male religious orders. The Jesuits and Récollets - who had formed extensive parochial networks dating back to the seventeenth century - were considered threats to the political stability of the colony. Powerless to object to the Crown's ruling on their fate, they were forbidden to recruit new members and their properties eventually sequestered.⁸

The only male missionaries given preferential treatment were the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice - a secular religious order composed of French noblemen who had been overseeing the seigneurie of the Island of Montreal since 1663. As principal landlords of the region and officials of the parish church of Notre Dame, the Sulpicians controlled two tiers of social organisation. In the absence of an experienced administration, the priests became valuable to the Crown in their capacity to help manage one of the few urban centres.⁹

With the clergy's role in civic affairs defined, the small

⁷Article XXXII, Articles of Capitulation, in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canadian Archives: documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada 1759-1791* (Ottawa: Tache, 1918), 30-32.

⁸Shortt and Doughty, *Canadian Archives*, 71-72.

⁹See Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, transl. Liana Vardi (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

numbers of incoming British traders were able to assume the reins of economic development with little opposition.¹⁰ Governor James Murray (1721-1794), became concerned about the strain that these aggressive merchants were placing on French-Canadian relations. His refusal to afford them preferential treatment at the expense of the Catholic populace was recorded in his log:

I displeased the little English traders, who all - Quakers, Puritans, Ana-Baptists, Presbyterians, Atheists, Infidels and even the Jews - protested that any consideration be paid to the poor Canadians.¹¹

When Murray was replaced as governor by Sir Guy Carleton (1724-1808), his successor was, at first, more sympathetic to the concerns of the merchants. In due time, however, Carleton also realised that French Canadians were not adversaries but potentially loyal citizens. Owing to the sluggish migration from Britain, the new governor was all too aware that he might have to rely on his Catholic subjects in the event of an uprising in the American colonies. Consequently in 1774 the Quebec Act was passed by Parliament. The statute offered unprecedented political and religious concessions to citizens of French Canada through the guaranteed protection of their traditional laws, customs, language and religion.¹² While the colony would

¹⁰Fernand Ouellet, *Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1980), 30.

¹¹A.G. Dewey, "The First Fifteen Years of British Administration in Montreal 1760-1775" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1913), 14. Originally from General Murray's Letter-Book (1763-1765), NAC.

¹²In England, Catholics were not granted religious provisions until the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

continue to be ruled by an appointed governor together with a council, the latter would be open to Catholic office holders.

In London, questions were put forward concerning the administration's failure to provide for the Protestant religions. There were also debates concerning the relationship of the Catholic bishop to the sovereign. For their part, the small but influential group of British merchants based in Montreal put forth addresses to George III, the Lords and the Commons to repeal the Act.¹³ Their interests were at stake, since the granting of such liberties to French Canadians weakened prospects of securing commercial monopolies. For these merchants, only the complete anglicisation of the colony could satisfy their objectives.¹⁴

Though critics might have sneered initially at the apparent concessions offered to the French Canadians, the course of action illustrated how the Crown astutely managed a global network through a variety of political approaches. To this end, strategies were often implemented that were progressive and untested. Ultimately the Quebec Act did prove its value only a few years later, during the American Revolution. With republican factions challenging imperial authority and inciting rebellion, political compromises in

¹³For more on local trade see the Ellice Papers, MSS.15001-195 in the National Library of Scotland. Documents pertain to the son-in-law of Lord Grey, Edward Ellice (1783-1863), a merchant who was considered to be the leading expert on the colony.

¹⁴James Sturgis, "Anglicisation as a Theory in Lower-Canadian History 1807-1843," *Bulletin of Canadian Studies*, November 1979, vol.II, 33.

Quebec became pivotal in preventing a greater continental insurrection. The historian, John Moir, remarked that the passing of the act had ironically succeeded in keeping the colony British by leaving it French!¹⁵

For a period of just more than fifteen years - between the Conquest and the American Revolution - Quebec and Montreal had been part of a massive British-colonial system in North America. With the triumph of the United States, however, both urban centres were forced to adapt to the needs of the Empire in the face of its major territorial losses.¹⁶ The strategic locations of the towns along the St. Lawrence River made them relatively accessible to the large British fleet. Quebec assumed greater military significance; it was well-fortified and situated on a promontory with a commanding view of all its surroundings.

Montreal received more commercial attention due to its western position, accessing the continental interior. The town extended along the southern shore of a fertile island with a large, wooded mountain rising almost seven hundred and sixty feet at its back. In a plan published by the *London Magazine* in 1760 (Map A), the settlement was shown to be delimited by a fortified wall with seven redoubts and a dry ditch, the total dimensions of which were less than one mile long and three hundred and fifty yards wide.¹⁷

¹⁵John Moir, *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1967), 92.

¹⁶Charles Glaab, *A History of Urban America* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 5.

¹⁷Phyllis Lambert and Alan Stewart, eds., *Opening the Gates of Eighteenth-Century Montréal* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1992), 28; For a first-hand

The wharf and port areas occupied large parts of the southern boundary, while the town itself was divided into upper and lower sections together with three districts.¹⁸ Conventual complexes dominated the central precincts, and residences built narrow and high were visible on most streets. The favoured construction material, grey limestone, provided a certain consistency that would be maintained throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Houses were covered with white cedar shingle or boards and slate was introduced soon after. Floors were usually made of clay or stone to prevent fires.

The inaccurate, if not fictional view engraved for the *Royal Magazine* in 1760 seems to overstate the exoticism of the place.²⁰ (Fig.1) Jutting turrets, steeples and iron crosses rendered on top of the convents give the impression of a French medieval enclave. While at the eastern extremity, appearing nearly as large as the Catholic religious bastions, the billowing British flag perched on

description see Isaac Weld Jr., *Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796 and 1797* (London, 1799), 177.

¹⁸An outline of French-colonial policy as it related to urban planning can be found in John Reys, *The Making of Urban America: A History of Planning in the United States* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), 56.

¹⁹Denis St. Louis, *Maçonnerie Traditionnelle, Document Technique: régions de Montréal et de Québec*, II (Montreal: Heritage Montreal, 1984), 56.

²⁰For a related discussion on the distortion of printed images of the colony see Clarence Epstein, "The Quebec That Never Was: Eighteenth-Century Magic Lantern Tours to an Imaginary New World", *The Beaver: Exploring Canada's History*, December 1996/January 1997, Volume 76:6, 28.

the citadel symbolised the imperial supremacy. The size of this banner did not belie the fact that British soldiers and settlers living in Montreal barely amounted to several hundred among a French-speaking population of five thousand. In reality, Notre Dame church remained at the spiritual and physical centre of the town. (Fig.2) Interaction between these groups was erratic in the early years. While French Canadians upheld their traditional way of life, the British made every effort to retain their overseas links.

Following a massive fire in 1765 which razed one quarter of the town, a house to house collection was sanctioned in the parishes of Britain, reaching as far north as Berwick-upon-Tweed.²¹ In spite of the small size of their community, English and Scottish merchants imported everything from dry goods to women's fashions, while innkeepers and publicans tried to emulate the spirit and refinement of London for their customers.²² As early as 1786, acting troupes from London and Edinburgh included Montreal on their North American tours.²³ The smaller circle of British gentry generally socialised amongst themselves. They modelled their activities on those of English high society,

²¹2 July 1766, Letters Patent in response to the petition of John Thornton, Fowler Walker and Jonas Hanway, Esquires. Authorizing a house to house collection in the parishes of Great Britain on behalf of the sufferers in the Great Montreal fire of 18 May 1765, Church Briefs, B.VI.8, 6 George III, NAC.

²²See advertisements in the *Montreal Gazette*: 14 February 1787; 28 September 1795; 29 April 1805.

²³Patricia Conroy, "A History of the Theatre in Montreal Prior to Confederation" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1936), 26.

organising lavish cotillions, dinners and dances. Writing about a much-anticipated ball, one of Brooke's characters made reference to the haughty attitude of the colonial élite in a letter:

[The] etiquette here is rather difficult to adjust; as to me, I have nothing to do in the consultation; my hand is destin'd to the longest pedigree; we stand prodigiously on our noblesse at Montreal.²⁴

One of the earliest signs of cultural exchange between national groups was the staging of plays with wide appeal, such as those by Molière. Attended by Catholic clergymen as well as British officers and merchants, there was an obvious class distinction evident in the participation in these productions.²⁵ In general, the town attracted unsophisticated adventurers and trappers who were eager to profit from the booming fur trade. At the more informal entertainment venues, crowds were often rowdy and were known to occasionally break windows during performances.²⁶ Women had to be often reminded to refrain from wearing hats "as it is the fashion at all theatres in Europe".²⁷

There were some signs, however, of the advancement of a cultural framework. A Voltairean academy of philosophy was established in 1778 thanks to the efforts of Fleury Mesplet

²⁴Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, 31, Letter 6.

²⁵Jean-Pierre Duquette, ed., *Montréal 1642-1992* (Montreal: Hurtubise, 1992), 119.

²⁶E.-Z. Massicotte, "Recherches historiques sur les spectacles à Montréal de 1760 à 1800," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol.26, 1932, 113-122.

²⁷*Montreal Gazette*, 14 March 1786.

(1734-1794) - a Frenchman who arrived in town with the delegation of the American Congress led by Benjamin Franklin.²⁸ Mesplet also published the first local newspaper - *La Gazette du Commerce et littéraire, pour la ville et district de Montréal* - the forerunner to the bilingual, *The Montreal Gazette / La Gazette de Montréal*.²⁹ During the long winter season, when the island was cut off from all shipping activity, his paper became a vital source of information for all residents. The variety of articles and advertisements reflected the diverse ethnic composition of the town.³⁰

Social clubs were equally representative of the range and interests of the populace. As early as 1771, meetings conducted at Freemason lodges alternated between French and English.³¹ The Frères du Canada, another secret society with links to the Freemasons, was comprised of French, French Canadians and Scots members. The Beaver Club consisted of fur traders of all nationalities who would meet every fortnight throughout the winter. If their association was not unusual enough, the club's regular series of toasts deserves attention: The first was offered

²⁸Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1967*, I (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), 80.

²⁹Mesplet was known to have set up a printing business near Covent Garden, London in 1773. *DCB*, IV:532. See also Jean-Paul de Lagrave, *Voltaire's Man in America*, trans. Arnold Bennett (Montreal: Robert Davies, 1997).

³⁰Consult first two chapters of Mary Jane Edwards, "Fiction and Montreal 1769-1885" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1969).

³¹Jean-Paul de Lagrave, "La Franc-Maçonnerie à Montréal," in *Montréal au XIXe siècle*, ed. Jean Rémi Brault (Ottawa: Lemeac, 1990), 127.

to the Virgin Mary; the second, to the English monarch; the third, to the fur trade; the fourth, to the woman and children of the *voyageurs*; and the last, to absent members.³² The specific ordering of these first two suggested the religious tolerance which British traders accorded to their French Canadian associates in the early decades after the Conquest.

These toasts, however, also intimated a larger societal conflict which would eventually drive a wedge between national groups. French Canadians held steadfast to their religious convictions while the British venerated their sovereign. This fundamental difference in ideology would prevent both groups from readily assimilating. Forced to accommodate two divergent outlooks on the institutions of Church and State, Montreal could neither break free of its French-Catholic character nor ignore its British-colonial status. With little option but to accommodate these conflicting identities, the town became a centre of cultural compromises. Ultimately, the assimilation of national traditions created by the mutual dependency of groups would help to forge a unique colonial aesthetic.

³²E.-Z. Massicotte, "Hôtelleries, Clubs et Cafés à Montréal de 1760-1850," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol.22, 1928, 43.

ii. Provisions for New Minorities

In the first decades after the cession, the extent to which French- and British-colonial influences steered the development of Montreal remained unclear. Settling among a large peasant population steeped in Catholic tradition, British groups were unable to make a substantial impact on the religious scene. Their insignificant numbers, lack of leadership and poor organisation further prevented them from flourishing.³³ Although the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Jews managed to establish congregations, their first houses of worship were architectural hybrids, influenced by the strong French-Canadian undercurrents which had been dictating the course of local building for more than a century.

Due to Montreal's emergence from the Seven Years' War without any serious structural damage, the town retained much of its French character.³⁴ In consideration of its physical condition, the Crown, aiming to cut costs after an expensive military campaign, avoided new construction as much as possible. Public buildings such as the court house, prison, official residences as well as missionary convents

³³For comparisons with Anglican minority groups in other Catholic-dominated centres pre-1775 see Donald Friary, "The Architecture of the Anglican Church in the Northern American Colonies: A Study of Religious, Social and Cultural Expression" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971).

³⁴The British occupied all French posts in the American north-west. Detroit, like Montreal remained physically intact after the Conquest. See W. Hawkins Ferry, *The Buildings of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968).

were recycled. Those chapels attached to the convents were placed at the disposal of the Established Churches. Several dozen Presbyterians and Anglicans moved into the old Récollet chapel. (Fig.3) It was renamed the Protestant Episcopal Parish Church of Montreal.

Given the slow migration, Protestant groups had little choice but to accept what was offered to them. One could imagine how disheartening it was for these settlers to attend services in a former Catholic house of worship. To increase their numbers, Protestants took to proselytising, which became another source of tension in a colony dominated by Catholics. The directives of Governor Murray following the Treaty of Paris in 1763 clearly stipulated that "the said inhabitants may by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant religion, and their children be brought up in the principles of it".³⁵ Although conversion of French Canadians remained an important objective, the organisational infrastructure needed to implement this task was not yet in place.

For its part, the London episcopate, which was initially in charge of the Montreal parish, sent across the Rev. John Ogilvie (1724-1774) - a gifted linguist and mission priest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.³⁶ Also choosing to dispatch David Chabrand Delisle (1730-1794) -

³⁵Moir, *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867*, 191-192.

³⁶See C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1900* (London: The Society Office, 1901), 136. The Society was founded in 1701 to supply Anglican ministers throughout the overseas empire.

a former minister of one of the French churches in London³⁷ - the Bishop of London hoped that the presence of French-speaking clerics might facilitate conversion. Ogilvie and Delisle were shipped French prayer books and leaflets that addressed the controversial issues dividing Protestantism and Catholicism.

These efforts garnered considerable success. According to the congregation's early registers, of the five hundred marriages recorded, more than one quarter were between British men and French Canadian women.³⁸ Preaching sermons in French in refurbished Catholic chapels, however, were gestures that drew scepticism within Protestant clerical ranks. In 1783 the Rev. John Doty travelled to London to present an indictment of Anglican dissatisfaction in the province. He remarked how in Montreal, parishioners complained that clergymen such as Delisle were ineffectual because they displayed a poor command of the English language. In addition, he claimed that they did "no duty, there being no [French] Canadian Protestants to form a congregation".³⁹ The root of the dilemma lay in the inability of the Bishop of London to cater to the needs of his constituents living thousands of miles overseas. Steps were taken to remedy the problem.

³⁷14 April 1766, Petition of Rev. David Chabrand de Lisle, C/CAN/PRE/9, USPG. Delisle ministered in Montreal from 1766-1794. See also *DCB*, IV:138.

³⁸John Irwin Cooper, *Montreal A Brief History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969), 7.

³⁹28 October 1790, A List of All the Protestant clergy in the Province of Quebec, with their places of residence, salaries from the crown etc... by Rev. Philip Toosey. Fonds Verreau 16, no.16, ASQ.

In 1787 jurisdiction of the Montreal parish was transferred to the diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Charles Inglis (1734-1816). Within two years of his appointment, Inglis visited the converted Récollet chapel, where for the first time since the Conquest, an Anglican clergyman confirmed more than two hundred people. He also re-assessed the needs of the congregation and considered their request for a proper church.⁴⁰ On his next stop in Quebec City, the bishop met with the governor and discussed possible options for the Montreal parish. It was decided to grant the community another pre-existing Catholic chapel, this time exclusively for Anglican use. Inglis wrote:

I have the pleasure to inform you that the application for the Jesuits' Church at Montreal has succeeded. Lord Dorchester has approved the last report of expense for repairing the shell, amounting to more than three hundred pounds and has given orders to have the repairs done immediately [...] and must now request you to set about the necessary measures without loss of time for having the pews, pulpit and reading desk built, with a small neat chancel and communion table.⁴¹

Since the forced closure of the Jesuit convent, the chapel (Fig.4) had been used principally for storage and the vestibule transformed into a makeshift theatre by members of the garrison. One officer remarked that they "had made a den of thieves of the old temple".⁴² Nevertheless, the

⁴⁰30 September 1767, Montreal, C/CAN/PRE/10, USPG.

⁴¹H.C. Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada 1759-1793 From the Conquest to the Establishment of the See of Quebec* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1893), 69. Letter dated from Inglis to Delisle dated August, 1789.

⁴²Massicotte, "Recherches historiques sur les spectacles à Montréal de 1760 à 1800", 116. The comment was made in 1780 by the Scottish officer, Allan Maclean to

small and impoverished congregation was in no position to complain about their new premises. In 1789 they proceeded to renovate the chapel, renaming it Christ Church in honour of Inglis' old house of worship in Delaware. The two communities - Anglican and Presbyterian - having worshipped together as a collective since the Conquest - were now finally divided.⁴³

• **Jewish**

In the thirty years since their settlement, neither Protestant group could undertake construction of its own proper house of worship. The only British community capable of assuming such costs were the Sephardic Jews - a sect of Spanish and Portuguese origin whose members had migrated to England via Holland in the seventeenth century. Their experiences of religious persecution in Europe over the centuries had worked to their advantage as Jewish cultural identity was not destabilised through migration to the New World. Jews were among the earliest settlers to arrive from Britain to pursue work in the fur trade and also provided many of the entertainment services for the garrison. It was testimony to their successful integration that various Jewish individuals operated an inn, a theatre, a restaurant and a café in Montreal.⁴⁴

General Haldimand.

⁴³For an outline of this period see Clarence Epstein, "Early Protestant Church Architecture in Montreal," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol.10, no.2, 1995, 258-270.

⁴⁴Dewey, "The First Fifteen Years of British Administration in Montreal 1760-1775", 156. See also Massicotte, "Hôtelleries, Clubs et Cafés à Montréal de 1760-1850", 42.

As early as 1768 the small community of less than a dozen families held a meeting to discuss the erection of a house of worship. Within a decade they raised enough funds to begin construction. The congregation chose the name of Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel), the same appellation as the Sephardic synagogue built in 1730 in the former Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (New York).⁴⁵ They also received a donation of two scrolls of law from the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London - an institution that was a model for liturgical practice in congregations throughout the North American colonies. It was not surprising therefore, that the heads of the Montreal community upheld the Anglo-Jewish tradition of wearing powdered wigs, high stockings and large ruffles.⁴⁶

When the synagogue opened its doors in 1777 there was every reason to believe that the liturgical arrangement was directly based on the English prototype. While London Jews during this same period did not feel confident enough within Protestant society to erect a synagogue directly facing a main street, the liberal operation of the community in Montreal was an important achievement. It

⁴⁵Annual General Meetings 1778-1781, Montreal, Quebec, Shearith Israel, vol.2, MG 8 G 67, Montreal Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue Archives, NAC. For more on the American synagogue see Oscar Israelowitz, *Synagogues of New York City* (New York: Dover, 1982), vii; and Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: history and interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1955).

⁴⁶Benjamin Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1945), 61. See also W.H. Atherton, *Old Montreal in the Early Days of British Canada 1778-1788* (Reprinted from the *Montreal Gazette*, 29 December 1925), 7.

confirmed the religious toleration that existed following the passing of the Quebec Act.⁴⁷ Though a lack of documentation prevents any conclusive remarks on the architecture, some facts are known regarding the first synagogue.

The property was surrounded by a high, white-washed wall enclosing a courtyard, garden and a single-storey greystone structure covered by a red roof. Measuring 40 x 36 feet, Shearith Israel was comparable in size and outward appearance with residential buildings in the area. There appear to be no exceptional features that made the synagogue stand apart from the predominantly French-colonial street front.⁴⁸ The exterior did not exhibit any salient British architectural elements, suggesting in all likelihood that French Canadian workmen were hired for the undertaking.

⁴⁷Compare to the Jewish experience in London during this period in Clarence Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth-Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," in *Building Jerusalem: Jewish Architecture in Britain*, Sharman Kadish, ed. (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 54-83.

⁴⁸The Jews also owned a 30 x 30 foot cemetery in the St. Joseph suburb. Commercial transactions between the Sulpicians and Jews are recorded in Claude Perrault, ed., *Montréal en 1781 - Déclaration du fief et seigneurie de l'isle de Montréal Au Papier Terrier du Domaine de sa Majesté en la Province de Québec en Canada, Faite le 3 fevreier 1781 par Jean Brassier, pss* (Montreal: Payette Radio Limitée, 1969), 57/84.

• Presbyterian

The impetus for a Protestant group to construct its own church did not come until fifteen years after the erection of the synagogue. Although the Anglicans were awarded the exclusive use of the old Jesuit building, the clergy could not deny that the majority of the town's Protestants were Presbyterian. In fact, there were so many more Scots than English in Montreal at this time that one historian likened their presence to the roll call of the Highland clans at Culloden.⁴⁹ In the 1780s, John Bethune (1751-1815), a military chaplain of the 84th Regiment rented a large room in Notre Dame Street to conduct Church of Scotland services.⁵⁰ In 1787, following Bethune's departure, there was a period when no services were offered, prompting many adherents to join the Anglican congregation. Some of them even contributed funds towards the renovations of the Anglican chapel.⁵¹

Those Presbyterians determined to establish their own church, however, embarked on a building campaign. In the interim, they resumed services under the Rev. John Young

⁴⁹John Irwin Cooper, *The Story of Three Hundred Years* (Montreal: Lamirande, 1942), 51. See also 20 October 1782, Letter from Rev. D.C. Delisle to the Bishop of London, C/CAN/PRE 13, USPG. Religious books and almanacs from Edinburgh were advertised in the *Montreal Gazette* as early as 19 June 1797.

⁵⁰*Church and State Papers for the Years 1759 to 1786 being a compendium of documents relating to the establishment of certain churches in the Province of Quebec*, RAPQ 1948-1949 (Quebec: Redempti Paradis); See also DCB, V:77.

⁵¹W. Stanford Reid, *The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada Its Struggle for Establishment* (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1936), 26.

(1759-1825) at the old Récollet chapel. By 1791 a plot of land was purchased on the east side of St. Gabriel Street, meeting the town wall on one boundary and backing the old Jesuit estate on another. The new building was erected at the considerable cost of £1050, three-quarters of which was subscribed by wealthy entrepreneurs and fur traders from the North West Company.⁵² St. Gabriel Street Church would become one of the most prestigious institutions in Quebec and would eventually be regarded as the mother church of Presbyterianism in Canada.

Moreover, as the first Protestant building constructed for public worship in the colony, the design of the Scots church also revealed how British ecclesiastical architecture originally manifested itself in French Canadian urban centres.⁵³ The rebuilding in 1771 of the chapel of Notre Dame de Bonsecours in St. Paul Street had not gone unnoticed by British artisans in Montreal. (Fig.5) Though the Catholic house of worship had been destroyed by fire prior to the Conquest, in 1754, the new one which replaced it was claimed to be rendered in a similar

⁵²Minute Book, 20 April 1792-1796, Temporal Committee, St. Gabriel Street, PCAT; See also *Centennial Memorial Address 1786-1886: In Commemoration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Congregation of Knox Church and the Founding of Presbyterianism in Montreal* (Montreal: Presbytery of Montreal, 1887), 10.

⁵³A discussion of the early activities of this national group can be found in Lynda Price, *Introduction to the Social History of Scots in Quebec (1780-1840)* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981), 27. Presbyterians built their first church in Quebec City c.1808.

"Breton-like" style.⁵⁴ While little is known about its reconstruction, save for the involvement of Pierre Raza dit Gasco as the carpenter,⁵⁵ it can be safely assumed that only French Canadians worked on the project.

The same could not be said about St. Gabriel Street Church, despite the obvious references to the Catholic chapel. Ignoring the many, skilled French Canadian artisans in their midst, Rev. Young and his building committee were determined to hire Britons.⁵⁶ The work of John Telfer (c.1750-1805) and John McIntosh⁵⁷, however, was a stylistic amalgamation of Bonsecours and rural prototypes from their native Scotland. (Fig.6) The use of greystone, the configuration of the façade and the positioning of the belfry were borrowed from the local chapel, while the massing, the restrained Classical detailing and the arrangement of the windows were derived from Scottish

⁵⁴*Montreal Gazette*, 10 January 1970. See J.M. Leleu, *Histoire de Notre Dame de Bon-Secours à Montréal* (Montreal: Cadieux et Derome, 1900).

⁵⁵See 30 December 1771, Contract between Pierre Raza dit Gasco and Louis Jellivet, not. Pierre Panet, ANQM. Taken from MRG.

⁵⁶12 September 1796, Management Committee Minutes 1791-1823, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, 1976-4002-10-8, PCAT. Note that British craftsmen were employed for the majority of the work. See Committee Cash Receipts 1803-1825, Box 2, St. Gabriel Street Church, PCAT.

⁵⁷Telfer and McIntosh were active in Quebec City in the 1780s. Telfer worked on several major projects including the Hope Gate (1786). See A.J.H. Richardson et al., *Quebec City, Architects, Artisans and Builders* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1984), 400/542/527.

models.⁵⁸ (Fig.7)

Despite the hybrid composition of the exterior, the interior of St. Gabriel Street Church clearly conformed to denominational custom and did not make any reference to Bonsecours.⁵⁹ First measuring 40 x 54 feet, then later enlarged to 48 x 60 feet, the white-washed hall was modelled on a T-plan. (Fig.8) It could seat six hundred and fifty. The pulpit and the precentor's table placed directly beneath it (Fig.9), were visible from all pews including those at gallery level.⁶⁰ The need for a chancel or communion table had been eliminated when the practice became general of erecting a temporary table in the nave during communion.⁶¹

Though the liturgical arrangement was distinctly Presbyterian, French Canadians must have been consulted on key structural issues given the limited experience of their

⁵⁸Until the addition of a wooden belfry in 1809, the pediment with oculus looked disproportionately wider than the façade. See Nathalie Clerk, *Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984), 77. The door frame, fanlight and clock were completed in 1806. See Contract between William Kinsler [master carpenter] and Committee for a Scotch Presbyterian Church, 23-04-1806, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM.

⁵⁹30 July 1792, The Presbyterian Church to Adam Scott, 1790 Folder, Box 2, St. Gabriel Street Church, PCAT.

⁶⁰Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel Street Montreal* (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), 68; also 25 May 1791 and 28 November 1791, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church Management Committee Minutes 1791-1823, 1976-4002-10-8, PCAT.

⁶¹See E.A. McDougall, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1965), 45.

British counterparts:

The different tradesmen employed in building this church gave their opinion a pavilion roof would not answer well which made this committee alter their plans.⁶²

Within two decades of its erection, however, more flaws by the Scottish masons were exposed due to their underestimation of the impact of North American winters. As a result, the roof had to be steepened yet again and clad in tin to alleviate snow load and prevent fires.

The insulation and heating system were deemed equally unsatisfactory, forcing the trustees to add more chimneys "to convey the smoke from two stoves which are required in winter, when the cold is often 15 to 20, sometimes 25 to 30 degrees and even more below zero on Fahrenheit scale".⁶³ For many of these proud British artisans, the failure to forge a distinct cultural presence at this early period of settlement was blamed on the weather, and not inexperience. Brooke lamented to her readers:

Those who expect to see "A New Athens rising near the pole" will find themselves extremely disappointed. Genius will never mount high, where the faculties of the mind are benumbed half the year.⁶⁴

⁶²30 June 1792, Management Committee Minutes 1791-1823, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, 1976-4002-10-8, PCAT.

⁶³Copy of a Paper transmitted to the Reverend Robert McGill of Niagara, Synod clerk by the Rev. Henry Esson, in a letter dated on or about the 24th January, 1832, Box 2, 1820 Folder, St. Gabriel Street Church, PCAT.

⁶⁴Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, 90, Letter 49.

iii. Modifying the English Programme

That Protestant groups first conducted services in converted chapels and buildings designed to inferior standards, was caused in part by the indomitably French character of the colony. The American insurrections which forced Canada to remain clustered within an immense geopolitical jurisdiction further delayed British cultural development.⁶⁵ By the early 1790s, growing public discontent regarding the inefficient administration of this vast region left the Crown few options but to decentralise powers. In the port town of Montreal where commercial activities were decisively in the hands of British traders, the increased autonomy helped to accelerate the rate of anglicisation of its institutions.

In 1791 by way of the Constitutional Act, the massive province was sectioned into two smaller ones, Upper and Lower Canada: Upper Canada was dominated by English speakers (10,000) and Lower Canada by French speakers (150,000); the latter included the towns of Quebec and Montreal. Each was given its own House of Assembly thereby conceiving a unique, bilingual system that recognised the duality of race, language and culture.⁶⁶ It was also at this time that some of the demands of the Established

⁶⁵Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples*, I, 254. In 1774 the Province of Canada extended south-west into the Ohio Territory, east into Labrador and north to the borders of Rupert's Land.

⁶⁶For more on the legal ramifications of this system see Maurice Rabotin, *Le vocabulaire politique et socio-ethnique à Montréal de 1839 à 1842* (Montreal: Didier, 1975), 120.

Churches of England and of Scotland were met through the creation of the Clergy Reserves. The Crown decreed that one-seventh of all lands granted would be set aside for the maintenance of these denominations.

There was also passed "An Act or Ordinance concerning the building and repairing of Churches, Parsonage Houses, and Church-yards".⁶⁷ Directed towards the general upkeep of the numerous pre-existing Catholic houses of worship, the act clearly stipulated that no charges could be levied on His Majesty's Protestant subjects. In spite of the exemption of Protestants from payment, the government was resolved to safeguarding French Canadian institutions. The lack of an exclusive relationship between the Church of England and the Crown, however, became increasingly apparent.

Regardless of the fact that Anglicans were outnumbered by Catholics, their bid for religious control drew upon the supremacy of all things English. To this end, one of Brooke's characters, Miss Rivers, made the following observations:

[That] the Romish religion is like an over-dressed tawdry, rich citizen's wife; the Presbyterian like a rude awkward [sic] country girl; the Church of England like an elegant well-dressed woman of quality, "plain in her neatness" (to quote Horace who is my favourite author). There is a noble, graceful simplicity both in the worship and the ceremonies of the Church of England, which, even if I were a stranger to her doctrines, would prejudice me strongly in her favour.⁶⁸

⁶⁷The Act was passed on 30 April 1791 by Lord Dorchester.

⁶⁸Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, 73, Letter 33.

• **Anglican**

In 1793 the reorganisation of the Anglican leadership brought stability to a denomination whose progress since the Conquest had been tenuous. Following a succession of uneventful administrations by the Bishops of London and of Nova Scotia, Jacob Mountain (1749-1825) - a man of Huguenot ancestry from Norfolk - was accorded full religious jurisdiction as the first Anglican Bishop of Quebec. Although relatively unsuccessful in swaying British policy, Mountain's championing of the Church of England won the support of his constituents in the massive diocese that encompassed all of Lower and Upper Canada.

One of his first official actions was to openly criticise the government for its considerable allowances to the Catholic Church. He refused to acknowledge the "Bishop" title of his French Canadian counterpart, choosing to call him instead "Superintendent Ecclesiastical for the affairs of the Church of Rome". Mountain wrote:

If the Roman Bishop be recognized as the "Bishop of Quebec", what becomes of *that* Diocese which his majesty has solemnly created, and of the Bishop whom he has been graciously pleased to appoint hereto? To authorize the Establishment of two Bishops of the same Diocese, of different religious persuasions would be a solecism in ecclesiastical polity, which I believe never took place in the Christian world [...]⁶⁹

He contended that only by acknowledging the Anglicans as

⁶⁹ June 1803, Letter from Bishop Mountain to Lieutenant-Governor Milnes, taken from Moir, *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867*, 118; see also Sturgis, "Anglicisation as a Theory in Lower-Canadian History 1807-1843", 32.

the Established Church, could be upheld the traditions of loyalty and respect for British-imperial authority. Mountain also rebuked the Crown for the inadequate accommodations it had provided for worship. He expressed dismay that the Church of England's "pure and reasonable service should only be performed within the walls loaded with all the pageantry and meretricious ornaments of popish superstition, amid crucifix, images, pictures of saints, altars, tapers and burning lamps [...]." ⁷⁰

When his provisional cathedral in Quebec City, also housed in a former Récollet chapel, was destroyed by fire in 1796, an opportunity finally arose for architecture to become an effective tool in the Anglican campaign. That the bishop opted to build his future seat on a site in the capital of the colony, only several hundred yards away from the Catholic cathedral, was testimony to his brazen determination to gain the ecclesiastical advantage. Looking across to England for inspiration, however, Mountain realised that there were few if any recently-built churches that could serve as appropriate models.

Between 1760 and 1820 only twelve churches were erected in London, several of which have been described by John Summerson as architectural oddities, including All Hallows, London Wall (1765) by George Dance the Younger (1741-1825). ⁷¹ The complacency of the English public towards

⁷⁰Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset, *La présence anglicane à Québec: Holy Trinity Cathedral* (Quebec: Septentrion, 1995), 53.

⁷¹John Summerson, *Georgian London*, 5th ed. (London: Pimlico, 1991), 206. See also Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival an Essay in the History of Taste* (London:

religion, a reflection of the progressive ideals of the Enlightenment, substantially affected the quality of church building. As a result, Mountain chose as his model the older and more distinguished church of St. Martin in the Fields (1721-1726). (Fig.10) Erected more than eighty years earlier in accordance with the 1711 Act for Fifty New Churches, it was designed by the eminent architect, James Gibbs (1682-1754). Despite the diminishing popularity of its style in Britain by the 1790s, St. Martin in the Fields was the most copied church in the American colonies, due in part to the wide accessibility of Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728). Although not a cathedral, in its capacities as both the official house of worship of the Admiralty and the parish church of the sovereign, the London building represented the virtuosity of the English establishment; an important consideration for the Quebec bishop.⁷²

In 1799 Mountain appointed two military engineers from the garrison who, in their turn, sub-contracted mostly British artisans.⁷³ Holy Trinity Cathedral (Fig.11) became a bold statement of Anglican conservatism within the French-colonial milieu. As Alan Gowans observed, however, the building stood out like "some old fashioned grandmother in

Constable, 1950), 127.

⁷²Marcus Whiffen, *Stuart and Georgian Churches: The Architecture of the Church of England outside London 1603-1837* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1948), 31. St. Martin in the Fields can not be considered an entirely Palladian building; it is somewhere between the Palladian and Baroque styles.

⁷³For a complete architectural history of the building see Noppen and Morisset, *La présence anglicane à Québec: Holy Trinity Cathedral*.

a crowd of sophisticated relatives".⁷⁴ Holy Trinity set an important precedent for all other colonies, as the first purpose-built Anglican cathedral outside the British Isles. Furthermore it was second only to St. Paul's in London with regard to cathedrals built after the Reformation.⁷⁵

At this same time, Montreal's economy was slowly conceding to the reality of a westward-bound fur trade, and was concentrating more on the agricultural and industrial sectors. The increase in land speculation brought about by the Crown Lands Proclamation of 1792 also helped to change the urban form. As a result, the town was showing signs of growth in response to British migration. Streets were widened and roads built to accommodate a population that had nearly doubled in size to more than nine thousand.⁷⁶ A public library was founded around 1798, theatres were regularly advertising English plays, ventriloquists, comedians, musicals and equestrian shows, and copies of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* were readily available.⁷⁷ In 1802, the crumbling fortifications that had been standing since the French regime were taken down to facilitate civic expansion.

⁷⁴Alan Gowans, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), 72.

⁷⁵Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 1 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 189. Also see Fermor-Hesketh, *Architecture of the British Empire*, 154.

⁷⁶Jean-Claude Robert, *Atlas Historique de Montréal* (Montreal: Art global, 1994), 86. For earlier population figures see 20 October 1782, Extract of letter from Rev. D.C. Delisle to Bishop of London, C/CAN/PRE 13, USPG.

⁷⁷See advertisements in the *Montreal Gazette*, 2 July 1798.

After nearly forty years of occupation, efforts were finally being made to introduce British urban design elements. A Palladian-style court house was completed in 1799.⁷⁸ In 1803, a devastating fire that consumed a large section of the east end of town helped stimulate development. Along with many shoddy, working class residences, the fire destroyed the Jesuit monastery where the small, Anglican chapel had been housed.⁷⁹ According to a plan drawn in 1804 by the Surveyor General, Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841), it appears that authorities were deliberating between two possible venues to offer the displaced Anglicans: one, located directly over the foundations of the Jesuit chapel/Christ Church, and another on the site of the old prison in Notre Dame Street.⁸⁰

For reasons presumably related to aggregate footage and location, it was decided to cede the larger Jesuit property to the garrison and to confer the more central prison grounds to the Anglican trustees. Provision of this site, conspicuously close to the Sulpician parish church, created a physical confrontation not unlike the one instigated by Bishop Mountain at Quebec. Similarly, in both urban

⁷⁸Plan of part of the Town of Montreal (1804), MPG 439, PRO.

⁷⁹Following the fire in 1803, the Presbyterians at St. Gabriel Street agreed to allow the Anglicans to use their premises until Christ Church was in operation. 13 June 1803, Management Committee Minutes 1791-1823, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, 1976-4002-10-8, PCAT.

⁸⁰See Plan of the Town and Fortifications of Montreal shewing the Reserves now proposed to be made for Military Purposes 1802 also shewing the encroachments which have been made on the King's Ground as stated by John Collins, esq., Deputy Surveyor General in 1768 and by Captain Humfreys, Royal Engineers, 1799. MPG 624, PRO.

centres, Anglican church building was impinging on Catholic territory. Unlike Mountain, however, leaders in Montreal did not opt for a replica of an English church, nor did they hire exclusively British workers. Consequently, the new Christ Church building differed fundamentally from Holy Trinity Cathedral in Quebec City.

During the winter of 1805, the trustees accepted the proposals of the Bavarian-born artist/architect, William von Moll Berczy (1744-1813). Following training in Vienna and employment with the Hapsburg and Bourbon courts, Berczy moved to London in 1790 where he exhibited his work at the Royal Academy. Attracted by the potential profits to be earned in North American land speculation, he journeyed overseas where he assisted in the founding and planning of the town of York in Upper Canada. Among his numerous functions while in York, Berczy's opinion was requested for the building of the first Anglican church.⁸¹ In 1802 he relocated his family to Montreal and resumed his artistic career. As a distinguished portraitist sought after by members of the colonial élite, he would travel several times to Quebec City where he would have met Mountain and visited the newly-constructed cathedral.⁸²

At first glance, Berczy's design of Christ Church (Fig.12) appears to have catered to the Gibbsian predilections of the bishop, who also happened to be one of the signatories

⁸¹See John André, *William Berczy Co-founder of Toronto* (Toronto: Ortoprint, 1967).

⁸²In 1809 Berczy painted a portrait of the Bishop's sister, Miss Sarah Mountain. See Mary Allodi, *Berczy* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1991), 255.

of the Montreal project.⁸³ Common for most builders working in North America at this time, Berczy must have owned a copy of Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture*. It has been widely accepted that the general configuration of the façade conformed to a St. Martin in the Fields model based on plates in the pattern-book. The Montreal church possessed certain distinctive traits, suggesting that several sources were referred to, rather than only one.

Berczy's understanding of perspective gained from his artistic training, helped to enliven the otherwise stiff rendering of Christ Church. The prominent Doric pediment, for instance, was supported by pairs of pilasters that formed an engaged centrepiece framing the façade. This arrangement led the viewer's eye upward toward a steeple that was set back behind the parapet for added effect.⁸⁴ (Fig.13) Berczy is known to have had in his possession volumes of an edition of *Cours d'Architecture* (1777) by the distinguished French academic, Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774).⁸⁵ The recent discovery of annotations on

⁸³It is possible that the bishop's participation might have been strictly in an official capacity. For more on the relationship between church building contracts and political position see Marc Grignon, "The Builder, the Architect and the Bishop: A Microhistorical Study of the Contract for the Construction of the Church of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, Vol.22, September 1997, 60-65.

⁸⁴See Contract for the Mason work of a Protestant Episcopal Church to be erected in Montreal between Joseph Chevalier/ J.-B. Larochelle and Dr. Mountain and others, 16-03-1805, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM. It is interesting to note that French measurements were used.

⁸⁵First published in Paris in the early 1770s. Following Blondel's death in 1774, two additional volumes were added by one of his disciples, and the entire set

several plates of his personal copy, leaves little reason to doubt that he consulted it for the work on Christ Church.⁸⁶

A plate titled, "Elévation du Frontispice d'une Eglise conventuelle de la composition de l'Auteur" (Fig.14) confirms that the overall conception of the church, as well as several principal decorative motifs were borrowed from Blondel's engravings. The configuration of the square base, the door and panel, blank pediment, use of parapet, octagonal spire and clock were all repeated by Berczy. These quotations from the publication brings further into question the rate at which French tastes were extinguished in the decades following the Conquest.⁸⁷ Quite ironically, the design of Christ Church did not supersede French ecclesiastical architecture, but persisted in assimilating two colonial building traditions.

Notwithstanding this issue of stylistic derivation, the façade was primarily intended to act as an elaborate screen for the Anglican religious space contained within. The decoration of the hall was more restrained in keeping with

published again in 1777. This edition was part of Berczy's personal library, now housed at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

⁸⁶The connection was made by Kate McCartney, "A French Source for Christ Church, Montreal in William Berczy's Personal Library," in *Architects, Books & Libraries: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1995), 41-46.

⁸⁷On a previous visit to Montreal in 1799, though perhaps a coincidence, Berczy sketched the old Jesuit chapel. In his traveller's log he remarked how the Catholic churches which he passed were built with good taste.

English Neo-Classical taste. (Fig.15) The nave, with its barrel-vaulted ceiling resting on an uninterrupted entablature, was supported by Corinthian columns roughly twenty-eight feet high. A description of the church published in 1825 attested to the sophistication of the design:

The interior is not less tastefully finished than the outside. Simplicity and neatness are the prevailing features, and where any ornament is introduced, it is in perfect unison with the style of architecture, and harmonizes with the rest [...]. The pews are painted white, and capped [sic] with cherry wood - with the numbers neatly gilt on the doors. The side galleries are supported by the main columns, and the organ gallery at the end in which the choir sits, is supported by columns of the Corinthian order, very well executed. The pulpit is neat, and of a fanciful design, with a circular front; it is supported upon six columns of the Corinthian order, and ascended by two flights of circular stairs meeting in a platform in the rear of it.⁸⁸

The apsidal altar, featuring a painting of *The Last Supper*, was delineated by two pairs of Corinthian pilasters surmounted by a concave, lunette window. Berczy also furnished plans for the decorative programme in the apse, using as the centrepiece, a figure of a descending dove clasping an olive branch and encircled by rays of light. According to church records, he only provided the trustees with preliminary designs of the building which were then placed in the hands of William Gilmore, who had recently superintended construction of the Palladian-style court

⁸⁸"An Account of Christ's Church in the City of Montreal, Province of Lower Canada," *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, June 1825, 217-224/525-531.

house.⁸⁹ Gilmore sub-contracted the work to a wide range of artisans including several French Canadians and English Methodists,⁹⁰ the majority of whom formed the core of artisans operating in Montreal at the turn of the century. Their collaboration in the execution of Berczy's plans further explained the hybrid appearance of the building.

Financial difficulties were to substantially delay completion of the project.⁹¹ The trustees continued to solicit monies, maintaining separate subscription ledgers based on the religious affiliation of donors. One list included those who "were educated as Presbyterians and it is believed have continued such"; another recorded Jewish and Catholic contributors.⁹² In 1809, with only part of the church erected, the Crown was petitioned for assistance. Although the congregation secured £4000 and received an organ from George III, between 1812 and 1814 there was another long delay due to the war with the United

⁸⁹Berczy was paid £30 for sundry drafts and plans of the church. 1805, Statement of Account of Monies expended in erecting the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of Montreal, by the Committee appointed for erecting the same, Folder 1, Anglican Church Files, MMA.

⁹⁰Contract for the Carpenters Work of the new church, 31-07-1805, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM; John Try and Thomas Phillips (both English Methodists) completed the interior according to designs by Berczy. See 11 May 1812, C223-A/1 - 1 to 18, Anglican Church Files, MMA.

⁹¹J. Ralph Watson, *Protestants in Montreal 1760-1992* (Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1992), 19.

⁹²List of Subscribers 1805-1815, Folder 3, C223-A/1 - 1 to 18, Anglican Church Files, MMA.



States.⁹³ The doors of Christ Church were finally opened to the public in 1814. When the steeple and galleries were erected six years later, no religious building in town could rival it.⁹⁴

Compared with the rural design of the Presbyterian church in St. Gabriel Street, Christ Church was a distinctly urban form, conceived for a community anxious to declare its refinement. To celebrate the completion of work, two national flags were flown from the steeple - one British and the other, the white fleur de lis of the restored Bourbons - marking quite probably the only time in the colony that a French flag flew over an Anglican church.⁹⁵ The Sulpicians observing from near by, must have understood that the religious programme which they had dominated for more than a century was changing dramatically. To add to their frustration, Christ Church was awarded official parish status with boundaries analogous to those of Notre

⁹³8 September 1809, Petition of the Wardens and Members of Christ Church, Q110:12 and Q111:157, NAC. Another explanation regarding the incurrence of the debt can be found in 27 January 1829. Petition to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel by the rectors and wardens of Christ Church, 1.B folio 361, C/CAN/QUE, USPG.

⁹⁴Agreement between Robert Drummond and the Rev. John Bethune and others, Commissioner...for erecting galleries in the Episcopal Parish church of Montreal, 20-03-1819, not. H. Griffin, ANQM. See also Contract and agreement for Building the Tower of the Protestant parish church between Robert Muckle and Peter Surtees and the Rev. J. Bethune and others, 17-04-1819, not. H. Griffin, ANQM.

⁹⁵John Irwin Cooper, *The Blessed Communion: the origins and history of the Diocese of Montreal 1760-1960* (Montreal: Archives' Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, [1961]), 22.

Dame.⁹⁶

• Catholic

The Catholic clergy in Montreal, numbering one hundred and thirty five immediately after the Conquest⁹⁷, had substantially declined following the dissolution of the Jesuit and Récollet orders. Ironically in 1793, the same year as the appointment of Mountain as the Anglican Bishop of Quebec, the Crown had allowed into the colony thirty four priests who were fleeing the French Revolution; more than a third of them were Sulpicians. Due to the renewal of their numbers, the Gallican religious tradition would continue to thrive in the town.

Rather than challenging outright the Anglican bid for institutional superiority, the Sulpicians were shrewd enough to realise that their survival depended heavily on social compliance. Having negotiated the greatest of hurdles to safeguard their interests after the fall of New France, the clerics knew the value of compromise. In fact, they had been all too zealous to show their appreciation to the British government on several occasions: Upon the death of George II in 1760, the Sulpicians wore black mourning crepe in their hats. Two years later the vicar general ordered the singing of a *Te Deum* to celebrate the

⁹⁶No other parishes were legally erected in Lower Canada until after 1821. For more information on the rectory see the biography on the first rector, John Bethune (1791-1872), *DCB*, X:57.

⁹⁷20 March 1762, General Return of the Government of Montreal for the year 1761, WO 34/5 81, PRO.

coronation and marriage of George III.⁹⁸ If these actions were not overt enough, the priests applied for a charter to establish an academic institution in 1790 for the instruction of the humanities, mathematics, engineering and civil law. They proposed as names, Dorchester College or Clarence College, in honour of either the governor or the duke who had once visited.⁹⁹

For the Sulpicians, patronage was a political game that had its rewards. When Nelson's Column was erected in 1809, the statue of the English hero placed in New Market Square was the first of its kind in the Empire. Intended to draw attention to their nationalist devotion, wealthy merchants headed the list of subscribers. That the Sulpicians also contributed generously to a monument commemorating England's victory over France seemed incongruous, yet the donation was symbolic of their exertions to respect the British-colonial agenda. To this end, the complicated task of integrating two national traditions underlined the importance that the clergy attached to their perceived anglicisation, as well as to the preservation of their own institutional identity.

Despite modest attempts to enlarge and repair churches and chapels under their supervision, the priests were reluctant to invest heavily in building projects in the early decades

⁹⁸Moir, *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867*, 74.

⁹⁹6 October 1790, Pétition des Sulpiciens à Guy Carleton baron Dorchester pour la fondation et la construction d'un collège à Montréal, 16,25, Fonds Verreau, ASQ. The project was postponed.

after the cession.¹⁰⁰ On the few occasions when improvements were made to the parish church of Notre Dame, there were indications of a gradual move away from French practices. It is worth noting that as early as 1780, one of the first examples of English design in the town was the remodelling of Notre Dame's octagonal belfry with Palladian-style arches.¹⁰¹ Pierre Raza dit Gasco's involvement in the work, nine years after his participation in the reconstruction of Bonsecours chapel, suggests that French Canadian artisans were becoming increasingly familiar with British practices.

The noted move away from exclusively-French building conventions became all the more conspicuous when the wardens began extensive renovations of Notre Dame in 1809. It is important to note that their decision was made only a few years after the announced reconstruction of Christ Church by Berczy. Along with Louis-Amable Quévillon (1749-1823)¹⁰² and Louis Dulongpré (1759-1843) who were appointed to repair, carve and embellish the interior, Berczy was hired to execute paintings for the cupola of the church. No doubt, the fact that Berczy's mother was from a prominent Catholic family in Bavaria¹⁰³ must have served

¹⁰⁰André Laberge, "L'Ancienne Eglise Notre-Dame de Montréal: L'évolution et l'influence de son architecture (1672-1830)" (M.A. diss., Université Laval, 1982), 69.

¹⁰¹See Laberge, "L'Ancienne Eglise Notre-Dame de Montréal", 123/126.

¹⁰²Marché entre Louis Quévillon et les Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Notre Dame, 19-04-1809, not. Louis Chaboillez, ANQM. In the 1790s, the sculptor introduced the process of mass production to the local wood carving trade.

¹⁰³Allodi, *Berczy*, 25.

him well in his dealings with the Sulpicians. His work for them included a copy of Charles Le Brun's *The Triumph of the Virgin*, hanging in the Sulpician seminary in Paris.¹⁰⁴

There is little doubt that Quévillon, Dulongpré and Berczy conferred on their various assignments. Several years prior, Quévillon had been among a select few French Canadian artisans to work on Holy Trinity at Quebec. In spite of the fact that the commission led to his reprimand by the Catholic bishop, he had gained some valuable experience studying the British models for his carving of the capitals in the Anglican cathedral.¹⁰⁵ Dulongpré was also exposed to Protestant artisanal practices. The French-born painter received an art education in the United States in 1793-1794, then settled in Montreal where he taught dancing, music and designed theatre scenery.¹⁰⁶ Among his close friends was Berczy, whom he often hosted during visits to the town, and to whom he would later lease a residence.

Following several years work on the interior of Notre Dame, the Sulpicians, all too aware of the imposing Anglican church being erected in the vicinity, decided to rebuild the façade of their own crumbling 1722 structure. (Fig.16) In all likelihood, Berczy submitted proposals to the

¹⁰⁴Allodi, *Berczy*, 228.

¹⁰⁵Noppen and Morisset, *La présence anglicane à Québec: Holy Trinity Cathedral*, 128.

¹⁰⁶DCB, VII:254.

wardens.¹⁰⁷ Similar to his conception of Christ Church, the combination of Blondelian elements and English Neo-Classical ordering would resurface in his presentation at Notre Dame. (Fig.17) The fusing of styles - the symmetry of the arched windows, the large, Doric pilasters and decorative urns capping the pediment - were telling signs that this French Catholic institution was undergoing a cultural transformation.

Berczy was well aware of Gallicanist tradition of the religious order when he was initially requested to copy art works from their Paris seminary. He continued to respect their wishes for the improvements of the façade. Basing his design on the north and south transepts of St. Sulpice Church after Gilles-Marie Oppenordt (1672-1742) and published by Blondel (Fig.18), Berczy reinforced the aesthetic link with their mother church. He divided the composition in the same manner, replacing the engaged columns with Doric pilasters as he had done at Christ Church. Similar arched windows were inserted on both storeys. The pediment was a combination of the Parisian designs - borrowing the triangular form from the south transept and adapting the oculus with statues above from the north transept. He substituted the elevated cross with a statue of the Virgin.

The various changes made, from the planning stages to its realisation, revealed the insecurity of the Sulpicians'

¹⁰⁷There is no contractual evidence of Berczy's involvement. It is likely, however, that his proposals were executed by another builder, similar to the experience at Christ Church. See 12 May 1813, *Compte Rendu pour la réparation du portail et du clocher de l'église paroissiale, boîte 12, chemise 22, AFNDM.*

public image. In an unexecuted design dated after 1808, four giant pilasters were proposed for the façade as well as a lunette window in the pediment. (Fig.19) Details were also added to the entranceway, including engaged Ionic columns and a smaller pediment for the arched doorway. When completed, the front of the building maintained an English-Palladian rigidity albeit awkward, owing to the inconsistent treatments by the various artisans who were asked to follow Berczy's specifications.

As a consequence, the façade - connected on one side to the Wren-inspired bell-tower and on the other to the seventeenth-century seminary - served as a visual bridge connecting the British and French images of the Sulpicians. Although their political allegiance was to a Protestant empire, as devout Catholics, Sulpicians protected their religious identity within the confines of the sanctuary. In a design by Quévillon for the high altar dated several years after the completion of the façade (Fig.20), the sculptor reproduced the same flaming urns that capped Berczy's pediment; clearly intending to bring together the interior and exterior spaces.¹⁰⁸ This attempt to link the decorative programmes was further proof of the cross-fertilisation of ideas taking place.

Through his creative interpretation of national styles, Berczy's work at Christ Church and Notre Dame proved how French taste would continue to manifest itself in British Montreal well into the nineteenth century. The fusion of

¹⁰⁸Quévillon was known to have consulted the pattern-books of J.B. Vignola. A sullied copy of *Reigle des cinq ordres d'architecture* (Paris, [1710]) with the stamp of the Sulpician Library is located in boîte 122, AFNDM.

architectural precepts, part of a larger trend that had affected the various building programmes of the Jews, Presbyterians, Anglicans and Catholics, would lay the groundwork for a new era in civic development.

Chapter II

Encroachment of the United States 1805-1825

i. Republican Resistance

Attempts to assimilate French Canadians into the British-imperial system were further complicated by the arrival of settlers from the American colonies. In the first decades after the Conquest, many enterprising businessmen from New England migrated north to profit from the economic opportunities afforded by the acquisition of New France.¹

They were to be a disturbing force, not, in the main, because they were English-speaking Protestants, but because they were the pure distilled spirit of British-American commercialism dropped into the tepid colonial society of the St. Lawrence.²

As citizens of the Empire they were entitled to move freely in the province, but as relations worsened between Britain and its American colonies in the 1770s, their access to the region became a contentious issue.

¹See Hugh Gray, *Letters from Canada: written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808* (London, 1809), 272. For other comments see John Melish, *Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810 & 1811*, II (Philadelphia, 1812), 338.

²Quote taken from W.M. Birks, *Corner-Stone Revelations and History of the American Presbyterian Church* (Montreal, 1938), np.

Believing that the French Canadians shared their desire for emancipation, Americans first tried to rally their neighbours to support a continental revolution. Once it was realised that French Canadians were unwilling to join the cause, they invaded. In November 1775 they easily entered Montreal and occupied it for seven months. Despite General George Washington's belief that the seizure of the town was important for the success of the Revolution, their stay was not marked by any significant modifications to the urban environment.

Compared with the French-colonial centres of St. Louis or Mobile which were gradually brought into the republican fold,³ Montreal was left relatively undisturbed by the invasion. That the occupation took place during the winter months, when commercial traffic was at its slowest, contributed to American ineffectiveness. The only legacies of their stay were the establishment of a printing press - originally created for the publication of propaganda, and the formation of an academy of philosophy where libertarian issues were discussed.

In the fifteen years following American independence, however, migration from the United States caused the population of the region to double to eighteen thousand.⁴ Though initially loyal to the Crown, many of these new settlers were not pure British. They were American by birth

³See Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 68; also by John Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), 22.

⁴1836-1936 *Centenaire du diocèse de Montréal* (Montreal: Therien frères, 1936), 45.

or residence and as a result, their personalities were inextricably rooted in their own colonial experience. This wave of immigrants warranted greater concern regarding the potential to destabilise the tenuous social structure of the colony. In J.H. Ingraham's novel about the continental revolt, *Quebec and New York; or the Three Beauties. An Historical Romance of 1775*⁵, the author tends to exaggerate English and American character traits by using colloquialism and etiquette as means to distinguish cultural identities.

While it is doubtful that there were many noticeable differences in social demeanour between the two nationalities at this time, concerted efforts were made by British clergymen to suppress Americanist theological doctrines.⁶ Another of Brooke's characters commented:

It seems consonant to reason, that the religion of every country should have a relation to, and coherence with, the civil constitution: the Romish religion is best adapted to a despotic government, the presbyterian to a republican, and that of the Church of England to a limited monarchy like ours.⁷

With the arrival of many Loyalists in Montreal, associations with British religious communities were inevitable. As already mentioned, Presbyterian clergymen had been members of the ministry in Albany, and Christ

⁵Reference has been made to the second edition, published in 1843 in three volumes by A.K. Newman and Co. There are occasional mentions of Montreal. For example see vol.1, 296.

⁶Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 14.

⁷Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, 168, Letter 117.

Church was named after Bishop Inglis's former church in Delaware. These nominal links, however, were not sufficient to sustain a unified British Protestant front. As a result, Anglicans were inclined to over-emphasise the "Englishness" of their daily service.⁸ By the time that Christ Church was opened in 1814, the clique of officers and merchants in attendance were thoroughly committed to English pretension:

A man in livery stands at the door, and, on your entry, shews you to a pew of a class suited to the rank, to which, from your appearance, he may consider you entitled.⁹

Social posturing became an important consideration at services, with certain congregations assuming airs of pomp and circumstance.¹⁰ At the Presbyterian church in St. Gabriel Street, the directors of the North West Company were provided with fur-lined pews and were also provided with cushions and footstools.¹¹ The American writer, Washington Irving (1783-1859), after one of his stays in Montreal during the autumn of 1803, described these men as appearing similar to chieftains of Highland clans - "lords of the ascendant; coming from the midst of luxurious and

⁸Fernand Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840 Social Change and Nationalism*, trans. Patricia Claxton (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1980), 104.

⁹Edward Allen Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America in the year 1823*, I (London: Longman, 1824), 69.

¹⁰Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 180.

¹¹E.A. McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada 1815-1842" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1969), 54.

ostentatious life".¹²

The creation of a new social hierarchy in the town was slowly manifesting itself in urban developments. (Map B) Throughout the French regime, neighbourhoods had never been segregated by class. The acquisition of residences by British traders and professionals, however, pushed out the peasant population from the civic centre to the outlying areas.¹³ The town had become so stratified that some visitors voiced their disapproval of "the wonderful importance that many of the leading merchants imagine to belong to their character".¹⁴ A majority of these men had amassed their fortunes in a short time, yet assumed aristocratic affectations as if they were descended from the patrician families of Europe.¹⁵

Thanks to the commercial boom, the merchant class almost doubled in size. A considerable number of them were Americans or Loyalists. In 1820 a traveller remarked:

Montreal, originally French, was in danger of becoming a Scotch colony, before it began to be over-run by the still more hardy and more

¹²Washington Irving, *Astoria* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1882), 8. See also Edgar Andrew Collard, *Americans' Montreal* (Montreal: Montreal Typographic Composition Association, 1973), 103.

¹³John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), 92.

¹⁴John MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826, 1827, 1828* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 38.

¹⁵Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America in the year 1823*, II, 283.

adventurous sons of New England.¹⁶

Nahum Mower, the Massachusetts-born editor of the town's first all-English newspaper, *The Canadian Courant*, wrote an article in 1810 attacking British elitist attitudes and the ostracism of the American community:

But this 'horde of strangers' has done more than add to your prosperity, to the stability of your government, and to the power of your population. [...] The Americans have brought with them not only virtues but capital; and have thereby given an astonishing momentum to the growing wealth of this country. The time has passed when every American was regarded as a vagabond. At least it should seem so, for although it is still considered a disgrace among the polite fair of the city to dance in public with a Yankee.¹⁷

In spite of the attempts by Americans to gain social acceptance, the War of 1812 further encouraged British resentment against them. Administrators of the colony were thoroughly committed to the success of the Empire.¹⁸ The conflict with the United States also helped to rally the Established Churches of the French Canadians, Scots and English around a common cause. Conspicuous displays of solidarity during the war included a benefit theatrical performance for the poor, in which the proceeds were divided among the three main Church bodies.¹⁹ Acting

¹⁶Joseph Sansom, *Travels in Lower Canada [...]* (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Company, 1820), 61. See Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840 Social Change and Nationalism*, 160.

¹⁷*The Canadian Courant*, 12 November 1810. Quote also found in McDougall, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)," 127.

¹⁸See Ouellet, *Economic and Social History of Quebec 1760-1850*, 103.

¹⁹Franklin Graham, *Histrionic Montreal*, 2nd ed., (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 33.

together as a bulwark against the liberal-minded Yankees who were accused of worshipping a God in the form of a golden eagle, Catholic and British Protestant factions remained determined to protect their conservative traditions.²⁰

Due to the common threat of these religious demagogues, some of the racial tension between French and British colonists was alleviated at this time. Communities identified the Crown as a defender of their faiths, and in this respect, the imperialist character of Montreal was reinforced.²¹ So disgusted was one writer about the demeanour of republicans that he made an effort to find parallels between French and British manners:

French politesse began to be contrasted with American bluntness. It is curious to observe that this characteristic of the Americans, which so frequently offends the polished feelings of English travellers, is exactly that as formerly objected by the French to ourselves. The "rudesse" of the English character was long a standing jest with our refined neighbours; but we have now, it seems, so far shaken off this odious remnant of uncourtly habits, as to regard it with true French horror in our trans-atlantic cousins.²²

²⁰Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America in the year 1823*, I, 79.

²¹See Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840 Social Change and Nationalism*, 101.

²²Francis Hall, *Travels in Canada and the United States: in 1816 and 1817* (London, 1818), 66. For a related example of how British and French styles overlapped in women's clothing at the time see Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, *Form and Fashion Nineteenth-Century Montreal Dress* (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992), 15.

The economic spin-offs from the American wars, together with the expansion of the fisheries and the increased dealings with the West Indies, all helped to bolster the commercial strength of Montreal.²³ Newspapers were reporting that markets never had been so well stocked, while the arrival of large supplies of labour was further evidence of prosperity.²⁴ British cultural development, however, could not keep pace with commercial activity. As late as 1818 there existed only one book shop "whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability".²⁵

The few entertainment venues in town remained pale imitations of their British counterparts, and were regularly criticised for their lack of quality productions. On the occasion of the debut of one play, a journalist was quick to lambaste the performance:

[The] scanty fall of cut paper was a total violation of the 'cunning of the scene' and seemed rather bits of plaster shaken from the ceiling and would not pass for a 'snowstorm' in the West Indies, much less in Canada at this season.²⁶

²³Ouellet, *Economic and Social History of Quebec 1760-1850*, 272.

²⁴*Le Canadien*, 29 January 1820. Founded c.1806, this paper focused principally on Quebec City and its environs. In the 1820s it began addressing Montreal-related issues more frequently.

²⁵J.M.S. Careless, ed., *Colonists and Canadiens 1760-1867* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), 159. Quote originally taken from John Duncan, *Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819* (New York: W.B. Gilley, 1823).

²⁶McDougall, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)," 146. Quoted originally from the *Canadian Courant*, 25 December 1819.

Furthermore, the proliferation of American troupes, who added Montreal to their circuits at this time was not welcomed by everyone. Upon announcing the opening of the Theatre Royal in the early 1820s, one critic hoped that the gentlemen who were involved in its planning would dismiss "all idea of having anything but a chaste British theatre, after the plan of the most respectable ones at home".²⁷

Since the Conquest, when non-British institutions - French Canadian or American - proposed their own nationalist agendas, imperialist factions attempted to quash such efforts in order to maintain control of the colonial itinerary.²⁸ Although the French-Canadian populace was showing signs of cultural assimilation, the migration of Loyalist settlers after the Revolution brought both British and French conventions under greater scrutiny. Following the dismantling of the town's fortifications in the early 1800s, Montreal became susceptible to a variety of external forces, literally and figuratively. Though the day to day operations of the garrison reminded citizens that they were being defended against insurgents, this military presence did not prevent Americans from imposing their own cultural counterweight to the anglicisation of Montreal.

²⁷Raymond Montpetit, "Loisir public et société à Montréal au XIXe siècle," *Society and Leisure*, vol.2, no.1, April 1979, 121. Quoted originally in the *Canadian Courant*, 13 November 1824.

²⁸See Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 259. See also John Moir, "Sectarian Tradition in Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Canadian Tradition*, ed. John W. Grant (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), 132.

ii. New England Versus England

In their earliest church building efforts, the Presbyterian and Anglican communities had both chosen antiquated styles which reinforced ties to their respective organisations in Britain. Together with other institutions such as the garrison and the court house, St. Gabriel Street Church and Christ Church became visual symbols of imperial authority. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, both churches had ministered to all Protestants regardless of nationality or class, but as their congregations increased in size, factions started to form from within. The denominational offshoots that were created, in part, by the arrival of American dissenters, threatened the stability of both the Scots Presbyterians and the English Anglicans.

Needless to say that following a mere fifteen years of continental domination, the Crown's authority was severely diminished upon the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Inevitably the North American political landscape was reconfigured as the British presence declined in the United States, and consequently intensified in Quebec. The restructuring affected the courses of cultural development of these two territories: The autonomous states became more confident and progressive while the Quebec colony remained submissive and conservative.²⁹

It was understandable how late-eighteenth-century British

²⁹For a related discussion of the development of American towns during this period see Louis B. Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies 1607-1763* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 19.

architectural precepts would be substantially reworked in urban centres such as Boston³⁰, but faithfully copied in Montreal. Judging from the pseudo-Palladian characteristics evident on the façade of Notre Dame following the 1811 renovations, it is clear that English tastes were being embraced by various communities. This trend might have continued uninterrupted had it not been for the strong American presence that provided an alternative to the British tradition in the town. Protestant immigrants arriving from the United States could not relate to the same nationalist codes as their Scottish and English counterparts and the resulting clash of denominational ideologies prompted a series of reactions in ecclesiastical design.

• Presbyterian

The first voices of objection emerged from St. Gabriel Street Church. Many congregants were impoverished Scots - bakers, hatters, shoemakers and farmers - who questioned the moral character of a church in which the affluent pew owners dominated affairs. Such dissenters elected to join the Associate Synod of Scotland (also known as the Burgher Church of Scotland), an organisation subscribed to by the working class element of Scottish society. In their petition for permission to keep a register, the new congregation underscored their national loyalty:

That it is of importance that the many inhabitants who early emigrate from Scotland should first meet every encouragement to fix their residence in this province rather than in the neighbouring States

³⁰See Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), 90.

[...] ³¹

They chose to support certain tenets of the American Presbytery, however, including the equality of all members in the administration of church government. ³²

As a consequence of their republican sympathies, American numbers steadily increased within the break-away congregation. In 1803 the group rented a room in Notre Dame Street and acquired the services of Rev. Robert Easton (1773-1831) - a Scots clergyman formerly stationed in New York. ³³ One year later they started a subscription list for the building of a new church in St. Peter Street (Fig.21) in the west end, near the old Récollet chapel. Almost half of the £1500 was received from donors either living in, or born in the United States, on the condition that the congregation remain part of a Secessionist body. ³⁴ Consequently, the appearance of this new building was significant due to the conscious effort of the trustees to physically distinguish it from the Scottish-influenced style of St. Gabriel Street Church.

³¹A draft petition of 5 January 1805 to Sir Robert Shore Milnes, Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada, 1797-1808 from the members of the Associate Reformed (Burgher) Synod of Presbyterians in Montreal [petition to keep registers], Montreal, Quebec, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Original Papers 1805, MG 24 J38, NAC.

³²An interesting tendency given that Scotland and America were both cultural, political and economic provinces of the Empire. For a comparative study of these two nations see Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten, eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 3.

³³DCB, VI:231.

³⁴McDougall, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)," 113.

In 1807, eighteen months after laying the cornerstone, the new church was completed. Surrounded by a high wall, the greystone building measured 70 x 51 feet and seated seven hundred and fifty. It was several feet larger and able to accommodate one hundred more people than the older Presbyterian house of worship.³⁵ The committee appointed Alexander Logie as the builder, though little is known about him apart from his selection as master stone-cutter for the prison project the following year.³⁶ With the exception of the French Canadian tinsmiths and master roofer, the majority of tradesmen working on St. Peter Street Church were English speaking.³⁷ Included among them was the contractor, William Gilmore, who had directed both the St. Gabriel Street Church and Christ Church projects.

The building was erected in the "Protestant plain style", not unlike many contemporary American meetinghouses.³⁸ The façade was divided into three sections with a small parapet running above the cornice.³⁹ Each of the side bays was

³⁵See advertisement for pew rental, *Montreal Gazette*, 9 March 1807; and 26 and 30 August 1805, Minutes of the Church Committee, ACSASP.

³⁶Marché pour fournir les pierres de taille d'une prison pour le district de Montréal, 25-06-1808, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM.

³⁷Contract between Nicholas Kinsler [master carpenter] and a Committee for the building of a Scotch Presbyterian Church in this city, 23-04-1806, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM.

³⁸Donald Drew Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," in *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History*, ed. W. Eugene Kleinbauer (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 312-338.

³⁹Hélène Bergevin, *Eglises Protestantes* (Quebec: Libre Expression, 1981), 86.

fitted with arched windows on ground level and rectangular ones on the first storey. The central bay, projecting slightly forward, featured a larger window above which rested a pediment with an oculus in the centre. Rising from behind the pediment was the base for a proposed clocktower. Having learnt some valuable lessons from the failure of the roof at St. Gabriel Street, the builders provided ample gutter systems to improve run off from heavy snow loads. In spite of their attempts, however, the new church in St. Peter Street also needed major repairs within two years of opening.⁴⁰

A Grecian-style porch appears to have been added soon after, possibly as a solution to the problem of heat retention. This portico was constructed, in all likelihood, by Loyalist tradesmen who were trying to emulate the latest fashions.⁴¹ In New England at this time, Greek Classical forms were popular as symbols of the republican ideal. In this respect, the conscious effort made to distinguish the St. Peter Street façade from that of St. Gabriel Street was pivotal as it demonstrated how Presbyterian denominations were beginning to identify themselves along nationalist and theological lines.

The arrangement of the pews and pulpit in the large rectangular hall (Fig.22) was in no way similar to the traditional, T-shaped layout of St. Gabriel Street Church. It was characteristic of certain plans published in the

⁴⁰Agreement between Isaac Shay and a Committee for Repairing the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Montreal, 09-08-1809, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM.

⁴¹McDougall, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)," 151.

first edition of *The American Builder's Companion* (1806) by Asher Benjamin (1773-1845).⁴² The addition of a horseshoe gallery some years later probably derived from the same source.⁴³ The repetition of these traits in the first Methodist chapel, built one year after St. Peter Street Church further suggested that American trends were on the rise.

• Methodist

Upon arriving in Montreal from New York in 1803, Rev. Joseph Sawyer remarked that there existed only seven adherents who had been meeting regularly for over seventeen years. The low numbers were no doubt a reflection of the cold greeting given to Methodist missionaries by the Anglican⁴⁴ and the Catholic church establishments. In 1805, when the preacher, Samuel Coate, approached the Sulpicians for instruction in the French language to assist him in his proselytising efforts, he was spurned. He wrote about this incident to a colleague in London:

[...] they found out that I was a Methodist preacher (for they are men afraid of them than of other men, of some cause or other). I got my discharge immediately in a very insulting manner, by the old priest, the superintendent of the college, he spoke to me by an interpreter [...] "we'll have no preachers in the college, off, off", making motions with his hands and looking as though

⁴²Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, 96.

⁴³Marché entre James Leslie pour les Presbytériens et Thomas Steel, 18-04-1817, not. N.B. Doucet, ANQM.

⁴⁴G.E. Jaques Jr., *Chronicles of the St. James Street Methodist Church Montreal* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888), 14.

he could have roasted me on a gridiron [...]⁴⁵

Discussing the state of his congregants in the same letter, Coate portrayed them as poor and in need of "some help from their brethren in Europe for the purpose of building a convenient house to worship God in". In 1807 he travelled to England to raise funds although the most generous donation was actually received upon his return, from the entrepreneur, John Torrance (1786-1870).⁴⁶ One year later, the first Methodist church in the Canadas was under construction in St. Sulpice Street, only several hundred feet away from the parish church of Notre Dame.

Though the minister could have secured a set of plans while in England, the few extant contracts for the chapel confirm that the structure was a pared down version of the St. Peter Street model. As stated in the specifications, it was "to be built in the same fashion as the Presbyterian church of Mr. Easton and following the plan provided to them".⁴⁷ (Fig.23) Possibly due to the failure of other British builders to construct durable churches in town, the more-experienced French Canadian masons, Jean-Baptiste Larochelle and Nicholas Morin were hired.

They divided the façade into three bays with sash windows

⁴⁵13 September 1805, Letter from Samuel Coate to Rev. Joseph Benson (London), Portraits and Letters of the Ministers of St. James Methodist Church Montreal, 78.105C, UCAT.

⁴⁶See *The First Century of Methodism in Canada, 1775-1830*, 1 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), 43.

⁴⁷Marché pour la maçonnerie d'une église Méthodiste Episcopale, 22-08-1808, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM.

on the ground floor. Quoins demarcated each section and a double roof intended for drainage was also installed. Due to the restricted finances of the congregation, however, the central bay of the chapel was simply rendered, without the belfry, clocktower or portico designed for St. Peter Street. Inside, the hall was assumed to be rectangular with an added gallery. A Venetian window was inserted above the pulpit.⁴⁸

That Coate and his building committee opted to copy a local Presbyterian church based on American models should not be so surprising. Many of the early Methodist congregants maintained strong connections with family members in the United States. One of the most important relations was Philip Embury - the founder of American Methodism - whose family fled north from New York City during the American Revolution. His granddaughter would eventually marry Torrance, the congregation's key patron.⁴⁹ A dear friend of the Emburys, Episcopal Bishop Francis Asbury (1745-1816), also took a personal interest in the progress of the young Montreal community.

American involvement with the congregation would only remain conspicuous until the War of 1812 - an event whose political consequences also sensitised religious denominations to their British-colonial commitments. In

⁴⁸Contract and Agreement between Issac Shay and Richard McGinnis and Frederick Fraser Trustees, 25-08-1808, not. J.A. Gray, ANQM. Shay also completed the carpenter work for St. Peter Street Church.

⁴⁹See *DCB*, V:319, related to Catherine Embury's husband Duncan Fisher (c.1753-1820). Although Fisher was a devout Presbyterian, Catherine raised her children as Methodists. See also *DCB*, IX:792 related to John Torrance.

1815 three missionaries of the English Methodist Conference were coldly greeted by the American clergymen already stationed in Montreal.⁵⁰ The ensuing power struggle between the two ministries divided the small community for five years, until it was officially resolved to concede the province of Lower Canada to the English Conference and accord Upper Canada to the American Conference. Bishop Asbury received a letter, justifying the decision taken by the Missionary Committee in London:

Upon a review of the whole and from the most serious and deliberate consideration, we are led to conclude that, considering the relative situation of the inhabitants of Montreal, and of Canada to this country, and, particularly as a principal part of the people appear to be in favour of our missionaries, it would be for their peace and comfort, and the furtherance of the Gospel, for our friends to occupy these stations, especially Montreal, to which we conceive we have a claim.⁵¹

The American element that had figured prominently in early Methodist development was suppressed at this time. As discussed above, the Presbyterians had already split once due in part to nationalist tensions. The reformation of Methodism along similar lines further demonstrated the potential divisiveness of other Protestant factions in the colony. This religious instability was most apparent to Anglican leaders who were concerned that Methodist preachers were undermining their own proselytising efforts. In English civic centres with large migratory populations

⁵⁰John Moir, "American Influences on Canadian Protestant Churches Before Confederation," *Church History*, vol.36, no.4, December 1967, 450.

⁵¹Extract of a letter from the Missionary Committee, London to Bishop Asbury in Jaques Jr., *Chronicles of the St. James Street Methodist Church Montreal*, 19.

similar to that of Montreal, Methodism was making considerable gains, owing to increased class conflicts as well as the general dissatisfaction with the Anglican establishment.⁵² In one parish report by Rev. Bethune of Christ Church, the clergyman denounced the Wesleyans for calling themselves members of the Church of England.⁵³ Undeniably, the aggressive recruitment techniques of the Methodists were taking their toll on Anglican membership.

It was only a decade after the completion of their humble chapel in St. Sulpice Street that Methodist numbers were substantial enough to justify a new building campaign.⁵⁴ Their bold response to Christ Church was the erection in 1821 of a house of worship on the busy thoroughfare of St. James Street. It was the first building in the Canadas to be conceived in the Greek Revival style. (Fig.24) Despite their distinct agendas, both the Presbyterian dissenters and the Methodists continued to favour Greek Neo-Classicism as the style best suited to the expression of their Protestant doctrines.

Whereas the Presbyterians were attracted to the style due to its republican connotations, the Methodists were more interested in the Greek Revival for its denominational association. At the Methodist Conference in London of 1790,

⁵²For a study of the impact of these forces on provincial cultures in Britain see D.G. Paz, ed., *Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions Retrospect and Prospect* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 120.

⁵³Parochial Report Form of 1820 - Mr. John Bethune's answers, Christ Church Cathedral Files, CIII, ADMA.

⁵⁴See the *Canadian Courant*, 6 November 1819, regarding the first anniversary of the British Methodist Missionary Society.

delegates agreed that all new churches built in England should be based on the plan of the parent church, City Road Chapel in London. (Fig.25) The architect who was to implement their resolution was the retired minister, William Jenkins (c.1763-1844). Regarded as the consummate figure in Methodist church design, he conceived of at least fifteen buildings inspired by this model.⁵⁵ Jenkins appropriated the five-bay front of the London chapel and repeatedly "re clothed it in respectable Georgian and Regency dress".⁵⁶

Though the architect never visited North America, it is important to note that the configuration of City Road Chapel had already served as a model for St. John's Chapel (1816), the Methodist house of worship in Quebec City. Jenkins' churches were known to most missionaries of the British Conference including Robert Lusher (c.1787-1849) - the minister sent to Montreal in 1819 who would be in charge of the construction of St. James Street Church. There are other possible explanations, however, for linking Jenkins' work with the commission. Shortly after Lusher's appointment, John Try (c.1779-1855) was chosen as architect of the church.

Try was an English-born Methodist who arrived to Montreal in 1807, around the time of the construction of their first

⁵⁵Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 543-544. See also John Telford, *Wesley's Chapel and Wesley's House* (London: Epworth Press, 1926), 108.

⁵⁶George W. Dolbey, *The Architectural Expression of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1964), 177. City Road Chapel was built in 1778.

chapel.⁵⁷ Trained as a carpenter, he had worked on the interior of Christ Church as well as on several major residential projects. It seems that the economic upturn after the 1812 war allowed him the opportunity to assume greater responsibilities in the building profession. In 1815, the wealthy shipping and brewery magnate, John Molson Sr. asked Try to design the Mansion House Hotel.⁵⁸

Two years later Molson decided to incorporate a large public hall with the hotel, which he named the Montreal Assembly Room. In 1817 he requested designs in the Grecian style from the London-based architect, William Fuller Pocock (1779-1849), whose publication, *Modern Finishings for Rooms: A Series of Designs for Vestibules, Halls, Stair Cases, Dressing Rooms, Boudoirs, Libraries and Drawing Rooms* (1811) must have been familiar to Molson.⁵⁹ Though having never stepped foot in Montreal, Pocock was proud enough to exhibit his finished drawings of the interior at the Royal Academy in 1819.⁶⁰

According to Pocock's biography, his work at Mansion House constituted what was "said at that time to have been the

⁵⁷For a survey of his career see A.J.H. Richardson and Stephen Otto, "John Try: A Master Carpenter, Builder, and Architect in Old Montreal," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, June 1997, 32-39.

⁵⁸Richardson and Otto, "John Try: A Master Carpenter, Builder, and Architect in Old Montreal," 34.

⁵⁹Published in London by J. Taylor.

⁶⁰"1819 - Hall and Supper Rooms, Mansion House, Montreal, Canada, by W.F. Pocock...architect". Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, V-VI (London: Henry Graves and Co., 1906), 172.

largest room in that part of the world".⁶¹ There is little doubt that Try, as chief architect of the hotel, would have corresponded with the English architect regarding specifications. Both men were Methodists. It was also significant that at this time, Pocock had designed Ranelagh Chapel in Sloane Square, London (1818) (Fig.26); the façade being a modified version of the type conceived by Jenkins, whom he knew personally. Pocock published his London house of worship the following year in *Designs for Churches and Chapels*.⁶²

According to an article in the *Canadian Courant*, the design for the church was "taken from that of one recently erected in the neighbourhood of London".⁶³ Judging from his repetition of the five bay layout at St. James Street Church, Try must have consulted Pocock's pattern-book though he did not confine himself to one model; instead he combined elements from several English Methodist churches designed by the trend-setter, Jenkins. The arched windows placed within a series of blind arcades were similar to those designed for Hinde Street Church, London (1809-1810)⁶⁴. The decorative stone cappings above the side bays, as well as the acroteria were evident at the Wesleyan

⁶¹"Typescript of Memoir of William Fuller Pocock written by William Willmer Pocock", n.d., 55. Pocock Family Papers, PoFam/1/2, RIBA. The memoir was privately printed in 1883 by J.S. Virtue.

⁶²Published in 1819 in London by J. Taylor.

⁶³The *Canadian Courant*, 12 July 1820. The article also noted that "the new stile [sic] of building is fast trenching on the old".

⁶⁴John Torrance, *Two West End chapels, Sketches of London Methodism from Wesley's Day* (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1886), 105.

chapel erected in Oxford (1817-1818).⁶⁵

Although the town's Methodist community numbered a mere 119 at the time of its opening, with a seating capacity for 1200, the size of St James Street church expressed great confidence in future expansion. It was built at a cost of £1500 on a plot of land measuring, 70 x 50 feet. The description of the interior as being in the English style is credible, given that Clarke and Appleton, the carpenters hired at Christ Church, were responsible for the work.⁶⁶ The rectangular plan was surmounted by a circular gallery supported by Doric pillars. Windows were located on the four sides of the hall and a skylight inserted in the ceiling. Pilasters with moulded capitals were applied to the walls, while the cornice was decorated with Etruscan fret and honey suckle motifs.⁶⁷ Little expense was spared in its execution, from the intricate architectural detailing to the fine organ.⁶⁸

The cultivated yet minimalist character of the Greek Revival made the style all the more appealing in towns such as Montreal, where the harsh weather did not allow for

⁶⁵See R. Lascelles, *The University and City of Oxford* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1821), 237.

⁶⁶Contract and Agreement to build a Wesleyan Chapel in Montreal between Clarke and Appleton and John Torrance, 22-01-1820, not. H. Griffin, ANQM.

⁶⁷16 February 1822, Statement of Extras done in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel not Mentioned in the Contract, Portraits and Letters of the Ministers of St. James Methodist Church Montreal, 78.105C/OS, UCAT.

⁶⁸The pulpit and pews were moved from the old chapel when the building was converted into the Montreal News Room in 1821.

profuse exterior ornamentation. Try must have realised that, in as much as he wanted to adhere to English models, it would be necessary to make certain adjustments in consideration of the climate. Unlike most of Jenkins' churches, stoves and chimneys had to be incorporated into his design.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the pitch of the roof was an important consideration for fire prevention, as was the tin cladding. An engraving of the church covered in snow and ice illustrated the need for such modifications. (Fig.27)

The portico, unlike the one for the St. Peter Street congregation, was carefully integrated into the total scheme. Apart from its practical purpose to prevent the escape of heat, the boldness of the design evoked the social aspirations of the community. It had been donated in 1824 by Daniel Fisher, the son of Catherine Embury Fisher and grandson of Philip Embury.⁷⁰ It was interesting how relatives of the founder of American Methodism had fully integrated into the British-colonial community.

That the portico of the church was more elaborate than any other contemporary English Methodist church affirms the sense of pride felt by members such as Fisher. In consideration of their location next door to the first office of the Bank of Montreal - a building that boasted a Doric portico of its own - patrons of the church clearly

⁶⁹20 November 1820, Trustees Minutes 1820-1906, St. James Street Church, UCAM.

⁷⁰Robert Alder, *The Substance of a Funeral Sermon on the death of Daniel Fisher Esq, delivered in St. James's Chapel Montreal Lower Canada on Sunday December 24, 1826*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: Herald Office, 1827), 15. See also Nathan Mair, *The People of St. James Montreal, 1803-1984* (Published by author, 1984), 7.

did not want to be surpassed by any neighbouring organisation, secular or religious.⁷¹

iii. The American Presbyterian Bias

By way of its thoroughly English design, St. James Street Church asserted the congregation's national allegiance following almost two decades of vacillation between competing ministries. In spite of this overt endorsement of British ecclesiastical tenets, influences from the United States continued to surface in Montreal. After the American Methodist ministry conceded jurisdiction of Lower Canada to the British Wesleyans, the anglicisation of the town might have continued uninterrupted had it not been for the divisiveness of the Presbyterian community.

At St. Peter Street Church, only fifteen years following its foundation, a debate over the nationality of their clergyman ultimately caused another split. The dissident members from the United States who broke away to form another congregation were resolved to show their commitment to American religious principles. Organising themselves soon after the opening of the Anglican and Methodist

⁷¹Try had completed another portico for Molson's second hotel in 1821. His porticoes were references to the latest British Greek Revival designs of the United Service Club (c.1816) and the Athenaeum (c.1824) in London; the former built by Robert Smirke (1780-1867) and the latter by Decimus Burton (1800-1881).

churches, the American Presbyterians defied absorption into the British-colonial mainstream.

Within that short time span of fifteen years, the composition of the Presbyterian population had changed considerably due to various socio-economic shifts. The building of the Lachine Canal (1821-1826) improved the shipping route between the Upper and Lower St. Lawrence River, creating in its wake new industries related to agriculture and manufacturing.⁷² With the fur trade oriented toward Upper Canada, the Scottish directors of the North West Company who had once figured prominently in the activities of St. Gabriel Street Church became less conspicuous in its affairs.⁷³ Matters were aggravated by a spate of ministerial and administrative problems. As a result, many disgruntled Scottish congregants moved over to St. Peter Street, adding to the growing number of Americans who were also joining the new group. Nationality would prove to be a heated topic with regard to the conduct of church operations.

The issue came to a head in the early 1820s when discussions were held on whether a Scottish or American replacement should be found for Rev. Easton. Until that time, the congregation had belonged to the Burgher Secession Church of Scotland - affiliates of the Associate Reformed Church of North America. When the majority firmly

⁷²See Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Construction of the First Lachine Canal 1815-1826" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1960).

⁷³Robert Sweeny, "Un passé en mutations: Bilan et Perspectives pour une histoire socio-économique de Montréal au XIXe siècle," in *Montréal au XIXe siècle*, ed. Jean Rémi Brault, 18.

resolved to secure a new minister from the Established Church of Scotland - a clear indication of their nationalist leaning - the American faction was unwilling to accept the decision.

Considering how the original break up of the Presbyterian community at the beginning of the century was intended as a protest against the elitism of the Established Church in Scotland, remonstrations seemed warranted in response to the ideological turnaround. One of the lay leaders of the American Presbyterian community, Samuel Hedge, further commented that he had no objection of going to heaven, but did not see the need of getting there by way of Scotland.⁷⁴

Membership grew steadily due to both the popularity of American clergymen, as well as the absence of Congregationalist, Baptist and official Presbyterian Secession churches, whose adherents sympathised with their dissenting religious views.⁷⁵ The prominent politician William Lyon Mackenzie (1795-1861) observed that "the congregation is numerous, and the people generally well-dressed, forming evidently an important and influential part of the citizens of Montreal".⁷⁶ In spite of numbering about seven hundred by 1825, or roughly three percent of

⁷⁴*Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1844.

⁷⁵During the ministry of the Rev. Christmas, church membership grew from 30 to 274. See McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada 1815-1842," 153.

⁷⁶William Lyon Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 148.

the population⁷⁷, the community made significant contributions to the Protestant activities within the town.

Only two years earlier in 1823, the American Presbyterian Society was officially recognised by the Presbytery of New York.⁷⁸ The Crown could not have been pleased with the foundation of this Society for several reasons: First, they were yet another dissenting religious group competing with the Established Churches; Second, their Society promoted American theological doctrines. It is no surprise that colonial officials delayed granting them permission to keep a register for over ten years after their initial application. The air of republican independence given to the congregation by the self-reliant and increasingly wealthy American settlers proved to only aggravate relations with the British administration.⁷⁹

In their search for a new minister in the United States, church leaders alluded to their sophistication when they wrote to candidates urging them to take into account that Montreal was a place of considerable refinement. They believed it to be particularly valuable that the applicant should "possess that urbanity in his manner which would be

⁷⁷Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation" (Ph.D. diss., Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1977), 106/417-429.

⁷⁸For a complete historical account see D.C. Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1822-1866" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1957). The Scottish majority retained the old church and eventually acquired the name St. Andrew's.

⁷⁹McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada 1815-1842," 66-69/153.

less desirable in a different place".⁸⁰ Another indication of the pretension of the leaders was their unilateral decision to elect Elders amongst themselves, suggesting the degree of control they wished to exert, zealous even by American standards.

The Elders also appealed to friends in Boston, Philadelphia and New York for assistance in building a church. The young Society had been meeting in Hedge's house in Fortification Lane, then in 1823 they rented the Wesleyan Chapel. That same year they received a set of hastily-drawn designs from one of their first clergymen, Samuel Whelpeley, then stationed in Plattsburgh, New York. He added a note: "I hope you will find it easy to attain the means to build as to fix upon a plan".⁸¹ Although the drawing did not survive, it is obvious that, however elementary, Whelpeley's proposal would have been based on an American model.

A year later, while holding services at St. Peter Street Church, the Society secured the capital necessary to purchase a plot of land adjoining the Hedge house. Situated on the south-west corner of St. James Street and Haymarket Square, it measured 75 x 89 feet. The building committee, formed soon after a lease was secured in 1824, was composed of a majority of skilled artisans from New England. Many of them were to become personally involved in the various

⁸⁰Letter taken from George R. Lighthall, *A Short History of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1823-1923* (Montreal, 1923), 4.

⁸¹May 1823, Letter from Samuel Whelpeley to Jacob Bigelow, Box A271-A286, 1823 Folder, UCAM.

stages of construction.⁸²

The committee initially requested estimates for two sets of plans and models that were presented at a meeting in December 1824. The first was for an octagonal structure of Gothic design, 75 feet wide with buttresses of cut stone, and costing just over £2000; the second plan was rectangular in shape, measuring 64 x 75 feet with cut stone fronts of Neo-Classical design, estimated at £1500.⁸³ It was decided that if the rectangular proposal should be found to cost as little or less than the other, that it be adopted. The motion was carried.⁸⁴ The committee seemed justified in its decision to reject the first plan, given how unconventionally-shaped buildings required more skilled labour to execute.

The rejection of the octagonal design, however, denied Montreal what might have become one of its most unusual structures.⁸⁵ Regarded as a modification of an Early Christian church plan, the octagonal form had been used for more than a dozen chapels raised by the Wesleyans in

⁸²22 September 1824, Minutes of the American Presbyterian Church, A-1, Minutes 1823-1864, UCAM.

⁸³1823 Folder, A284, UCAM. These estimates did not include the finishing of the interior of the church or the painting of the exterior.

⁸⁴6 December 1824, Minutes of the American Presbyterian Church, A-1, Minutes 1823-1864, UCAM.

⁸⁵For more on the development of the octagonal structure in later church architecture see Orson Squire Fowler, *A Home for All: or The Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1854; reprint, New York: Dover, 1973), 156.

England by the late-eighteenth century.⁸⁶ In all likelihood, John Try, who was completing St. James Street Church around the same time as the American Presbyterian commission, furnished the octagonal proposal, basing it on an elevation in *Designs for Churches and Chapels*.⁸⁷

That the octagonal proposal was rejected, underscored how nationalist sympathies were relevant to the decision-making process. One of the key figures in this process was Horatio Gates (1777-1834). Born in Boston, Gates became a prominent landlord and entrepreneur thanks to his successful dealings with the British army during the 1812 war. A devout Presbyterian, he was chief vestryman of the congregation, having formerly occupied the office of vice-president at St. Peter Street Church, and having been a member of St. Gabriel Street Church from 1808-1813.⁸⁸

The presence of Gates at the American Presbyterian building committee meeting has led the architectural historian, Franklin Toker, to deduce that the Irish-American architect, James O'Donnell (1774-1830), was responsible for

⁸⁶Dolbey, *The Architectural Expression of Methodism*, 99.

⁸⁷It is worth noting that in 1824, the Anglicans in Quebec City erected Holy Trinity chapel being an exact copy of another Pocock engraving. It was built by the Royal Engineer, George Blaiklock (1792-1828), *DCB*, VII:80. See Alfred Hawkins, *Picture of Quebec* (Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1834), 236; also Richardson, *Quebec City, Architects, Artisans and Builders*, 106.

⁸⁸*DCB*, VI:277. It is interesting to note that as early as 1820, Gates acted as an "outside witness" for the Wesleyan Methodist chapel deed. Mair, *The People of St. James Montreal 1803-1984*, 7. Five years later he was paid by the wardens of Notre Dame to inspect plans and estimates for their church.

the plans.⁸⁹ O'Donnell was in town for six months prior to the decisive meeting of December 1824, at which time he was proposing designs for the rebuilding of Notre Dame. The architect was in communication with Gates, who was chief commissioner of the Montreal House of Industry. Furthermore, in 1826, Gates, in his capacity as President of the British and Canadian School would accept O'Donnell's plan for a building.

Regardless of his presence and professional activities in Montreal at this time, evidence supporting O'Donnell as the architect of the American Presbyterian Church is far more circumstantial. Toker pointed to the similarity of stonework with the school as the thrust to his argument.⁹⁰ In the building records of the British and Canadian School, O'Donnell was clearly acknowledged as the architect. Why would his name be absent in the minutes or accounts of the American Presbyterian Society, particularly if his drawings were offered free of charge, as they were for the School commission?⁹¹ Surely some record of his generosity would have been made. Furthermore, O'Donnell's two Protestant churches - Christ Church (1823) and First Presbyterian Church (1824) - built in New York City and Rochester respectively, should have provided some link to the design

⁸⁹Franklin Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 54. O'Donnell's activity in Montreal will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

⁹⁰Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 54.

⁹¹*Montreal Herald*, 25 October 1826.

of the Montreal house of worship?⁹² From the stylistic vantage point, however, they had little in common.

The extant documentation leaves little doubt that a local builder was responsible for the construction of the American Presbyterian Church. According to several extant receipts, the design was furnished by Moses Marshall, one of the original committee members. He submitted bills for making moulds for the masons and stone-cutters, and in one of the statements of expenditures he was recorded as "Architect for plans and pattern".⁹³ In *The Montreal Herald*, which announced the laying of the cornerstone, Marshall was again described as the architect.⁹⁴ Although little information exists about his other works if any, it is known that he was trained as a carpenter, similar to Try.⁹⁵ Clearly, members of the building trades were assuming greater responsibilities in major ecclesiastical commissions, especially when they maintained administrative roles in those particular projects.

⁹²Franklin Toker, "James O'Donnell: An Irish Georgian in America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 28, no.2, May 1970, 138.

⁹³Statement of the Building Committee of Expenditures, Bills and Accounts 1825-27, Folder A329, UCAM.

⁹⁴See the report on the laying of the cornerstone in the *Montreal Herald*, 15 June 1825. Mentioned on the scroll deposited in the cornerstone were the names of Moses Marshall, architect and William Riley, mason; see also *Canadian Courant*, 15 June 1825.

