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The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal:
An Architectural History 1805–1932,
and Catalogue of Memorials

Sandra M. Coley

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March 1993

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ABSTRACT

The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal: An Architectural History 1805–1932, and Catalogue of Memorials

Sandia M. Coley

This thesis examines the five building campaigns undertaken by the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul between 1805 and 1932 in Montreal, beginning with the first St. Andrew's Church which opened in 1807; its second genesis in 1851; the first St. Paul's, opened in 1834 and relocated in 1868; and the present Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, on the corner of Sherbrooke and Redpath streets, completed in 1932.

The thesis contains a chapter in the form of catalogue raisonné on the history and provenance of the church's memorials (dating from 1870–1948), including eighteen stained glass windows and examples of ornamental metal work and textiles. Most of these memorials were incorporated into the current church building from the earlier churches.

In addition to the topic's inherent interest, this study contributes to an understanding of architectural practice and social history in Montreal during this 125 year period and provides a model for future research.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANQM	Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal (Montreal)
<u>CAB</u>	<u>Canadian Architect and Builder</u>