⁹⁵Information taken from Susan Stanley's vertical file, UCAM. Marshall was listed as a carpenter in Queen Street, in Thomas Doige, *An Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders and Housekeepers Residing in Montreal to which is prefixed A Descriptive Sketch of the Town* (Montreal: James Lane, 1819).

Marshall's plan and specifications for the church were distributed to artisans within a few weeks of the 1824 meeting. Throughout the winter of 1825, tenders were received from various local firms. The team of Isaac Shay (c.1771-1826)⁹⁶ and Daniel Bent, who had worked on Christ Church, offered estimates for the carpenter, joiner and glazier contracts.⁹⁷ Noah Shaw, a committee member, submitted a tender with a competitive quote and was awarded the contracts. In February, Shaw was also appointed superintendent of construction.⁹⁸

The building that he oversaw measured 95 x 64 feet, considerably larger than the one proposed at earlier committee meetings.⁹⁹ According to a drawing of the front elevation (Fig.28), the masonry for the greystone church was completed with the exception of the tower which was not included in the contract. On the ground level there were three pointed arch entrances, and above them, three recessed arches containing rectangular windows detailed with baluster rails. The central bay, projecting two feet forward, was articulated by four panelled pilasters with stringcourses running across at basement, first and second storey levels. A lunette window was inserted in the

⁹⁶*Canadian Courant*, 6 May 1826.

⁹⁷Letter and Accounts Re: Building of Church, Box A287-A298, UCAM.

⁹⁸19 February 1825, An Agreement between the Building Committee and Mr. Noah Shaw, Folder A287. For Shaw's other contracts see Folder 1823, Box A271-A286, UCAM.

⁹⁹Contract and Agreement, William Riley and Herman Seaver, Horace Dickinson and Others, Montreal, 07-01-1825, not. H. Griffin, ANQM. Consult the corresponding plan to be found in CN-601-187/506, Cartothèque, ANQM.

pediment, while the windows on the other three sides of the building were fashioned with pointed arches in the Gothic style.

It has been suggested that the exterior of the church was deliberately retardataire owing to the tendency of mixing Neo-Classical and Gothic elements at this time. As opposed to Christ Church or St. James Street Church that were rendered with an assortment of British ecclesiastical references, the new Presbyterian house of worship quoted various sources that were definitively American. In a footnote which he never elaborated on, Toker established that the design derived from two plates in a revised edition of Benjamin's, *The American Builder's Companion* (1816).¹⁰⁰ Clearly, Marshall was among countless artisans on the continent, including the builders of St. Peter Street Church and the first Methodist chapel, who had already borrowed elements from Benjamin's popular work.¹⁰¹

Examining these two elevations of Benjamin's meetinghouses and comparing them with the church as completed, it becomes quite clear that the builder had copied the majority of

¹⁰⁰See the advertisement in *Montreal Gazette* 30 October 1828 for Classical books including "Benjamin's Architect".

¹⁰¹It is interesting to note that one of Benjamin's collaborators on the book, Daniel Raynerd, was allegedly in town as early as 1814 working with Try on a prominent lawyer's residence. See Richardson and Otto, "John Try: A Master Carpenter, Builder, and Architect in Old Montreal," 33.

elements from the publication.¹⁰² Taken from one plate (Fig.29) was the general arrangement of the façade, the pediment, the base of the tower and volutes; and from the second plate (Fig.30) were assorted building details including the oculus (intended for the insertion of a clock) and the composition of the central bay. The proposed attic storey and tower that were part of the original plan, though never executed, were perhaps the most telling pieces of evidence. They demonstrated how Marshall, when left to his own devices, failed to grasp basic design principles.

The attic appeared inconspicuous enough, with its simple parapet pierced by balusters over each of the flanking bays. The bell tower, however, was not proportional to the other components of the building. Placed directly over the pediment, the proposed tower seemed disconnected from the rest of the structure. In an effort to bring together the attic proper and the clocktower, elaborate volutes were added to hide the pitch of the roof. While stylistically incompatible with the other components, these scrolls introduced by Marshall provided a weak solution to what was already an awkward design.

According to another drawing dated 1826¹⁰³ (Fig.31), the proposed clocktower was equally curious since it did not derive from any of Benjamin's plates. Both tiers were surrounded by numerous semi-columns and embellished with

¹⁰²Asher Benjamin, *The American Builder's Companion; or, A System of Architecture, Particularly Adapted to the Present Style of Building...*, 3rd ed. (Boston: R.P. & C. Williams, 1816).

¹⁰³Eglise des Presbytériens-américains, et maison de M. Rocheblave en perspective, 0-49, p.15, Fonds Verreau, ASQ.

triangular finials. At the top there was a weather vane perched on a small cupola. Nineteenth-century photographs (Fig.32) relate a different story of the church as it was executed. Owing to the omission of the clocktower and belfry, the pitch of the roof echoed the triangular shape of the pediment - an effect clearly unintended.

As soon as more funds were made available, the building committee continued with their proposed plans for the interior. (Fig.33) The layout (Fig.34) was also copied from Benjamin's plates, though on a smaller scale. In the spring of 1826 services were held in the unfinished hall.¹⁰⁴ It was fitted with the immediate necessities; hearths to warm the room, benches on the principal floor and gallery, and a temporary pulpit. By 1830 a mahogany pulpit was installed, again copied from a plate in Benjamin's book.¹⁰⁵

The hall contained a horseshoe-shaped gallery supported by seventeen pillars. On the longer sides of the room and in the rear wall behind the pulpit were large, Gothic style windows. Over the summer months, plasterers were engaged to mount a centrepiece of stucco as well as a neat, plain cornice above which was added "an enrichment of Grecian

¹⁰⁴30 April 1827, Minutes of the American Presbyterian Church, 1823-1864, A-1, UCAM. The Building Committee reported that the whole amount for construction excluding the basement and proposed steeple would be slightly less than £4500.

¹⁰⁵Quotes by Jacob Cox and William Winfield: 22 December 1829, Letters and Accounts Re: Building of Church, Box A287-A298, UCAM; and 7 January 1830, Tender for Pulpit from William Winfield and Company, Committee Receipts 1830-39, Box A287-A298, UCAM. Winfield offered a more competitive quote and also proposed to take a pew in the church as part payment.

fret work precisely with that in the Montreal Wesleyan Chapel".¹⁰⁶ The pointed arch windows juxtaposed with the Neo-Classical plaster work were indicative of the popular practice of mixing architectural elements.

The rigours of the climate also forced the committee to accept certain modifications to the design. Brick chimneys were built at every angle to accommodate the stoves, windows were all double glazed, and the roof was steepened to keep snow load to a minimum. A ladder, used by the chimney-sweepers and the fire brigade, was visible to the rear of the building. Evidently Marshall had worked long enough in the town to understand the perils of local weather conditions and the materials needed to withstand them.

It must be remembered that Marshall, like Try, was not a professional architect but a skilled artisan, and as such, had resorted to trial and error systems when directing commissions. In spite of their amateur skills, both British- and American-trained artisans managed to convey distinct nationalist expressions in a town pre-disposed to French-colonial trends. As the most conspicuous symbol of a republican presence since the Congressional occupation fifty years before, Marshall's building for the American Presbyterian community countered efforts by imperialist factions to monopolise the cultural agenda. Owing in part to the building campaigns of American dissenting groups, the establishment of an Anglo-Protestant identity for Montreal was impeded. These exertions of alternative

¹⁰⁶Contract and Agreement between Thomas Foley and Robert Craig and Horace Dickinson and William Forbes, 03-08-1826, not. H. Griffin, ANQM.

national expression would have an immediate impact on French-Canadian attitudes toward their own church building campaigns.

Chapter III

French-Canadian Reactions 1820-1830

i. Catering to the Silent Majority

In the aftermath of the War of 1812 there was a noted shift in the French-Canadian attitude toward the British government. The ongoing threat of American annexation encouraged the populace to rally around the Empire, which, in the process of defending its own territorial interests, had inadvertently become the protector of French-Canadian mores. In an attempt to clarify the Anglican position in this matter, Bishop Mountain travelled to London in 1818 to press for greater recognition of the Church of England in the colony. To his dismay, he was told by the Colonial Office that the Catholic Church must remain the Established Church of Canada.¹

In spite of the power struggle that this decision would incite, it appeared that Protestants and Catholics in Montreal were interacting without the hostility or religious animosity that had characterised their

¹Sturgis, "Anglicisation as a Theory in Lower-Canadian History 1807-1843," 38.

relationship in Europe.² On the death of George III in 1820, the politician Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871) took the opportunity to praise the monarchy for its acts of tolerance. He remarked:

Suffice it then at a glance, to compare our present happy situation with that of our fathers on the eve of the day when George the third became their legitimate monarch.³

For their part, the Sulpicians showed their appreciation by celebrating Masses for the English victories over Napoleon. They contributed generously toward the erection of Lord Nelson's monument and maintained a well-stocked library thanks to regular shipments from their resident priest in London.⁴

The *entente cordiale* between the British and the Sulpicians had determined the course of development. New alliances forged in Montreal seemed to mutually benefit both the British-political and French-religious establishments. This interdependence of administration and clergy was to manifest itself in the cultural identity of the place. On the one hand, it could not be denied that British institutions were becoming more visible, as confirmed by the foundation in the 1820s of a general hospital, national school, horticultural society and masonic hall. It was also

²Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America in the year 1823*, II, 291.

³Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840*, 197. Originally in the *Quebec Gazette*, 10 July 1820.

⁴Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 13. See Louis Rousseau, *La Prédication à Montréal de 1800 à 1830 - approche religiologique* (Montreal: Fides, 1976), 93. As early as 1802, books were being regularly shipped overseas by a Sulpician representative in London.

at this time, however, that a conscious attempt was made to cater to the needs of the French Canadian public.

Advertisements for upcoming comedy and vaudeville acts from Paris were commonplace.⁵ The Theatre Royal produced French plays to improve attendance; an effort which one writer believed, would "impart those feelings so much in unison with British hearts".⁶ The Catholic clergy's disapproval of theatre-going, however, forced entrepreneurs to think of novel ways to draw audiences.⁷ A Cabinet of Curiosities as well as a Pavilion Circus - combining theatre and circus - were productions that were sanctioned by the clergy. Another approved form of entertainment - the panorama - became a popular attraction. Participants were invited to experience the Battle of Waterloo, stroll past the city of Gloucester, Massachusetts famed for its legendary sea-serpent, or witness the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem.⁸ Increased cultural activity in the town was confirmed by the noted migration of skilled European artisans - ranging from plasterers and portraitists to engravers and

⁵For examples see *Canadian Courant*, 8 May 1824; *La Minerve*, 19 February 1827.

⁶"On the Influence of a well regulated English Theatre in Montreal," *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, September 1823, 224.

⁷In 1809, a French-Canadian parishioner confessed to his priest that he wished to attend the theatre. See Baudoin Burger, *L'Activité théâtrale au Québec 1765-1825* (Ottawa: Les Editions Parti Pris, 1974), 291.

⁸Sylvie Dufresne, "Attractions, curiosités, carnaval d'hiver, expositions agricoles et industrielles: Le loisir public à Montréal au XIXe siècle," in *Montréal au XIXe siècle*, Jean Rémi Brault ed., 241.

artificers.⁹

In its capacity as a centre of commerce and religion, Montreal continued to attract large numbers of uneducated, French Canadian labourers whose lives were heavily influenced by the guidance of the Church. A birth announcement printed in *Le Canadien* in 1821 underscored how superstition and sensationalism influenced public perception. According to the newspaper's undisclosed source, a mulatto woman gave birth to a baby girl who had two horns on her head, empty eye sockets, as well as a mouth and nose not unlike those of a sheep. The infant had the body of a human but her legs were without bones; the left foot appearing like the paw of a bear, and the right, the hoof of a sheep. Her hands were said to resemble those of a turtle. Although the baby was reported to have been baptised, she died a half hour after birth.¹⁰

Indeed, keeping the poorer classes God-fearing and regulating their day to day activities permitted the clergy to exert incredible social control. These tactics benefitted not only the Catholic priests but also the British administration. In 1825, out of a population of more than 22,000 - the largest in British North America - more than half was French Canadian. Furthermore, two thirds of residents were Catholic owing to the considerable

⁹See *Dénombrement du Comté de Montréal fait en 1825 par MM. Louis Guy et Jacques Viger* at St. Sulpice Library, Montreal. Included were the listings of various artistic professions: masters of drawing and of music, a landscapist, collectors and one architect.

¹⁰*Le Canadien*, 25 July 1821

numbers of arrivals from Ireland.¹¹

With the stream of Irish augmenting the influx of French Canadian peasants, there emerged a more defined class system whose lowest members became more conspicuous on the urban scene.¹² A traveller from London attending services at the Hôtel Dieu remarked:

The church was crowded with a motley congregation of the meanest-looking people that can well be imagined (I speak not of dress, for they were decently clad, but of person and countenance). Being naturally a physiognomist, I could not help remarking the various kinds and degrees of weakness and simplicity which were strongly marked upon their features. There was not one face among the hundred that was lighted up with any indications of refinement, sensibility or reflection.¹³

Count Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) - the Frenchman whose critical examination of the United States led to one of the most important political studies of the nineteenth century¹⁴ - visited Lower Canada in 1831. Travelling with his companion, Hugh de Beaumont, the pair remarked seeing French Canadians living in provincial towns that bore a striking resemblance to ones in France. The Catholic

¹¹Rousseau, *La Prédication à Montréal de 1800 à 1830 - approche religiologique*, 74.

¹²J.P. Bernard et al., "La Société Montréalaise dans les années 1820," *Groupe de Recherche sur la Société Montréalaise au 19e Siècle, Rapport et Travaux 1973-1975* (Montreal: Department of History, Université de Québec à Montréal, 1975), 9.

¹³Joseph Sansom, *Travels in Lower Canada: with the author's recollections of the soil, and aspects, the morals, habits...* (London, 1820), 64.

¹⁴*Democracy in America* was translated into English and published in two volumes in New York in 1838.

character of these places impressed them greatly. Since the Revolution, France had lost much of its religious spirit, therefore the proliferation of churches and religious communities in the colony was quite a departure from what the gentlemen expected to see.

Yet they could not understand how their Catholic compatriots, residing for seven decades under foreign rule, retained their French identity while the English who lived in their midst did not lose their own national character.¹⁵ Tocqueville wrote:

The well-to-do belong for the most part to the English race. Even though French is the language almost universally spoken, the majority of the newspapers, the posters, and even the signs of French shopkeepers, are in English. Commercial enterprises are almost all in their hands; they are truly the governing class in Canada. I doubt whether it will long be thus. The clergy and a great part of the classes not rich but enlightened are French and they are beginning to feel their secondary position keenly [...]¹⁶

During his short stay in Montreal in August 1831, Tocqueville interviewed three important French Canadians from the clerical and professional classes: the Sulpician Superior, Joseph-Vincent Quiblier (1796-1852) and two brothers who practiced law, Dominique and Charles Mondelet. The comments of these men are valuable to understanding the attitudes of the privileged French Canadian classes

¹⁵James Schleifer, *The Making of Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 64.

¹⁶Diary excerpts taken from George William Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 318.

regarding their positions within the British-imperial framework.

For his part, Quiblier reported to the Count that he did not believe there to be a happier people in the world than the *Canadiens* - who have gentle customs, experience no civil or religious dissension, nor pay tax.¹⁷ More intriguing to Tocqueville, however, were the Superior's views on whether there was hostility between the races and whether the colony would ever break away from English rule? To these queries Quiblier responded diplomatically and pragmatically. He noted that, although both sides exaggerated, each group often complained about the advantages the other held in the colony. If there was any one problem at all, it was the religious animosity between them. Quiblier concluded by saying that thanks to legal toleration and political liberty, there was no reason to struggle for an American-style independence.

Piqued by the clergy's obvious political control over the laity, Tocqueville directed his questions to the Mondelets accordingly. The brothers maintained that the French Canadian Church was eminently nationalist, usually siding with the population rather than the government. One brother supported this observation:

What makes me think that the character of our priests is peculiar to Canada is that the priests who from time to time come to us from France show the government on the contrary a condescension and a docility impossible to conceive.¹⁸

¹⁷See Jacques Vallée, ed., *Tocqueville au Bas Canada* (Montreal: Editions du jour, 1973), 84.

¹⁸Vallée, *Tocqueville au Bas Canada*, 85. See also Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, 314.

Regarding the state of commerce, the lawyers expressed concern that almost all the wealth was held in the hands of the British, whose families and business connections overseas provided them with an overwhelming advantage. This circumstance obliged French Canadian merchants to forge their own relations within the imperial network if they hoped to succeed.¹⁹ It seemed clear to Tocqueville at the time of his visit, that Montreal's development was gauged by a small British ruling class in collaboration with the Sulpician clergy. They were both being held in check, however, by the upwardly-mobile professional and merchant classes. It was equally evident from the comments of Quiblier and the Mondelet brothers that the clergy and professionals viewed their situation with varying degrees of concern. Neither could deny, however, that religious freedom together with the continued use of the Napoleonic code of law assured the survival of their institutions, and in effect, their national identity.

In the 1820s, through the exertions of French Canadian professionals and merchants in Montreal, two new Catholic church building campaigns were undertaken. Ultimately a rivalry within the community was created. Whereas the construction of St. Jacques was supported by various leaders of the rising professional class, the rebuilding of Notre Dame was realised through the efforts of a powerful merchant élite. Most of the contention between Catholic factions stemmed from the question of religious jurisdiction, the resolution of which would help lay the groundwork for the town's political and economic

¹⁹Note that the merchant population at the time almost doubled from 648 in 1819 to 1203 in 1831. Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840 Social Change and Nationalism*, 136.

independence from the colonial capital of Quebec City. Tensions between the two urban centres came to a head following the appointment by the Quebec diocese of an auxiliary bishop in Montreal in 1821. This unilateral decision caused a schism within the local, parish hierarchy.²⁰ The struggle for territorial jurisdiction would manifest itself in the architectural arena as the two clerical factions concurrently planned religious complexes, creating what were in effect, adversarial strongholds. In the words of the historian Louis Rousseau, Montreal was transformed into a stage for ecclesiastical guerillas.²¹

The auxiliary bishop's newly-designated cathedral, St. Jacques, would be grouped together with his palace and college, while Notre Dame would be attached to the Sulpician seminary and residence. Newspapers of the period chronicled the ongoing rivalry between the Quebec-City sanctioned episcopate and the Sulpicians, yet were careful to praise both groups for their slated building programmes:

Nous voyons avec d'autant plus de plaisir s'élever ce nouveau temple qui promet d'être véritablement un ornement pour la ville de Mont-réal, que nous sommes persuadés que son édification ne retardera pas même d'une année le remplacement de notre vieille et gothique église paroissiale, par un édifice mieux placé, plus vaste, plus magnifique,

²⁰The controversy is addressed in Chaboillez, Curé de Longueuil, *Questions sur le gouvernement ecclésiastique du District du Montréal* (Montreal: Thomas A. Turner, 1823).

²¹Rousseau, *La Prédication à Montréal de 1800 à 1830 - approche religiologique*, 66-67.

plus digne de la richesse.²²

By 1825, both church plans were illustrated on a map, each with the caption, "New Catholic Church". (Map C) Stylistically, the two were polar opposites: One was designed in the Neo-Classical manner, the other in the Neo-Gothic; One was a product of the local building trade, the other conceived by an international one; St. Jacques was a designated cathedral that looked more like a parish church, while Notre Dame was a parish church that assumed the guise of a cathedral.

The battle for control of the Catholic population exposed the fragility of town's cultural infrastructure. For more than fifty years the French-Canadian element in Montreal was exposed to both imperial and republican systems, thus it was inevitable that Protestant biases, both British and American, would influence the conceptions of both church projects. French-Catholic tradition would have eventually faded had it not been for the efforts of the clergy to temper the two nationalist undercurrents vying for their control. As a result, the houses of worship built for them in the 1820s became testaments to the tenacity of the French-Canadian identity in the face of overwhelming pressures to assimilate.

²²*Spectateur Canadien*, 21 March 1823. Note that the term Gothic was intended to be derogatory, in deference to the more erudite, Neo-Classical forms popular in Quebec City.

ii. The First Catholic Cathedral

In spite of its disjointed appearance, St. Jacques Cathedral had a major impact on both the religious and architectural fabric of Montreal. As the first, newly-built Catholic church erected in the town since the Conquest, it came to illustrate the approaches of artisans from various ethnic backgrounds who collaborated on the project. In this respect, St. Jacques could be considered an architectural experiment, testing the efficacy of a building industry which had previously enjoyed only limited opportunities to erect sizable structures.

It must be remembered that St. Jacques was a custom-built cathedral, and as such, it had the potential to express visually the reformation of the local Catholic hierarchy. To this end, the cathedral became a paradigm against which the Sulpician clergy would consciously react in a bid to protect their own ecclesiastical territory. The struggle for the spiritual control of Montreal between the Sulpicians and the episcopate in Quebec City was to take a crucial turn in 1819. At that time, Bishop Jean-Octave Plessis (1763-1825) travelled to London and Rome in order to lobby for the creation of additional dioceses in French-speaking centres.

The Sulpicians sent with him one of their priests, Jean-Jacques Lartigue (1777-1840) whose legal training could

serve them well in their dealings with the British administration, particularly in connection with the Order's titles and rights of estates.²³ Born into an affluent Montreal family that provided him with a privileged education, Lartigue had elected to join the priesthood rather than pursue a professional career.²⁴ He was ordained at St. Denis sur Richelieu (Fig.35) in 1800, where his uncle, François Cherrier, Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec, also served as curate. Six years later Lartigue joined the Sulpicians, becoming the first Canadian to be allowed into the order since the arrival of a number of French priests after the Revolution.²⁵

While his selection for the trip to Europe did not initially arouse suspicions, Bishop Plessis had vested interests in approving of Lartigue's attendance. Unknown to the Sulpicians, if Plessis' meetings in Rome and London were successful, Lartigue was earmarked for the leadership of the proposed Montreal episcopate.²⁶ Upon his appointment by the Vatican as Archbishop of Quebec, Plessis informed Lord Bathurst, Secretary for the Colonies about

²³Georges Bellerive, *Canadiens Français en Angleterre 1763-1867* (Quebec: Librairie Garneau, 1913), 121.

²⁴Léon Pouliot, *Trois grands artisans du diocèse de Montréal* (Montreal: Editions du Messager Canadien, 1936), 17.

²⁵Raymond Deville, ed., *Les Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice au Canada: grandes figures de leur histoire* (Quebec: Presses Université Laval, 1992), 239.

²⁶10 October 1819, Extrait d'une lettre de M. J.-J. Lartigue à M. Roux, Supérieur du Séminaire, lui demandant de décider lui-même s'il doit accepter l'épiscopat et comment l'évêque de Montréal sera accepté du clergé, des fidèles et du Séminaire, Londres, v.2 t.95 no.3, ASSSM.

his promotion. Bathurst, who objected that there had been no prior agreement with London regarding this issue, further commented that since there was no Anglican archbishop posted in the colony, there should be no Catholic one either. As a direct consequence of this exchange, Plessis' proposal to create new dioceses was equally rejected. He was permitted, however, to appoint auxiliary bishops to assist him in the management of his massive see.

Early in 1821, Lartigue was named suffragan to the Bishop of Quebec for the District of Montreal. It is important to note that in his titular role as bishop *in partibus* of the defunct see of Telmesse, Lartigue was not officially the Bishop of Montreal, rather, an Auxiliary Bishop in Montreal. At first, the Sulpicians were pleased to hear of the appointment until they discovered that Lartigue was to remain under the supervision of the archbishopric. It was quickly realised that Plessis was trying to undermine Sulpician authority.

A heated debate ensued, prompting the exchange of formal letters of support and of protest from various ecclesiastics across the province. Plessis was accused of misleading the Pope into believing that Britain had already allowed him to appoint bishops when this was not actually the case.²⁷ At first, Lartigue was permitted to retain apartments at the seminary, but it was inevitable that his new powers would conflict with those of the Sulpician Superior. In June 1821 while he was out on a tour of the

²⁷1820-1830, Mémoire sur l'établissement de Mgr J.-J. Lartigue comme Evêque auxiliaire à Montréal, v.2 t.95 no.11, ASSSM.

country parishes, the wardens of Notre Dame abruptly removed the episcopal throne from the church choir.

Upon his return, the auxiliary bishop was left little choice but to relocate to the Hôtel Dieu, where the small chapel was temporarily transformed into a pro-cathedral. Estranged by his peers and without a permanent chapel, Lartigue was pressed to establish his authority by appealing to the populace. Among the parishioners, opinions concerning his status were divided.²⁸ Fortunately, many Catholics had become frustrated with the overcrowded conditions at Notre Dame. As a result, they presented the auxiliary bishop with a petition in 1822 containing eleven hundred signatures, including those of Lartigue's influential maternal relations, the Papineau and Viger families.

They jointly endorsed his position and supported the erection of a building that might also act as a second parish church.²⁹ Lartigue's cousin, the outspoken politician, Louis-Joseph Papineau, believed that Montreal could become independent of Quebec City through the raising of this cathedral.³⁰ Lartigue accepted a donation of land at the corner of St. Denis and Mignonne Streets from

²⁸Léon Pouliot, *La Réaction catholique de Montréal 1840-41* (Montreal: Imprimerie du Messager Canadien, 1942), 23.

²⁹22-25 November 1822, Pétition, boîte 22, chemise 1, AFNDM. As early as 16 May 1818, it was reported that Catholics in the east end requested that Bonsecours Chapel be made into another parish church. See Léon Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, III, 64.

³⁰Fernand Ouellet, "Papineau et la rivalité Québec-Montréal (1820-1840)," *RHAF* XIII:3, December 1959, 311-327.

another cousin, the distinguished lawyer and statesman, Denis-Benjamin Viger (1774-1861).³¹ Situated in the St. Louis Suburb on the periphery of the town, the property was far enough from Notre Dame to avoid directly challenging the Sulpicians. Nevertheless there could be no escaping the antagonism and criticism which the new project provoked, by its mere existence.

The Sulpician curate was quick to comment that Lartigue would not need stone to build his church "since everyone throws it at him".³² In spite of the protests, the pressing need to service the rapidly-growing suburbs north and east of the centre - containing more than five times the number of Catholics than the town itself - had to be addressed. Pressure to accommodate the masses prompted the wardens of Notre Dame to initiate plans for the rebuilding of their parish church, a counter-move which Lartigue thought would not be realised for another thirty years. News of the Sulpicians' intentions incensed the auxiliary bishop. In the winter of 1823, Lartigue wrote to Plessis in Quebec emphatically stating that until St. Jacques was in

³¹There was a rumour that Viger provided the plot in order to increase the property value of an area in which he was the principal landlord. *DCB*, IX:807. Rather than naming the church in honour of St. Denis, Viger's patron saint, Lartigue dedicated the building to the apostle, Jacques Boanergès, his own patron saint.

³²Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 13. Originally in Romuald Trudeau, "Mes Tablettes", unpublished manuscript, 1823-1841 (Montreal, Bibliothèque Nationale). His episcopal status was lampooned in "Fable Parodie faisant allusion à la promotion de Mgr. Jean-Jacques Lartigue à la tête du gouvernement du district de Montréal, Fragment d'une histoire du Canada écrite l'an 2440", v.2 t.96 no.196 bis, ASSSM.

full operation it would be imprudent to rebuild Notre Dame.³³

The Sulpicians were determined not to be outshone. Lartigue's only advantage was his head start and the haste in raising the new cathedral was remarkable. By February 1823, thirty seven men were selected for the building committee; the majority were artisans and members of the professional class. Within one month of convening, plans for the church were sent to Quebec City and by May, the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone took place.³⁴ In September, a town map included an illustration of the building plan.³⁵

How did Lartigue and his syndics choose to render the cathedral - the seat of a Catholic bishop in Montreal? How relevant was it that Lartigue had been a Sulpician for fifteen years prior to his appointment? And what debt did he owe to his sponsors in Quebec City to produce an ecclesiastical model similar to their own? How would Lartigue interpret his position as a representative of the Pope when he remained within the jurisdiction of a pro-Gallican Sulpician clergy?

It must be remembered that, notwithstanding the moral

³³4 May 1821, Lartigue to Plessis; and 20 January 1823, Lartigue to Plessis, *RAPQ* 1941-1942, 365.

³⁴8 February 1823, Lartigue to Plessis; and 5 March 1823, Lartigue to Plessis, *RAPQ* 1941-1942, 410-413. See also Olivier Maurault, *Saint Jacques de Montréal: L'Eglise La Paroisse* (Montreal: au Presbytère, 1923), 18.

³⁵Adolphus Bourne, "A Plan of the City of Montreal", September 1823, McGill University Libraries.

support which he received from the archdiocese, Lartigue possessed little in the way of resources or influence. Without question, the assistance of his secretary, Ignace Bourget (1799-1885), became critical. At the age of twenty four, with no experience whatsoever, the young priest was placed in charge of the building project.³⁶ By the autumn of 1823, Bourget, somewhat discouraged by the progress of the work, wrote to a colleague in Quebec City:

Je ne m'étonne pas que l'on dise chez vous tant de choses fausses; ici où c'est plus proche on ose même dire que l'église a tellement forcé qu'elle tombera sous peu; ce n'est pas encore le cas pourtant. Mais on s'attache à la décrier tant qu'on peut; et si on pouvait la jeter à terre, ce serait de grand coeur [...]³⁷

Lartigue was not very helpful to Bourget with regards to architectural direction. Judging from the journal entries written during his trip to Europe with Plessis, there is little to suggest that the clergyman was blessed with aesthetic sensibilities. Lartigue was thorough in recording all of the names of the churches that he visited overseas. Instead of commenting on their physical attributes, however, he seemed more impressed with the scale of certain buildings and frequently took note of their measurements. Although he was not given the opportunity to visit Rome, he had strolled through the Paris streets. They did not

³⁶Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, I, 59. Also Gérard Parizeau, "Monseigneur Ignace Bourget, deuxième évêque de Montréal," *Société Royale du Canada*, IV, viii/1970.

³⁷Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, I, 67. Originally taken from 21 November 1823, Bourget to Fortier, *Lettres*, carton T, no.95, ASQ.

impress him as much as those of London, where he remarked the English regard for uniformity:

Les rues de Paris sont généralement petites, fangeuses et incommodes; il n'y a point de trottoirs; et l'on n'y voit pas cette uniformité de beauté et de propreté qui paroît dans les maisons de Londres [...]³⁸

Apart from his tours through the squares and visits to the homes of various Catholic dignitaries, Lartigue's stay in London was punctuated by his attendance at the French Chapel. Due to the pressure placed on the clergy in France during the Revolution, many priests fled to London where they organised an underground house of worship in Paddington that later relocated to premises in Little George Street (King Street). For Lartigue, this chapel was all the more intriguing in the light of the financial commitment that the Montreal Sulpicians had made to its initial building campaign, as well as the liturgical objects that they had donated.³⁹ For a religious community of relatively small numbers, the influence of the Montreal religious order was far reaching.

Clearly these priests had vested interests in seeing the flourishing of a French Catholic centre in London - a city where all economic and political decisions concerning their

³⁸*Voyage de Mgr. Lartigue en Europe (1819-1820)*, 59, 901 036 819-1, ACAM; see also "Evêques sulpiciens: de Mgr. Lartigue à Mgr. Yelle," no.22 p.12, Fonds Maurault, ASSSM.

³⁹G.F. de Grandmaison-Y-Bruno, *La Chapelle Française à Londres* (London: Burns and Lambert, 1864). The underground church was served by Abbé François Emmanuel Bourret, a Sulpician priest and former director of the Orléans Seminary. See also Johanna H. Harting, *Catholic London Missions* (London: Sands & Co., 1903), 231-233.

status ultimately were made. Indeed, addressing such matters was the justification behind Lartigue's visit to England in the first place. On their journey back from Europe, Plessis and Lartigue had stopped over in Philadelphia and Baltimore.⁴⁰ There is no question that they would have visited the Sulpician Seminary in Baltimore and seen St. Mary's Chapel (1808) built by the French architect, Maximilien Godefroy (1765-1840). It does not appear, however, that Lartigue was inspired by the early Gothic Revival ideas embodied in this seminal American building.

Though the Gothic style was becoming fashionable again in Europe and America, Catholic church builders in Lower Canada were not yet prepared to support such a trend. While clergymen such as Plessis and Lartigue had shown little interest in church design, the Superior of the Seminary of Quebec, Jérôme Demers (1774-1853) was more outspoken. An adherent of the Neo-Classical style, Demers used his authority to influence the construction of numerous churches.⁴¹ He approved of the works of Vignola, the Blondels as well as those of James Gibbs. By 1828, the abbot prepared his own Neo-Classical treatise, *Précis d'Architecture*, which he hoped would be included among the

⁴⁰Gilles Chaussé, *Jean-Jacques Lartigue: Premier Evêque de Montréal* (Montreal: Fides, 1980), 85.

⁴¹For more on Demers see Olivier Maurault, "Un professeur d'architecture à Québec en 1828," *Marges d'Histoire - l'Art du Canada* (Montreal: Librairie d'action canadienne française, 1929), 93-113.

ranks of those European publications that he admired.⁴²

As the most outspoken critic of religious architecture in Lower Canada, Demers believed that the majority of local builders could not distinguish real beauty from a mistreatment.⁴³ He regularly encouraged the clergy to hire his "favourite son", Thomas Baillaigé (1791-1859). Although he was in demand across most of the province, this celebrated architect secured very few commissions in the Montreal area.⁴⁴ It would stand to reason that Lartigue, sequestered as he was from the local ecclesiastical fabric, would have turned to Demers and Baillaigé when planning his cathedral, but there are no records to suggest any such dialogue.⁴⁵ In all likelihood, directives were issued

⁴²Marc Grignon, "Le Précis d'Architecture de Jérôme Demers: Une Théorie Déchirée," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, XI, 1 & 2, 1988, 22.

⁴³Translated from Jérôme Demers' unpublished manuscript, *Précis d'Architecture* (c.1828), 142-143, MS M-765, ASQ.

⁴⁴See *DCB*, VIII:38. In spite of the number and quality of Baillaigé's church commissions including the cathedral in Quebec City, his affiliation with the building of St. Jacques is unsubstantiated.

⁴⁵Alan Gowans believed that Baillaigé submitted a plan for the new church but it was rejected. Upon verifying his sources it is apparent that Gowans mistook information about the erection of the new Notre Dame for that of St. Jacques. Compare Gowans, "Thomas Baillaigé and the Quebecois Tradition of Church Architecture," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1952, 117 and Maurault, *Marges d'Histoire - l'Art du Canada*, II, 207, where the author discusses the formal rejection of plans by Charland and Baillaigé for Notre Dame. There is never any mention of St. Jacques.

locally.⁴⁶

Perhaps pressured by the impatience of the parishioners, Lartigue hastily approved of the appointment of the amateur builder, Joseph Fournier (1790-1832), the business associate of Charles-Simon Delorme (1769-1837).⁴⁷ An important building contractor and landowner, Delorme's selection as one of the principal syndics of the cathedral allowed him the opportunity to position his partner as architect. A mason with no apparent experience of ecclesiastical work, Fournier would accept a modest salary of five or six shillings a day.⁴⁸ In exchange for his discounted fee, however, he received the title of "architect" next to his name on the dedicatory plaque. Acknowledged as the designer of a building that seated three thousand, he secured other lucrative contracts for Delorme and himself, including the renovation of the Hôtel Dieu.

The cathedral that he executed for the auxiliary bishop ultimately reflected both the skills and the limitations of a common entrepreneur. Fournier's ill-conceived master plan was further compromised by the lack of direction of the local craftsmen who were sub-contracted. (Fig.36) St. Jacques appeared plain and old-fashioned. Recessed from St. Denis Street, the eighty-foot wide façade was punctuated by an imposing colonnade with coupled Ionic columns and

⁴⁶25 January 1823, Plessis to Lartigue, *RAPQ* 1941-1942, 410.

⁴⁷*DCB*, VII:239.

⁴⁸*Le Canadien*, 8 September 1824.

bordered by towers - each with its own entrance.⁴⁹ Although neither tower was ever completed, the intention was to have them project forward to shelter the entrance and hide the side bays.⁵⁰

The first storey contained three arched windows with sparse decoration, each one individually flanked by a pair of Corinthian pilasters. The pediment, though never completed, contained three niches. *Le Canadien* reported that the frieze and entablature were void of ornament appearing "ni moins beau, ni moins régulier".⁵¹ Placed over the crossing was an octagonal, two-tiered dome with belfry topped by an iron cross and weather vane.⁵² There were two levels of windows around the entire cathedral, except for the apse which had only one set, much larger and more elevated than the others. (Fig.37)

Originally the scheme had called for the towers to be visually incorporated through the placement of Ionic and Corinthian pilasters on each respective level corresponding to the façade. The second storey of the south tower (the one closest to completion) featured a blind arch pierced with a rectangular window. Elements such as the arch and the Ionic colonnade were claimed to be some of the first

⁴⁹See Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal*, II (Montreal: Fides, 1970), 158.

⁵⁰For additional descriptions see 28 September 1823, Bourget to Fortier, *Lettres*, Carton T, no.96, ASQ.

⁵¹*Le Canadien*, 8 September 1824.

⁵²See the cursory sketches of a dome and belfry. St. Jacques, 901 020 823-7, ACAM.

renderings of Neo-Classical architecture in the town.⁵³ Whereas the porticoes of the Presbyterian church in St. Peter Street (Fig.21) and the Methodist church in St. James Street (Fig.24) were based on American and British Neo-Classical sources, respectively, St. Jacques was clearly derived from a French one.

A plausible inspiration for the cathedral front might have been the proposal for one of the façades of St. Sulpice in Paris (Fig.38), begun in 1732 by a pioneer of French Neo-Classicism, Giovanni-Niccolo Servandoni (1695-1766).⁵⁴ An engraving for his design of the west façade had been published and was circulating in England at the time, thus it is altogether possible that Fournier, or perhaps Lartigue procured a copy at the Montreal seminary's library. The correlation to the Sulpician mother church is the first in a series of stylistic anomalies that characterised how members of Montreal's French Canadian community were unable to fully control the nationalist and denominational forces in their midst.

Various prototypes have been proposed for St. Jacques' latin-cross basilican plan. Without question there was an

⁵³Louise Voyer, *Eglises Disparues* (Montreal: Libres Expressions, 1981), 92.

⁵⁴Luc Noppen, *Les églises du Québec (1600-1850)* (Montreal: Fides, 1980), 51. The comparison was first made in Alan Gowans, "Notre-Dame de Montréal," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XI, March 1952, 21-23. On Servandoni see Fiske Kimball, *Le Style Louis XV, origine et évolution du Rococo* (Paris, 1949); and for illustrations of St. Sulpice see R.D. Middleton, "The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXV, 278-320.

attempt to refer to St. Denis sur Richelieu (Fig.39), the rural church where Lartigue was ordained and where his uncle was the curate. The auxiliary bishop was known to have sent over Delorme, Fournier and two other syndics to St. Denis to inspect the building.⁵⁵ Additionally, only a few months into the project, Lartigue requested from his colleague in Upper Canada, Bishop Alexander MacDonell (1762-1840), plans for his church of St. Raphael (begun 1821). Lartigue claimed that he did not intend to copy the church but wanted to "profit from all that is advantageous".⁵⁶ The Kingston bishop willingly obliged him, but warned:

You should not be in too great a hurry with the plan which ought to be as perfect as possible, too much care and attention cannot be taken in the commencement because one false step taken at first may destroy the grace and beauty of the whole fabric [...]⁵⁷

It does not appear that Lartigue paid much attention to the configuration of St. Raphael nor did he heed MacDonell's advice.⁵⁸

⁵⁵21 April 1823, Minutes of the Syndics, 901 020 824-4, ACAM.

⁵⁶8 April 1823, Lartigue to MacDonnell [sic], RAPQ 1941-1942; for more on MacDonnell's episcopate see L.J. Flynn, *Built on a Rock: The Story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston* (Kingston: Archdiocese of Kingston, 1976), 6. As early as 1808, St. Joseph's, known as the French Church, was supervised by him. He had received monies from Abbot Pierre Conefroy, one of the leading church planners in the colony.

⁵⁷18 April 1823, MacDonnell [sic] to Lartigue, Diocèse de Kingston 1822-1835, 255.102, ACAM.

⁵⁸Lartigue originally decided that the dimensions would be 150 x 60 x 34 feet. The building committee later accepted a ten foot increase in length and six foot increase in width. 21 February and 9/11/21 May, 1823,

Alan Gowans has argued that St. Jacques made "unmistakable references" to Holy Trinity Cathedral in Quebec City.⁵⁹ (Fig.11) The suggestion that Fournier derived the plans of a Catholic cathedral from an Anglican model is entirely feasible given the limited prototypes available in the colony. In both cathedrals, the plans appear almost exactly the same, while the galleries relate to the apse in a comparable fashion. Further examination of the interior of the Montreal cathedral reveals that the orders appearing on the façade were also repeated inside, with the main floor treated in the Ionic; not unlike the type carved by Quévillon at Holy Trinity. The transept chapels at St. Jacques, however, elements that were overlooked in Gowans' analysis perhaps due to their obscure positioning behind the nave walls, suggest that the Anglican plan was not the sole point of reference.

Inconsistencies of style abounded. In contradistinction to any British or contemporary French church for that matter, the interior decorative scheme and colour arrangement were clearly Rococo in taste. (Fig.40) Crystal candelabra were suspended from the ceiling. Arabesques, religious attributes and symbols, paint imitating marble, as well as *trompe l'oeil* motifs covered the vaulted ceiling and walls.⁶⁰ It has been suggested that Quebec City craftsmen created the interior based on plans by Baillaigé. Gowans maintained that the decoration was exceptional to Montreal

Premier Comité, 901 020 824-4, ACAM.

⁵⁹Gowans, "Thomas Baillaigé and the Quebecois Tradition of Church Architecture," 125.

⁶⁰Maurault, *Saint Jacques de Montréal: L'Eglise La Paroisse*, 22.

and markedly contrast with the lavishly ornamented interiors created by Quévillon and his local workshop.

Although he is probably correct in stating that the more conservative Catholic tastes from Quebec had a bearing on the design of the cathedral interior, a representative of the Quévillon School was indeed responsible for creating at least part of the decorative programme. Known for his fine work in many churches throughout the province, Louis-Xavier Leprohon was engaged for the sculptural undertakings in the vault.⁶¹ An English-speaking painter, William Ayers, was further instructed to treat the octagon dome with rich coats of orange and vermilion.⁶² This kind of collaboration between craftsmen from various cultural and linguistic groups underlined the eclectic course of design that was characteristic of the Montreal region.

The employment of English-speaking artisans for the Catholic commission was an indication that the gamut of the local work force was needed to contend with such large-scale commissions. According to numerous contracts for the interior decoration, various sources were copied and an assortment of workers hired. Carpenters were instructed to model the pews on those of Bonsecours chapel⁶³, while the

⁶¹Leprohon was also a student of Baillaigé, see *DCB*, VIII:38. In the *Canadian Spectator*, 15 May 1824. It is interesting to note that Leprohon advertised his skills in sculpture and architecture in an English-language newspaper.

⁶²[20 July 1826], Specification for Painting the Vault and Octagon of St. James Church, 901 020 826-5, ACAM.

⁶³10 January 1825, Marché entre L. Day et F.X. Dubord, 901 020 825-1, ACAM. For a more extensive list of building contracts see Raymonde Landry Gauthier, "Victor Bourgeau et

galleries and tribunes were fashioned "à la façon de Québec". The reredos was similar to the one designed for the Catholic cathedral of Quebec in 1787.⁶⁴ One important feature, the pseudo-baldachin resting on columns, differed from the Quebec model which sprung from caryatids suspended at the gallery level. In all likelihood the specimen at Notre Dame designed by Quévillon and others in 1808 was copied (Fig.41), as was the configuration of the altar.⁶⁵

Undeniably the vernacular traditions of Quebec City and Montreal were combined in the decorative programme. These incongruencies of design reflected the Catholic identity crisis which the cathedral commission had exacerbated. To a certain extent Lartigue hoped that his building would serve to distinguish his authority from that of the Crown.⁶⁶ His cathedral, like his position, however, was in its infancy and not yet imbued with any sense of permanence. Furthermore, Sulpician influence was too overwhelming to be circumvented, and for this reason the auxiliary bishop was unable to produce a building

l'Architecture Religieuse et Couventuelle dans le diocèse de Montréal (1821-1892)" (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 1983), 113.

⁶⁴See Gowans discussion in "Thomas Baillairgé and the Quebecois Tradition of Church Architecture," 125; according to him, the galleries also might have been adopted from those at St. Roch in Quebec by François Baillairgé.

⁶⁵Gérard Morisset, "François Baillairgé, sculpteur," *Technique*, XXIV, 1949, 93-94. See also Plan of Altar, 901 020 820-8, ACAM.

⁶⁶Chaussé, *Jean-Jacques Lartigue Premier Evêque de Montréal*, 228. See also F. Beaudin, "L'influence de la Mennais sur Mgr. Lartigue, Premier Evêque de Montréal," *RHAF*, June 1971, 25, no. 1, 225-237.

reflecting his rank within the Catholic hierarchy.

In September 1825 Plessis attended the consecration of St. Jacques assisted by more than fifty ecclesiastics. Aware of the bitter conflict between the institutions, in his address, the archbishop tried to allay the concerns of the Sulpician clergy by underscoring the distinction between the roles of St. Jacques and Notre Dame:

[...] notre intention n'est pas d'en faire une église paroissiale ni succursale mais une chapelle publique, comme nous la déclarons par les présentes, administrée par des chapelains sous l'autorité de l'Ordinaire et sous la direction de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Telmesse.⁶⁷

It was telling of the state of affairs that Plessis' words fell on deaf ears. Not one of the officers of Notre Dame attended the ceremony, excusing their absence on the pretext of a health voyage to their Baltimore seminary.

iii. The Monumentality of Notre Dame

By the time of the consecration of St. Jacques, plans for Notre Dame were already under way. In their bid to reconstruct the parish church - without question the most significant building project in Montreal in nearly two centuries - aspirations to be both fashionable and traditional were prefaced by a more pressing concern, the declaration of Sulpician authority in the face of Auxiliary

⁶⁷[1825], Lettre de Mgr. Jean-Octave Plessis au sujet de l'église St-Jacques, boîte 63, chemise 25, AFNDM.

Bishop Lartigue. The nationalist underpinnings of these two rival institutions, one leaning to the Gallican rite and the other to the Pope and Rome, forced the French Canadian community in Montreal to choose between two religio-political ideals. Concerned about the outcome of this confrontation, Plessis wrote to the Sulpician Superior:

Le district va comme un vaisseau ayant deux capitaines qui commandent chacun de leur côté et ne s'entendent pas.⁶⁸

From an architectural standpoint, this ideological clash manifested itself in a dispute between tradition and innovation.⁶⁹ In consideration of the excellent work that Franklin Toker has produced on the construction history of the parish church, it seems all the more essential to identify and address the cultural undercurrents that affected the course of its design. Was Notre Dame a novel interpretation of the French Canadian building tradition or was it a progressive leap forward? As Toker notes:

If one could isolate and identify the English, French and American aspects of Notre Dame, the analysis would still not account for their remarkable combination in this one building [...] one would have to decide how the church could absorb so many sophisticated foreign elements and still have a kinship with the typical Quebec rural church. Without knowing the history of the church, its architects and its dates, these problems cannot be unravelled. With such knowledge one can arrive at a partial answer, but the story of the building

⁶⁸17 September 1824, Plessis to Roux, 901 137 824-1, ACAM.

⁶⁹For a discussion of the religious crisis see Ouellet, *Lower Canada 1791-1840 Social Change and Nationalism*, 167; also Ouellet, *Histoire Economique et Sociale du Québec 1760-1850* (Montreal: Bibliothèque canadienne-française, 1971), 542.

of Notre Dame will appear no less unconventional.⁷⁰

Second only to Niagara Falls as the leading tourist attraction in the Canadas, Notre Dame was marvelled at by visitors who could not deny the sheer monumentality of the building. With a seating capacity of ten thousand when opened in 1829, it was the largest Gothic Revival church in the world.⁷¹ Furthermore, its size relative to the scale of the town had turned the structure into a model of civic determination, helping to shuttle Montreal into the ranks of the most important civic centres in North America. Numerous newspaper accounts describe the pleasure of residents in welcoming people from Europe and the United States who came to behold an edifice that "no one has dared to build for almost three hundred years in the Christian world".⁷²

In a letter to the editor of *La Minerve* in 1827, while the church was under construction, a reader commented that Notre Dame would remind visitors and connoisseurs that French Canadians were not lacking in taste. In reaction to the decision to build in the Gothic rather than the Greek or Roman style, however, the reader exclaimed:

Mais à Montréal! En Canada! Dans un pays où à peine savons-nous encore ce que c'est que la belle architecture, c'étoit bien mal commencer, c'étoit faire un modèle propre à pervertir le goût des

⁷⁰Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 1st. ed., 3.

⁷¹Toker, "James O'Donnell: An Irish Georgian in America," 139.

⁷²Quoted from *La Minerve*, 27 April 1866. See also 9 July 1829 for an additional description.

Canadiens.⁷³

Indeed, the use of the Gothic for a Catholic church was unprecedented in the region. In fact, with the exception of the American Presbyterian church which featured pointed arch windows in an otherwise Georgian design, there were no other local, Protestant treatments of the style.

The bold decision to proceed with a Gothic scheme when the French Canadian tradition overwhelmingly leaned toward the Neo-Classical, demands an assessment of how the Sulpician community viewed itself in relation to other organisations in the colony. That their chosen architect together with three of his chief assistants were Protestant, lends itself to further investigation of the priests' political motives. It will be argued that a concern to convey a specific institutional image was the driving force behind the conception of Notre Dame.

The building that Lartigue was erecting with the assistance of the Quebec archdiocese was a cathedral by name, but it did not communicate this role visually. Considering how there were only a few Catholic houses of worship in the town, the majority of which were merely chapels of ease, the perceived status of Notre Dame as a "cathedral" became all the more plausible. According to travellers' accounts as well as the descriptions on contemporary engravings, it was evident that people regularly mistook it for a cathedral.⁷⁴

⁷³*La Minerve*, 4 October 1827.

⁷⁴B.W.A. Sleight observed that the Roman Catholic Cathedral was the largest in North America. See *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings* [...] (London: R. Bentley, 1853), 237-238; Editions of Hitchcock's *Architecture*

With a population two-thirds Catholic, the desire for a symbol of establishment as expressed by the icon of a "cathedral", assumed two simultaneous manifestations through the projects of Lartigue and the Sulpicians. More important to the Sulpicians, however, was the communication of an institutional image and the means to publicise this image. Comparing the old and new Notre Dame buildings (Fig.42) that stood side by side for a short time during the construction stage, it is clear that the modern building conveyed the physical attributes of a cathedral. Without question, the Sulpicians asserted their preeminence by exploiting scale and symbolism. By the time that their new church was completed there was little reason for visitors to take notice of the lacklustre episcopal seat of St. Jacques.

To add to the confusion within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the new Christ Church building that was erected close to Notre Dame, was not yet designated as a cathedral despite being the Anglican parish church. Thus with the Anglicans having no diocesan authority of their own and Lartigue operating merely as a titular bishop, the Sulpicians were in a position to capitalise on the absence of two episcopal mandates. As the most influential religious force in the region, the Sulpicians succeeded in manufacturing a building which by its position and functions communicated the salient characteristics of a cathedral.

Willing to cross over national and denominational lines to

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries continue to mistake Notre Dame for a cathedral. See the 4th ed. (London: Penguin, 1990), 159.

preserve their identity within the British colony, the priests remained sensitive to the ideological mainstays of their order: Gallicanism and Catholicism. One telling example of this concern to protect their position, related to the compromised importance of the seminary's clock, which, for more than a century and a half was the only public one in operation. When this time-piece was overshadowed by a newer, more visible one on top of Christ Church, the challenge to their civic responsibility was no less conspicuous to the Sulpicians as was the ringing of Protestant church bells in the early years after the cession. Add to their uneasiness the recent foundation of British educational institutions such as McGill College, and it was obvious why a Catholic clergy, with the future of its parish church and college suddenly in question, would mobilise so quickly.

Although they officially remained the spiritual leaders of the church, the priests played a limited role in supervising the reconstruction of Notre Dame. Instead they allowed their syndics to take charge. Compared to Lartigue who appointed thirty seven men to his committee - many of whom derived from the middle bourgeoisie - the smaller and more influential group at Notre Dame were members of the Catholic élite. Of the fifteen, only a few were active in the building trades. The leader, François-Antoine LaRocque (1784-1869), was a former fur trader active with the North West Company, and was also a founder of the Bank of Montreal. In his youth LaRocque was sent to the United States to learn English, a language he preferred to use throughout his life, and no doubt served him well in his

many commercial ventures.⁷⁵

LaRocque packed the building committee with several family members and business partners. Other wardens numbered among the most wealthy and powerful in the region: Louis Guy, colonel-in-chief of the militia in Montreal had studied at the College of New Jersey in Princeton; and Nicholas-Benjamin Doucet⁷⁶ was an eminent notary who had written a treatise on Canadian law. Although the committee was controlled by influential French Canadians, the historian, Raymond Montpetit, contends that it is important to recognise these men as collaborators and partners of their English and Scottish contemporaries. As supporters of the Crown who would eventually hold key positions on government councils, it is not such a surprise that the building that they supervised would possess overt British connotations.⁷⁷

While there is validity to Montpetit's argument as a case study of class consciousness in Montreal, the architectural derivations for the rebuilding of Notre Dame are far more complex than can be explained by the socio-political motives of the wardens. Ultimately LaRocque and the others were driven by two very distinct forces that threatened the position of the Sulpician parish church: Lartigue and the Anglo-Protestant élite - both of whom had already chosen retardataire Neo-Classical styles for their churches.

⁷⁵DCB, IX:501.

⁷⁶DCB, VIII:258.

⁷⁷Raymond Montpetit, "La Construction de l'Eglise Notre Dame de Montréal: Quelques pistes pour une interprétation socio-historique," in *Montréal au XIXe siècle*, Jean Rémi Brault ed., 176.

Bearing in mind that the old Notre Dame façade exhibited equally antiquated features, it was of great importance for the wardens together with the Sulpicians to choose an architectural identity that would confirm them both to be leaders of the Montreal establishment.

One of the wardens' first actions following the announcement of Lartigue's plans was to investigate their legal and territorial rights. As early as July 1821, LaRocque sought advice from lawyers regarding the auxiliary bishop's jurisdiction.⁷⁸ A year later, a committee convening to study possible recourse, resolved to ask permission from Lord Dalhousie as well as Plessis, to rebuild Notre Dame.⁷⁹ Plessis had suppressed Sulpician proposals in 1804 and 1816, and though he finally acquiesced in 1823, the chief Catholic cleric of the province was personally opposed to a project that obviously compromised the position of his archdiocese in the town.⁸⁰ Despite the resistance, the request for a new parish church was given official consent. The committee undertook the

⁷⁸13-14 July 1821, Lettre de F.A. Larocque, marguillier en charge de la paroisse de Notre-Dame de Montréal, consultant les avocats J. Bédard et J.-R. Rolland sur ses droits et ceux du curé, relatifs aux droits de Mgr. J.-J. Lartigue dans son église. Réponse des avocats, v.2 t.95 no.24, ASSSM.

⁷⁹26 September 1822, Lettre de George Ramsay, Lord Dalhousie, gouverneur du Canada, aux marguilliers de la paroisse de Notre Dame de Montréal, accordant les Lettres d'amortissement en vue de la construction de la nouvelle église, v.2 t.95 no.45, ASSSM. See also 24 August 1830, Délibérations des Assemblées des Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Notre Dame 1823-1830, AFNDM.

⁸⁰Olivier Maurault, *La Paroisse: Histoire de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal* (Montreal: Louis Carrier et Cie., 1929), 43.

search for an architect that summer.⁸¹

It was clear from the commencement that local church builders such as Fournier or Marshall would not be considered. In fact, Notre Dame was such a massive undertaking that the two were satisfied to assume more subordinate tasks.⁸² In the wardens' opinions, the commission was worthy of candidates of international calibre and they only consider proposals from noted professionals either in the United States, where several of the wardens had maintained social and business connections, or from Europe, the cultural fountainhead. While waiting for word from their Sulpician liaison in Paris⁸³, they dispatched to New York, the warden, Jean Bouthillier, who through his commercial contacts was introduced to James O'Donnell (1774-1830).

Born in County Wexford, Ireland, O'Donnell apparently moved to Dublin where he apprenticed himself to an established architect. Very little is known about his early career

⁸¹They had commissioned a new plan for the church in 1819, though never followed through with it. See 14 April 1824, Madame Charland to Fabrique requesting payment for a plan which her husband made five years before, boîte 23, chemise 6, AFNDM.

⁸²30 June 1824, Tender for framing and raising the two gallerys [sic] signed Moses Marshall, boîte 29, chemise 1, AFNDM; also, 1 September 1824 containing a "proposition des prie de la pière [sic] pour la nouvelle église paroissiale de Montréal", where Fournier is mentioned, boîte 29, chemise 13, AFNDM.

⁸³28 October 1823, Thavenet to LaRocque, boîte 29, chemise 4, AFNDM. Thavenet eventually wrote back, expressing concern that the committee would be unable to pay for a Parisian architect, nor was he aware of their specifications for the proposed building.

although it can be safely assumed that his professional education was influenced by the leading Georgian architects working in the Irish capital. At the considerable age of thirty eight, owing to the economic depression caused by Britain's war with France, and without any substantial building to his credit, O'Donnell emigrated to New York. By the time that he was contacted by Bouthillier more than ten years later, he had become one of the leading architects in the city, having designed around ten major buildings including several Gothic churches.

Impressed by these accomplishments, Bouthillier reported back to the committee that he had found their man. To help support his decision, the warden asked the acclaimed American painter, John Vanderlyn (1775-1852), whose panorama of Château Versailles had appeared in Montreal as early as 1819 and who was currently exhibiting other works in town, to further comment on O'Donnell's qualifications.⁸⁴ Vanderlyn happened to be one of the architect's closest friends thus his referral was clearly favourable. The artist wrote: "I question whether you can find a better man than Mr. O'Donnell on this side of the Atlantic for your purpose".⁸⁵ Soon after, the architect

⁸⁴24 August 1823, *Délibérations des Assemblées des Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Notre Dame 1823-1830*, AFNDM. See also Raymond Montpetit, "Culture et Exotisme: Les Panoramas Itinerants et le jardin Guilbault à Montréal au XIXe siècle," in *Society and Leisure*, VI, 1, Spring 1983, 76. Vanderlyn had sketched Versailles on one of his visits to France in 1814. See Oliver W. Larkin, *Art and Life in America* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1949), 113.

⁸⁵19 September 1819, Letter from Vanderlyn to LaRocque, in Toker, *Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 21. It is of interest to note that O'Donnell designed a Rotunda for Vanderlyn c.1817.

was invited to Montreal and asked to bring his plans.⁸⁶ Prior to his arrival in October 1823, he was provided with limited information on the building specifications.⁸⁷ Five years earlier, the architect was known to have exhibited the unexecuted plans of a Gothic cathedral at the American Academy of Fine Arts.⁸⁸ For lack of any other large-scale religious buildings in his portfolio, it is likely that he brought along these drawings. During his short stay, he visited the quarries, surveyed the site, discussed the project with several wardens, then drew a set of sketches. With the exception of some nominal changes to the basement level, O'Donnell's plans were approved within two weeks of his arrival.⁸⁹ Illustrations of this first scheme have never been found, however *The Montreal Gazette* provided a description of the building where it was concluded that the proposal was "highly deserving of public encouragement, as conferring on this city a lasting public ornament of architectural elegance".⁹⁰

⁸⁶19 September 1823, Délibérations des Assemblées des Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Notre Dame 1823-1830, AFNDM.

⁸⁷These specifications had been approved by Plessis and were also in the possession of the Seminary in Paris. See 9 October 1823, Plans des principales dimensions de l'église Notre Dame de Montréal présenté par Antoine La Roque, ancien marguillier, approuvé par Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, évêque de Québec, v.2 t.95 no.68, ASSSM.

⁸⁸O'Donnell exhibited these cathedral plans in 1816 and 1818. See Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union Exhibition Record 1816-1852*, 273.

⁸⁹17 October 1823, Délibérations des Assemblées des Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Notre Dame 1823-1830, AFNDM. These detailed plans have never been located.

⁹⁰*Montreal Gazette*, 18 October 1823.

Adhering to a building tradition that dated back to medieval times in France, the old Notre Dame had been erected in the middle of the street as a reminder to parishioners of their daily religious obligations. The increase in traffic by the 1820s, however, afforded the opportunity for O'Donnell to modify Place d'Armes into a square, in accordance with Georgian urban planning techniques.⁹¹ Also integral to his initial proposal was the unprecedented application of the Gothic style. To what extent did the decision to build a Gothic Revival church reveal the motives of the wardens? Was the determination based on a political strategy or a reflection of cultural tastes? Considering how O'Donnell was a capable designer who could have fashioned the building in any way the committee saw fit, was the intention for the style to be British- or French-inspired integral to the creative process? With these questions in mind it is not difficult to understand why the rendering of Notre Dame has been the most debated issue in Montreal's architectural history.

Almost contemporaneously in England, the Anglican building boom generated by the Act for Building New Churches produced numerous Neo-Gothic buildings that were touted as affordable alternatives to ones in the Neo-Classical style.⁹² This innovative application did not go unnoticed by the many architects who modified Commissioners' Church

⁹¹Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montréal en évolution* (Montreal: Fides, 1974), 161.

⁹²For more on the English buildings see Gerald Lawrence Carr, "The Commissioners' Churches of London 1818-1837: A Study of Religious Art, Architecture and Patronage in Britain from the Formation of the Commission to the Accession of Victoria" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976).

plans for congregations in American industrial towns.⁹³ O'Donnell, also recognised the novelty and cost-efficiency of this building type, and later commented:

Had I this building in England, as in the United States, I could [have] conducted it more to my satisfaction with one third of my time, for want of system and mechanics.⁹⁴

Another source for O'Donnell might have been the work of Godefroy, the designer of the Sulpician chapel of St. Mary's in Baltimore. (Fig.43) The seminary in Maryland, unlike its sister chapter in Montreal, had never been forced to break official ties with the Paris headquarters therefore the appointment of a French ex-patriate such as Godefroy was never challenged. Despite having been overlooked by Lartigue as a cathedral prototype, St Mary's was considered the first significant Gothic Revival church in the United States,⁹⁵ and it must have had a bearing on the Montreal Sulpicians' decision regarding their own church style.⁹⁶

⁹³Mathilde Brousseau, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, no.25 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980), 9.

⁹⁴2 April 1827, O'Donnell to the Committee, boîte 23, chemise 34, AFNDM.

⁹⁵John Dorsey and James D. Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Maryland: Tidewater, 1981), 149; also Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilien Godefroy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 63.

⁹⁶While the association between Godefroy and O'Donnell is unconfirmed, their individual relationships with Vanderlyn suggest a possible link. Vanderlyn openly discussed with Godefroy the precarious state of affairs which O'Donnell had found himself around 1815. See Toker,

Though O'Donnell provided an equally novel Gothic scheme, there appeared to be some apprehension on the part of the committee with respect to the architect's abilities. Despite their quick approval of his first set of plans, the wardens did not immediately commit to a contract. This reluctance to move forward with the work stemmed from their realisation of the overt Protestant elements evident in the design. During the winter months of 1823-1824, correspondence between the two parties confirmed the wardens' uneasiness with O'Donnell's grasp of Catholic prototypes.

In his letters, the architect tried to convey his admiration of the Catholic religion, which, he declared, had been preeminent in all its endeavours especially in the erecting of churches.⁹⁷ LaRocque wrote back, commenting how it appeared to him that O'Donnell had not made Catholic churches his particular study.⁹⁸ The architect then haughtily replied that he had studied with some of the masters of Europe, though not in France, and if they were not satisfied with his work, to look to Paris and London for a replacement.⁹⁹ Much to O'Donnell's surprise the committee undertook a second search for candidates, though not in Europe. In February 1824, LaRocque posted letters to

"James O'Donnell: An Irish Georgian in America," 134.

⁹⁷14 January 1824, O'Donnell to LaRocque, Letters to O'Donnell, boîte 23, chemise 34, AFNDM.

⁹⁸28 February 1824, LaRocque to O'Donnell, boîte 29, chemise 19, AFNDM.

⁹⁹See 16 March 1824, O'Donnell to Committee, boîte 23, chemise 34, AFNDM. Published as Appendix A, in Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 83-86.

architects in Philadelphia and Quebec City.

The Bishop of Philadelphia recommended a Mr. Darragh, a versatile builder who was associated with the construction of his city's masonic hall and theatre.¹⁰⁰ The syndics also requested proposals in Quebec City from James Cannon and Thomas Baillaigré. Initially Cannon refused because he believed that his abilities to be too restricted for the task.¹⁰¹ While in LaRocque's correspondence with Baillaigré, the warden did not conceal his willingness to support a fellow French Canadian, or as he phrased it, "encourager dans nos patriotes".¹⁰² Baillaigré replied that he excelled only in Greek and Roman architecture and unless the wardens were willing to change their minds he would have to decline the offer.¹⁰³ Eventually he submitted drawings to the committee but despite Abbot Demers' relentless lobbying, the plans were rejected.

Well aware that the Notre Dame commission would have significant consequences to church building throughout the

¹⁰⁰No. 726, Fonds Maurault, ASSSM.

¹⁰¹13 February 1824, LaRocque to Cannon, boîte 29, chemise 1; also 24 February 1824, Lettre de l'architecte James Cannon de Québec déclinant l'honneur de conduire les travaux de construction de l'église Notre Dame de Montréal, boîte 23, chemise 7. A month later (29 March 1824), Cannon reconsidered the offer, but was too late; see boîte 29, chemise 2, AFNDM.

¹⁰²12 February 1824, LaRocque to Baillaigré, boîte 29, chemise 2, AFNDM.

¹⁰³26 February 1824, Lettre de Thomas Baillaigré déclinant l'honneur de faire le plan de la nouvelle église Notre Dame à cause des faibles connaissances en architecture gothique, boîte 23, chemise 8, AFNDM.

region, Demers tried to convince the Sulpicians that a Neo-Classical design conformed best to Catholic churches. In a twenty-page letter written in January 1824 to the curate, Candide-Michel LeSaulnier, Demers took it upon himself to scrutinise O'Donnell's initial proposal fault by fault.¹⁰⁴ (Appendix B) The significance of this extensive critique cannot be understated. Reiterated throughout is the abbot's apprehension that the church design appears to have strong Protestant influences, sufficient to cause concern about the progress of architecture in Canada.¹⁰⁵

He suggested that if O'Donnell claimed to grasp the Gothic style, he should not have conceived the church so superficially, in such an austere and heavy fashion, void of relief and movement. Demers further commented that the entrance needed more attention if it was going to be as elegant as the one at Notre Dame in Paris; otherwise there would be no reason to compare the two. He accused the architect of mutilating the structural plan and the number of crossings, which were clearly incompatible with some of the great churches in Flanders, Paris, Rome and London. He observed that the gallery supports resembled those of the Anglican churches in Quebec City and Montreal, and denounced O'Donnell for compromising the plan in order to accommodate as many people as possible.

¹⁰⁴26 January 1824, Observations de M. Jérôme Demers, procureur du séminaire de Québec, sur le plan de James O'Donnell pour la construction de la nouvelle église Notre Dame, observations adressées du Manoir de l'Ile Jésus à Michel Lesaulnier, curé de Notre Dame, v.2 t.95 no.77, ASSSM. The manuscript was presumed lost until recently.

¹⁰⁵22 April 1824, Demers to Fabrique, boîte 23, chemise 9, AFNDM. Demers reiterated this concern in subsequent letters to the wardens.

While Demers was willing to concede that hiring an architect of greater merit from Paris would have been one solution, his letter was clearly biased towards preserving a French-Canadian style. To stress his patriotic sentiments, Demers ended his letter by recounting the history of the building of the Louvre, when on two separate occasions the Italian architects Serlio then later Bernini were eventually replaced by Frenchmen. He asked the Sulpician curate, why, when such talented builders as the Baillaigés were available, should they opt for an American architect? For the abbot, the colony's churches were the equivalent of Europe's royal palaces and as such, should constitute distinctively national designs. In his bid to influence the ecclesiastical programme of the Montreal parish, at the very least, Demers succeeded in reminding the committee of their obligation to uphold Catholic precepts.

Despite O'Donnell's claim that this learned critique by Demers - translated and forwarded to him by the committee - was received too late to make any alterations, there is no question that the abbot's suggestions affected the modifications to the architect's second set of plans. O'Donnell was aware of the wardens' uneasiness with his lack of experience in Catholic church design and knew that he had to modify the proposal. He dispatched a letter to LaRocque outlining an extensive justification of his position, explaining that he considered the Gothic style more suitable to their materials, workmen, climate, wants and means. Employing an almost cryptic prose in his defense, O'Donnell stated:

Classic architecture despises the busy efforts of the chisel to decorate deformity, only produces a mass of confusion, subject to perish in its infancy

by the cascading hand of time, particularly when exposed to the northern climates.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps begrudgingly he accepted that certain alterations would have to be made if he was going to secure the commission. How did he appease them? The architect realised that any overt Protestant references would have to be removed and Catholic prototypes further explored. While O'Donnell's more recent churches in New York were intended for smaller, Protestant congregations, his plans for the Montreal building would have to satisfy a group unlike any he had designed for in the past.¹⁰⁷ Rather than looking to contemporary church architecture, he consulted much earlier sources.

Gowans has gone to great lengths to suggest that by patterning Notre Dame on the great French medieval cathedrals, O'Donnell reinforced links with both Catholicism and Gallicanism.¹⁰⁸ While Gowans emphasised these particular variables, it could be further argued that the notion of a cathedral structure would have been most identifiable to the parishioners at a time when two religious authorities were vying for their control. This

¹⁰⁶16 March 1824, O'Donnell to Committee, boîte 23, chemise 24, AFNDM.

¹⁰⁷According to a communiqué in the Syndics' Minute Books, a church based on the same plans with smaller dimensions was being built in New York. 23 April 1824, *Délibérations des Assemblées des Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Notre Dame 1823-1830*, AFNDM.

¹⁰⁸Alan Gowans, "Sainte-Croix D'Orléans: A Major Monument too Long Neglected," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, September 1988, 69-76. In this article he presents Notre Dame as one example of the medievalist phenomena.

claim is all the more credible since the laity, as represented by the wardens, were key to the decision-making process. The slightest of pseudo-cathedral references by O'Donnell must have been sufficient to appease the concerns of LaRocque and the other members.

One significant external modification furnished in the second set of plans, submitted and unconditionally accepted in the spring of 1824, was the creation of a deep, triple-arched portico that provided a centrepiece worthy of the mammoth ecclesiastical structures of Europe. According to Toker, the concept was taken from American models such as Godefroy's First Unitarian Church in Baltimore (c.1817).¹⁰⁹ More recognisable to the wardens, however, would have been its correlation to the façade of Notre Dame in Paris. (Fig.44) There is no question that the renowned building would have been an appropriate model for the Sulpician church, considering how their French founder, Jean-Jacques Olier (1608-1657), consecrated the island of Montreal in 1642 at the Parisian cathedral.¹¹⁰ An engraving of the building by Blondel, as well as ones of St. Sulpice Church and St. Paul's in London were included in Vignola's 1767 edition of the *Livre Nouveau*. These publications would have been available to O'Donnell in several editions either in New York City collections or at the Sulpician seminary.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹Toker, "James O'Donnell: An Irish Georgian in America," 140.

¹¹⁰Olivier Maurault, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montreal, 1957), 3.

¹¹¹Jacques Barozzio de Vignole, *Livre Nouveau ou Règles des cinq ordres d'architecture...Le tout d'après Mrs. Blondel, Cochin et Babel graveurs...* (Paris: Charpentier,

Another feature that was retained, though raised by twenty feet in the second set of plans, was a set of towers - an element never used before by O'Donnell in a church commission. As Demers had pointed out in his letter, the employment of two towers was generally reserved for cathedral design:

Selon quelques connaisseurs de goût et quelques uns des meilleurs architectes français, parmi lesquels je ne me rappelle que le nom du savant M. J.F. Blondel, les double tours devraient être réservés pour les églises cathédrales et il faudrait n'en placer qu'une seule dans les églises paroissiales [...]¹¹²

It was no mere oversight on the part of the wardens to approve of this device. As early as 1722, when the parish church was redesigned by the French royal engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, the plan originally had called for a two-tower façade. More recently, Fournier conceived of St. Jacques with two towers, also never completed.

The weak attempt by Lartigue's architect, Fournier, to imitate Servandoni's work at St. Sulpice was further eclipsed by O'Donnell's skill at combining the monumental and the innovative. Behind the restrained Gothic embellishments of Notre Dame, lay a meticulously calculated design of proportioned modules, worthy of comparison with the Neo-Classical accomplishments of the Sulpician mother church in Paris. The façade was composed of a central bay flanked by large towers, the entire front crested with stepped embattlements. Three massive arcades formed a raised terrace area before the entrances. These arcades were surmounted by three large niches inset with statues in

[1767]).

¹¹²See Appendix B for full citation.

white marble depicting the Virgin, St. Peter and St. Paul.¹¹³

In spite of such massive elements as the towers, arcades and niches defining the façade, there was a complete lack of structural parallel inside. Understandably the architect was working with an awkward site upon which he had to devise a rectangular building - 256 feet long by 134 feet wide. There would have to be certain allowances concerning the regularity of the plan. It is possible that O'Donnell purposely emphasised the antiquated appearance, hoping that visitors would find greater parallels with the ancient cathedrals. This attempt to provide a medieval air was reproached by Demers:

[...] les connaisseurs étrangers qui visiteront votre église, lorsqu'elle sera achevée seront portés à croire que vous n'avez fait que réparer et restaurer une ancienne église semi-gothique [...]¹¹⁴

Whatever his intention, the architect paid great attention to planning and detail. Within a hall measuring 215 feet long by 121 feet wide, he inserted fourteen massive wooden, clustered columns that served to partition the nave from the aisles and suspend a roof eighty feet above. The barrel vault of the nave spanned 67 feet, a distance greater than in any other building on the continent; quite an engineering feat.¹¹⁵ The East window measured 64 x 32 feet. Two sets of galleries were hoisted up and set in

¹¹³ July 1829, Visite de Giacomo Raggis, sculpteur Italien [...], v.2 t.96 no.147, ASSSM.

¹¹⁴See Appendix B.

¹¹⁵Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 47.

place over the aisles. The positioning of these components was comparable to that of Gibbs' St. Martin in the Fields.¹¹⁶ (Fig.10)

The interior arrangement also considered the specific liturgical needs of the Sulpicians. O'Donnell was required to retain certain aspects of the old parish church. He had at his disposal the plans of the sanctuary completed in 1819 (Fig.45) - being a model of the one in the mother church in Paris. The undulating staircase, raised altar and curving reredos were almost identically reproduced. There is little question that the architect repeatedly consulted the work of Blondel, who had published a plan of St. Sulpice in *Architecture Française*.¹¹⁷

The use of the Parisian church as a prototype for both the exterior of St. Jacques and part of the interior programme of Notre Dame, provides some insight into the two political streams dividing Montreal's clergy. Lartigue had been concerned with the identification of his cathedral as a non-British building, asserting this stance through the conscious imitation of a French Neo-Classical façade. Within his cathedral, however, a conflation of vernacular styles was employed. Conversely at Notre Dame, the French Sulpician design was emphasised inside, satisfying the clergy's desire to safeguard institutional convention in the face of pressures to conform to British-colonial standards.

¹¹⁶First observed by Toker, "James O'Donnell: An Irish Georgian in America," 140.

¹¹⁷Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture Française* (Paris: Jombert, 1752-1756).

In the same manner that distinct images were conveyed on the exterior and interior renovation schemes of Notre Dame in the early 1800s, the Sulpicians continued to remain diplomatic. It is worth noting the analogy between the iconography of Notre Dame and those of monumental British houses of worship such as Westminster Abbey or Lincoln Cathedral, which were originally conceived as Roman Catholic spaces but were appropriated for the Anglican rite after the Reformation. It is in this light that O'Donnell's skill at combining distinct national and architectural traditions elevates his work to a sophisticated plane.

After 1827, O'Donnell's energies shifted from building to interior decoration although Catholic- and Protestant-inspired elements continued to be fused. Compared to his restrained embellishment of the exterior, the Rococo design of the reredos and other wood carvings revealed the breadth of his artistic skills.¹¹⁸ It was apparent that during the course of his work, O'Donnell grew increasingly sensitive to local artisanal traditions, the roots of which remained embedded in the conventions of eighteenth century France.¹¹⁹ Arguably affected by this experience with Notre Dame, O'Donnell converted to Catholicism one year prior to his premature death in January 1830.

There was no telling what kind of path his career would have taken after directing a £50,000 project with a work

¹¹⁸There was a call for Quebec sculptors to carve out of wood over two hundred of his designs. Maurault, *La Paroisse: Histoire de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal*, 95.

¹¹⁹Religious art in the form of paintings and engravings was being shipped in regularly from Paris. See *La Minerve*, 3 September 1827.

force of two hundred and fifty for six years. Decades later, a French Canadian journalist harking back to the 1824 ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone, portrayed O'Donnell as a national hero. He was reported to have been forced by the animated crowd to sit on the massive cornerstone before it was about to be set in place:

Then with the aid of windlasses which were worked by strapping, big fellows, architect and granite were lifted up into the air [...] and for at least ten minutes Mr. O'Donnell was the object of an ovation which his dead colleague Michelangelo had never received in his lifetime.¹²⁰

Even though he provided Montreal with its most imposing structure of the period, O'Donnell had failed to impress certain reviewers. Some visitors thought that the interior colour scheme was tawdry and vulgar.¹²¹ (Fig.46) Painted in blue and white to imitate clouded marble, the columns were intended to contrast the more sombre colours of the ceiling and floor. The pews, panels and walls were rendered in shades of brown, yellow, ochre, indigo, umber and lime. One British traveller wrote that the architect had "died of a broken heart, disgusted at the bad taste which had spoiled his handiwork".¹²²

¹²⁰Translated by Toker in *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 46. Originally quoted in *Le National*, 18 March 1876.

¹²¹James Silk Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the other British provinces in North America* (London, [1843]), 109; For another description see the *Western Mercury* (Hamilton, Upper Canada), 18 April 1833.

¹²²Quoted from James Edward Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches, Comprising visits to the most Interesting Scenes in North and South America, and the West Indies, With Notes on Negro Slavery and Canadian Emigration*, I (London: Bentley, 1833), 192.

Without question Notre Dame's staunchest critic remained Demers, whose initial advice to reconsider the choice of architect and style was never heeded. Was the meaning of the parish church grossly misinterpreted by Demers? Or had O'Donnell trivialised French-Canadian conventions and imposed his anglophile tastes? Did he elaborate on a civic tradition that had developed out of a fusion of French, British and American prototypes? Was the church the physical embodiment of the Montreal cultural experience to 1830?

Whatever the case, twentieth-century evaluations of Notre Dame have kept the debate alive.¹²³ In honour of the centenary of its reconstruction, Olivier Maurault wrote a history of the church declaring that French Canada found an expression through Notre Dame. The Quebec nationalist historian, Gérard Morisset, refuted this claim and dismissed the building as troubadour Gothic of English origin with shabby mouldings and an irrational construction. McGill University Professor of Architecture, Ramsay Traquair, did not agree with Maurault either. He

¹²³The following works contain analyses on the architecture of Notre Dame: Olivier Maurault, *La Paroisse: Histoire de l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal*; Ramsay Traquair, *The Old Architecture of the Province of Quebec*; Gérard Morisset, *L'Architecture en Nouvelle France*; Alan Gowans, "Notre Dame de Montreal," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XI, March 1952; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*; Franklin Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*; Luc Noppen, *Les Eglises de Québec (1600-1850)*; Raymond Montpetit, "La Construction de l'Eglise Notre Dame de Montréal: Quelques pistes pour une interprétation socio-historique," in *Montréal au XIXe Siècle Des Gens Des Idées des Arts Une Ville*; and Vicki Bennett, "The Use of the Gothic in Nineteenth-Century Church Architecture in the Ottawa Valley" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1994).

labelled it as bastard American Gothic, and worse yet, the first serious attack on the traditional religious architecture of Quebec.

The second wave of twentieth-century critics attached greater significance to artistic intention and symbolism. Gowans held that there were underlying Gallican- and Catholic-medieval connotations inherent in the building that helped perpetuate the French-colonial tradition of the province. His was probably the closest-linked hypothesis to the present argument, although the tendency of the Sulpicians to imitate things French was not limited to the medieval period.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock believed that French Canadians were disgusted by Notre Dame because it looked Anglican when in fact it was really Georgian, or superficial, to use Luc Noppen's characterisation. Gavin Stamp described it as possessing the romantic glamour of Fonthill Abbey and the glitter of an atmospheric cinema.¹²⁴ Toker, however, who produced the most authoritative text on the 1820s church project, concluded that Notre Dame was a political statement marked more by ambition than by brilliance. More recently Montpetit has tried to encourage a move away from the symbolic interpretation of forms toward an assessment of the social environment which predetermined the course of the project. He argues that to understand the meaning of Notre Dame, one must study the groups who directed its construction taking into consideration the circles in which they moved, their cultural influences, financial resources

¹²⁴See Fermor-Hesketh, *Architecture of the British Empire*, 171.

and the national interests that they protected.

The conglomeration of political, iconographic or socio-cultural methods used to construct the preceding arguments should be seen as reflections of shifting historiographical models. Without intending to over-simplify the meaning behind the architecture, it seems most fitting to characterise the church as 'eclectic'. Appropriately enough, the term, eclecticism, was coined in the 1830s by the French philosopher, Victor Cousin. He defined it as a composite system of thought made up of views selected from various other systems.¹²⁵ At the root of his multi-disciplinary approach was the notion that no one element (in this case, architecture) could rely strictly on the principles of a singular system to the exclusion of all others.

Taking this theoretical model one step further, it seems justifiable to argue that no single person or group could accept credit for the effort and ingenuity that was necessary to realise such a monumental building. The role of the church as an early indicator of Montreal's transformation from a small trading town to a vital, commercial city, however, is more important. Symbolising the triumph of capitalism over feudalism, the building ushered in the Industrial Revolution in British North America.¹²⁶ With the exception of the grey limestone which

¹²⁵The concept is discussed in Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 118.

¹²⁶See Brian Young, *In its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution 1816-1876* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), xiv;

was extracted from local quarries, Upper Canada was relied upon for the provisions of wood, while agents working out of Boston, New York and London supplied the majority of the other building materials.

The dynamic of a work force consisting of an Irish architect, Scottish and French Canadian master masons, an American master carpenter, English plasterers and Italian painters is equally immeasurable. Furthermore, in the light of the collaboration necessary to realise such a mammoth project, what degree of importance should be placed on the means by which Notre Dame was financed?¹²⁷ It was expected that wardens sitting on the boards of various banks would use their clout to solicit donations, but what were the social implications of borrowing almost half of the monies from members of local Jewish families?¹²⁸

Ostensibly, Old World values were being replaced by a New World order. This radical change in outlook was unmistakable in a later engraving of Place d'Armes, where the ruins of the defunct building defer to the monumentality of O'Donnell's construction. (Fig.47) Not unlike the crumbling remains of an ancient edifice dwarfed by the towers of a modern streetscape, the old church tower

also Robert Sweeny, "Internal Dynamics and the International Cycle: Questions of the Transition in Montreal 1821-1828" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1985), 121/155/168.

¹²⁷Key Protestant figures such as Horatio Gates also donated generously. See *Souscriptions des Protestants*. boîte 23, chemise 24, AFNDM.

¹²⁸Fabrique Grand Livre en Rapport avec Nouvelle Eglise 1824-1830; also boîte 25, chemises 3/6/11, AFNDM.

bore witness to the enterprise of an earlier period. The new Notre Dame expressed the confidence of another generation of French Canadians, prepared to accept ancestral custom as long as it did not stand in the way of their commercial and social advancement. If Alexis de Tocqueville had been made aware of the collective effort necessary to realise a French-Catholic church in the British-colonial town, he might have arrived at different conclusions regarding the state of society.

Part Two

Chapter IV

A Cultural Backwater

1825-1840

i. From Big Town to Small City

Although the fur trade continued to decline in stature, the agricultural and shipping industries based in the town were thriving in the early nineteenth century. Thanks to its favourable position downstream from Upper Canada, and its strong connections to the trading centres of Boston and New York to the south, Montreal was poised to become the industrial hub of British North America. As part of a larger colonial framework, however, it would have to tailor development according to the needs of the Empire. In the 1830s, Britain remained in an economic depression due to the ending of the Napoleonic Wars. In Scotland, the Highland Clearances, which displaced entire rural communities, only served to further aggravate the employment problem.

Impoverished and unable to support their families, the alternative for many Britons was to relocate to North America. The Colonial Office undertook a publicity campaign to encourage resettlement. During the peak of the first migration wave in 1831-1832, more than a hundred thousand people came through Montreal harbour.¹ Reliant on an

¹Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America; or, A topographical and statistical description*, 1 (London, 1831), 468; See also Price, *Introduction to the*

assortment of government literature, travellers' accounts and family correspondence, potential emigrants were led to believe that they were arriving to a place where "nobody can become somebody".² In truth, the conditions were far from agreeable for the majority of newcomers. Many fell prey to the outbreaks of Asiatic cholera beginning in 1832, when more than six percent of the population was wiped out. Nightly, the "dead cart" would travel through the streets. In what was later realised to be a futile gesture, the Royal Artillery fired off blank rounds hoping that the sharp vibrations would help reduce the epidemic.³

During the decade, the political landscape was also significantly altered as Montreal became a centre of partisan organisation. Flare-ups such as the Election Riots in 1832, were followed by the 1837-1838 Rebellions - the nearest the Canadas ever came to a civil war.⁴ With the increased social unrest caused by disagreements between nationalist groups, the garrison considerably increased its profile. In 1835 the British Rifle Corps was active. When they were ordered to disband a year later, the Doric Club took their place. Although a militant group, the Club acted

Social History of Scots in Quebec (1780-1840), 8.

²F.A. Cox, *The Baptists in America: a narrative of the deputation from the Baptist Union in England, to the United States and Canada* (London: T. Ward, 1836), 187.

³For more on the epidemics see Michael Bliss, *Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1991).

⁴Elinor K. Senior, *British Regulars in Montreal: an Imperial Garrison 1832-1854* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981) 9. See also Joseph Schull, *Rebellion: The Rising in French Canada 1837* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971).

as a counter to the insurrectionist band known as the Sons of Liberty.⁵ Attempts were made by the Catholic clergy to quell the unrest.

In their capacity as leaders of French Canadian society, the clerics were considered pivotal to the success or failure of the nationalist struggle.⁶ In 1836, following considerable debate, Lartigue was officially acknowledged as the Catholic Bishop of Montreal.⁷ Soon after, he tried to win over British confidence by publishing a pastoral letter discouraging members of his constituency from revolting. For their part, the Sulpicians were most obsequious to the Crown. In a symbolic gesture of political support, the priests sounded the bells of Notre Dame to honour the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837.⁸

Not coincidentally, the same year as Lartigue's appointment, George Jehoshaphat Mountain (1789-1863) was consecrated as a suffragan in the Church of England diocese of Quebec, assuming the unofficial title of Anglican Bishop

⁵Jean-Paul Bernard, *The Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in Lower Canada*, Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No.55 (Ottawa, 1996), 4.

⁶Lartigue's efforts to thwart rebellious activity in Montreal were praised by Abbot Maguire in *Doctrine de l'Eglise catholique d'Irlande et celle du Canada sur la révolte* (Montreal: W. Neilson, 1838).

⁷The letter from Lord Glenelg was published in *Le Bazar, Organe officiel de l'oeuvre de la cathédrale*, 18 (Montreal, 1886), 213.

⁸Young, *In its Corporate Capacity*, 155; Also discussed in Marcel Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens et la Vie Culturelle à Montréal au XIXe Siècle* (Montreal: Fides, 1982), 20.

of Montreal.⁹ With the steady influx of British emigrants, the Catholic clerics were witnessing a demographic transformation as the population gradually shifted from a French- to an English-speaking majority. By 1831 over forty percent of day labourers were English speakers, thanks in part to the shiploads arriving from Ireland.¹⁰ Both Churches were kept busy by the large numbers of Irish - mostly Catholic and to a lesser degree Anglican. Comprised mostly of unskilled labourers and members of the military, the Irish communities were committed to upholding their distinct religious and cultural traditions.

Ironically, the earliest figure directly connected to the spiritual well-being of the Irish Catholic segment in Montreal was Richard Jackson (1787-1847) - a Methodist preacher from Virginia. Upon hearing about the efforts of the Sulpicians, he journeyed north with the intention of convincing the priests of the errors of their ways. Within three months of his arrival in 1807, the Superior, Auguste Roux (1760-1831), so impressed by the man's religious zeal, instead converted him to Catholicism. Jackson was ordained in 1813 and four years later he was preaching sermons to small Irish crowds in the Bonsecours chapel.¹¹ By 1822, the Sulpicians had secured official permission from Rome to

⁹Mountain was consecrated at Lambeth Palace on 14 February, 1836. *DCB*, IX:579.

¹⁰Young and Dickinson, *A Short History of Quebec*, 111. Around 1825, the Irish numbered approximately 3500 (sixteen percent of the population). See Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation", 106/417-429.

¹¹Durocher, "The English-Speaking Catholic People of Montreal," *L'Eglise de Montréal 1836-1986*, 318.

celebrate the feast of St. Patrick.¹²

Estimated to number one thousand in the early 1820s, the Irish community nearly tripled in size by 1825, boosting Catholic representation in Montreal to two-thirds of the twenty five thousand inhabitants.¹³ In the following decades, Irishmen were appointed to the honorary directorate of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank and were also among the leaders of the grocery and dry-goods business.¹⁴ The emergence of newspapers such as *The Vindicator* (1829) and *The Irish Advocate* (1834), were signs of the flourishing of the community. The new coat of arms produced for Montreal at this time, combining the floral emblems of the French, English, Scots as well as the clover leaf of the Irish was testimony to their elevated position.

In 1834, the St. Patrick's Society - the first of the city's various national organisations - was founded. The

¹²See 14 March 1822, Rescrit de la congrégation des Rites qui permet de célébrer solennellement la fête de Saint-Patrice dans l'église Notre Dame de Montréal, v.2 t.97 no.36, ASSSM. Text in Latin signed by I.F. Cardinal Dalzacappat.

¹³Robert J. Grace, *The Irish in Quebec An Introduction to the Historiography* (Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1993), 64. See also Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation", 192; and Rousseau, *La Prédication à Montréal de 1800 à 1830 - approche religieuse*, 74.

¹⁴Grace, *Irish in Quebec*, 103; Gerald J.J. Tulchinsky, *River barons: Montreal businessmen and the growth of industry and transportation, 1837-53* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 9. See also John Loye, "Highlights in the Chronological History of the Irish Community in Montreal Founded 125 Years Ago," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 May 1942.

St. Andrew's and the St. George's Societies, composed of Scots and English respectively, were established soon after. On special occasions such as St. Patrick's Day, all of the groups encouraged their members to attend festivities at Notre Dame.¹⁵ One visitor in 1836, witnessing the commemoration of Corpus Christi, remarked on the assimilation of groups:

[...] to crown the folly and madness, Protestant gentlemen joined the chief procession of the priests, in order to subserve a political object.¹⁶

At the British and Canadian School Society there was a noticeable fraternisation of Catholics and Protestants. Community leaders such as Horatio Gates, Louis-Joseph Papineau and François-Antoine LaRocque were members of the executive.¹⁷ Although denominational interaction was evident in such institutions as the Montreal Bible Society¹⁸, there continued to be a marked polarisation of groups in both social and business circles based on differences of language and denomination.

Patterns of urban development reflected this sectarian tendency. In 1831, an Act was passed to incorporate Montreal and appoint a Council to supervise all public

¹⁵Celebrations of St. Patrick's Day can be traced back to 1819. G.R.C. Keep, "The Irish Migration to Montreal 1847-1867" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1948), 52.

¹⁶Cox, *The Baptists in America*, 188.

¹⁷*The Montreal Almanack for the year of our Lord 1833* (Montreal: Workman and Bowman, 1833).

¹⁸*The Montreal Almanack for the year of our Lord 1834* (Montreal: Workman and Bowman, 1834).

improvements.¹⁹ One year later the town was officially proclaimed a city.²⁰ The newly-designated city was split into eight wards: East, West, St. Ann, St. Joseph, St. Antoine, St. Lawrence, St. Louis and St. Mary. (Map D) The wards of St. Joseph and St. Antoine were distinctly French Canadian in composition. The St. Lawrence Suburb was an English and Scots residential area containing large homes. West of St. Lawrence was the St. Antoine Suburb where the estates of private gentlemen were located.

Warehouses and factories also were beginning to dot what was an otherwise rural landscape. North, along the river, was the St. Mary Suburb - an industrial area with foundries, distilleries and breweries. To the south, between the port and the Lachine Canal was another industrial and working class suburb, St. Ann's.²¹ Visitors could not ignore the awkward juxtaposition of cultures within these precincts:

The modern commercial store and the ancient secluded convent; the red-coated soldier of England and the cowled priest of France; the antiquated

¹⁹*The Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada*, 14, 1831, I William IV, Cap.54. See Lorne J. Ste-Croix, "The First Incorporation of the City of Montreal (1826-1836)" (M.A. diss., McGill University, 1991).

²⁰For a definition of the term, city, see Caroline Arscott, Griselda Pollock with Janet Wolff, "The Partial View: The Visual Representation of the Early Nineteenth-Century City," in *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, ed. Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 191-233.

²¹W.H. Parker, "The Towns of Lower Canada in the 1830s," in *Urbanisation and its Problems: Essays in Honour of E.W. Gilbert*, ed. R.P. Beckinsale and J.H. Johnston (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 397.

habitant of the country in his homespun suit of grey, and the spruce denizen of the town attired in the latest European fashion.²²

Despite more than seventy years of British occupation, the physical layout of the old town centre retained vestiges of its French-colonial past. It was an ironic occurrence that in 1836, workmen excavating in front of Notre Dame stumbled onto the remains of Bishop Pontbriand, the self-exiled Catholic leader from Quebec City who had died in Montreal soon after the Conquest.²³ Clearly, layers of the past were being indiscriminately shovelled aside in the name of civic expansion. Given the increase in municipal property value, old buildings were often razed to make way for new developments.

While the main trunk roads from rural municipalities were starting to be paved, urban growth remained erratic. It was not uncommon for broader thoroughfares with macadamised pavement to be laid out alongside the older, exposed concourses. Notre Dame Street was one mile long but only thirty feet wide; St. Paul Street was even more narrow. The Lower Town was filled with gloomy-looking houses built of irregular-shaped blocks, bound by cement with gaps filled in by smaller stones. Newer residences were fashioned out of squared and hewn blocks, demonstrating sophisticated masonry techniques.²⁴

²²T.R. Preston, *Three Years Residence in Canada from 1837 to 1839*, I (London, 1840), 56.

²³*Montreal Gazette*, 16 July 1836.

²⁴Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the other British provinces in North America*, 106. See John McGregor, *British America*, 2 (Edinburgh, 1832), 504; also

Unlike cities such as New York or Philadelphia where iron was frequently used in building construction, the abundance of stone from quarries near by helped to distinguish Montreal's physical identity from other North American urban centres.²⁵ Construction materials produced in the city were said to resist the severe climate better than English products, however supply could not keep pace with demand and a large amount of imports were necessary.²⁶ One visitor was impressed with the solidity and compactness of the stone houses which had "a very pleasing effect to an eye accustomed to the trashy clap-board edifices" of towns in the United States.²⁷ Another visitor suggested that in Montreal, an American feels as far away from home, as a European would in the forests of the Mississippi.²⁸

Due to the improved communication with Boston and New York, American culture in such forms as mass-produced books and

I. Finch, *Travels in the United States of America and Canada containing some account of their scientific institutions [...]* (London, 1833), 323; and Charles Daubeny, *Journal of a Tour through the United States and in Canada: made during the years 1837-1838* (Oxford, 1843), 27.

²⁵See St. Louis, *Maçonnerie Traditionnelle, Document Technique: régions de Montréal et de Québec*, II, 57; Also Renée Losier, "Façades en Fonte à Montréal, Aspects technologique et stylistique" (M.A. diss., Concordia University, 1984), 16.

²⁶Parker, "The Towns of Lower Canada in the 1830s," 403.

²⁷Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, II (Edinburgh, 1833), 345.

²⁸Thomas Rolph, *A Brief Account together with observations made during a visit in the West Indies, and a tour through the United States of America in parts of the years 1832-33* (Dundas, Upper Canada, 1836), 128.

magazines was abundant at low prices. In this regard, competition with British goods and services was fierce. Items from overseas were readily available including the latest paper hangings, perfumes, hair dressings and publications such as *Antiquities of London* and *Views of Edinburgh or Modern Athens*.²⁹ Other attempts were made by the Crown to assert its physical presence in the face of mounting pressures from republican factions. To this end, new institutions including an Advocates Library, Eclectic Library, Hibernian Benevolent Society, and a Natural History Society served to reinforce imperial ties and provided the city with a varied cultural programme.

As early as 1834, Jones' Long Room announced the arrival of a collection of oil paintings including *Choice of Hercules* by Ludovico Caracci, *Tobit and the Angel* by Tintoretto, and *Saint Cecilia* by Veronese.³⁰ Clearly there existed wealthy people from various religious and national groups able to afford such commodities. The dealer, aware of the eclectic range of clients, assured that his paintings were worth the attention of both "seminaries and families where the Fine Arts are admired".³¹

Despite the large-scale migration of Britons, the 1830s was not considered a culturally enriching decade. It must be understood that the transition from trading town to incorporated city would require time. In the process, civic developments were in a state of flux as Montreal was

²⁹See *Montreal Gazette*: 15 April 1830; 5 January 1832; and 20 October 1832.

³⁰*Montreal Gazette*, 28 January 1834.

³¹*Montreal Gazette*, 14 October 1834.

experiencing what could best be described as growing pains. One need only refer to the writings of the Baptist minister, Newton Bosworth (?-1848), who published what was to become the most comprehensive visual and textual reference of the period - *Hochelaga Depicta or the Early History of Montreal*. He justified the state of affairs in the 1830s:

The physical necessities of our nature must first be supplied: Literature and refinement come afterward. The column must be raised, and probably be sometime in use, before the thought occurs of placing an ornamented capital upon it.³²

Bosworth claimed that changes were being made at such a rapid rate that those who knew the old Montreal, were they to visit it now, would be "scarcely able to recognise the places with which they were once familiar".³³ His views also represented the pioneering attitudes of many religious dissenters trying to carve out a place in an urban setting thus far dominated by the French-Canadian Catholic and British Protestant establishments.

³²Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta or the Early History of Montreal* (Montreal: William Greig, 1839), 206.

³³Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 92.

ii. Nonconformists Create a Banal Boom

Among the tens of thousands of settlers to arrive during the decade, a significant number were Nonconformists.³⁴ Having tried to escape the rigid social structure of Britain, the distaste for the Established Church system was transported overseas. It was no wonder that upon disembarking at the Montreal port, many were quick to condemn the symbols of the élite which dominated the skyline, namely, Notre Dame, Christ Church and St. Gabriel Street Church. (Fig.48)

In one scathing attack on the presence of these organisations in the colony, a preacher proclaimed:

[The] Church of Rome is the whore of Babylon, and the Church of England is her daughter, and the Kirk of Scotland is no purer than either but is equally depraved and corrupt.³⁵

Judging from such condemnations, it stood to reason that Nonconformists sharing these opinions would avoid patterning their own churches on traditional ecclesiastical models. Whether their newly-built churches were conscious

³⁴For the purposes of this study the term, Nonconformist, applies to all denominations outside the Church of England and the Church of Scotland with the exception of Roman Catholics and Jews. This classification is in compliance with the guidelines set forth in the publication series on Nonconformist chapels and meeting-houses by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.

³⁵Isaac Fidler, *Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners and Emigration in the United States and Canada made during a residence there in 1832* (New York: Harper, 1833), 186. Empowered by the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, dissenting religious groups further aggravated what were already, unstable inter-denominational relations.

manifestations of alternative doctrine, or merely low-cost shelters intended to accommodate the masses is worth exploring.

The architectural conventions which dissenters espoused were characterised by attempts to break down denominational barriers. In 1836 there was advertised a *Prospectus of the Plan and Principles of a Society which is Proposed to be formed in Montreal for the Attainment and Security of Universal and Perfect Religious Liberty and Equality, and for the immediate and entire abolition of all invidious distinctions in favour of one sect to the exclusion or disparagement of another.*³⁶ It is doubtful that this publication received a wide readership, however the extent to which it intimated the dissemination of progressive theological ideals is worth noting.

One indirect outcome of the religious revival was the decline in construction by the Established Churches. With the opening of Christ Church in 1814, followed in the 1820s by the two massive projects of Lartigue and the Sulpicians, Anglicans and Catholics appeared to have ample accommodation. In the 1830s, both denominations only managed to expand their operations to the Quebec Suburb, where small chapels-of-ease were erected for the working class families unable to commute regularly to the city centre.

In 1828, a plot of land was first donated in the suburb for

³⁶Published at the Courier Office, Montreal, 1836. Copy found at BLL, 1196 h 30.

the construction of a Catholic chapel.³⁷ Subscriptions were collected from the Sulpicians as well as from the prominent Viger and Papineau families - the supporters of Lartigue.³⁸ Despite his acceptance that the Sulpicians were the *de jure* parish priests, Lartigue seems to have taken an active interest in the foundation of Sainte Marie chapel. He was in regular correspondence with the Sulpician curate regarding the project and ensured that the architect of his cathedral, Fournier, was appointed to the building committee.³⁹

Begun in 1829, the 30 x 50 foot Neo-Gothic chapel was simply rendered in local greystone. According to a crude drawing (Fig.49), the façade of the building featured a crow-stepped gable and pointed arch windows. The belfry, surmounted by a cross, also had Gothic fenestration. Little is known about the interior except that the ceiling was

³⁷18 November 1828, Procès verbal et plan du terrain réservé pour la construction d'une chapelle sur la terre de J.-B. Désery, au faubourg Ste-Marie (Pied du courant), v.2 t.96 no.135, ASSSM.

³⁸12 November 1828, Souscription organisée avec l'approbation de Mgr. Lartigue pour aider à la construction d'une chapelle au faubourg Ste-Marie, sur le terrain de J.-B. Désery, v.2 t.96 no.136, ASSSM; See also, Liste des souscripteurs pour la construction de la chapelle élevée sur le terrain de M. Désery à la côte St-Martin, au pied du courant, v.2 t.97 no.162, ASSSM.

³⁹21-23 May 1830, Deux lettres de Mgr. Lartigue à M.N. Dufresne, pro-curé de Notre Dame, relative au site de la construction de la chapelle du Courant Ste-Marie, v.2 t.97 no.169, ASSSM; and Procès verbaux des assemblées du comité nommé pour la construction de la chapelle du courant Ste-Marie, Dossiers from 1829-1838, v.2 t.98 no.158, ASSSM.

vaulted.⁴⁰ It was interesting that in the same year as the purchase of land for Sainte Marie, an Anglican chapel was established near by in Marlborough Street.

Situated close to the ferry crossing for Longueuil, St. Mary's Hochelaga was erected with a budget of £500.⁴¹ Although no image exists, the 30 x 40 foot greystone chapel was surmounted by a steeple measuring fifty feet. The Gothic style building⁴² was realised thanks to the efforts of the military chaplain, Brooke Bridges Stevens (1787-1834). A Cambridge-educated cleric who moved to Lower Canada in 1819, Stevens spearheaded the foundation of several congregations in the region.⁴³ His involvement at St. Stephen's Lachine, built three years after St. Mary's, is worth noting. In all likelihood the Lachine church was closely modelled after St. Mary's. It shared similar dimensions to the Hochelaga chapel and was also conceived in the Gothic style. St. Stephen's was furnished with a prominent castellated belfry that incorporated quatrefoil

⁴⁰15 September 1832, Entente sous seing privé entre le comité de construction de la chapelle du courant Ste-Marie et Amable Janot dit Lachapelle, relative aux travaux de menuiserie à faire à la dite chapelle, v.2 t.97 no.186, ASSSM; Also, 26 September 1829, Marché sous seing privé passé entre le comité de construction de la chapelle du faubourg Ste-Marie et Joseph Dagenais, pour les travaux de maçonnerie de la dite chapelle, v.2 t.96 no.152, ASSSM.

⁴¹25 January 1828, Deed of Gift from Herman Seaver to the Rev. John Bethune, Christ Church Archive, ADMA. The erection of this church was also mentioned in Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 176.

⁴²St. Mary's Hochelaga (Anglican) File, INV-231 POS:42, MRG.

⁴³DCB, VI:734.

and lancet designs.⁴⁴ (Fig.50)

It is difficult to surmise why both the Catholics and Anglicans chose to design their chapels of ease in the Gothic manner. If antecedents were any indication, the local building traditions of both these communities were inconsistent. Although Christ Church was a Neo-Classical building, Stevens' decision to employ the Gothic at St. Mary's Hochelaga could easily have been justified by the widespread use of the style in the rural districts of England. The Sulpicians, on the other hand, whose own Neo-Classical tradition had been recently revised by the erection of their Gothic centrepiece, Notre Dame, might have used the style at Sainte Marie to help forge an institutional link with their parish church. Regardless of their denominational motives, the chapels served as territorial markers for organisations determined to exert influence over an impoverished segment of the population that was moving away from the city centre. Furthermore, the increased visibility of dissenting groups in these areas was becoming a concern.

Unlike the Catholics and Anglicans who depended entirely upon centralised administrations, Nonconformists had no identifiable base from which to model their operations. They did not care to advertise their presence in the same way as the Established Churches.⁴⁵ In her thesis on early

⁴⁴For a history of the congregation see George Merchant, ed., *St. Stephen's Anglican Church, Lachine, Quebec, Canada 1822-1956* (Montreal, 1956).

⁴⁵William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). The author shows that many

Protestant Nonconformity in Montreal, Jane Greenlaw observed that most congregations were dominated by the popular classes.⁴⁶ The majority were English speakers from the British lower classes, and included a small contingent of skilled tradesmen. Some joined the pre-existing Methodist community, but other groups that would form in the 1830s included the Scottish Secessionists, Baptists and Congregationalists. Most could be found in the working class suburbs of St. Ann, Récollet, St. Lawrence and Quebec. They initially met in private residences or rented public rooms, then after a few years of fund raising they were able to purchase land.

The first wave of Nonconformist houses of worship were realised through the initiative of preachers and congregations who were in need of basic accommodation rather than good architecture.⁴⁷ Their lack of sophistication was a reflection of the unprecedented growth of a city whose weak Protestant infrastructure could not absorb the numbers of immigrants. For dissenters accustomed to worshipping in domestic surroundings, the crude buildings erected were never intended to serve as markers of denominational identity.

settlers were beginning to distinguish between the hierarchical religious traditions of Europe and the more liberal views offered as alternatives in the New World.

⁴⁶Jane Greenlaw, "Fractious Individuals: Protestant Non-Conformity in Montreal 1828-1842" (M.A. diss., Université de Québec à Montréal, 1989). More research is required on the significance of the Scottish element within these denominations.

⁴⁷John Summerson, *Georgian London*, 4th ed. (London: Penguin, 1978), 231. See also Wakeling, "The nonconformist traditions: chapels, change and continuity," 96.

Situated at the far left of the theological spectrum, Nonconformists promoted the simple purity of Christian services and chose to avoid any displays of pomp. In the light of this tendency, the denominations to be discussed below have been ordered according to their architectural contributions, proceeding from least to most significant. Note that a qualitative scale was the only one applicable given the inferiority of the group of buildings as a whole. These churches, while socially relevant, should be viewed largely as manifestations of Nonconformist expansion rather than as significant cultural markers. They were cheaply constructed and rudimentary structures, usually completed by builders rather than architects.⁴⁸

Although some fine examples of Nonconformist churches in Britain and New England could have been copied, the meetinghouses built in Montreal often did not look further than the city limits for their inspiration. Neither wholly British-inspired nor infused with any obvious American republican traits, they were practically innocuous. The sole house of worship that would have any impact on their designs was Try's St. James Street Methodist Church. (Fig.24) As the only prominent, local example of British Nonconformist architecture, the building would become the "High Church" model for religious dissenters.

⁴⁸For a discussion of specific denominational features in Nonconformist building see Donald Drew Egbert, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," in *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History*, ed. W. Eugene Kleinbauer (New York: Holt Rhinehart and Winston, 1971), 314.

• Methodist

Methodists were the among the first Nonconformists to settle in Montreal after the Conquest. It was not until 1828, however, that they received official permission to celebrate marriages, an improvement of their legal rights which directly affected their growth.⁴⁹ For the community, composed mostly of unskilled labourers and farmers⁵⁰, the frequent commuting from outlying districts to St. James Street Church created similar accommodation problems faced by their Catholic and Anglican counterparts. Thus it was no surprise to see their operations expand into the east and west sections of the town.⁵¹ While both new chapels were owned and administered by separate trusts, they remained appointments of St. James, the mother church.

As early as 1826, a small group formed a congregation in the Quebec Suburb, ministered partly by the pastors of St. James and partly by local preachers and class leaders. One year later a chapel and school were erected in Gain Street. The wood frame building, measuring 40 x 24 feet, was plain in appearance both inside and out.⁵² It was used for almost ten years, but as the community in the east end grew larger, a new building was needed. At this time, James Ferrier (1800-1888) - a convert to Methodism who was at one time a member of St. Gabriel Street Church - provided the

⁴⁹*Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada 1828-1829*, 38:490.

⁵⁰Greenlaw, "Fractious Individuals," 87.

⁵¹Jaques Jr., *Chronicles of the St. James Street Methodist Church*, 28.

⁵²*East End Methodist Church Montreal Historical Sketch 1826-1904* (Montreal, 1904), 3. Vertical Files, UCAM.

young congregation with a long, upper room in a chair factory in Montcalm Street near St. Mary Street. It seated three hundred and was fitted up by Ferrier at his own expense.⁵³

While the Methodists in the east end moved into this pre-existing structure, their co-religionists in the manufacturing suburb of St. Ann constructed a small three-bay chapel in Wellington Street in 1833. It seated four hundred and fifty people.⁵⁴ (Fig.51) In the absence of any construction contracts, it can be assumed that John Try, in his capacity as a leading Methodist congregant, provided the necessary plans. Only one storey high with a basement level, the meeting house was unpretentious and devoid of any outstanding features. The centre bay of the façade projected forward and was capped by a small parapet. No information exists on the interior fittings.

• Scottish Secessionist

Although the Church of Scotland, similar to the Methodists, experienced considerable growth during the decade, the question of leadership within the Presbyterian mother church continued to cause divisiveness within their community. In 1831, the following announcement was posted:

The majority of the elders of St. Gabriel Street

⁵³24 October 1837, Trustees Record Book, St. James Church, UCAM; also Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 111.

⁵⁴The chapel burnt down in 1845 and was later rebuilt as Mountain Street Church. *The Christian Guardian*, 12 September 1906; also A. Leblond de Brumath, *Histoire populaire de Montréal*, 3rd ed. (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1926), 232.

Church have to intimate to the congregation that until the differences which at present exist, be adjusted, the members of it will have an opportunity of attending divine service every sabbath at one o'clock in the American Presbyterian Church.⁵⁵

In the 1820s in Scotland, the General Associate or Anti-Burgher Synod had already joined with the congregations of the Associate or Burgher Synod. This new body constituted the United Secession Church. With the increased migration of Scots to British North America, the Synod was encouraged to post ministers to the colony, principally targeting Upper Canada though sending a small delegation to Montreal. By 1831 they had established themselves as the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Montreal in Connection with the United Associate Synod in Scotland.⁵⁶

Not unlike many of the denominations forming in the town, the Secessionists held their first meetings in Mr. Bruce's School Room in McGill Street. When the school was found to be too small, the congregation rented the American Presbyterian Church. Their first minister died of cholera in 1833 and was replaced by Rev. William Taylor, a man renowned for his Hebrew and Greek scholarship.⁵⁷ Taylor appealed for monies from Scotland, the United States as well as locally. A year later, with one hundred and twenty

⁵⁵*Montreal Gazette*, 31 December 1831. For more on the problems at St. Gabriel Street Church see McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada 1815-1842," 208.

⁵⁶It was later known as the Erskine Church, a precursor to the United Presbyterian Church. Erskine Church Board Trustees 1864-1934, Box E14, UCAM.

⁵⁷DCB, X:366.

five members in regular attendance, a committee from the Board of Trustees was appointed to obtain a site upon which to build. Most members of the Board were in the building trades and offered their services at a nominal cost, if any at all.⁵⁸

While many congregants lived south-west of the city centre, in the area known as Griffintown, the church was erected further north, at the corner of Lagouchetière and Chenneville Streets in the St. Lawrence Suburb. It was known as "the wee kirk in Little Dublin" because of a row of small houses near by, occupied by Irish working-class families.⁵⁹ Compared to the positioning of other Protestant churches, it was unusual for the Secessionists to build so far from their parishioners' residences, however financial limitations must have accounted for the decision.

When a plan was first laid before the committee in 1834, the expense for the foundation and building was expected to be £500.⁶⁰ The ground floor was proposed to accommodate five hundred with the galleries adding another three

⁵⁸The Board of Trustees included a mason, carpenter and turner. Greenlaw, "Fractious Individuals," 118 and 153. See also *Sermons and Addresses Delivered at the Jubilee of Erskine Church, Montreal 1883* (Montreal: D. Bentley and Co., 1883), 11.

⁵⁹Guy Tombs et al., eds., *One Hundred Years of Erskine Church Montreal 1833-1933* (United Church of Canada, 1934), 17.

⁶⁰24 March 1834, Minute Book 1832-1835, Scotch Secession Church, UCAM. The church was begun in the spring of 1834 and completed in March 1835. See McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada," 241.

hundred seats. That same summer, owing to the inadequate funds collected, the trustees were forced to scale down their plans and build one storey rather than two, as well as omit the gallery. They put forward a more modest proposal of £225. In spite of the fact that the most scrupulous attention was paid to economy "by having everything done in the plainest manner possible", building costs exceeded £1450.⁶¹

The church, as completed, was barely recognisable as a house of worship. (Fig.52) It was a simple, greystone structure that was criticised for suffering from a diminution of height. The builder, Mr. Yuile⁶², was given an extremely restrictive budget out of which he was supposed to sub-contract carpenters, painters and other workmen. The walls and ceilings of the hall, vestry, store room and basement were applied with only one coat of plaster.⁶³ John Whitelaw, hired to complete the roof and the doors, refused to surrender the keys until he received the security originally promised to him.⁶⁴

⁶¹A printed letter dated 4 August, 1835 was intended to be distributed to numerous congregations in Britain. Attached to the Minute Book 1832-1835, Scotch Secession Church, UCAM.

⁶²18 August 1834, Minutes 1832-1835, Scotch Secession Church, UCAM. Possibly the same Yuile who worked on the Gaslight Company Building and also built stores in the 1850s. See *Inventaire des marchés de construction des Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, 1800-1830* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980), no.888.

⁶³Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 117.

⁶⁴2 December 1834, Minute Book 1832-1835, Scotch Secession Church, UCAM.

Considering how the congregation consisted mostly of the labouring classes - people who were the hardest hit by the cholera epidemics - it was understandable why the project was so inadequately funded. A desperate appeal was made to the Synod in Scotland to help them out of their embarrassed circumstances.⁶⁵ Soon after moving into the church, during the summer of 1835, another letter requesting assistance was dispatched to various American denominations. The congregation implored:

As we are totally unknown to you, we have no other plea to present than this, that we profess the same faith with yourselves, and are followers of the same Lord.⁶⁶

Within the city limits, however, the other Presbyterian churches remained unsympathetic to their plight. In 1838 the Church of Scotland congregations - St. Gabriel Street, St. Andrew's (formerly St. Peter Street) and the new St. Paul's - resolved to concert measures to "maintain inviolate the rights and privileges" of their organisation.⁶⁷ Their stern actions foreshadowed the rifts within the Presbyterian camp which would reach critical proportions following the monumental Disruption in Scotland of 1843.

⁶⁵By 1841, the United Secession Church joined the Relief Synod in Scotland. Their new body was called the United Presbyterian Church, McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada," 257.

⁶⁶18 September 1835, Minute Book 1832-1835, Scotch Secessionist Church, UCAM.

⁶⁷*Montreal Gazette*, 18 September 1838.

• Baptist

Unlike most Nonconformist groups, the small Baptist community was situated in the city centre. In 1820 they met at the St. Monique Street home of Scots emigrant, Ebenezer Muir. Ten years later, on the recommendation of Muir, who had heard the man preach in Scotland, they invited the Rev. John Gilmour to lead the group. The Baptists relocated to Mr. Bruce's School Room and one year later, the twenty five members occupied their own custom-built chapel at the southeast corner of St. Helen and Récollet Streets.

Judging from their acquisition of the land in June 1831 and relocation in September of that same year, the church must have been hastily built.⁶⁸ Muir together with the Methodist builder, John Try, were implicated in the deed of sale. Both men had agreed to share the outstanding debt on the building following initial payment of costs by the congregation.⁶⁹ Based on Try's close involvement with the purchase and financing, it can be safely assumed that he was also the designer of the church.

It was unusual, however, that Try's name did not appear on the list of founding members, given his prominence in civic affairs.⁷⁰ He was president of the House of Industry, Treasurer of the Montreal General Hospital and of the Montreal Library, member of the British and Canadian School

⁶⁸ June 1831, Acquisition par John Try et Ebenezer Muir, syndics de la chapelle des Baptistes, Récollets Terrain File, no.449, MRG.

⁶⁹J.A. Gordon, *History of the First Baptist Church of Montreal* (Montreal: Waters Printers, 1906), 8.

⁷⁰*First Baptist Church in Montreal 1831-1981* (Montreal, [1981]), n.p.

Society as well as the Montreal Fire Society.⁷¹ His involvement with the Baptists probably stemmed from the affiliation of his wife and children with the congregation. Several years after the construction, Try's oldest daughter would marry Rev. Dr. Benjamin Davies, the head of the newly-established Baptist College.⁷² It is interesting to note that Try would also donate property and direct the college building committee.

It stood to reason that the church completed for the Baptists was remarkably similar in composition to Try's St. James Street Church. The two-storey structure was designed with the same sequence of five arched windows. (Fig.53) Apart from the projecting centre bay which gave the building some rhythm, however, the overall scheme is not worthy of attention.⁷³ Little is known about the interior except that it was capable of seating four hundred with provisions for the erection of galleries. Despite the considerable growth of the community over this period, the Baptists were to suffer several political setbacks that prevented them from expanding rapidly. The extent of these problems would delay the Baptist building programme for more than thirty years.

⁷¹Information collected from *The Montreal Almanack or Lower Canada Register for 1831* (Montreal: Robert Armour, 1831); *The Montreal Almanack for the year of our Lord 1832* (Montreal: Workman and Bowman, 1832); *The Montreal Almanack for the year of our Lord 1833* (Montreal: Workman and Bowman, 1833).

⁷²Richardson and Otto, "John Try A Master Carpenter, Builder and Architect in Old Montreal," 37.

⁷³Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 120.

• Congregationalist

Baptists and Congregationalists shared similar styles of ecclesiastical organisation and were frequently allied in political and evangelical enterprises.⁷⁴ The Congregationalists' first church in Lower Canada was founded in Quebec City in 1801. In that same year, Montreal was surveyed to determine whether it was worthwhile to form an organisation; no effort was made in this regard until 1831.⁷⁵ In that year, Rev. Richard Miles, once active with the Congregationalist-backed London Missionary Society arrived. His small group met in Mr. Bruce's School Room, then moved to the Ball Room in Mansion House.⁷⁶ In 1835, Henry Wilkes (1805-1886), formerly of Albany Street Church in Edinburgh, was appointed as pastor.

Wilkes' role was crucial in these formative years.⁷⁷ He preached to a primarily agrarian-based congregation that would eventually expand to include members from the skilled

⁷⁴Congregationalism was a Puritan sect that had broken away from the Church of England in the late-sixteenth century. See D.G. Paz, ed., *Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 58.

⁷⁵E.B. Eddy, "The Beginnings of Congregationalism in the Early Canadas" (Th.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1957), 144.

⁷⁶Congregational Church Meeting Book 1832-1857, 7/ZIO/2/1 Box 1, UCAM. There was an advertisement offering to lease an extensive chapel in Mansion House formerly occupied by the congregation of Rev. Miles. *Montreal Gazette*, 10 March 1835.

⁷⁷Eddy, "The Beginnings of Congregationalism in the Early Canadas," 190.

trades and upper classes.⁷⁸ The increased representation of such classes in both membership and leadership sparked a concern for more autonomy and denominational expression.⁷⁹ In January 1832 the congregation organised a delegation for erecting a church. One year later a building committee was headed by the Deacon and their leading member, George Savage.

In the spring of 1834, three sermons in aid of the building fund were advertised; two at St. James Street Church and one at the American Presbyterian Church.⁸⁰ In February 1835 a greystone building with accommodation for about six hundred was opened in St. Maurice Street at a cost of £1600.⁸¹ (Fig.54) The façade featured a four-column portico of the Doric order as well as a series of five arched windows. The Congregational church was distinguished by its elevated entrance and a prominent centre bay surmounted by an unadorned pediment. These Neo-Classical features, in spite of their stripped-down nature, were more skilfully rendered than those of any other of the 1830s churches so far discussed. Without intending to overstate the quality of the architecture, it was the finest of the Nonconformist buildings erected during the decade. The striking similarity in the design of the Congregational

⁷⁸Congregational Church Register beginning 1832, 7/ZIO/12 Box 4, UCAM.

⁷⁹Greenlaw, "Fractious Individuals," 212.

⁸⁰*Montreal Gazette*, 13 June 1834.

⁸¹*Brief Annals of Zion Church Montreal from 1832 to 10th May, 1871* (Montreal: Montreal Witness Steam Printing House, 1871), 11. In 1839 galleries and a vestry were erected at a cost of £250.

building to St. James Street Church leaves little doubt regarding the prototype and perhaps, the builder. It was ironic how Try's spireless, five-bay façade - probably copied from an engraving in Pocock's popular book (Fig.55) - was appropriated by several denominations throughout the colony, but not by other Methodist congregations. Pocock's preference of the "useful to the ornamental, uniformity to variety, precedent to novelty"⁸² appealed to religious dissenters who needed designs that were at once functional, standardised and affordable. The pattern of Nonconformist church construction in the city came to epitomise his ethos.

iii. John Wells, Arbiter of Taste

By the middle of the decade the works of Try and other amateur builders were quickly overshadowed by the more refined creations of John Wells (1789-1864). Preferred architect of the social and religious establishment, Wells would position himself among the key figures of various groups in order to secure the most lucrative commissions. He helped to shape the physical character of the city by readily embracing the most fashionable of both British and American styles and adapting them to local needs. The contrast in quality between the commissions by Wells and the Nonconformist buildings so far discussed, characterised

⁸²"W.F. Pocock - Brief Memoir by W.W. Pocock", n.d., 228, RIBA Pam Q14, RIBA.

the economic and cultural disparities evident in the immigration hub that was Montreal during the 1830s.

Whereas cruder building conventions persisted among the working classes, fashionable styles were made available to privileged members of society to whom Wells catered. St. Paul's Church and Shearith Israel Synagogue, both begun around 1835, serve as outstanding examples of his contribution to an otherwise banal ecclesiastical building boom. The challenges of designing the first for a break-away group of the Presbyterian establishment and the other for an image-conscious Jewish community, set the architect apart from his contemporaries. Given the cultural nuances inherent in both these commissions, he demonstrated his adeptness at combining artistic and business skills for a British North American clientele.

Wells spent his formative years in Norwich in the county of Norfolk, England where he was a carpenter by trade.⁸³ He became a Freeman in 1820 and within four years he was exhibiting drawings of residences at the Norwich Society of Artists. These houses were probably related to a speculative development outside the town for which he was responsible.⁸⁴ Wells displayed his work on several occasions at the Royal Academy, including, "A Study" in

⁸³Phyllis Lambert, "John Wells: Research Materials 1978-1986," Canadian Centre for Architecture Library; See his obituary in *Montreal Herald*, 28 April 1864.

⁸⁴Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 1037.

1823 and in 1828, a vestibule for a public building.⁸⁵

His most interesting project during the English segment of his career might have been the execution of the façade for the Catholic church of St. Mary, Moorfields in London (1817-1820) - a building hailed by Colvin as outstanding, ambitious and cleverly designed.⁸⁶ Although John Newman (1786-1859) was commissioned for the work, the trustees dismissed the architect before the building was completed. One source of contention between Newman and the committee was his proposed design of the façade. In the publication, *Edifices of London* (1828) an explanatory note regarding this issue was appended to the church description:

As the execution of the principal entrance does not correspond with the original design and opinions of the architect, it may be proper to observe that Mr. Newman has resigned his office. This he was induced to do, after having prepared the necessary working drawings for his part of the edifice, as the committee persisted in having the front executed by persons whom Mr. Newman did not consider competent to the task [...]⁸⁷

According to Summerson, Newman disclaimed responsibility

⁸⁵Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, VIII, 210. See also John Bland, "Effect of Nineteenth-Century Manners on Montreal," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol.33 no.11, November 1956, 416.

⁸⁶Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 700; For more on the history of this church see Philip Temple, *Islington Chapels - An Architectural Guide to Nonconformist and Roman Catholic Places of Worship in the London Borough of Islington* (London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1992), 146.

⁸⁷J. Britton and A.C. Pugin, *Edifices of London* (London, 1828), 10.

for the front as it was executed.⁸⁸ In this light, Wells' participation, or, at least his interest in the project, can be confirmed by a signed drawing housed in a Montreal public collection.⁸⁹ (Fig.56) The stuccoed brick and slate façade of St. Mary's featured two giant Corinthian columns *in antis* flanked by pairs of antae. Garlands and tablets adorned the side bays and a Trinity motif was visible in the recessed central bay. The pediment contained a bas-relief of the female figures of Faith and Piety at the foot of the cross.⁹⁰

Erected around the time of the announcement of the 1818 Church Building Act, St. Mary's was realised at the beginning of what was to become one of the largest ecclesiastical building campaigns in English history. Given the demand for church construction during this period, patrons were inclined to look to less experienced designers thereby allowing for the production of more amateur works.⁹¹ An engraving of St. Mary's was published in *Metropolitan Improvements or London in the Nineteenth*

⁸⁸John Summerson, *Georgian London* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1945), 230.

⁸⁹Plate 175, *Album de Gravures, de dessins et d'aquarelles, de peintures à l'huile et de pièces manuscrites formé par Jacques Viger de 1839 à 1853 environ*, Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal. See also Huguette Boivin-Piérard, "Souvenirs Canadiens: Album de Jacques Viger" (M.A. diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 1990).

⁹⁰Roderick O'Donnell, "The Interior of St. Mary Moorfields," *The Georgian Group Journal*, VII, 1997, 71-74.

⁹¹Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, "Economy, Character and Durability: Specimen Designs for the Church Commissioners, 1818," *Architectural History* 13, 1970, 43-57.

Century.⁹² The plate was dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, an eminent Catholic aristocrat and landlord with whom Wells possibly had dealings early in his career. In regards to Catholic church building in London, only a handful of architects could claim first-hand experience thus it would have been a major credit to Wells to be involved in such a project prior to arriving in Montreal.

With the exception of the designer of Notre Dame, James O'Donnell, whose short-lived career preceded Wells' by about five years, no other architect brought with him comparable professional credentials. Similar to O'Donnell, it was a risky move for Wells, at the considerable age of forty-one to relocate to a small, colonial city.⁹³ As far as work was concerned, flexibility was the sole criteria for entrepreneurial success, and Wells willingly catered to clients of all denominations.

Initially he assumed responsibilities of both contractor and architect, thereby bridging the business and artistic processes. In 1834, however, thanks to an unprecedented surge in commissions, he announced that he was giving up his contracting business in order to concentrate on architecture.⁹⁴ He had formed personal associations with members of several religious communities that were

⁹²James Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements or London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Jones & Co., 1831), 149.

⁹³"Notre Port" (manuscript of exhibition at the McCord Museum, 1980), n.p.; See also Luc Noppen and Marc Grignon, *L'Art de l'architecte: trois siècles de dessin d'architecture à Québec* (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1993), 234.

⁹⁴*Montreal Gazette*, 24 June 1834.

beginning to pay off handsomely in the form of commissions. Due to his activity in numerous organisations including the Montreal Auxiliary Religious Tract Society, he was being asked frequently to prepare designs for Catholic and Protestant churches throughout the large colony.⁹⁵

• Presbyterian

Another architect arriving from London around the same time as Wells was Francis Thompson (1808-1895).⁹⁶ Upon their introduction, the men realised the potential of joining forces and in 1832 a short-lived partnership was formed. Wells & Thompson won the commission for St. Ann's Market and also submitted plans for the Montreal General Hospital, both rendered in the Neo-Classical style.⁹⁷ Although their formal alliance lasted less than a year, they continued to work together on a variety of projects throughout the

⁹⁵Wells prepared a set of plans for the Church of the Nativity, Laprairie in 1836. See *La Minerve*, 9 December 1836; see also Gauthier, "Victor Bourgeau et l'Architecture Religieuse et Conventuelle dans le Diocèse de Montréal (1821-1892)," 117. The author suggests that Wells might have been involved in the churches of St. Eustache (1831), St. Hermas (1834) and St. Jacques le Mineur (1835).

⁹⁶Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 974.

⁹⁷*Montreal Gazette*, 19 January 1832; See Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 119. For more information on St. Ann's Market see Album C, p.25-27, ASQ. Designs of the Montreal hospital were sent to Kingston to assist the builders in the planning of their new building. See Margaret Angus, *Kingston General Hospital, A Social and Institutional History* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1973), 8.

decade.⁹⁸ Arguably their most interesting collaboration was St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in which Thompson was appointed as design architect and Wells, supervising architect and contractor.

St. Paul's would become the only Church of Scotland building in Montreal to be added to the Presbyterian fold for fifteen years. As witnessed by the formation of St. Andrew's, the American Presbyterian and Scottish Secessionist churches, Presbyterians continued to be the most divisive denomination in the city. In the 1820s, a Scotsman named Edward Black (1793-1845) arrived to assist Henry Esson and James Somerville in attending to the clerical duties at St. Gabriel Street Church. With three clergymen trying to lead one group, disagreements arose concerning the spiritual direction of the congregation. Disgruntled members, mostly from the popular classes, broke away with Black in 1832.

They first met at the Baptist Church in St. Helen Street while planning for the construction of their own building near by.⁹⁹ One year later they purchased a plot of land at the corner of St. Helen and Récollet Streets. In 1833 Black contacted Wells. According to the contracts, plans for a greystone church were to be provided by Thompson and

⁹⁸*Montreal Gazette*, 7 May 1835, Thompson became partners with Thomas Parry. He did not stay in the Canadas later than c.1840. Graves, *Royal Academy of Arts*, VII:366.

⁹⁹6 October 1834, St. Paul's Church Session Minutes 1834-1893, PCAT. See also Colborne Heine, "Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Church, Montreal," *Church Magazine, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul*, 1 (April 1926), 1.

executed by Wells.¹⁰⁰ At the age of twenty six, Thompson was Wells' junior by nineteen years and it was unlikely that the young man would have possessed an extensive portfolio of church buildings from which to base his designs. Wells, on the other hand, had completed a church for the Presbyterian community in Lachine a year earlier.¹⁰¹ He had gained some valuable experience at St. Mary Moorfields and also would have been more familiar with the Commissioners' Gothic style that was being widely used by his contemporaries in England.¹⁰² (Fig.57)

The cut-stone façade of St Paul's was embellished with two principal octagonal buttresses in the centre and square ones at either end; all of which were surmounted by pinnacles. (Fig.58) There were castellated parapets and pointed arch windows fifteen feet high, on three sides of the building. (Fig.59) According to Bosworth, the interior was completed in the Grecian manner.¹⁰³ Notre Dame had also been conceived along similar eclectic lines. While both houses of worship were the only Neo-Gothic structures

¹⁰⁰Contract between John Wells and Rev. Edward Black and Joseph Ross, 03-08-1833, not. H. Griffin, ANQM; Contract and Agreement between William Paterson (mason) and John Wells (architect and builder) [...] according to the plans of Mr. Thompson, architect, 10-01-1834, not. H. Griffin, ANQM.

¹⁰¹Sandra Coley, "The Church of St Andrew and St Paul, Montreal: An Architectural History 1805-1932 and Catalogue of Memorials", (M.A. diss., Concordia University, 1993), 36.

¹⁰²Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 37 and 99; See also Clark, *The Gothic Revival An Essay in the History of Taste*, 128.

¹⁰³Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 119.

illustrated in *Hochelaga Depicta*, what differed at the Sulpician church was the restrained use of the style compared to its more elaborate application on the Presbyterian building.

In 1831, several years before the construction of St. Paul's, Wells had been the executive architect for the Montreal prison. It was one of his earliest projects in the colony. The prison itself was designed by George Blaiklock of Quebec City but Wells made numerous alterations to the scheme. Most interesting was a sketch for a pump house, signed by him in 1832. (Fig.60) Drawn in the Gothic manner, the pump house was a stylistic precursor to the design of St. Paul's, given the similar applications of an octagonal system of support, the pointed arches, pinnacles, as well as the strict geometry.¹⁰⁴ The refinement of this seemingly-modest secular work brought to the light Wells' professional knowledge and the extent of his social network. By way of the pump house, the stylistic derivation for St. Paul's and the impetus for winning the Shearith Israel synagogue commission both become evident.

¹⁰⁴20 November 1832, Sketch design for a Public Pump proposed to be erected in Montreal, John Wells architect, Tiroir 112, Album C-2, 18, ASQ. On the elevation, Wells added a flap to indicate how the pump house might appear with and without a cupola. Compare with A.W.N. Pugin's illustrations in *Gothic Furniture in the Style of the Fifteenth Century* (London: Ackermann, 1835) and *Contrasts, or A Parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and similar buildings of the present day: shewing the present decay of taste* (London, 1836).

• Jewish

The prison pump had been manufactured by the Montreal Water Works, which was managed by a Jewish businessman, Moses Hayes (1799-1861).¹⁰⁵ He was to employ Wells on other commercial ventures including the Theatre Royal and Masonic Hall. Similar to Wells he was a member of the Freemasons and the Mechanics' Institute. The location of the architect's office next door to the Water Works increased the frequency of their encounters. It should come as no surprise that Hayes, in his capacity as treasurer of Shearith Israel would approach Wells. That the architect was paid the token sum of £10, suggests that his work on the synagogue was provided as a personal favour.¹⁰⁶

Aspiring to the same cultural sophistication as members of St. Paul's, the congregation of Shearith Israel sought to be included among the social establishment. Compared with their first, humble synagogue built in the 1770s, the new house of worship was a testament to the growing toleration of Jews in Montreal. Having attained full civil rights in Lower Canada in 1832 they were successfully moving within local business and social circles as well as maintaining relations with various Christian leaders. That same year, they wrote a letter of thanks to the Anglican clergymen, Brooke Bridges Stevens:

[We] cannot but express to you the feeling of gratitude which we entertain towards you, for the enlightened and liberal disposition, which you have continually manifested towards that part of the

¹⁰⁵In his early years, Hayes had held a clerkship in the Royal Engineers' office. See *DCB*, IX:379.

¹⁰⁶10 February 1835, Shearith Israel Cash Book 1832-1888, Montreal Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue Archives, NAC.

remnant of the Children of Israel, who have made Canada their resting place, and where, under the influence of the laws of this Province, they enjoy a state of perfect freedom, compared to the situation of some of their persecuted brethren, whose dwellings are in less enlightened and more barbarous countries [...]¹⁰⁷

In earlier decades, the desire to be socially accepted by the British and the French Canadian élite compelled Jews to donate monies towards the erection of Christ Church, the raising of the Nelson Monument as well as the rebuilding of Notre Dame.¹⁰⁸ In 1837, after successfully lobbying to revise an act so as to exclude the words, "on the faith of a Christian"¹⁰⁹, Hayes and Benjamin Hart (1779-1855) were sworn in as the first Jewish justices of the peace in the Canadas. Despite these political appointments, when the synagogue was consecrated one year later in 1838, it was decided that no "strangers" would be invited to the ceremony. This decision was most likely made to avoid factional favouritism during the Rebellion years.¹¹⁰

When considered within this larger socio-political context,

¹⁰⁷4 June 1832, The Address from the Israelites of Montreal to the Reverend B.B. Stevens, in Merchant, *The History of St. Stephen's Anglican Church*, 33.

¹⁰⁸Esther Blaustein et al., "Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue (Shearith Israel) Montreal, 1768-1968," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. XIII, 1971, 137.

¹⁰⁹14 March 1829, Provincial Statutes 9 and 10, George IV, Chapter 75. The revision was personally signed by Queen Victoria. See Blaustein, "Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue", 119.

¹¹⁰Members of the Hart family were known to have sympathised with the insurrectionists.

the factors leading to the erection of a new synagogue become all the more fascinating. As the only Jewish organisation in British North America, the Montreal community depended heavily on the assistance and advice of congregations in Britain and the United States.¹¹¹ Since its foundation, Shearith Israel had maintained a relationship with the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London that was further strengthened by the patronage of the Davids, who were one of the first Jewish families to settle in Montreal after the Conquest. They had loaned the land and donated significantly toward the first synagogue in Notre Dame Street.¹¹² Following the death in 1825 of the patriarch, David David, however, the family chose to expropriate the property from the congregation.

Benjamin Hart came to the rescue in 1825. For the next seven years he provided the community with a small building in his garden at the corner of St. Helen and Récollet Streets, across from where St. Paul's would be built. In 1832 the congregation reformed and elected to use monies from various legacies to help finance a new building.¹¹³ A plot of land was purchased in the St. Lawrence Suburb.

¹¹¹Solomon Frank, *Two Centuries in the Life of a Synagogue* (Montreal, 1967), 52.

¹¹²A.H. David received his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1835, then returned to Montreal and became active in synagogal affairs.

¹¹³15 October 1832, Shearith Israel Cash Book 1832-1888, Vol.4, MG 8 G 67, Montreal Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue Archives, NAC. David David's sister, Frances Michaels, gave the largest single donation. Benjamin Hart was another important contributor. It was only several years later that the sum of £120 was received from the Great Synagogue of London.

The property bordered the Protestant and Jewish cemeteries and was near the Scottish Secessionist chapel. In the winter of 1834 they began advertising for tenders.¹¹⁴ Two months later Wells was hired. (Fig.61)

Unlike the Neo-Classical and Neo-Gothic styles that had acted as means of identification for many Christian denominations, Jews in Britain and America did not agree on a uniform approach to synagogue design. Consequently, Wells referred to various sources, one of which was possibly the work of American architect, Minard Lafever (1798-1854). In the preface to his book, *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* (1830), Lafever wrote how the history of the Jewish house of worship was a difficult subject to trace:

The temples which they had seen in Egypt dedicated to Egyptian idols, led them to consecrate a temple where they might assemble in public worship of the true God [...] In the plan and arrangement of this temporary erection, known by the name of the tabernacle, they took the form, it has been conjectured, of the Egyptian temples for their guide; they adopted in the details and ornaments a peculiar and national style.¹¹⁵

The application of the Egyptian manner served to reinforce the antiquity of the Jewish faith as well as its independence from Christian influences.¹¹⁶ As part of a

¹¹⁴*Montreal Gazette*, 30 December 1834.

¹¹⁵Minard Lafever, *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* (New York: Appleton & Co, 1830), 18.

¹¹⁶For more on the elaborations of this style see James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival* (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1982); also by the same author, "The Egyptian Revival," in *Influences in Victorian Art and Architecture*, ed. Sarah Macready and F.H. Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1985), 100-111.

scattered Sephardic community committed to preserving their Iberian ancestral traditions, sectarian identity was a critical issue for the congregation. The growing number of Ashkenazim (from Central and Eastern Europe) attending services, prompted a strict tightening of Sephardic procedure. When a new cantor was hired in 1839, he was expected to deliver sermons in English and Portuguese to ensure the preservation of the Sephardic rite. For the advertised post, the trustees had requested a man who could be introduced "into the same circle of society as that in which we [...] move".¹¹⁷ Clearly liturgical adherence and social status were two issues that were of considerable importance to the congregation.

Whether employing a religious official or an architect, social standing was a major consideration since the community hoped to be accepted into the establishment. Throughout the eighteenth century it was common practice for the architects of London synagogues to comply with Jewish liturgical specifications all the while modelling their work on church prototypes. The interior of Bevis Marks, executed in 1701 by Joseph Avis, was comparable to the builder's work on Wren's Church of St. Bride, Fleet Street. Similarly, the Great Synagogue designed by George Dance the Younger in 1765 was conceived within months of his seminal work, the Church of All Hallows.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷They hired the Cantor and the Shochet Shamash (Ritual Slaughterer) through authorities in London. Blaustein, "Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue," 115.

¹¹⁸Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth-Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 65.

Both the funding as well as the inspiration for the style of the Montreal synagogue, however, did not derive from London sources. In fact, when a member of the David family was sent overseas to take a subscription from heads of the Sephardic Society of Jews, little money was collected.¹¹⁹ Since the erection in 1778 of the first Shearith Israel - a building which took its name from the New York City congregation - it was evident that relations between the Montreal group and their co-religionists in the United States were strengthening as businessmen made frequent visits to major cities down south. A conspicuous donation of £25 towards the Montreal building by the Philadelphia congregation in 1835 further reinforces the association.

Hayes must have returned with illustrations of Mikveh Israel following one of his trips to the city's water works operation.¹²⁰ Designed in 1824 by William Strickland (1787-1854), the Philadelphia synagogue was the earliest example of the Egyptian Revival in North America. (Fig.62) Adopting what was in fact a Neo-Classical building with Egyptian elements superimposed,¹²¹ Wells' interpretation of Strickland's model was liberal. By altering the columns and pilasters, inclining the window jambs to correspond with the exotic style, and replacing the frieze in the

¹¹⁹29 October 1832, Annual General Meetings 1832-1846, Vol.2, MG 8 G 67, Montreal Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue Archives, NAC.

¹²⁰Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 163.

¹²¹Richard G. Carrott, *The Egyptian Revival Its Sources, Monuments and Meaning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 65. See also Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 28.

pediment with an inscribed tablet, Wells had merely applied Egyptian motifs to a façade otherwise inspired by St. Mary Moorfields. (Fig.56)

If the ceiling plan (Fig.63) can be assumed to reflect the general layout of the hall, Wells must have closely consulted the trustees regarding Sephardic liturgical requirements.¹²² The Bima (Reader's Desk) was placed in the centre of the room and was elevated two steps higher than the seating level to assure maximum visibility and acoustic positioning. Another specification of the trustees was the addition of boxes under the seats to allow for each member to leave his prayer book and shawl during the Sabbath and holidays.¹²³ John Whitelaw, the carpenter who had worked on the Scottish Secession Church, added a women's gallery in compliance with synagogal protocol regarding the separation of sexes.

Consistent with the exterior programme of the building, Whitelaw also decorated the Aron Kodesh (Holy Ark) in the Egyptian style. Raised on a circular platform, the Aron Kodesh was built out of mahogany and was supported by tapering columns and a well-defined architrave. (Fig.64) The doors slid behind the sides at the back of the columns allowing for the viewing of the holy scrolls from all

¹²²According to the ceiling plan, the measurements of the hall were roughly 38 x 26 feet. Contracts between Syndics of the Synagogue and John Mercer, 01-06-1837, not. N.B. Doucet, ANQM.

¹²³In accordance with Jewish law, no person is permitted to carry an object (i.e. to perform a labour) on the Sabbath and other special days.

points in the hall.¹²⁴ Standing out boldly against the dark wood finish and mounted at the top, was a slab of white marble inscribed with the Ten Commandments.¹²⁵ The Aron Kodesh was also elevated, though by three steps rather than two - since no other element in the main hall could appear to transcend the authority of God embodied in the holy scriptures housed within.

For his part, Wells had demonstrated skill in adhering to the needs of distinct religious groups. His buildings for the Presbyterians and the Jews were the only signs of refinement amid the stream of Nonconformist mediocrity. Through his liberal employment of British and American styles, Wells possessed an artistic range with which local builders could not compete. He capitalised on his social connections and business acumen, and was called upon to design numerous houses of worship. In addition, Wells was also requested by prominent members of congregations to build their banks, theatres and residences. His role was critical in helping to transform an otherwise vapid building scene into a cosmopolitan, architectural industry. Versatile, pragmatic and above all an opportunist, he became an integral link between the late-Georgian and early-Victorian periods of civic development.¹²⁶

¹²⁴Trustees for the Synagogue and John Whitlaw [sic] (carpenter and mason), 09-12-1838, not. N.B. Doucet, ANQM.

¹²⁵Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 112.

¹²⁶Wells' contribution to Montreal architecture has been largely under-rated, in part, due to the disappearance of the majority of his works.

Chapter V

Manipulating Styles

1840-1850

i. A Polarising Society

The number of settlers arriving to Montreal during the previous decade was substantial enough to shift the majority population from French Canadian to British. By the early 1840s more than half of the forty thousand residents were of English, Scottish and Irish descent.¹ Visitors could not help noticing the cultural amalgam that was created in the wake of this migration:

[One] is amused by seeing the never-changing lineaments, the long queue, the bonnet rouge, and the incessant garrulity of Jean-Baptiste, mingling with the sober demeanour, the equally unchanging feature, and the national plaid of the Highlander.²

Equally conspicuous in the demographic shift was the marked distinction between classes.³ It must be remembered that British North America was only recovering from the political upheavals that had nearly caused a civil war. The Rebellions of 1837-1838, having pitted countrymen against

¹Fernand Harvey, "Montréal et l'Immigration au XIXe siècle," in *Montréal au XIXe siècle*, Jean Rémi Brault ed., 3.

²Richard Henry Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841* (London: H. Colburn, 1842).

³Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 52.

one another, assumed an ethnic dimension in Lower Canada owing to the fact that the insurrectionists were French Canadian and the defenders, British. They did not read the same books, send their children to the same schools or pray in the same churches. Social cleavages became more pronounced in the ensuing years.⁴

When John George Lambton, Lord Durham (1792-1840) was dispatched from London to report on the state of affairs, he found in Lower Canada "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state".⁵ In the infamous Durham Report, his proposed solution was to amalgamate the Canadas and by so doing, assimilate once and for all French Canadians into the British Protestant system. The institution of the Catholic Church was seen as a threat to the earl's vision of the colony. It was therefore not surprising that Durham selectively read the summaries of one of his confidential investigators who had noted that,

In his religion the French Catholic of Canada has enjoyed perfect freedom, the Catholic and Protestant contributing funds towards the creation of each other's ecclesiastical edifices [...]⁶

Perhaps only a footnote in the political history of the nation, the comment suggests how public relations were inextricably linked with religious affairs.

The Catholic clergy was aware that allegiance to the Empire and its institutions was necessary for their own survival.

⁴Robert, *Atlas Historique*, 82.

⁵Gerald M. Craig, ed., *Lord Durham's Report: An Abridgement of the Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 23.

⁶Wade, *The French Canadians*, I (1968), 184.

Unfortunately, the costs of this submission would have a serious impact on French-Canadian cultural identity when in 1840, soon after the release of the Durham Report, the Union Act created the United Province of Canada. The economic boom that was sparked in Montreal (now part of Canada East) appeared to benefit all parties. With the expansion of the Lachine Canal, completion of new railways and growth of the shipping trade immense prosperity was brought to the area.⁷

The city was expanding so quickly that it was necessary to redivide the older precincts into six new sections: three in the old town - East, Centre and West, and three in the suburbs - Queen, St. Lawrence and St. Mary. Boundaries between the old town and the suburbs practically disappeared as a metropolis was beginning to take shape.⁸ (Map E) The transition from rural to urban environment was reinforced by Montreal's designation as the new capital of the Canadas in 1844. As one writer proudly claimed, not a single potato peeling, or dirt of any kind could be seen in the streets, much less a stray pig, cow, or dog.⁹

Governor General, Charles Poulett Thomson was equally pleased with the state of progress:

The people of Montreal too, I am happy to say, are

⁷For more on the commercial development at this time see Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, 205.

⁸The new section called Queen was a conglomeration of the St. Ann, St. Joseph and St. Antoine Suburbs. The district of St. Louis was divided between St. Laurent and St. Mary Suburbs. Robert, *Atlas Historique*, 90.

⁹O.L. Holley, *The Picturesque Tourist: Being A Guide through the northern and eastern states and Canada, giving an accurate description [...]* (New York, 1844), 236.

now chiming in with their Upper Canadian neighbors - they are slow to learn, but they have yielded to the practical conviction of better roads, better streets, quays building - police cheaper and yet more efficient - justice well administered by a police magistrate instead of a set of ignorant unpaid - a Corporation to manage their own matters - and the public servants made to work [...]¹⁰

The British were finally appropriating Montreal after more than eighty years of sluggish efforts. The arrival of young, trained architects from Britain filled a void in the colonial programme, providing the affluent merchant class community with the expertise in building necessary to convey their bourgeois values.¹¹

With the rate of anglicisation escalating, the French-Canadian component in civic activities continued to decline. Due to the clerical stranglehold on social activity, there were relatively few secular organisations which catered to French Canadians.¹² Despite demands to update the cultural infrastructure, membership in the St. Jean Baptiste Society, the Institut canadien and the Institut de littérature, des sciences et des arts was disapproved of by the clergy. Observers were quick to criticise how after nearly a century of British rule, the Church of Rome had only slightly altered its antiquated

¹⁰Letter dated 27 September 1840. Paul Knaplund, ed., *Letters from Lord Sydenham, Governor-General of Canada 1839-1841 to Lord John Russell* (New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley, 1973), 93.

¹¹David Hanna, "Creation of an Early-Victorian Suburb in Montreal," *Urban History Review*, no.2, October 1980, 53.

¹²Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIXe siècle*, 23.

habits.¹³ While there existed at least four public libraries for English speakers in 1844, French Canadians were barely provided for by the small collection at their disposal at the seminary.¹⁴

Among the English-speaking segment of the population, a cultural network was thriving thanks to the efforts of the merchant and professional classes. For the more intellectually-minded there was a Shakespeare Dramatic and Literary Club, a Debating Club, a Phrenological Society, as well as Law and Medical Students' Societies.¹⁵ An Oddfellows Lodge and a Mechanics' Institute were formed to further the education and promote the dignity of the working man.¹⁶ There were sporting groups dedicated to curling, quoit, cricket and rackets. A Turf Club, Olympic Club, Regatta Club and Snowshoe Club were also in existence. In his book, *The Emigrant Churchman*, Henry Christmas warned his readers that in Montreal, "a clergyman, particularly if young, and at all talented, would find great watchfulness necessary to guard against

¹³Burr, *Descriptive and Historical View of Burr's Moving Mirror of the Lakes, the Niagara, the St. Lawrence, And Saguenay Rivers embracing the Entire Range of Border Scenery of the United States and Canadian Shores from Lake Erie to the Atlantic*, 26.

¹⁴Marcel Dandurand, "Les premières difficultés entre Mgr. Bourget et l'Institut canadien de Montréal (1844-1865)," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, April-June, 1955, 146.

¹⁵See 1842-1849 editions of the *The Montreal Pocket Almanack*.

¹⁶Mary Allodi, *Printmaking in Canada, The Earliest Views and Portraits* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1980), 229.

the fascinations of its gay society".¹⁷

Montreal was becoming the incarnation of a British city. Auction houses continued importing English paintings, engravings and drawing books as well as works from the European Schools.¹⁸ The Theatre Royal - the principal showcase - regularly staged British performances. In 1841 it presented Charles Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby*.¹⁹ One year later, in May 1842, when the celebrated playwright was visiting on a brief reprieve from his tour of the United States, he was surprised to find the shops, dwellings, and general encounter with society pleasant. Dickens attended plays and even helped stage three comedies.²⁰ In his journal, however, he did not mention that his stay coincided with the bi-centennial anniversary of the city's foundation by the French. Evidently, the date of 1642 had little meaning for the majority of the populace.

British acculturation of Montreal was equally conspicuous by the increase in English-speaking churches erected, and the decline of any new building for French Canadian use.²¹

¹⁷Henry Christmas, *Pioneer of the Wilderness. Canada in 1848; Pictures of Canadian Life, or the Emigrant Churchman*, 1 (London, 1850), 49.

¹⁸*Montreal Gazette*, 3 December 1839; 20 June 1840; 18 June 1841.

¹⁹*Montreal Gazette*, 17 August 1841.

²⁰Olivier Maurault, "Dickens in Halifax and Montreal" (Paper presented to the Maritime Women's Club of Montreal Inc., 30 March 1944), Fonds Maurault, ASSSM.

²¹See Eglises, chapelles et maisons employées au culte dans le comté de Montréal en mars 1844, boîte 54, liasse 15, Fonds Verreau, ASQ. Compiled by Jacques Viger, this listing is comprised of buildings used by all

Chapters of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge as well as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel could be found along with a Bible Society, a Sunday School Society and a Tract Society. One Sulpician priest, clearly frustrated by the overwhelming presence of Protestant groups, wrote to a friend in Paris:

[...] le diable s'agite. L'Angleterre nous vomit toutes ses sectes dont les églises forment un réseau qui entoure toute la ville de Montréal.²²

One advantage that Protestants held over their Catholic counterparts was the ability to accept the leadership of laymen rather than to depend exclusively on the clergy. As a result, a greater number of individuals became active in ecclesiastical affairs and encouraged growth. While many congregations were dominated by the popular classes, the degree of participation of the upper and merchant classes established the most important distinctions among churches. Efforts to direct fundraising by wealthier members became key factors in the success of certain denominations. How this shift in patronage was received by the Established and Nonconformist churches was most telling of the new socio-religious hierarchy in Montreal. Ultimately, those who held the financial reins dictated the ecclesiastical programmes.

In England by this time, the eminent architect and polemicist A.W.N Pugin (1812-1852) had already published, *Contrasts* (1836) where he argued for a return to the pointed style tradition most evident in French medieval

denominations.

²²Letter written in 1844. Taken from Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation," 332.

architecture.²³ His views on architecture and nationalism were embraced in colonial cities such as Montreal where between 1840 and 1850, seven out of the twelve churches were built in the Gothic style. The Sulpicians must have been fascinated by Pugin's argument for the return to a pre-Reformation society. The potential for English/French and Protestant/Catholic associations must have been equally intriguing. Their decision to erect a church for their Irish parishioners in a French Gothic manner was one of the great curiosities of the period, illustrating how architecture could be used, albeit awkwardly, to bridge nationalist and institutional agendas.

Conversely, the majority of Nonconformist groups were not inclined to use the Gothic style.²⁴ For members of the Unitarian, Congregationalist and Free Church of Scotland congregations, variants of the Neo-Classical were employed in reaction to the conventions of the religious élite. Their rejection of the Gothic, however, did not prevent their social advancement. Nonconformists were building with greater confidence, replacing their old, astylar meeting-houses with substantial temples erected on prime properties.²⁵ Viewed in their entirety, the multiplicity

²³Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 66. See also Jeanne Sheehy, "Irish church-building: Popery, Puginism and the Protestant Ascendancy," in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, 133-150.

²⁴For a discussion of the activities of these groups in 1840s Britain see Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, 131.

²⁵For a comparison of the state of progress of Nonconformist groups in England see J.H.S. Kent, "The role of religion in the cultural structure of the later Victorian city," in *The Victorian City A Reader in British*

of styles chosen by religious groups reflected the extensive social and ethnic divisions manifesting themselves in Montreal. That architecture could be seen as both a national and denominational form of expression cluttered the religious landscape.

ii. Appropriations of the English Gothic

Since the arrival of Methodists, Anglican leaders had cautiously monitored the progress of a group that regarded itself as a supplemental body of the Church of England. Adhering to a similar hierarchical constitution and set of conservative social policies, Methodists posed a serious threat to the stability of the Established Church.²⁶ It was at this time that both English groups experienced major periods of expansion in Montreal owing to the efforts of individually wealthy congregants. Four new churches were erected by the Anglicans while the Methodists built three. All but one were designed in variations of the English Gothic, indicating that religious identities were at risk of further confusion as each organisation tried to appropriate the same style.

Urban History, ed. R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (London: Longman, 1993), 322-342.

²⁶The Methodist/Anglican dilemma is discussed in detail in Desmond Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968).

The barrage of Commissioners' Churches in England, the majority of which were essentially preaching boxes clad in Gothic shells, continued to influence the course of building in the colonies for Established and Nonconformist groups alike. In the early 1840s, however, the young ecclesiological societies at Oxford and Cambridge began pressing for Anglican exclusivity of the style. With their architectural manifesto only beginning to take shape, the older Commissioners' Gothic remained a popular option. Church building in Montreal was at a stylistic crossroads.

• Anglican

With a membership of six thousand around 1840, the Church of England accounted for less than one-fifth of the total population.²⁷ Since the parish remained part of the diocese of Quebec, the difficulty of being managed by an administrative body situated hundreds of miles away prolonged the decision-making process. As a result, no concerted building programme was initiated after the opening of Christ Church in 1814. While the parish church and its two auxiliary chapels temporarily accommodated English and Irish Anglican emigrants, additional houses of worship were required.²⁸

To complicate the situation, the position of the Anglicans was compromised in the wake of the decision by the British

²⁷Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 28.

²⁸A chapel capable of seating two hundred persons was consecrated on Jesus Island by the Bishop of Montreal. *Montreal Gazette*, 26 October 1841.

government to dissociate itself from ecclesiastical matters. Sustaining grants made by the Crown to the Established Church overseas gradually declined and were eventually phased out in the 1830s. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, having faithfully contributed to church funding since the Conquest, was forced to increase its patronage. In spite of its charitable intentions, the Society could not inject the same capital as had the Crown. Due to the fiscal restructuring, a new system of self-support needed to be instated if Anglicanism was to flourish in the colony.²⁹

The clergy was left little choice but to appeal to the lay community. In reaction to this fundamental change in fiscal organisation, a proprietary chapel system, made popular by landlords and developers in London³⁰, was initiated by three new Anglican congregations in Montreal - Trinity, St. Thomas' and St. George's. A fourth church, St. Stephen's (known for a short time as St. Ann's) was built as a "free chapel" in an Irish working class district.

Following his visit to the city in 1841, the Bishop of Quebec prepared a report on the state of affairs that was later sent over to London. He mentioned the earliest of this series of proprietary chapels:

The existing provisions in Montreal for affording the ministrations of the Church to the people, are lamentable, insufficient; but one most happy addition to them has been very recently made. I

²⁹Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 33.

³⁰Andrew Saint, "Anglican Church Building in London, 1790-1890: From State Subsidy to the Free Market," in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, 32.

have appointed the twentieth of the present month of May, for the consecration of Trinity chapel in that city, a very neat stone edifice, in the Gothic style, with a school-room and apartments for the clerk in the basement story and with a residence for the minister attached to it [...]³¹

Trinity was built in St. Paul Street opposite Bonsecours Market. (Fig.65) Major William Plenderleath Christie (1780-1845), the heir to a considerable fortune in the colony, deeded the entire property to the bishop but reserved the right of patronage to himself.³²

In the spring of 1839, an advertisement for tenders was placed by his architect, William Bell.³³ Although little is known about the man or any of his other works, the discovery of a letter sent by Bell to one of his relatives in England provides a remarkably detailed description of Trinity. (Appendix C) Bell used terms such as "English Gothic" and "simple and sublime", suggesting that he was versed in the language of architecture. Lacking any other substantial examples of Anglican Gothic churches in the area from which to base himself, it was possible that St. Paul's Presbyterian Church (Fig.58), built only five years prior, served as one of his models. That Trinity measured

³¹*Journal of the Visitation of the Diocese of Montreal, in the Districts of Montreal, Three Rivers and St. Francis by the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Montreal* (London: Richard Clay, 1841), 4. The church was consecrated on 3 June 1840. *Montreal Gazette*, 2 June 1840.

³²14 May 1840, Rules for the Committee of Trinity Church or Chapel, Trinity Memorial Church Minute Book 1840-1858, TMCA. See also *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church 1840-1902* [Montreal, 1902], 8; and Françoise Noel, *The Christie Seigneuries* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 78-79.

³³*Montreal Gazette*, 30 March 1839.

75 x 44 feet and was capable of holding over seven hundred people, further validated the comparison.

With its large cut-stone blocks and machicolated detailing, the façade of Trinity resembled a fortified medieval structure. Bell's explanation of the exterior - "I have travelled out of the common road" - probably conformed to the wishes of his patron, Major Christie,³⁴ who would have preferred a style reminiscent of the massive architecture of castles and forts. The landscaped garden with its bushes and manicured oval lawn, not unlike that used by Pugin at Ramsgate, served to buffer the church property from the unpaved street. In spite of its rural design, Trinity became an important fixture for the Anglican community.³⁵

Whereas Christie allowed his house of worship to be administered by the episcopate, Thomas Molson (1791-1863), scion of the brewing family and the patron of the second proprietary chapel was not as receptive to official clerical involvement. Molson refused to permit his church to be consecrated by the bishop. He believed that the clergy was "too High Church and too domineering", provoking converts to Methodism, Congregationalism and the like.³⁶ Indicative of his intractable character, he oversaw the operations of a chapel which he chose to dedicate as his

³⁴Christie prohibited the mounting of monuments and tablets inside his chapel. He also restricted the colours of pew furniture to crimson and scarlet.

³⁵The Governor General, the Earl of Elgin (1811-1863) and other colonial officials frequently attended services. See Trinity Parish 1840-1940, Centennial Celebrations Scrapbook, TMCA.

³⁶Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 39.

personal tribute to the Lord.³⁷

Molson's decision to keep St. Thomas' Church independent of the bishop would be a costly one. As a privately-owned building, the City refused to allow the tax exemptions usually granted to ecclesiastical properties.³⁸ For some time he paid the taxes, continuing to demand that the church remain Anglican in practice, though with his own self-appointed clergy in position. In this regard, the Rev. William Thompson, who was selected for a special duty as Clerical Visitor by the bishop seemed a suitable candidate.³⁹ Thompson's religious views were considered moderate enough by Molson, furthermore the presence of a sanctioned minister could help avert the municipal taxes. In 1847, Molson asked Thompson to sign a deed of lease for the building with a provision that St. Thomas' "shall not be consecrated nor be in any way under the dominion or control of any Bishop or other dignitary of the said church".⁴⁰

Not surprisingly Molson also kept records of accounts detailing building expenses. He had chosen William Footner

³⁷Shirley E. Woods Jr., *The Molson Saga 1763-1983* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1993), 122.

³⁸Lilian Jackson and Edith Howden, *One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary - St. Thomas' Anglican Church* [Montreal, 1991], n.p.

³⁹30 April 1841, An Appeal from the Pastoral Aid Society to the Parishioners of Christ Church, Montreal, file 19, vol.19, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC.

⁴⁰22 November 1847, Deed of Lease for Seven Years from the date thereof of St. Thomas' Church/ Thomas Molson Esq. to the Rev. William Thompson, file 20, vol.19, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC.

(1799-1872) as the supervising architect in 1841.⁴¹ An English emigrant who first settled in the Eastern Townships, Footner would become the leading Anglican church builder in the city. In 1837, he was asked by the McCords - an affluent Anglican family - to design their principal residence, Temple Grove. The Molsons and McCords were members of the small British upper class community and Footner must have been introduced to Molson through this circle.

Although there is little documentation to provide an accurate description, St. Thomas' apparently resembled "any one of a thousand English parish churches" complete with a spire and a manicured garden.⁴² (Fig.66) Situated at the east end of the Notre Dame thoroughfare on a section called St. Mary Street, the chapel could accommodate eight hundred and forty persons. Similar to the older Anglican chapels of ease in the area such as St. Mary's Hochelaga and St. Stephen's Lachine, the simple interior of St. Thomas' was fitted with an organ, galleries and painted benches and stools.⁴³ The brewer encouraged his employees and other

⁴¹Receipts of transactions between the Molsons and Footner, file 20, vol.19, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC. Some costs are also listed in *St. Thomas' Parish Magazine* (1941), 4.

⁴²Jackson and Howden, *One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary - St. Thomas' Anglican Church*, n.p. The first chapel was destroyed by fire in 1852. It is likely to be the same Gothic building seen in the background of an 1851 illustration of the Catholic Episcopal Palace engraved by Footner.

⁴³Note written by William Thompson, Minister of St. Thomas Church Montreal, 1844, St. Thomas' Church File, ADMA. See also, List of Articles in St. Thomas' Church and School (May 1, 1862), file 21, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC.

impoverished residents to attend.

Though zealous in his religious convictions, Molson was also an industrialist and an idealist. He conceived the church as part of a larger urban scheme that included eight residences, one of which he occupied. Several years later, he built additional housing near the church and even planned a theological college and other educational facilities to compliment his ecclesiastical endowment. One of his business cards read: "Thomas Molson, Montreal, Canada East, Proprietor of St. Thomas' Church, College and School".⁴⁴ He took his project seriously, envisioning a self-sufficient suburb to surround his family brewery.

Though the erection of St. Thomas' and Trinity temporarily satisfied the growing demand for services in the eastern section of the city, the Anglican community desperately needed a chapel in the west end. By February 1842 a plan was submitted for a third proprietary chapel in St. Joseph Street (later known as Notre Dame Street West), at the corner of St. David's Lane. Located in what was considered the aristocratic quarter, St. George's Church would assume "the same prestige among the *monde* of Montreal as does its namesake of Hanover Square among the rank and fashion of the British metropolis".⁴⁵

Unlike the other proprietary chapels where single benefactors backed the projects, the founders of St. George's decided to sell shares. Each shareholder became a joint proprietor with voting privileges and other rights.

⁴⁴File 41, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC.

⁴⁵*Canadian Illustrated News*, 15 April 1871.

After thirty shares were sold, a building committee was appointed and following the sale of sixty five, construction proceeded.⁴⁶ Footner acquired two voting shares. Although it is unclear whether his motive was professional or personal, the architect devised a plan and submitted it as a gift.⁴⁷ The proposal was for a greystone church, the spire apparently inspired by Salisbury Cathedral.⁴⁸

He might have been familiar with Pugin's treatises, or the writings of John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868), the Anglican Bishop of Vermont, who had recently published an *Essay on Gothic Architecture with various plans and drawings for churches* (1836).⁴⁹ Footner arbitrarily fused elements from his personal recollections of English churches together with ideas gleaned from his observations of local works. At St. George's (Fig.67), stepped buttresses reaching up to tower level projected from the middle of the façade. Pinnacled buttresses were erected at either end and pointed

⁴⁶*St. George's Church: Its Constitution and History* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1884), 18. See also A.P. Gower-Rees, *Historical Sketch of St. George's Church, Montreal and Its Constitution* (Granby: Simms Printing Co., 1952), 8. One tenth of the pews were allocated to the poor free of charge.

⁴⁷Transfer Books of St. George's 1844-1868, SGCA. See also 6 May 1842, "A Plan drawn and presented as a gift by W. Footner... subject to such alterations and improvements...", Meeting No.4 of Building Committee, Proprietors Minute Book, SGCA.

⁴⁸*Canadian Illustrated News*, 15 April 1871. For building specifications see, Contract for masonry and brickwork, 13-07-1842, not. H. Griffin, ANQM.

⁴⁹Hopkins discussed English cathedrals and their architectural elements. His book was published in Burlington, Vermont by Smith & Harrington.

arch windows inserted in each of the side bays. The spire was never executed.

St. George's measured 100 x 50 feet and had a seating capacity of over one thousand.⁵⁰ When the building was formally opened in June 1843, it appeared remarkably similar to Trinity Church. Both edifices had comparable stairways, sloping bays, buttressed corners and window arrangements. Some attention was drawn to the fact that Footner used a novel technique whereby the exterior stone walls were left rough, "as it comes from the quarry".⁵¹ Whether this rustication was intentional or simply a cost-cutting measure one cannot be certain, however the effect was not unlike that achieved at Trinity. The architect was so enthusiastic about the project that he decorated and fitted the church himself. He procured the organ, font, altar chair, lamps, hot air stoves and even audited the accounts.⁵²

As a consequence of his involvement at St. Thomas' and St. George's, Footner was requested to design yet another church.⁵³ The last of the 1840s Anglican grouping differed

⁵⁰For more on the specifications see Virginia Nixon, "St. George's Anglican Church" (undergraduate student paper, Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, 1988).

⁵¹*Church Messenger*, 24 February 1843.

⁵²Vestry Minute Book St. George's Church 1843-1902, SGCA.

⁵³Contract and Agreement between Thomas Nelson, mason and Rev. J. Bethune and others of the committee for building St. Anne's Church, Dalhousie Street, Griffintown, 29-05-1844, not. H. Griffin, ANQM. See also [Contract with] John McIntosh, carpentry, joinery, painting, glaziery and

fundamentally from the others, as it was not a proprietary chapel, but a free chapel located in the poorer St. Ann Suburb where a large Irish community resided. Services had been originally held in 1834 in a room over a nail factory in Wellington Street. In 1843 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel received a request for funding from the clergy, stating that the destitution of the people justified the appeal.⁵⁴ First called St. Ann's, the new chapel by Footner was renamed St. Stephen's a few years later, due to the existence in the area of a Catholic mission dedicated to the same female saint.⁵⁵

The Rev. Stevens, who had been responsible for several Anglican chapels in the area initially took charge. By 1843, an Irish clergyman named Daniel Falloon was licensed to the congregation.⁵⁶ Amid a conspicuous display of orange flags and lilies one year later, Governor General Charles Metcalfe (1785-1846) laid the foundation stone of the new chapel in Dalhousie Street between Ottawa and

forge work St. Anne's Church, architect William Footner, 11-06-1844, not. H. Griffin, ANQM.

⁵⁴31 January 1843, Montreal, C/CAN/QUE 1.B folio 361, USPG.

⁵⁵There was a Catholic chapel dedicated to Ste. Anne in 1698. It was in disuse but remained standing until 1823. *St. Sulpice du Canada*, January-April 1970, no.36. See also *St. Stephen's Church, Westmount One Hundredth Anniversary 1848-1948* [Montreal, 1948], 3. The registers of 1847 record both church names - St. Ann's and St. Stephen's.

⁵⁶Keep, "The Irish Migration to Montreal 1847-1867," 81; Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 232; All three St. Stephen's churches in the region - Lachine, Chambly and in Dalhousie Street - were named in honour of Stevens.

Wellington Streets.⁵⁷ According to the only known image of this simple, Gothic building, a central bay with entrance was flanked by smaller, sloping bays. (Fig.68) The façade was divided with stepped buttresses, each section featuring a pointed arch window. At the top, Footner added a temporary pyramidal roof surmounted by a weather vane; the proposed tower was never built. There is no information on the interior save for the existence of two fireplaces located in the communion and chancel areas.

Despite their management by distinct administrations, within a span of five years (1840-1845) four new Anglican churches were conceived in the English Gothic manner. This uniformity of appearance was due in large part to the participation of Footner, who was determined to convey an identity for the Church of England. It was in this light that the concurrent building campaign by the Wesleyans proved to be an exasperating issue for Footner and his Anglican co-religionists.

• Methodist

While the progress of Methodism in the industrial regions of Britain was kept in check by the Church of England's building programme⁵⁸, the reverse occurred in Montreal. The adage that Methodism was strongest where the Established Church was weak, rang true as the decentralised

⁵⁷Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 40.

⁵⁸Christopher Wakeling, "The nonconformist traditions: chapels, change and continuity," in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. Brooks and Saint, 28.

nature of the Anglican community encouraged evangelists to approach the city with confidence.⁵⁹ When James Caughey, the first great revivalist to crusade extensively through the colony, undertook his first major mission in Lower Canada he repeatedly visited Montreal.⁶⁰

In spite of the fact that Caughey was preaching to audiences in the years immediately following the Rebellions, the success of his missions reflected the willingness of colonists to embrace progressive, Christian ideals. In 1840, before Caughey embarked on a tour of Britain, he committed to one last campaign in Lower Canada. He had considerable success in Quebec City and Trois Rivières, however in Montreal his skill in using the Temperance cause to enliven sermons was unparalleled. According to his own records, more than five hundred people were converted and over one hundred and twenty were placed on trial in Methodist congregations.⁶¹

In order to accommodate the growing numbers of converts, leaders decided to divide the existing circuit and build

⁵⁹Clyde Binfield, *So Down to Prayers* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977), 21. For studies on evangelicalism in nineteenth-century Canada see George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

⁶⁰Caughey was born in Ireland and raised in New York State, where he entered the Episcopal Methodist ministry in 1834. Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 40.

⁶¹Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*, 140.

larger and more elaborate houses of worship.⁶² Within the remarkably short span of three years (1843-1845), three Methodist houses of worship were relocated and rebuilt: The mother church in St. James Street moved to a new site on the same thoroughfare; one daughter congregation, St. Mary Street Church, was erected in the Quebec Suburb in Lagauchetière Street and renamed East End Methodist; and the other daughter congregation, Wellington Street Church, moved to Ottawa Street to better serve the west end. The two buildings designed in the Gothic style - St. James Street Church and Ottawa Street Church - will be discussed first.⁶³

It must be remembered that since their settlement in the city, Methodists had alternated between British and American ministerial traditions. It was only around 1820 that the British Wesleyans secured jurisdiction and twenty five years had passed since John Try erected the Greek Revival church for the St. James Street congregation. The decision to copy English Methodist churches at the time was justified by their concern to extinguish any Americanist elements in the community. The reappearance in the 1840s of American evangelists brought the congregation's Britishness into question again.

Displaying the same magnanimity as Anglican patrons such as Christie and Molson, James Ferrier who was mayor of Montreal from 1845 to 1847, became a key figure in the

⁶²11 April 1843, Records of Quarterly Board Meetings, April 8th 1834 to May 16, 1892, 7/STJ/1/1, UCAM.

⁶³East End Methodist Church, designed in the Roman Revival manner, will be discussed in Section iii. Neo-Classical Alternatives.

Methodist church-building cause. His influence in the direction of all their commissions cannot be overstated. As soon as sufficient monies were raised by Ferrier and his committee, architects were invited to submit proposals for the new St. James Street Church. Although it is not known who competed against him, George L. Dickinson (fl.1840-1850) won a premium of forty dollars for the best plan in 1844.⁶⁴

In what was most likely the most prestigious commission of his career⁶⁵, Dickinson provided the Methodists with an elaborate Gothic building described as in the pointed style of the Second Period.⁶⁶ (Fig.69) The church, hailed as one of the largest and most respectable in all of British North America, measured 111 x 73 feet and accommodated 2500 persons - twice the seating of any other Protestant church in the city.⁶⁷ A visiting preacher remarked:

This is by far the most spacious, beautiful and splendid chapel I have seen in Methodism, at home or abroad; and the congregation corresponds. It is

⁶⁴John Bland, "St. James United Church," Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Direction Générale du Patrimoine, Service de l'Inventaire des Biens Culturels, November 1978, Section B. George might have been related to Horace Dickinson, an architect active in the city in the 1830s. See also Trust Deed of the Wesleyan Chapel, Great St. James Street, Montreal, [c.1844], 7/STJ/39/2, UCAM.

⁶⁵Dickinson was known to have designed the Bank of British North America. See "L'Art du Canada," in *Images d'Histoire* (Montreal: Librairie d'Action canadienne française, 1929), 287.

⁶⁶*Montreal Gazette*, 3 June 1844. The use of Thomas Rickman's Gothic nomenclature is worth noting.

⁶⁷C.R. Chisolm, *Montreal Illustrated or a Stranger's guide to Montreal* (Montreal, 1875). See also *Montreal Witness*, 2 February, 1846.

quite as great as any of the Yorkshire chapels, and much more elegant and well furnished.⁶⁸

Finding no appropriate local models from which to base himself, Dickinson must have looked to large Methodist centres for inspiration. The façade resembled those of several churches by James Simpson (1791-1864)⁶⁹, a leading Nonconformist architect working in the north of England. Simpson's Wesleyan chapel in Headingley, Yorkshire of 1844 is worth noting. (Fig.70) One cannot dismiss, however, the influence of Minard Lafever, who was credited for the rise of Gothicism in America through his designs of some sixteen houses of worship.⁷⁰ Lafever's Church of the Saviour in New York City (Fig.71), also finished in 1844, should be regarded as a possible source.⁷¹

The three sections of the St. James Street façade were divided by pinnacled buttresses. The central bay contained three doors decorated with crockets with this design repeated over the principal window. Sharp diagonal and criss-cross patterns in stone were an indication of the level of skill provided by the growing number of British

⁶⁸James Dixon, *Personal Narrative of a tour through part of the United States and Canada [...]* (New York, 1849), 141.

⁶⁹Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 872.

⁷⁰Anthony G. White, *Minard Lafever, Architect: A Selected Bibliography* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1990). Consult also Lamia Doumato, *Minard Lafever 1798-1854* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1988).

⁷¹Judging from the similar design of the Wesleyan house of worship of Quebec City (1848) there was no doubt that both English and American prototypes were familiar to builders in the colony.

artisans.⁷² Inside the church, little expense was spared. A geometric pattern in plaster was applied to the ceiling, at the centre of which was positioned a large, decorative pendant. (Fig.72) The pews on the ground floor were finished with white enamel paint and lined with crimson damask, while those in the gallery were grained in imitation maple. A font carved in white marble and a Gothic style pulpit in rosewood were positioned near the altar.⁷³

The Anglican community could not have been pleased with the raising of Great St. James nor were they happy with the announcement, soon after, of another Wesleyan chapel to be built in Ottawa Street in the west end. The first Methodist chapel in the area, built only a decade earlier had recently been destroyed by fire and in the autumn of 1845 the trustees purchased another plot of land.⁷⁴ While waiting for a new church to be erected, the congregation relocated to St. Stephen's Anglican chapel. The move incensed Bishop Mountain, who officially complained to the

⁷²Carvers, gilders, painters and plasterers were regularly advertising their services in the local papers. See *Montreal Gazette*: 26 November 1839; 20 June 1840; 20 November 1841.

⁷³Alfred Sandham, *Ville-Marie, or Sketches of Montreal Past and Present* (Montreal: G. Bishop, 1870), 274.

⁷⁴*The Christian Guardian*, 12 September 1906. Plots were purchased in Gabriel, Catherine and Ann Streets and the building was referred to as Gabriel Church. Presumably, as the principal thoroughfare in the area, the name of Ottawa Street was later adopted. See Minutes of Trustees October 1845 Recommending Purchase of Site of Gabriel [sic] Church, 7/STJ/4/1, UCAM.

diocese in Quebec.⁷⁵ He was concerned that his Irish constituents would risk unnecessary exposure to the evangelical denomination.

Despite some financing problems which delayed the opening of their new building to 1847, there was no question that the Ottawa Street Church (Fig.73) erected by Dickinson at a cost of £6000, upstaged the modest Anglican church of St. Stephen by Footner.⁷⁶ With accommodation for a thousand, the 60 x 85 foot structure was also Gothic in detail. The cut-stone façade contained tiny medieval-style windows and pinnacled buttresses. There was an elaborate tower with a clock, though no steeple. The Ottawa Street Church shared traits with Dickinson's Great St. James; primarily the use of decorative buttresses as divisions, and the tripartite partitioning with stained glass windows as the principal motif in each bay. The architect must have struggled to incorporate the plain features of the traditional meeting-house with the Victorian taste for elaboration.⁷⁷

⁷⁵*A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Quebec upon the question of affording the use of Churches and Chapels of the Church of England, for the purposes of dissenting worship, by G.J. Mountain, Lord Bishop of Montreal (Quebec: T. Cary and Co., 1845).*

⁷⁶A statement of the Cost of erecting Gabriel Street Wesleyan Church Including purchase of land and building, Minutes of Trustees October 1845 Recommending Purchase of Site of Gabriel Church, 7/STJ/4/1, UCAM.

⁷⁷Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (Da Capo edition), 139.

iii. Neo-Classical Alternatives

For reasons that are unclear, by the middle of the decade Dickinson faded from the spotlight, allowing Wells and Footner to vie for the top Nonconformist commissions in the city. As already mentioned, Wells had a tendency to freely adapt British and American styles, while Footner maintained a staunch Englishness in his manner. Wells liberally interpreted architecture, whereas Footner seemed more of an ideologue, retaining a doctrinaire attitude toward building from which he seldom deviated.

In 1844 Wells competed against Footner and others for the prestigious Bank of Montreal commission.⁷⁸ Wells was awarded the work because he provided the trustees with a plan that was so sophisticated, that it could have been as easily conceived for a site in London as in New York. Little is known about Footner's proposal, however in the same year, he was awarded the Bonsecours Market project. Footner wrote in his submission:

The character of architectural design in Canada must necessarily be simple and masculine, aiming only at imposing grandeur, united to pleasing simplicity and harmony of proportion [...]; even could the contracted means of so young a country admit of contemplating the execution of the almost overcharged composite order, the beautiful Norman style, more exquisitely enriched florid Gothic of our fatherland, or the more modern Palladio style with its interminable sculpture in its friezes, architraves and capitals, an insurmountable difficulty could be found from the want of any suitable materials in the Province, as well as the

⁷⁸Michelle Nolin-Raynauld, *L'Edifice de la Banque de Montréal à la Place d'Armes 1845-1901* (Montreal: Editions Varia, 1997), 37.

effect of climate [...]⁷⁹

Clearly, Footner wanted to enhance the colony's imperialist character by employing English styles that varied according to a building's function. His residential and civic works, including the McCord family home, Temple Grove (1837), the City of Sherbrooke Court House (1839-1841) and the Bonsecours Market were rendered with Grecian or Palladian detailing.⁸⁰ It seems that he reserved the "beautiful Norman Style" and the "more exquisitely enriched florid Gothic of our Fatherland" for Anglican churches, and no others.

In order to make his hierarchical ecclesiastical distinction clear, Footner's commissions for the Methodists and Unitarians were intentionally rendered in the Neo-Classical manner. By declining to build for dissenters in the Gothic style, he intended to protect the image of the Church of England. With denominations maturing at different rates, however, Footner's attempt to codify styles according to his own religious bias was not always compatible with the needs of certain communities.

On the other hand, Wells, who was a Baptist convert, offered an array of options to his clientele. He did not share Footner's conviction that specific styles should be reserved for particular groups. A decade earlier he had

⁷⁹Taken from Douglas Richardson, "Canadian Architecture in the Victorian Era: The Spirit of the Place," *Canadian Collector*, September/October 1975, 20-29.

⁸⁰Bernard Rosen, "William Footner 1799-1872" (undergraduate student paper, Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, 1956).

designed for the Presbyterians in the Gothic and for the Jews in the Egyptian manner. In the 1840s, he provided a variety of building types for the Congregationalists and the Free Church of Scotland. Notwithstanding their differences in approach, Wells and Footner helped to widen the scope of Nonconformist architecture in the 1840s.

• **Methodist (East End)**

Within weeks of the opening of St. James Street Church and just prior to the building of the Ottawa Street Church, another Methodist house of worship in the east end was deemed ready for use. The move of the congregation from a room above a chair factory to a modern and spacious greystone building that could seat seven hundred was momentous. Rather than retaining Dickinson however, Footner was awarded the commission in 1843. The appointment possibly resulted from his involvement in municipal affairs, where he would have come into contact with the Methodist politician, Ferrier.

Footner's decision to provide the congregation with a Roman Revival building rather than a Gothic one was an indication of his obstinate attitude in distinguishing the Anglican identity from all other denominations. Similarly in America, architects such as Richard Upjohn (1802-1878) refused to provide dissenters with Gothic buildings.⁸¹ As the pre-eminent Anglican church builder in the city, it was obvious why Footner conceived the East End Methodist Church in a Neo-Classical style. (Fig.74) Despite intentionally

⁸¹Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (Da Capo Press), 131.

refusing to adhere to the Gothic programme begun by Dickinson, Footner followed a similar path as his predecessor by referring to the work of the English architect, Simpson. The Wesleyan Centenary Chapel built in York in 1839-1840 proved to be an acceptable model.⁸² (Fig.75)

Footner chose to elevate the East End Methodist Church on a rusticated stylobate and placed a Doric portico as its centrepiece. The arched doorways and windows were sparsely decorated. To balance the scheme, he inserted Doric pilasters on both corners leading up to a stepped parapet that was adorned with acroteria motifs.⁸³ The little information that can be discerned about the interior suggests the organ and pulpit were positioned on the same side of the hall.⁸⁴ Galleries supported by thin Doric columns ran around the entire room, with the bracing fixed

⁸²Christopher Stell, *The Nonconformist Chapels and Meetinghouses in the North of England* (London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1994), 188.

⁸³Contract between Thomas Nelson Mason and Wesleyan [Building Committee], drawings prepared by William Footner, architect, 28-09-1843, not. W. Ross, ANQM; Agreement between Thomas Nelson Mason and John Griffith Trustee for the construction of a Wesleyan Chapel at the junction of Lagauchetière Street and Durham Street, Quebec suburbs, William Footner architect and superintendent of works, 16-11-1843, not. W. Ross, ANQM.

⁸⁴The pulpit, taken from the old St. James Street Church was considered unusual by some as it was designed in a "double decker" style, intended for the simultaneous use of preacher and clerk. *East End Methodist Church Montreal, Historical Sketch 1826-1904*, 4.

to a coffered ceiling.⁸⁵

• Unitarian

In the same year that Footner designed the Methodist church he also worked for the Unitarians. Unlike the Methodists who shared certain theological tenets with the Anglicans, Unitarians repudiated the doctrines of the Trinity and divinity of Christ in favour of the embodiment of God as a single entity. One of the most progressive of dissenting Protestant groups, their beliefs were frequently challenged by the religious establishment in the city, most notably, the Rev. Bethune of Christ Church.⁸⁶

Although a small circle of Unitarians from the United States, England and Ulster had gathered regularly since the beginning of the century, no denomination would permit them to hold services in its church.⁸⁷ By 1832 the Unitarians had secured a small room at the corner of St. Joseph and St. Henry Streets, capable of seating one hundred and

⁸⁵The uncanny resemblance of the Wesleyan chapel in Toronto (1846) to the East End Methodist Church was testimony to the increased importance of Montreal congregations as arbiters of taste and style in Canada. See Maitland, *Neoclassical Architecture in Canada*, 113.

⁸⁶Edgar Andrew Collard, "History of Unitarians in Montreal" (Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Dorothy Clark, Unitarian Church archivist), n.p.

⁸⁷For general information on the denomination see Heather M. Watts, comp., *Guide to the Records of the Canadian Unitarian and Universalist Churches, Fellowships and Other Related Organizations* (Halifax: Archives Committee, 1990).

fifty.⁸⁸ Some years later, after a failed attempt to purchase a prime plot of land, the congregation relocated to the lower story of a house in Haymarket Square owned by one of the congregants. In 1842 they acquired property at the north-east corner of Beaver Hall Hill and la Gauchetière Street, overlooking the older section of the city. Soon after they appointed the Irishman, John Cordner (1816-1894), as their first regular pastor. As the leader of the only Unitarian organisation in Canada, he was compelled to embark on a fund-raising mission in the United States.

In 1843 Cordner together with his building committee inspected three church plans. The majority favoured a 40 x 60 foot proposal by Footner which they agreed, combined elegance with simplicity.⁸⁹ Although slated for completion in the autumn of 1844, the project was fraught with delays and additional expenses caused by what was noted as "a serious oversight on the part of the architect".⁹⁰ The church was finally opened the following summer. Having already shown the tendency in his work for the Methodists, Footner made certain that the Unitarian church bore little resemblance to any of the Gothic ones he was building for

⁸⁸*Montreal Daily Star*, 6 May 1893.

⁸⁹14 November 1843 and 22 December 1843, Minute Book A (June 6, 1842 - January 4, 1856), UCMA.

⁹⁰25 December 1844, Minute Book A (June 6, 1842-January 4, 1856), UCMA. The miscalculation of the boundaries of an adjoining property might have been the oversight that was mentioned.

his own denomination.⁹¹

The passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act in 1844⁹², allowing Unitarians to keep houses of worship formerly in the hands of the Church of England and other Trinitarian groups, would have further compelled an Anglican purist such as Footner to differentiate religious spaces. Moreover, Unitarians overseas were not averse to this distinction. Earlier in the century, English congregants had associated the Gothic with senseless superstition and built Neo-Classical churches as expressions of their academic and rationalist belief systems.⁹³ To this end, the Montreal congregation and Footner must have been in agreement that any confusion with the identity of the Established Church would be unacceptable.

In all likelihood, the six-columned portico front was modelled on the Propylaea of the Acropolis in Athens (Fig.76), one of many Greek prototypes used by Unitarian congregations across Britain at the time.⁹⁴ Reached by a broad flight of steps, the entrance to the Montreal

⁹¹As late as 1851, Footner designed the Plymouth Church (Congregational) in the town of Sherbrooke using a Neo-Classical style.

⁹²For a detailed assessment of the Act see Binfield, *So Down to Prayers*, 5.

⁹³Graham Hague, *The Unitarian Heritage: An Architectural Survey of Chapels and Churches in the Unitarian Tradition in the British Isles* (Sheffield: Unitarian Heritage, 1986), 53.

⁹⁴Stamford Street Church in London is another example. See G. Hague, *The Unitarian Heritage: An Architectural Survey of Chapels and Churches in the Unitarian Tradition in the British Isles* (Sheffield: Unitarian Heritage, 1986), 55.

building was raised on a stylobate to accommodate the slope of Beaver Hall Hill. (Fig.77) A tablet was inserted into the pediment with the inscription - **John XVII•3 Christian Church Unitarian.**⁹⁵ The hall, measuring roughly 48 x 68 feet, seated four hundred and fifty. (Fig.78) It was painted white and the pews were lined with moreen, as was the wall behind the pulpit. Not unlike other dissenting denominations, preaching was the most important element of the Unitarian service thus the pulpit was the principal feature. The minimal concern for ritual justified the otherwise sparse decorative programme.

• Congregationalist

Among the Nonconformist houses of worship that were hastily built in the previous decade, the First Congregational Church (1835) had been the only one worthy of critical attention. (Fig.54) The relative sophistication of the design suggested that members of the denomination were more conscious of their public appearance than other groups. While early Congregationalist records indicated a majority contingent from the agricultural sector, in the 1840s membership derived substantially from the more privileged classes.⁹⁶ By 1841 a second clergymen was sent by the Colonial Missionary Society to help organise another congregation.

⁹⁵The verse in the Book of St. John reads: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." *The Holy Bible*, King James Version (New York: Meridian, 1974).

⁹⁶Congregational Church Register, 1832- , Box 4, 7/ZIO/12, UCAM. See also Greenlaw, "Fractious Individuals," 212.

The intention was to purchase an inexpensive site in the east end where the need was greatest. For reasons that are unclear however, plans changed and a more costly plot was acquired at the corner of Gosford Street and Champ de Mars in 1843.⁹⁷ One year later the Second Congregational Church opened with seating for nine hundred. Concurrent with Footner's work for the Methodists and the Unitarians, Wells designed two new houses of worship for the Congregationalists. Both of these buildings showed little if any stylistic relationship to his previous ecclesiastical commissions in Montreal - St. Paul's and Shearith Israel.

In the early 1840s, James H. Wells had become his father's partner. The team provided services in civil engineering, architecture as well as landscape gardening.⁹⁸ For the design of the Second Congregational church, credited to Wells & Son, they opted for a variation of the Grecian Ionic style. Not unlike Shearith Israel, the work was a liberal interpretation of the main elements of St. Mary's Moorfields. (Fig.56) Summerson remarked that "fantastically enough", this Catholic church in London became a prototype for many Congregational churches of the 1840s and 1850s.⁹⁹ While there remains no explanation for this peculiar

⁹⁷Frank D. Adams, "The Early History of the Gosford Street Church," in *The Montreal Churchman*, September, 1942. See *The Harbinger*, 15 July 1843; also Douglas Walkington, *The Congregational Churches of Canada, A Statistical and Historical Summary* (Toronto, 1979), Q-15.

⁹⁸Lambert, "John Wells: Research Materials 1878-1986", lists an 1843-1844 advertisement for John Wells and Son, Architects and Civil Engineers. See also Bland, "Effects on Nineteenth-Century Taste," 416.

⁹⁹Summerson, *Georgian London* (1945), 230.

architectural link between British Catholic and Congregationalist building programmes, in Montreal the possible implication of Wells' involvement at St. Mary's lends credence to the claim.

The portico of the Second Congregational church was divided by six Ionic columns mounted on pedestals - each one over twenty-six feet high.¹⁰⁰ Corresponding pilasters flanking the three entrances provided a rhythm for the façade. (Fig.79) The pediment contained an inscribed tablet analogous to the one placed on the synagogue. Little is known about the design of the interior, though it must have been spacious and functional, in accordance with Congregational convention.

Concurrent with the project in Gosford Street, in 1844, the rise in attendance prompted members of the mother church, First Congregational, to buy land in Radegonde Street (later Beaver Hall Hill) near the Unitarian property.¹⁰¹ The area had become a choice setting for churches. In 1846 Zion Congregational was erected. (Fig.80) Due to the expenses incurred by the raising of the Second Congregational Church, the mortgage for the new house of worship was heavy.¹⁰² In a pamphlet aimed at soliciting

¹⁰⁰5 September 1844, Minutes of Proceedings of the Second Congregational Church, Montreal, 1843-1857, Box 2, 7/ZIO/1/7, UCAM. See John Ward, *A Memoir of Henry Wilkes, D.D., LL.D., His Life and Times* (1887); also Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta* (1846), 11.

¹⁰¹8 November 1846, Announcement of Dedicatory Sermons, Meeting Book Insert, UCAM.

¹⁰²Eddy, "The Beginnings of Congregationalism in the Early Canadas," 204. See *Brief Annals of Zion Church, Montreal from 1832 to 10th May, 1871 with Lists of Office-*

members and funds to help pay the debt, potential donors were made aware of the challenges inherent to operating a Protestant institution in Montreal:

It is most important to multiply the witnesses for 'the truth as it is in Jesus' in a city so Popish, that it is not unaptly called 'the Rome of North America'.¹⁰³

In spite of their financial problems, Wells was once again commissioned by the building committee. Rendered in the Palladian or "the Anglo-Italian style",¹⁰⁴ Zion Church could as easily have been derived from American sources such as the Old South Congregational Church in Boston of 1729.¹⁰⁵ (Fig.81) The architect applied comparable devices as the split pediment which emphasised the thrust of the central bay. The windows, both on the façade as well as on the sides were arched and elongated to accentuate the height of the building. The bell tower was octagonal and fitted with eight, elongated Doric columns. It was surmounted by a steeple, the base of which was decorated with triangular, circular and square forms.

Wells was playing with geometrical shapes. The parapet at the base of the tower was lined by balusters, above which were inserted small Diocletian windows. Instead of

Bearers and Members and Reports for 1870 (Montreal: Witness Steam Printing House, 1871), 11.

¹⁰³*Gosford Street Church Montreal* [Montreal, 1853].

¹⁰⁴Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta* (1846), 10.

¹⁰⁵The demand for meetinghouses in America would prompt the publication of *Congregational Churches in the U.S. General Convention - a book of plans for churches and parsonages [...] designs by Upjohn, Wheeler Renwick, Downing [...]* (New York: Daniel Burgess and Co., 1853).

articulating the front with free-standing columns as he had done at Second Congregational, he produced Doric pilaster patterns out of stone. They served both as visual devices and functional quoins to reinforce the corners of the building. From what little is known about the interior, Wells designed a galleried space capable of seating over one thousand persons. In keeping with Congregational preaching and singing practices, the organ was placed above the pulpit at the front of the hall. (Fig.82)

• Free Church of Scotland

The foundation of American and Secessionist/Erskine congregations in the 1820s and 1830s was not sufficient to appease the ideologically-divided community of Presbyterians. The major Disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843 only aggravated the situation as another dissenting Presbyterian faction renounced its ties with the State religion and reformed under the name of the Free Church of Scotland. The first signs of activity of this movement were evident in Montreal almost immediately following the Disruption.

That same year, group leaders requested a church design from James Raeburn (1787-1851), the former First Clerk in the Scottish Office of Works at Edinburgh.¹⁰⁶ Raeburn, who was also producing designs for a Free Church in Banff at the time, prepared for his Montreal patrons a unique building with an imposing Corinthian front, flanked by two

¹⁰⁶Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 789.

massive and top-heavy bell-towers.¹⁰⁷ (Fig.83) Intended to seat 1632 persons and estimated to cost £6000 if erected in Scotland, the building never made it past the proposal stage. The sum seemed out of proportion to the average expense of £1000-£2000 for the erection of Free Churches in Scotland at the time.¹⁰⁸ By 1845 a sizable amount of money had been collected, though hardly enough to consider Raeburn's design.

The building committee immediately resolved to temporarily erect a wooden structure in Lagauchetière Street which contained a castellated entrance and prominent rose window. It took three weeks to build and served the community for almost two years.¹⁰⁹ (Fig.84) Numbering among the Free Church lay leaders were two of the city's most influential building contractors, John Redpath (1796-1869) and William Hutchison (1809-?).¹¹⁰ Both contractors were involved in

¹⁰⁷Among a set of lithographs drawn by his son, Robert R. Raeburn (1819-1888), are designs for Free Churches, Manses and Schools by James Raeburn. Included are the Trinity and Alvah Free Church at Banff (1843) and a "Design of a Church proposed to be built in Montreal". RHP 970/20, SRO.

¹⁰⁸See A. Allan MacLaren, *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 106.

¹⁰⁹February 1845, Session Minutes 1845-1866, Montreal, Quebec, Côté Street Free Church, 1978-4001-2-1, PCAT; See also D. Fraser, *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Côté Street, Montreal* (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1855); and John Sterling, *A Short Sketch of the History of Crescent Street Church Montreal* (Montreal: Morton, Phillips and Co., 1900).

¹¹⁰For more on Redpath see D.H. MacVicar, *A Sermon Preached in the Canada Presbyterian Church, Côté Street Montreal on Sabbath March 14th, 1869 on the Occasion of the Death of John Redpath, Esq.* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1869).

projects with Wells at the time: Redpath had recently overseen construction of the Zion Congregational Church, while Hutchison was supervising his work for the Bank of Montreal. When it was decided to erect a permanent church for their own congregation, in all likelihood they called on their mutual acquaintance.¹¹¹

Although Raeburn's design must have been shown to the architect, no apparent effort was made to copy the Scottish proposal. Instead, the greystone Free Church opened in Côté Street in 1847 was a modification of Wells' Zion Congregational design. The pronounced central bay supporting the octagonal steeple, divided the two side bays with a similar broken pediment device. (Fig.85) Arched windows and three principal entrances were also configured in the same general pattern as at the Congregationalist church. The interior was laid out in the typical preaching box format with side pews angled toward the pulpit and a galleried space. (Fig.86) It was curious that five years later, the Free Church in Quebec City requested from Wells a building based on the same prototype, though with Gothic rather than Classical detailing.¹¹²

¹¹¹The only building record extant is a [Contract between] The Trustees of the Free Church Côté Street and John Redpath. 13-06-1848, not. W. Ross, ANQM.

¹¹²Noppen and Grignon, *L'Art de l'architecte*, 168.

iv. St. Patrick's, the Irish Catholic Anomaly

Using architecture to evoke a denominational image assumed an added ethnic dimension with the commission of St. Patrick's - the first purpose-built church for the Irish Catholics. When examined from its earliest proposals to the final stages of construction, the erection of the second largest church in the city provides an important case study on those challenges intrinsic to ecclesiastical building in Montreal during the 1840s. For the first time since the Conquest, Frenchmen, not Britons, were placed in charge of a church commission; architects such as Wells or Footner were never considered. Furthermore, the decision to conceive St. Patrick's in a modified French Gothic idiom was the outcome of a power game conceived by the Sulpicians to safeguard their institutional jurisdiction.

In a review of Notre Dame Church published in 1841, Pierre-Louis Morin (1811-1886), one of two French architects who would be appointed for the building of the Irish church, made the following remark:

We need only to observe the magnificence of Gothic style churches, to convince ourselves that it is more suited to our temples to which it gives a solemn and religious character, not offered by the Greek architecture type, which, despite the grandeur and sumptuousness of its ornament does not inspire in us a sentiment of veneration and grandeur that we like to find in a temple.¹¹³

By endorsing the Gothic over the Greek, Morin seems to have been sympathetic to the vision of his contemporary,

¹¹³Translated from Pierre-Louis Morin, "Description de l'église de la ville de Montréal ou Ville Marie," *Mélanges Religieux*, II, 1841, 354-356.

Footner, regarding ecclesiastical architecture; though Morin had a French Catholic ideal in mind and not an English Protestant one.

Morin's approval of the Gothic was not only intended as a commentary on the nationalist tendency in architectural expression, but was also a slight against the Neo-Classical tradition of the Quebec City region. Prior to the Conquest, the two major Catholic institutions in the French colony, the Sulpicians and the episcopate in Quebec, vied for religious control of Montreal: The Quebec bishop was the *de jure* spiritual leader and the Sulpicians were the *de facto* parish priests. While both groups concentrated their efforts on the French-Canadian population base after the Conquest, the subsequent arrival of large numbers of Irish complicated matters regarding religious jurisdiction.

It would have been reasonable to assume that a group as conspicuous as the Irish would have exerted considerable control over the shaping of their own community's experience, but this was not the case. Due to limited financial resources and poor organisation, the Irish continuously struggled to assert their religious and national identities.¹¹⁴ While Irish Anglican immigrants were readily embraced by their community and were eventually provided with St. Stephen's Church, Irish Catholics encountered a bitter-sweet reception from both English-speaking Protestants and French-Canadian Catholics. The fact that they shared a common language with one group

¹¹⁴Maureen Slattery, "Les Irlandais catholiques de Montréal: introduction historique et méthodologique," in *Société, culture et religion à Montréal: XIXe-XXe siècles*, Guy Lapointe, ed. (Montreal: V.L.B. Editeur, 1994), 35-62.

and religion with the other complicated matters with regard to institutional authority and responsibility.

Since the 1820s, the Bonsecours chapel - which the Irish mispronounced "Bosco" - remained their principal place of worship. The chapel was predominantly occupied by French Canadians which created friction between the groups. With Irish numbers continuing to rise, the Sulpicians needed to find alternative accommodations. Consequently by 1830, the old Récollet chapel was handed over to the Irish in the west end. They called their house of worship, "Regilee".¹¹⁵

In 1833, with space limited in the "Bosco" and "Regilee" chapels, the Irish submitted a petition listing over six hundred signatures to the Sulpician Superior, Quiblier.¹¹⁶ They asked him to either enlarge the Récollet chapel or construct a new one in its place, which they offered to build and staff at their own expense. In deference to his authority, the petition made clear that it was their unanimous desire to remain under Sulpician spiritual guidance.¹¹⁷ For political and legal reasons, however, at

¹¹⁵Prone de M. Michel Le Saulnier, curé de Notre-Dame annonçant que la fabrique de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal a fait l'acquisition de l'église des Récollets, v.2 t.97, ASSSM. See Robert Lipscombe, *The Story of Old St. Patrick's* (Montreal: Helio Gravure, 1967), 8.

¹¹⁶January 1833, Pétition adressée à M. J.-V. Quiblier, Supérieur du séminaire, par les Irlandais de Montréal, qui demandent une église sous le vocable de St-Patrice, v.2 t.97 no.188, ASSSM. The document is approximately 87 inches long. In the same dossier is an undated note in Quiblier's hand, mentioning that a spacious church named St. Patrick's will be built under the care of Notre Dame.

¹¹⁷Pétition adressée à M. J.V. Quiblier, Supérieur par les chefs de la congrégation irlandaise de Montréal, pour appuyer la demande des Irlandais qui veulent une église,

the same time that they petitioned Quiblier, the organisers also sent a more formally-worded copy to Bishop Lartigue.

They explained to the bishop that the Récollet chapel was incapable of accommodating half of the congregation. During the offering of Communion, participants were obliged to force their way from different parts of the church where they would frequently trample on the crowd gathered in the aisles.¹¹⁸ There were complaints that the times of morning services were inconvenient for those domestics who were needed by their employees. The Irish also requested the appointment of an educated English-speaking clergyman since many of them could not understand the sermons delivered in French.¹¹⁹ Although their needs were acknowledged, there was little that the Sulpicians or the diocese could offer in the way of financing. Lartigue was dependent on the budget allocated by his superior, the Bishop of Quebec while the enormous costs of building Notre Dame had weighed heavily on Sulpician coffers. As a short term solution the parish priests offered to enlarge the Récollet chapel, adding two galleries and a new entrance.¹²⁰

The Rebellions further delayed the acquisition of new

v.2 t.97 no.189, ASSSM.

¹¹⁸1833, Pétition adressée à Mgr. J.J. Lartigue, par les Irlandais de Montréal qui demandent une église sous le vocable de St-Patrice, v.2 t.97 no.187, ASSSM.

¹¹⁹30 March 1833, Mgr. Lartigue to Mgr. Signay, RAPQ, 1943-1944, 223.

¹²⁰Dossier 960 - Saint Patrice, Fonds Maurault, ASSSM. See also, 13 November 1839, Pétition, Notre Dame et St-Sulpice 1836-1843, 901 137 839-1, ACAM. In 1839, the congregation petitioned the Bishop to place the Stations of the Cross in the church.

premises. Fortunately the Sulpicians, who openly supported the British position by cautioning their parishioners not to revolt, had their political allegiance duly rewarded. In 1841 their valuable real estate holdings, which had been contested for a long period in the London courts, were finally assured to them by the Crown.¹²¹ It was after this re-incorporation of their assets that the Sulpicians undertook more building projects.¹²²

In the same year that the Sulpician properties were reinstated, a general meeting was convened at O'Neill and Orr's Hotel where the most influential members of the Irish community prepared a new petition for presentation to the clergy:

The Roman Catholic inhabitants of the city of Montreal speaking the English language having suffered long inconvenience from want of accommodation in the churches appropriated for their use, and it having been noticed on several occasions that the poorer classes attended to their religious duties even in the most rigorous season outside the doors of the churches.¹²³

The Sulpicians were finally in a position to consent to their request but Quiblier imposed several conditions: That the congregation would have to raise three thousand pounds

¹²¹Keep, "The Irish Migration to Montreal", 77; See also Brian Young, *George-Etienne Cartier Montreal Bourgeois* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 102.

¹²²The first project undertaken was the construction of the towers of Notre Dame. They hired a bilingual keeper and guide for the towers and charged admission. *Délibérations du Comité de Finance du 6 janvier 1845 au 3 mai 1848, AFNDM*. See also Dixon, *Personal Narrative of a tour through part of the United States and Canada*, 141.

¹²³St. Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book 1841, SPCA.

before the seminary would undertake the project; that the laity would not have any say in building or controlling the church; and that the bishop declare that he would not supply any pastors to such an establishment. Assuming that the money could be raised in time, the foundation and basement could be built the following autumn.¹²⁴ The Irish must have felt some animosity toward the Superior for imposing such conditions but they were satisfied enough with this conditional permission to began soliciting subscriptions.

A public notice announcing the fundraising campaign was placed in *The Montreal Transcript* in March 1841. Subcommittees were appointed to collect monies throughout the city and suburbs with Quiblier acting as treasurer.¹²⁵ Significant donations came from the Governors General, Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Bagot as well as Benjamin Hart, the Jewish justice of the peace.¹²⁶ Soldiers of all denominations from Montreal Regiment #43 also gave monies.¹²⁷ Through the winter of 1842 the committee continued raising funds, and in May a meeting was held at the seminary at which time it was announced that \$12,000 had been secured. In 1843 the Sulpicians matched the

¹²⁴St. Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book 1841, SPCA.

¹²⁵15 February 1841, Rapport d'un comité pour hâter la construction d'une église pour les Catholiques de langue anglaise de la Paroisse de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, v.2 t.98 no.5, ASSSM.

¹²⁶St. Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book 1841, SPCA.

¹²⁷13 March 1841, Dossier 960 - St. Patrice, Fonds Maurault, ASSSM.

amount. After considering several properties, land was purchased for \$20,000 from the Rocheblave estate, between Dorchester and la Gauchetière Streets.¹²⁸

With plans under way, the Irish congregation formally applied for official sanction of the project from Bishop Lartigue's former secretary and now successor, Ignace Bourget. The related document stated how insufficient were the Bonsecours and Récollet chapels, and that a church of 180 x 90 feet was needed.¹²⁹ In a private letter to Quiblier, Bourget confirmed receipt of this request but before permitting the work to proceed, posed a question to the Superior:

If the Seminary will have to make the advance payments on this church why not keep the property instead of allowing them to be completely independent? This would have great advantages.¹³⁰

Bourget was aware that the Irish Catholics in Quebec City had built a church a decade earlier without episcopal participation, and he was concerned that the Montreal group

¹²⁸*Le Diocèse de Montréal à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montreal: Senecal & Cie., 1980), 196. Prior to their agreement with the Rocheblaves, they considered properties in Craig as well as Bleury Streets. See Lipscombe, *The Story of Old St. Patrick's*, 8.

¹²⁹31 May 1843, Requête des Marguilliers de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, demandant à Mgr. Ignace Bourget, évêque de Montréal, la permission de construire l'église St-Patrice, v.2 t.98 no.12, ASSSM. Attached is an affirmative response by Bourget dated 3 June 1843.

¹³⁰Translated from 2 June 1843, Lettre de Mgr. Ignace Bourget, évêque de Montréal, à Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, p.s.s., supérieur relative à la construction par le Séminaire de l'église Saint-Patrice et aux vacances des seminaristes au Fort de la Montagne, suivie de la réponse autographe négative aux deux propositions, S21.12.75, ASSSM. The Superior replies to him the same day. See 2 June 1843, Quiblier to Bourget, 901 137 843-17, ACAM.

would exercise the same disregard. Quiblier replied that the project was too far advanced to make any changes.

Although the bishop saw the benefits of financial control, it was clear that the Superior did not want the Irish to perceive outright that they were powerless in their own congregational affairs. In point of fact, they were never consulted about the plan, size or cost of the church. At one stage, Patrick Phelan (1795-1857), an Irish-born Sulpician priest, exhibited and described a model of the building to the community at the Récollet church. The manner in which the project proceeded, however, was strictly a Sulpician concern.¹³¹

During the autumn of 1843, in the presence of approximately ten thousand people, the seven corner stones were laid by Bishop Bourget, dignitaries and various representatives of local societies; in attendance were Mayor Joseph Bourret, Austin Cuvillier (Speaker of the House) and presidents of the Temperance Society, Hibernian Society and St. Patrick's Society. The elaborate ceremony included the presentation of the Royal standard, the Original Harp Banner, the Banner of St. Patrick, the Standard of Ireland, the Ladies' Banner and the Grand Banner.¹³²

¹³¹15 February 1884, Memorandum No.1 by Edward Murphy, Testimony of Mr. Edward Murphy and of Thomas Hewitt, Rev. P. Dowd Box, SPCA. There also exists a receipt to Quiblier "pour les plans, devis, estimations et modèles faits d'une église projetée, St. Patrice de Montréal", v.2 t.98 no.10, ASSSM.

¹³²1841 Minute Book, SPCA. As early as 1844, the *Montreal Pocket Almanack and General Register* used an image of the church as its frontispiece.

It was in that same year that Louis-Paschal Comte was selected as supervising architect, although in reality he was the contractor. Supporting his appointment was his brother, Joseph, the procurator of the seminary.¹³³ In addition, their cousin, Louis Comte, was chosen as mason and supplied stone for the church from his own quarry; no other tenders were known to have been received. Sulpician nepotism was clearly at work and it is doubtful that there was ever any intention to include the Irish in the building process.

In a bid to thwart further criticism in this matter, Quiblier issued a statement:

As the church is raised principally for the use of the parishioners speaking the English tongue this committee recommend that the Messrs Comte employ so far as they are able in the execution of this great work as Freemen, mechanicks, or labourers that part of the population for which use the church is intended with which recommendation they leave the sole management in the hands of Messrs Comte in whose judgement and integrity they place full confidence.¹³⁴

In spite of Quiblier's recommendation, the number of Irishmen who worked on St. Patrick's did not increase dramatically. There was such great resentment within the community that measures were taken to rectify the matter. Soon after an Irish foreman-mason as well as a plasterer

¹³³Henri Gauthier, *Sulpitiana* (Montreal: Bureau des oeuvres paroissiales de St-Jacques, 1926), 251.

¹³⁴8 June 1843, Letter signed by Quiblier and others. St. Patrick Church Committee Minute Book 1841, SPCA. For a complete list of the committee members see boîte 51, chemise 3, AFNDM.

were conspicuously hired.¹³⁵ The wardens were told of the difficulty in finding suitable workers in accordance with the said recommendation, claiming that a wage structure was necessary to hire the labour. Quite ironically, the decision to use day labourers instead of contracting the work, forced final costs up to more than double expected.

All workers involved stood to earn more money from such a system since they would all have to be paid at the end of each day instead of receiving a fixed salary. It should come as no surprise that most of the artisans were French Canadians connected in some way with the wardens of Notre Dame. Similar to the appointment of members of the Comte family by the Sulpicians, the commission was looked upon as a "pick up job" for friends of the wardens.¹³⁶ Only twenty years before, they were known to have similarly relied on a select circle for the provision of materials and manpower for the massive undertaking of the parish church.

The causal relationship of the building of St. Patrick's to Notre Dame does not end there. Quiblier was aware of the political implications that prompted the decision to hire O'Donnell, a British-trained architect, for the erection of the parish church. For Quiblier the rigid Gothic style of Notre Dame was understood as a political compromise for the

¹³⁵Another Irishman, Joseph Marr was carpenter for the Seminary at the time that he was overseeing the work at St. Patrick's. He was second only to Comte. 2 March 1884, Memorandum No.2 by Edward Murphy, Testimony of Mr. Edward Murphy and of Thomas Hewitt, Rev. P. Dowd Box, SPCA.

¹³⁶March 1884, Questions Submitted to John Kelly, a resident of Montreal since 1830, in reference to the inception and building of St. Patrick's Church of Montreal and his answers (1 to 15) thereto, Rev. P. Dowd Box, SPCA. Kelly was a contractor active in the building industry.

Gallicanist Order of St. Sulpice. It must have been a priority for the Superior, born and raised in France, to choose an architect and a style that would continue to evoke the privileged position of his religious community within the British-colonial framework.

In 1842 Quiblier wrote to Pugin requesting a plan for St. Patrick's. The architect's unique qualifications as both a Catholic convert and a British personality made him an ideal candidate from the Superior's perspective. Quiblier might have also read *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.¹³⁷ In his letter to Pugin (Appendix D), he explained that he was beginning construction of a Gothic style church capable of seating eight to nine thousand, which would contain a single tower, six chimneys, a gallery and a place for an organ.¹³⁸ He noted that the severity of the climate and the abundance of snow caused by the long winters would necessitate restricted ornamentation on the exterior.

Quiblier mentioned his association with Thomas Mears of Whitechapel, London who had been commissioned to cast the bells for the towers of Notre Dame. He suggested the possibility of enclosing an honorarium to Pugin on the occasion of the next payment to Mears. While there is no

¹³⁷*True Principles* was published in London by J. Weale in 1841. Quiblier might have also read *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London: J. Weale, 1843) in which Pugin claimed that the belief and manners of every people were represented in the edifices they raised.

¹³⁸28 May 1842, Lettre de Vincent Quiblier à M. A.W. Vugin [sic] architecte à Londres, pour lui demander des plans pour l'église Saint-Patrice-de-Montréal, v.2 t.98 no.6, ASSSM.

proof of the architect's reply, it is fairly certain that even if Pugin had written back, he did not furnish any plans.¹³⁹ The reasons why St. Patrick's was ultimately conceived as it was demands further investigation.

As early as 1811, when the Sulpicians decided to renovate the ageing façade of Notre Dame, they shrewdly opted for a pseudo-Palladian style. When the church was entirely rebuilt in the 1820s, it was their intention once again to appease the Crown by appointing a British-trained architect to build in the fashionable Neo-Gothic manner. Why then, did Quiblier choose not to model St. Patrick's on the monumental parish church? Ironically, Notre Dame was to become one of the most imitated churches in all of Quebec, but not within its own parochial jurisdiction.¹⁴⁰ His French nationalist sympathies were one reason for the move away from the enigmatic Notre Dame model and his efforts to realign Sulpician institutional identity with its Gallican roots became a priority.

In 1840, eighteen of the twenty-four priests living at the seminary were French born.¹⁴¹ That is to say that seventy-five percent of the clergy was neither French Canadian nor

¹³⁹Margaret Belcher of the University of Canterbury, New Zealand could find no reference of the architect's correspondence to Quiblier (Letter to the author, 14 December, 1994). Donna McGee, shows conclusively that the plans followed for St. Patrick's were not by Pugin. See her article, "St. Patrick's Church, Montreal: Sorting Out the Beginnings," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, 12, November 1987, 7-9.

¹⁴⁰Denis Aquini, "Comparative Analysis between St. Patrick's and Notre Dame" (Undergraduate student paper, Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, 1979).

¹⁴¹Young, *Corporate Capacity*, xii.

Irish in spite of the fact that these were the two principal ethnic groupings of Catholics living in the city. Clearly, Quiblier's concern to instill in St. Patrick's that Gallican tradition which he believed to be subordinate in the appearance of Notre Dame, was a calculated one. For many scholars it has been a point of contention as to who, in fact, designed the Irish house of worship. Trying to ascertain who contributed the various architectural elements, however, is less important than how the overall composition satisfied the aims of its patrons.

Judging from the extant archival material it can be concluded that two Frenchmen were responsible for the work: initially, Pierre-Louis Morin, followed by Félix Martin (1804-1886). In 1843 the committee asked Morin, the seminary's surveyor, to submit a detailed estimate of the costs for the building.¹⁴² He had already designed St. Jean Church in Laprairie in 1839, and in 1840 had worked on the bishop's throne as well on the cathedral at Kingston. In 1841 he had written the critique of Notre Dame quoted above. Morin's first plan for St. Patrick's (Fig.87), illustrating a square-shaped structure with an apse, was not unlike the "Récollet plan" typical of many older Quebec churches including those being used by the Montreal Irish at the time.¹⁴³

¹⁴²21 March 1843, Estimation détaillée du coût de l'église Saint-Patrice par l'architecte P.-L. Morin, v.2 t.98 no.10, ASSSM. See Donna McGee, "St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Montreal: An Architectural Analysis and History of Its Early Years" (M.A. diss., Concordia University, 1991), 35.

¹⁴³Plan signed by Louis Comte, v.1 t.97 no.228, ASSSM. Designing the apse square rather than round was possibly a cost-cutting measure. For a thorough physical description of the church see McGee, "St. Patrick's Roman Catholic

Although he did not mention the specific works he consulted, Morin acknowledged referring to publications by Blondel as well as books on the Gothic cathedrals of France.¹⁴⁴ The extent to which Morin was involved in the actual building, however, remains unclear. His name appears in early ledgers and invoices but his tone in later correspondence is a frustrated one. Shortly after completion of the church, Morin complained that he was owed more pay, arguing that an English architect or any other in the city would have charged at least one third or one half more.

In all likelihood, once Félix Martin appeared on the scene, Morin evidently faded from the spotlight. Martin had entered the Jesuit order in France in 1823, instructed in their colleges and at one time taught Quiblier.¹⁴⁵ Martin arrived in Montreal in 1842, where he founded and eventually designed the Collège Sainte Marie, not more than five hundred feet away from the site of the future St. Patrick's. He also built St. Francis Xavier Church in Caughnawaga and the central part of the Jesuit novitiate at Sault-au-Récollet. An unidentified drawing for a church (Fig.88) completed by Martin in the same period might have served as an early source for St. Patrick's although Wells' work for the Anglicans in Sorel in 1842 should not be discounted as another possible prototype. (Fig.89)

Church, Montreal," 82-88.

¹⁴⁴1847, Lettres de P.-L. Morin, architecte, au Séminaire de Montréal sur son salaire pour les plans de l'église Saint-Patrice-de-Montréal, v.2 t.98 no.38, ASSSM.

¹⁴⁵Olivier Maurault, "La congrégation irlandaise de Montréal," *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne*, 8 (1922), 268-290.

Martin was well versed in the Gallican Gothic tradition due to the accomplishments of his brother, Arthur, an eminent French medieval art historian and expert in cathedral restoration.¹⁴⁶ Given how the spire of Footner's Anglican church of St. George was alleged to be modelled after Salisbury Cathedral, it is interesting to note that certain aspects of St. Patrick's, such as the proportions of the bell tower and steeple to the whole, bore similarities to the south spire of Chartres.¹⁴⁷ The conscious references to these renowned cathedrals demonstrated the persistence of rival denominations to assert their national identities. For religious leaders such as the Sulpicians, there was an added consideration of institutional posturing in the light of their nationalist stance. Their decision to build a French Gothic church was a calculated response to Protestant and Catholic adversaries.

As early as 1842, when writing to Pugin, the Superior had a certain image of St. Patrick's already in mind. His particular demand for a single tower was further proof that he did not want the Irish church design to be confused with the two "cathedral" towers of Notre Dame. There is also an unproven account that Bishop Bourget stipulated that no church building with the exception of the parish church could possess a prominent tower.¹⁴⁸ Quiblier, determined

¹⁴⁶Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841).

¹⁴⁷McGee, "St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Montreal," 85.

¹⁴⁸Two documents suggest that Quiblier might have conceived of a design that would force the syndics to build St. Patrick's complete with tower: Autre estimation par Louis Comte et Louis Comte (maçon); Estimation de l'ouvrage qu'il reste à faire pour compléter l'église Saint-Patrice,

to carry on as he pleased, made certain to have St. Patrick's tower designed as part of the main structure of the building.

[In] this way it did not appear outward until the walls were complete, and the necessity of carrying the tower to completion became evident if the appearance of the building were not to be spoiled.¹⁴⁹

Quiblier also mentioned in his letter to Pugin that he expected the exterior to have limited ornamentation due to the harsh weather conditions. In this matter, it is interesting to contrast the opinions of Quiblier and Footner concerning the importance of climate and design to local production.¹⁵⁰ Comparing St. George's (Fig.67) to St. Patrick's, the similarities in decorative detailing are remarkable. Was it possible that Martin looked to the churches of Footner or of Wells for inspiration? Fusing English and French building traditions was not uncommon in the colony thus there was little reason to doubt that in a city where the two denominations lived side by side, certain elements would not be freely borrowed.¹⁵¹

At St. Patrick's the façade is divided into three parts, both horizontally and vertically. (Fig.90) There are sets

v.2 t.98 nos.10/15, ASSSM.

¹⁴⁹Lipscombe, "The Irish Migration to Montreal", 12. See also, *On the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Official Opening of St. Patrick's Church* (Montreal, 1897), n.p.

¹⁵⁰Compare Footner's Bonsecours Market submission to Quiblier's letter to Pugin.

¹⁵¹Douglas Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (New York: Garland, 1983), 226.

of doors in each of the bays and above the two flanking entrances there are lancet windows. Surmounting the principal entrance is a projecting gable detailed with crockets and foils. The front is fitted with a rose window as well as various pinnacled buttresses and finials. Except for a statue of the patron saint and some shamrock designs, there is little in the way of Irish craftwork. For more than a decade after its completion, minimal decoration was applied to the interior. There were temporary altars, ordinary glass windows and a ceiling finished in white plaster.¹⁵² (Fig.91) Only the eighty-foot pillars fashioned out of single sections of pine were worthy of mention.

Although they had finally secured their own house of worship, the Irish were not recognised as a religious entity. As late as 1866, Bishop Bourget wrote an open letter to the parishioners reminding them of their debt to his episcopate. He stated that the building was originally intended to be a chapel of ease for Notre Dame, and while St. Patrick's might have been the parish church for the Irish, this was only in fact, not, in law.¹⁵³ For the Sulpicians, however, the ambiguity of ecclesiastical status helped to preserve their own authority and to this end the Irish were pawns in a clerical power struggle.

¹⁵²Due to financial constraints, decoration of the church was begun only in 1861. *The Story of One Hundred Years 1847-1947, St. Patrick's Church, Montreal* (Montreal: Plow and Watters Ltd., 1947), 10.

¹⁵³For an account of the foundation of the parish consult 21 November 1866, A Pastoral Letter from his Lordship the Bishop of Montreal to the Catholics who frequent St. Patrick's Church and to all others interested, St. Patrick 1866 (1), 355.232, ACAM.

Nearly fifteen years after the first discussions had been held, on St. Patrick's Day in 1847 the building was officially opened. The community assembled in the morning in St. Helen Street near the Récollet chapel, moved over to Place d'Armes past Notre Dame and proceeded to their new, ominous church overlooking Beaver Hall Hill. (Fig.92) The crowd then divided down the middle to allow the clergy to pass, all the while singing "God Save the Queen".¹⁵⁴ One could only imagine the peculiar sight of an Irish congregation under the supervision of a Gallicanist clergy joining together to praise the British monarch on the occasion of a newly-built Catholic church.

¹⁵⁴Maurault, "La congrégation irlandaise de Montréal", 15.

Chapter VI

Clashing Agendas

1850-1860

i. A Divided Metropolis

There was no more appropriate description of Montreal at mid-century than the "city of wealth and death".¹ While the expansion of the transportation system brought about unprecedented levels of commercial prosperity, it also had a negative impact on the social environment. Typhus and cholera continued to kill large numbers of immigrants while civil disobedience rose to unprecedented levels. Rioting caused by an assortment of political and religious disputes reflected the degree of public dissatisfaction.

One of the most notorious of these flare-ups followed the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, that proposed to recompense people who had suffered damage to their property during the 1837-1838 uprisings. Among those requesting compensation were several of the French Canadian insurrectionists. In reaction to the Bill, furious protesters set fire to the Houses of Parliament. Lord Elgin wrote:

It must I think do great mischief to the members who come from the other parts of the Province to pass some months of each year in this hotbed of

¹Duquette, *Montréal 1642-1992*, 33.

prejudice and disaffection [...] ²

Montreal had become a place of extremes. Estimated to number fifty seven thousand at the beginning of the decade, during the typhus fever years the city swelled to over ninety thousand people. The population ranked tenth in North America and first in British North America.³ (Map F) The demographics had dramatically changed since thirty years before, when one scarcely heard a word of English spoken in the streets.⁴ That thirty percent of the population was Irish further widened the gap between classes and ethnic groups.⁵

It was hoped that the building of the Victoria Bridge, which employed a large number of Irish, could serve as a short term solution to the dire unemployment problems. Begun in 1853, the bridge was touted as the longest of its kind in the world. As a gesture which symbolised the city's elevated position within the Empire, the Prince of Wales accepted an invitation to inaugurate the structure in 1860.⁶ With pomp and circumstance that served to remind all of the superiority of British engineering skills, elaborate

²Letter from Lord Elgin to Lord Grey, 1849, from Wade, *The French Canadians* (1968), I:277.

³Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation," 167; also Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIXe siècle*, 57.

⁴William Chambers, *Things as they are in America* (Edinburgh, 1857), 63.

⁵Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, 13.

⁶Stanley Triggs et al., *Victoria Bridge The Vital Link* (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1992), 75.

triumphal arches were erected along the route of the royal procession.⁷ Interestingly, the wording on some of the banners was in both English and French, a display consciously intended to acknowledge the dual heritage of a colonial city now operating successfully under the supervision of the British Crown.

As a means of accessing capital for the financing of mammoth projects such as the bridge, the government encouraged religious groups to help finance transportation and industrial ventures. Organisations such as the Sulpicians were awarded corporate status and became major investors.⁸ Despite his inability to compete financially with the parish priests, Bishop Bourget pushed ahead with his vision of transforming the diocese into a Catholic model for all of North America. He was more concerned with the surge in Protestant institutions, no doubt the most offensive being the foundation of a French Canadian Missionary Society.

Given the growing number of organisations catering to Protestants, Bourget's concerns were certainly not unfounded.⁹ There existed an amateur dramatic society

⁷Efforts to promote local talent were evident by the presence and success of Montreal craftsmen at the universal exhibitions in London and Paris. See Leblond de Brumath, *Histoire populaire de Montréal*, 247.

⁸The Acts of 1859-1860 that led to the abolition of seigneurial tenure, altered the status of the Sulpician priests from lords of the manor to corporate citizens. See Young, *George-Etienne Cartier Montreal Bourgeois*, 106.

⁹For more on the activities of social groups in the city see Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation", 305. For developments in Britain see "An

called the Montreal Garrick Club, a Burns Club, an Antiquarian Society, several new curling, cricket and bowling-green clubs.¹⁰ The appearance of the picturesque Mount Royal Cemetery and the Crystal Palace were also indications of the influence of British aesthetic movements on urban development. It was also at this time that the Anglican bishop was selected as the first president of the Art Association.¹¹

Not only was it the intention of Protestant leaders to assert their dominance over French Canadian institutions, but also to counter the expansion of American ones. Although dependent on British fiscal policy, Montreal's economy was slowly moving away from colonial protectionism and orientating itself toward the New England states. Since the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) and the Navigation Laws (1849), local merchants favoured business with the United States. In 1854 a Reciprocity Treaty was signed whereby the free trade of primary resources was assured for ten years.

At this time, the city was being noticeably incorporated into the American cultural circuit. In 1851 a mammoth panorama of the Mississippi River was on display in St. Andrew's Church, while on another occasion a panorama of a voyage from Boston to Europe was exhibited. Travellers

Introduction to British Urban History 1820-1914," in *The Victorian City A Reader in British Urban History*, ed. Morris and Rodger, 34.

¹⁰Extracted from various volumes of *The Montreal Pocket Almanack and General Register*, 1851; 1853-1856; 1858-1860.

¹¹Montpetit, "Culture et Exotisme: Les Panoramas Itinerants et le jardin Guibault à Montréal au XIXe siècle," 77.

described Notre Dame Street as the Broadway of Montreal and the port was likened to those of towns on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.¹² Tourists compared its energy and enterprise to an American city with the character of a British one. Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), one of several prominent writers visiting the city from the United States in the 1850s observed:

In the newer parts it appeared to be growing fast like a small New York, and to be considerably americanized. The names of the squares reminded you of Paris, - the Champ de Mars, the Place d'Armes, and others, and you felt as if a French Revolution might break out any moment. Glimpses of Mount Royal rising behind the town, and the names of some streets in that direction, make one think of Edinburgh.¹³

The complex character of a young metropolis possessing qualities of both Europe and North America could not be overlooked:

Half French and half English - a diversity in manners and dress as well as in creeds - institutions drawn from the Coutume de Paris and the Parliament of Westminster - ancient feudalities and modern privileges - traditions of the Sulpicians and reminiscences of Lord Sydenham - nunneries next door to Manchester warehouses - barristers pleading in the language of France and a custom-house decorated with the Royal Arms of England - priests in long black dresses, and Scotch Presbyterians - cabmen in frieze jackets fresh from Ireland and native market carters in coloured sashes and night-caps - in short, a complication of

¹²John Disturnell, *A trip through the Lakes of North America: embracing a full description of the St. Lawrence River [...]* (New York, 1857), 272. Also James Horatio Booty, *Three Months in Canada and the United States* (London, 1862), 72.

¹³Henry David Thoreau, *A Yankee in Canada* (1866; reprint; Montreal: Harvest House, 1961), 27.

incongruities; the old and new world jumbled together, and then assorted according to some odd device in social economics. Such is Montreal.¹⁴

The author's portrayal of the city as a "complication of incongruities" was insightful. Indeed, the religious, cultural and national movements present in the 1850s could not be easily categorised. Speculative developments and major fires also contributed to the disjointed physical character of the place. The devastating conflagrations of 1852 which ravaged nearly twenty five percent of the urban fabric, also engulfed St. Jacques Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace, as well as the churches of St. Stephen, St. Andrew and St. Thomas. Many smaller fires often broke out in impoverished neighbourhoods where the combination of shoddy construction and questionable maintenance practices increased the risk of accident.¹⁵

While areas of the east end degenerated due to inadequate attention from municipal leaders, the more affluent western section expanded and thrived. One labourer, writing in his journal, accused the government of investing more public monies in the west end where the Protestant communities were situated. He complained about the neglect of French-Canadian dominated streets, such as the one on which the Catholic cathedral was located:

La rue Mignonne, qui est loin d'être mignonne en automne et en printems [sic] surtout; ça j'y suis

¹⁴Chambers, *Things as they are in America*, 63.

¹⁵David Hanna, "L'évolution de l'habitat Montréalais," in *Montréal au XIXe siècle*, Jean Rémi Brault ed., 228. Between 1851 and 1852 there were three major fires. A description of the 1852 fire can be found in Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, III, 107.

passé moi-même dans ces deux saisons et je m'y suis embourbé jusqu'à la ceinture.¹⁶

Despite the poor state of their suburbs, Catholic leaders were too preoccupied with issues of institutional jurisdiction to focus on urban planning. For his part, Bourget looked to Vatican City in Rome as a diocesan model, hoping to reinforce the relationship between French Canada and the spiritual capital. The struggle for papal independence from Italian nationalists was of great concern to all Catholics and the ultramontanist views held by the bishop and his followers were crucial in helping to define the French-Canadian position in this matter. Through his support of the Pope, Bourget managed to confront two formidable opponents: Protestant denominations and the Sulpicians.

ii. Revising the Catholic Strategy

Repeatedly since the Conquest, the Sulpicians had succeeded at combining British aesthetic ideals and French religious traditions in their building programmes. They had modified the clock-tower of Notre Dame according to Wren-Gibbs prototypes in 1780 and added a pseudo-Palladian façade around 1811. They had commissioned a Protestant to rebuild the parish church in the wake of the erection of St.

¹⁶Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'urbanisation," 344. Taken from *Le Peuple Travailleur*, 12 March 1850.

Jacques in the 1820s, and attempted to enlist the Anglo-Catholic, Pugin, for the design of St. Patrick's in 1842. The ongoing support of British precepts by the Sulpicians worried Bourget, who, by the 1850s, was in a position to begin imposing his own church-building agenda. Given his mitigated success in directing the construction of St. Jacques cathedral some thirty years earlier, his conscious promotion of the Italian Baroque was a calculated gesture intended to contest both the Gallican parish priests and the Protestant establishment.

It was no coincidence that a key element in the bishop's strategy was his success in persuading monastic orders from Europe to organise chapters in the diocese. As early as 1841, the year after his episcopal appointment, Bourget travelled overseas where he managed to convince the Oblates, followed by the Jesuits and several other groups to help him strengthen his ecclesiastical territory. It must be remembered that after the Conquest, all male fraternities with the conspicuous exception of the Sulpicians had been forced to abandon the colony. The bold move by Bourget to reinstate the monastic tradition within a British imperial possession underscored his determination to be the Catholic statesman of the region.¹⁷

In spite of the bishop's effort to boost clerical numbers, the Sulpicians continued to dominate the Montreal circuit. Bourget's attempt to wrest control from them required a

¹⁷Bourget welcomed the Oblates (1841); the Jesuits (1842); Dames du Sacre Coeur (1842); Soeurs du Bon Pasteur d'Angers (1844); Clercs de Saint-Viateur (1847); and the Pères et les Religieuses de Sainte-Croix (1847). Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, II, 79.

long term strategy - one which would heighten French-Canadian awareness of its compromised position within the British system. Indications of this decisive shift in power were manifest as both institutions tested the strength of their ideological convictions. As a direct consequence of their confrontation, the two Catholic organisations led the city in large-scale church building in the 1850s.¹⁸

In many respects, the erection of St. Patrick's had become a valuable lesson in the relationship between factions. It had been the first instance where the leaders were forced to collaborate on a commission. Bourget, though *de jure* head of the diocese, played a nominal role in the construction of the Irish church due to his restricted financial resources. The bishop realised, however, that the Sulpician priests were providing a much-needed service to the Irish community and did not attempt to delay its realisation.

The limited accommodation for Catholics was obvious. Notre Dame was so overcrowded on Sundays that Masses needed to be turned over eight to ten times.¹⁹ To help alleviate this burden, Bourget asked the newly-appointed Superior, Pierre-Louis Billaudèle (1796-1869) to undertake the building of additional houses of worship in the rapidly-expanding suburbs. Judging from a series of formal exchanges between Bourget and Billaudèle it is clear that, while certain districts were deemed acceptable to the Sulpicians, others were considered to be too close to Notre Dame to warrant

¹⁸Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIXe siècle*, 57.

¹⁹Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, V, 12.

chapels of their own.²⁰ Despite their proximity to the parish church, Bourget was determined to expand operations and some of the recently-arrived religious orders were pleased to co-operate.

By the early 1850s, three churches were created in response to the bishop's call: Notre Dame de Grâce, St. Ann's and St. Pierre Apôtre. For their part, the Sulpicians hired John Ostell (1813-1892) to construct Notre Dame de Grâce and St. Ann's. Born and educated in London, Ostell arrived to Lower Canada around 1834 and was to become one of the most prolific architects in the colony by mid-century.²¹ His best known public works in Montreal were the Customs House (1836), the McGill College Arts Building (1843) and the High School (1845). His short-lived partnership with Footner, the Anglican church builder of the 1840s²², is interesting to note given the comparable services which he provided to the Catholic community. Ostell's marriage into an old French Canadian family guaranteed him introductions into privileged Catholic circles and led to his patronage

²⁰30 November 1840, Bourget to Billaudèle, *RAPQ*, 1967, 168. Also 2 June 1850, Bourget to Billaudèle, Registers of Mgr. Bourget, 1850-1859, ACAM; Other related correspondences can be found in v.2 t.98 nos.49-50, ASSSM.

²¹Ellen James, "The Civil Architecture of John Ostell" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1982), xvi. Ostell also owned woodworking factories on the Lachine Canal; he displayed his wares at the Provincial Exhibition of 1853 and the Universal Exhibition in Paris of 1855. Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, 230.

²²Receipts of transactions between the Molsons and Footner, file 20, vol. 19, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC. The St. Thomas' Church commission was secured by Ostell.

by both the Sulpicians and Bourget.²³

In the 1840s, he completed the towers of Notre Dame after O'Donnell's drawings. He would also furnish several proposals for the new Sulpician seminary and prepare designs for the Bishop's Palace. While he provided the parish priests with Neo-Classical and Gothic alternatives for their seminary, for the Palace, built next to St. Jacques Cathedral, Ostell fitted the interior of the small chapel in the Gothic manner.²⁴ He fashioned the exterior, however, in the Baroque. (Fig.93) The design of the dome is claimed to have been derived either from St. Paul's in London or St. Peter's in Rome.²⁵ That an Italian-Catholic prototype was used rather than an English Protestant one seems more plausible, since Bourget was his patron.

Whatever the case, Ostell was comfortable working in various revival styles. In 1850, he accepted a renovation project on the outskirts of the city. At the Church of the Visitation in Sault-au-Récollet he was requested to enlarge the building and design a new façade. The Baroque scroll motifs and oval openings that he incorporated,²⁶ would be

²³Similar to O'Donnell, shortly before his death in 1891, Ostell converted to Roman Catholicism.

²⁴Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 79.

²⁵For differing interpretations of the prototype for the dome see Ellen James, "John Ostell Architect" (Canadian Centre for Architecture Guide of Montreal, 1985) and Alan Gowans, "The Baroque Revival in Quebec," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIV, 1955, 27.

²⁶Luc Noppen, *Les Eglises du Québec (1600-1850)*. The oldest standing church on the island of Montreal was begun in 1749.

used repeatedly on his two Montreal churches - Notre Dame de Grâce and St. Ann. For these commissions, the Sulpicians held the purse-strings and directed the architectural programme. The reason why they chose to break away from the Gothic of Notre Dame and St. Patrick's, intimated a compliance, albeit a strategic one, to the authority of Bourget.²⁷

Some historians have argued that the Gesù in Rome was their inspiration, though it is unlikely that the Sulpicians would consciously copy an Italian building at this time.²⁸ Instead they chose a model that asserted their historic ties with Montreal - the French-colonial parish church built in the eighteenth century.²⁹ (Fig.16) This reference to the old Notre Dame supports Gowans' view that the select use of styles were manifestations of traditional French Canadian architecture in forms suitable to nineteenth-century taste. Consider the similarities to Notre Dame de Grâce Church (Fig.94), built north west of the city centre in a farming area known as Côteau St. Pierre.³⁰

²⁷Sommaire des Comptes Rendus de la Procure de Montréal depuis le 20 octobre 1839-1876, v.1 a.3 no.163, ASSSM. Costs for the two churches appear together as one amount for the years 1851-1852. St. Jacques church is later factored in to the expenses.

²⁸Hélène Bédard, *Maisons et Eglises du Québec XVIIe, XVIIIe, XIXe siècles*, 2nd ed. (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1982), 45; Gowans supports the claim that Ostell borrowed from the French Baroque. See "The Baroque Revival in Quebec," 27.

²⁹See Alan Gowans, "The Baroque Revival in Quebec," *Vie des Arts*, mai-juin 1956, 24.

³⁰2 July 1851, Procès-Verbal, par le Mgr. J.-C. Prince, co-adjuteur, de la bénédiction et de la pose de la première pierre de l'église Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. v.2 t.98 no.54,

The façade of the greystone church was conceived using large and sober components. Giant Tuscan pilasters extend up the first two storeys, while smaller Ionic pilasters surmounted by a small unadorned pediment compose the attic. Together with the quoins, the Tuscan elements also recall the classicising details in Ostell's earlier work at the Customs House and at McGill College.³¹ Carved volutes cascading from the attic storey to the lower levels bring together both segments of the building. There are three entrances, the ancillary ones surmounted by windows, while the central one has a niche situated above with a statue of the Virgin - the namesake of the church. In the uppermost level is a rose window inset with a stylised cross design.

Before its remodelling in the twentieth century, the interior of the church was composed of a long nave with two shorter transepts stepped inward to create two *bas-côtes* for the apsidal altar. (Fig.95) The nave was fitted with fluted Ionic columns supporting a substantial cornice and a cupola was placed over the crossing. Eight Ionic pilasters and three stained glass windows delineated the choir and altar areas.³² (Fig.96) To reinforce the Gallican associations, the Sulpicians adorned the church with copies of French art. In 1856, Bourget criticised

ASSSM. Written in Latin. In his benediction Bishop Prince mentions Pope Pius IX, Queen Victoria, Lord Elgin and Bourget.

³¹For a discussion of these buildings see Ellen James, *Architect, Surveyor John Ostell* (Montreal: McCord Museum Publications, 1985), 60.

³²Most of the decorations were executed in plaster. Olivier Maurault, *75 ans de vie paroissiale 1853-1928, Notre Dame de Grâce* (Montreal, 1928), 3.

their choice of decorative scheme:

Il ne faut pour en avoir des exemples frappants que jeter un coup d'oeil sur les marbres, les mosaïques, les peintures et les objets d'art de tous genres qui, à Rome reproduisent sous les figures le plus significatives, les mystères de notre Sainte Religion [...]³³

Sulpician preference for French tastes was equally evident at the sister chapel of Notre Dame de Grâce - St. Ann's. Despite attempts to accommodate the entire Irish community at St. Patrick's, the immigration boom from 1847 to 1854 caused by the Great Potato Famine brought to Montreal record numbers. Many of the Irish had settled in the working class suburb of St. Ann, just west of the city centre. The Sulpicians, having acted as their spiritual leaders since the early part of the century, intended to continue caring for the needy members of the community. Bourget, however, believed he was now prepared to take them under his wing.³⁴

In the late 1840s the bishop set up a small chapel of ease at the corner of Murray and Gabriel Streets which he purposely handed over to the Jesuits.³⁵ Unfortunately the

³³8 December 1856, Ordonnance de Mgr. Ignace Bourget, évêque de Montréal, érigeant l'église de Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, sous le titre de l'Immaculée-Conception-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie, v.2 t.98 no.76, ASSSM.

³⁴Both groups played important roles in attending to the typhus outbreaks. Frederic-Alexandre Baillaigé, *Mgr Bourget - ça et là* (Montreal: Cadieux & Derome, 1881) n.p. Also Adrien Thériou, *Ignace Bourget, écrivain* (Montreal: Editions Jumonville, 1975), 24.

³⁵*Centenary, St Ann's Church, Montreal, Canada* (1954), 23. ACAM. See also *Album des Eglises de la Province de Québec, l'île de Montréal, VI* (Montreal: Cie. Canadien

lack of funding placed the mission in jeopardy. Eager to supplant the rival religious order, the Sulpicians came to the aid of the Irish by donating a considerable piece of property with the intention of building for them a new church.³⁶ Bourget was left little choice but to relinquish the direction of the area, and in the summer of 1851 the cornerstone for St. Ann's was laid.³⁷ Ostell configured the plan and façade almost identically to those of Notre Dame de Grâce. (Figs.97+98)

Inside, the hemicycle apse and lofty cupola were also copied.³⁸ The greatest difference between the church designs was the inclusion of galleries to accommodate St. Ann's congregation of three thousand.³⁹ (Fig.99) Not unlike their nominal role in the construction of St. Patrick's, Irish participation was also limited in the realisation of their second church. Whether using the Gothic at St. Patrick's or the Renaissance style at Notre Dame de Grâce and St. Ann's, the predilection for French-

National de Publication, 1934), 61.

³⁶31 May 1850, Lettre de Léon Villeneuve, pss [secrétaire] à Mgr. Ignace Bourget, évêque de Montréal demandant l'endroit pour l'église Sainte-Anne, v.2 t.98 no.51, ASSSM.

³⁷3 August 1851, Procès verbal de la bénédiction et de la pose de la première pierre de l'église Sainte-Anne par Mgr. Jean-Charles Prince, coadjuteur de Montréal, v.2 t.98 no.55, ASSSM. Text in Latin.

³⁸Maurault was the first to make this observation in *75 ans de vie paroissiale 1853-1928, Notre Dame de Grace*. Contemporary photographs of the church do not do justice to the comparison, owing to the subsequent addition of a clock-tower directly in front of the principal entrance.

³⁹James, *Architect Surveyor John Ostell*, 60.

derived styles over British or Irish ones suppressed the development of the community's cultural identity.

Although the bishop failed to secure a chapel for the Jesuits in the St. Ann Suburb, he was successful in his efforts to position another religious order in the Quebec Suburb.⁴⁰ Although the Sulpicians had refused on two occasions to build a chapel of ease east of the city centre, on account of the perceived accessibility to Notre Dame, the many impoverished residents in the area thought differently. In 1848 they presented a petition to Bourget requesting a new house of worship to replace the converted bowling arena that they were using at the time.⁴¹ In that same year, the Oblates, residing across the river in Longueuil, accepted the bishop's invitation to resettle in Montreal. Land was acquired for them in Panet Street and a temporary wooden chapel built. By the autumn they purchased four large plots with the intention of erecting a permanent edifice.⁴²

⁴⁰For more on the social history of the area see Lucia Ferretti, "La Société Paroissiale en Milieu Urbain: Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Montréal 1848-1930" (Ph.D. diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 1990).

⁴¹1848 - Requête des habitants du Faubourg Québec, Notre Dame et St Sulpice, 901 137 848-1, ACAM. See also T. Ortolan, *Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée durant le premier siècle de leur existence*, II (Paris, 1915), 107.

⁴²19 February 1849, *Erection du Chemin de Croix à St. Pierre Apôtre*, 465 102 849-1, ACAM. In 1854 the wooden chapel was sold to the Messieurs des conférences St-Vincent-de-Paul who transported the structure to the corner of Beaudry and Bonaparte Streets. According to *Le Diocèse de Montréal à la Fin du XIXe Siècle*, 257, in 1858 the Sulpicians built a chapel of ease in Fullum Street in the St. Vincent de Paul district.

Bourget was aware that there were certain legal obstacles which would require maneuvering if a church was to be built. Although he outranked the Sulpicians, legally speaking Notre Dame remained the sole parish church of Montreal and as such the Quebec Suburb was within its jurisdiction. Bourget was not allowed to pass on directly the costs of the building to parishioners; nor would he receive assistance from the Sulpicians, who were considering building their own chapel in the area in protest.⁴³ Instead the bishop creatively circumvented the law. By accepting from every congregant an interest-free loan that would be reimbursed systematically according to a yearly lottery, he secured the monies needed.⁴⁴

To further protect his investment, Bourget issued a proclamation stating that no other church would be permitted to be built near by until a full repayment of the capital was received.⁴⁵ By effectively blocking out the Sulpicians in this manner, St. Pierre Apôtre became the first Catholic chapel in the city that was not under the direct supervision of the parish priests. Furthermore, the decision not to select Ostell for the commission, but to hire Victor Bourgeau (1809-1888) was pivotal. Bourgeau was the first French-Canadian architect of professional standard to build a church in British-colonial Montreal.

⁴³16 April 1850, Mgr. Mazenod (Evêque de Marseille) to Bourget, 465 102 850-1, ACAM.

⁴⁴1849, Projet de construction de l'Eglise St. Pierre, dans le faubourg Ste. Marie dit Faubourg Québec, A-3b, Album St Pierre Apôtre, ACAM. See also, Note imprimée pour remboursement, 465 102 849-8, ACAM.

⁴⁵1850, Droits des Oblats et de Bourget sur l'église St. Pierre, 465 102 850-2, ACAM.

Before him, all architects practicing were of European origin. His career participation in over two hundred and fifty church, convent and hospital buildings would single him out as the leading Quebec architect of the nineteenth century.

Born near Montreal, in Lavaltrie, Bourgeau was first apprenticed to his uncle, a carpenter and furniture maker.⁴⁶ By the 1830s he had moved to the city. According to legend, he exchanged lodging for drawing lessons from the Italian painter, Angelo Pienovi (1773-1845), who was working on the decoration of Notre Dame.⁴⁷ Bourgeau was one of the many sculptors hired to assist O'Donnell in the execution of the wood carvings at the parish church. He also designed the pulpit, galleries and doors at St. Patrick's. By the late 1840s he was working closely with Ostell on the Episcopal Palace as well as on the churches of the Visitation and Notre Dame de Grâce.⁴⁸ There is little doubt that Ostell had a pronounced influence on Bourgeau's style. It was probably his association with the English architect that led to his introduction to Bishop Bourget, who took an immediate liking to his fellow French Canadian.⁴⁹ Bourgeau offered his services for the building

⁴⁶For a detailed analysis of the architect's career see Landry-Gauthier, "Victor Bourgeau et l'architecture religieuse et conventuelle dans le diocèse de Montréal (1821-1892)".

⁴⁷DCB, VII:696.

⁴⁸Victor Bourgeau (1809-1888), Architects' Files, Canadian Centre for Architecture Library.

⁴⁹Landry-Gauthier, "Victor Bourgeau et l'architecture religieuse et conventuelle dans le diocèse de Montréal (1821-1892)", 241. The author suggests that Samuel Sloan's

of St. Pierre Apôtre at no charge; a strategic move which helped to launch his career.⁵⁰

Begun in 1851, the Neo-Gothic greystone church remains one of the most original of his works. (Fig.100) With a limited budget, he conceived a building that was larger than each of the two new Sulpician chapels of ease. Bourgeau employed bold, visual devices to accentuate the features, all the while disguising its simple structure. Considered by some as a critique of Notre Dame, the design was a synthesis of his thoughts on how to improve upon O'Donnell's plans.⁵¹ A journalist for *La Minerve* wrote:

Le plan de cette église, qui est d'ordre gothique est du meilleur goût dans des proportions assez considérables, promet à cet intéressant faubourg et à la cité un des monuments le plus remarquable de la province.⁵²

His use of French Gothic forms seems, at first thought, to have been contrary to the bishop's taste, however, the pointed style was not looked upon with any disdain by Bourget until the middle of the decade when its Protestant manifestations dominated the religious landscape. For the Oblates who were managing the church, the Gothic was

pattern books, *The Model Architect* (1852) and *The City and Suburban Architecture* (1859) were important American sources for Bourgeau, however none of the churches discussed in the present study made reference to them.

⁵⁰Saint Pierre de Montréal, Documents Historiques, 1, 1841-1900, 127, AOMI.

⁵¹Toker, *The Church of Notre Dame in Montreal*, 67.

⁵²*La Minerve*, 23 June 1852. See also Notice Historique et Statistique sur la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée et Compte-Rendu de l'année 1853-1854, 465 102 854-12, ACAM.

considered "le plus approprié au sentiment catholique".⁵³ Bourget did not object.

At St. Pierre, four substantial pinnacles articulating the size of the nave were complimented by an elaborate buttressing system and groupings of ogival arches and openings. The windows on the lower level were surmounted by pointed gables, accentuating the verticality of the church. As a means of further simplifying the structural system, the clock-tower was free standing. Inside, it was clear that the buttresses, which appeared so prominent from the exterior, were never meant to be vital structural components.⁵⁴ Instead, Bourgeau had divided the aisles using a columnar support system. (Fig.101) A clerestory ran above the nave while the chancel was distinguished as the place of prominence by its uninterrupted rise to maximum ceiling height.⁵⁵

Though the interior was left relatively unadorned for several years, the massiveness of the architectural members and the elaboration which Bourgeau introduced to the design earned him a large following among the critics of the

⁵³Saint Pierre de Montréal, Documents Historiques, 1, 1841-1900, 135, AOMI.

⁵⁴A detailed description of the building can be found in Danielle Rondeau, "Eglise St. Pierre Apôtre" (Ministère des affaires culturelles au Québec, November 1976).

⁵⁵According to one unsubstantiated source, the interior was a scaled-down copy of the church of the French abbots of St. Antoine Dauphiné. See 1933 - Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Pierre-Apôtre dans la ville de Montréal, confiée aux Oblats de Marie Immaculée et deux articles de journaux, v.2 s.27 t.105 no.139, ASSSM.

period.⁵⁶ Côme-Seraphin Cherrier (1798-1885), a close friend and legal counsel to the bishop commented:

[...] l'architecte de ce temple est un canadien français dont le talent mérite d'être connu. Nous avons parmi nous, sans le savoir, un architecte d'un génie distingué [...]⁵⁷

Owing in large part to his achievement at St. Pierre Apôtre, Bourget appointed Bourgeau as an official consultant on diocesan architectural matters. For the bishop, the discovery of this French Canadian architect of considerable skill could not have come at a better time.

As already mentioned, in 1852, Montreal was ravaged by a sensational fire that destroyed almost one quarter of the city including Bourget's cathedral and palace. Interpreting the fire as a sign from God, the bishop turned this misfortune into an opportunity to alter the image of the episcopate.⁵⁸ He assembled a committee for the reconstruction of the cathedral and within two years, bought property in the west end near the railroad station. He was well aware of its location in the Protestant area of the city.⁵⁹ The calculated decision to build a new episcopal complex in the heart of the English-speaking

⁵⁶The artistic programme of the church is described in detail in *La Voix du Clocher*, 23 October 1966 to 12 February 1967. Originally translated from the English text by Philipp Gooch, *Correspondence et documents*, 1965, 662D5/38, AOMI.

⁵⁷*La Minerve*, 23 June 1852.

⁵⁸Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, III, 110.

⁵⁹Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, III, 112-129. See also material relating to the talks held by the Fabrique de Notre Dame and Bourget, 9 April 1854, *Assemblées Générales 1834-1877*, AFNDM.

district expressed Bourget's desire to secure religious control of Montreal.

It was also at this time (1854-1856) that the bishop was called to Rome to represent the province at the Proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Aroused by this experience, he announced upon his return the decision to rebuild the cathedral as a replica of St. Peter's - a tribute to the world centre of Catholicism.⁶⁰ Until this mammoth project could be undertaken in the 1870s, however, there remained the question of how to utilise the site of the razed cathedral of St. Jacques. Bourget decided to sell the property to the Sulpicians, providing they agreed to operate a new church under the same terms and conditions as those of Notre Dame de Grâce and St. Ann's.

Consistent with the other two Sulpician commissions, Ostell was appointed architect once again in 1857. Above the pre-existing foundations of the nave, he erected a Gothic church that appeared to be in the English Protestant manner given its stiff design and heavy details.⁶¹ What seems most puzzling, however, was why Ostell would revert to the English Gothic after having provided the Sulpicians with two French Renaissance-type churches? It is possible that Bourgeau's critical success with the pointed style at St. Pierre Apôtre inspired him to bring forward his own variations.

⁶⁰André-M. Cimichella, "Monseigneur Ignace Bourget Deuxième Evêque de Montréal (1840-1876)," in *L'Eglise de Montréal 1836-1986*, ed. Litalien, 62-80.

⁶¹*Saint-Jacques-de-Montréal* (Montreal, 1923), 52.

Interestingly, Ostell had already proven his adeptness in Gothic church design. In 1849 he had entered into a competition for the Anglican cathedral of St. James in Toronto. Competing against noted architects from America such as Minard Lafever, Gervase Wheeler and Frank Wills, Ostell won second prize for his English Gothic proposal.⁶² It is possible that he took this unexecuted, prize-winning design and reconstituted it as the new church of St. Jacques in 1857. The Montreal building had a central tower flanked by sets of steeply-pitched gables, each decorated by pinnacled buttresses. (Fig.102) A prominent rose window was inserted just above the central door. Little is known about the interior due to the outbreak of yet another fire, which gutted most of the church the following winter.⁶³

The same year that Ostell was rebuilding St. Jacques for the Sulpicians, Bourgeau tried to surpass his colleague with the design of St. Viateur Church. (Fig.103) As the first house of worship conceived in the Byzantine style in the city, it was noted by one critic as being both elegant

⁶²*Toronto Globe*, 13 October 1849. See James, "The Civil Architecture of John Ostell," 127. The author proposes that St. Jacques appeared similar to St. Luke's Church in London (1820-1824) as well as Grace Church in New York City (1843-1846). See also *Architect, Surveyor, John Ostell*, 86.

⁶³Olivier Maurault, *Eglise St Jacques*, 55. As a result of the fire, the church required major reparations that were undertaken after 1859 by Bourgeau. See 27 November 1858, Acte de Vente du terrain de l'église Saint-Jacques par Mgr. Ignace Bourget, évêque de Montréal, au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, v.2 t.98 no.82, ASSSM; also 16 November 1859, plan figuratif authentique, 304 - St. Jacques de Montréal, Fonds Maurault, ASSSM.

and unusual.⁶⁴ Located north, in an area known as both Mile End and Ville de St. Louis, the church was administered by another of Bourget's sponsored arrivals - the Order of Clercs de Saint Viateur.⁶⁵ The façade, fronting St. Dominique Street, was an exercise in the use of the Romanesque arch. Bourgeau applied the motif in the design of the entrance and it was equally apparent in the configuration of the windows. The corners of the structure were articulated with unconventional-looking pinnacles, perhaps invented by the architect.⁶⁶ Although this style was never repeated by him again, it reinforced the notion that Bourgeau, not unlike Ostell, needed to exercise great latitude in designing for a Catholic pastorate which disagreed on a uniform building programme.

In the heat of the denominational conflict, the bishop and his supporters were trying to establish a new diocesan framework for a populace that had been under the combined influence of the Sulpician priests and a British-colonial government for nearly a century. Bourget's actions brought the nationalist disputes among Catholics into the public arena. Though the repercussions of the bishop's decision to send Bourgeau to Rome in order to study and measure St. Peter's falls outside the parameters of this study, news of

⁶⁴*La Minerve*, 4 June 1857. The church was later renamed St-Enfant-Jesus.

⁶⁵*Le Diocèse de Montréal à la Fin du XIXe Siècle*, 210. In 1849 there existed a temporary chapel for the use of impoverished masons and other artisans living near the adjacent quarry.

⁶⁶According to Landry-Gauthier, "Victor Bourgeau et l'architecture religieuse et conventuelle dans le diocèse de Montréal (1821-1892)", 160, the church remained without a tower.

this monumental endeavour was discussed throughout the province. By 1858 most clergy knew of Bourget's plans to build a half-scale copy of the Italian basilica using monies collected from the fifty thousand families in the Montreal diocese.⁶⁷ Choosing architecture as one of his major lines of assault, Bourget was preparing his faction for an ideological stand-off.

iii. The Ecclesiological Challenge

While the Sulpicians were a threat to Bourget, the Anglican episcopate intimidated both Catholic groups. Since the investiture of Church of England bishops in the colony, Anglican leaders relentlessly lobbied the government for recognition as the Established Church. Their obvious goal was to position themselves above their Catholic counterparts in the religious hierarchy. It was an auspicious occasion for the community when, at Westminster Abbey on St. James Day 1850, Francis Fulford (1803-1868) was consecrated first Anglican Bishop of Montreal. It was also at this time that, despite its incorporation in 1832, Montreal was officially declared by Queen Victoria as a city and Christ Church - Fulford's cathedral.

Trained at Oxford and ordained in 1826, Fulford had been the minister of a proprietary chapel in central London

⁶⁷21 March 1857, Abbé E. Taschereau to Abbé T.E. Hamel, université 38, no.67, ASQ.

prior to accepting his new post. He was therefore familiar with the kind of ecclesiastical system serving the Montreal community. Describing the parishioners upon his arrival as disunited and jealous, he managed to harmonise affairs and push ahead with a diocesan programme that had been under the direction of the episcopate in Quebec City for nearly fifty years.⁶⁸ The bishop was also anxious to curb the kind of erratic Anglican development that had occurred during the previous decade. The weak infrastructure caused by the proliferation of independent chapels had deprived the community of forging a collective identity.

Thanks to the efforts of the Cambridge Camden Society - an organisation formed by a zealous group of university students who were concerned with the formalisation of an artistic policy for the Church of England - reform of the Montreal Anglican programme was made possible. Through their publication, *The Ecclesiologist* (begun in 1841), the Society disseminated advice and criticism to builders in England as well as to the imperial possessions overseas, where they felt a consistent position needed to be maintained. As early as 1839 the Bishop of Nova Scotia was a patron of the Society, followed several years later by the Bishop of Newfoundland.

In 1843, the Society published a translation of the works of Durandus - the chief text concerning medieval symbolism - to which they added an introduction on the importance of ecclesiology in architecture.⁶⁹ Through their efforts to

⁶⁸Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 72.

⁶⁹Clark, *The Gothic Revival, an Essay in the History of Taste*, 215.

revive the tenets of early Anglicanism, the Society spearheaded a theological revolution that was to have an impact on the architecture of all denominations in the Empire.

• Presbyterian

The Disruption of the Established Church of Scotland in 1843 was a pivotal chapter in Presbyterian history. As already discussed, the organisation of the Free Church was one immediate outcome of the schism. Soon after, older factions within Montreal's Presbyterian fold were making adjustments. While the Scottish Secessionists committed themselves to a renovation and enlargement scheme for their church in 1854 (Fig.104), at the other end of the ideological spectrum, the élitist contingent of the Established Church of Scotland at St. Andrew's Church in St. Peter Street took steps towards rebuilding.

For patrons such as the business scions, Hugh Allan (1810-1882) and William Dow (1800-1868), maintaining the latest British styles was a priority. Without an architectural programme of their own, it was no surprise that they looked to the Gothic prototypes used by their Anglican "High Church" counterparts. Considering that the congregation's old chapel (Fig.21) was deemed too small and the district too commercial to consider remaining in the area, in 1847 the trustees purchased a plot of land on Beaver Hall Hill, north of the Zion Congregational and west of the Unitarian churches. Later that year it was resolved that their new house of worship should be built of stone in the Gothic style with a spire rising from the tower. It was to measure 62 x 90 feet within the walls and the cost was not to

exceed £6000.⁷⁰

They invited proposals from Wells and Ostell as well as from James Kay Springle (1819-1877) and Charles Maitland Tate (fl.1847-1863). Footner was conspicuously absent from the group, an indication perhaps of his moral disapproval of their request for a Gothic building. In spite of the fact that Wells, Ostell and Springle had extensive experience in ecclesiastical design, it was curious that Tate, the least renowned of the four, secured the commission together with his partner George Horatio Smith (fl.1846-1854).⁷¹ Little is known about Tate, however a George H. Smith (c.1805-?) was active in England from 1825-1837. He had exhibited at the Royal Academy and worked for various noblemen and clergy.⁷²

While Tate is credited for the design of St. Andrew's, all financial transactions between the church and the firm were

⁷⁰10 November 1847, Minutes of Proceedings of the General Committee of the Congregation of St Andrew's Church 1847- , Early Church Records Box, ACSASP. The estimate which Tate and Smith submitted was £7122.181. See Montreal, PQ, St Andrew's Building Committee 1847-1851 (microfilm #169), PCAT.

⁷¹Tate was listed as both civil engineer and architect in the Montreal Directory of 1849-1850. It is possible that the brick cottage which they had recently designed in Sherbrooke Street was owned by one of the church trustees. See Contract between Jackson and Leeming, 19-07-1848, not. T.J. Pelton, ANQM.

⁷²Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 892. There is no record of Smith in England after 1837, suggesting his possible relocation to the colony.

handled by Smith.⁷³ There is no doubt that both men would have been familiar with the Ecclesiological dictates of the mid-1840s that underscored the pre-eminence of English cathedral design. According to one chronicler:

The Cathedral of Salisbury, which is perhaps the most beautiful of its order in England, furnished the model from which Messrs. Tate and Smith, the architects, designed this admirable structure.⁷⁴

Only a few years before, Footner had conceived of a spire for St. George's allegedly based on the one at Salisbury. The square tower with pointed spire (completed in 1857) on the new Presbyterian house of worship, however, was more successfully rendered than the one by Footner. The pinnacled buttresses and long, narrow hood moulds also corresponded more closely to those at Salisbury.

Admittance to St. Andrew's was gained from elevated, lateral entrances in the tower, as well as from a rear porch facing Belmont Street. (Fig.105) Although conceived with a latin cross plan, the transepts were so shallow that the structure appeared square from the exterior. The corner buttresses, however, provided the composition with some movement and rhythm. The quality of the window designs was a high priority for the trustees, who inspected the fenestration at the churches of St. James Street Methodist and St. Patrick's before deciding on a treatment.⁷⁵

⁷³Accounts Book 1849-1856, ACSASP.

⁷⁴From Coley, "The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal," 21. Originally from James Croil, *Life of Rev. Alexander Mathieson D.D.* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), 116.

⁷⁵10 January 1850, Minutes of Proceedings of the General Committee of the Congregation of St. Andrew's Church, 1847- , Early Church Records Box, ACSASP.

Due to the destruction of the building in a fire in 1869, there are no existing drawings or photographs of the nine hundred and fifty seat hall. An article in the *Montreal Gazette* written in honour of the opening provides some insight:

The interior is lofty and impressive, and the ceiling which is spanned by open timber work, painted oaken, traversing it like ribs, rises in the centre to the height of 46 feet, and is in strict accordance with the style of the building. The galleries are placed across the ends of the building. The gallery fronts and the pulpit are also of rich Gothic work; and the effect of the whole is heightened by the rich mellow light.⁷⁶

If the architects and trustees had been strict adherents of Ecclesiological precepts they would have referred to more authentic Early English prototypes. To this end, St. Andrew's should be seen as the last work in a transitional phase of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture in the city; a phase that was initiated by Anglican proprietary church builders in the 1840s and terminated with the opening of St. Andrew's for the Presbyterians in 1851.

• Anglican

In spite of the Ecclesiological Society's encouragement to copy "approved" models such as Salisbury, the intractable views of the group were soon under attack by critics from within their own ranks. The Society's dictum that every country should adopt its own specific and national variety of architecture was beginning to be challenged in the colonial dioceses where climate, materials and the

⁷⁶Coley, "The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal," 21. Originally from *Montreal Gazette*, 15 January 1851.

availability of skilled labour demanded certain considerations.⁷⁷ In an attempt to clarify its stance in this matter, the English group suggested that when modifications to a church-building programme were necessary, they would be best performed by "qualified" people.⁷⁸

One of those deemed competent to interpret Ecclesiological precepts in the colonies was John Medley (1804-1892), selected in 1845 as the first bishop of the newly-designated city of Fredericton, New Brunswick.⁷⁹ In the years prior to his appointment, Medley had been active in Exeter, Devonshire. He was regarded as one of the most knowledgeable among the Anglican High Churchmen on the history of religious art. Medley founded an architectural society in the Exeter area, published a booklet titled, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* (1841) and commissioned one of the earliest Ecclesiological churches in Britain - St. Andrew, Exwick. His invitation to the young architect, Frank Wills (1819-1857), to supervise his building programme in New Brunswick was as a direct result

⁷⁷*The Ecclesiologist*, LV, January 1847, 15. See also James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement, The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 189.

⁷⁸See chapter on The Ecclesiological Ordering of Anglican Churches in Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 151.

⁷⁹For a general account of his career see W.Q. Ketchum, *The Life and Work of the Most Reverend John Medley D.D., First Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada* (St. John, N.B.: J & A McMillan, 1893).

of their association in England.⁸⁰

Although Wills would spend the majority of his overseas career in the United States, his initial stay in Fredericton and final months in Montreal were dedicated to designing British North American cathedrals. These buildings, conceived virtually at the beginning and end of his stunted career, acted as important markers in Wills' architectural vision. His plans for a new Montreal cathedral, drawn a few months prior to his death, were modifications of his earlier work for Christ Church, Fredericton - "the first new cathedral to be erected on British soil since the time of William the Conqueror and the Norman Conquest".⁸¹ (Fig.106)

When Medley and Wills agreed to use the parish church of St. Mary's, Snettisham in Norfolk as a prototype for the Fredericton cathedral there was scepticism regarding this decision back in England. The Camdenians advocated that there should be a marked distinction between the design of a cathedral and a parish church - the fusion of the two ideas being impossible.⁸² Cognizant of these objections,

⁸⁰Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, VII, 302. For an overview of the architect's career see Chapter 2 in Douglas Scott Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick" (M.A. diss., Yale University, 1966), 18-39.

⁸¹From Gregg Finley, *On Earth as it is in Heaven: Gothic Revival Churches in Victorian New Brunswick* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1995) but taken from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's, *The Church in the Colonies*, 66-67. Information provided by Twila Buttmer at the New Brunswick Provincial Archives.

⁸²*The Ecclesiologist*, V, February 1846, 81; also LXV, April 1848, 276; and LXXV, November 1849, 192.

both men took it upon themselves to formulate a new model which could cater to the particular conditions of small colonial cities where economy was a central issue to design. Montreal benefitted from their experimentation.

By 1848 Wills moved to New York and helped to found the New York Ecclesiological Society.⁸³ Two years later he published *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*.⁸⁴ Aimed at the American layman interested in the design of the English parish church, Wills' handbook brought him to the forefront of the movement on the continent. The architect was in constant demand. He remained in contact with Medley, who in turn, was in regular communication with the small group of colonial bishops.⁸⁵ In 1851 the episcopates of Fredericton, Montreal, Newfoundland, Quebec and Toronto met and begun the first formal movement towards securing a synodical government for the Church of England in British America. With the exception of Quebec and Montreal, all the other episcopates had erected Ecclesiological churches but within three years of the meeting, the remaining dioceses were

⁸³For a complete history of the Society see Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: an episode in taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968); also see William H. Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and their Architects, Technology and the Picturesque, The Corporate and Early Gothic Styles* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1978), 201.

⁸⁴Published in New York in 1850 by Stanford and Swords.

⁸⁵Brousseau, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, 15.

touched by the trend.⁸⁶

Whereas colonial bishops such as Medley were able to easily dictate an architectural identity for their sparsely-populated regions, the number of Anglicans in proportion to other denominations made it difficult to initiate change in Montreal. Though the project was never realised, the Royal Engineers stationed in the city proposed in 1850 to build a new military chapel linked to an armoury. Designed in the Greek Revival manner, it was a copy of another garrison chapel built in Halifax, Nova Scotia around 1844.⁸⁷ Although it was never realised, military engineers could not have been more oblivious to ecclesiastical trends. Soon after, Bishop Fulford contacted Wills in New York, whose assistance, he said, would "do us no end of good".⁸⁸

While waiting for a reply, the bishop continued to oversee the operations of Trinity, St. George's and St. Stephen's. The only Anglican house of worship that was not under Fulford's control remained the Molson family church, St. Thomas'. When this proprietary chapel was destroyed in the 1852 fire, Fulford was insistent that if it was to be rebuilt, it would have to fall under his jurisdiction. No one was going to prevent him from taking charge of the

⁸⁶Wills and Dudley built the church next to the Mount Hermon Cemetery in Quebec City. See Noppen and Morisset, *La présence Anglicane à Québec: Holy Trinity Cathedral*, 170.

⁸⁷Maitland, *Neoclassical Architecture in Canada*, 117. A plan, section and elevation of the proposed garrison chapel of Montreal can be found: NMC 0021127, NAC.

⁸⁸Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 81. Little is known about these early negotiations between Fulford and Wills. They might have met in Exeter where both had resided for some time.

Anglican programme. Molson, however, refused to comply with these directives. Unwilling to negotiate with the brewer, the bishop moved the congregation into a newly-established church.⁸⁹ Located three blocks from St. Thomas' at the corner of Dorchester and Champlain Streets, St. Luke's was described as "a plain but pleasing example of the Early English Gothic style of architecture".⁹⁰

Fulford sat on the building committee, and it should come as little surprise that the prototype chosen for St. Luke's conformed with Ecclesiological standards for a small, parish church. Despite the increased demand for Anglican services in the Quebec Suburb, the congregation had limited financial means and it was necessary for Fulford to accept a design on a reduced scale. He must have been aware of the Fredericton chapel of St. Anne's begun in 1846.⁹¹ (Fig.107) Intended as a temporary chapel to serve Bishop Medley until the completion of his cathedral, what better prototype for the Montreal bishop to employ than one touted as the first Ecclesiological structure in the British provinces?

⁸⁹Woods Jr., *The Molson Saga 1763-1983*, 145. The peculiar fate of St. Thomas' congregation is discussed in Section, iv. Dissenting Commentaries.

⁹⁰Quoted from *Historical Sketch of St Luke's Church 1854-1904, Montreal, Canada* [Montreal, 1904], 9. Also J.D. Borthwick, *The History of the Diocese of Montreal 1850-1910* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1910), 157. See additional documentation on the church in: 24 June 1862, Letter from J. Nelson and J. Kirkpatrick - Churchwardens, to Fulford, no.24, St. Luke's Church, Fulford Letters, ADMA.

⁹¹*The Ecclesiologist*, XIII, August 1852, 293. Medley was known to have supplied models of churches as well as information to the dioceses of Nova Scotia and Montreal.

In 1853, work was undertaken for the excavation of the basement and foundation conforming to the plans of Teavil Appleton - a local builder whose career in the city spanned over four decades.⁹² Appleton was involved in the construction of the spire of the first Christ Church in 1819; four years later he had converted the old Récollet church of Trois Rivières into the Church of St. James.⁹³ A long-standing relationship with the Anglican community seems to have warranted his selection for the St. Luke's commission. It was possible that either Appleton or Fulford were familiar with the writings of William Hay, a Scottish Episcopalian architect working in Canada at the time.⁹⁴

Hay wrote for the literary publication, *The Anglo-American Magazine*. In his first article in 1853, he discussed at length the contributions of Pugin to the Gothic Revival. In another piece titled "Ecclesiastical Architecture", Hay criticised the progress of church building in the colony. He opposed the liberal use of the pointed style but supported the "true" Gothic promoted by Pugin and the

⁹²Contract and Agreement between Henry Adare and the Building Committee for the Erection and management of a church in the Quebec or St Mary Suburbs, 23-04-1853, not. J.C. Griffin, ANQM. The architect or contractor was a Mr. Scobell according to the *Historical Sketch of St Luke's Church 1854-1904, Montreal, Canada*, 7, Newspaper Clipping Collection, MMA.

⁹³In 1854 Appleton designed the Anglican church at Cowansville. *Missisquoi County Historical Society Report* (1961), 37.

⁹⁴Bennett, "The Use of the Gothic in Nineteenth-Century Church Architecture in the Ottawa Valley," 269.

Ecclesiologists.⁹⁵ Only the first stage of building was completed before the end of the decade. (Fig.108) Stepped buttresses were inserted on all sides, with corners supported by angled buttresses. A well-defined chancel, lancet, quatrefoil windows trimmed in stone and a pointed arch entrance were also evident. The only feature not completed as planned was the tower.⁹⁶ (Fig.109)

Owing to the abolition in 1854 of the Clergy Reserves - a fund which had set aside one-seventh of all surveyed land for Anglican and Presbyterian bodies - the separation of British Church and State was becoming a reality. As devastating as this decision was for some Protestant communities, attempts were made to alleviate the financial burden through the creation of the Colonial Bishops Fund by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.⁹⁷ Though it was too late to help finance the initial building campaign of St. Luke's, this assistance arrived in time to help defray some of the costs that would be incurred in the

⁹⁵William Hay, "The late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," *Anglo-American Magazine*, 1853, 70-73; also "Ecclesiastical Architecture," 1854, 20-22.

⁹⁶The chimney at one end of the building was the only visible modification. In 1862 the church was enlarged: transepts were added and the chancel raised three feet but the proposed plans for the addition of a bellcote or steeple were never carried out.

⁹⁷Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 101. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were generous donors, as was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. See Cooper, *The Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal 1760-1960*, 48.

wake of the destruction by fire of Christ Church in 1856.⁹⁸

Dwarfed as the old Christ Church was by the mammoth structure of Notre Dame, the blaze was looked upon by the bishop as a fateful turn of events:

The prosperity of the Church, however has lately received a great temporary check in the city and diocese of Montreal, by the loss of the cathedral [...], but it was neither well situated nor appropriately constructed for such a purpose. The occasion seemed to offer an opportunity for endeavouring to erect one in a better location, and in every way more suitable.⁹⁹

Fulford could not undertake this project with funds from the Colonial Bishoprics Fund alone. Among the laymen whose support was crucial were scions of the legal and business communities including Justice John McCord, George Moffatt and Thomas Mussen.¹⁰⁰ The wardens first undertook the task of securing a large plot in St. Catherine Street, part of an undeveloped area north west of the city centre. In January 1857 they invited Wills for an interview in order to offer him the cathedral commission.

One month later, the architect arrived from New York. He

⁹⁸The Bishop describes the fire of 10 December 1856 in Letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London - Right Reverend Francis Fulford 1850-1859, NAC. Until the completion of the new building, the Second Congregational Church in Gosford Street was used as a pro-Cathedral.

⁹⁹*Diocese of Montreal, Canada East* (London: Rivingtons, 1858) bound in *Tracts Relating to Foreign Missions 1813-1887* located in the BLL.

¹⁰⁰See Frank Dawson Adams, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal* (Montreal: Burton's Limited, 1941).

provided the committee with excellent testimonials from several bishops in the Church of England and the United States. Wills also presented them with a copy of his book.¹⁰¹ Borrowing elements from the Snettisham church and elaborating on the concept from Fredericton Cathedral, he conceived a building which would become the largest Anglican cathedral in North America. According to the Camdenians in London, it "marked an epoch in transatlantic ecclesiology".¹⁰² (Appendix E)

Though Wills managed to provide all the necessary drawings (Fig.110) by the early spring, it appeared that the architect's health was rapidly deteriorating. In one diary entry, Fulford expressed serious concern regarding the matter:

[Mr. Wills] has been unable to attend to his work lately and I fear will never be fit to superintend the building of the cathedral - he is a man of very great talent and has given us a very amiable design - but we find that he is sadly intemperate and has had delirium tremens since he has been in Montreal.¹⁰³

Within a week, Wills was in hospital barely conscious and died soon after. Three days following his death the building committee appointed Thomas Seaton Scott (1826-1895) to complete the project according to his plans.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹*Montreal Weekly Herald*, 11 April 1857.

¹⁰²*The Ecclesiologist*, CXXIII, December 1857, 357-359.

¹⁰³13 April, 1857, Fulford Papers, ADMA.

¹⁰⁴26 April and 13 May 1857, Fulford Papers, ADMA. Fulford was quoted in the *Montreal Gazette*, 22 May 1857, as saying that Wills was anxious to have Scott associated with him in the cathedral project. For more on the career of Scott, who initially emigrated to Canada to work on the Victoria Bridge, see Janet Wright, "Thomas Seaton Scott:

(Fig.111) It was projected to cost £25,000 and seat fifteen hundred persons.¹⁰⁵

At the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone that same year, a reporter from a local newspaper summarised the address of one guest speaker, a Major Campbell:

When any public work was to be undertaken, this was a great country for economy; but he hoped those in charge of this work would not be deterred by any such cries or follow the vagaries of any blundering blockhead who might choose to call himself an architect, but would spare no exertions to make this cathedral not only an ornament to the city, but a study to future architects.¹⁰⁶

Scott apparently did not disappoint. The remarkable Galilee porch that Wills conceived for the front entrance was a variation of the one at Fredericton.¹⁰⁷ The octagonal vestry (or chapter house) was described by *The Ecclesiologist* as adding "materially to the cathedral-like aspect of the pile".¹⁰⁸ The dressings on the exterior were formed out of Caen stone (oolite) imported expressly from

The Architect Versus the Administrator," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, vi/2 1982, 202-218; as well as the holdings in Accession 83403/35, Items 1-216, 1845-/ca.1920/, NAC.

¹⁰⁵19 January, 1857 and 4 February 1857 (Private Journal from June 17, 1854 to September 12, 1860), Private Journals II, R.G. 2.1, Volume 2, Fulford Papers, ADMA.

¹⁰⁶*Montreal Gazette*, 22 May 1857. Scott was later accused of negligence. For more information on the issue see Philip A. Turner, "Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal," *Construction*, XX, no.II, November 1927, 346-354.

¹⁰⁷Snettisham Church and St. Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris were also mentioned as models. See description found in *Montreal Herald*, 6 August 1857.

¹⁰⁸*The Ecclesiologist*, CXXIII, December 1857, 358.

France.¹⁰⁹ So proud were the masons of their craftsmanship, that they requested a grant of stone in order to produce a model of the East window to be shown as a specimen of their work at the Provincial Exhibition.¹¹⁰

The interior received accolades for its success in espousing both English and local design features. (Fig.112) Capitals in the nave were carved from examples of Canadian foliage while those in the choir stalls were copies of English varieties. Conspicuous use of both sets of flora as well as the application of Minton tiles, tinted with chocolate-coloured ground and fleur-de-lis green, reinforced the link between empire and colony.¹¹¹ The excellent acoustics were greatly appreciated as was the warming apparatus, which supplied ample heat and protected against the dangers of fire.¹¹²

In size and appearance Christ Church was unrivalled in Canada. Regarded as a symbol of prosperity and success, the building that was realised by the Anglican community served as a model for other episcopal sees. *The Canadian Architect and Builder* wrote: "In a word this is a church thoroughly

¹⁰⁹See Basil F.L. Clarke, *Anglican Cathedrals Outside the British Isles* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1958), 57. Also *The Ecclesiologist*, LXV, April 1848, 274-279. Wills had first used the soft, yellow stone for sculptural work at Fredericton.

¹¹⁰H.E. MacDermot, *Christ Church Cathedral A Century in Retrospect* (Montreal, 1959), 14.

¹¹¹During the course of construction Fulford travelled to England to collect subscriptions. He received one conspicuous donation of tiles from Mr. Minton. *The Illustrated London News*, 3 March 1860.

¹¹²Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 82.

English in character".¹¹³ A London journal declared that it was unquestionably the most beautiful specimen of ecclesiastical architecture in the colony, if not on the American continent.¹¹⁴ That Catholic numbers far exceeded their own, did not prevent the Church of England from rigorously asserting its doctrinal position.

For his part, in a speech delivered in 1857 on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the cathedral, Fulford hoped to deflect the animosity that existed between the groups.¹¹⁵ He emphasised civic pride and Christian heritage as two of their shared experiences :

It should not be however from any mere spirit of political rivalry because other domes and spires are rising around us, or [...] from a desire to add another handsome architectural ornament to adorn this great commercial capital of the province, that we feel anxious to accomplish such a work.¹¹⁶

With the erection of Christ Church, Montreal's acclamation as the Protestant bastion of Canada did not bode well for the Sulpicians and Bourget. Preceding by six years what was to be a caustic division of the massive Catholic parish, the passing of the Synod Acts in Provincial Parliament in 1859 was critical. Soon after, the first Anglican Diocesan

¹¹³*The Canadian Architect and Builder*, 6, 1893, 89.

¹¹⁴*The Illustrated London News*, 3 March 1860.

¹¹⁵It was curious that as early as 1850, the same year as Fulford's appointment, Pope Pius IX had assigned Catholic bishops to England.

¹¹⁶Speech of the Lord Bishop of Montreal on the Occasion of Laying the Cornerstone of the New Parish Church and Cathedral in Montreal, May 21, 1857 - the Feast of the Ascension, Christ Church Cathedral Box IV, ADMA.

Synod selected Montreal as the Metropolitan See with Fulford as the Metropolitan.¹¹⁷ Arriving almost one hundred years after the Conquest, this honour was a long-awaited achievement, establishing for his episcopate the dual distinction of a religious authority and an imperial role model.

iv. Dissenting Commentaries

As discussed in Chapter IV, the population boom of the 1830s drastically transformed the denominational composition of the city. The continued growth of many nonconformist groups was owed greatly to the success of evangelists who openly criticised the Established Churches and their refusal to adapt Christian doctrine to the North American experience. The number of institutions catering to the libertarian cause continued to multiply as more people came to realise that their lives were less dependent on divine intervention than on personal action.

Nonconformist leaders were becoming more outspoken on issues regarding social and religious reform. In 1853, the Congregationalists at Zion Church invited the Italian monk-turned-Protestant-evangelist, Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-

¹¹⁷A *Short History of the Canon for the Election of a Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of Canada* (Montreal: Montreal Printing and Publishing Company, 1869) bound in *Controversial Tracts - Church of England 1858-1889* located in the BLL.

1889) to deliver a sermon. His anti-Catholic speech sparked a massive street riot in which six people were killed and fifty were wounded.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Rev. Corder of the Unitarian congregation lectured at the liberalist Institut canadien. In his address, he praised the French Canadian group's uncensored library and their fight against spiritual authoritarianism exacted by Bishop Bourget.

Unlike Catholic and Anglican communities who harked back to golden ages of religiosity to induce a spiritual awakening, Nonconformist groups were restricted by their limited historical experiences. As a result they chose to convey the cultural sophistication and social position attained in their relatively short periods of existence. Inherent in the agglomeration of new dissenting houses of worship was the message that there was ample room for numerous expressions of faith.

In spite of the fact that Montreal bordered an ideologically-charged American republic, the majority of the Unitarian, Methodist New Connexion, Countess of Huntingdon Connexion, Lutheran and Jewish groups retained their imperial ties. With purist interpretations of the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque styles connoting certain inflexible values among the Established churches, dissenting houses of worship were receptive to the particular needs of each congregation. Whether undertaken for reasons of space, decimation by fire, splitting of the congregation, or recent settlement, their buildings generated new expressions of identity which challenged the

¹¹⁸For detailed information on the Gavazzi Riot consult Senior, *British Regulars in Montreal*.

conventions of the religious élite.

• Unitarian

On a visit to the city in 1852, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), the American writer and practicing Unitarian noted that Montreal churches had national compositions as well as religious ones. He observed that Bostonians attended the Unitarian church.¹¹⁹ In fact, their devoted pastor, Rev. Cordner, steered a community composed not only of Americans but also of Britons who resided near by and were active in its affairs.¹²⁰ Due to its strong, intellectual tradition and progressive views on the relationship between religion and society, a number of the city's wealthiest men joined the congregation. The Unitarian minister in Toronto commented that the Montreal congregation was, "as the world and money goes, four times as strong as mine".¹²¹

It was no wonder that after only ten years of use, the Neo-

¹¹⁹Ralph Orth and Alfred Ferguson, eds., *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, XIII (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 22. Emerson gave a series of six lectures to the Mercantile Library Association from 19-24 April 1852. See Ralph Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, IV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 20 April 1852, Letter to Lidian Emerson.

¹²⁰Jane McNee and Nicole Fréchette, "An Analysis of Unitarian Households in 1861" (Undergraduate student paper, Historical Geography, McGill University, 1984). The majority of the community lived in or near the principal concourses of Dorchester, St. Antoine and St. Joseph Streets, an area which was expanding and altogether affluent.

¹²¹Collard, "A History of the Unitarians in Montreal," n.p.

Classical house of worship built for them by Footner (Fig.77) had already become too small. The wardens investigated possible schemes for enlargement. A committee was finally appointed in 1856 to arrange for the building of a new church with seating for seven hundred and fifty, double the previous capacity.¹²² After considering several proposals they recommended that of the firm of Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson. The British-trained architects John William Hopkins and James Nelson (1831-1913), joined two years later by Frederick Lawford (1821-1866), were to become some of the most prolific church builders in the city.¹²³

Their agreement with the committee included the demolition of the pre-existing church in 1857 and the building of an impressive Neo-Romanesque house of worship complete with tower.¹²⁴ (Fig.113) The erection by Bourgeau of St. Viateur Church (Fig.103), that same year, underlined the

¹²²20 May 1850, Minute Book A, 6 June 1842 - 4 January 1856; also 10 May 1856, Minute Book B, February 1856 to 12 January 1874, UCMA.

¹²³Lawford was a student of Sir Charles Barry. Hopkins left the firm in 1860 and Lawford died of typhus in 1866. See *Illustrated London News*, 21 November 1868. Also François Rémillard, *Un Musée dans une église: Le Musée d'art de Saint-Laurent* (Montreal, 1991), 62.

¹²⁴Contract between J. Mavor and the Congregation of the Unitarian Church...for the reconstruction of a church on Lagachetière Street, 12-02-1857, not. T. Doucet, ANQM. See also Walter Norton Evans, "History of the Church of the Messiah, Montreal" (1892), Box 1, UCMA. To save on costs the upper section of the tower was omitted.

popularity of the style.¹²⁵ The plan of the Unitarian church (Fig.114) - with transepts at the rear, a delineated apse and asymmetrically-placed tower (reduced to one from the two originally proposed) - accommodated the awkward, sloping position of the site. Although their proposals were modified to some extent, the presentation drawings proved to be some of the most sophisticated examples of draughtsmanship to appear in the city during the period. (Figs.115+116) Principal external motifs included elongated arches, decorative machicolation, fine stonework and trim.

Entry to the church could be gained from both street levels, though the access on Beaver Hall Hill was the principal one. The arched portal surmounted by rose window was flanked by small spires containing balustraria. The large tower facing la Gauchetière Street displayed similar apertures as well as protracted blind arches and a corbel-table to support the overhanging roof. In addition, the tower served to vertically offset the articulated chancel and elongated body of the church. There were leaded-glass windows on three sides of the building, with light reaching the basement level as well. Both outside and inside, the design of the church communicated the refinement of the congregation.

The gallery in the rear looked onto an intimate hall space. Two aisles were created through the arrangement of the pews. The pastor's pulpit, suspended from one wall, served to visually bridge the nave and chancel area. The ceiling contained an exposed wooden truss system. Inspired by his

¹²⁵In 1854, Lawford was working on designs for alterations to the altar of the Catholic church in St. Hilaire.

congregation's accomplishment, Cordner decided that the church should also assume a distinctive designation. Although it was rare among Unitarian congregations to appropriate such dogmatic titles, several months after opening in 1858, its name was changed to the Church of the Messiah.¹²⁶

• Methodist New Connexion

In Britain at the end of the eighteenth century, a group of Methodist dissenters who believed that a complete break from the Church of England was necessary, chose to break away from the Wesleyan Church. As a result, the New Connexion differed from the Wesleyans primarily with regards to church government and the right to receive Communion from their own clergymen.¹²⁷ Their first mission to eastern British North America was undertaken around 1835. In spite of the church building efforts by the Wesleyans in Montreal in the 1840s, certain Methodist parishioners were opposed to the division of the city into circuits. Dissatisfied with the foundation of the East End and the Ottawa Street Churches,¹²⁸ a new movement was formed under the name of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion Church in 1846.

¹²⁶It had been called: Unitarian Church, Montreal (1845); Montreal Unitarian Church (1856); Congregation of the Unitarian Society (1857); Christian Unitarian Society and also the Unitarian Congregation of Montreal (1857).

¹²⁷F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London; Oxford University Press, 1974), 910.

¹²⁸Mair, *The People of St. James Montreal 1803-1984*, 30.

Within eleven years they had formed two new churches of their own.¹²⁹ The first one erected, and the more modest of the two, was Salem New Connexion Church in Panet Street. Aside from the confirmed building date of 1856, however, little information is available regarding this house of worship in the east end. The plan measured roughly 43 x 50 feet and contained an elevated entrance facing the street. (Fig.117) There were windows on all sides of the building: two in front flanking the entrance, one in the rear, and four on both side elevations. Stoves were fitted on either end of the pulpit area, and a side porch probably leading to school rooms at the basement level was also evident.

Based on the similarity of their plans, there is reason to believe that Ebenezer New Connexion Church, raised one year later in Dupré Lane, made some visual reference to the Panet Street building. (Fig.118) Detailed drawings of this structure exist.¹³⁰ Ebenezer was the smaller of the two churches, measuring 33 x 44 feet. While the placement of the windows and stoves was comparable, the treatment of the entrance demonstrated a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between external and internal spaces. The pilaster system and the overhanging roof were clearly the work of the trained professionals, Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson. Certain details on their Unitarian church, notably the repetition of patterned, arched windows, were also apparent on Ebenezer Church.

¹²⁹George H. Cornish, ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), 453/822.

¹³⁰See INV 232 POS 43, MRG.

Unlike the Unitarian building, however, the New Connexion church was conceived as a modest house of worship with a restrained decorative programme. (Fig.119) It was constructed principally out of brick and adopted from a rural model. An attempt had been made to avoid imitating the Gothic or Classical manners employed in local Methodist churches. The entrance was fitted with a projecting porch flanked by arched windows. A large oculus complete with a stained glass design of inverted triangles, probably based on a Trinity motif, was inserted above.

As a complement to the rounded features on the façade, the prominent stone fence and staircase were detailed with a band of interlocking rings. The side elevation reveals a modular system of double-height arched windows and basement windows distinguished by detailed brick work. (Fig.120) Positioned almost at the centre of the roof was a small belfry. The interior featured a raised communion table which was visible from all pews on the ground level. A staircase leading to a proposed gallery was also in place. Accessible from a porch at the side of the building was a basement fitted with school rooms, not unlike the one at Salem Church.

• **Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion**

Since its foundation in the early 1840s, St. Thomas' Church remained a thorn in the side of the Anglican administration due to Thomas Molson's refusal to allow the building to be consecrated. In the wake of the fire of 1852 that destroyed Molson's chapel, both Bishop Fulford and the obstinate brewer were given the opportunities to erect new church buildings in the Quebec Suburb. The erection of St. Luke's,

as discussed in the previous section, was a conscious attempt by Fulford to increase the profile of the Established Church in the area.

To the bishop's great dissatisfaction, Molson was determined to prevent the consecration of his own chapel and conceived of a more abstruse scheme to protect its independence. Spiteful and unhappy with Fulford's interference in his affairs, he erected a new house of worship which visually and ideologically challenged the Anglican programme. His temerity in defying the bishop's wishes is an exceptional story in the religious history of Montreal.

On a visit to England in 1856, Molson became interested in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, an unconventional denomination founded by the Calvinist Methodist sympathiser, Countess Selina Hastings (1707-1791). She believed that as a peeress, she could appoint Methodist ministers as her own private Church of England clergymen, then employ them publicly. Although Hastings was disallowed to continue in this manner, by 1779 she elected to register her distinct blend of Anglican and Methodist chapels as dissenting places of worship.

Quite ironically, despite his previous concerns that High Church practices would provoke converts to Nonconformist groups, Molson became interested in the activities of this sect. His decision to patronise the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, however, was not born strictly out of spiritual convictions. Molson was probably also attracted by the fact that the denomination permitted members to own their churches. His first related

undertaking in 1857, prior to the reconstruction of the church, was the erection of Thomas Molson College - an institution where clergymen would be trained for the Connexion ministry.¹³¹

One year later on the site of the old church, he proceeded with the reincarnation of St. Thomas'.¹³² Molson's decision to replace his Neo-Gothic Anglican structure with an atypical Neo-Classical one conveyed his opposition to the Ecclesiological trend evident in the architecture of St. Luke's. Although no documentary evidence exists to prove who designed his church, it was probably George Browne (1811-1886) - a Belfast-born architect considered one of the finest working in Canada at the time.¹³³ He had worked for the brewer on several projects including the building of forty-nine brick houses next to the church.¹³⁴

The new and enlarged St. Thomas' was also constructed out of brick. (Fig.121) Divided into rectilinear sections by an

¹³¹Woods Jr., *The Molson Saga 1763-1983*, 156.

¹³²1 October 1858, vol.19 file 21, MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC. Molson ordered prayer books from the Proprietors of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion Hymn Book in London.

¹³³DCB, XI:117-120. For more on Browne's career see *City of Kingston, Ontario, Buildings of Historic and Architectural Significance*, 2 vols. (Kingston, 1971 and 1973); Also *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* (New York: The Free Press, 1982), 298.

¹³⁴Contract between Thomas Molson and George Browne for houses, 09-09-1844, not. W. Easton. He also designed a villa for John Molson Junior in 1848. See Contract for Villa, 18-02-1848, not. W. Easton, ANQM.

undecorated Doric order, the unusual design featured three box-like towers that were disproportionate to the size of the main structure. Housed in the two smaller towers was a service bell and various chimes. The central tower, linked to the façade by small volutes, contained an illuminated clock. If this timepiece was, as is suggested, a copy of the one at the Royal Exchange in London, then the case for Browne's involvement in the church commission is all the more justifiable. His design of the Montreal Stock Exchange in 1854 surely made reference to the same English prototype.¹³⁵

There were three entrances corresponding to the vertical divisions of the church façade, while windows accentuated the principal storeys. In general the sparingly decorated church reflected the character of the man who steered it. The interior was conceived as a simple preaching box with galleries.¹³⁶ The elevated pulpit fitted with sounding board was positioned to allow for maximum visibility and voice projection. It was set within an elaborate series of arches decorated with star-shaped designs.¹³⁷ (Fig.122)

At a Temperance lecture that he attended in Quebec City in 1860, Molson jotted down the remarks of one speaker who openly criticised his endeavours: "[Molson] has a college for education! a church for salvation! and a distillery for

¹³⁵*La Minerve*, 21 February 1854.

¹³⁶1862, Sketch plan of property leased to Government by Thomas Molson Esq., vol.19, file 21 , MG 28 III 57, Molson Archive, NAC.

¹³⁷In 1861 the sculptor, Louis Leprohon, was hired to gild and shade the Ten Commandments and other liturgical objects.

damnation!"¹³⁸ Beside the quote in his own handwriting, he had jotted down: "Can a distiller enter the Kingdom of Heaven?". Indeed, his efforts, as far as church building were concerned, left this self-styled humanist's fate in unstable hands.

• Lutheran

German-speaking immigrants had regularly gathered for meetings and celebrations in Montreal since 1788.¹³⁹ It was not until 1853, however, when Pastor Georg Werner of the Christian Evangelical Mission for North America was enlisted to perform missionary work on the continent that discussions began concerning the foundation of a Lutheran church. The following year an announcement in the papers helped to attract new members to a community numbering less than a hundred.¹⁴⁰

In 1855 following its official recognition by the colonial government and presentation of a royal charter, St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church was established. Services first took place in various Protestant halls of worship. Within three years, a new church was dedicated at the corner of

¹³⁸Woods Jr., *The Molson Saga 1763-1983*, 164.

¹³⁹In a letter from Bishop Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury, reference was made to a petition and request for a minister by the German Protestant congregation in Montreal to Lord Dorchester (23 September 1790). See *Church and State Papers for the Years 1787-1791 being a compendium of documents relating to the establishment of certain churches in the Province of Quebec*, RAPQ 1953-1954 and 1954-1955, 116. The formal establishment of a German Benevolent Society dated to the late-1830s.

¹⁴⁰*Montreal Gazette*, 11 February 1854.

St. Dominique Street and Charlotte Lane behind St. Lawrence Market. Limited information exists about the builder, John Atkinson, who was most likely a British-born mason or contractor.¹⁴¹ He provided the congregation with a rudimentary Gothic greystone structure with a small belfry; features which he probably adapted from local models.¹⁴² (Fig.123)

The church was described as "devoid of architectural fancies, its exterior is as modest as the simple, but comfortable order of its appointments within".¹⁴³ The only remarkable elaboration was the stone, floral carvings on the upper storey. The two windows on the façade as well as the five on the side elevations, were simple pointed arches with lead panes. There were small, stepped buttresses erected at both ends. Accessible from the street by the flights of stairs, the front door was encased by a blind Gothic arch, above which was placed a plaque with the inscription - *Deutsche Evangelische St. Johannis Kirche Erbaut AD 1858*. Inside, the open plan with organ gallery was as plain as possible, though the altar, communion table

¹⁴¹Contract between Building Committee of the German Evangelical Church and Prudent Desautels builder and contractor, 18-03-1858, not. J. Smith, ANQM. Atkinson is mentioned as the architect. According to Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 81, he might have been John Bowans Atkinson (1807-1874), son of Peter Atkinson of York, England.

¹⁴²Toronto building of 1856 might have served as a model. See *First Lutheran Church Toronto Ontario Centennial 1851-1951* [Toronto, 1951]. Lutheran churches of the period in the German states should be dismissed as possible prototypes.

¹⁴³Quote taken from the "Historical Outline of the St. John Lutheran Church", n.p, n.d.

and pulpit featured some noticeable Gothic trim.

• **Jewish**

In London, as was also the case in almost all of Britain's colonial centres, Sephardim had been the earliest Jewish settlers. The long-standing members of Shearith Israel who numbered around five hundred, permitted the few Ashkenazim to worship with them,¹⁴⁴ however disputes stemming from their differences in liturgical practice forced the two factions to part ways in the 1840s. The result of this split was the foundation of Shaar Hashomayim (Gates of Heaven), the second Jewish congregation and first Ashkenazic house of worship in British North America.

The creation of another synagogue in the city underlined not only differences in ritual between the sects, but also congregational concerns to preserve national identity. It is not altogether certain whether any of the prominent Ashkenazim participated in events of the German Benevolent Society, however the conspicuous erection of the Lutheran church in the street parallel to that of the new synagogue is worth noting. Furthermore, the existence of a thoroughfare near by named German Street, leaves little reason to doubt that some interaction took place between the two communities. Sharing a common language and ancestral heritage must have encouraged a certain degree of association.

¹⁴⁴Ashkenazic Jews arrived to North America via England, where a community had been flourishing since the end of the seventeenth century. See Cecil Roth, *A History of Jews in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).

In 1846, almost ten years prior to the incorporation of the Lutherans, the congregation of English, German and Polish Jews of Montreal was established by virtue of Royal Act.¹⁴⁵ The earliest by-laws of the group stipulated that services were to be modelled after those of the Bayswater Synagogue in London, suggesting their liturgical traditions were British-derived. Until they could afford to purchase a building, the congregation rented a small room at the corner of St. James and St. Gabriel Streets.¹⁴⁶ After more than a decade without a proper synagogue, a meeting was finally convened where it was agreed that an appeal for funds should be made through the *London Jewish Chronicle* and the *New York Hebrew Messenger*.

Of the three thousand dollars pledged for Shaar Hashomayim, the Moss brothers - David and Edward - donated one third. Arrivals from England, they were the most influential Ashkenazic family in Montreal of the period. Within three weeks of the meeting, a site was secured in St. Constant Street below la Gauchetière Street. The young architect appointed was John James Browne (1837-1893). The synagogue was one of the earliest commissions in his career.¹⁴⁷

At the age of twenty, having only proven his skills through

¹⁴⁵Act of the Legislature, 9 Victoria, chapter 96, (1846).

¹⁴⁶*Congregation Shaar Hashomayim 1846-1946* [Montreal, 1946], 6.

¹⁴⁷William Wood, ed., *The Storied Province of Quebec*, 4 (Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co., 1931), 256-257. His only known public commissions prior to the synagogue were the erection of Royal House Bazaar Riding Schools at the corner of Côté and Vitré Streets (1858) and the County Building in Huntington (1858).

several prize-winning designs for domestic and industrial buildings, John James was advertising his services in the office of his father, the architect to the Molsons, George Browne.¹⁴⁸ Taking into account his age, limited experience and the fact that he was never credited for, nor did he ever publicise his association with the synagogue project, Browne's work for the Jews warrants attention.¹⁴⁹ While the substantial greystone edifice that he designed in 1859 naturally lends itself to comparison with Shearith Israel, the Egyptian Revival building of the 1830s was not copied.¹⁵⁰ Instead, the Ashkenazic synagogue was rendered with eclectic features, some of which appeared to be borrowed from other dissenting houses of worship, namely those recently designed by Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson.

A sizable stained-glass oculus window displaying the Star of David emblem was the focal point of the façade. (Fig.124) It was similar to the one mounted on the Ebenezer New Connexion Church. (Fig.119) The wooden staircase and

¹⁴⁸DCB, XII:130; also Dave Smythe, "J.J. Browne Architect: Nordheimer Central Chambers" (Undergraduate student paper, Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, 1989). See also *Canadian Architect and Builder*, August 1893, 87; and *La Minerve*, 24 October 1857.

¹⁴⁹Compare to George Dance the Younger's involvement with the Great Synagogue in London almost a century before. See Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth-Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," in *Building Jerusalem*, ed., Kadish, 54-83.

¹⁵⁰Contract between the German and Polish Jews of Montreal and F.X. Homier, contractor, 09-06-1859, not. J.H. Isaacson; Contract between A. Wand and H. Jackson, bricklayers and the Corporation of the German and the Polish Jews of Montreal, 30-06-1859, not. J.H. Isaacson, ANQM. J.J. Browne is mentioned. Isaacson was probably one of the first Jewish notaries in the city.

porch led up to two sets of double doors which were separated by a large, medieval-inspired column. Directly above, spanning the width of the openings was a series of five arched windows reminiscent of the Romanesque-style fenestration at the Unitarian church. (Fig.115) These features of the central bay were contained between two giant pilasters that rose above the height of the decorated gable. Additional arched windows pierced the smaller side bays. Proposed to seat two hundred - one hundred and fifty men in the ground floor pews and fifty places for women in the gallery - the interior of the synagogue was by no means large.

Hanging from rosette mouldings in the exposed cross-beam ceiling was a lantern and candelabra. The most prominent feature was the sanctuary, above which was inserted a second oculus with the Star of David corresponding to the one over the entrance. Additional sash windows elaborated with ogee joints in the "French style" were also evident; yet another eclectic addition. Positioned between two giant, fluted Ionic pilasters, the Ark and the Reader's Desk were grouped together in accordance with Ashkenazic tradition. Both were raised on platforms and bordered by railings with gates. According to the specifications, the Ark was constructed with pine steps, pillars, columns, frieze and cornice. The doors of the Ark were to open in two folds to expose the shelving upon which would be placed the holy scrolls.¹⁵¹

The synagogue acted as a catalyst for other work from the

¹⁵¹Contract between Olivier Garçon carpenter and joiner and contractor and the Corporation of German and Polish Jews of Montreal, 30-06-1859, not. J.H. Isaacson, ANQM.

community. Browne was known to have erected a commercial building in Notre Dame Street for the Moss brothers as well as the stately home, *Dilcoosha* in Sherbrooke Street for another Jewish merchant, Jesse Joseph. Interestingly, his initial dependence on the patronage of Jews was similar to the early career pattern of Wells in Montreal. Fifteen years after the synagogue commission, Browne took credit for the designs of numerous churches, banks, markets, police stations, monuments, residences, tombs and even a Catholic cemetery, but not for Shaar Hashomayim. Perhaps intended to downplay his relationship with members of the Jewish community, his actions underlined the cautious approach taken by many architects who were constantly positioning and repositioning themselves within the complex social network of Montreal.

Conclusion

In the 1970s the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada established a commission to assess the state of research on Canada. It concluded that no country in the world spent so little time studying itself.¹ More than twenty five years later, polls reveal that a majority of citizens cannot name the first prime minister nor identify many significant events in Canadian history. Attempts by federal and provincial ministries to increase public awareness of past accomplishments have, however, merely compounded the confusion rather than contributed to any sense of national identification.

As the second largest country in the world in terms of land mass, it is not difficult to understand why Canada's relatively small and dispersed population remains so uninformed about its past experiences. If a national identity is to exist, then an educational curriculum incorporating the subject of history must be conceived with municipal, provincial and federal elements entwined. It was due, in part, to my poor grasp of these inter-relationships that I undertook the present study. In the course of my examination of religious architecture and cultural expression as they relate to the development of Montreal, lacunae in the fields of Montreal, Quebec and Canadian historiography were also addressed.

In *A History of Canadian Architecture*, Harold Kalman offered a methodological framework for more than five hundred years of building. He proposed a "mosaic" model

¹Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples*, II, 557.

referring to structures as disparate as wig-wams, light-houses and grain elevators as symbols of architectural identity. Unfortunately this bold attempt was doomed to relative failure on the grounds that he could never provide a balanced portrait of the contributions of every community from sea to sea to sea. As difficult as it is for any federalist to accept, regionalism dictates national perception in Canada.²

Consider how Braudel and the Annales School instigated a near tribalist fervour within French-Canadian academic circles in the late 1960s. Braudel asserts that when a culture eventually frees itself, another form of originality is born; this emerging form being just as unique as the one from which it broke free.³ For members of Quebec's intelligentsia, who felt stifled by the Catholic clergy on one side and the English-speaking élite on the other, his words added fuel to the nationalist fire. In an attempt to correct these apparent social injustices through revisionist approaches, many of these French Canadian intellectuals compromised their academic objectivity to serve political ends.

For the present generation of scholars, exploring the notion of "belonging" as it relates to national identity has demanded a clarification of the popular Braudelian

²Rousseau and Remiggi's *Atlas Historique des Pratiques Religieuses: Le Sud-Ouest du Québec au XIXe siècle* (1998) is one recent example of the new methodological approach to issues of regionalism and identity.

³Taken from Braudel's discussion of Oswald Spengler's theories. *On History*, 186.

approach.⁴ Definitions of the "self" and "other" (or the Canadian terms, "us" and "them") have evolved since the Quiet Revolution. As far as this terminology relates to my own work, what became most intriguing was how layers of identity seem to vary according to the individual. Distinguishing a Montrealer from a Quebecker, a Quebecker from a Canadian, and a Canadian from a Montrealer is relative to the person who feels a sense of belonging to one or several of these places. Is it feasible to belong to all three? Invariably as I delved into the issue of multiple identification, I saw the relevance of situating the "other" in order to define the "self".

In the 1860s Rosanna Leprohon (1832-1879) published a novel that focussed on cultural identities in conflict. An author of Irish and French-Canadian parentage, the duality of her own heritage was explored through the themes of unrequited love and personal rejection. Leprohon set *Antoinette de Mirecourt: or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing: a Canadian Tale*⁵ in Montreal in the excitable days after the Conquest. Antoinette, a young and impressionable French Canadian heiress, is courted by a fortune-hunting officer of the British army. The rake's mind games and clandestine love affairs that eventually break down her spirit, intimate the inherent failure of two races to live harmoniously.

⁴See Anthony D. King, "Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change," in *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context*, ed. Robert Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985), 17.

⁵First published in 1864. See McLelland and Stewart edition, Toronto, 1973.

Well over a century later, the depiction of Montreal as the tumultuous crossroads of cultures, continues to appear as the major theme in a variety of arts media. In the last decade, researchers at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) have turned the spotlight on the city through their investigations of identity and the urban fabric. Among their many accomplishments are two major exhibitions with related publications: *Opening the Gates of Eighteenth-Century Montréal* and *Montreal Metropolis 1880-1930*.

The first project addresses the relationship of fortifications to property development and the nature of civic architecture in consideration of the religious, military and social composition of the town. The second project deals with the city during its golden age of commerce. The physical manifestations of Canada's young metropolis as a cross between European and American models were explored. Owing to the CCA's extensive examination of Montreal's evolution in the eighteenth and at the turn of the twentieth centuries, my dissertation, which falls chronologically between the two, is intended as a complement to their studies.

In a place where the correlation between ethnicity and language continue to define the urban matrix, I believe that charting the evolution of ecclesiastical architecture in Montreal is significant to our identification as a nation. Far from being singular statements of denominational identity, churches were vehicles for cultural definition. Whether or not they were conscious of their actions, French Canadian, Scottish, Irish, English and American congregations influenced the development of each other's institutions.

An exemplary illustration of this tendency was the scope of the Sulpician building programme. By capitalising on their exclusive associations with both the French Canadian populace and the British administration these clerics managed to preserve Gallican traditions all the while becoming admirable subjects of the Empire.⁶ In spite of continuous attempts to usurp their authority by the growing Protestant factions and the Catholic episcopate, the Sulpicians remained arbiters of cultural taste. Their architectural campaigns were commentaries on the importance of public perception and power in Canadian society.

Working in conjunction with patrons such as the Sulpicians, as well as other members of the religious élite, ambitious architects such as O'Donnell, Wells, Ostell, Footner and Bourgeau, widened the scope of ecclesiastical building by proposing styles that conveyed specific national and sectarian images. In effect, these men provided physical form for religious ideology. Notwithstanding the projects undertaken for the Established Churches, their designs for Nonconformists are equally significant. As Presbyterian dissenters, Methodists, Unitarians, Congregationalists and other groups became wealthier and more powerful toward the middle of the century, the outgrowth of Protestant architecture came to represent their infiltration into the former Catholic stronghold.

In spite of the concerted drives by British and American

⁶For a wider discussion on the rival forces of tradition and innovation within the Canadian context see Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 4.

revivalists, the accomplishments of smaller communities such as those of Jews are also worth noting. By skilfully employing architecture as an expression of cultural compromise, they managed to protect their customs in much the same manner as the Sulpicians. Jews chose models that were at once appropriate to their liturgical tradition as well as a reflection of their social sophistication. Their strategic patronage of Protestant and Catholic church building campaigns reinforced their desire to be accepted among members of both establishments.

During a visit in the 1880s, Mark Twain (1855-1910) commented that it was the first time he was ever in a place where you could not throw a brick without breaking a church window.⁷ To the inhabitants of Montreal, however, the medley of buildings was an inextricable part of their civic identity. Nowhere else could you find a city that was at once a shining jewel in Britain's imperial crown, a chief outpost of Roman Catholicism in the New World and the headquarters for more than a dozen independent denominations. Through their assertions and compromises, national and religious groups mutually benefitted from their proximity to one another. Their collective contribution to the architectural fabric of Montreal became an archetype of the Canadian cultural experience.

⁷*Montreal Gazette*, 8 December 1881.

Appendices

Appendix A

Houses of Worship Built from 1760 to 1860

Congregation	DEN.	Begun	Architect
Bonsecours Chapel	CTH	1772	unknown
Shearith Israel Synagogue	JEW	1778	unknown
St. Gabriel Street Church	PRS	1792	J.Telfer & J.McIntosh
St. Peter Street Church	PRS	1805	A.Logie
Christ Church	ANG	1805	W.Berczy
Methodist Chapel (in St. Joseph St.)	MET	1809	unknown
Notre Dame Church [façade]	CTH	1811	W.Berczy
St. James Street Church	MET	1821	J.Try
St. Jacques Cathedral	CTH	1823	J.Fournier
American Presbyterian Church	PRS	1825	M.Marshall
Notre Dame Church	CTH	1825	J.O'Donnell
Methodist Chapel (in Gain St.)	MET	1826	[J.Try]
St. Mary's Chapel (Hochelaga)	ANG	1828	unknown
Ste. Marie Chapel	CTH	1829	[J.Fournier]
Baptist Church	BAP	1831	[J.Try]
Methodist Chapel (in Wellington St.)	MET	1833	[J.Try]
Scottish Secession Church	PRS	1834	H.Yuile
St. Paul's Church	PRS	1834	J.Wells & F.Thompson
Shearith Israel Synagogue	JEW	1835	J.Wells
First Congregational Church	CON	1835	[J.Try]
Methodist Chapel (in St. Mary St.)	MET	1837	unknown
Trinity Church	ANG	1840	W.Bell
St. Thomas' Church	ANG	1841	W.Footner
St. George's Church	ANG	1842	W.Footner
St. Patrick's Church	CTH	1843	P.L.Morin/F.Martin
Second Congregational Church	CON	1843	J.Wells & Son
First Congregational Church (Zion)	CON	1844	J.Wells
St. Stephen's Church	ANG	1844	W.Footner
Unitarian Church	UNI	1844	W.Footner
St. James Street Church	MET	1845	G.Dickinson
East End Methodist Church	MET	1845	W.Footner
Ottawa Street Methodist Church	MET	1845	G.Dickinson
Free Church, Lagauchetière Street	PRS	1845	unknown
Free Church, Côté Street	PRS	1847	[J.Wells]
St. Andrew's Church	PRS	1848	C.Tate & G.Smith
Notre Dame de Grâce Church	CTH	1851	J.Ostell
St. Ann's Church	CTH	1851	J.Ostell
St. Pierre Apôtre Church	CTH	1851	V.Bourgeau
St. Luke's Church	ANG	1853	T.Appleton
Scottish Secession Church [façade]	PRS	1854	unknown
St. Jacques Church	CTH	1855	J.Ostell/V.Bourgeau
Christ Church Cathedral	ANG	1856	F.Wills/T.S.Scott
Unitarian Church (Messiah)	UNI	1857	Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson
St. Viateur Church	CTH	1857	V.Bourgeau
Salem New Connexion Church	MET	1857	unknown
Ebenezer New Connexion Church	MET	1858	Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson
St. Thomas' Church	CHC	1858	[G. Browne]
St. John's Lutheran Church	LTH	1858	J. Atkinson
Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue	JEW	1859	J.J. Browne

Appendix B

Remarks made by Jérôme Demers concerning the plan of Notre Dame of Montreal by James O'Donnell, Isle Jésus, 26 January, 1824. v.2 t.95 no.77, ASSSM.

A Mr. Lesaulnier, prêtre, curé de Montréal, etc. etc.

Monsieur,

En jetant un premier coup d'oeil dernièrement sur les plans de votre nouvelle église, je fus d'abord assez satisfait, je ne sais comment, du parti que votre architecte avait su tirer du peu d'étendue de votre terrain, pour y placer un édifice capable de contenir une foule assez considérable de fidèles. Cette pensée m'occupa tellement, que je ne fis alors aucune autre réflexion sur les inconvénients, les licences, les abus et les défauts que j'ai cru remarquer définis dans ce projet. Ce ne fut qu'après un examen un peu plus attentif de ces plans, lorsque je les considérai une seconde fois, que je m'aperçus que les tribunes ou galeries devaient couper les croisées en dedans. Je vous fis part alors de ma manière de penser, et je vous dis, sans déguisement, que je croyais que les croisées, ainsi mutilées et tronquées, produiraient un coup d'oeil choquant dans l'intérieur de votre église. Je ne vous fis alors aucune autre observation. J'étais à peine sorti du Séminaire que je m'occupai, pour ainsi dire malgré moi, en me rendant à l'Île Jésus, des plans de ce vaste édifice. Ce monument me disais-je à moi-même, va être le plus considérable que nous ayons en ce genre dans notre cher Canada. On le prendra pour modèle, quand, par la suite, on voudra construire quelques églises d'une certaine importance. La plupart de nos prétendus architectes, qui ne possèdent point assez les vrais principes de leur art pour distinguer une licence d'un abus, et un abus d'un défaut essentiel ou d'une dissonance choquante dans la décoration de nos édifices sacrés, et qui ignorent l'art si difficile de concilier ensemble les masses, les parties et les détails de manière à composer une belle ordonnance croiront pouvoir imiter, sans examen, ce qu'ils remarqueront davantage dans cet édifice: Si donc cette église n'est pas parfaite dans son genre c'en fait de l'architecture dans notre pauvre pays; bien loin d'y faire quelques progrès, nous ne ferons que nous éloigner des vrais principes de cet art admirable. Telles étaient les pensées qui m'occupaient involontairement à me rendant à l'Île Jésus. Depuis que j'y suis, ces mêmes pensées ne m'abandonnent point. C'est un peu pour les dissiper que je prends sur moi de vous faire à la hâte part de quelques observations sur les plans de

votre nouvel édifice. Comme je n'ai vu ces plans qu'à la volée, pour ainsi dire, sans aucune explication et sans connaître l'intention de Mr. O'Donnell votre architecte, vous devez pressentir que mes critiques pourront être un peu hasardées. D'ailleurs je n'ai point la folle prétention de me donner pour architecte. Ce n'a jamais été qu'à la dérobée que j'ai pris plaisir quelquefois à étudier, en amateur, les principes généraux de l'architecture.

Après ce préambule un peu long, je vais vous détailler, Monsieur, les principaux inconveniens et les défauts que je crois remarquer dans le projet de Mr. O'Donnell, je prendrai sur moi ensuite de vous exposer les précautions qu'il y aurait à prendre pour élever un monument d'une aussi grande importance pour l'honneur de la religion, l'embellissement de votre ville, et par un conséquence nécessaire, pour le progrès de l'architecture en Canada.

I. D'abord, il me semble qu'il aurait fallu, ou donner plus de saillie aux tours, en avant, si l'on voulait terminer le portail par des lignes horizontales, ou donner un avant-corps à ce portail, si l'on eût préféré la forme angulaire pour lui servir de couronnement. Cet avant-corps aurait pu être composé de toute la partie comprise entre les deux tours et les excéder en saillie de l'épaisseur des pieds-droits ou piliers sur les quels seront bandées les arcades ogives qui doivent supporter le haut du portail. Par là, le frontispice de votre église, qui peut être vu d'un certain point de distance, aurait en plus de relief et de mouvement, au lieu que si on l'élève tel qu'il est tracé sur le plan, il est à craindre qu'il n'offre au connaisseur qu'une architecture froide, lourde et [méplate] qui ne saurait convenir au style gothique. Car vous le savez, la belle architecture gothique doit toujours étonner par sa hardiesse et sa légèreté apparentes. Voilà pourquoi elle affecte particulièrement les formes pyramidales. Si cette observation est vraie, comme je le pense, l'extérieur de votre édifice n'aura de gothique que la forme des ouvertures et quelques membres secondaires terminés en pyramide, tandis que tous les autres principaux membres de l'architecture seront dans un tout autre style.

Mais, me direz-vous, le portail de notre église sera à-peu-près élevé comme celui de l'église de Notre Dame à Paris, qui produit un si bon effet. A cela je répons, donnez au portail et à l'ensemble de votre église cette élégance et cette proportion, cette harmonie et cet accord parfait entre le tout et les parties, ces enfoncemens et ces percés ingénieux, cette multiplicité de petits mouvemens partiels, cette foule de richesses et de beautés en tous genres qui font de l'église de Notre Dame un des plus beaux édifices de Paris; ornez les faces latérales de cette église {la vôtre} de deux magnifiques portails qui

terminent les chapelles qui forment la croisée, placez-y, de distance à autre, des [...] piliers-butans élevés avec art, et, sur-tout, isolez votre église de manière à la faire pyramider relativement aux édifices qui l'environnent, alors on pourra établir une comparaison entre le portail de votre nouvelle église et celui de la cathédrale de Paris. Vous me demandez là impossible, me direz-vous: je le sais très bien, et voilà pourquoi je pretends qu'il n'y a aucune comparaison à faire entre le frontispice projeté de votre église, et celui de l'église de Notre Dame à Paris.

II. Je ne crois pas que vos grandes ouvertures, d'environ 40 pieds de hauteur, qui règnent dans les faces latérales de l'édifice, puissent produire un bon effet. D'abord, il me semble qu'elles seront vues de plus près que celles du portail, raison très forte, selon moi, qui devrait engager à ne pas les faire plus hautes que ces dernières.

2. Ces ouvertures très-élevées seront nécessairement en petit nombre. Si ma mémoire me sert bien, je pense qu'il n'y en a que sept entre chacune des tours et le chevet de l'église, c'est-à-dire, dans l'espace d'environ 220 pieds. Or n'est-il pas à craindre que ce petit nombre d'ouvertures ne diminue la longueur apparente de l'édifice, qui déjà me paraît un peu court relativement à sa largeur? N'est il pas aussi à appréhender que la hauteur de ces croisées ne diminue pareillement la hauteur apparente du carré de l'église, et ne s'accable, pour ainsi-dire, sous le comble, qui m'a paru très élevé? Si au lieu d'un seul rang de croisées on en eût mis deux, ces croisées auraient été nécessairement plus petites et en plus grand nombre sur la longueur de l'édifice. Ce nombre d'ouvertures, ainsi répétées, aurait augmenté, par une illusion d'optique, la longueur et la hauteur apparentes de votre église.

Mais me direz-vous, n'est-il pas à craindre que par ces deux rangs de croisées, pratiquées les unes au-dessus des autres dans un même mur, notre église ne ressemble à nos batimens d'habitation?

Ma réponse est facile: tout dépendra de l'habileté de votre architecte s'il est bien pénétré des grands principes de son art, il saura donner à l'ensemble de son édifice le style et le caractère relatifs qui lui sont propres, et qui ne peuvent convenir qu'à un monument sacré. Les églises de Saint-Amand en Flandres, du Val-de-Grâce à Paris, du Jésus à Rome, presque que toutes celles que l'architecte James Gibbs a élevées dans la capitale et les principales villes de l'Angleterre, ont deux rangs de croisées; la chapelle du Roi à Versailles, un des chefs-d'oeuvres de Hardouin Mansard, en a trois, et cependant, Monsieur, qu'est-ce-que ces superbes édifices, ainsi qu'un grand nombre d'autres

que l'on pourrait nommer, ont de commun avec nos bâtimens d'habitation? Pourquoi ne tenterions-nous pas ici, ce que l'on a exécuté avec tant de succès en Europe? Je vous laisse à y réfléchir et je passe à un autre inconvénient que je crois apercevoir dans vos grandes croisées.

3. N'apprehendez-vous pas, Monsieur, que vos murs ainsi percés et conséquemment affaiblis par ces grandes ouvertures, sans être soutenus par des piliers-butans, comme le sont les murs des églises gothiques, ne cèdent à la poussée extraordinaire du comble. Pour concevoir l'effet de cette poussée, il suffit de se rappeler que votre église aura environ 126 pieds de largeur à [l'arvâsement?] des murs qui forment les faces latérales et que, dans l'espace d'environ 220 pieds il n'y aura que six colonnes, de chaque côté de la nef, pour supporter toute la charpente. Quel poids immense, lorsque le toit sera tant soit peu chargé de neige!

4. Les colonnes seront à environ 30 pieds les unes des autres, et seront éloignées des long-pans de 29 à 30 pieds, dans le moins. Votre architecte a-t-il bien calculé la force des bois dont il fera usage pour rendre les tribunes ou galeries solides, lorsque, dans les jours solennels, elles seront remplies de monde? Je sais qu'on le pourrait avec assez de facilité au moyen d'un soubassement en arcades, qui supporterait l'ordre-colonne et les galeries, comme à la chapelle du Roi à Versailles. Mais je ne crois pas que ce soubassement puisse convenir à la légèreté qu'exige le style gothique.

5. Supposons néanmoins que votre architecte trouve le moyen de donner de la solidité à son édifice, en conservant ses longues croisées, qui me déplaisent tant. Mais pourra-t-il rendre la décoration intérieure tant soit peu intéressante aux yeux d'un connaisseur? Vous le savez mieux que moi, Monsieur, dans un monument d'une certaine importance, quand les masses sont élevées avec goût et que les ordres - colonnes ou, pilastres sont bien profilés et assortis au véritable genre de l'édifice, ce qui plaît davantage, c'est la belle proportion que l'architecte fait donner aux portes et aux croisées de l'édifice. Si donc votre architecte, par une inadvertance inconcevable dans un homme de l'art, coupe et tronque ses croisées par des galeries aussi considérables que celles qui rèneront dans le pourtour de votre église, ne se range-t-il pas lui-même parmi ces architectes subalternes, qui ne peuvent vaincre une difficulté, sans tomber dans les plus grands abus? Je ne crains point de l'avancer, si vous ne réformez pas cette parti de votre plan, les connaisseurs étrangers, qui visiteront votre église lorsqu'elle sera achevée, seront portés à croire que vous n'avez fait que réparer et restaurer une ancienne église semi-gothique, et que pour

procurer plus de logement, l'architecte chargé de cette restauration, a été forcé d'enfreindre toutes les règles de l'art. Je vous dirai, à ce sujet, qu'étant entré pour la première fois, il y a quelques années, dans l'église anglicane de Montréal, tandis que l'on y faisait quelques réparations, je fus dans une si grande surprise, en m'apercevant que les galeries passaient au milieu des croisées, que je demandai aussitôt à celui qui m'accompagnait, si l'on avait placé ces galeries après-coup, pour procurer plus de logement? Plusieurs personnes de Québec m'ont dit qu'elles avaient fait la même observation en entrant dans cet edifice.

6. J'ajouterai encore une autre réflexion. Pour procurer plus de logement dans votre église, vous lui donnez plus de largeur que n'en exige sa longueur. Pour faire disparaître cette disproportion, il faudrait augmenter la longueur apparente de la nef, ce que l'on peut faire en multipliant le nombre des percés et des colonnes, conformément aux lois de l'optique.

Mais, me direz-vous ne voit-on pas de ces grandes croisées dans quelques unes des plus belles églises gothiques? Oui sans doute; mais alors, dans ces belles églises, la longueur et la largeur, les masses et les élévations sont dans un accord parfait et l'édifice est tel que ces belles ouvertures gothiques ne puisent point à la solidité: rien ne les altère en dedans, et on a le plaisir de les voir dans leur juste proportion. D'ailleurs, ces grandes ouvertures se placent le plus communément dans le frontispice et les deux portails qui terminent la croisée de l'église en retour. Ainsi placées, les superbes ouvertures, ornées de toutes les richesses de l'art, doivent produire un effet enchanteur dans la nef. Je vous laisse à juger vous-même s'il y a quelques similitude aux différentes chapelles dans le pourtour de votre église.

III. D'abord, il me semble que celles qui sont adossées au chevet intérieur de l'église ne pourront produire un bon effet pour le coup d'oeil qu'autant que leur centre sera à l'aplomb de la clef des voutes de chacun des bas-côtés sans cela, elles ne seront qu'un ornement pastiche jeté pour-ainsi-dire au hasard, et ne feront point comme elles le devraient, partie de l'architecture.

Quant à celles qui sont adossées aux trumeaux des long-pans, elles feront tomber dans une licence qui pourra dégénérer en abus, à moins que votre architecte, comme un autre Hardouin Mansard, ne sache courrir et racheter les défauts par des beautés d'un mérite supérieur. En Europe comme vous avez pu l'observer vous-même, lorsque l'on pratique des chapelles dans les longs-pans, on les place au-dessous des croisées, quand les piliers ou colonnes, qui

séparent la nef des bas-côtés, répondent au milieu des trumeaux, comme c'est le cas dans votre église. Votre architecte a bien senti que ce moyen est impraticable en Canada. Voilà pourquoi sans doute, il a placé ses chapelles dans les trumeaux. Or il ne pouvait prendre ce parti qu'en doublant le nombre de ses colonnes, il lui aurait donc fallu alors mettre deux colonnes par chaque trumeau ou ce qui est la même chose, par chaque croisée, ce qu'il n'a pas fait. Dans son plan, au contraire, le centre de chacune de ses chapelles répond au centre des colonnes correspondantes. Dans cette disposition, comment supportera-t-il les retombées de ses voutes? [six lines crossed out] S'il fait usage de culs-de-lampes ou de consoles, il tombera dans des portes-à-faux extrêmement désagréables, comme on a été obligé d'en introduire dans la voute de l'église paroissiale de Québec, mais du moins là, cette licence est excusable, puis qu'il n'y avait aucun moyen à prendre sans détruire tout le retable. Si au contraire, il fait usage de pilastres, de demi-colonnes, ces divers membres d'architecture ne partant point de fond, n'en seront pas moins des portes-à-faux, qui n'échapperont point aux yeux des connaisseurs. Je vous laisse à prononcer sur ce qu'il peut y avoir de vrai dans cette observation. Je dois avouer cependant que, du moins ici, votre architecte peut être en quelque sorte excusé puis que l'on pourra supposer qu'il ne s'est permis cette licence que pour procurer plus de logement dans son édifice. On peut faire la même observation au sujet des confessionnaux et de la chapelle des fonds qui doivent être placés de la même manière dans les trumeaux. Il me semble pourtant que dans un édifice d'une aussi grande fabrique, il aurait été convenable d'avoir deux chapelles particulières, l'une destinée à la célébration des mariages, et l'autre à l'administration du Baptême.

IV. Il me paraît que le sol du porche, tel qu'il est tracé sur le plan, n'est pas assez élevé au-dessus du niveau de la place, car vous le savez, quand on monte d'un certain nombre de degrés pour arriver dans un vestibule, l'édifice n'en paraît que plus majestueux. Si j'étais pour quelque chose dans la construction d'une église telle que la vôtre, j'élèverais le chœur d'une dizaine de degrés, au moins, au-dessus du sol de la nef: je placerais le sanctuaire derrière le chœur, et je l'élèverais de quelques degrés. Par là, l'autel se trouverait élevé de sept à huit pieds, dans le moins, au-dessus du sol de la nef, terminerait avec plus de dignité le coup-d'oeil du monument, et donnerait plus de longueur apparente à l'église. Par une telle disposition nos cérémonies augustes se déploieraient plus en grand et paraîtraient avec plus d'éclat. Les fidèles toujours curieux de voir ces saintes cérémonies, pourraient les considérer sans obstacle, même du bas de la nef. Cette élévation que je suppose au sanctuaire cessera de paraître

extraordinaire, si l'on se rappelle la hauteur assez considérable du sanctuaire des Carmélites à Paris sur le plein-pied de la nef de cette église, et sur-tout si on la compare à la hauteur du sanctuaire de l'église de Saint Amand en Flandre. Ce sanctuaire est élevé de 40 degrés au-dessus du sol de la nef, et produit, selon les connaisseurs, un effet admirable. Au reste, cette élévation du sanctuaire de 7 à 8 pieds au-dessus du sol de la nef ne serait point une nouveauté en Canada, puis que les marguilliers de St. Thomas, Comté de Devon, ont élevé le sanctuaire de leur église de 11 à 12 degrés au-dessus du plein-pied de la nef. Quoi que cette église ne soit pas exemple d'un très grand nombre de défauts, tout ceux qui l'ont visitée conviennent que le sanctuaire produit, par cette élévation, un très bon effet. Quoi qu'il en soit de cette hauteur du sanctuaire sur le plein-pied de la nef, je vous avoue que je ne puis m'empêcher de condamner l'inclination que l'on donne aux planchers de la nef ou du choeur dans quelques unes de nos églises pour faciliter la vue de l'autel. Ce moyen me paraît indigne d'un architecte pénétré des grands préceptes de son art, et occasionner des irrégularités choquantes dans la décoration intérieure des églises.

V. Les façades latérales de votre église me paraissent un peu trop négligées. Il faudrait dans chacune un avant-corps pour leur donner plus de mouvement et détruire les mauvais effets qu'occasionneront ces grands corps lisses et un repos qui y seront répétés d'un bout à l'autre. Pourquoi, par exemple, ne pas mettre, de chaque côté, un moyen portail saillant? Ces portails, en même tems qu'ils donneraient de la vie à l'ordonnance de l'architecture, pourraient servir de porches extérieurs et contenir des escaliers qui conduiraient aux galeries. Telle est de moins ma manière de penser. Je passe à une autre considération dont l'objet n'est peut-être, qu'une affaire de simple convenance ou d'habitude.

VI. Selon quelques connaisseurs de goût et quelques uns des meilleurs architectes français, parmi lesquels je ne me rappelle que le nom du savant Mr. J.F. Blondel, les doubles tours devraient être réservées pour les églises cathédrales et il faudrait n'en placer qu'une seule dans les églises paroissiales. On élèverait cette tour au milieu du frontispice pour lui donner cette belle forme pyramidale qui produit un si bon effet en architecture. Je n'ignore pas que les paroisses de St. Sulpice et de St. Eustache à Paris ont chacune deux tours dans leur portail, mais je ne crois pas que ces deux églises, qui, aux yeux des connaisseurs, ne sont pas exemptes de défauts considérables, puissent autoriser à enfreindre une règle, ne fût-elle présente que par la convenance. Quant à vous en particulier, Monsieur, je suppose que vous verrez vos

doubles tours avec d'autant de satisfaction qu'elles s'accorderont parfaitement avec quelques unes de vos arrières-pensées.....

VII. Il m'a paru par l'inspection de vos plans que la voûte de la nef doit être terminée circulairement au-dessus du chœur, tandis que la forme intérieure de l'édifice est rectangulaire. J'appréhende beaucoup que le passage de l'une de ces figures à l'autre ne s'accorde qu'avec difficulté avec l'espacement des colonnes, quand il s'agira de décorer les voûtes qui régneront dans le pourtour de l'église. N'ayant point vu les coupes intérieures de l'édifice je ne puis avoir que des appréhensions à ce sujet.

VIII. J'ignore pareillement par quel moyen votre architecte supportera les galeries. Tout ce que je suppose, c'est qu'elles ne couperont pas les colonnes par le milieu, comme on l'a pratiqué dans les églises Anglicanes de Québec et de Montréal. Si votre architecte prend ce parti, ce sera un défaut considérable de plus -dans son plan.

Quelques unes des observations que je viens de faire au sujet des plans de votre nouvelle église, sont dures et sévères sans doute, mais je les crois vraies et impartiales, et je me flatte, Monsieur, que vous voudrez bien croire que le préjugé n'y a aucune part, et qu'elles ne sont dictées que par le grand désir que j'ai de vous voir élever un édifice parfait dans son genre.

Mais quels seraient les moyens à prendre pour parvenir à cette perfection? Les voici d'après le savant Mr. J.F. Blondel, qui les répète en plusieurs endroits de son excellent Cours d'architecture. Il faudrait d'abord se procurer d'excellents projets faits par des hommes du plus grand mérite. Des personnes entendues et les intéressés compareraient ces projets, en discuteraient les avantages et les inconvénients; entreraient dans les plus petits détails pour voir si la décoration intérieure est en harmonie avec la décoration extérieure, et si chaque membre, considéré à part, semble naître de l'ouvrage entier. Il faudrait ensuite faire des modèles généraux et particuliers et avoir le courage de revenir sur ses pas et d'exiger de nouveaux plans, si les premiers n'étaient pas jugés convenables. Si l'on néglige ces précautions, on s'expose à élever, à grands frais, des édifices de la plus grande médiocrité, tandis qu'avec un peu moins de parcimonie et de fausse délicatesse, on aurait pu, en consultant plusieurs architectes de mérite, élever des monumens dignes de passer à la postérité, lors même qu'ils ne seraient pas de la plus haute importance.

Mais où voulez-vous les prendre ces architectes du plus grand mérite? A Paris, s'il est nécessaire. Il ne manque point d'artiste dans tous les genres, dans cette grande ville. Adressez-vous à quelques uns des architectes les plus célèbres. Envoyez-leur le plan de votre terrain, de la place publique, de la rue et des édifices qui l'avoisinent. Désignez sur ce plan la déclivité du sol, et l'élévation des bâtimens qui entoureront votre église. Spécifiez les prix de la main-d'oeuvre, le coût et la qualité des matériaux que vous emploirez, les sommes probables que vous avez à votre disposition, etc. etc. etc. C'est alors que vous pourrez vous flatter de recevoir un excellent projet. Vous vous occasionnerez par là des frais, sans doute. Mais rappelez-vous que, dans une bâtisse d'une aussi grande importance, il ne faut pas faire attention aux dépenses préliminaires, pour ne pas être obligé de revenir sur ses pas par la suite.

Avant de terminer cette lettre, permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous rappeler une anecdote que vous connaissez depuis longtemps. Lorsque Henri II voulut commencer le Louvre, il fit venir Serlio d'Italie pour donner les Dessins de ce palais. Pierre Lescot fut consulté ensuite, et obtint la préférence qu'il méritait à juste-titre. Quand Louis XIV voulut continuer ce palais, il appela d'Italie le Chevalier Bernin pour le charger de cet ouvrage. Les plus célèbres architectes Français voulurent entrer en lui avec l'architecte d'audelà des monts, et ce fut le projet de Claude Perrault qui fut exécuté. La Fabrique de Mont-réal a fait venir un architecte des Etats-Unis pour se procurer les dessins de la magnifique église qu'elle veut élever tandis que nous avons, en Canada, un artiste, sculpteur et architecte, qui possède parfaitement les principes de son art. Je parle de Mr. Thomas Baillargé, fils. Je suis persuadé que ce jeune Monsieur, aidé des conseils et des avis de son père, aurait présenté à Messieurs les Marguilliers de Mont-réal un plan bien préférable, sous tous les rapports, à celui que j'ai vu. Au reste. il peut se faire que Mr. O'Donnell soit un homme d'un grand mérite, il ne faut point encore le condamner, puis qu'il peut revenir sur ses pas, réformer son projet et le conduire à la perfection. Peut-être ferait-il bien de tenter le style de l'architecture Française. Je commence à croire que ce genre d'architecture conviendrait beaucoup mieux à la décoration intérieure de votre église. Quel serait mon contentement si je voyais, dans notre pauvre Canada, une église intérieurement ornée dans le style de la chapelle du roi à Versailles, ou selon quelques uns des projets que Mr. J.F. Blondel, propose dans son Cours d'architecture!

Je vous prie bien de me pardonner ce long verbage, je ne vous ai confié, que parce que je connais votre indulgence pour vos amis, et la bonté de votre coeur à excuser leurs petites extravagances.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur

J. Demers, pte.

Manoir de l'Ile Jésus
26 Janvier 1824

Appendix C

Extract of a letter from William Bell to a relative in England describing his involvement in the construction of Trinity Church. Dated June 1840, Archives Correspondence, 22 August 1995, ADMA. Copy forwarded by the architect's descendant, Arthur Parker, Middlesex, England.

I have been employed for the last year, principally, in making plans for, and superintending the building of a chapel of ease, to our English church here, in which, I have adopted the English Gothic, having tall, narrow [sic], equilateral arched windows, with one mullion: octagonal pillars, with pyramidal finials; the space embrasured. I have travelled out of the common road, in the construction throughout, most particularly outside, having made all the projections squares and chamfers, which as the appearance of mouldings, as they occupy the same spaces and situations of such. In the inside, I have not exactly used the same economy, but as near as could consistently, with the general character of the building, keeping continually in view, the simple and the sublime use of the edifice. The cost will be about four thousand five hundred pounds; altogether that, of a religious gentlemen of fortune; it will accommodate [sic] seven hundred people including galleries, in the back parts of which, are about two hundred free sittings; the most prominent parts of the woodwork are done with oak (wainscot) and all the rest, painted in excellent imitation thereof, and the whole well varnished, the windows are all obscured, in imitation, of ground glass (which has a very solemn and quiet effect) except one above the altar, which I had done with stained glass in curiously interspersed diamonds, variously coloured, being both rare and beautiful.

Appendix D

Letter from J.-V. Quiblier to A.W.N. Pugin requesting plans for St. Patrick's Church, v.2 t.98 no.6, ASSSM.

Montréal, 28 mai 1842

A.W. Vugin [sic] Esq.
Architect
London

Monsieur,

Nous sommes sur le point de commencer la construction d'une église en style Gothique à St. Patrick. Nous désirerions qu'elle eût environ 215 pieds de long, sur une largeur de 108 pieds; le tout à l'intérieur, outre la sacristie; avec une seule tour, cheminées, et une place pour l'orgue. Il seroit à propos qu'elle pût contenir 8 ou 9000 personnes, desquelles près de la moitié dans les bancs.

La sévérité du climat et l'abondance de la neige de nos longs hivers, ne permettent pas d'ornemens extérieurs, à l'exception de quelques cordons peu saillans.

Auriez vous, Monsieur, un plan d'une telle église, de ses dimensions, dépendances de qui vous pourriez nous transmettre sans délai? Le terrain destiné à recevoir cet établissement; avec un asyle adjacent d'orphelins, est borné par quatre rues, et mesure 249 pieds par 348 environ.

Nous avons une grande entreprise avec Monsieur Thomas Mears, White Chapel, London. Nous aurons en octobre prochain un envoi de fonds à lui faire. Nous vous enverrons par la même occasion, le montant de l'honoraire que vous jugerez raisonnable.

Votre réponse et votre plan seroient adressés, par les steamers d'Halifax, à Hubert Paré, Church Warden, Montreal.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec considération,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

[signed]
J.-V. Quiblier

Appendix E

Description of Christ Church Cathedral in
The Ecclesiologist, CXIII December 1857, 357-360.

Montreal Cathedral.

Our readers may recollect that not long since a fire destroyed the old parish church of Montreal, erected since the foundation of the see into a cathedral. The building of the old-fashioned Establishment type, was of course wholly unworthy of its dignity and it was the Bishop's just desire to take advantage of the casualty by replacing it with a more worthy structure. There were, of course, difficulties to be surmounted. "Christ Church" was parochial as well as cathedral, and there were therefore, rights in seats and other considerations to be regarded. Moreover, the proposed change to a better site was not accomplished without some hesitation, and the selection of an architect, adopted by the American continent, was indispensable. Mr. Frank Wills was then alive, and under the circumstances, the choice falling on him is to be commended. Mr. Wills completed the plan, and the elevation of the church (the east end excepted) and laid the foundations, when he died, and the completion of the work was entrusted to Mr. T.S. Scott, an architect resident at Montreal, who entered on the work with the laudable intention of carrying out the sound ecclesiological views of the Bishop and of Mr. Wills. The result is, that the city of Montreal is being endowed with a real cathedral of ample dimensions, and of imposing architecture of which, thanks to the kindness of the Bishop, we are enabled to give a description. The style is Middle-Pointed, and the plan cruciform. The nave is furnished with aisles. The choir has a north aisle only. The material is the local gray limestone. The extreme external length is 201 ft. 3 in., while internally the nave measures 112 ft. by 70, inclusive of the aisles. The transepts are 103 ft. 6 in. from north to south externally, and 99 ft. 1 in internally, and 25 ft. from east to west. While the "choir" called less correctly "chancel" in the plan is 46 ft. in length by 28. The excess of internal over external length is caused by the existence of an open projecting western porch of three arches, the example for which Mr. Wills found at Snettisham church, Norfolk, the prototype of the nave of Fredericton Cathedral, - but of which a more notorious example exists in S. Germain l'Auxerrois, at Paris. It is a feature not unsuited to a church of more than parochial dignity, and not undesirable, we should imagine, in the Canadian climate, save that there

a closed porch might, we should imagine, be still further preferable. The remaining ordonnance of the west end - four equal lights, and a late rose window above, the nave flanked by octagonal spirelets, and three-light windows to the aisles - seems to us rather wanting in dignity. A larger, earlier rose, and the lower windows omitted, would have been better. The nave is of eight bays, the pillars being alternately circular and octagonal, with foliated capitals. The clerestory is a range of spherical triangles, and the aisle windows are of three lights. On the south side is a porch in the second bay from the west. The two transepts are lower in their roofs than the nave, and terminate in four-light windows, with a door beneath. The central tower rises with a clear stage above the roof-ridge, containing a two-light belfry window, and capped by a bold stone broach, with a single range of spirelights and two bands above. The altitude of the whole steeple will be 224 feet. We should plead for the removal of the clock-faces at the foot of the spire. The choir has a clerestory of three two-light windows. We trust Mr. Scott will modify his proposed treatment of the east end, by substituting a larger window and one higher from the ground for the five-light window which he offers, and by abandoning the spherical-triangular window above. The choir is flanked by roomy vestries to the south, having the external aspect of an aisle, and corresponding to the north aisle, which opens by an arcade of three arches in the choir. Moreover, a very picturesque octagonal vestry, as it is called, or chapter-house, has been already built to the south, connected with the cathedral through the vestries by a short passage. With its high conical roof, this adjunct adds materially to the cathedral-like aspect of the pile. Mr. Scott proposes to cover the choir with a waggon roof of six sides, and the nave with an open roof of braces and a tie-beam. We should strongly urge in either case the adoption either of wooden groining, of which the precedent exists at S. Alban's, Selby, &c., &c., or of a curvilinear waggon-roof of the same material. Either expedient is more graceful and minster-like, and has the practical advantage of most easily lending itself to precautions against climate as felt laid between the inner and outer roofs.

We now come to arrangements. The sanctuary appears to be raised on a single step. We should urge greater altitude both for dignity, and in order to bring the altar more into eye and ear-shot of the whole congregation. Besides the altar stands upon a footpace, there are to the south triple sedilia, and to the north the episcopal seat. The choir is arranged on the ground-plan with two rows of stalls, while at the west end of the lantern is placed the reading-desk, facing north and west, and immediately adjacent to it the Bishop's "seat" (properly "throne") an early English synonym for "cathedra". We should earnestly press for a

revision of these proposals. There is no authority in a cathedral for divorcing the usual place of saying the service, and a Bishop's throne situated elsewhere than at the east end on one side (the south usually) of the stalls is unexampled. In the cathedral before us the remedy is obvious, viz., to furnish the lantern with as many stalls on each side as may be requisite for the most dignified performance of the ordinary service, on a Sunday or festival, and to place the Bishop's throne at *their* east end. Then when upon an occasion like a visitation or synod, the Clergy of the diocese were collected, they might be disposed of upon benches temporarily ranged stall-wise in the eastern portion of the church, which would on other occasions, from being left void, be more convenient for Confirmations, and for crowded communions; one row of fixed seats, however, against the side walls to the south, formed constructionally, with an arcading behind like those in the Chapter-house of Canterbury, and against the parclose to the north, would be quite admissible ritually, and would be architecturally an advantage, by relieving the bareness of the walls. But the stalls proposed should be in the lantern. The pulpit, of stone, will stand against the north-western lantern pier. We doubt the proposed position of the organ, in the north-western arch, as it would cut off sight and sound from the congregation there, and we should advise an organ-chamber opening northward into the eastern portion of the church, and southward into the transept. We hope that the position indicated for the font behind (to the congregation) the south-west lantern pier, is only a suggestion of the architect's. It does not correspond with the position which the Canon requires, and no baptisms there would be visible to more than a small portion of the worshippers. All the seats in the cathedral are to be uniform.

Altogether Montreal cathedral will, when completed, mark an epoch in transatlantic ecclesiology. It will be the largest completed cathedral in America of our communion; for although the new one at Toronto would, if completed, be larger, it is as yet unfinished, and on (we believe) a much inferior and less correct plan. It will be the only cathedral which approaches the normal dimensions of such a building, for Fredericton cathedral is in size only a moderate parish church, and that of Newfoundland the nave only has been erected. We are the more glad, moreover, that the occasion given by the fire was not passed over, because the Roman Catholics of the same city are preparing to raise their cathedral at an enormous cost and of great dimensions, although they have, we hear, abandoned the intention of reproducing on a smaller scale S. Peter's at Rome, dissuaded from the step by the architect whom they had sent over to study it.

In a wider aspect the erection of cathedrals for our North American bishops is desirable from the reflex influence which they must have upon the Church of the United States. There, as we have often had to observe, although episcopacy exists, yet a sort of republican feeling has hitherto stood in the way of local appellations for the sees, of cathedrals, or of chapters. When the Church of the States, however, beholds all these features characterising the Church of Canada, and the adjacent colonies, and these withal administering their own affairs by duly convoked synods, it will naturally ask itself why a vague and unfounded apprehension should stand in the way of the complete establishment of the episcopate in its accessory, as now it is established in its essential characteristics.

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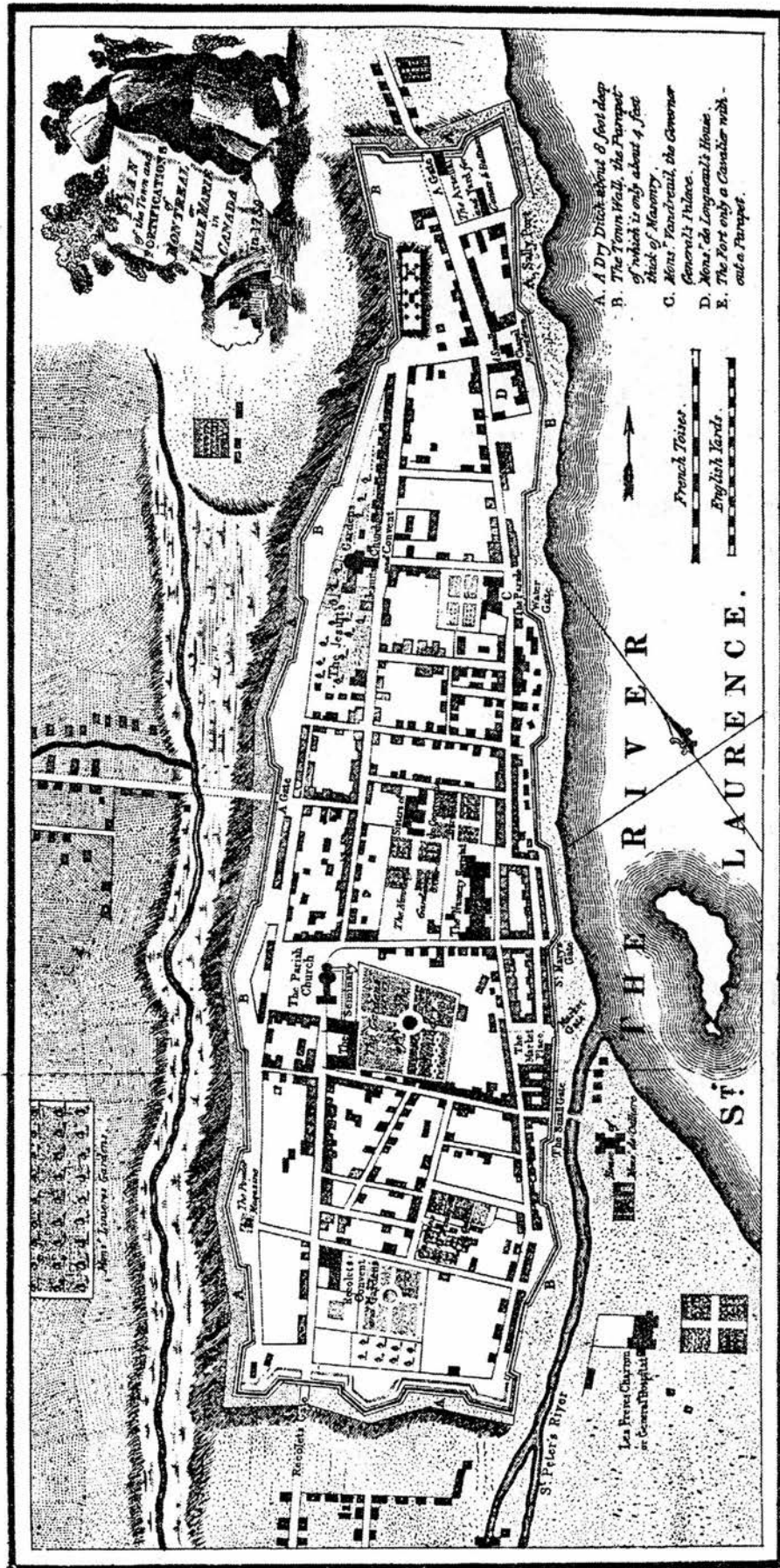
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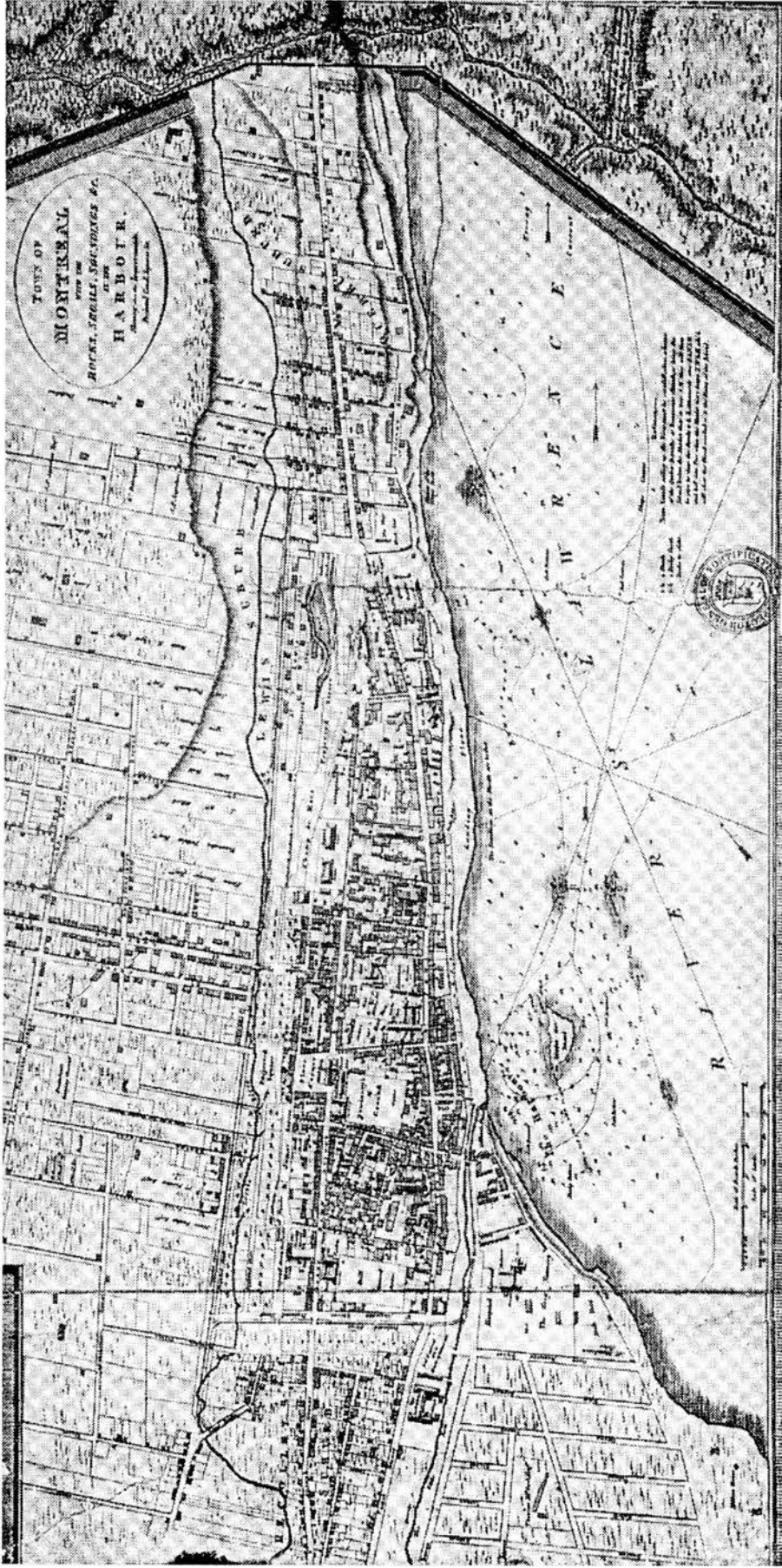
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Illustrations



Montreal Published by W. Craig, and Engraved by P. Christie from a Plan Published by The: Jefferys Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Jan. 1758

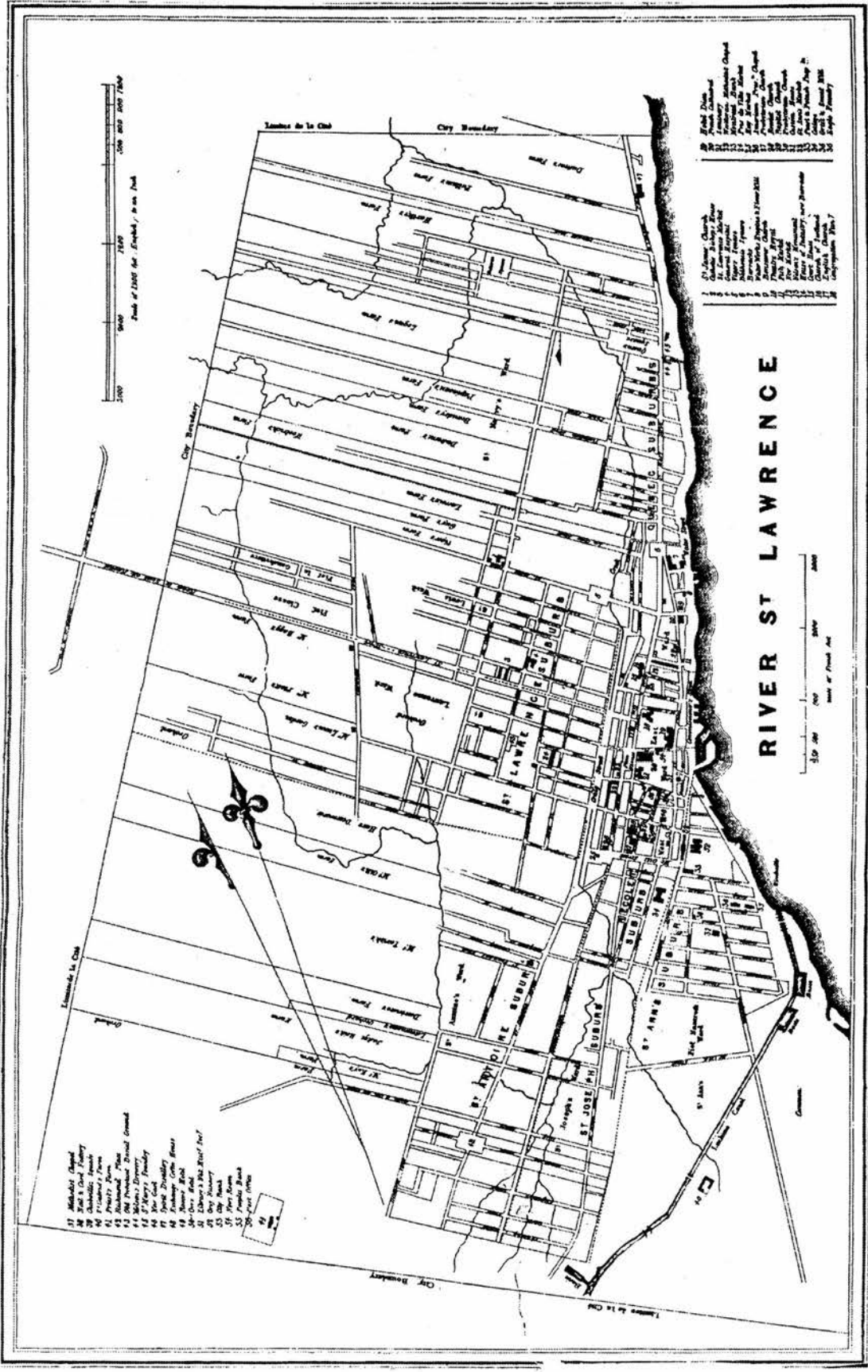
Map A. Montreal in 1758



Map B. Montreal in 1815



Map C. Montreal in 1825

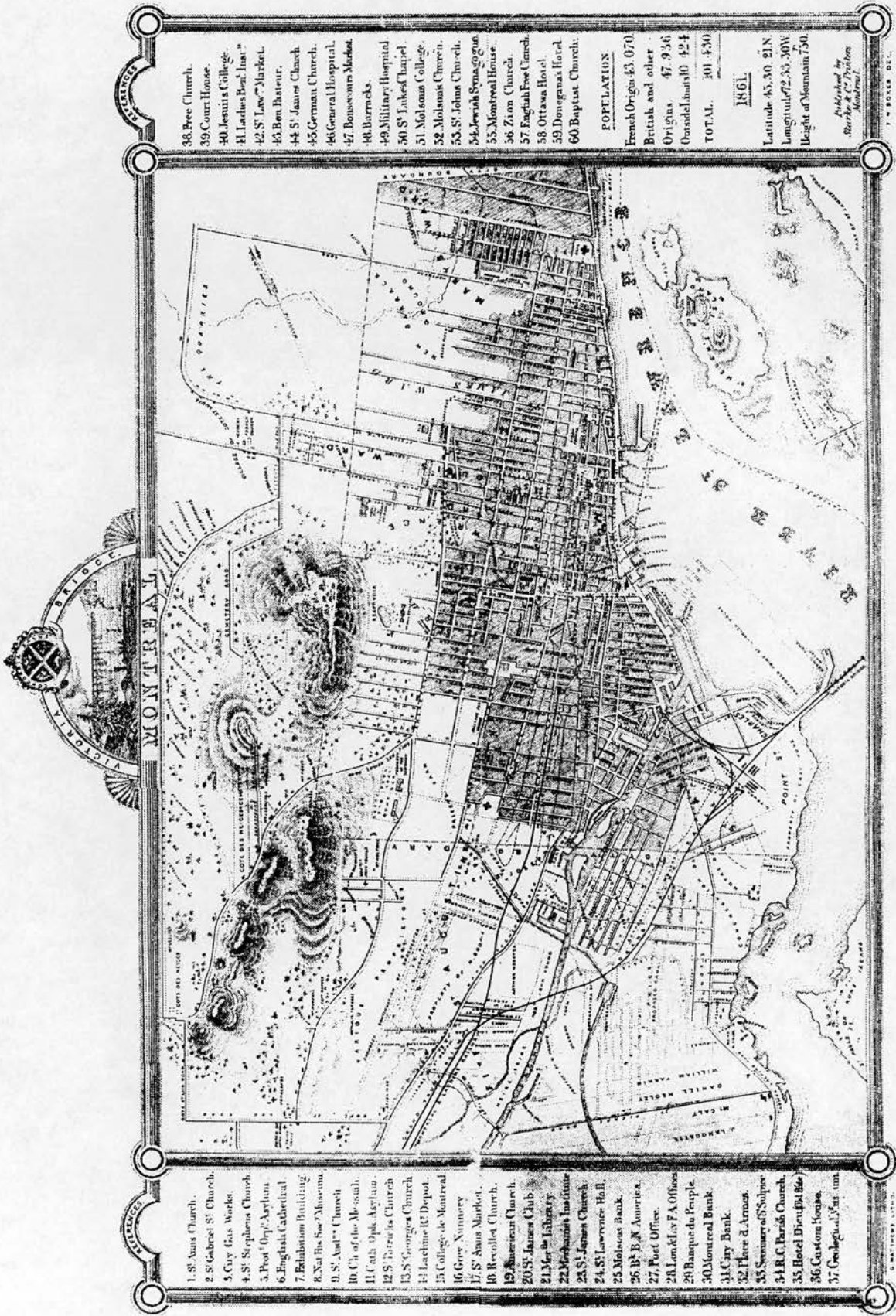


- 17 St. Michel's Church
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- St. Andrew's Church
- St. Nicholas' Church
- St. Peter's Church
- St. Paul's Church
- St. John's Church
- St. Mark's Church
- St. Luke's Church
- St. Matthew's Church
- St. Philip's Church
- St. James' Church
- St. George's Church
- St. Andrew's Church
- St. Nicholas' Church
- St. Peter's Church
- St. Paul's Church
- St. John's Church
- St. Mark's Church
- St. Luke's Church
- St. Matthew's Church
- St. Philip's Church

RIVER ST LAWRENCE

Map D. Montreal in 1835



1. St. Anne's Church.
2. St. Gabriel St. Church.
3. City Gas Works.
4. St. Stephens Church.
5. Post Office Asylum.
6. English Cathedral.
7. Exhibition Building.
8. The Old Burying Ground.
9. St. Anne's Church.
10. City of the Messiah.
11. Catholic Orphan Asylum.
12. St. Charles Church.
13. St. Georges Church.
14. Leclerc's Depot.
15. College de Montreal.
16. Grey Nunnery.
17. St. Anne's Market.
18. Recollet Church.
19. American Church.
20. St. James Club.
21. The Library.
22. McPherson's Institute.
23. St. James Church.
24. St. Lawrence Hotel.
25. Molsons Bank.
26. B. N. America.
27. Post Office.
28. London & FA Office.
29. Banque du Peuple.
30. Montreal Bank.
31. City Bank.
32. Place d'Armes.
33. Seminary of St. Sulpice.
34. B. C. Parish Church.
35. Hotel Dieu (St. M.).
36. Customs House.
37. Oratoire de St. Joseph.

38. Free Church.
39. Court House.
40. Menais College.
41. Ladies' Bazaar.
42. St. Lawrence Market.
43. Benoit's Theatre.
44. St. James Church.
45. German Church.
46. General Hospital.
47. Bonsecours Market.
48. Barracks.
49. Military Hospital.
50. St. Luke's Hospital.
51. Molsons College.
52. Molsons Church.
53. St. John's Church.
54. Jewish Synagogue.
55. Montreal House.
56. Zion Church.
57. English Free Church.
58. Ottawa Hotel.
59. Domegas Hotel.
60. Baptist Church.

POPULATION

French Origin 43,070

British and other Origins 47,936

Overseas 10,424

TOTAL 101,430

1861

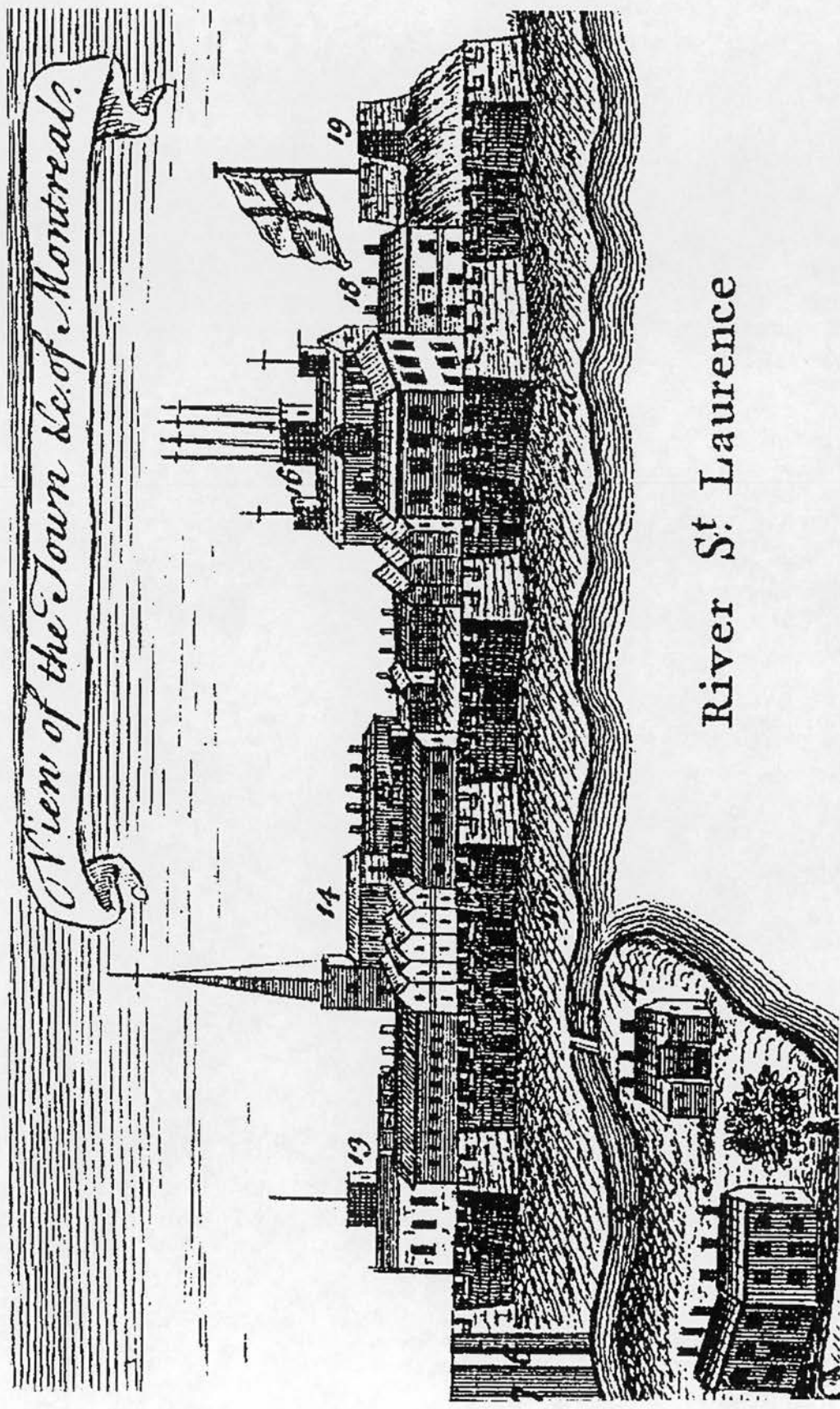
Latitude 45.50, 21 N

Longitude 72.53, 30 W

Height of Mountain 530

Published by
Barth & Co. Printers
Montreal.

Map F. Montreal in 1861



River St. Laurence

Fig.1 View of Montreal in 1760. Note the fictitious rendering of the Récollet Convent, the Church of Notre Dame and the Jesuit Convent, numbered 13, 14 and 16, respectively.



Fig.2 North view of Montreal in 1805.
Note prominence of the Church of Notre Dame.



Fig.3 Chapel of the Récollet Convent,
begun 1706, Pierre Janson dit Lapalme

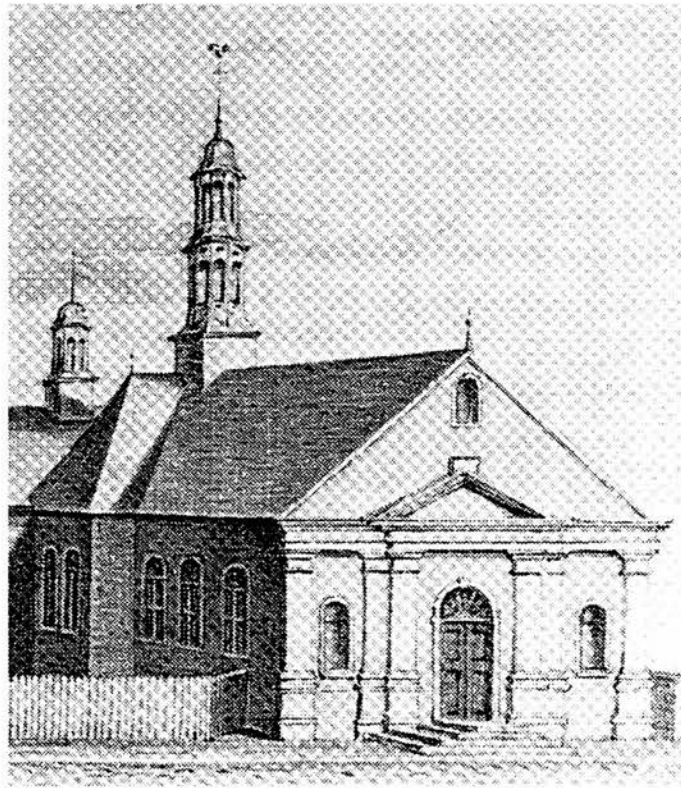


Fig.4 Chapel of the Jesuit Convent,
begun 1719, Pierre Janson dit Lapalme

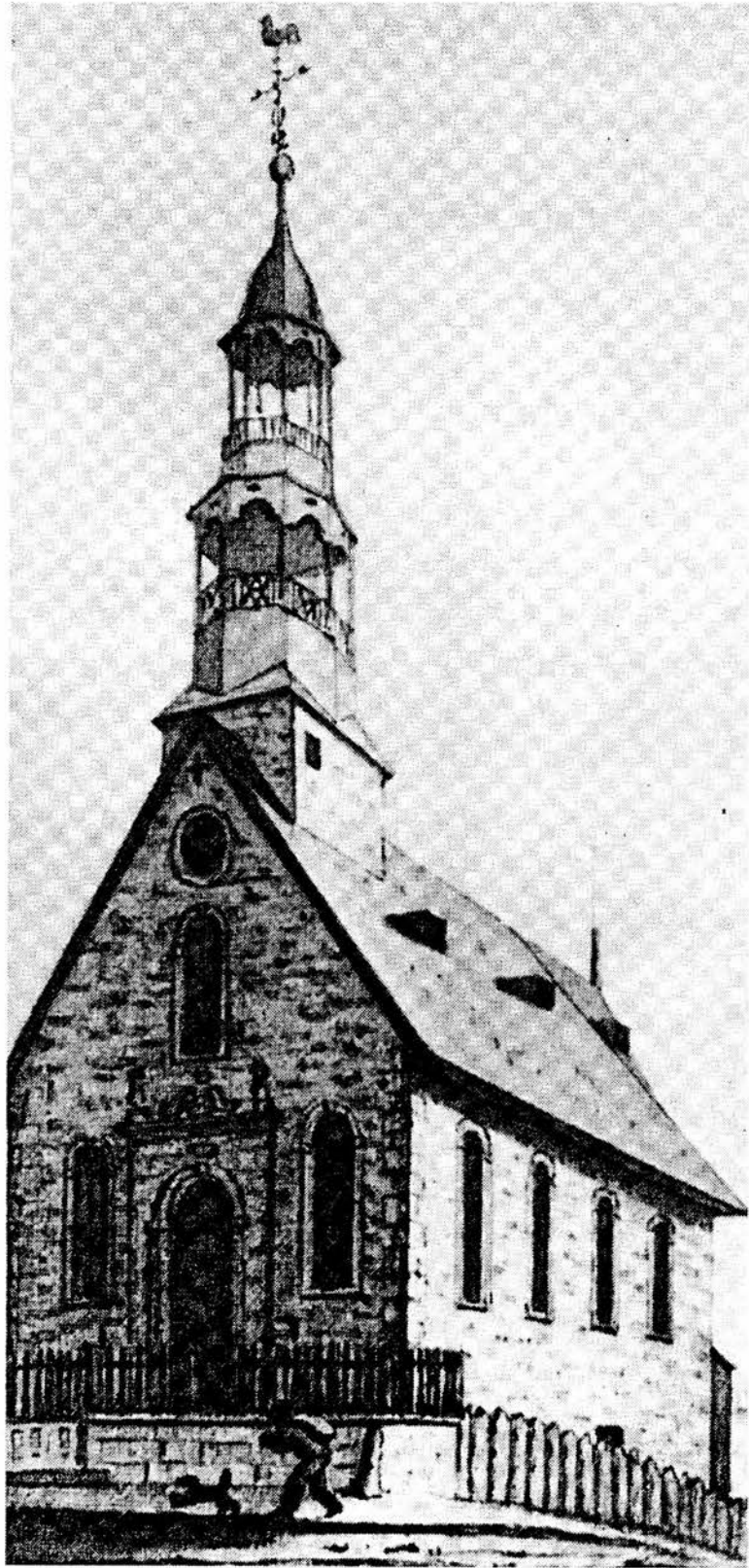


Fig.5 Notre Dame de Bonsecours Chapel, rebuilt 1771

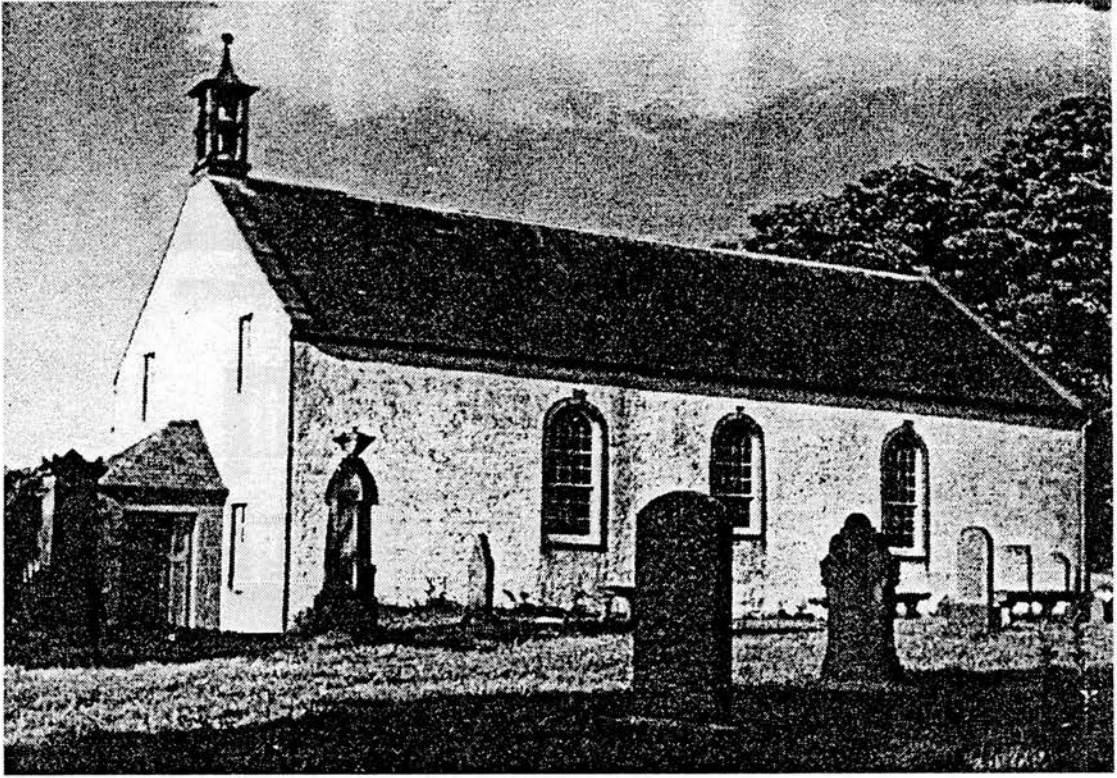


Fig.6 Church at Inverarity, Angus, Scotland, 1754



Fig.7 St. Gabriel Street Church, begun 1792,
John Telfer and John McIntosh

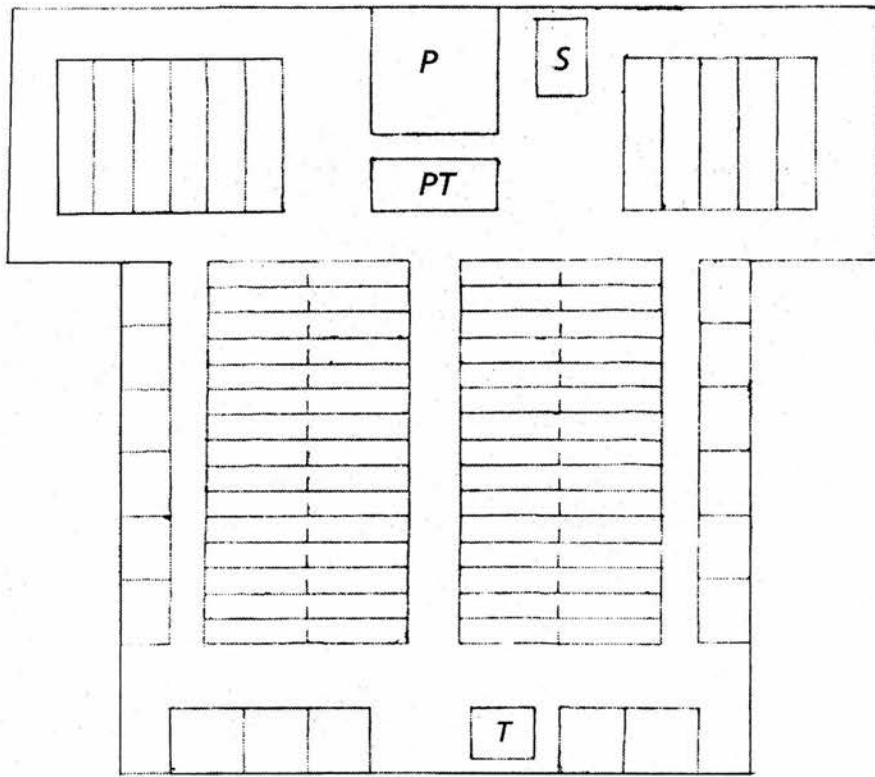


Fig.8 Pew plan of St. Gabriel Street Church.
 P=Pulpit PT=Precentor's Table
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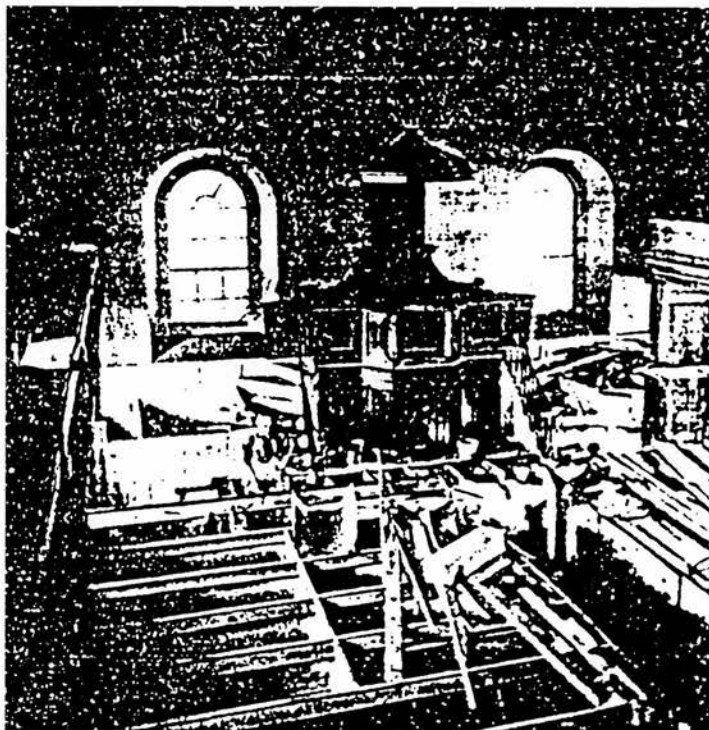


Fig.9 Interior of St. Gabriel Street Church

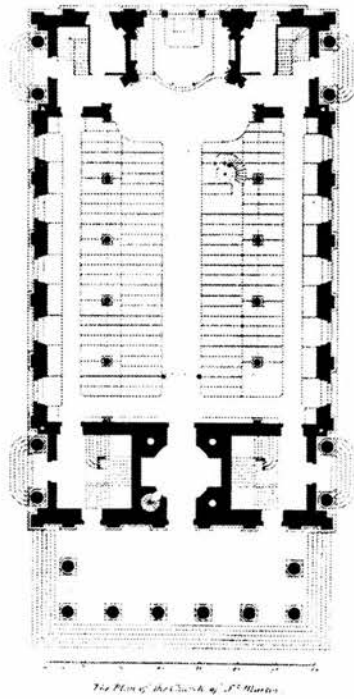


Fig.10 Elevation and plan of the Church of St. Martin in the Fields, London, 1728, James Gibbs

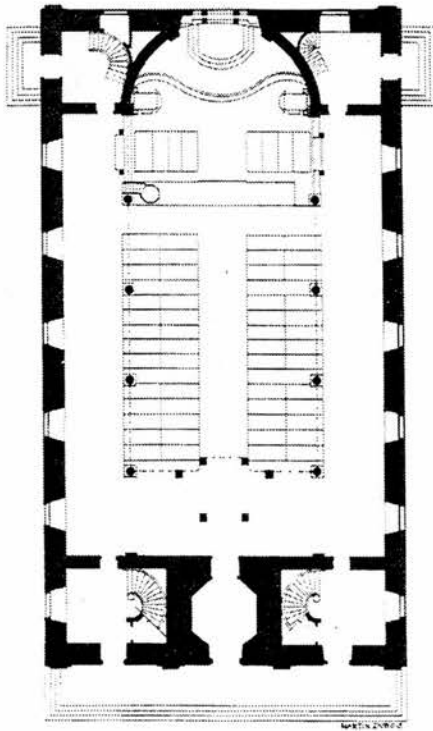
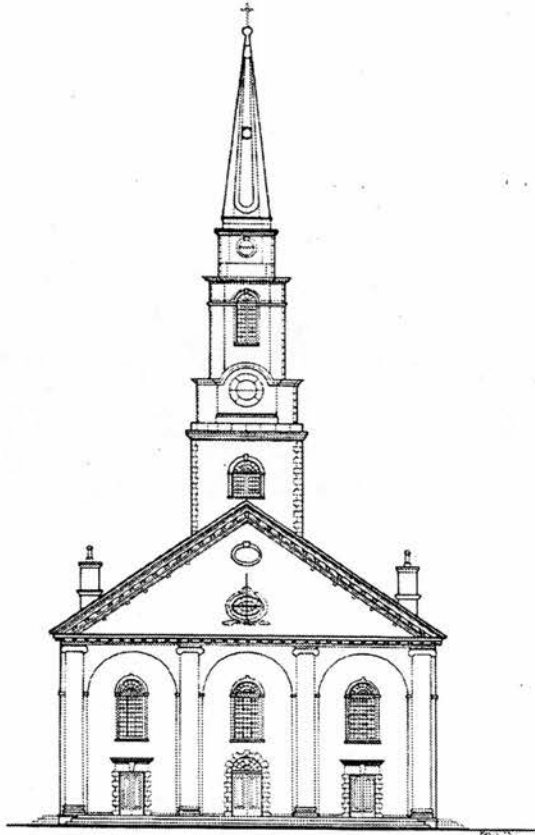


Fig.11 Elevation and plan of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec City, 1800, William Hall and William Robe

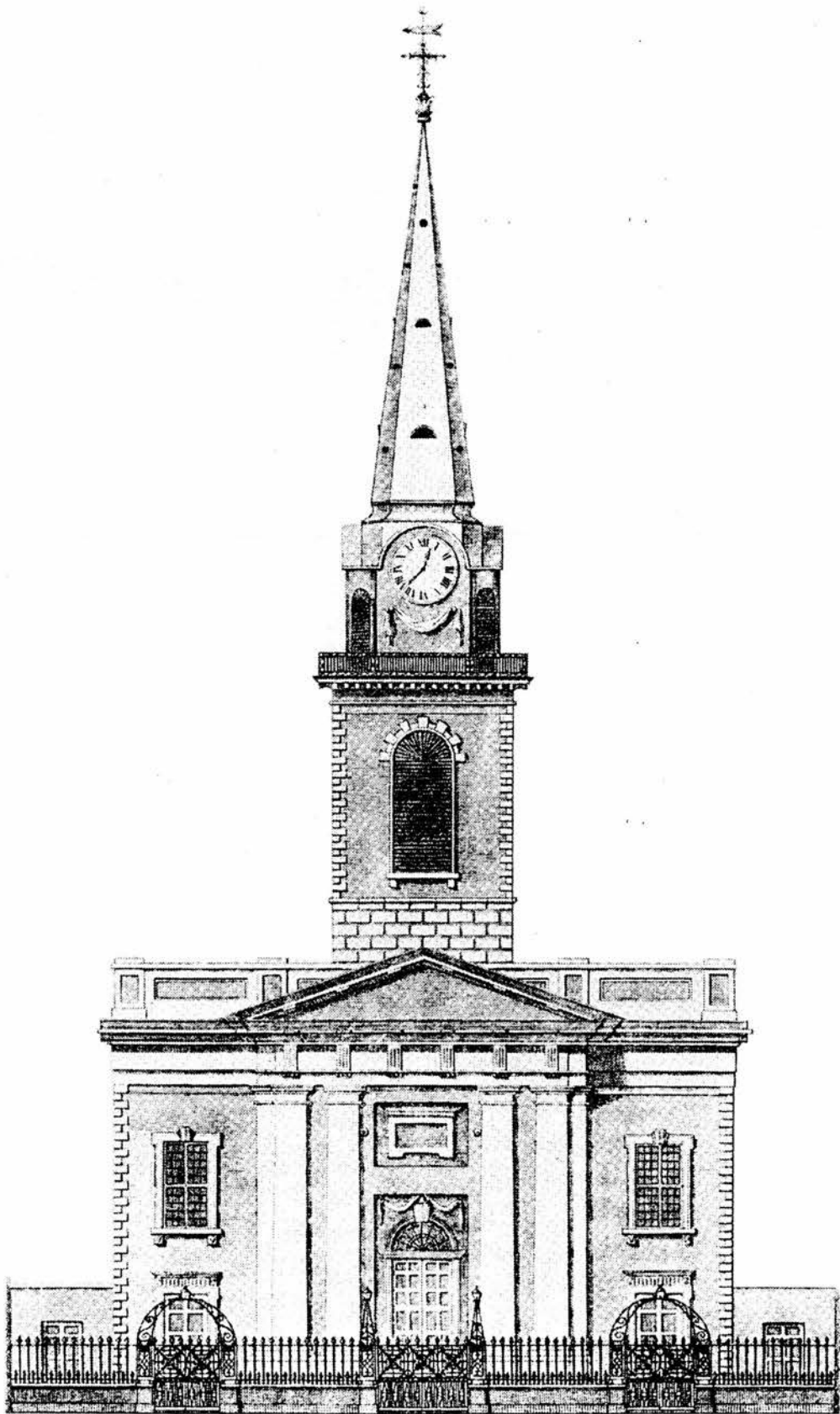


Fig.12 Christ Church, 1805-1821, William Berczy

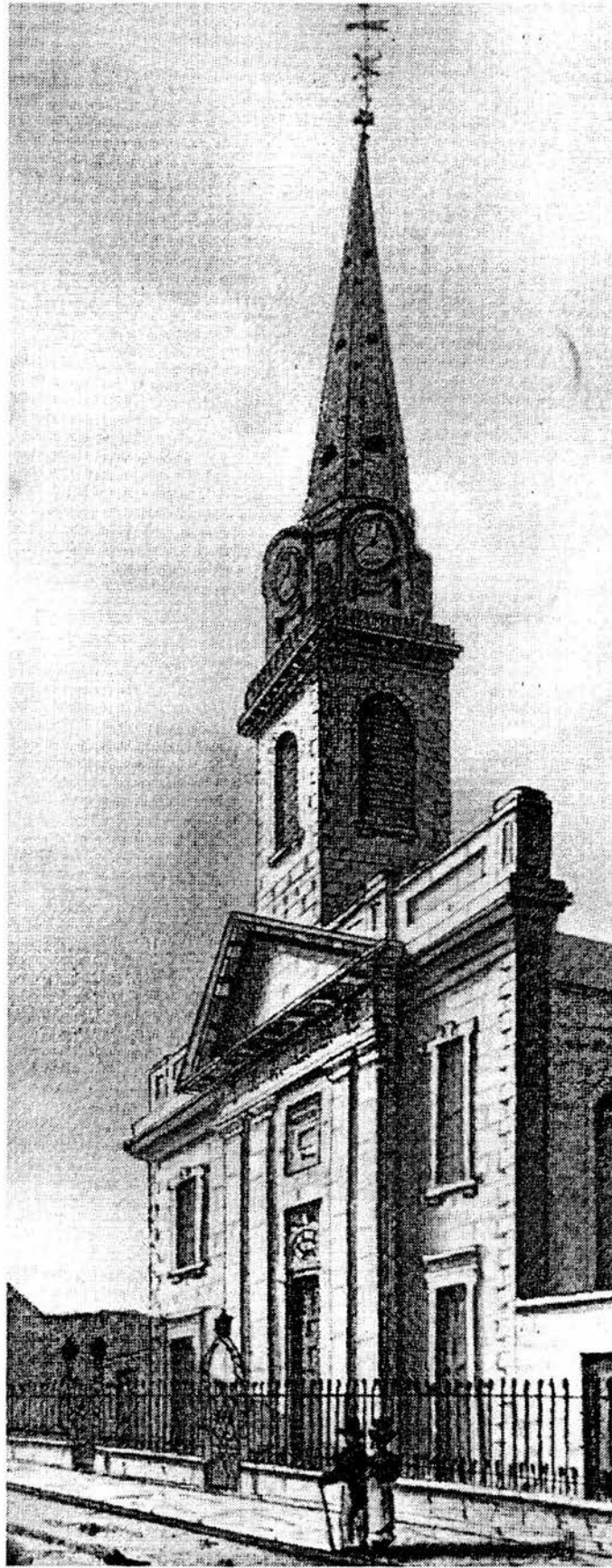


Fig.13 View of Christ Church

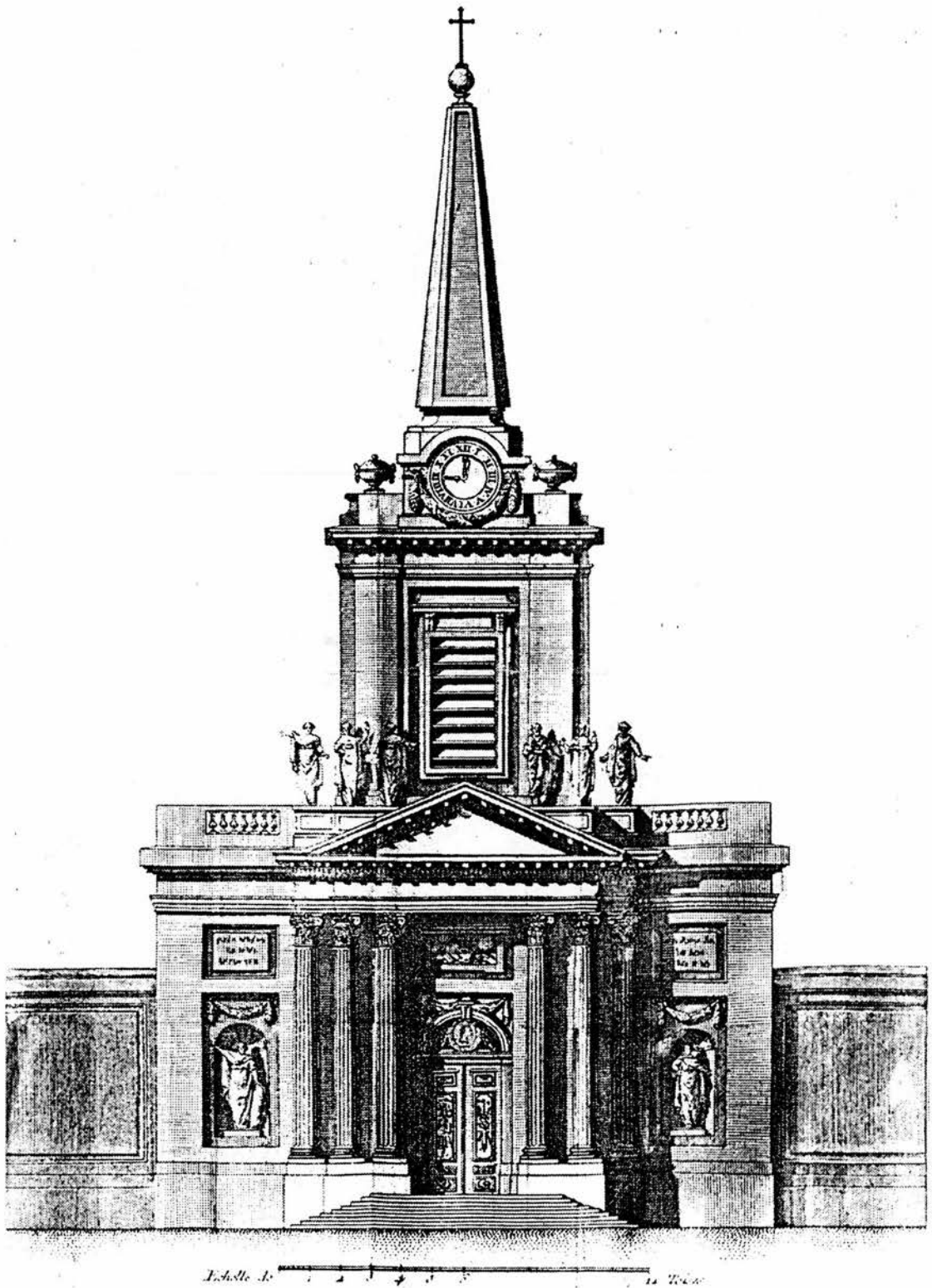


Fig.14 Proposal for a Conventual Church, 1777, J.-F. Blondel

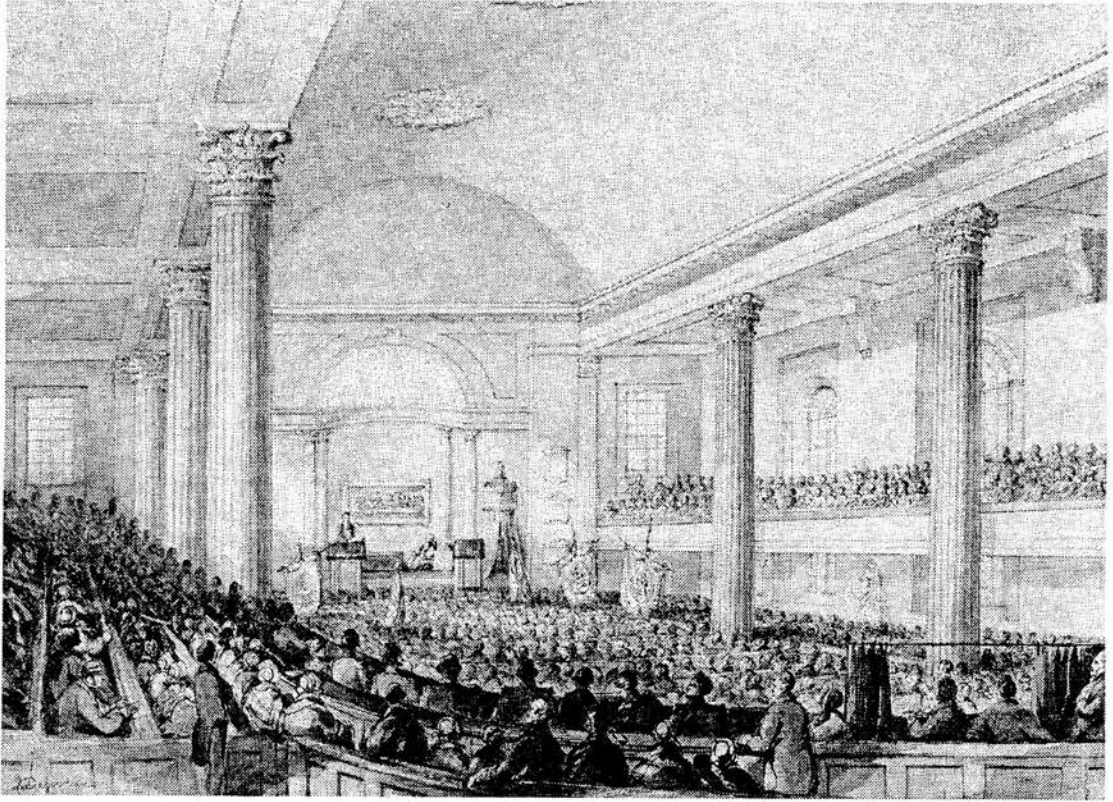


Fig.15 Interior of Christ Church



Fig.16 Project for the façade of the Church of Notre Dame, 1721-1722, Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry

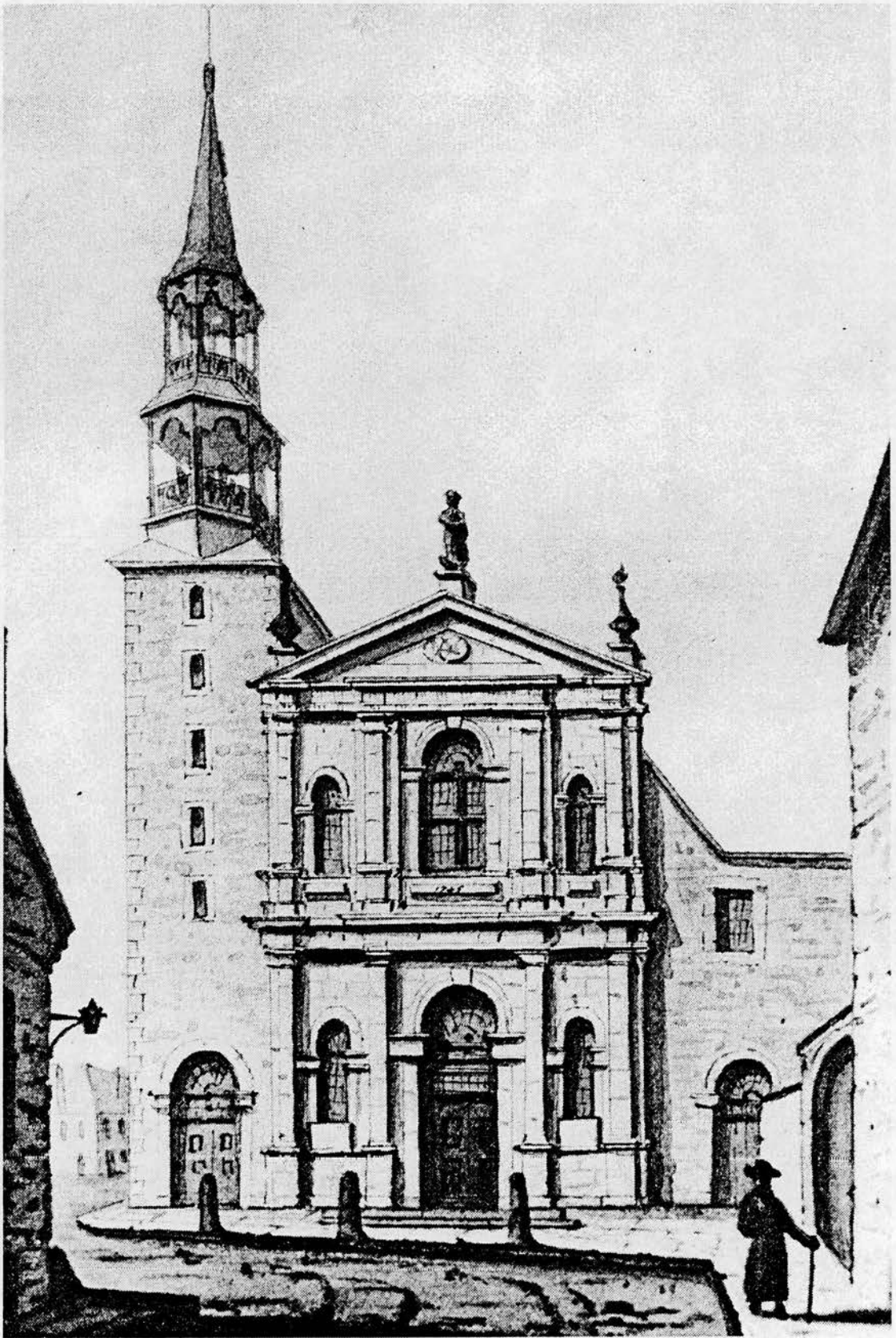


Fig.17 Renovated façade of the Church of Notre Dame, 1811-1812, William Berczy

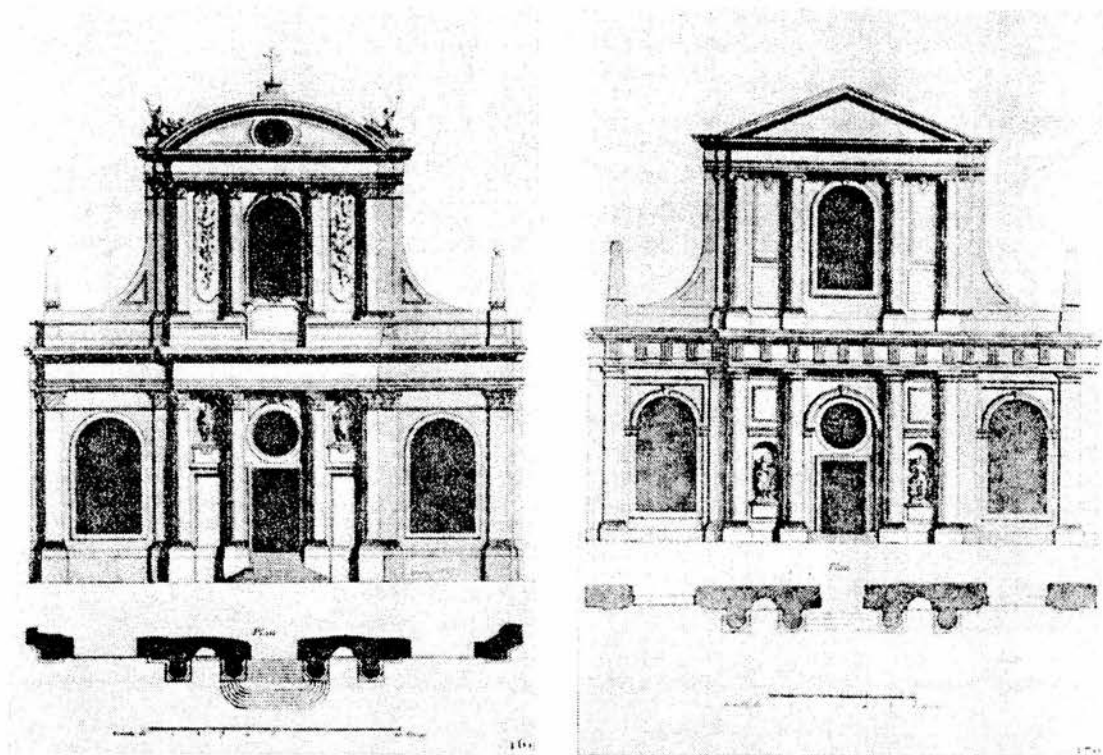


Fig.18 Proposals for the north and south transepts,
Church of St. Sulpice, Paris, by G.-M Oppenordt after J.-F. Blondel



Fig.19 Proposal for the Church of Notre Dame, 1811, William Berczy

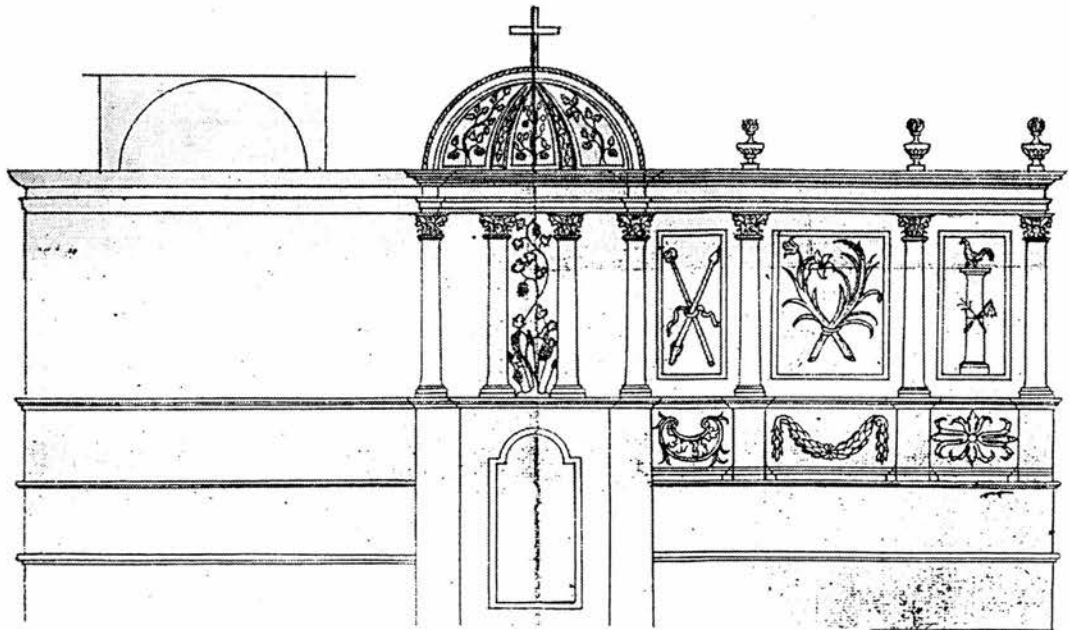


Fig.20 Proposal for the High Altar, Church of Notre Dame, 1815, Louis Quévillon

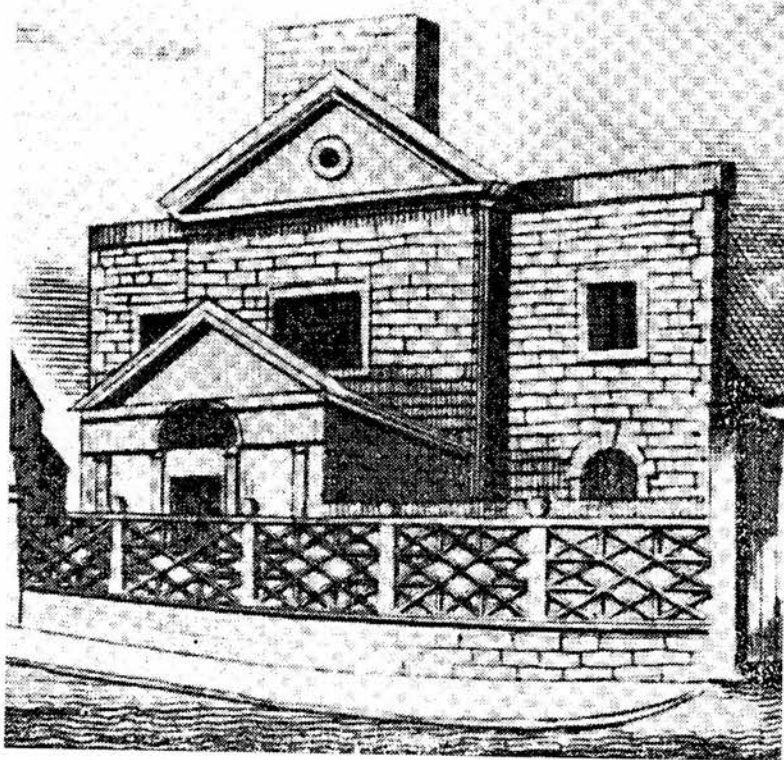


Fig.21 St. Peter Street Church, 1805, Alexander Logie

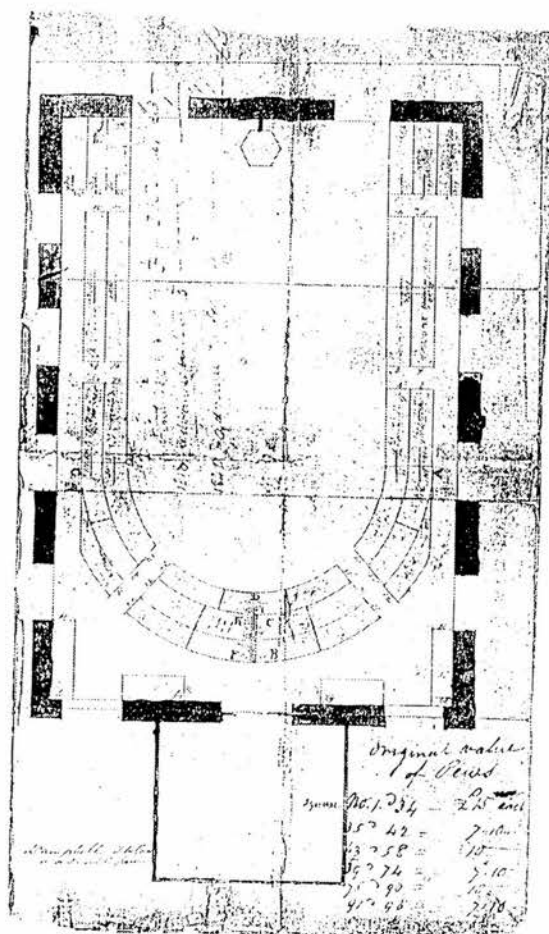


Fig.22 Pew plan of St. Peter Street Church

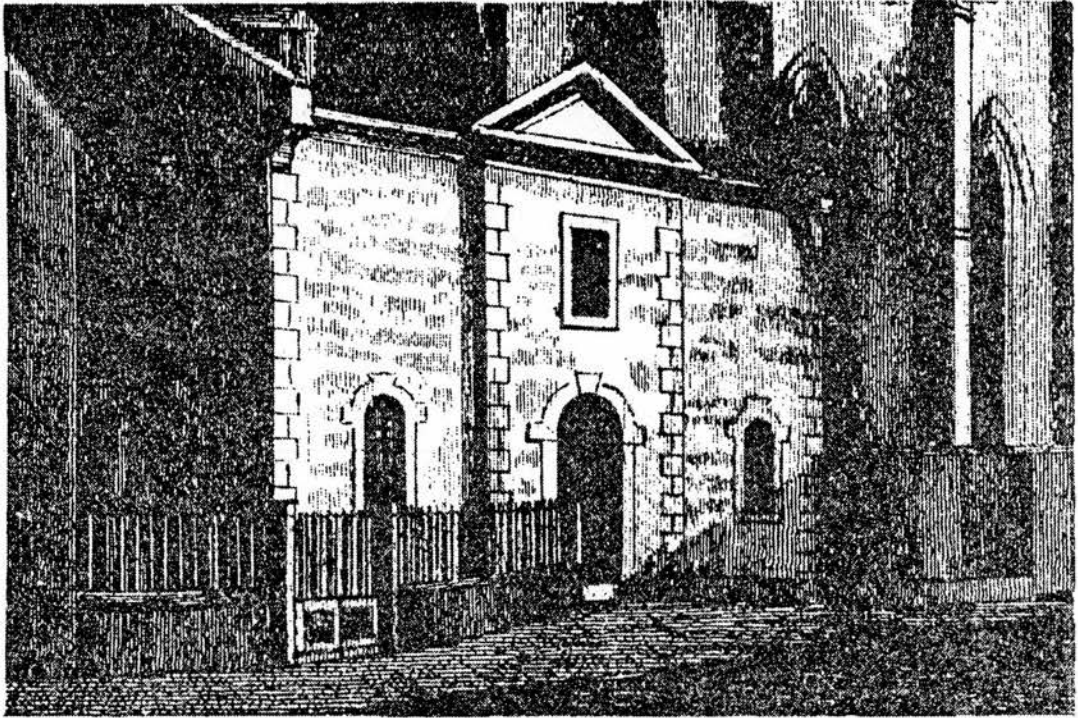


Fig.23 Methodist Chapel, St. Joseph Street, 1808

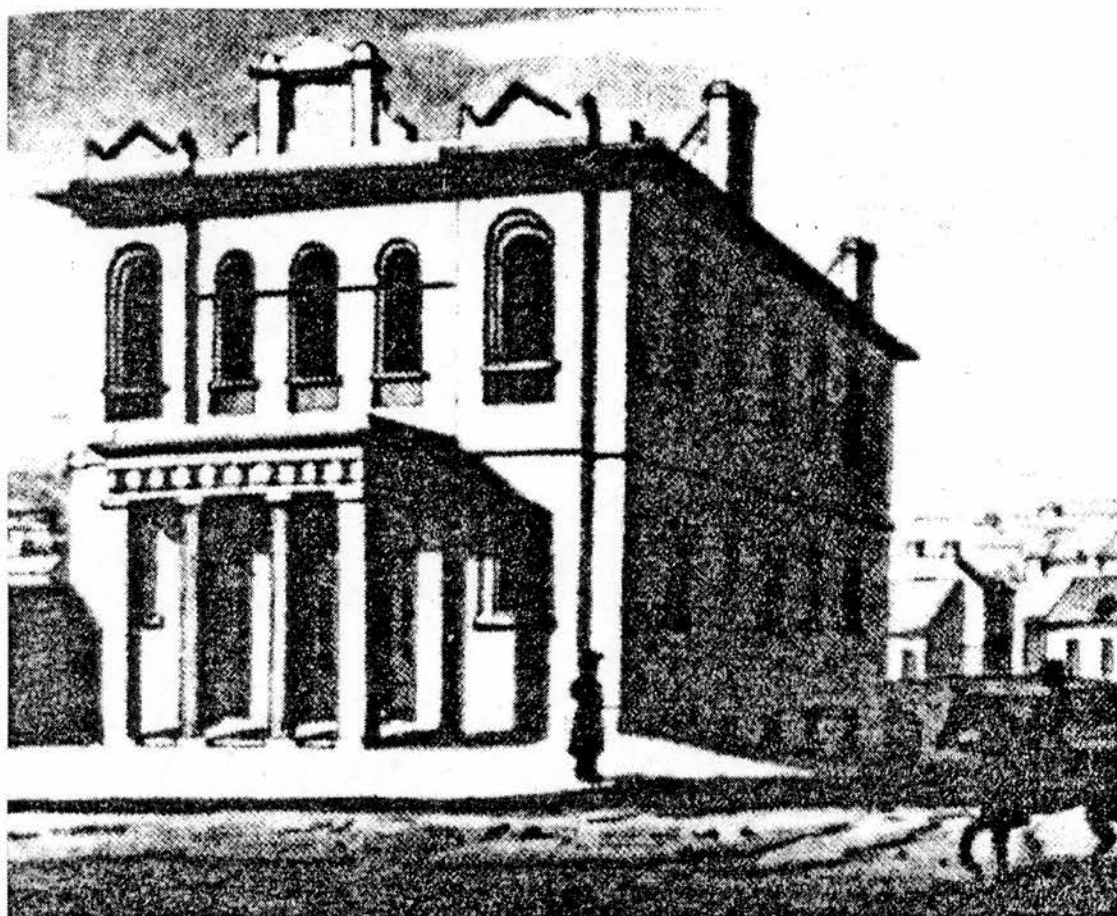


Fig.24 St. James Street Church, 1821, John Try



Fig.25 City Road Chapel, London, 1780

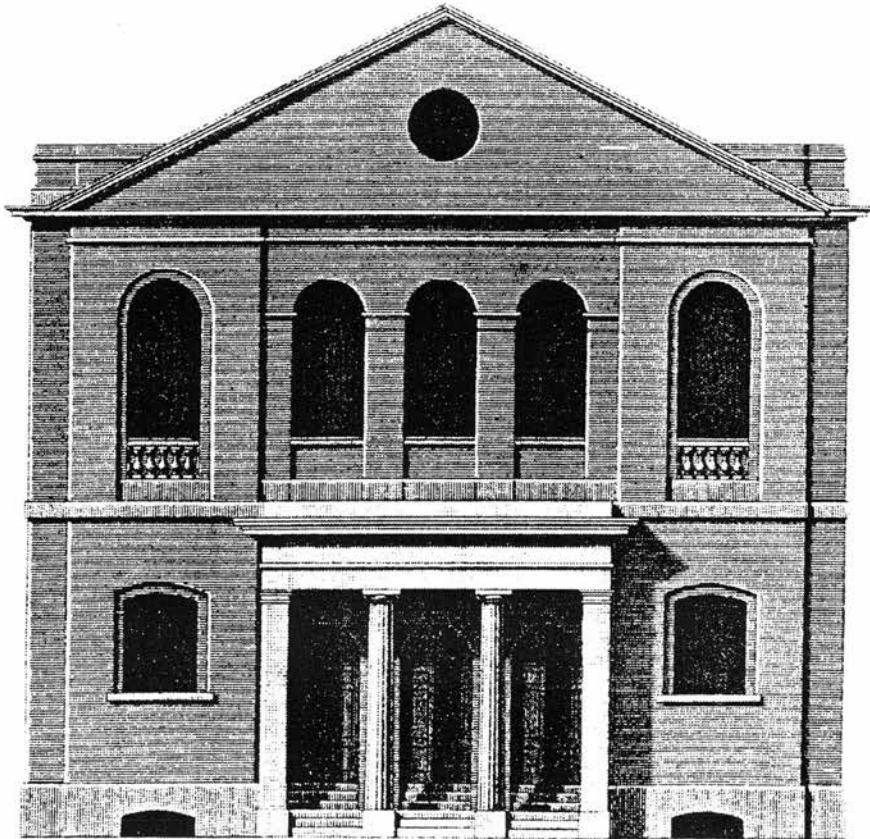


Fig.26 Ranelagh Chapel, Chelsea, London, 1818, W.F. Pocock

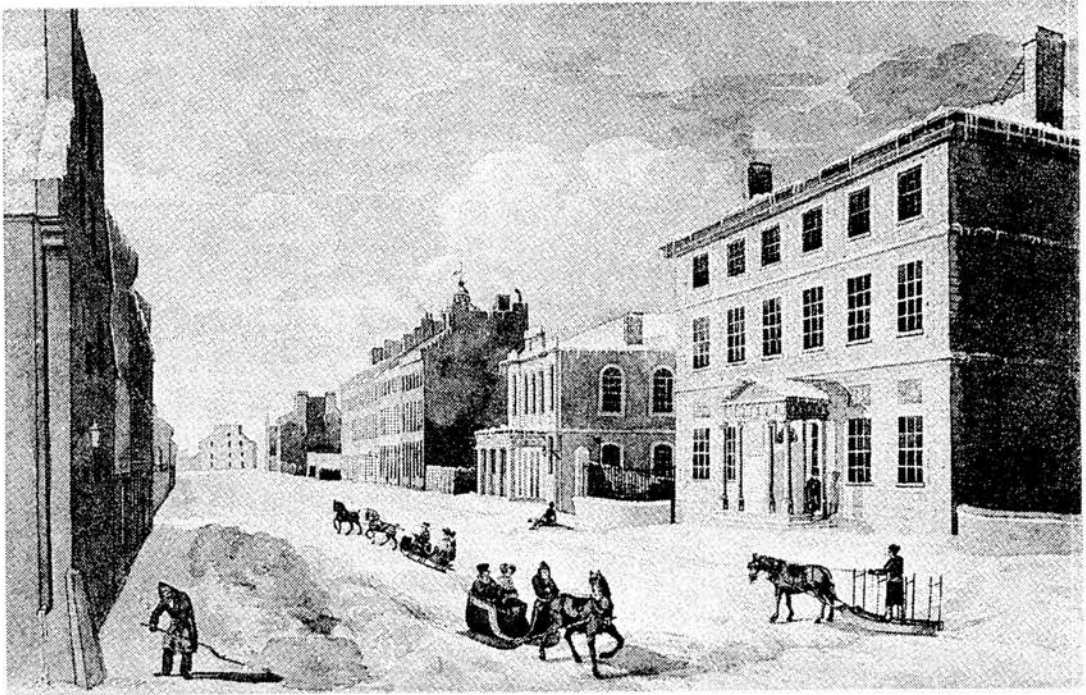


Fig.27 View of St. James Street Church

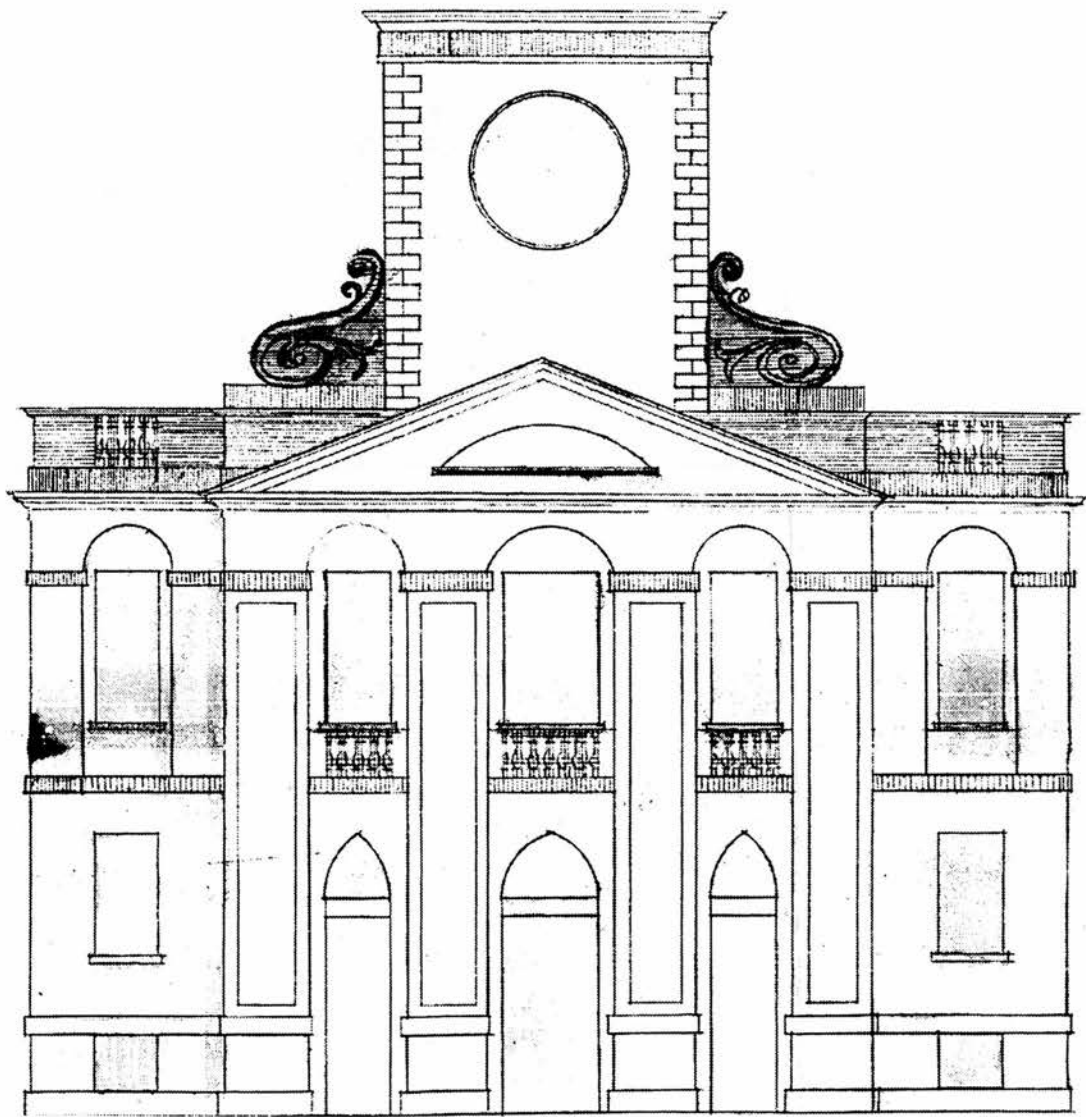


Fig.28 Proposal for American Presbyterian Church, 1825, Moses Marshall

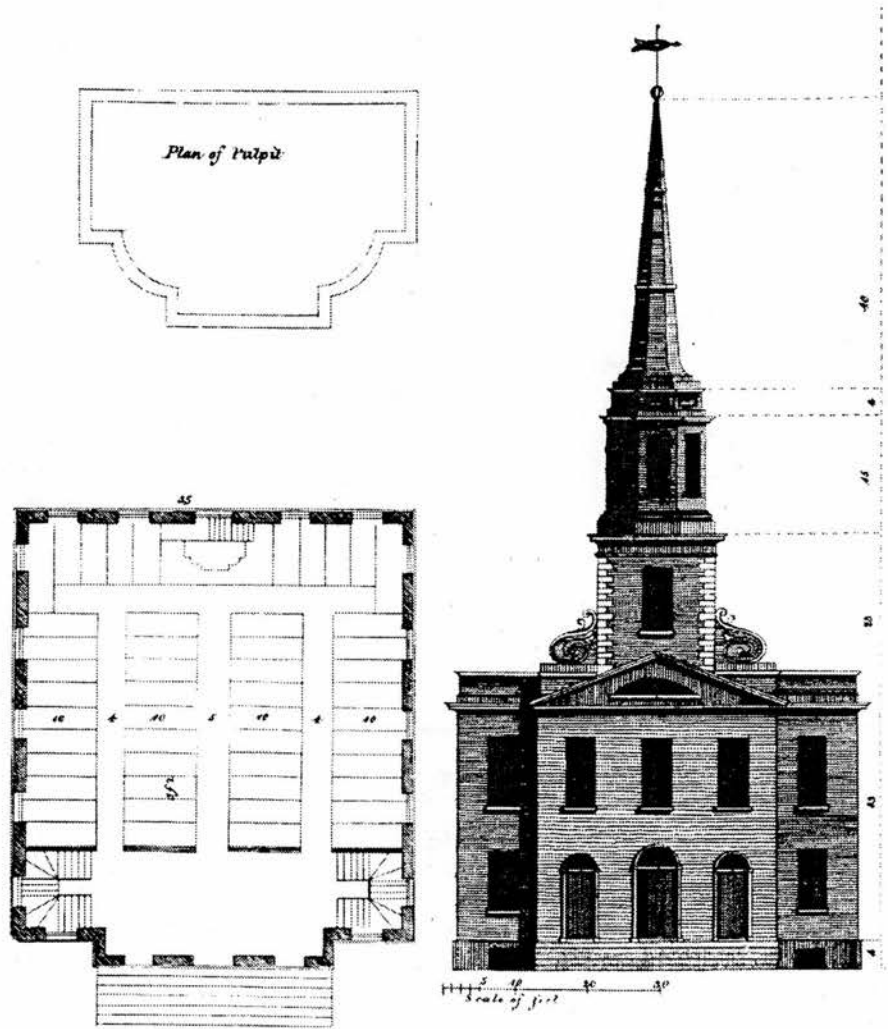


Fig.29 Proposal for a Church, 1816, Asher Benjamin

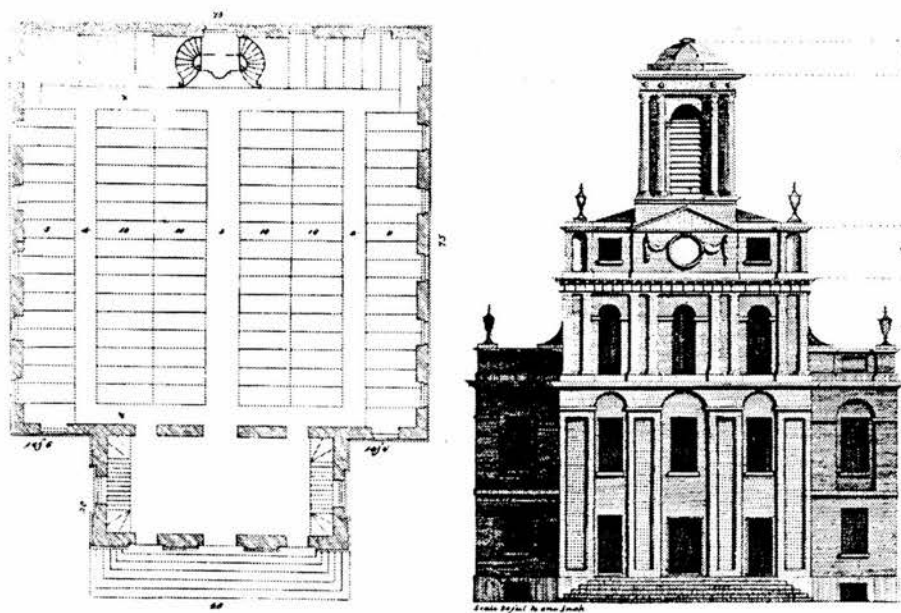


Fig.30 Proposal for a Church, 1816, Asher Benjamin

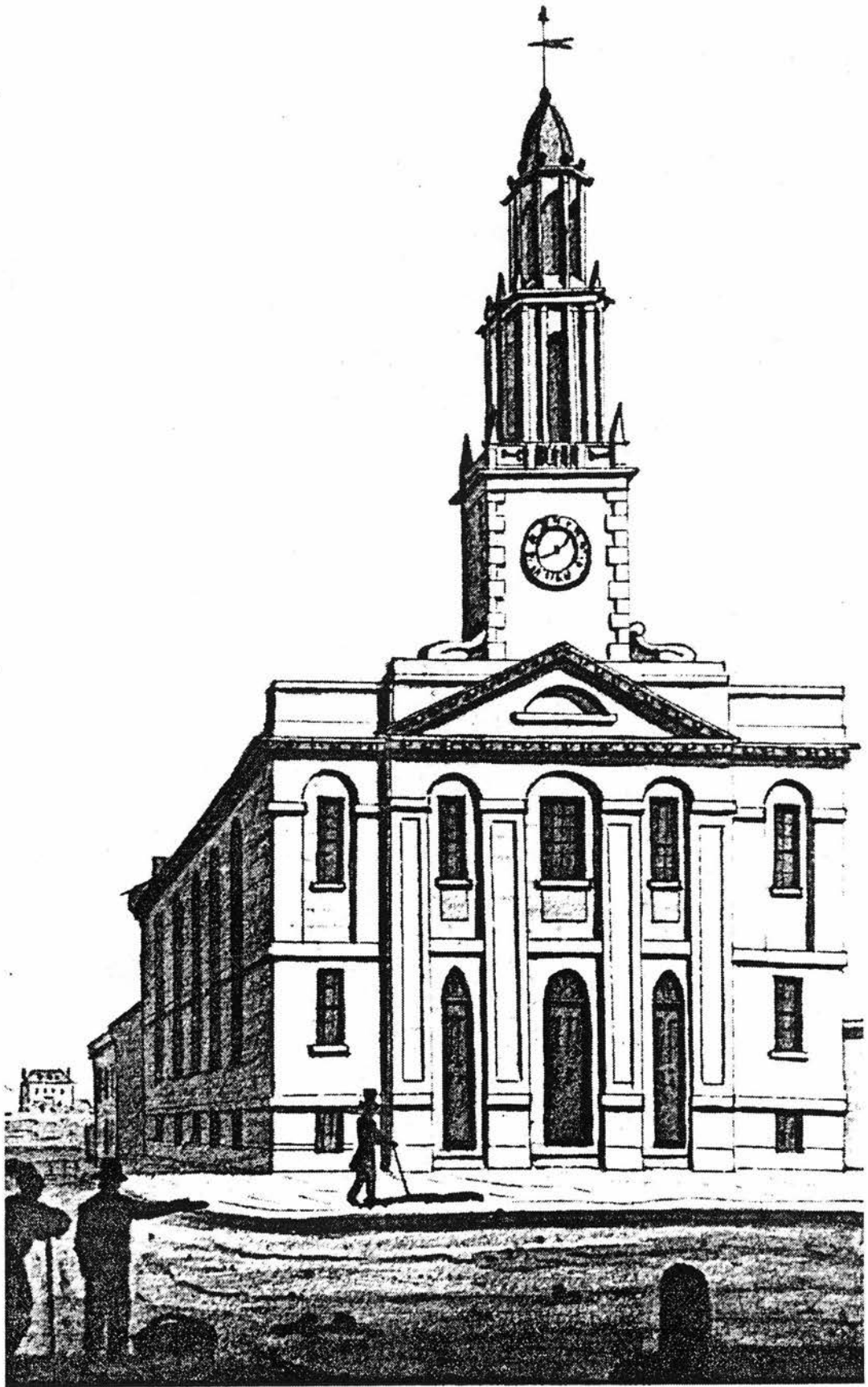


Fig.31 View of American Presbyterian Church



Fig.32 View of American Presbyterian Church

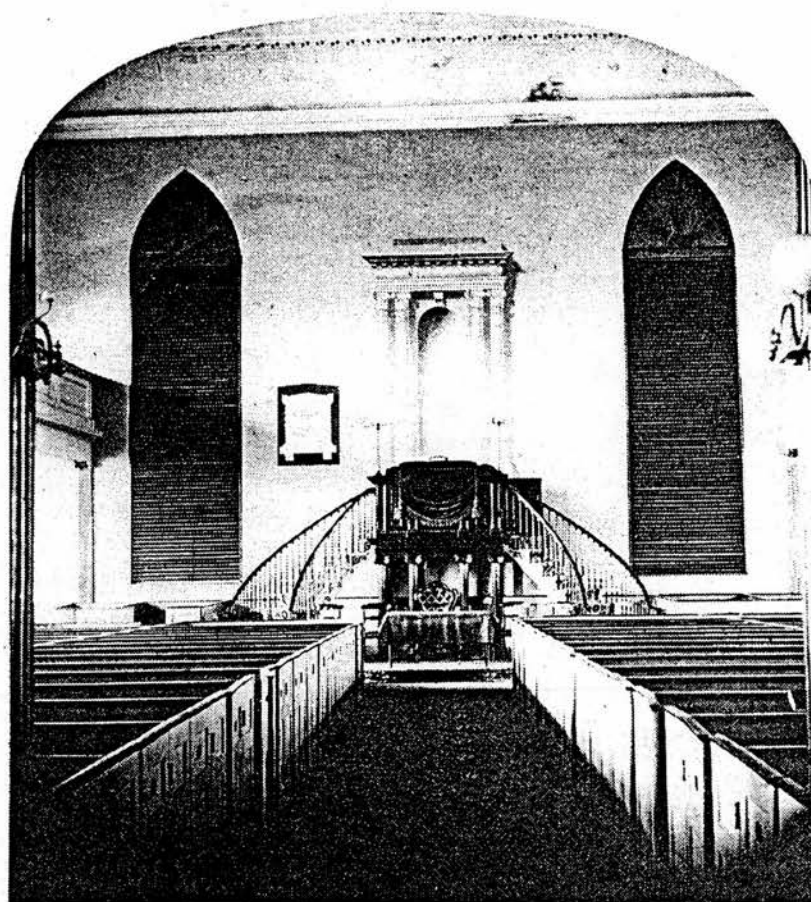


Fig.33 Interior of American Presbyterian Church

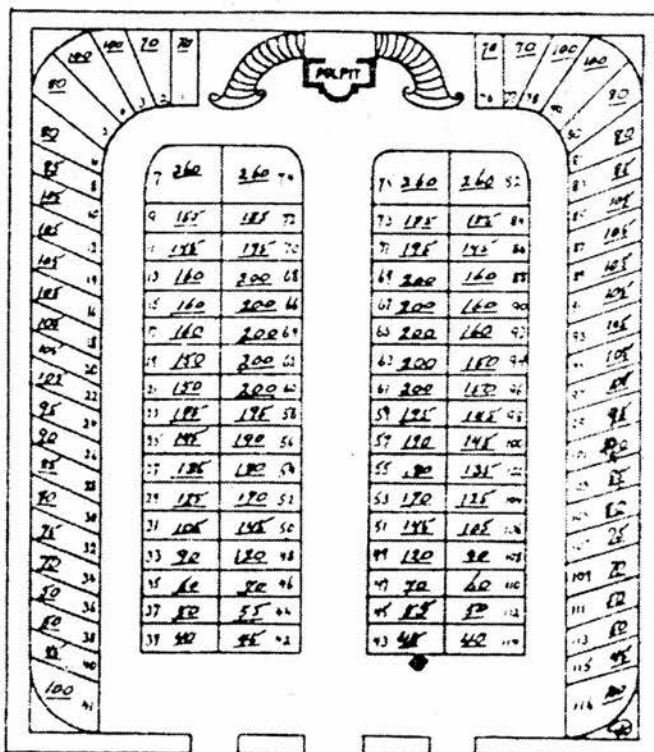




Fig.35 Church of St. Denis sur Richelieu, St. Hyacinthe, 1792

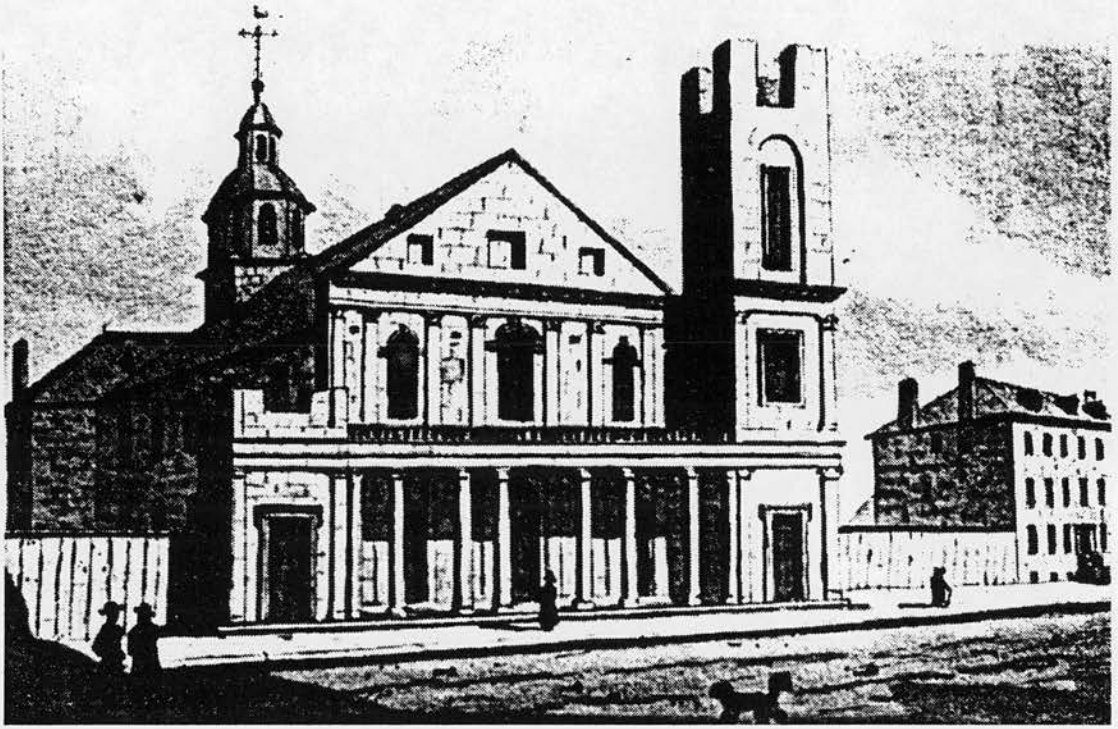


Fig.36 St. Jacques Cathedral, begun 1823, Joseph Fournier

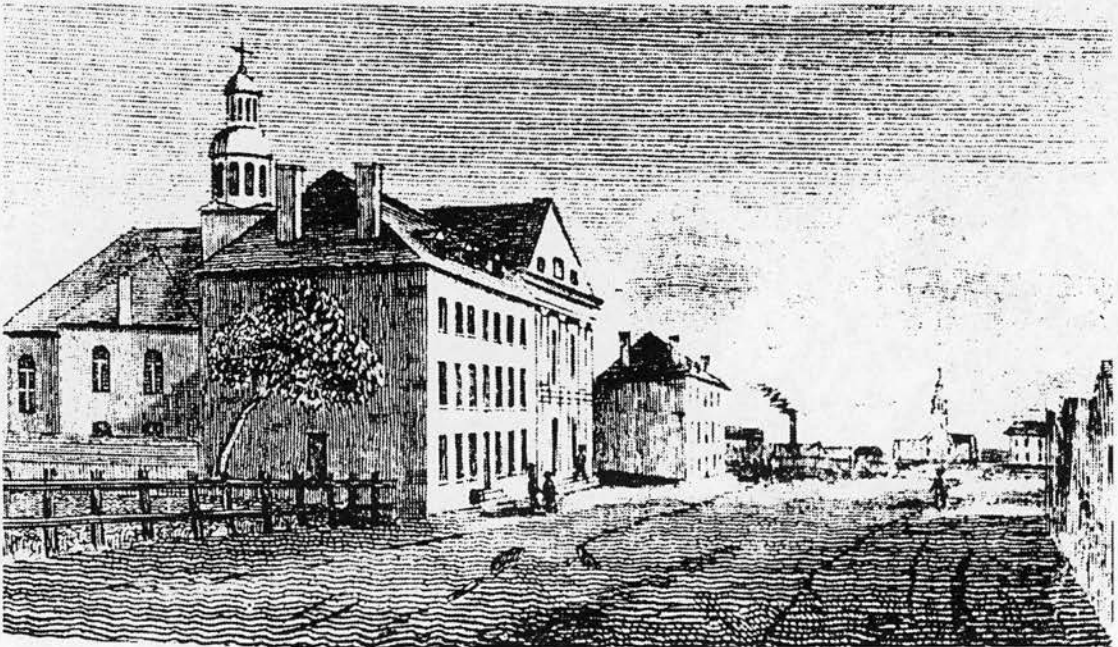


Fig.37 St. Jacques Cathedral and Episcopal Palace, view from St. Denis Street

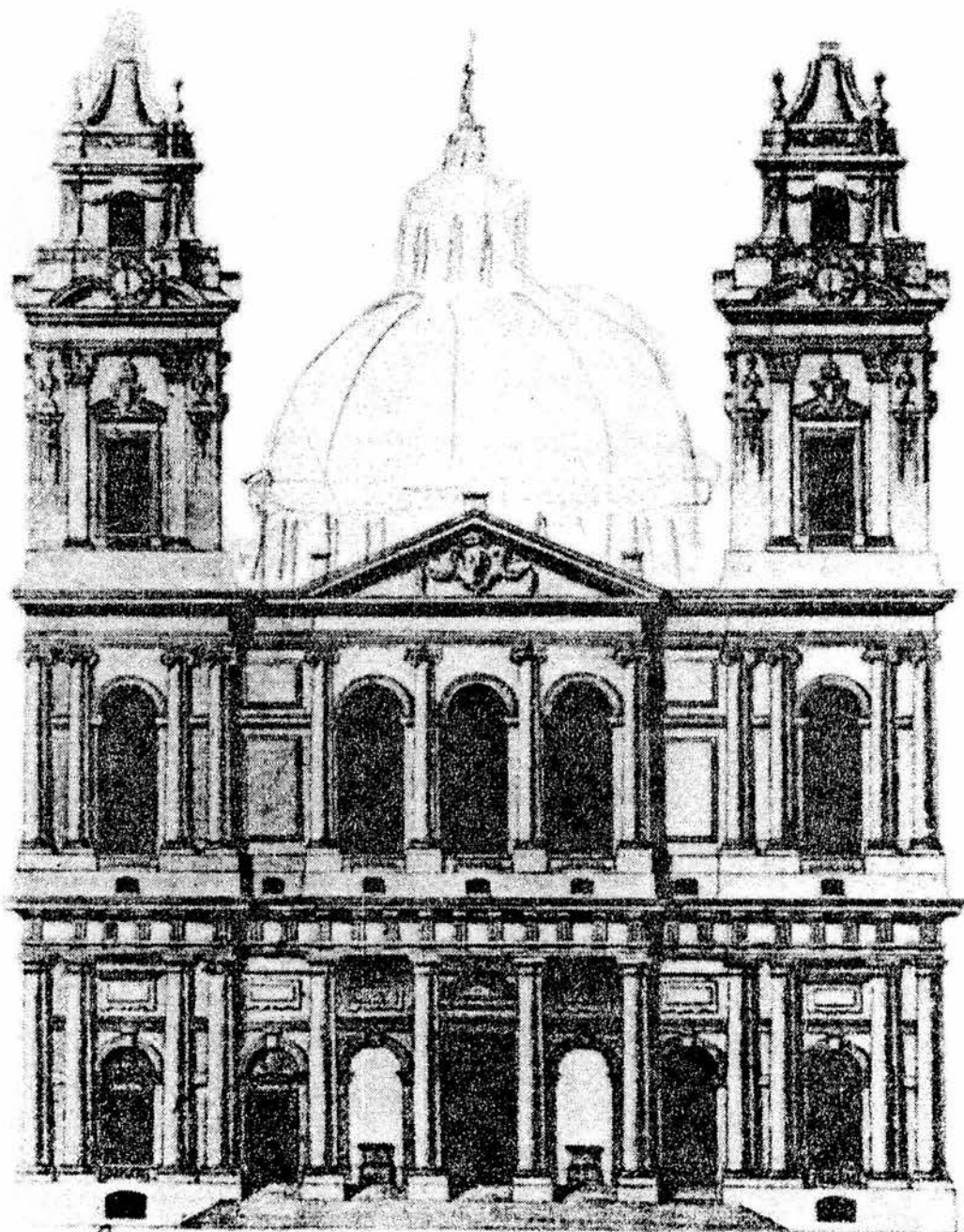


Fig.38 Project for the façade, Church of St. Sulpice, Paris, 1732, J.-N. Servandoni



Fig.39 Interior of Church of St. Denis sur Richelieu,
St. Hyacinthe

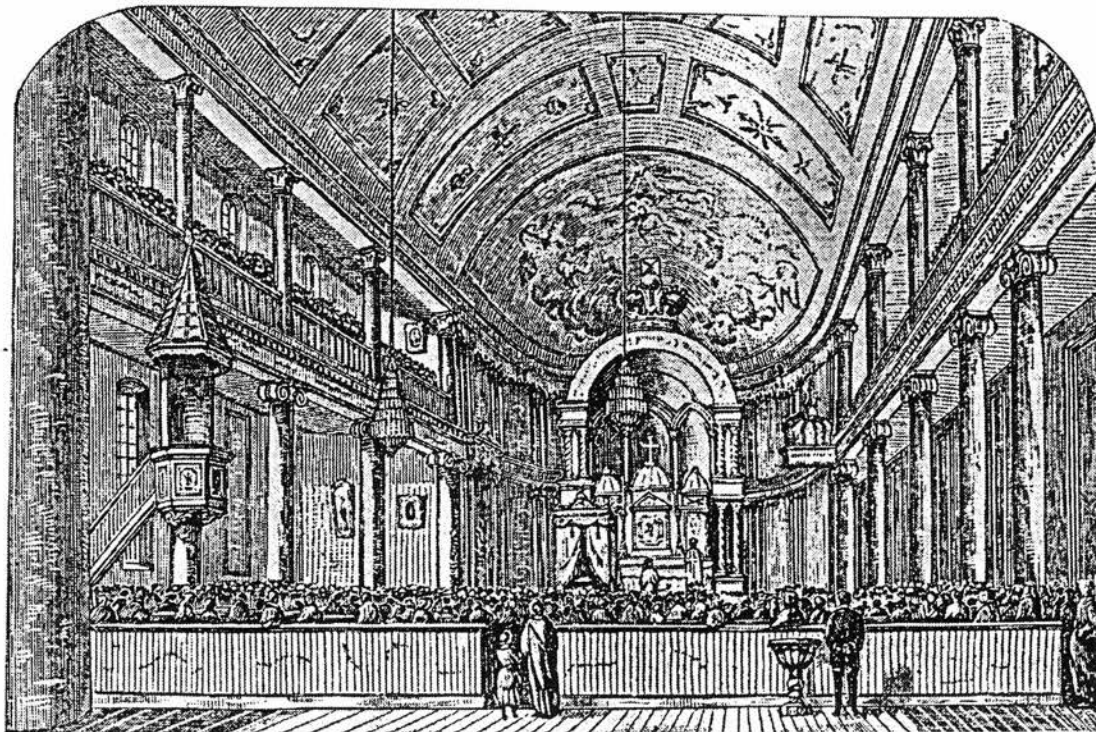


Fig.40 Interior of St. Jacques Cathedral

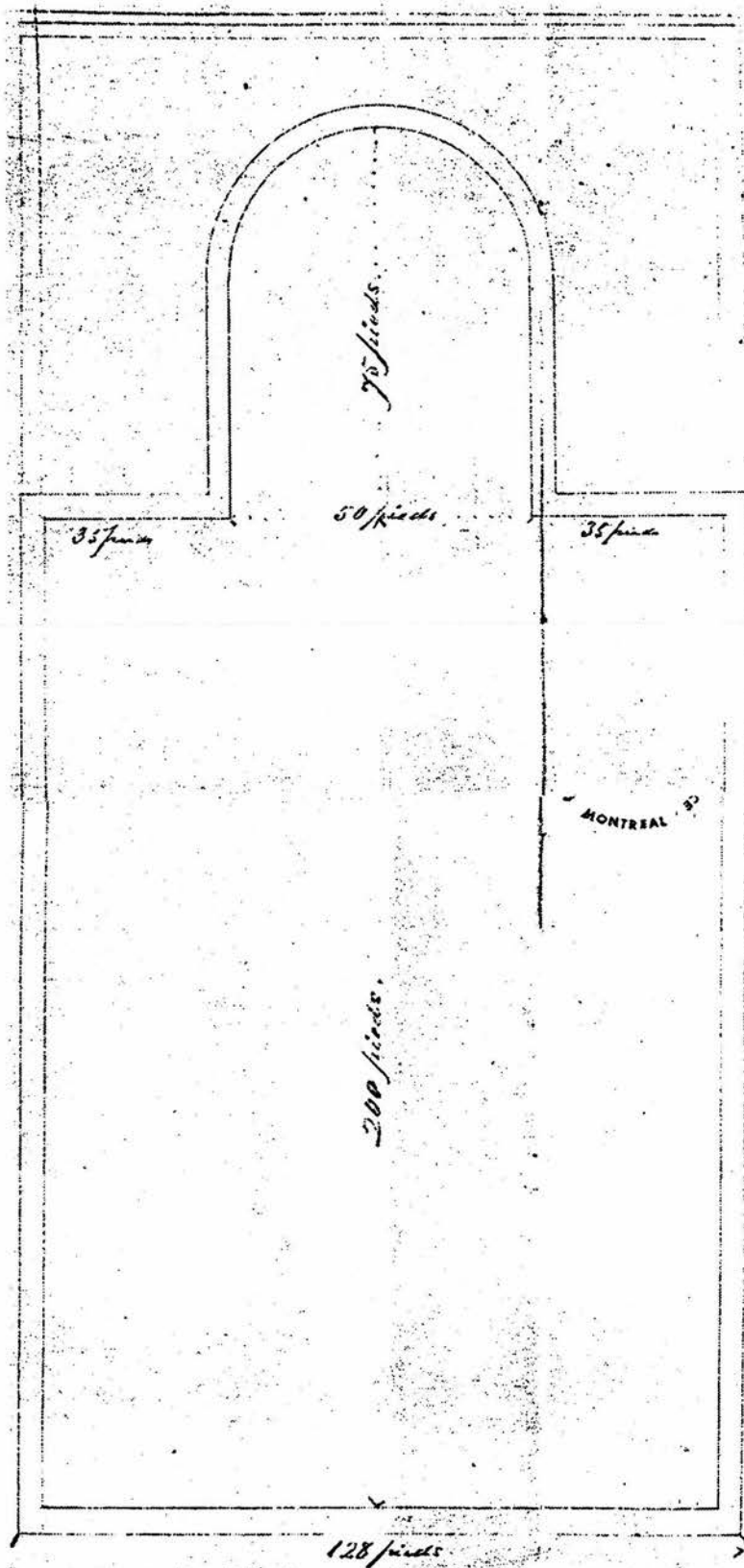


Fig.41 Plan of Church of Notre Dame, 1823

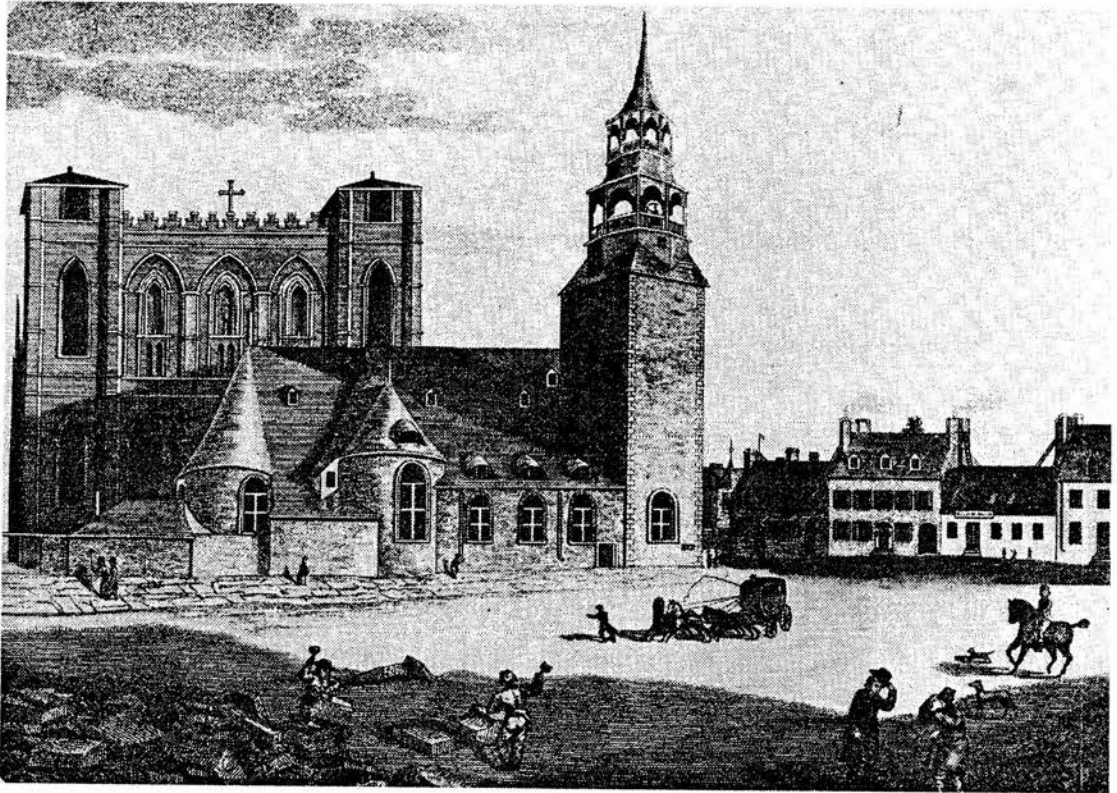


Fig.42 View of old and new Churches of Notre Dame, 1830

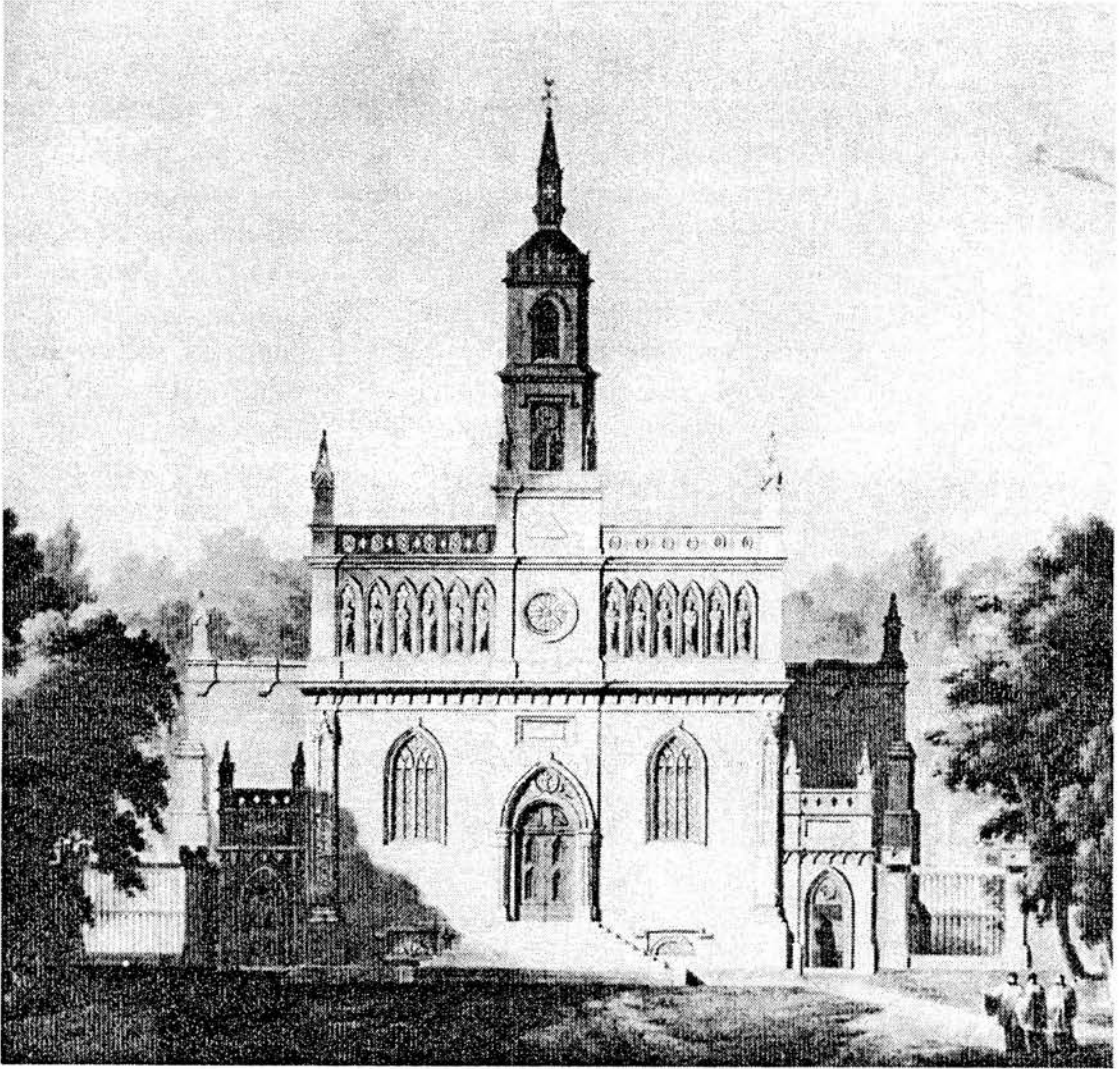


Fig.43 St. Mary's Chapel, Baltimore, 1807, Maximilien Godefroy

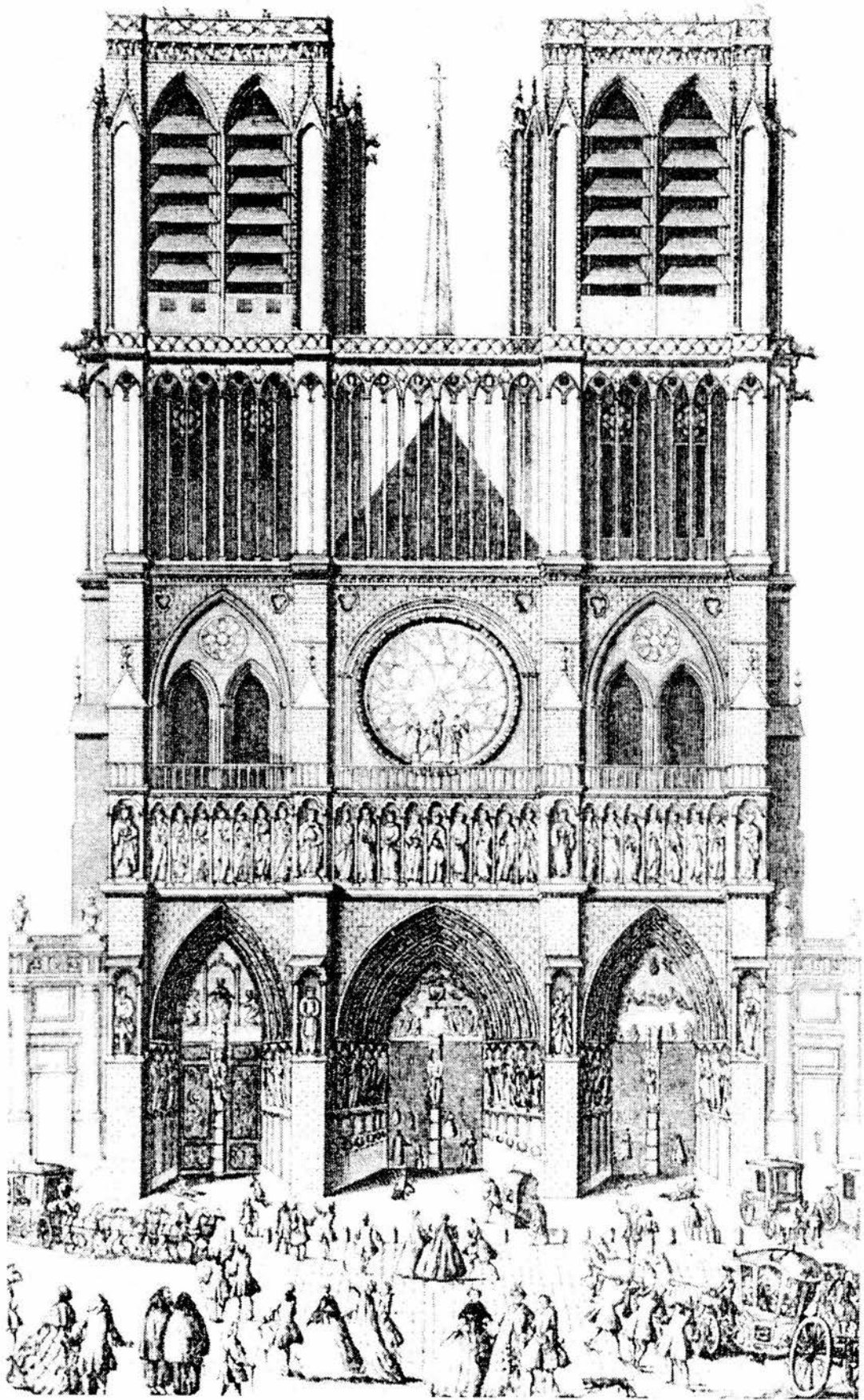


Fig.44 Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris

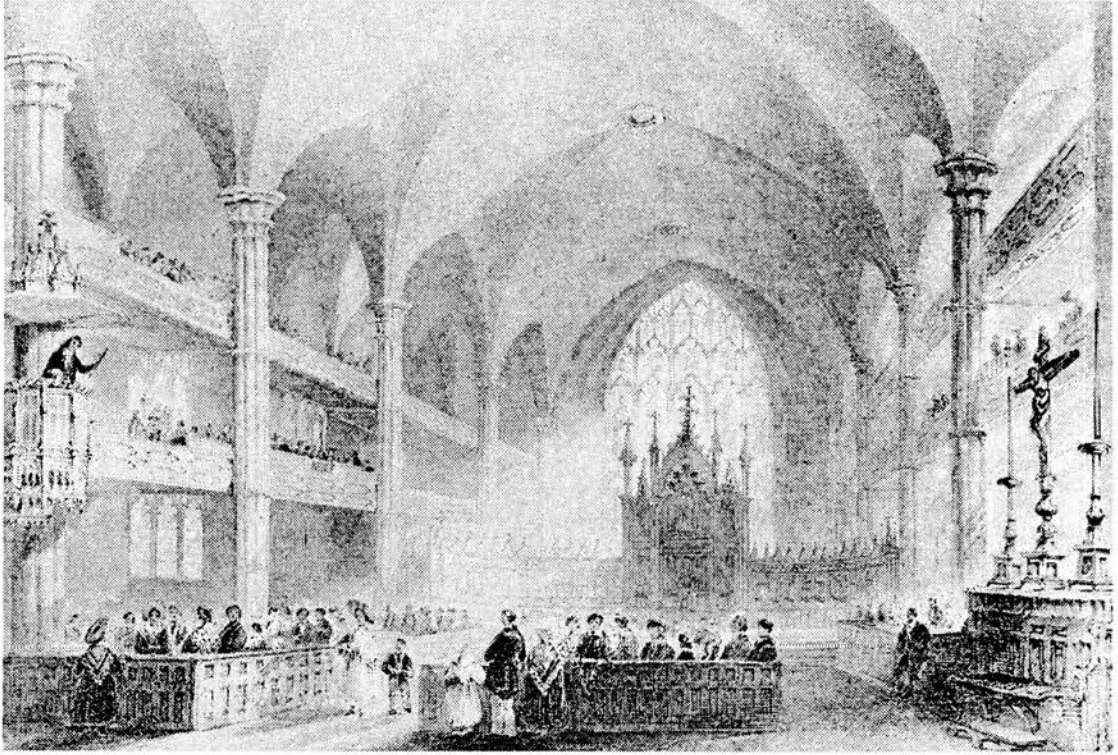


Fig.46 Interior of the Church of Notre Dame, begun 1824,
James O'Donnell

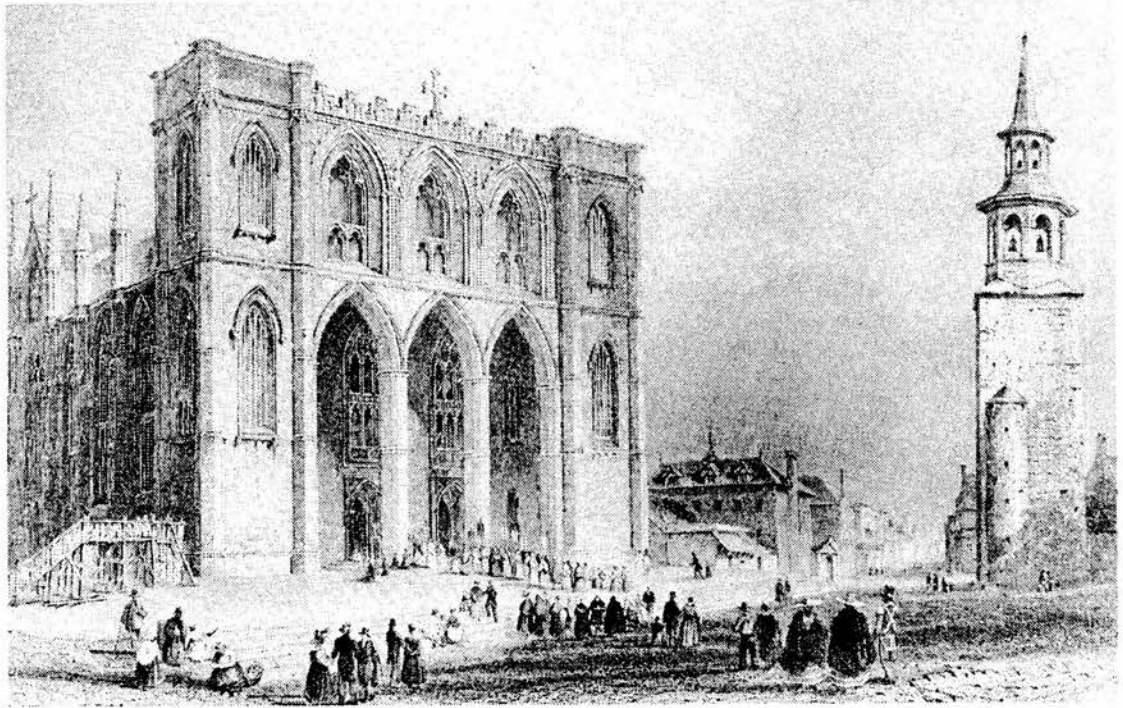


Fig.47 Church of Notre Dame with remnant of old church tower, 1838

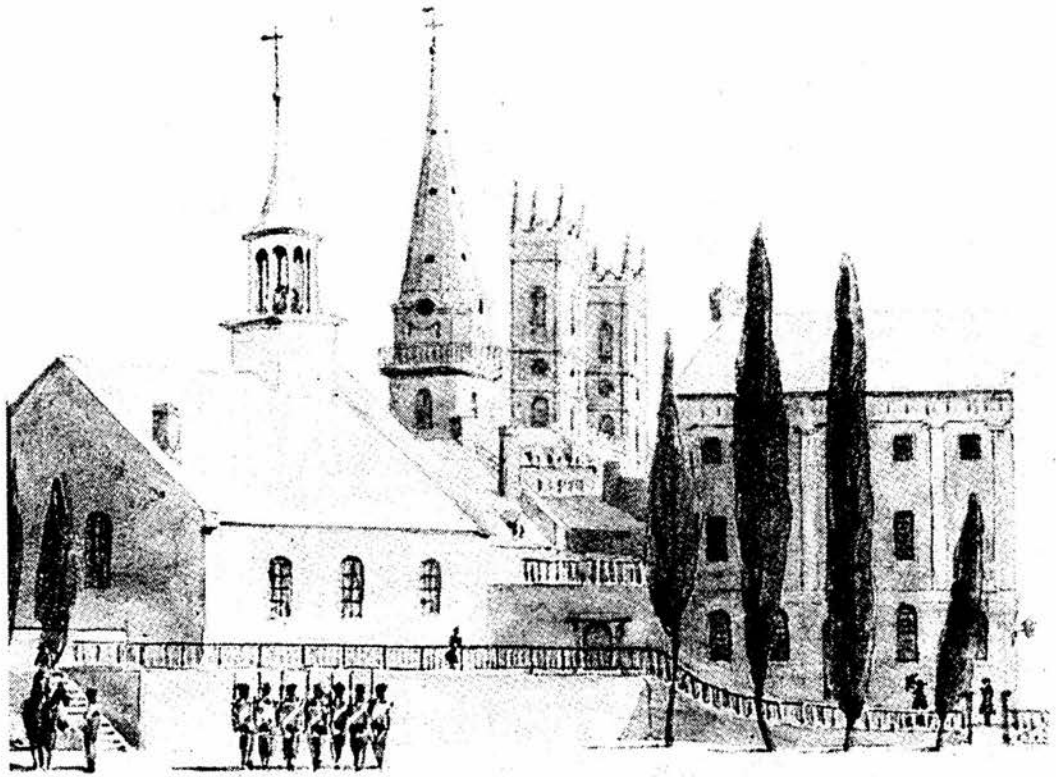


Fig.48 Champ de Mars, 1838. View of St. Gabriel Street Church, Christ Church and the Church of Notre Dame. Note that the towers of Notre Dame were not completed until 1843.

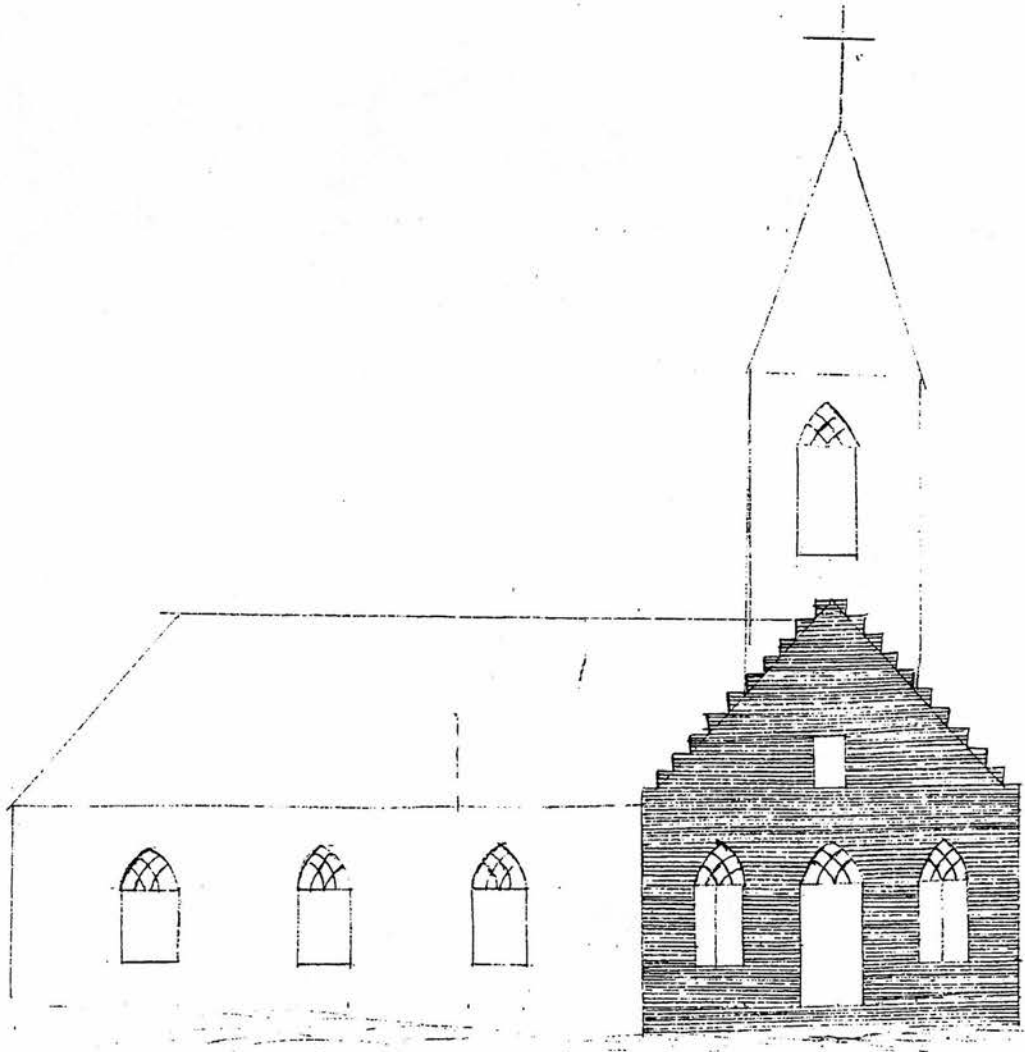


Fig.49 Sainte Marie Chapel, 1830

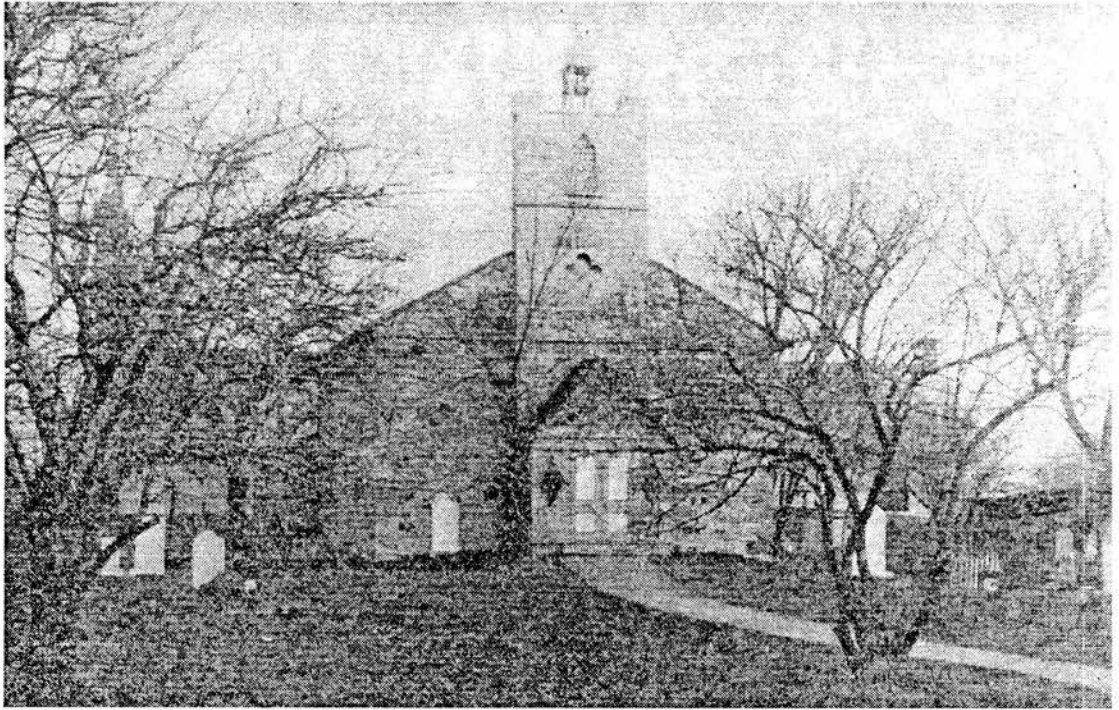


Fig.50 St. Stephen's Church, Lachine, 1831

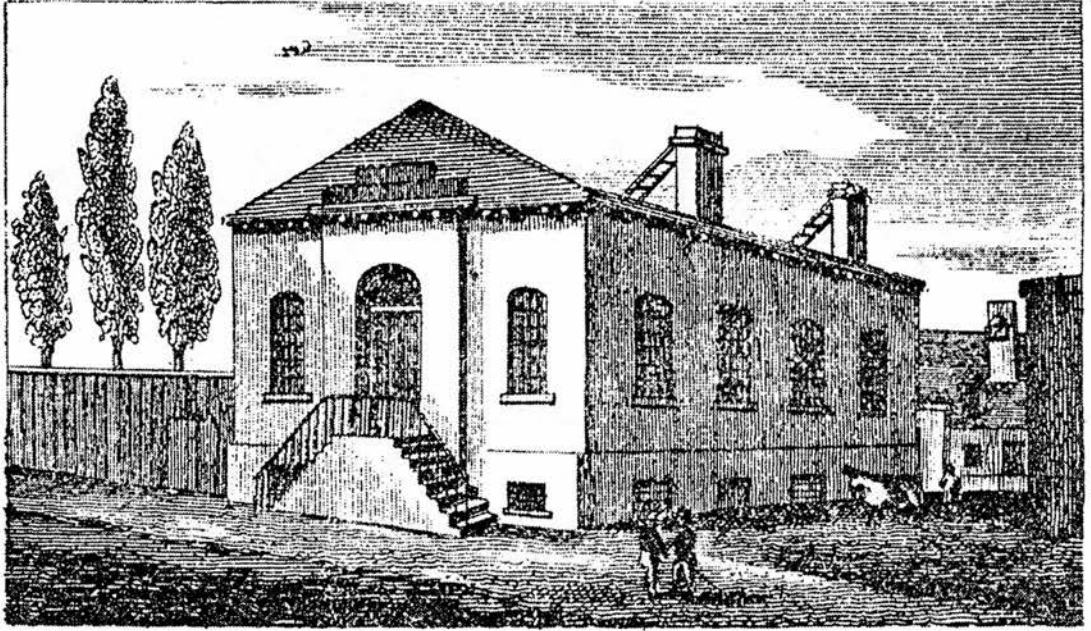


Fig.51 Wellington Street Methodist Chapel, 1833, [John Try]

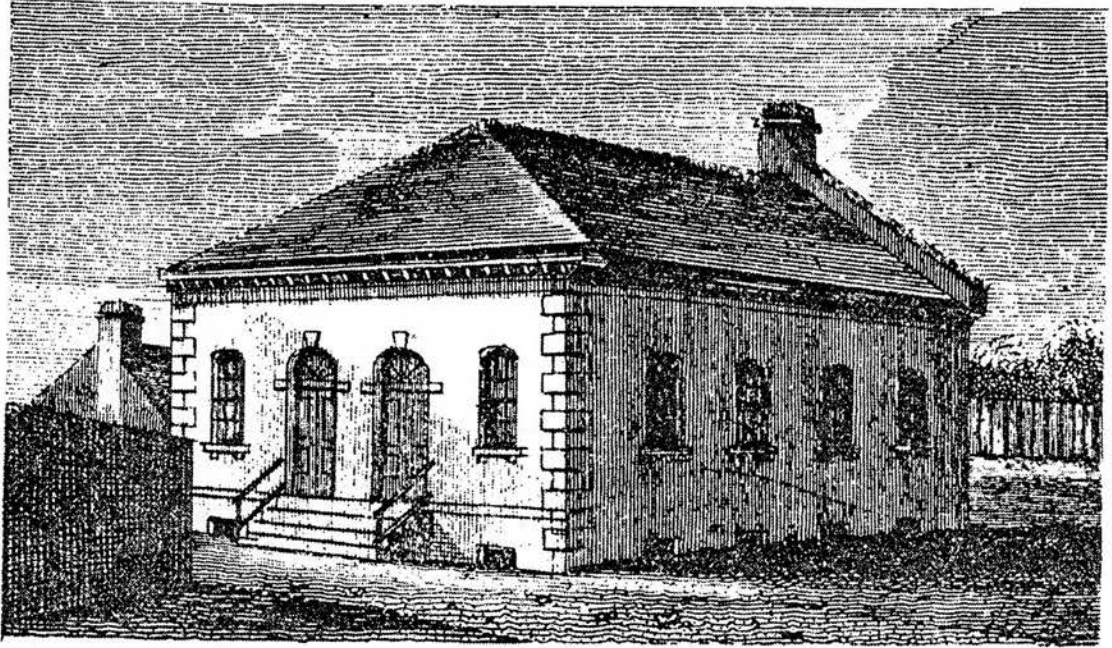


Fig.52 Scottish Secession Church, 1834, Henry Yuile

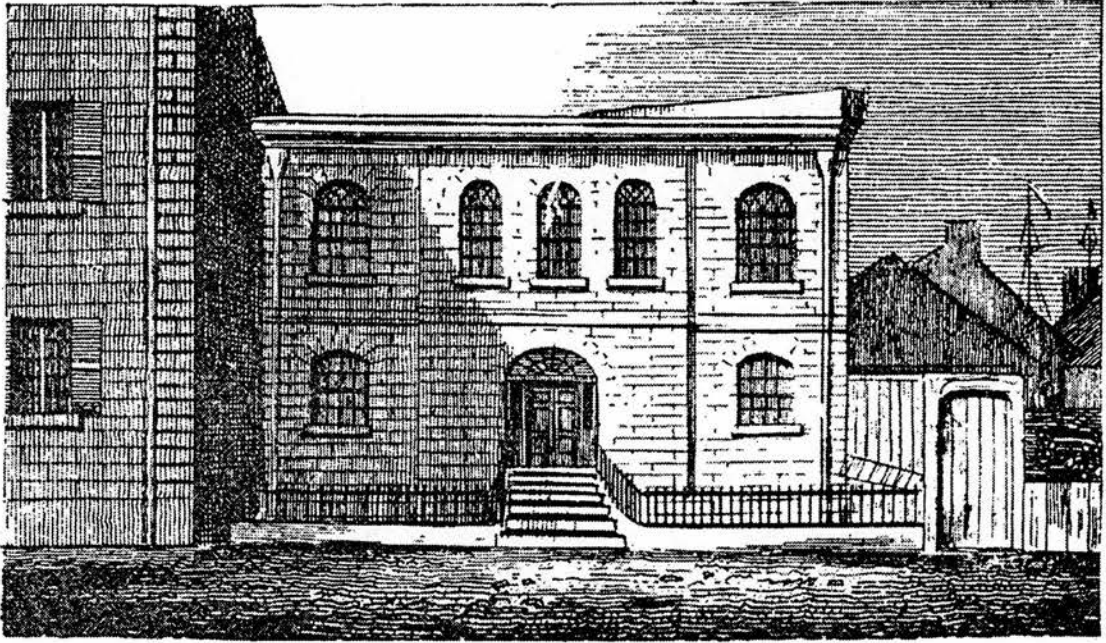


Fig.53 Baptist Church, 1831, [John Try]

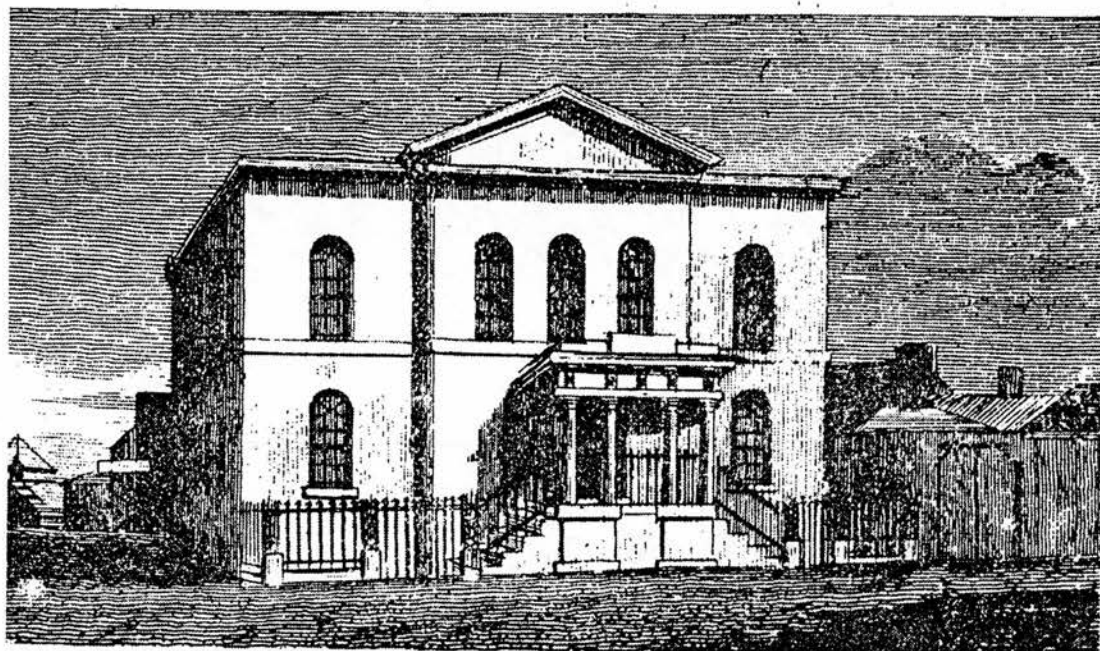


Fig.54 First Congregational Church, 1835, [John Try]

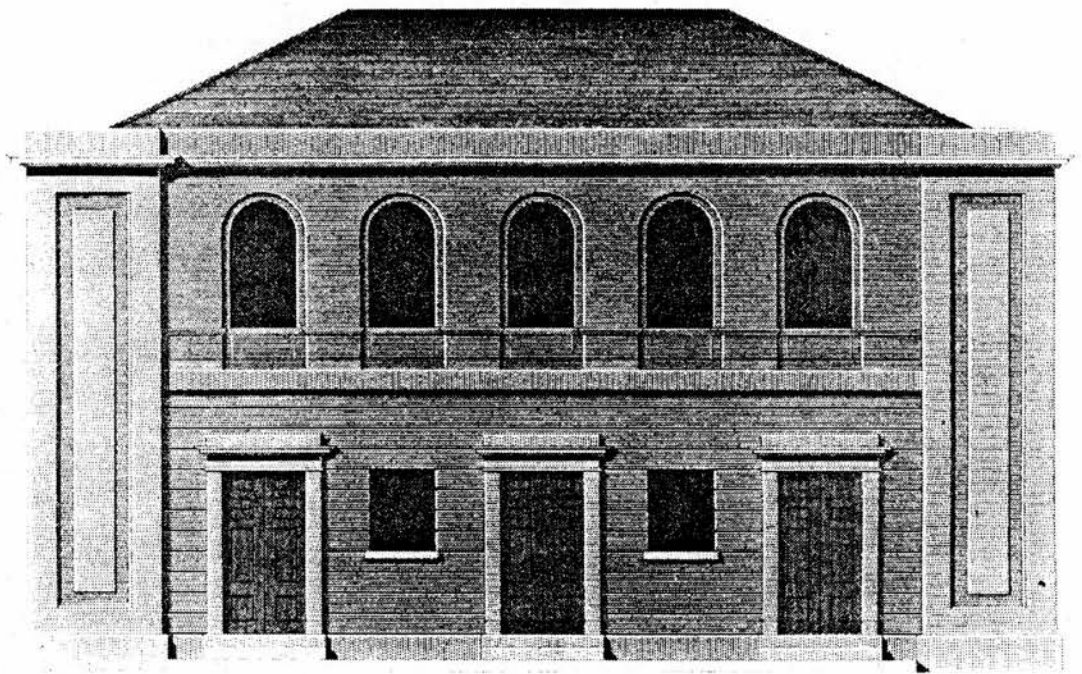


Fig.55 Elevation of a design for a chapel or meetinghouse,
1819, W.F. Pocock

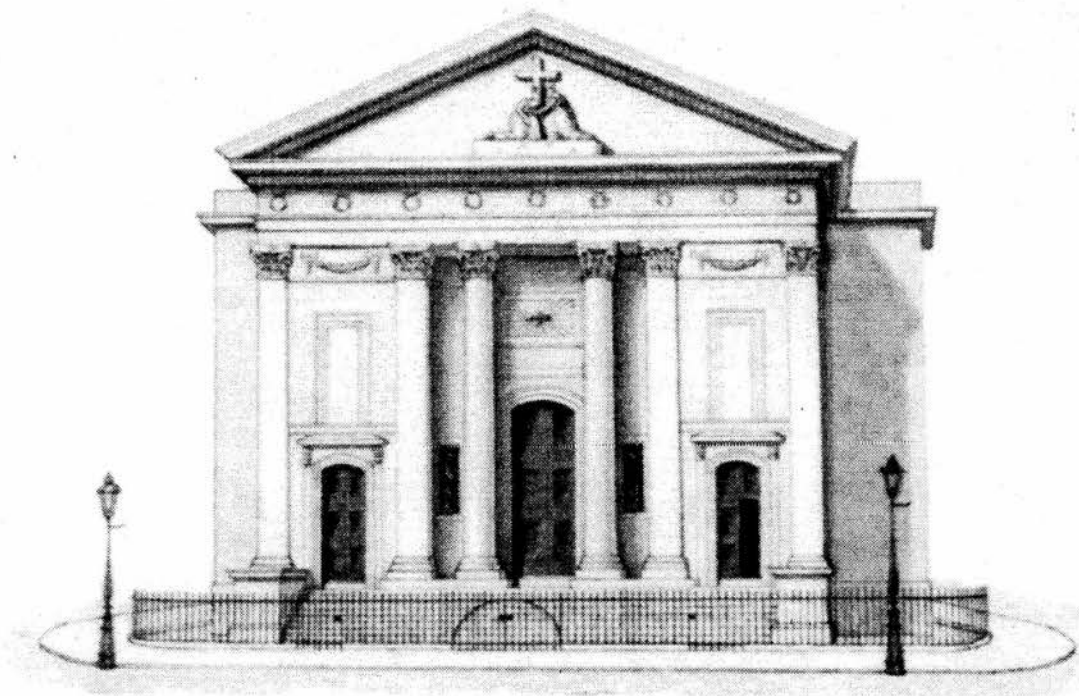


Fig.56 Church of St. Mary Moorfields, London, 1820

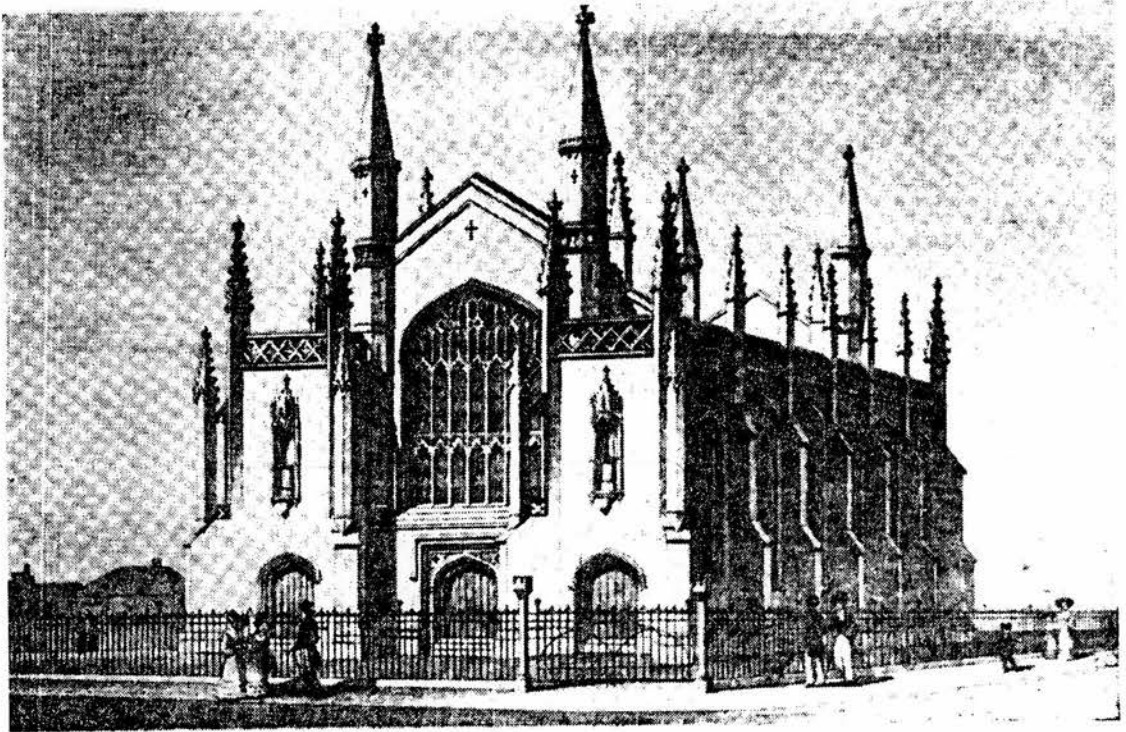


Fig.57 St. Philip's Church, Stepney, London, 1818-1819,
Walters and Goodwin

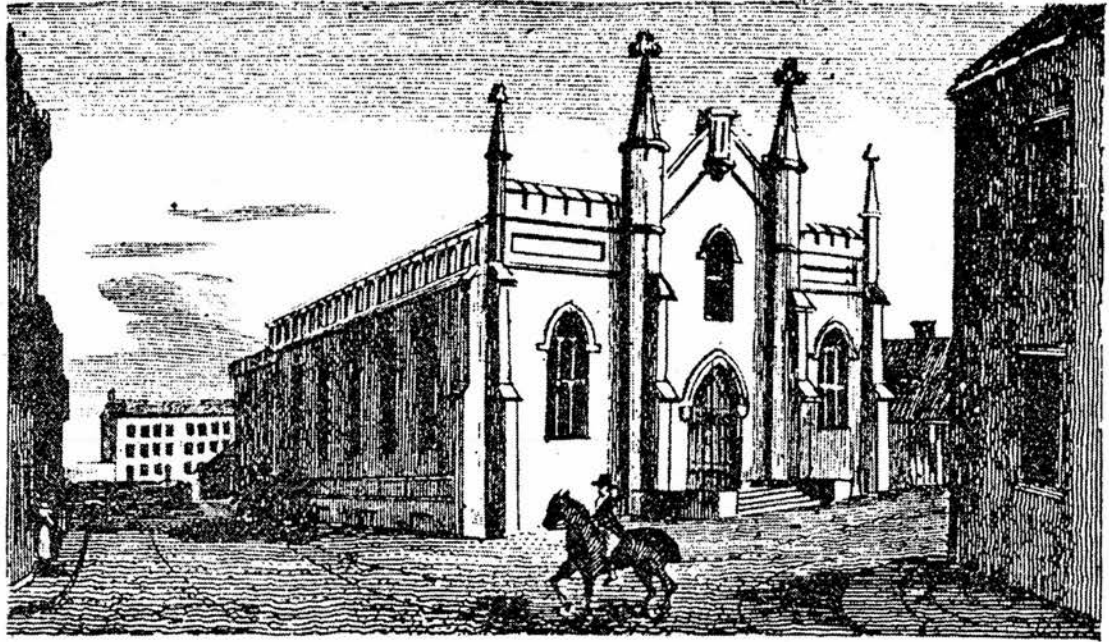


Fig.58 St. Paul's Church, begun 1834, Wells and Thompson

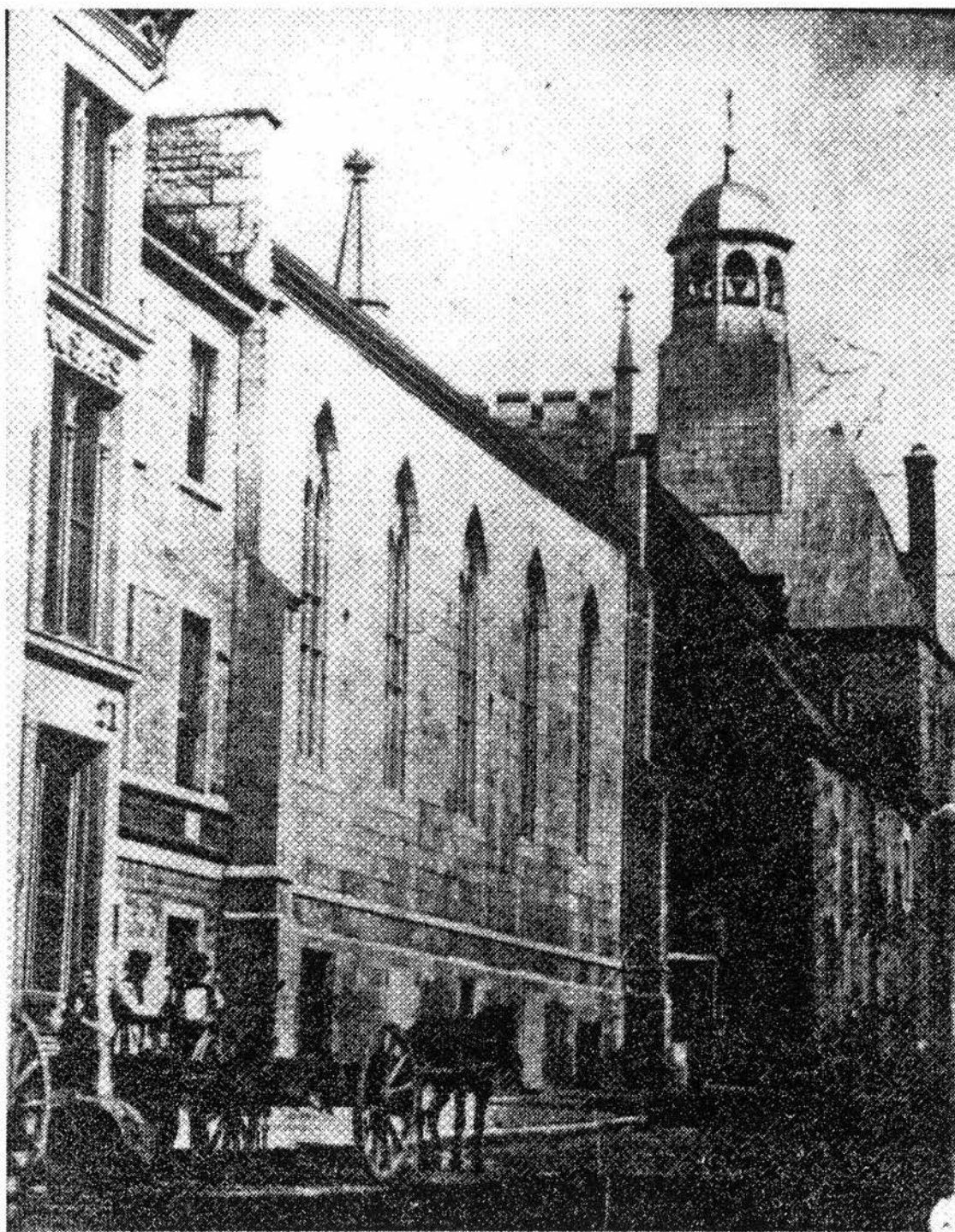


Fig.59 Side view of St. Paul's Church.
Note Récollet chapel in the background

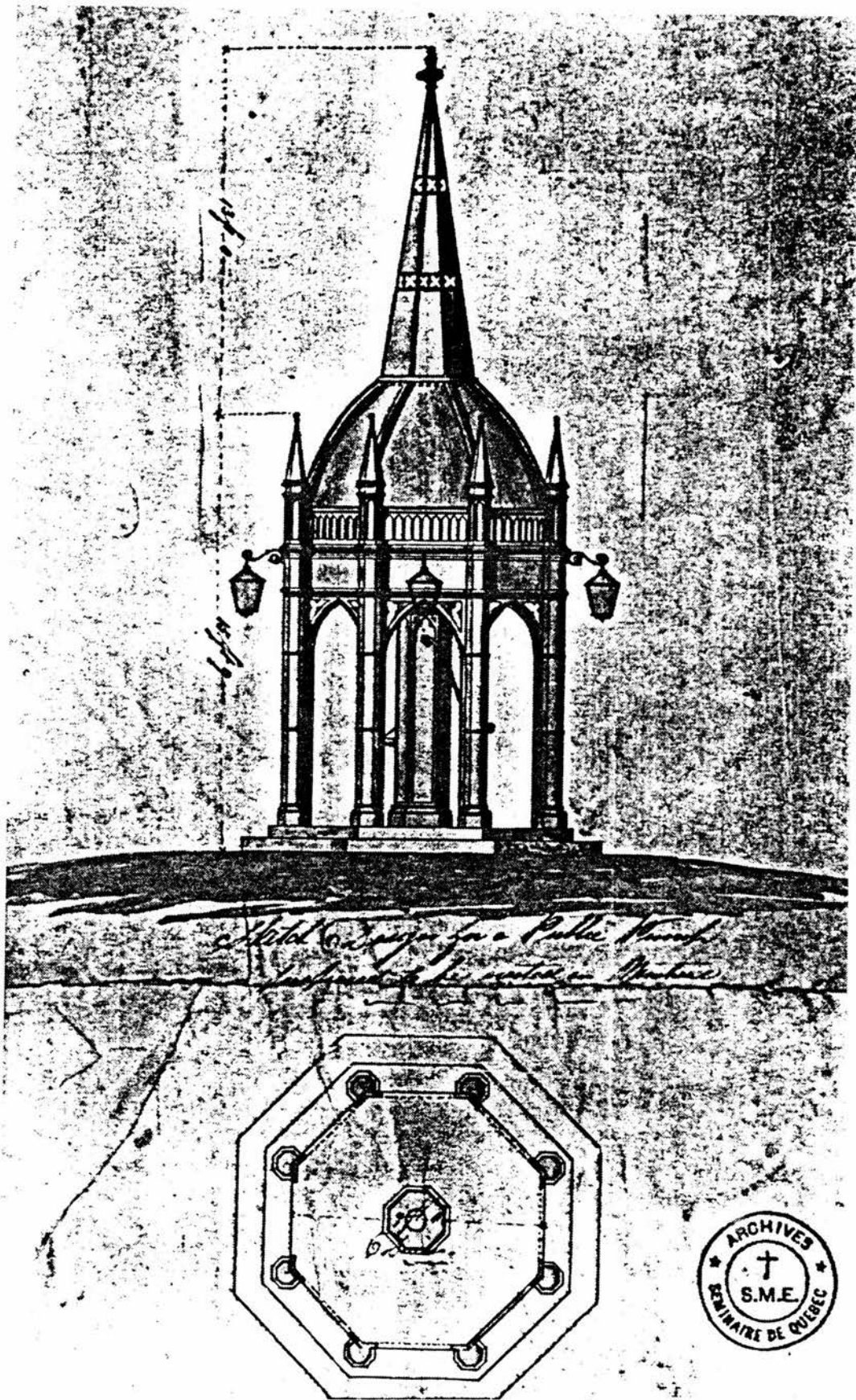


Fig.60 Sketch Design for a Public Pump, 1832, John Wells

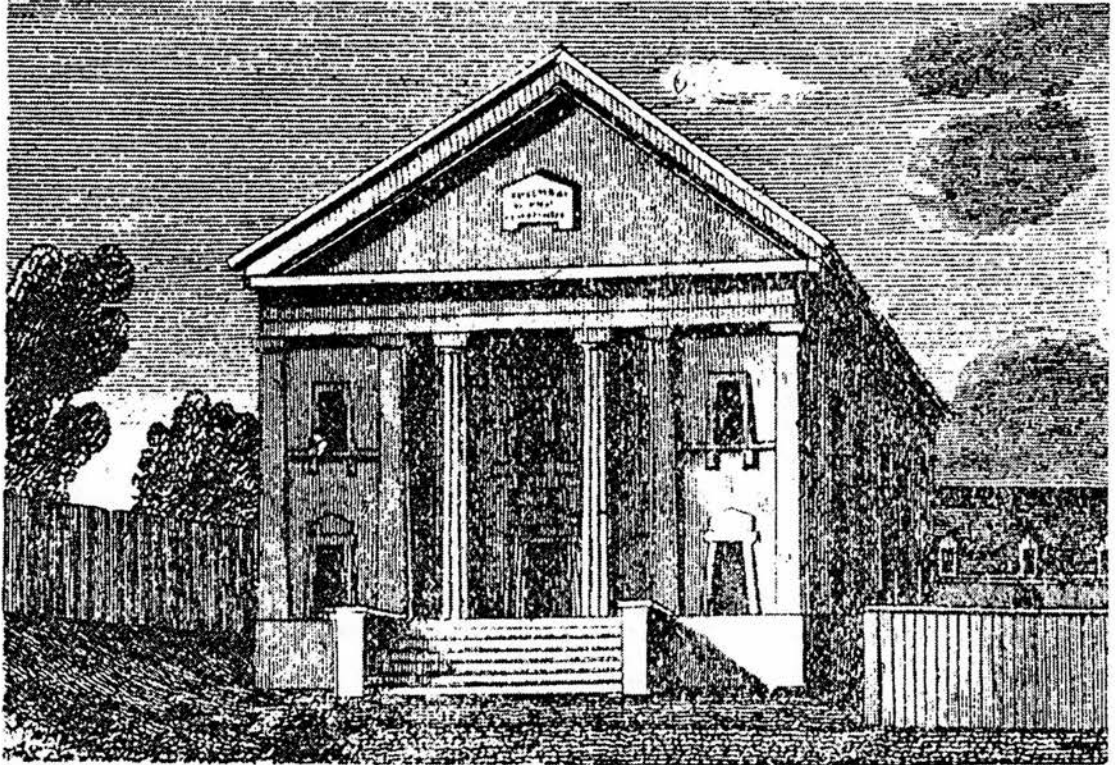


Fig.61 Shearith Israel Synagogue, begun 1835, John Wells

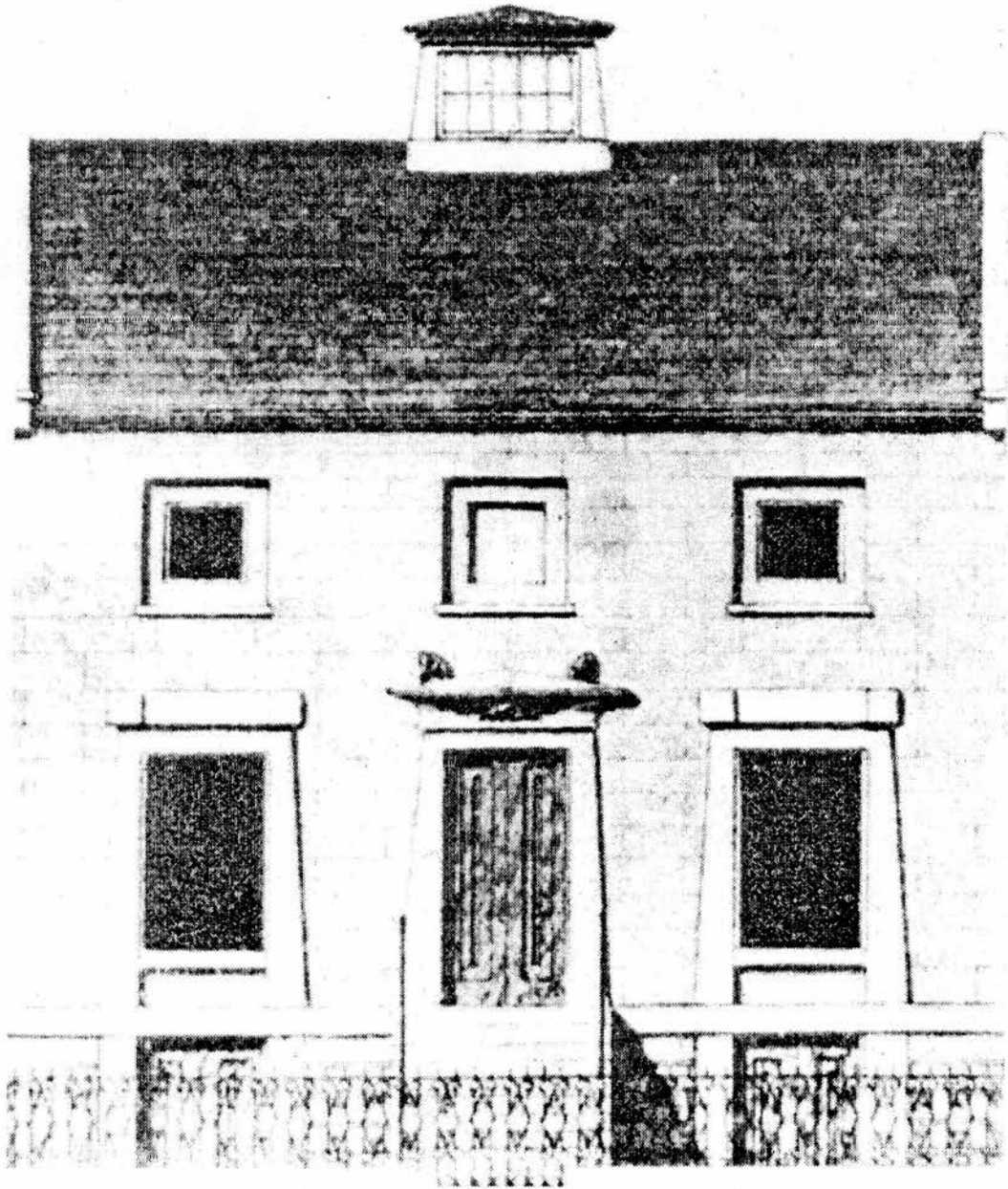


Fig.62 Mikveh Israel Synagogue, Philadelphia, 1824,
William Strickland

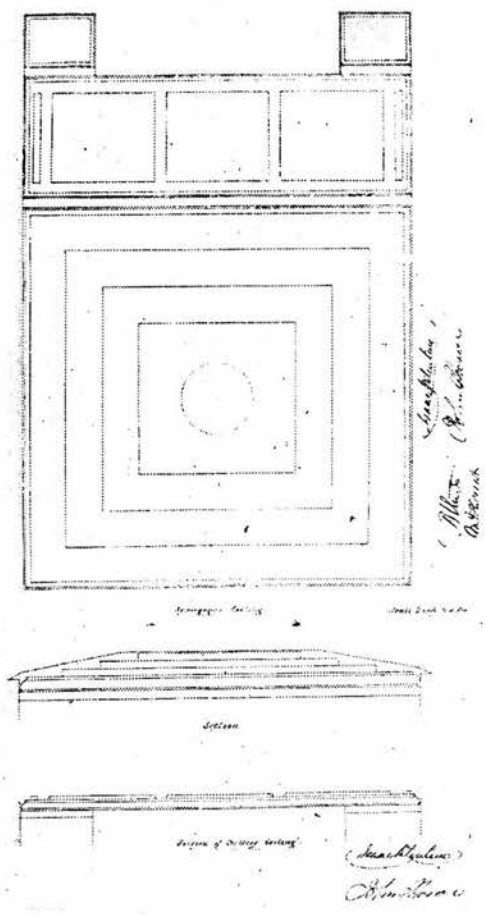


Fig.63 Ceiling plan of Shearith Israel Synagogue, 1837

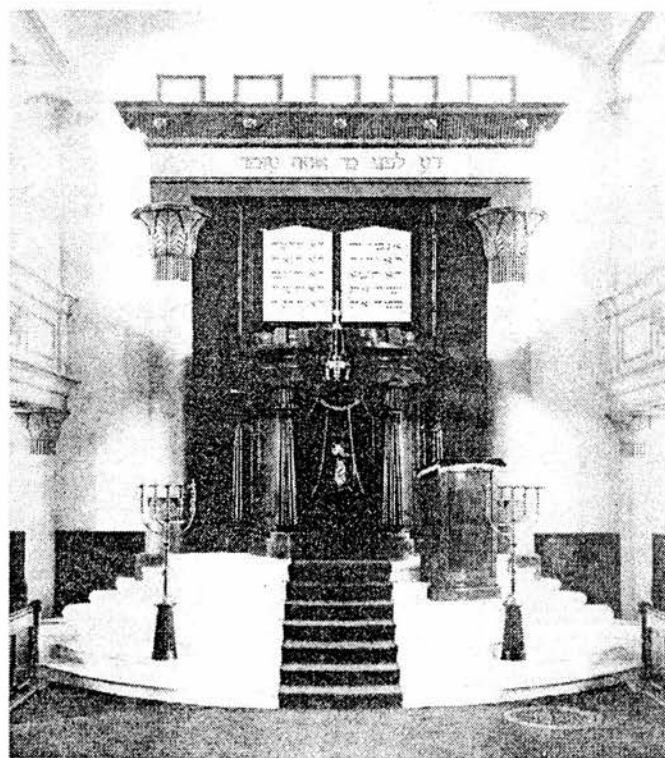


Fig.64 Holy Ark, Shearith Israel Synagogue

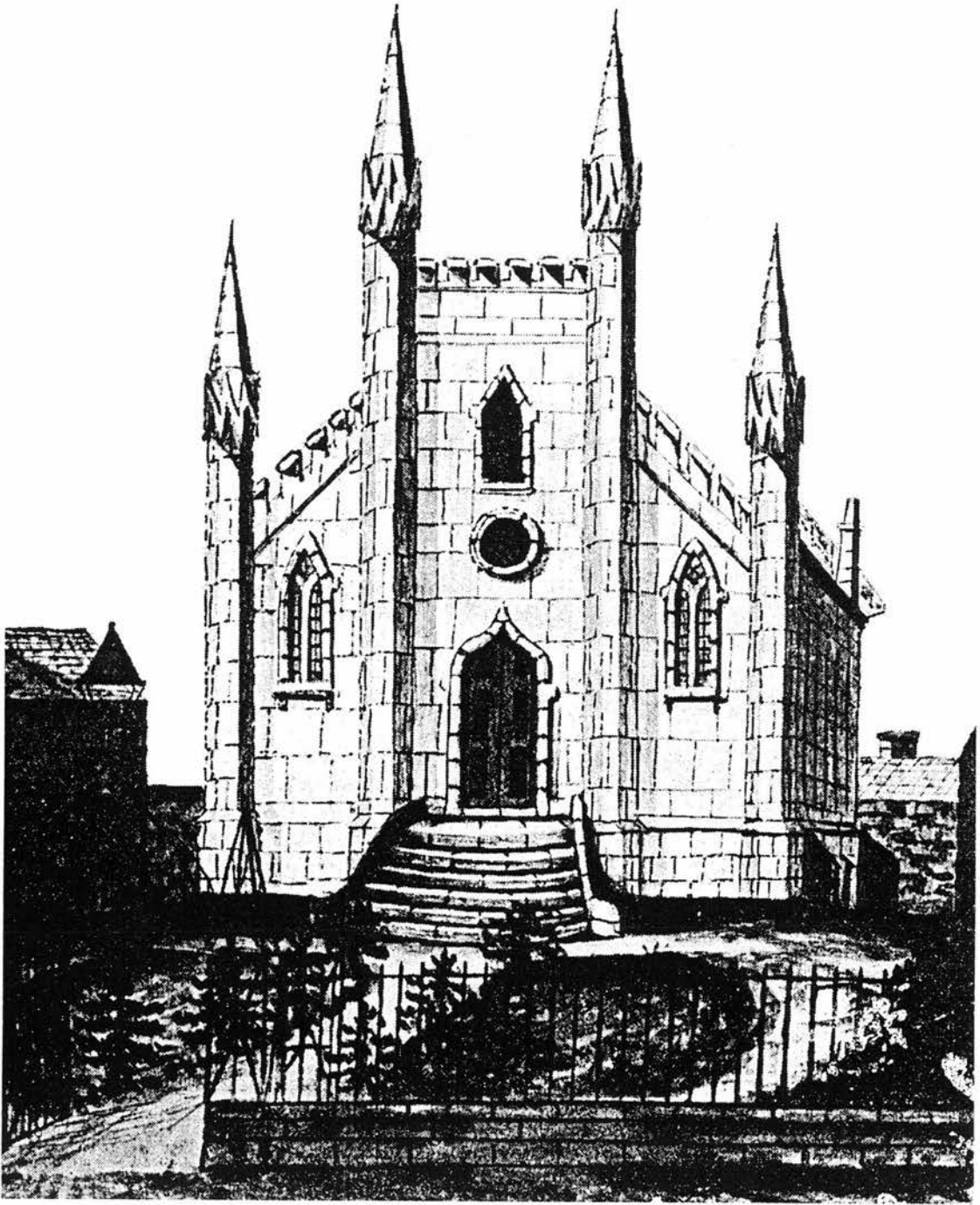


Fig.65 Trinity Church, begun 1840, William Bell

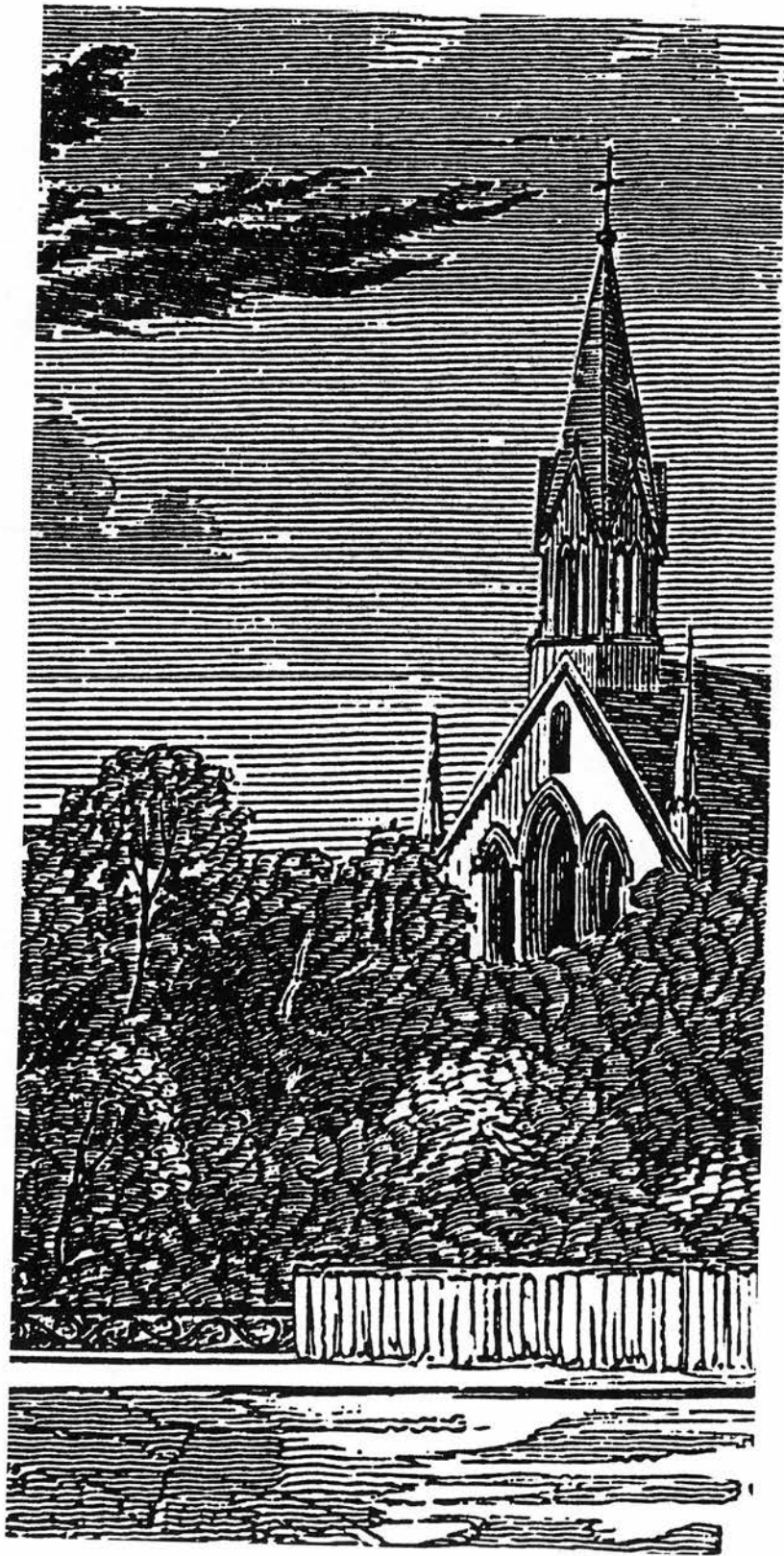


Fig.66 St. Thomas' Church, begun 1841, William Footner

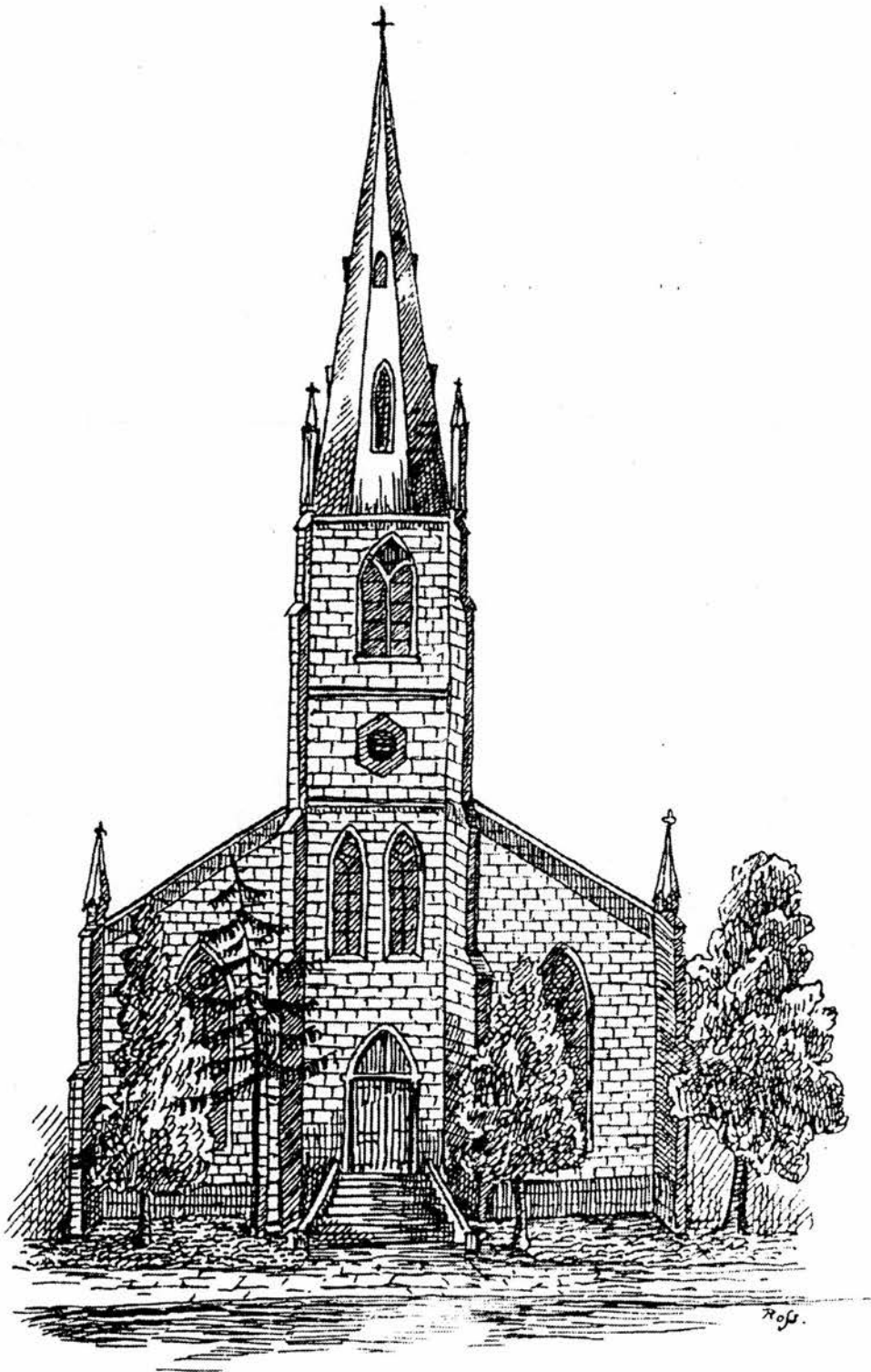


Fig.67 St. George's Church, begun 1842, William Footner

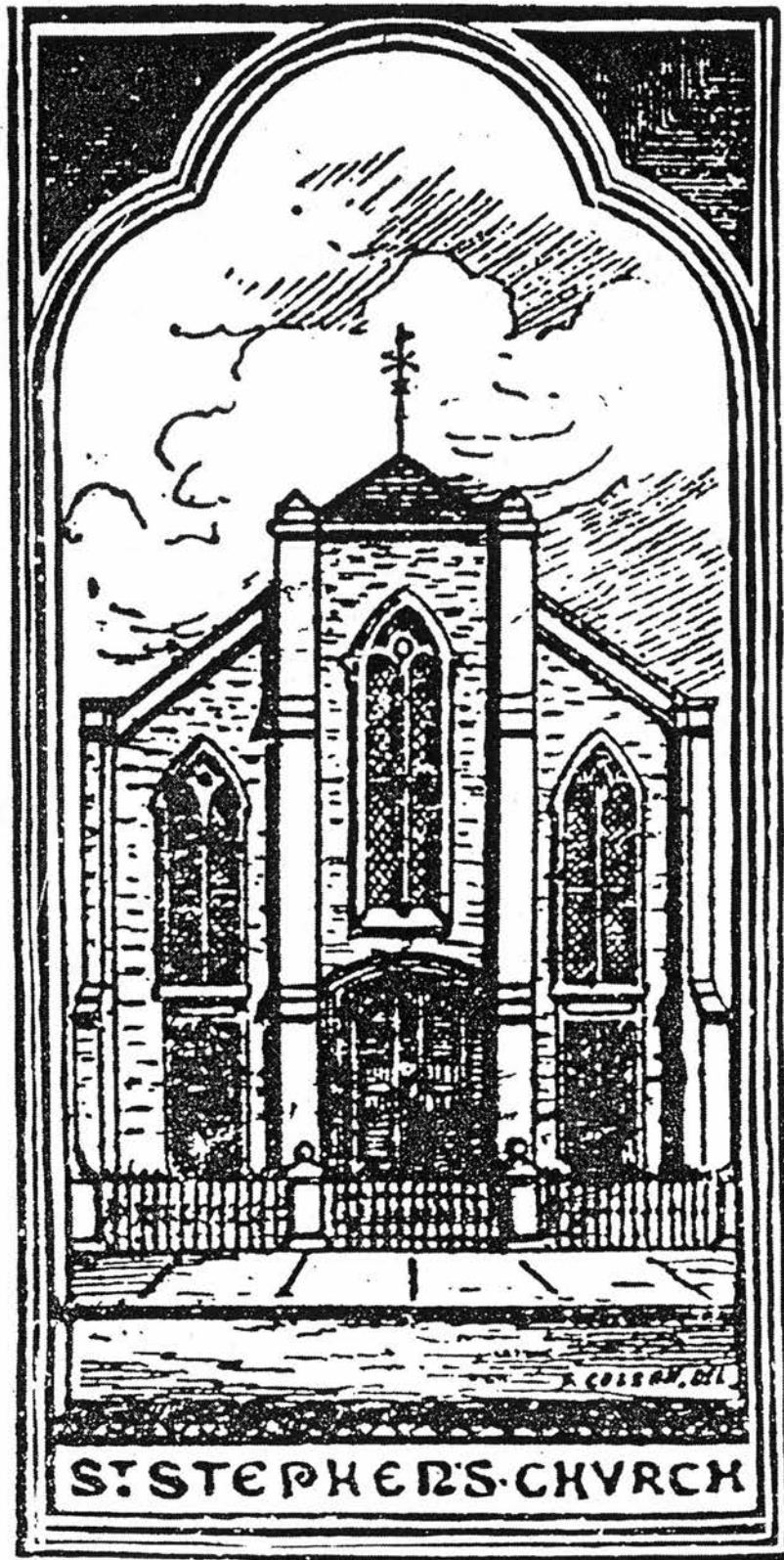


Fig.68 St. Stephen's Church, begun 1844, William Footner

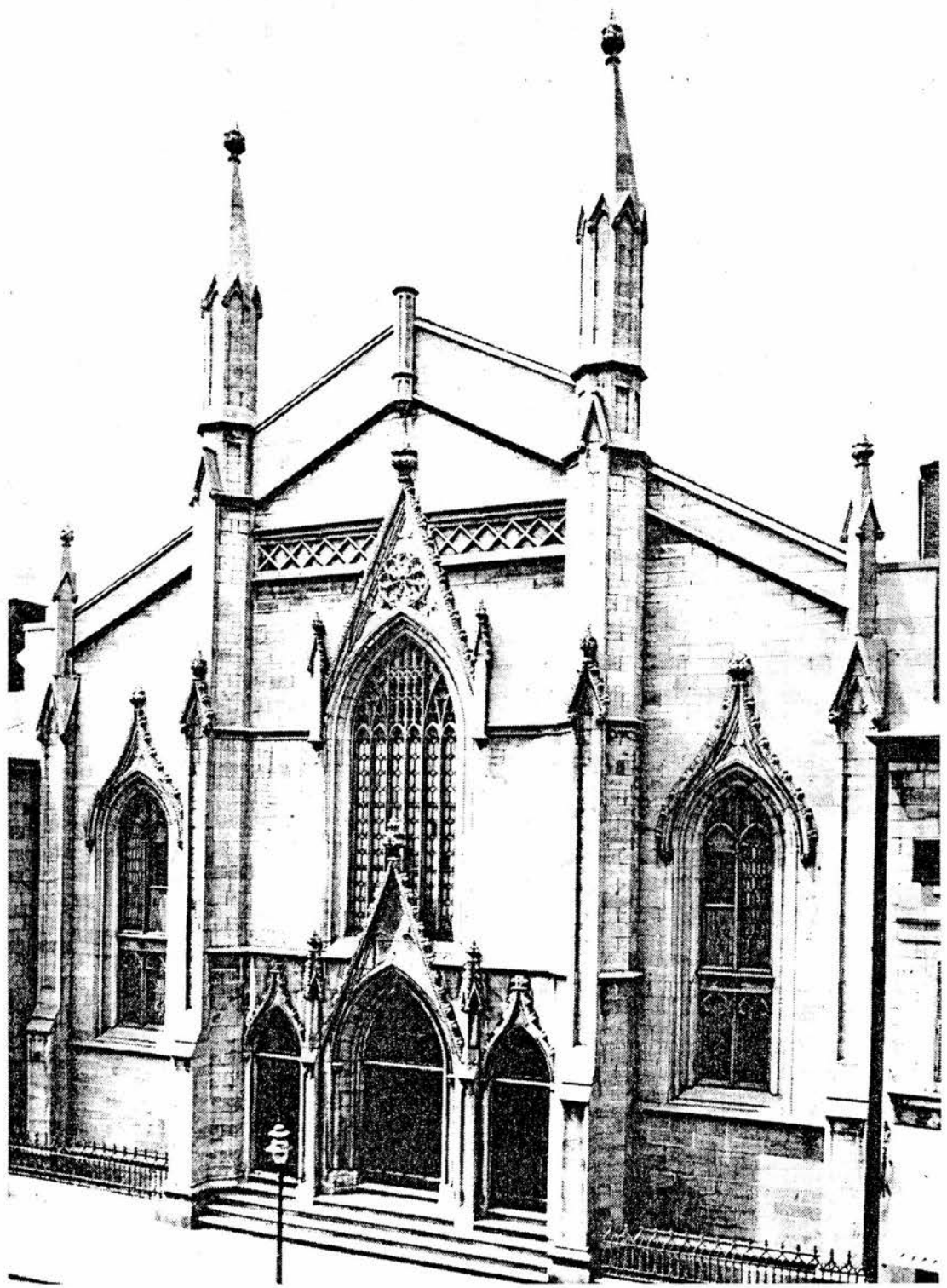


Fig.69 St. James Street Church, 1844, George Dickinson



Fig.70 Wesleyan Chapel, Headingley,
England, 1844, James Simpson

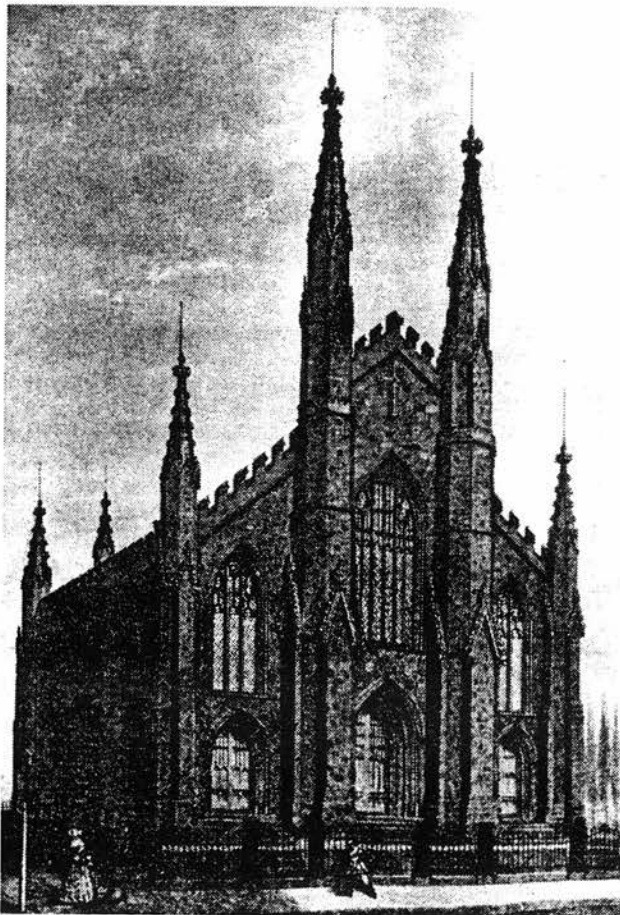


Fig.71 Church of the Saviour, New York,
1842, Minard LaFever

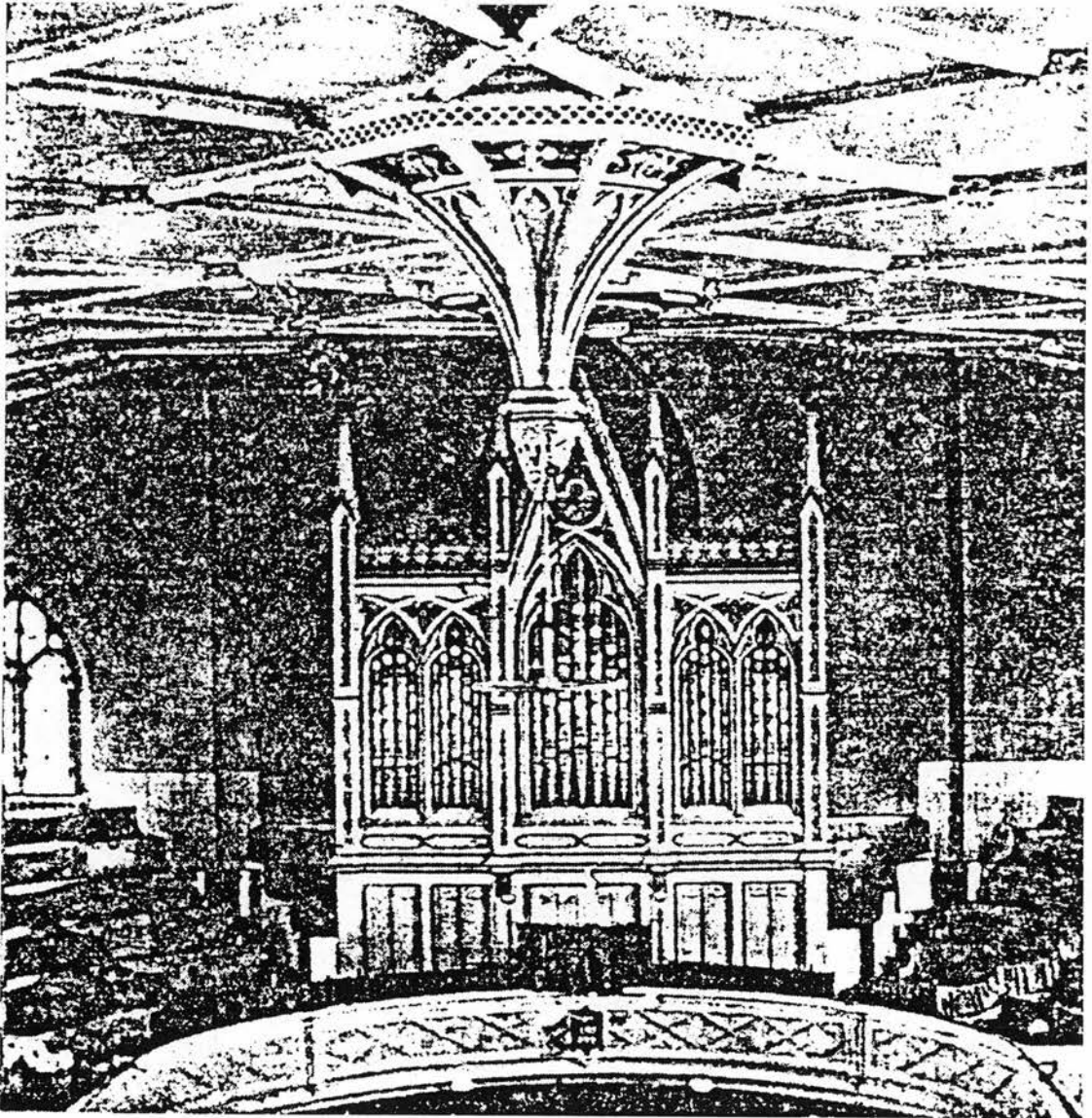


Fig.72 Interior of St. James Street Church

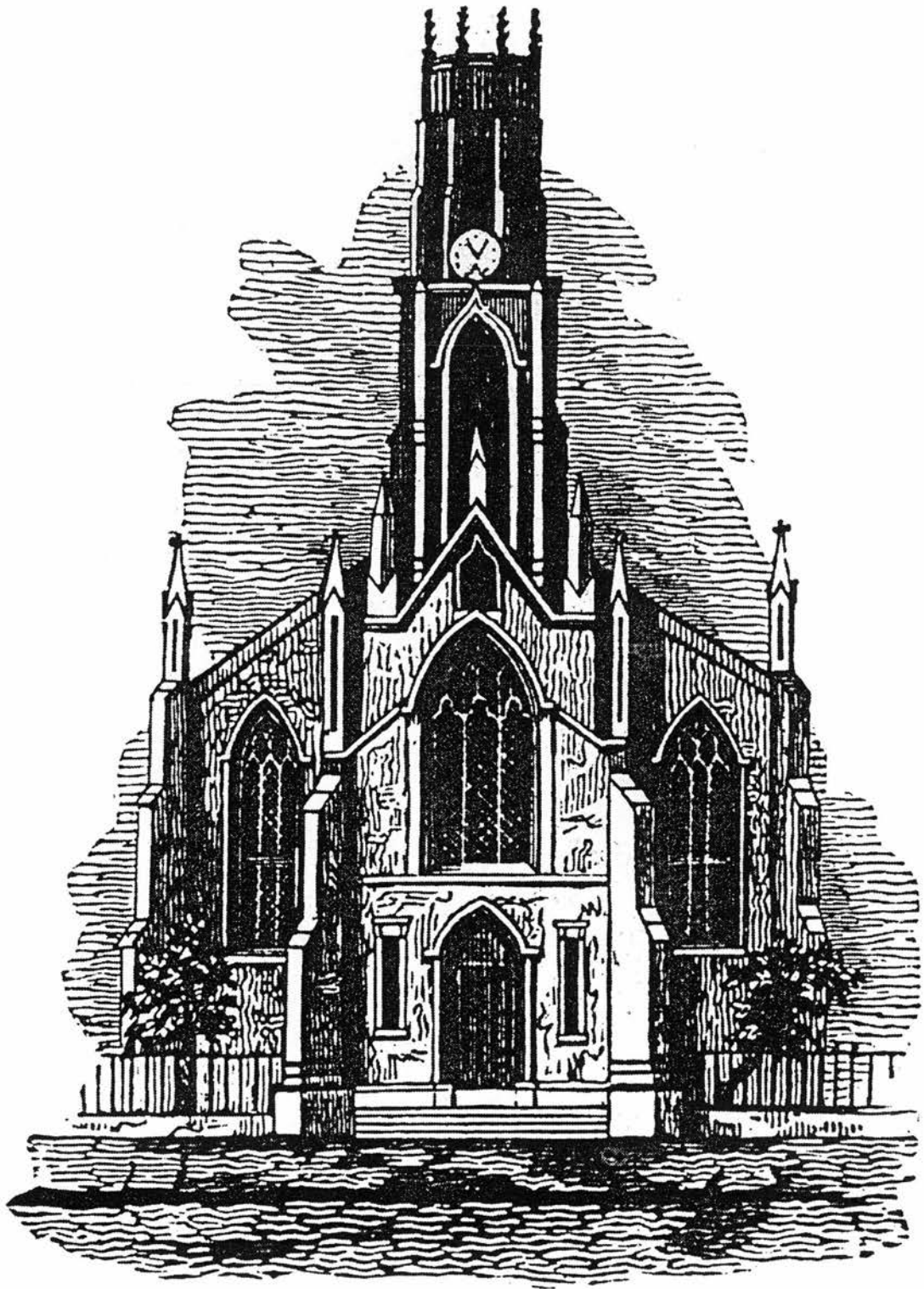


Fig.73 Ottawa Street Methodist Church, 1848, George Dickinson



Fig.74 East End Methodist Church, begun 1845, William Footner

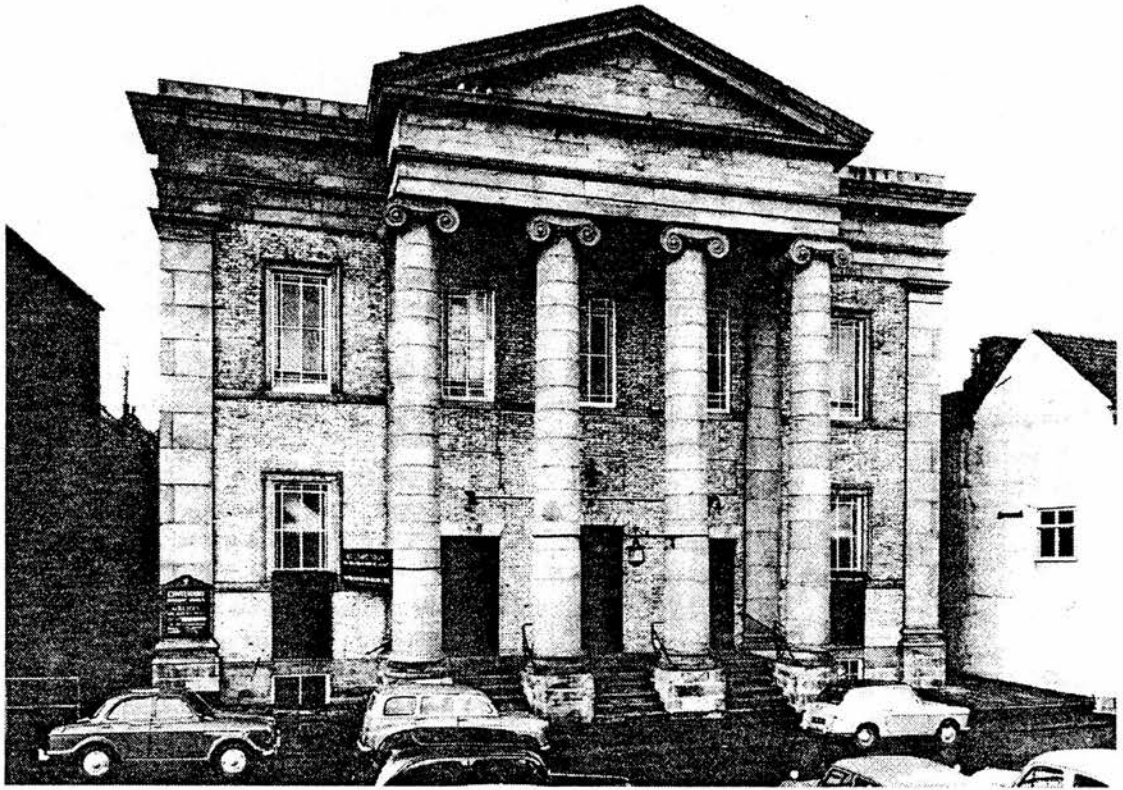


Fig.75 Wesleyan Centenary Chapel, St. Saviourgate, York,
England, 1839, James Simpson

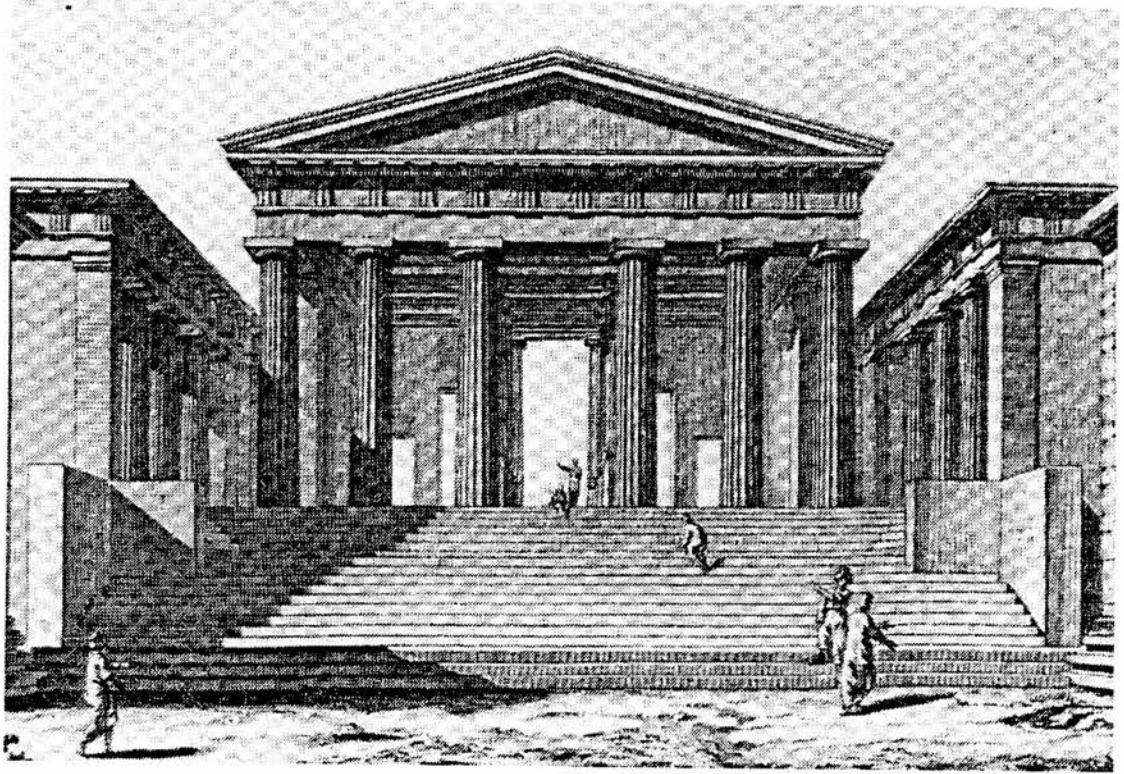


Fig. 76 The Propylaea of the Acropolis, Athens

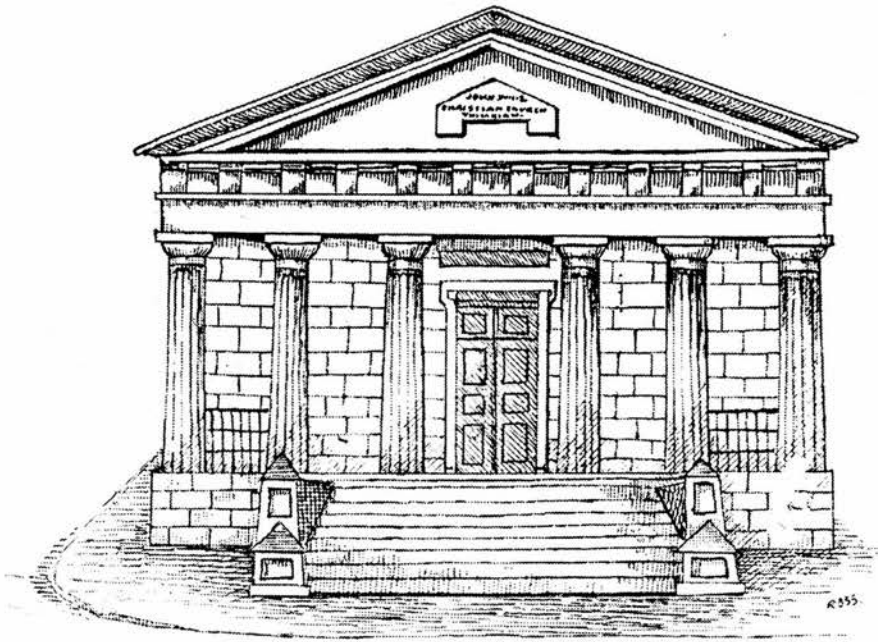


Fig.77 Unitarian Church, 1845, William Footner

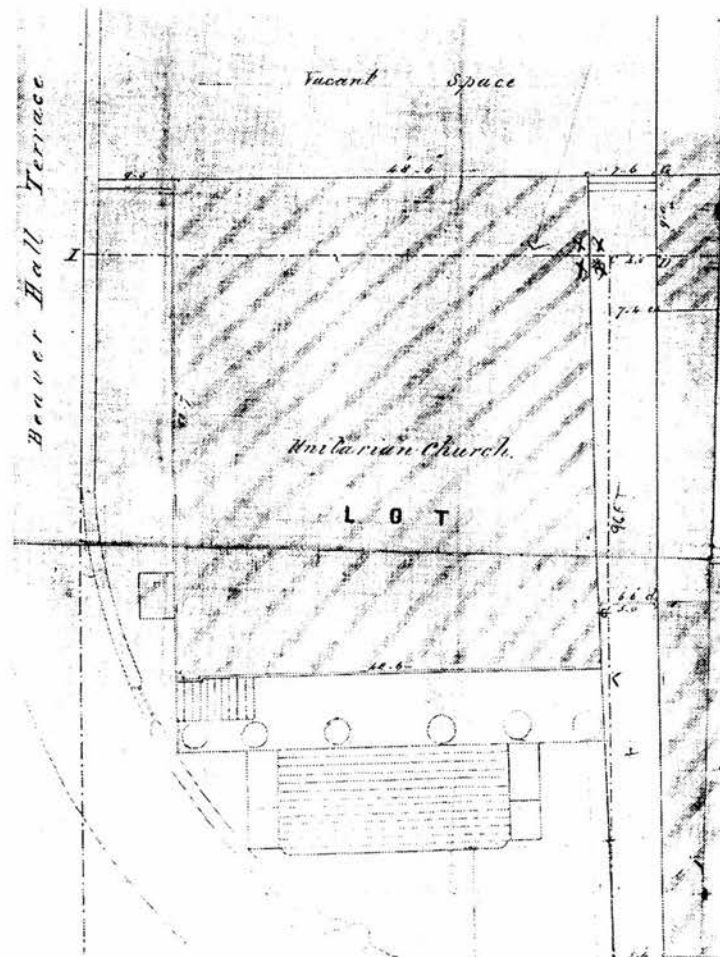


Fig.78 Plan of the Unitarian Church

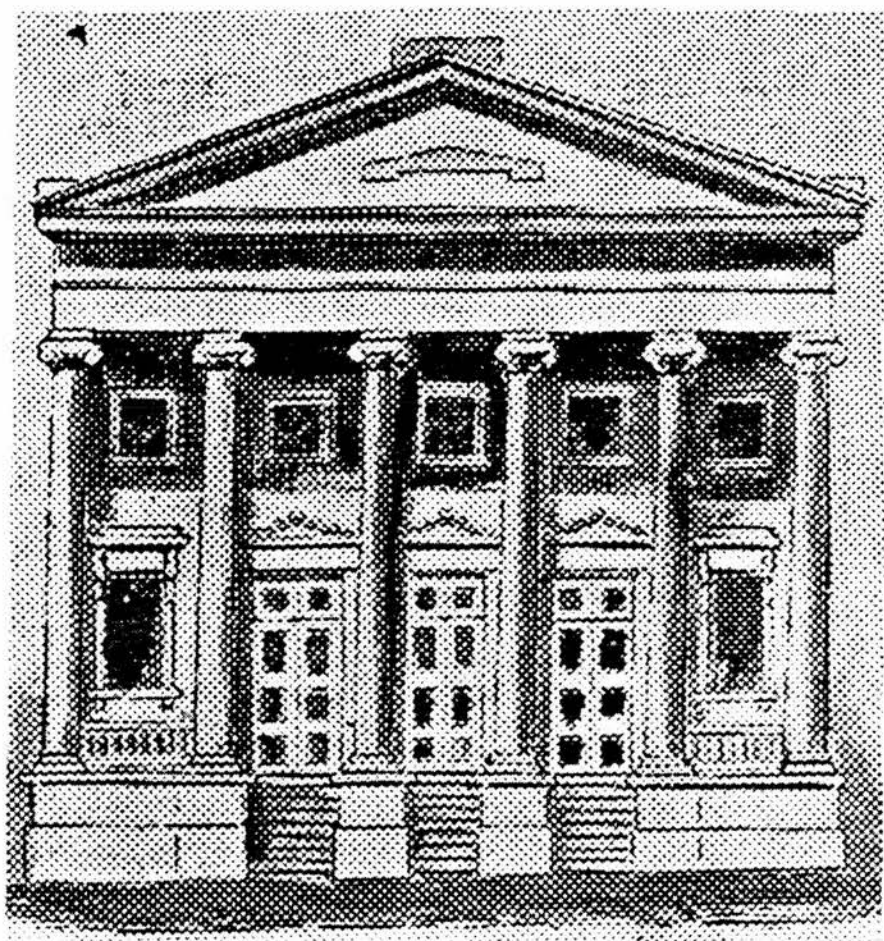


Fig.79 Second Congregational Church, 1843, Wells & Son

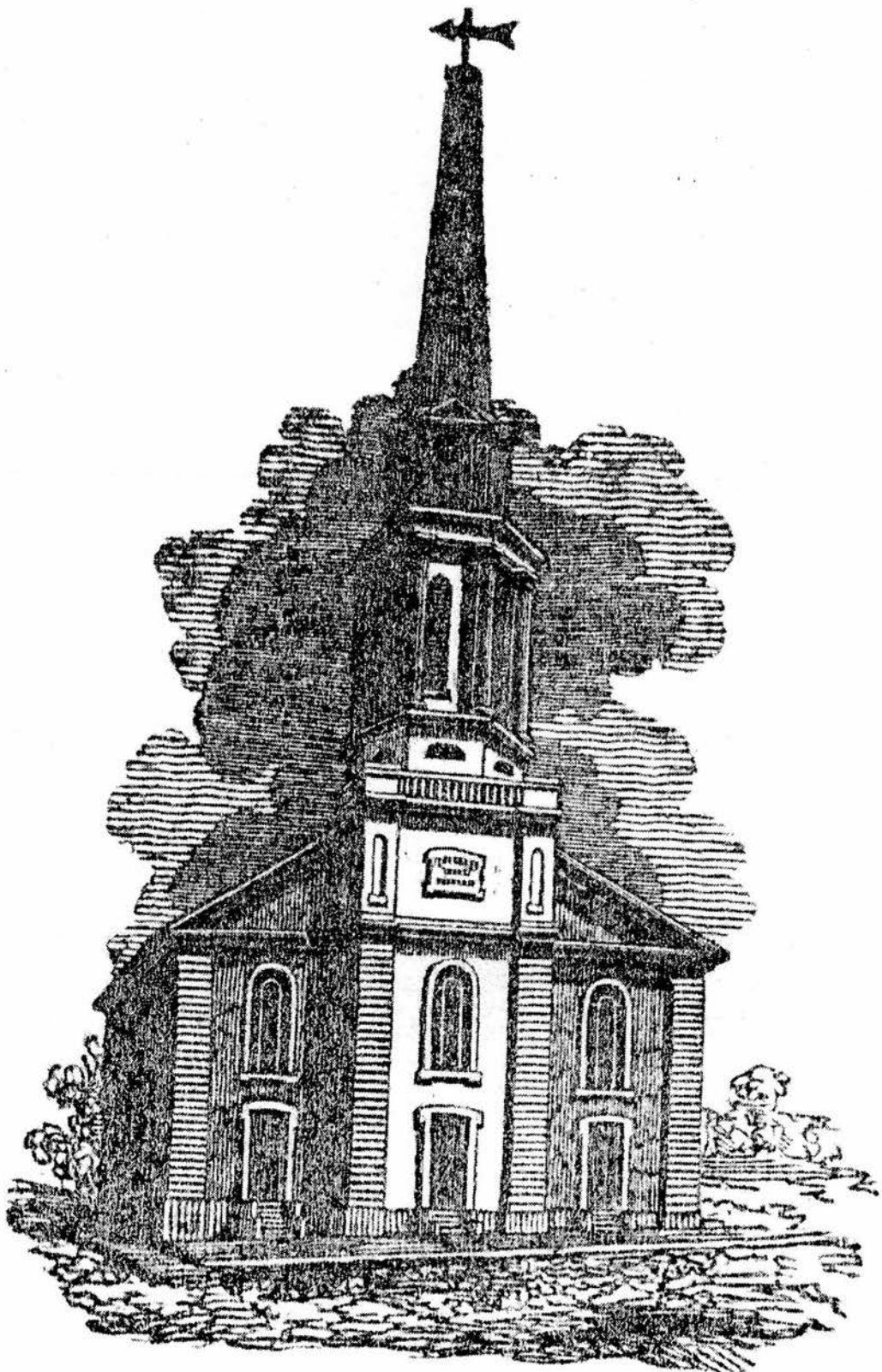


Fig.80 Zion Congregational Church, 1844, John Wells

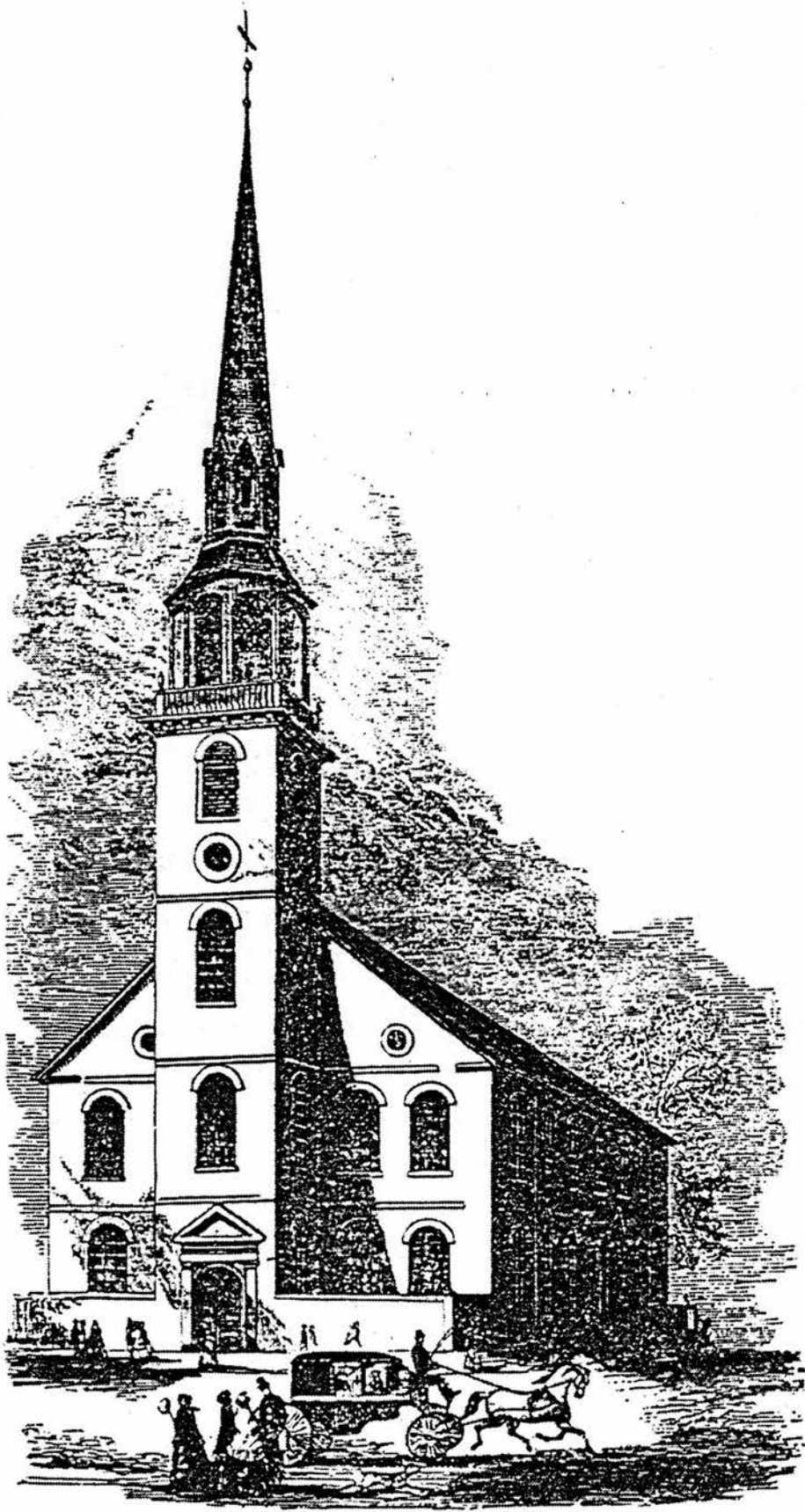


Fig.81 Old South Congregational Church, Boston, 1729

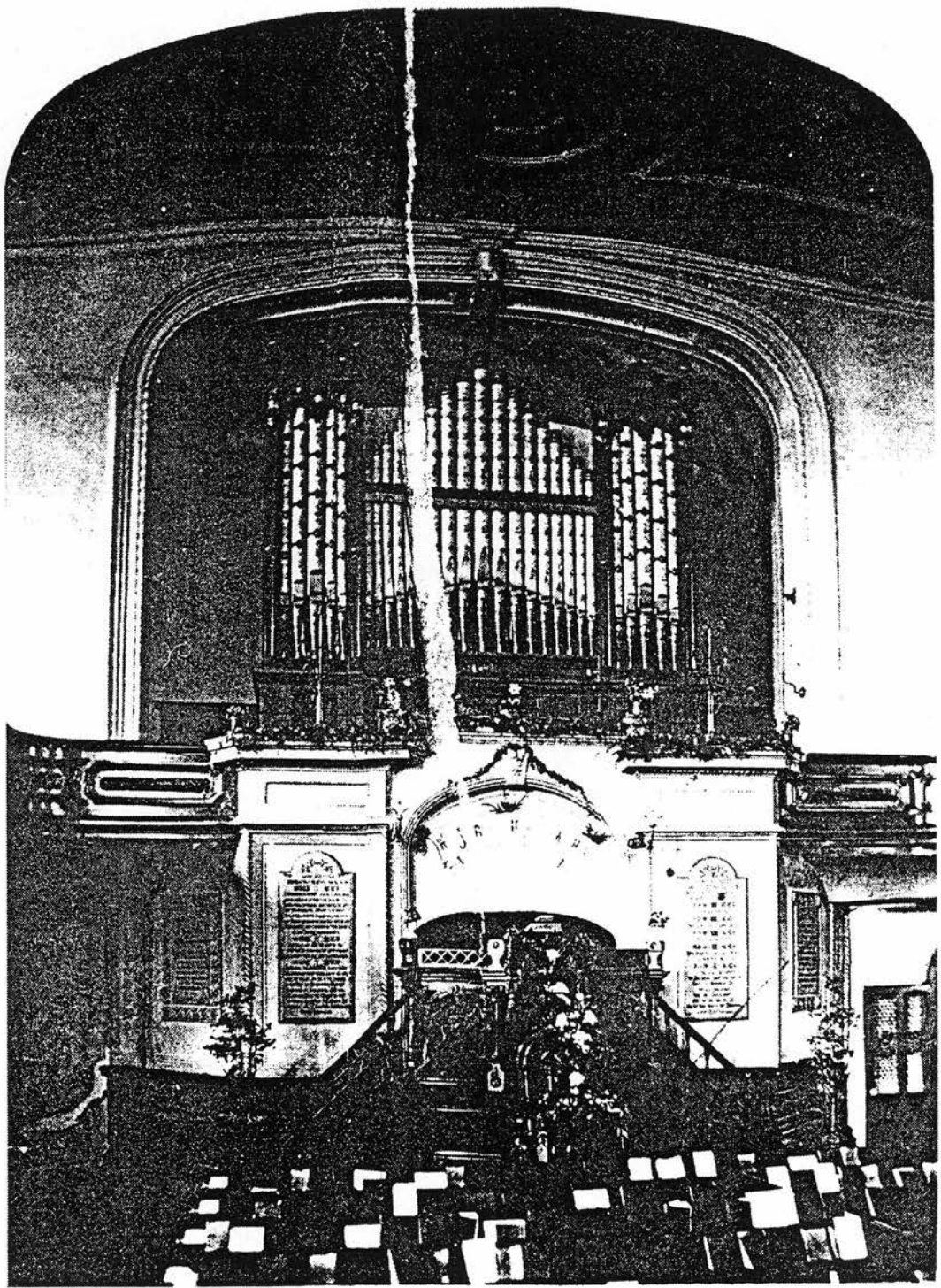
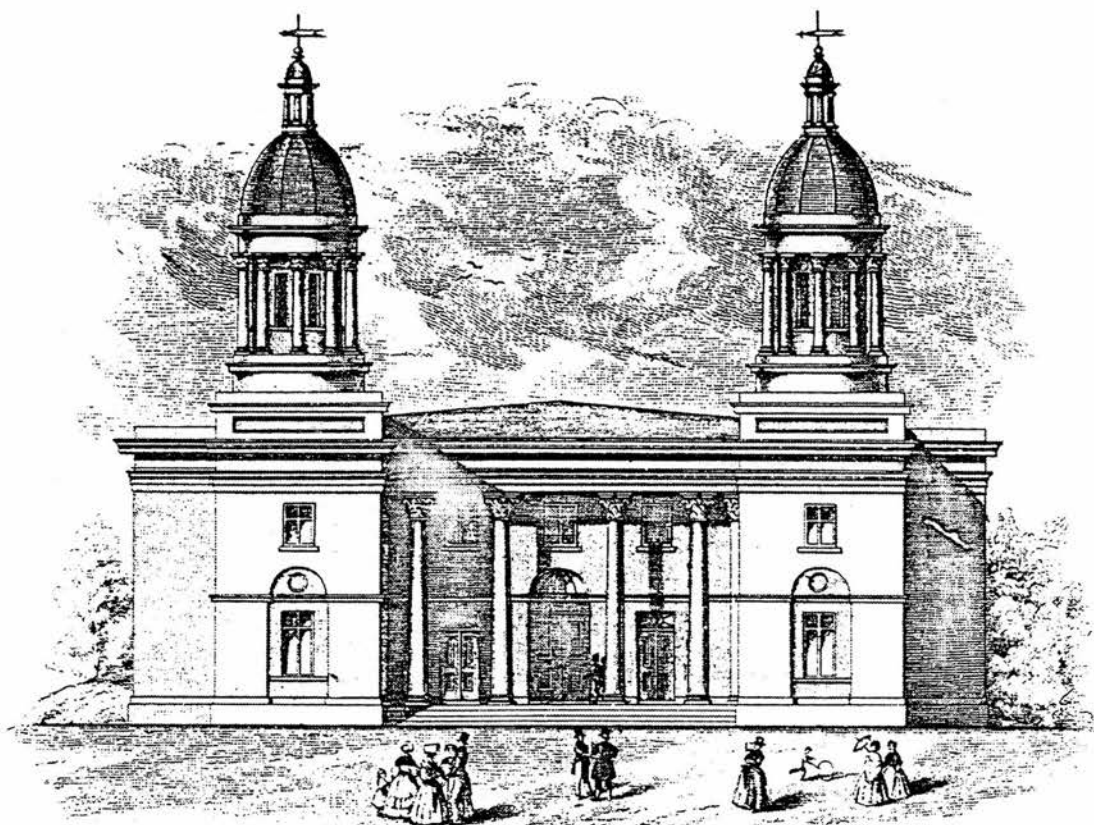


Fig.82 Interior of Zion Congregational Church



*Design of a Church proposed to be built at Montreal, —
erected for 1632, and would cost if built in Scotland, about £ 6000.*



Fig.83 Proposal for the Free Church, 1843, James Raeburn

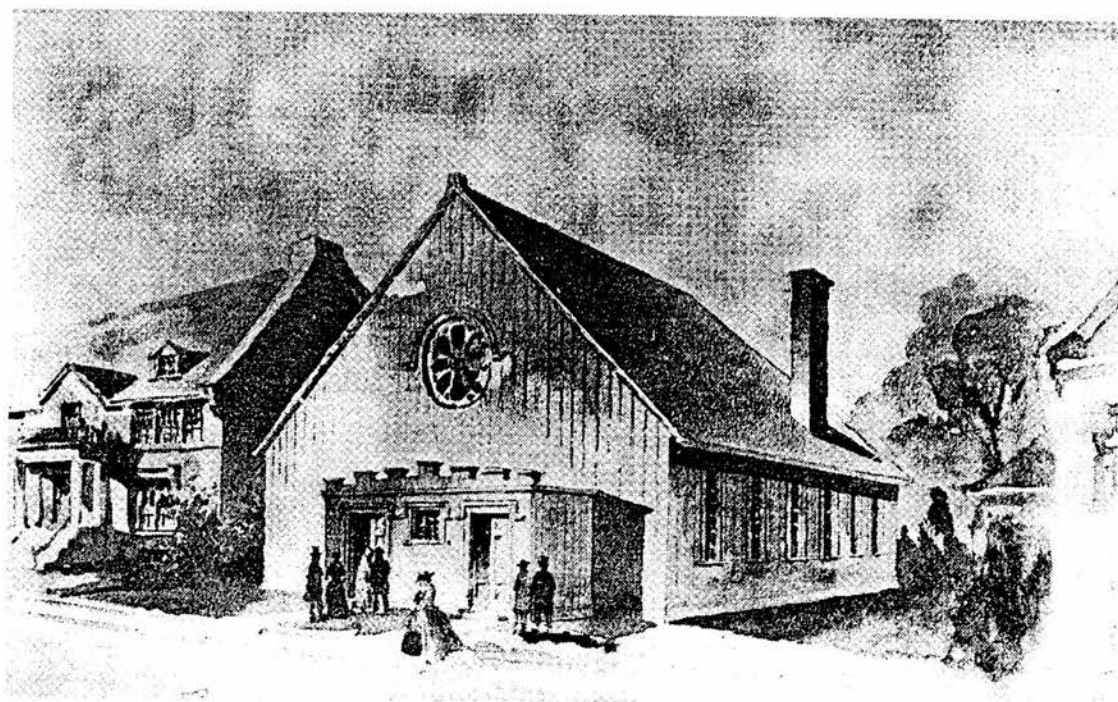


Fig.84 Free Church, Lagauchetière Street, 1845

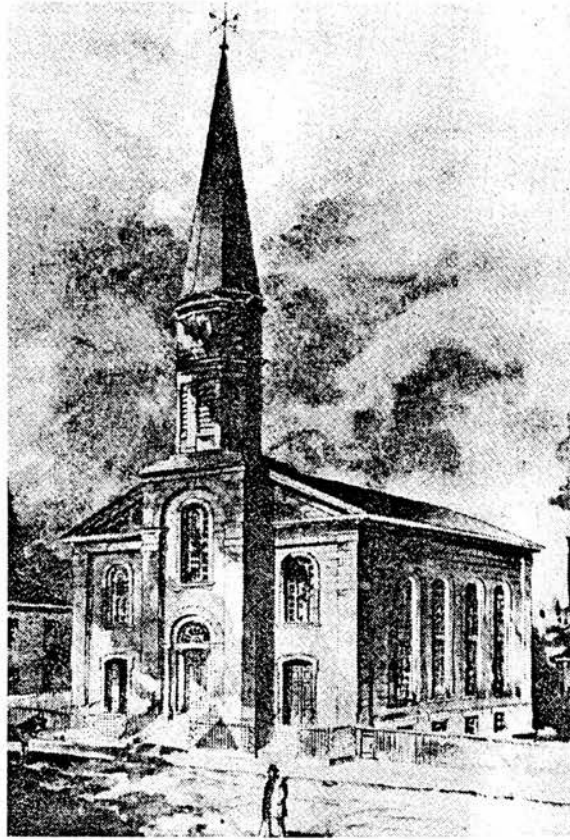


Fig.85 Free Church, Côté Street, 1847,
[John Wells]

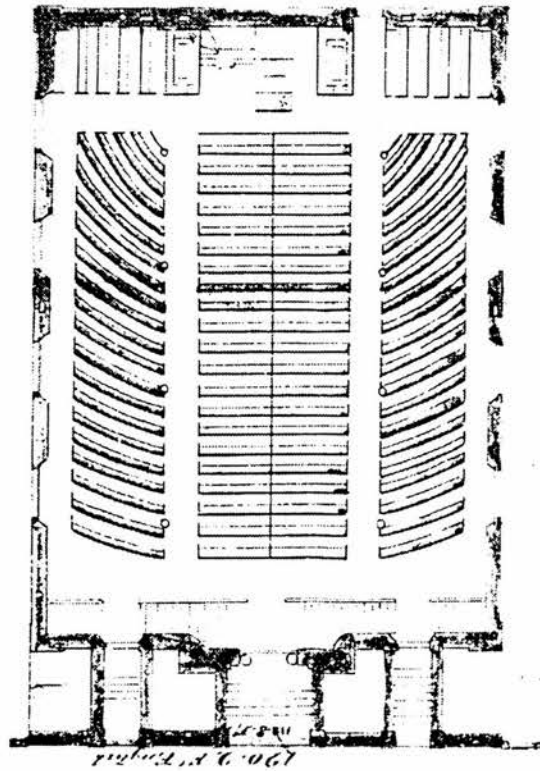


Fig.86 Plan of Free Church, Côté Street

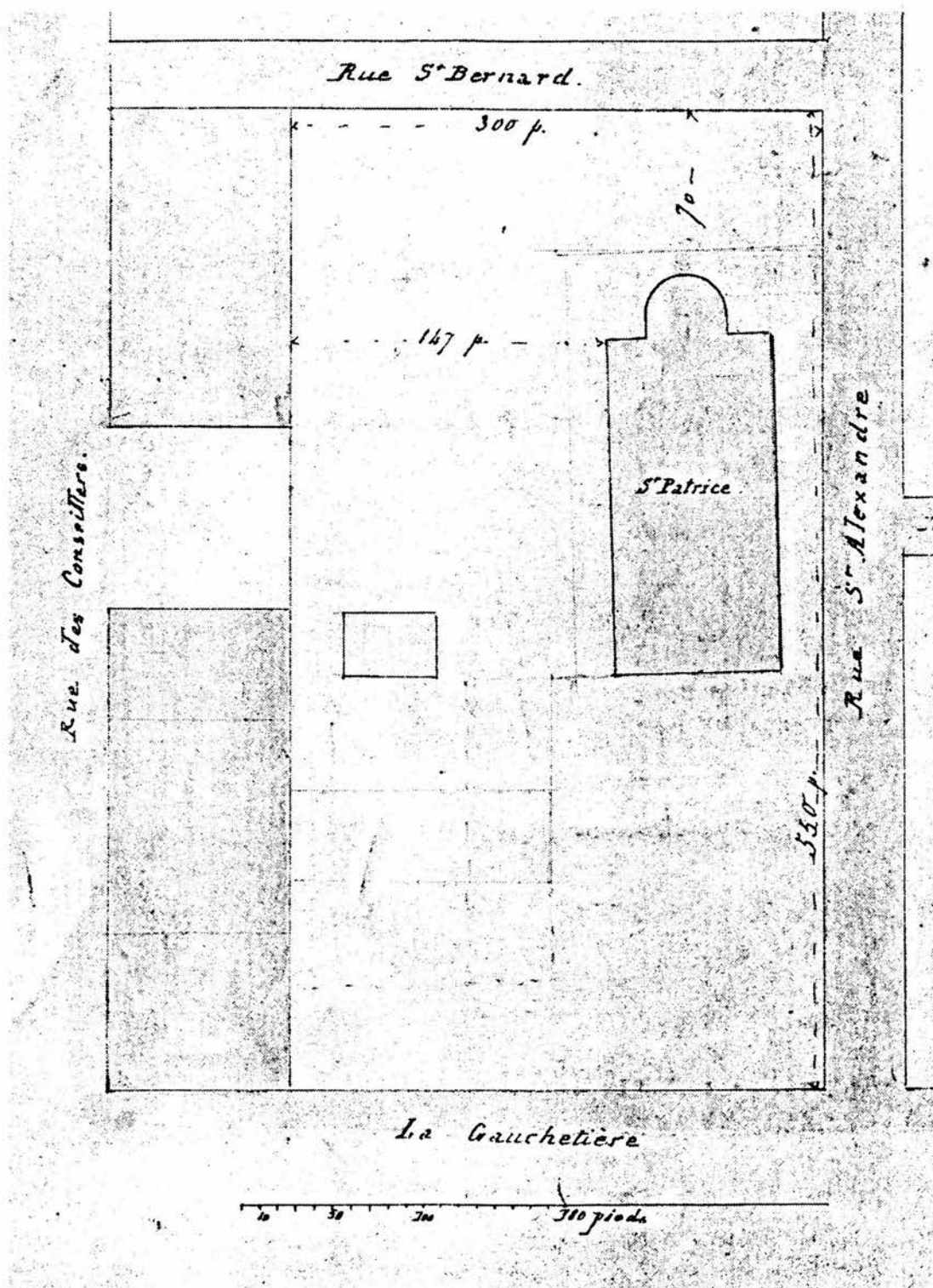


Fig.87 Plan of St. Patrick's Church, 1841, Pierre-Louis Morin

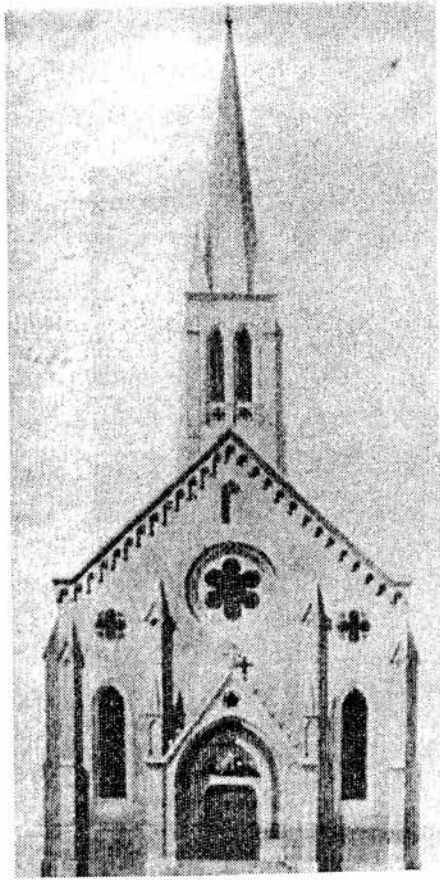


Fig.88 Proposal for a Church, Félix Martin

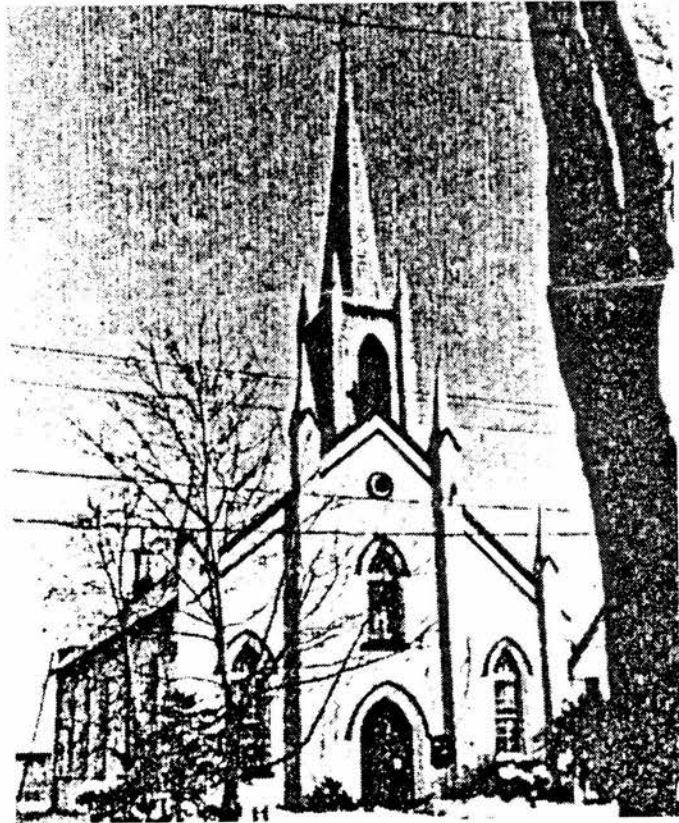


Fig.89 Christ Church, Sorel, begun 1842, John Wells

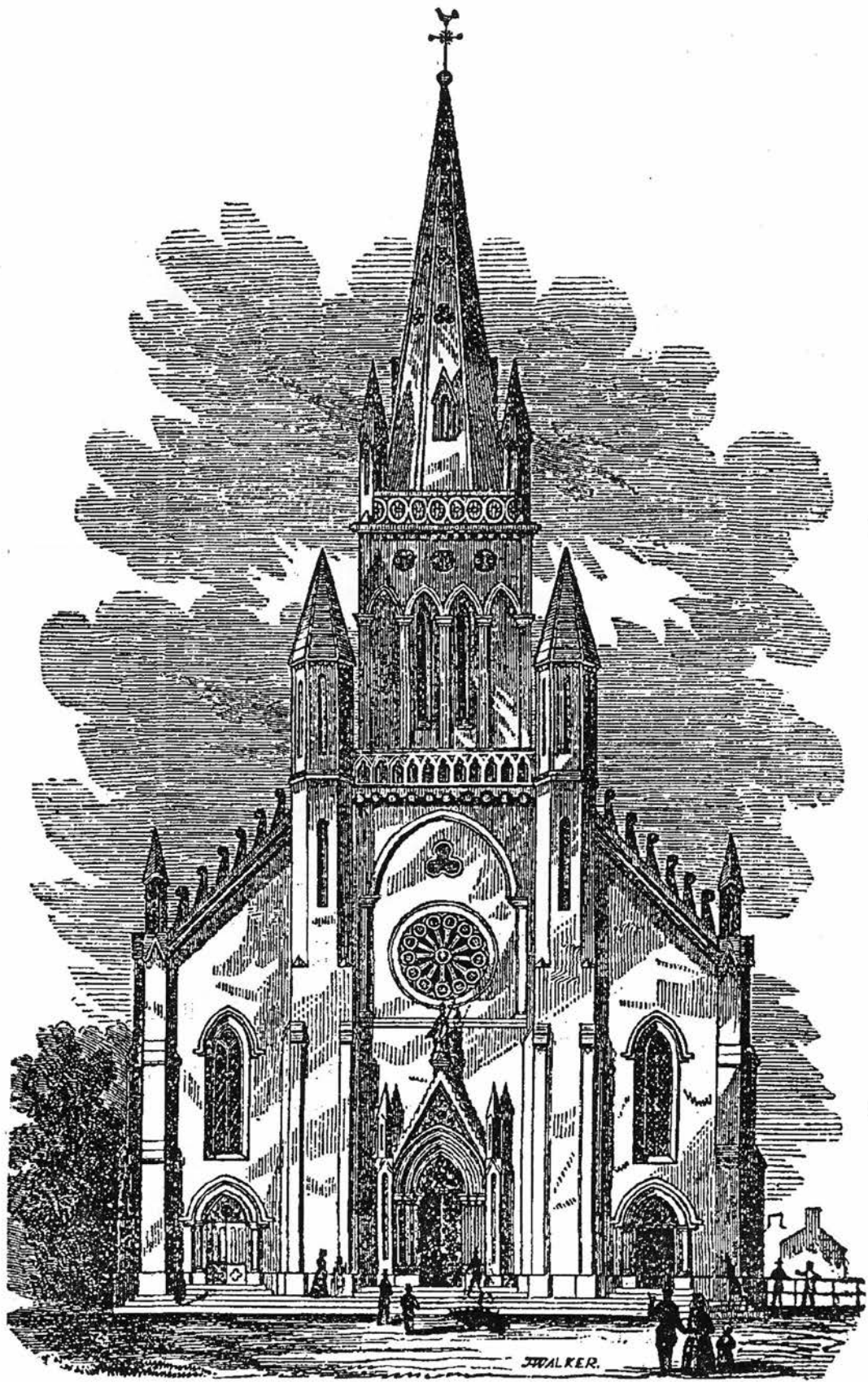


Fig.90 St. Patrick's Church, begun 1843, Pierre-Louis Morin and Félix Martin

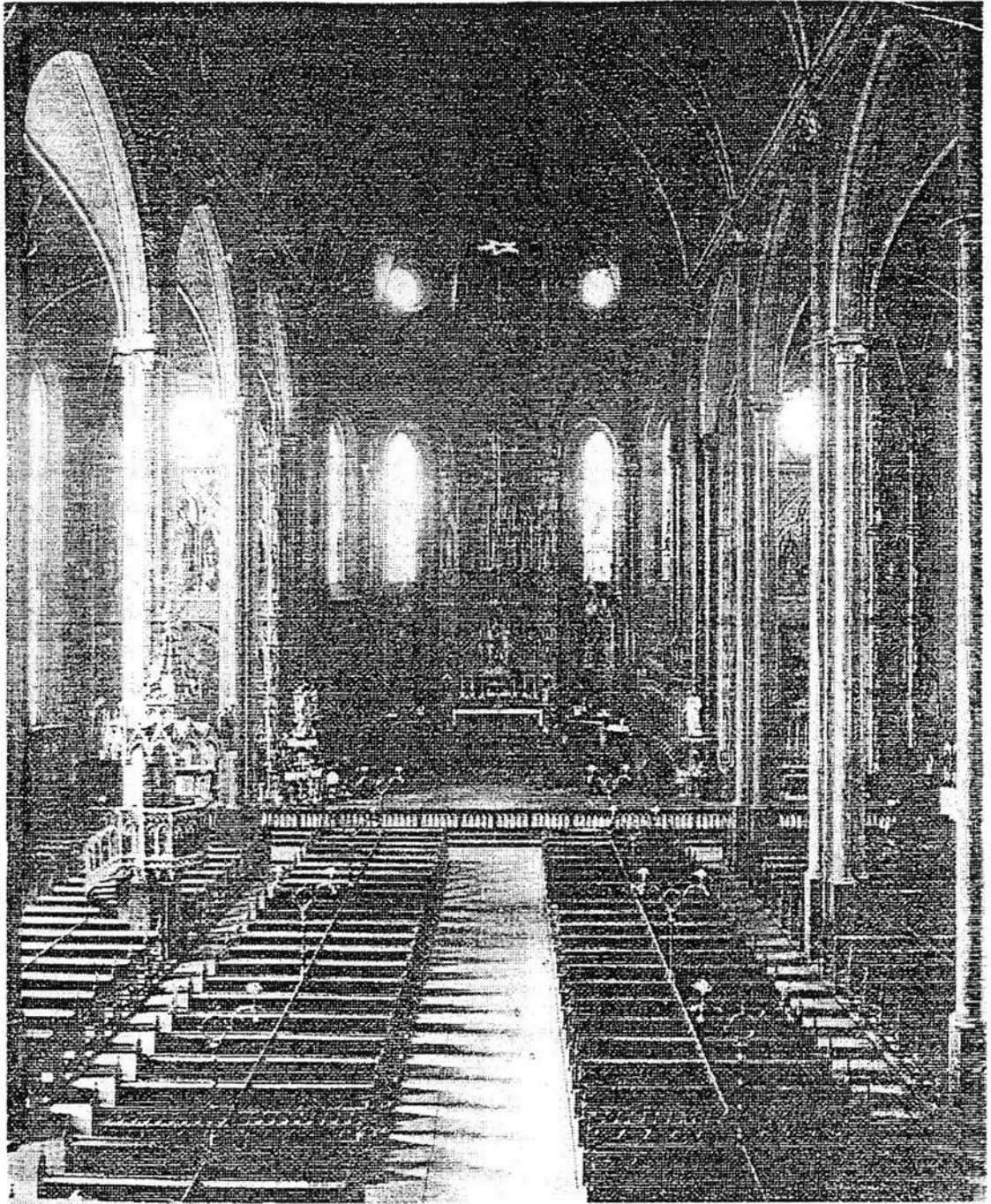


Fig.91 Interior of St. Patrick's Church

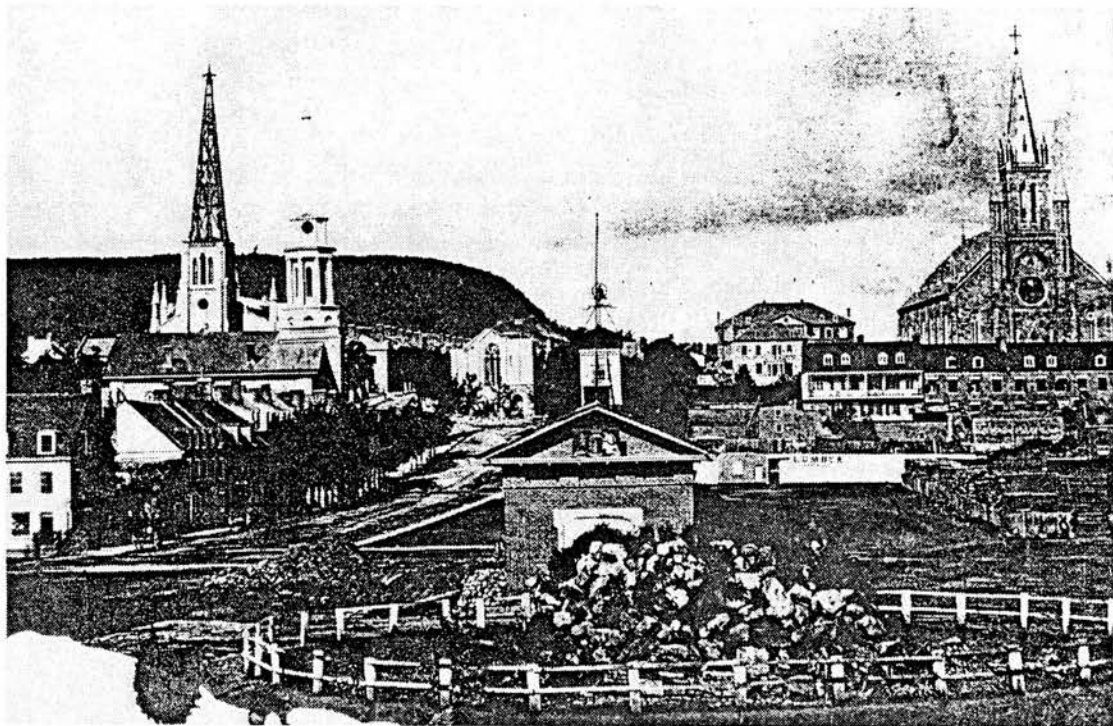


Fig.92 View of Haymarket Square, 1857. Note St. Andrew's Church and Zion Congregational Church on the left; the Church of the Messiah below the mountain; and St. Patrick's Church at the far right.

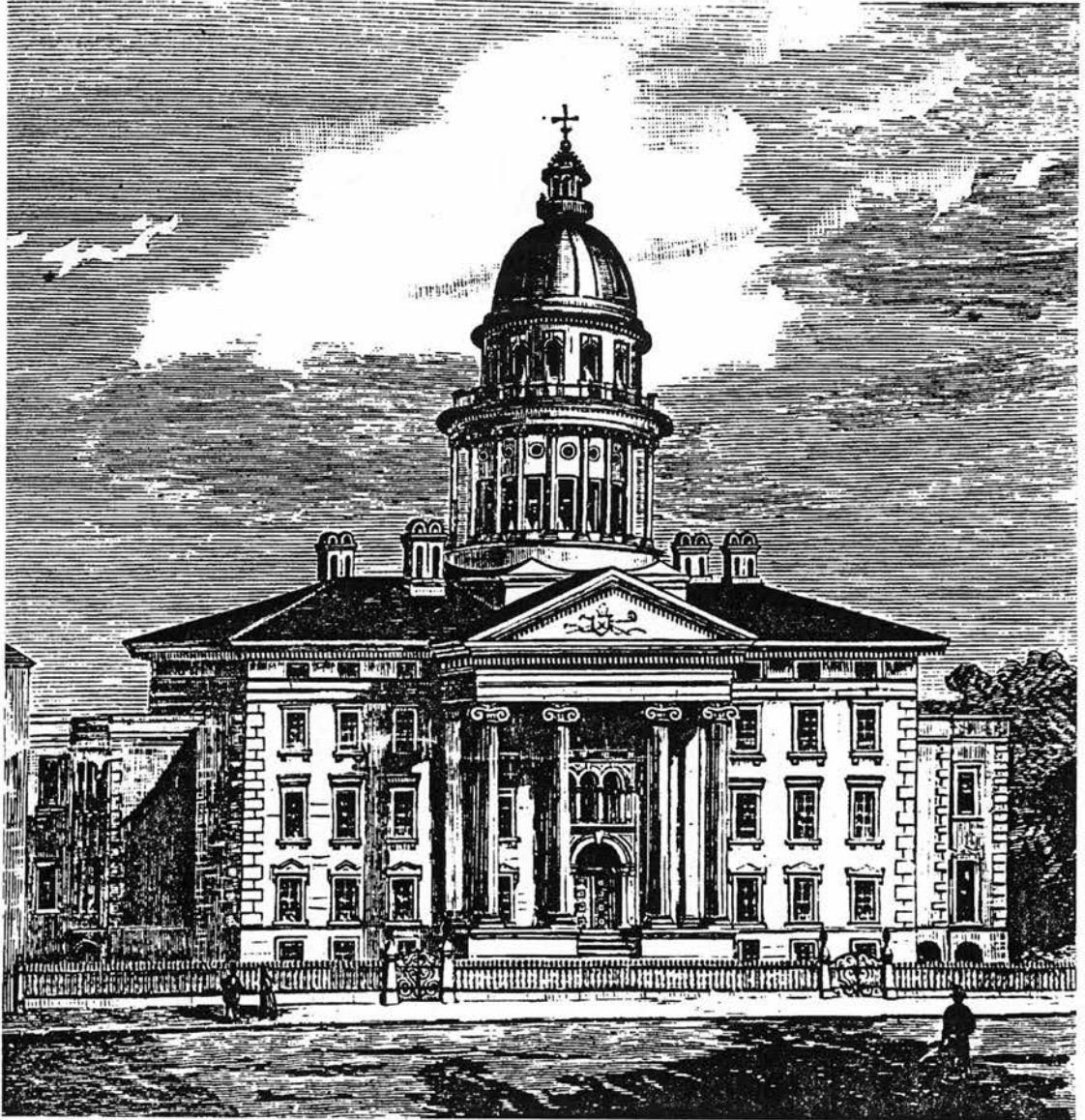


Fig.93 Episcopal Palace, 1849, John Ostell

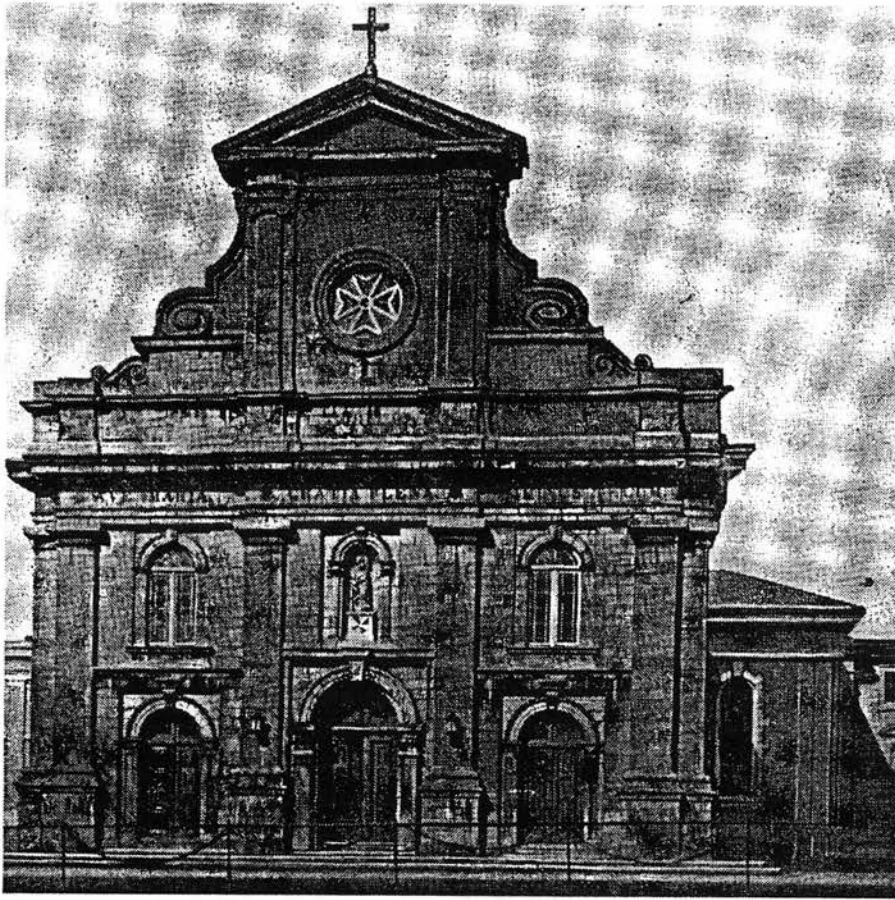


Fig.94 Notre Dame de Grâce Church, begun 1851, John Ostell

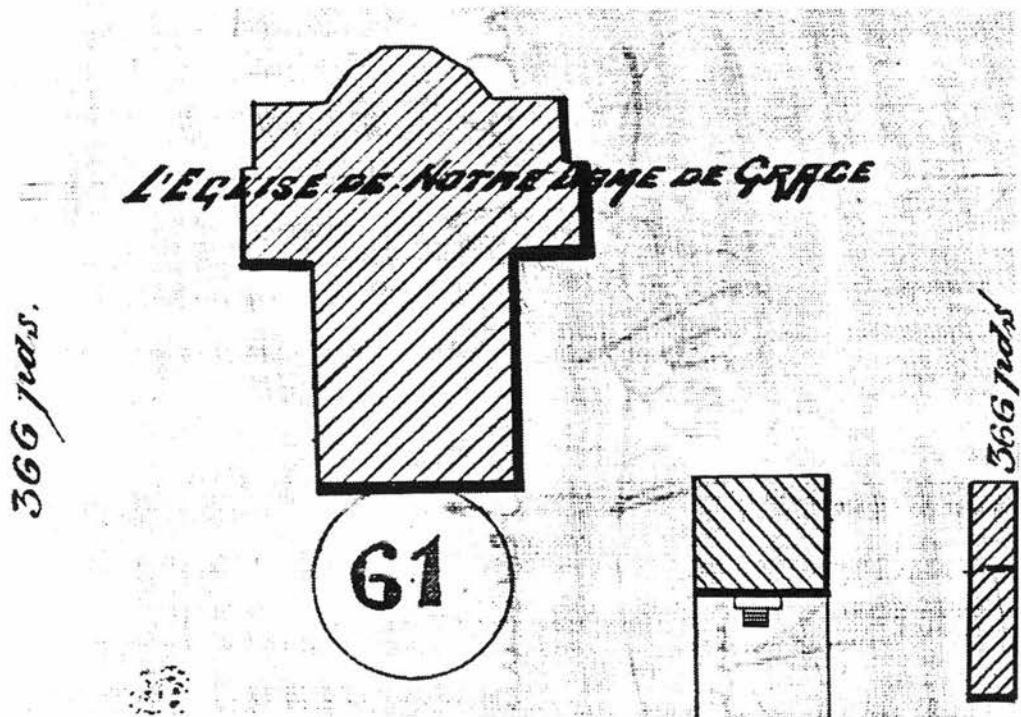


Fig.95 Plan of Notre Dame de Grâce Church



Fig.96 Interior of Notre Dame de Grâce Church

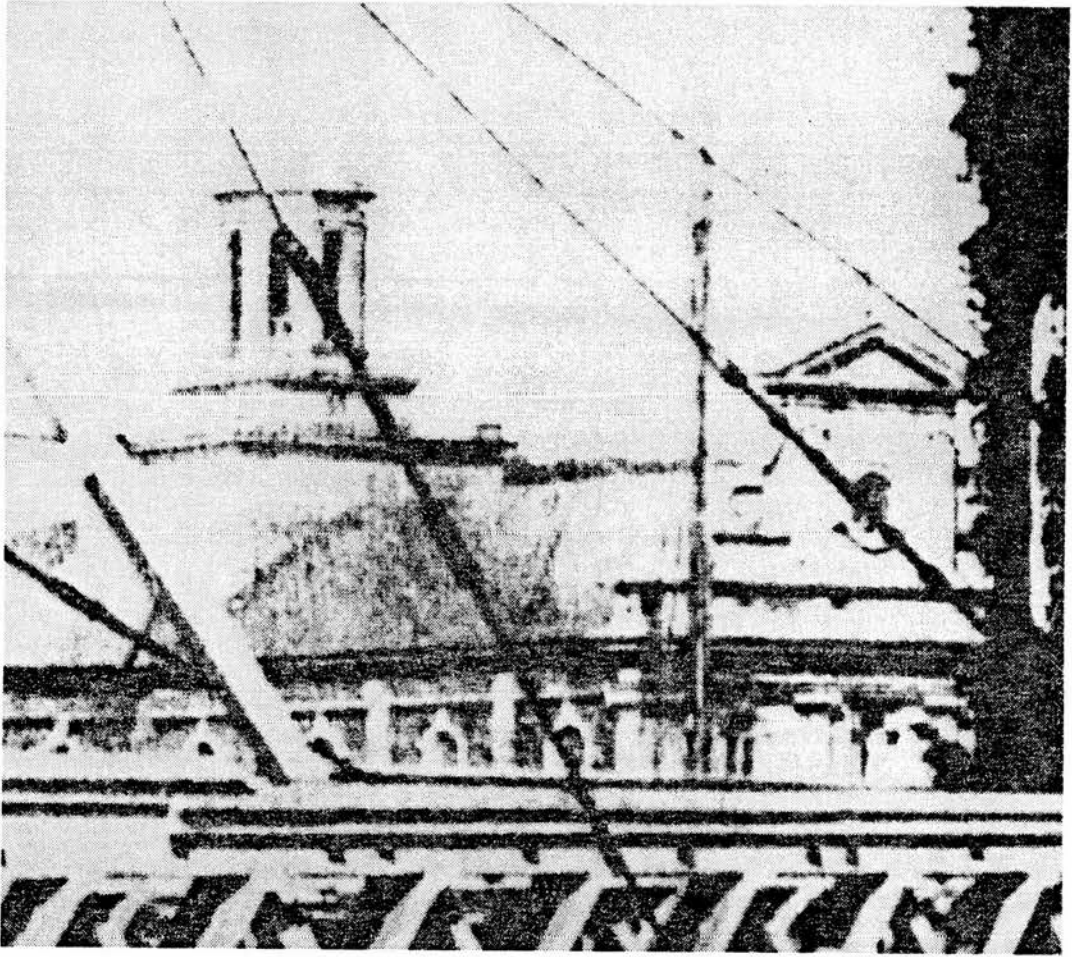


Fig.97 St. Ann's Church, begun 1851, John Ostell

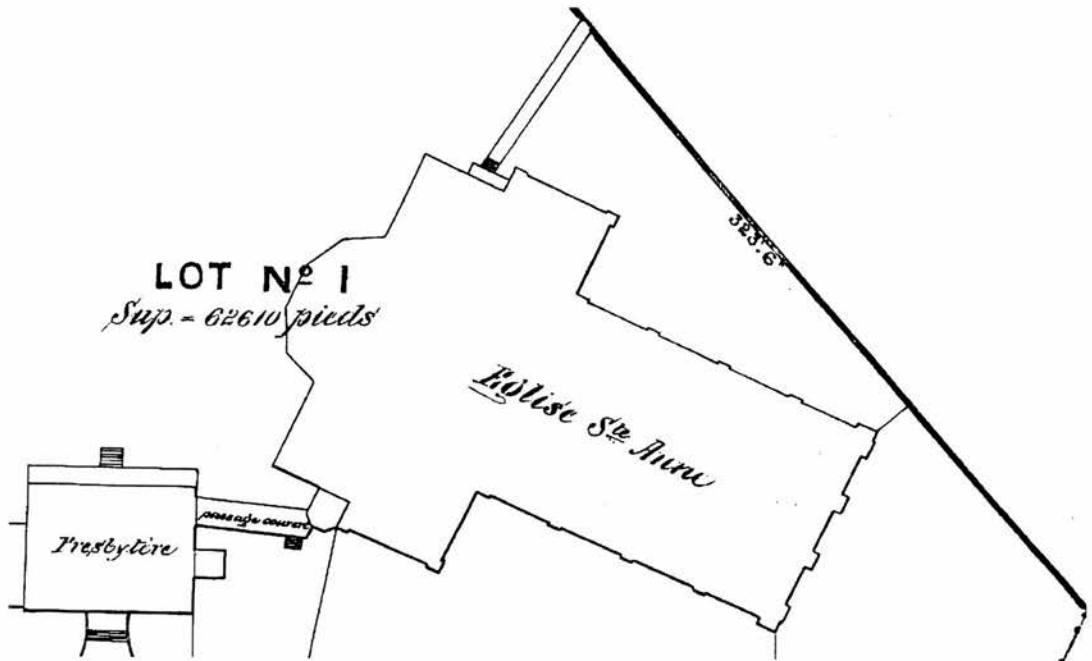


Fig.98 Plan of St. Ann's Church

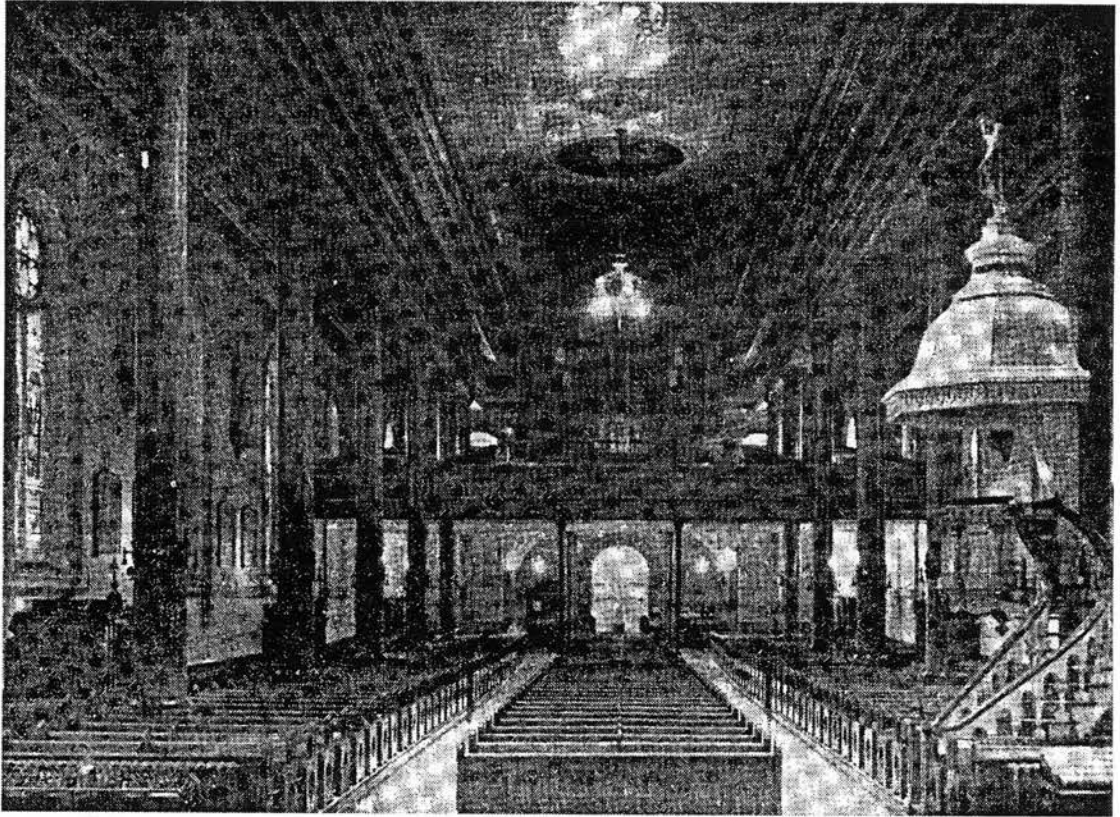


Fig.99 Interior of St. Ann's Church

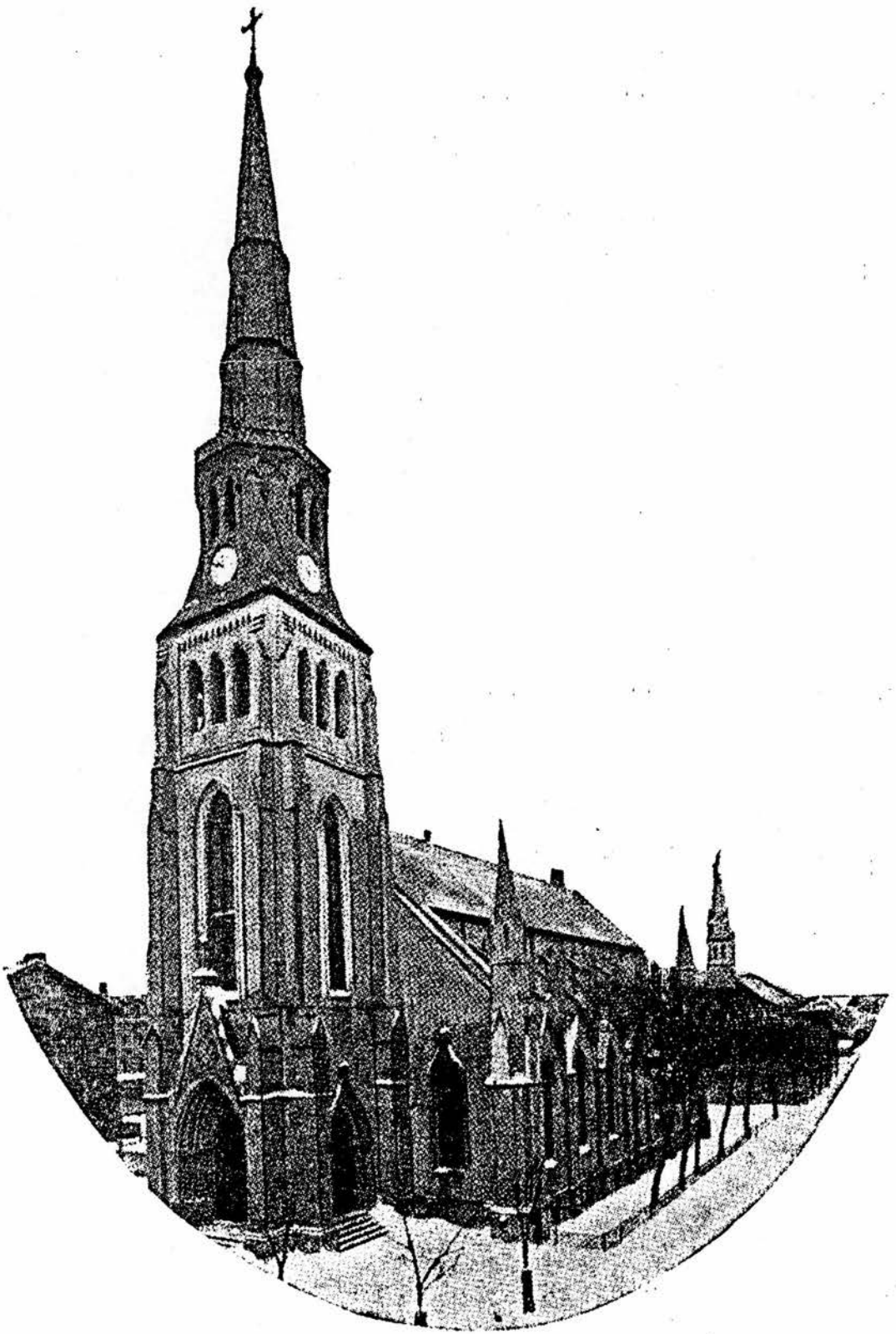


Fig.100 Church of St. Pierre Apôtre, begun 1851, Victor Bourgeau



Fig.101 View of clerestory and aisle, Church of St. Pierre Apôtre

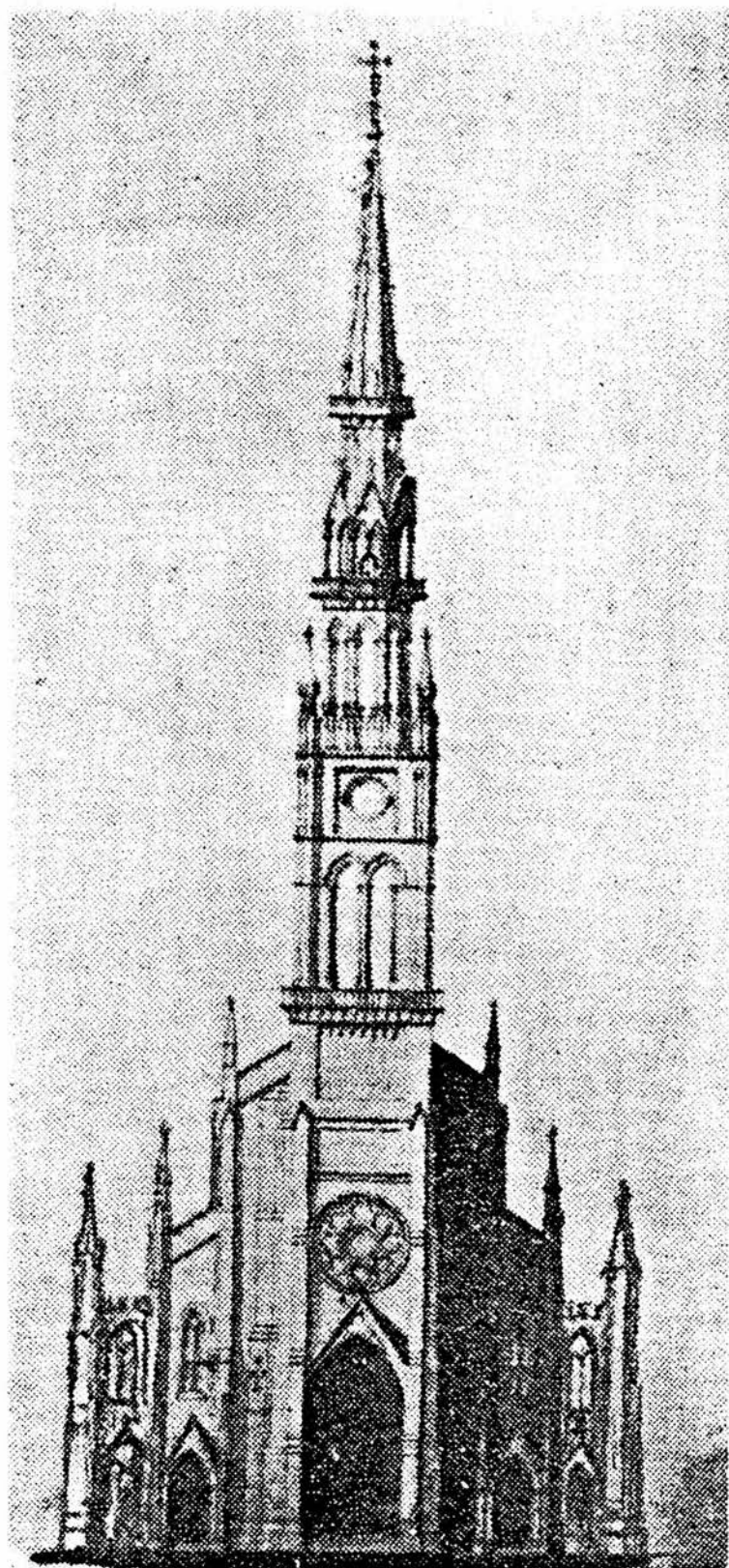


Fig.102 St. Jacques Church, rebuilt 1855, John Ostell

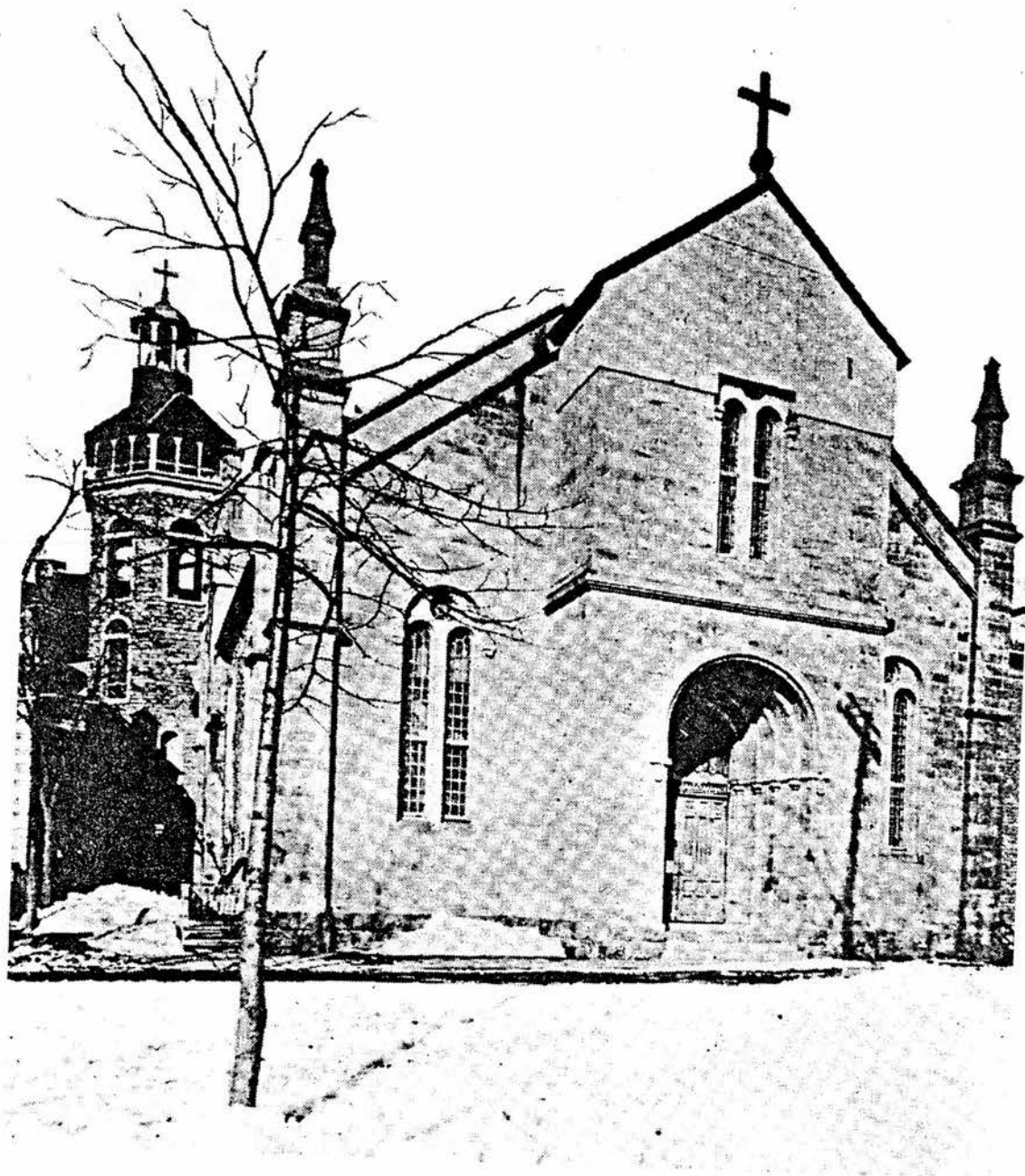


Fig.103 St. Viateur Church, 1857, Victor Bourgeau

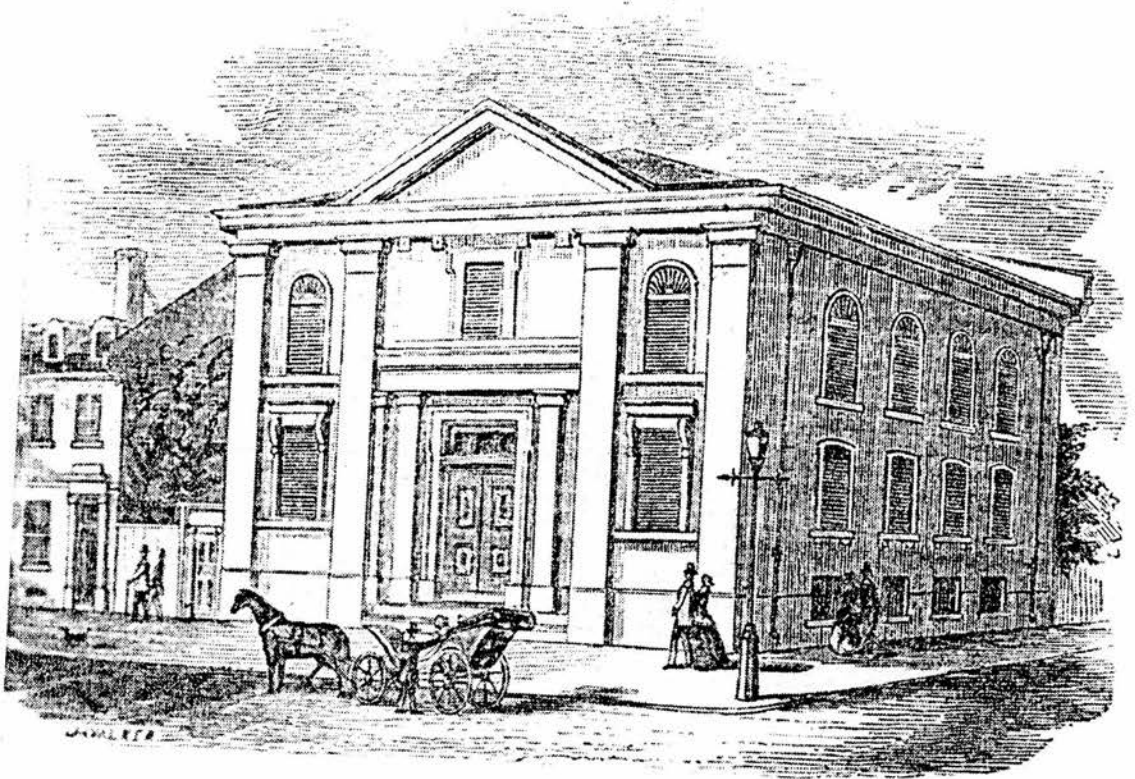


Fig.104 Scottish Secession Church, renovated in 1854

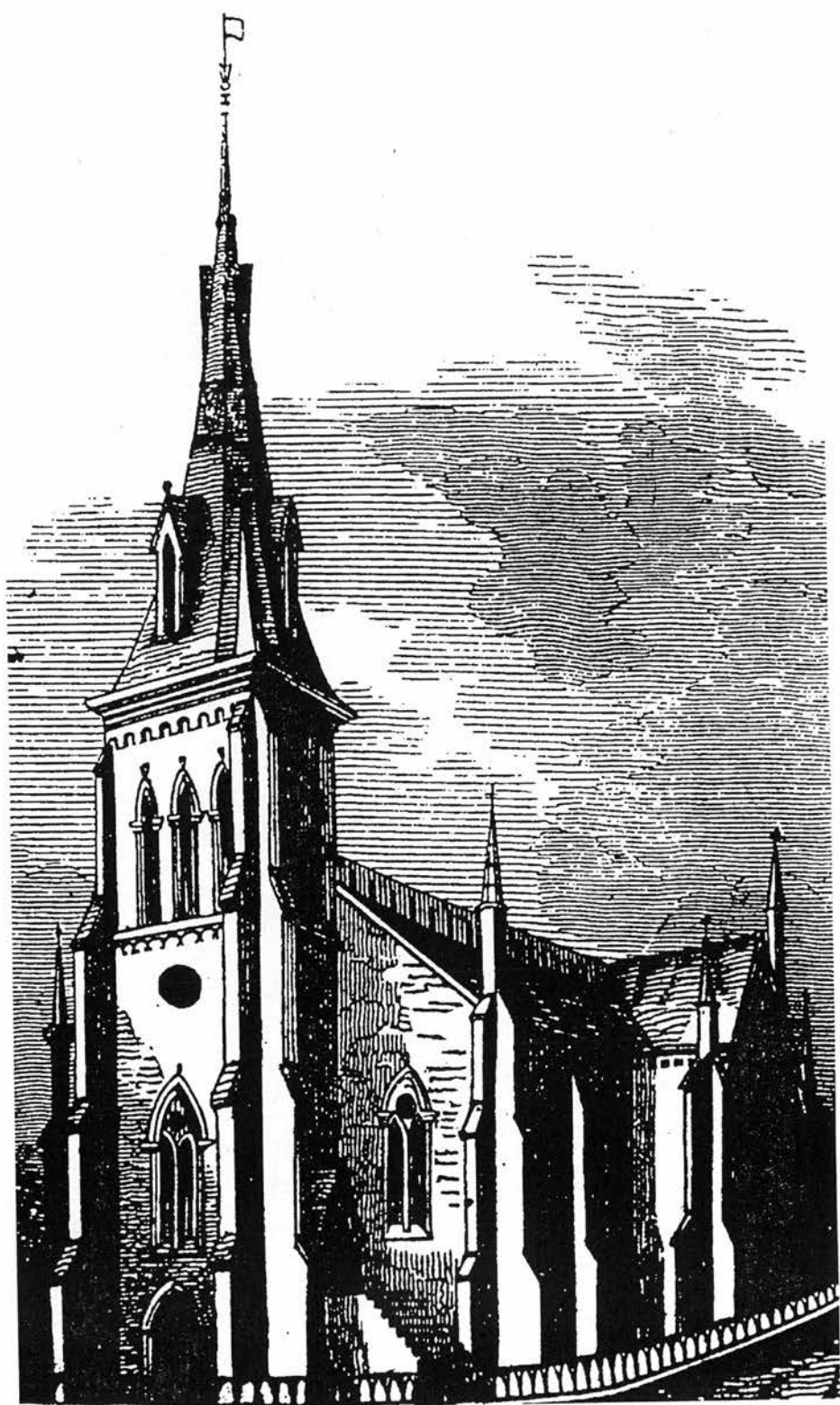


Fig.105 St. Andrew's Church, begun 1851, Tate & Smith

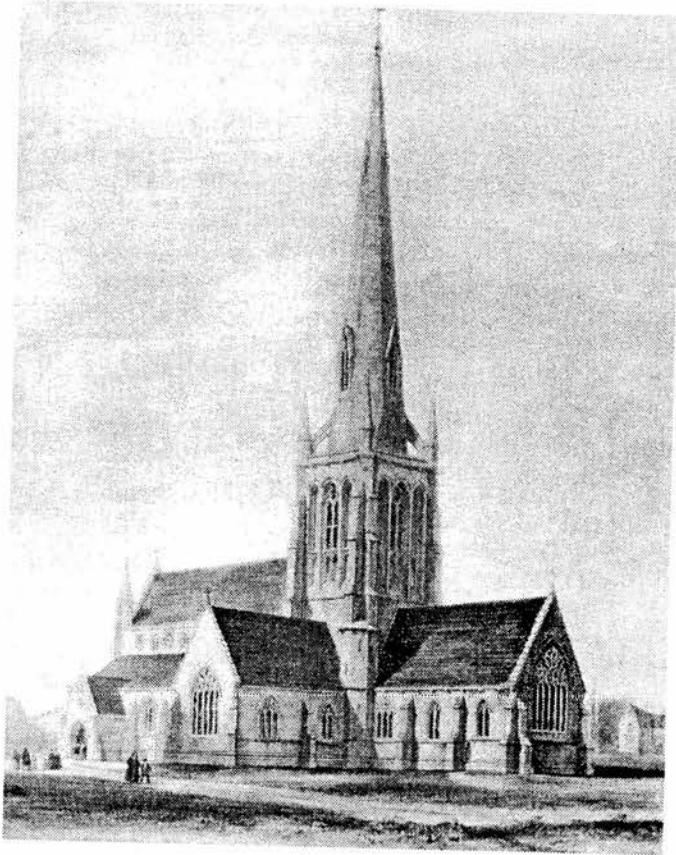


Fig.106 Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton,
New Brunswick, begun 1845, Frank Wills

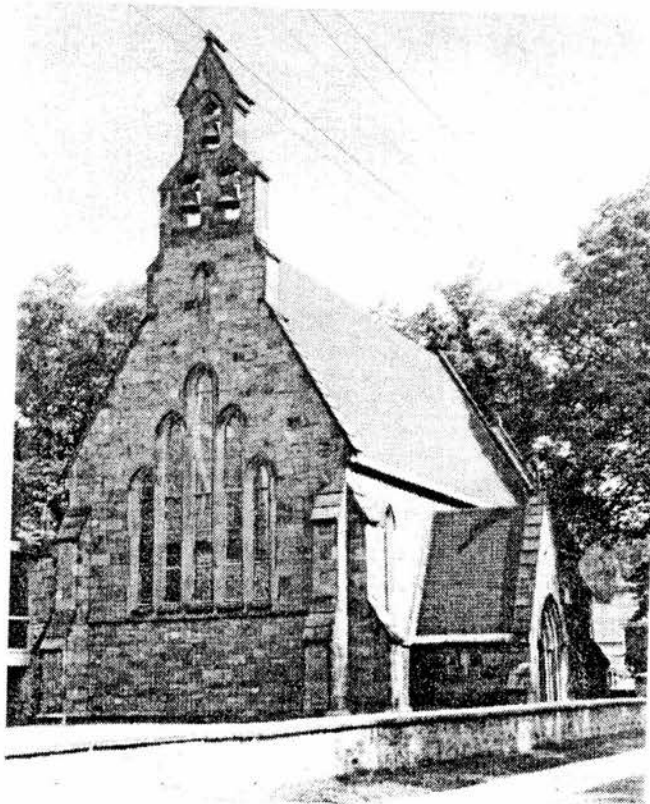


Fig.107 St. Anne's Chapel, Fredericton,
New Brunswick, begun 1846, Frank Wills

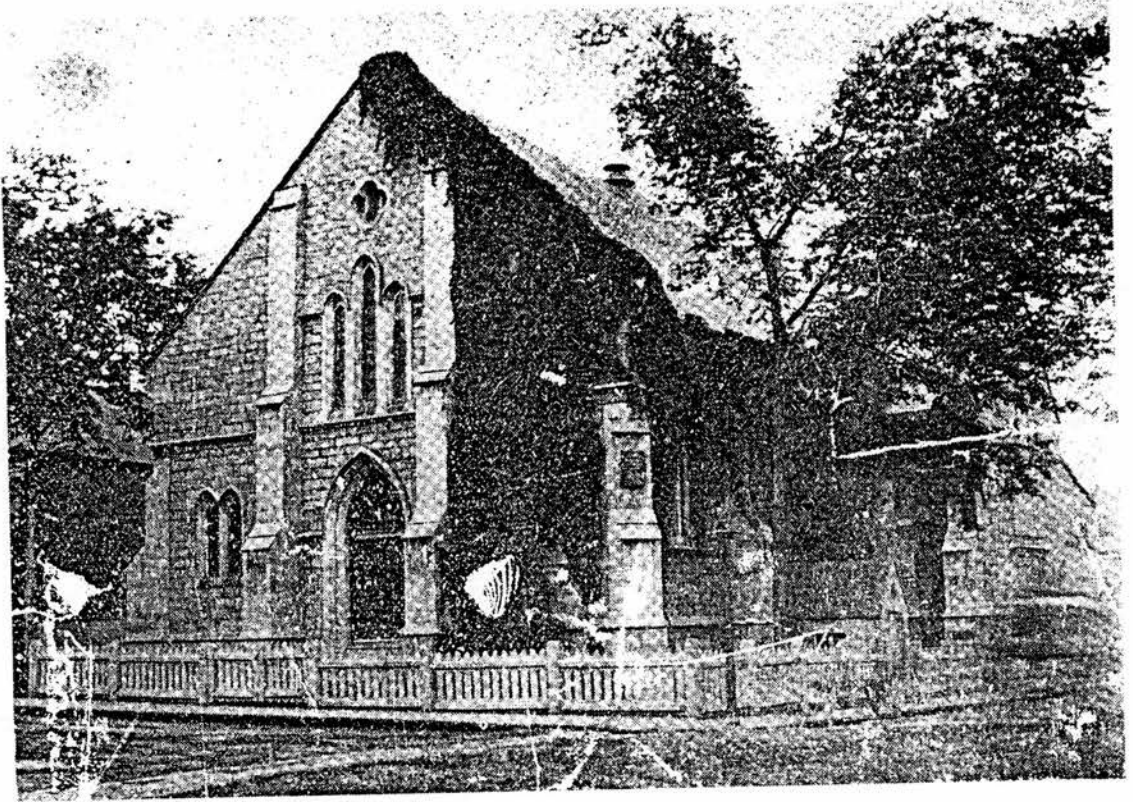


Fig.108 St. Luke's Church, begun 1853, Teavil Appleton



Fig.109 Proposal for St. Luke's Church

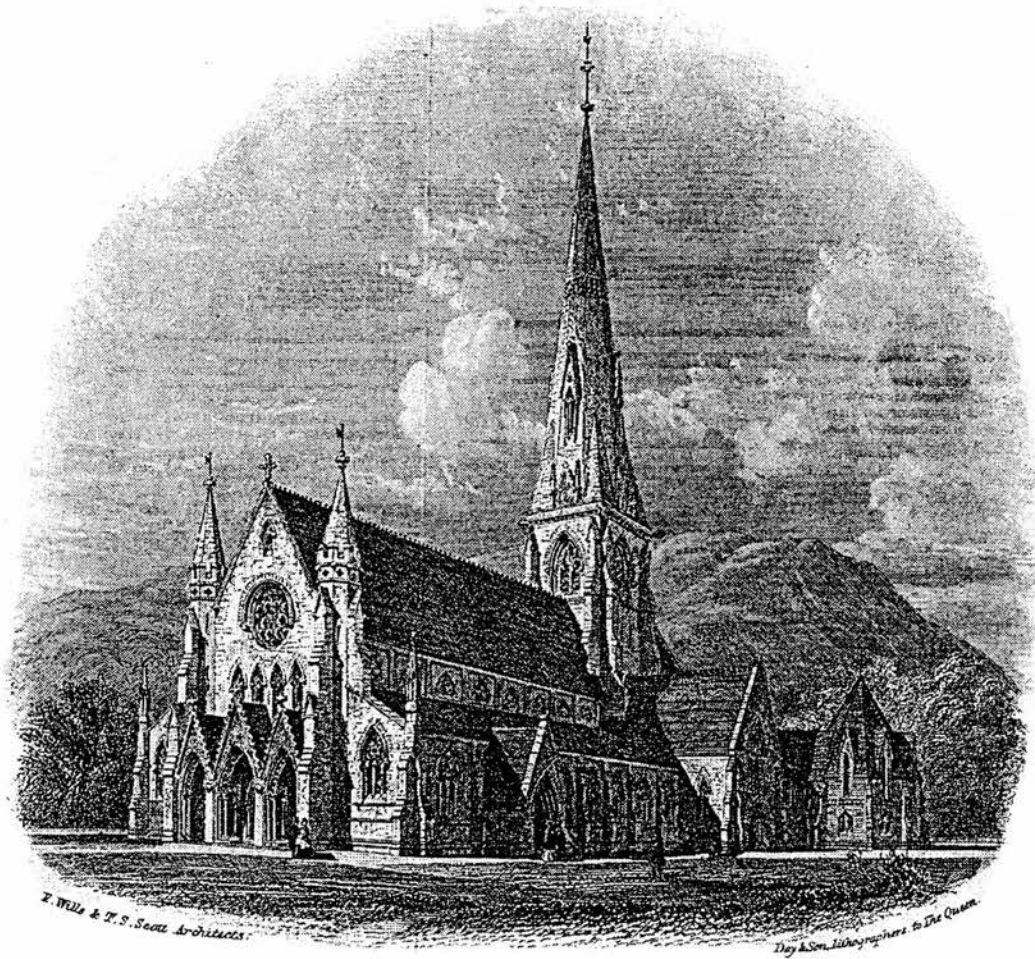


Fig.110 Christ Church Cathedral, 1856, Frank Wills and T.S. Scott

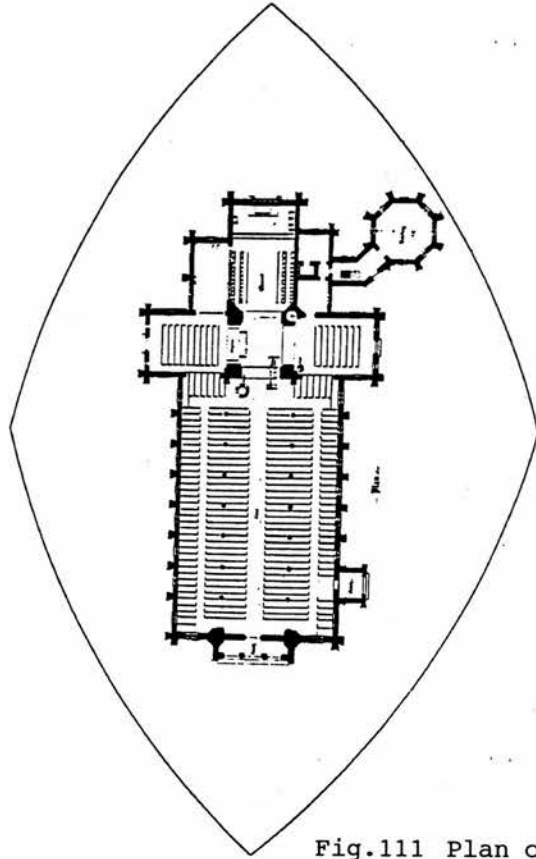


Fig.111 Plan of Christ Church Cathedral



Fig.112 Interior of Christ Church Cathedral

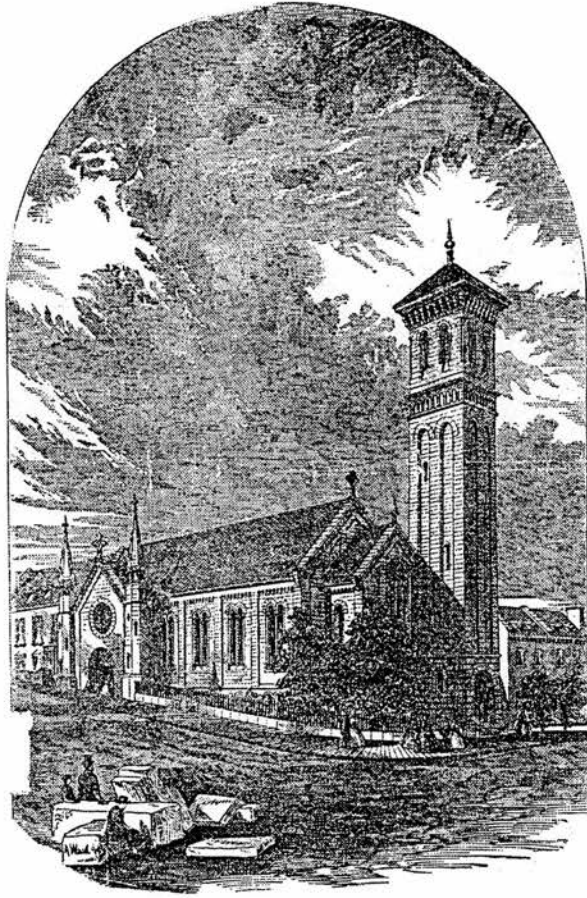


Fig.113 Church of the Messiah, rebuilt 1857,
Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson

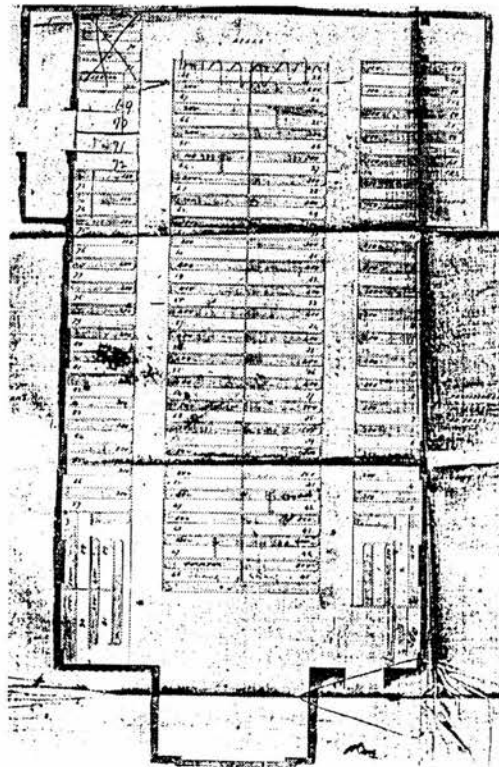


Fig.114 Pew plan of the Church of the Messiah

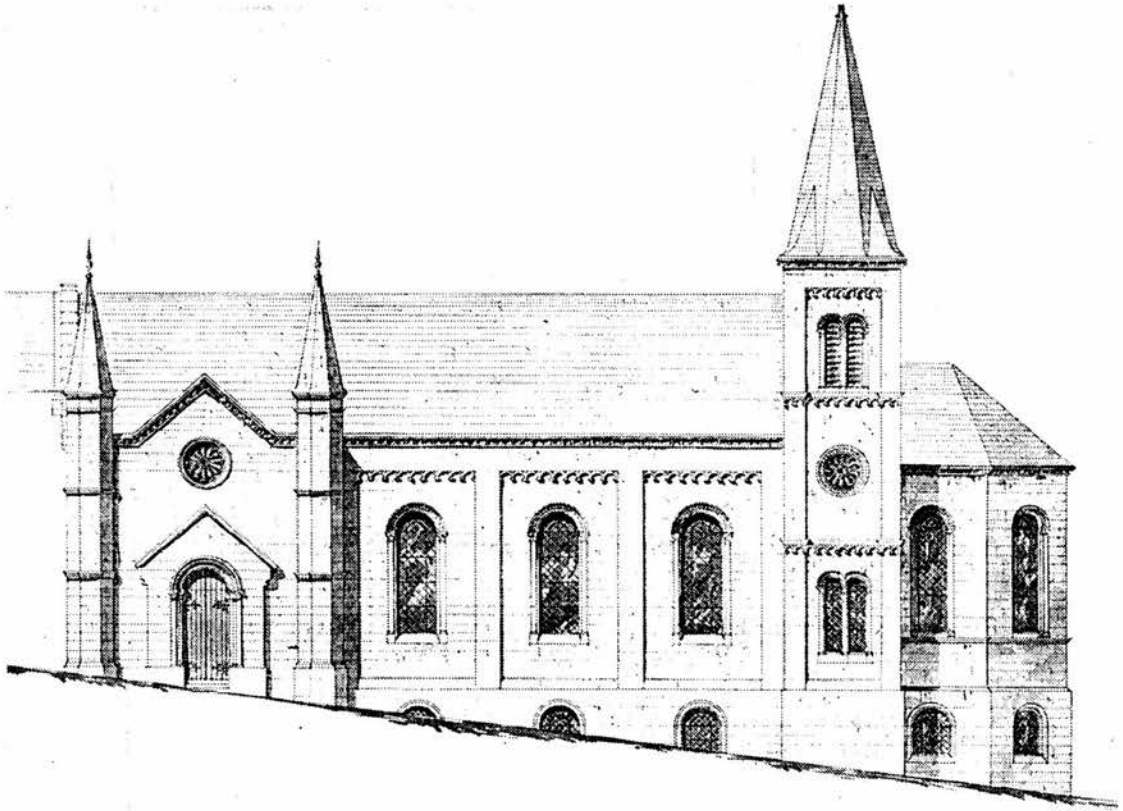


Fig.115 South elevation of the Church of the Messiah

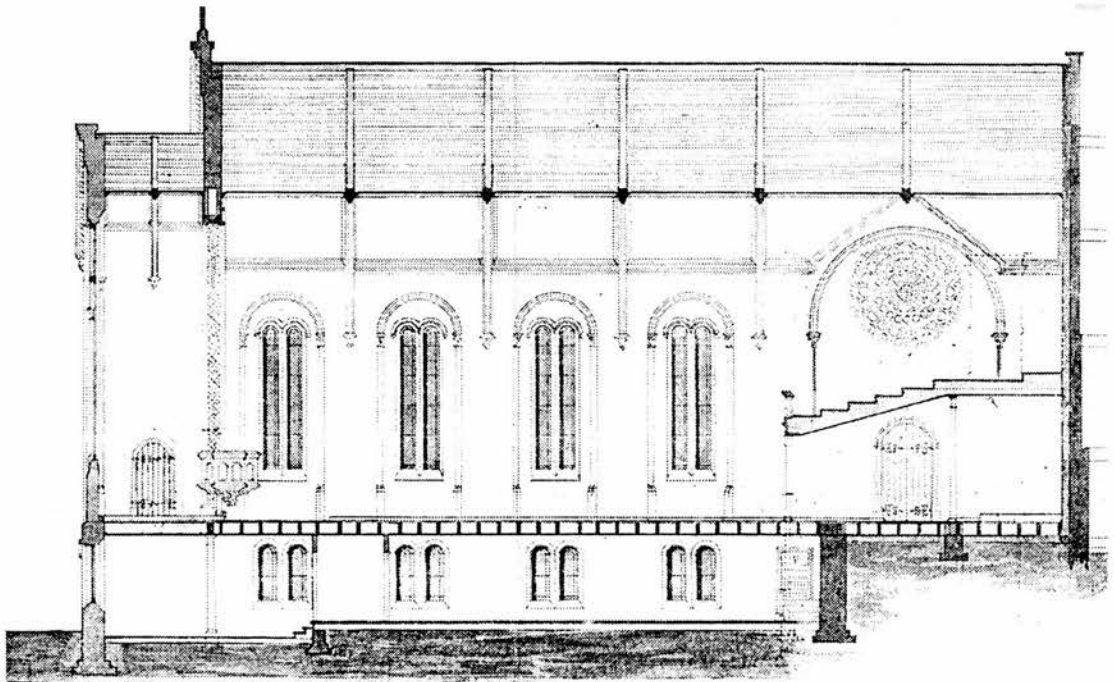


Fig.116 Longitudinal section of the Church of the Messiah

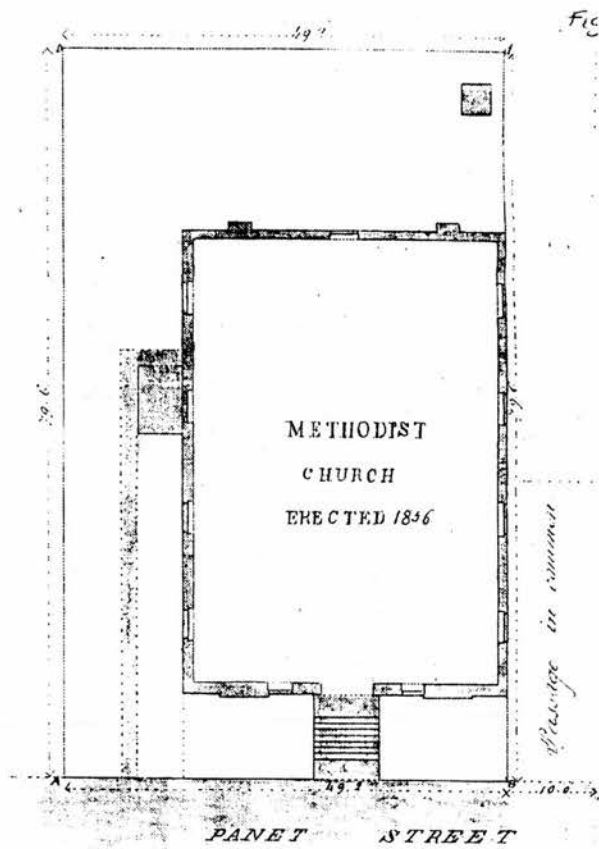


Fig.117 Plan of Salem New Connexion Church, 1857

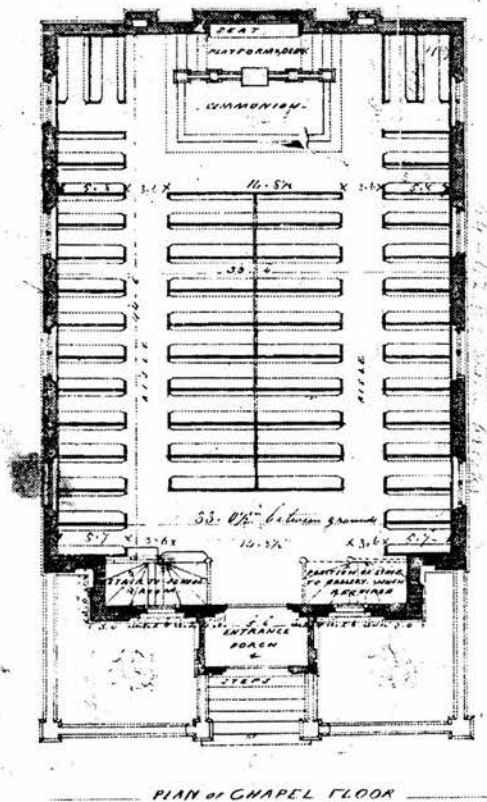


Fig.118 Plan of Ebenezer New Connexion Church, 1858, Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson

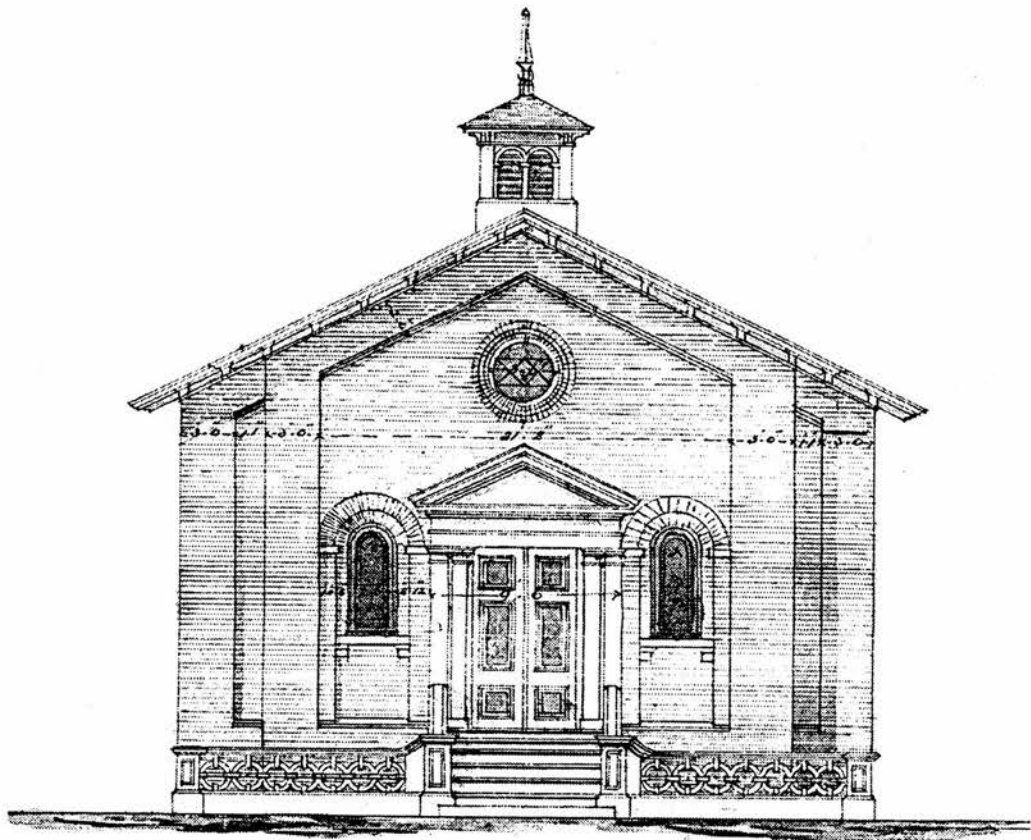


Fig.119 Front elevation of Ebenezer New Connexion Church

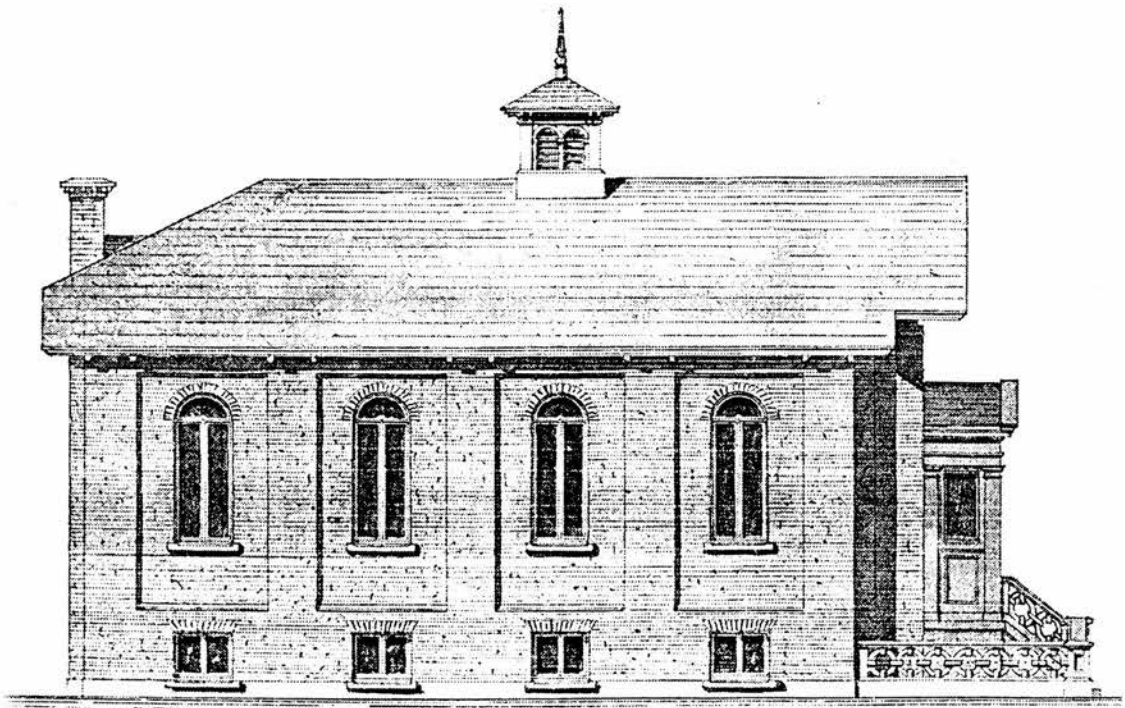


Fig.120 Side elevation of Ebenezer New Connexion Church

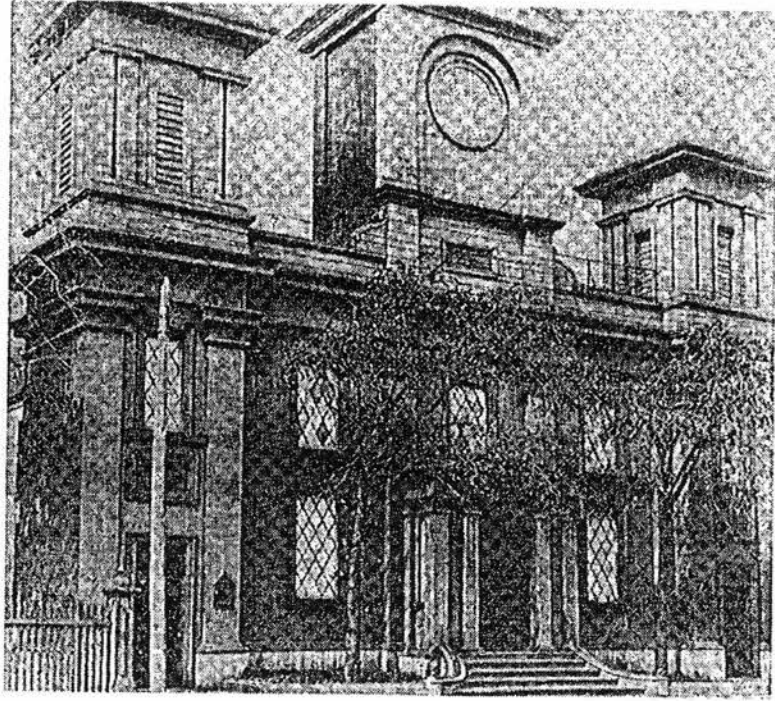


Fig.121 St. Thomas' Church, 1858, [G. Browne]

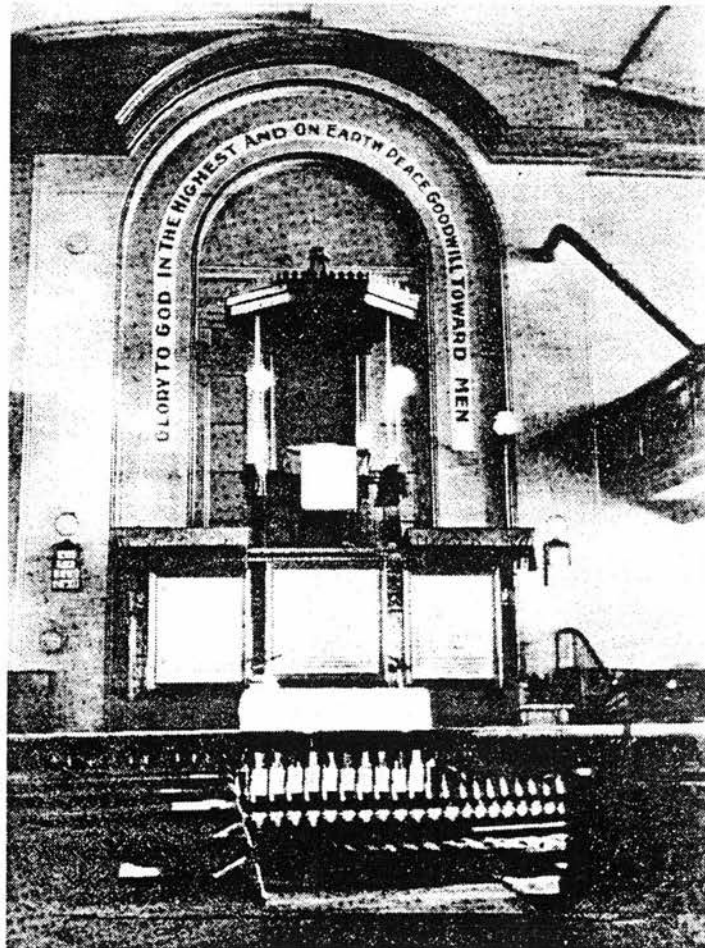


Fig.122 Interior of St. Thomas' Church

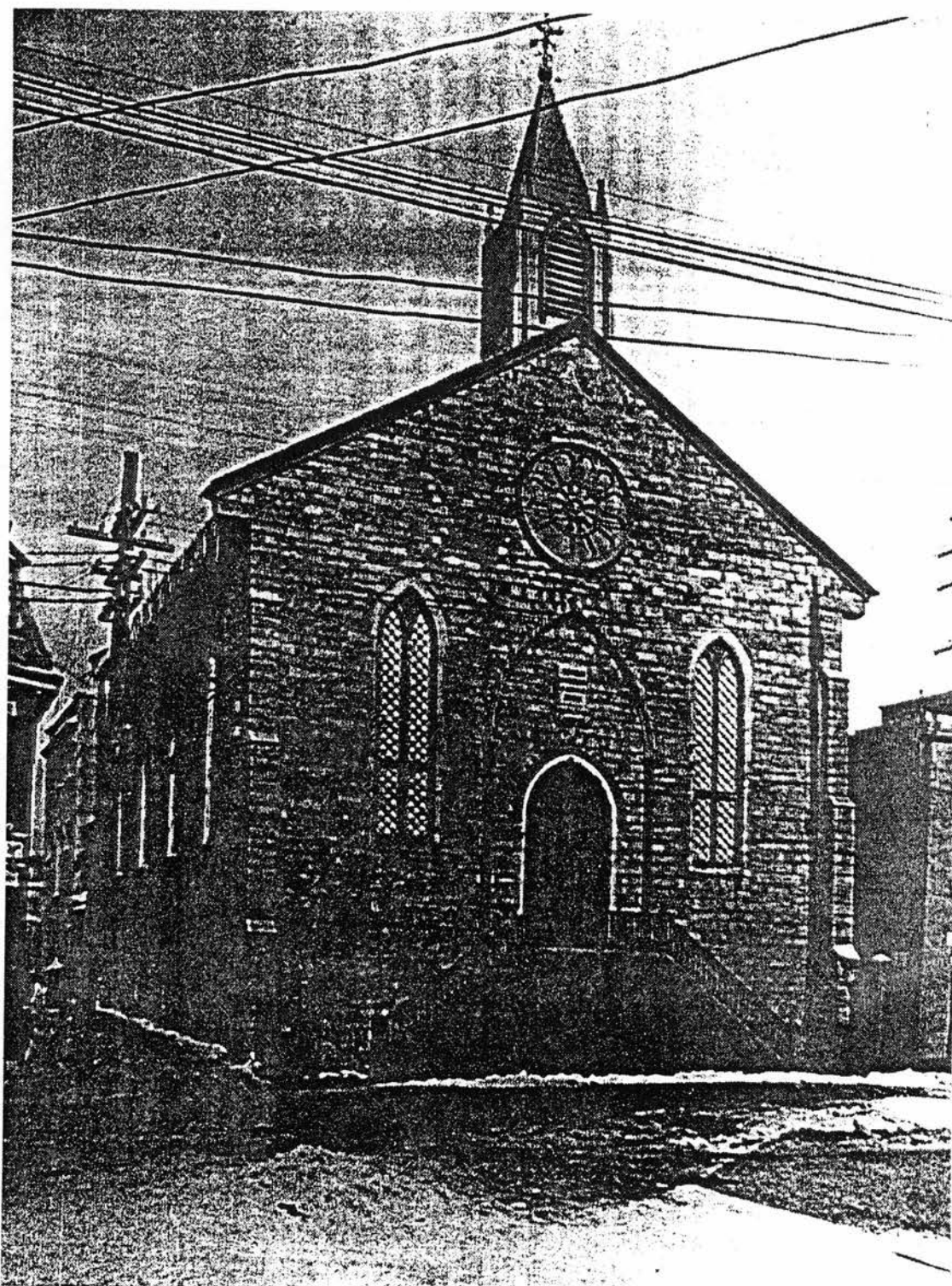


Fig.123 St. John's Lutheran Church, 1858, John Atkinson

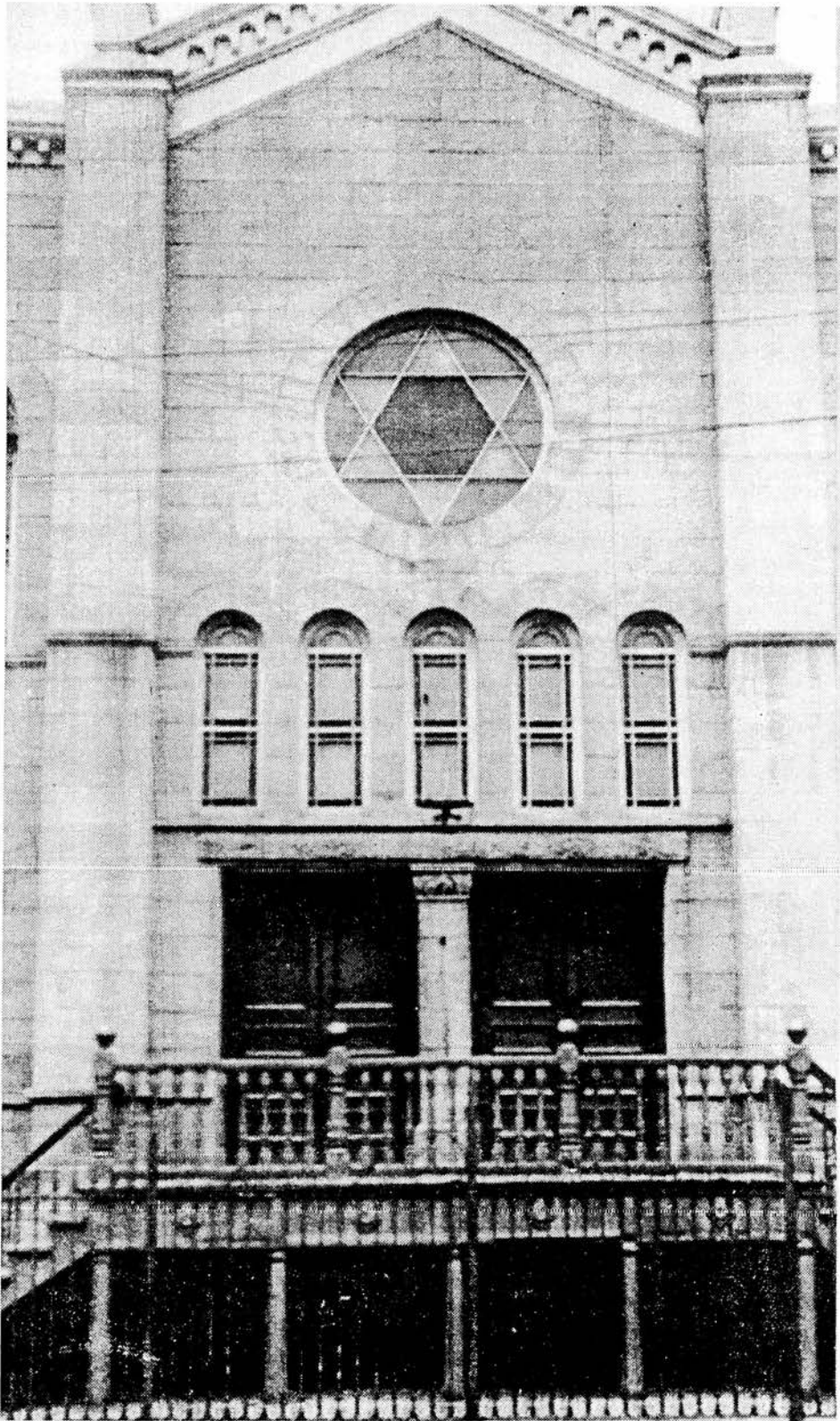


Fig.124 Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue, 1859, J.J. Browne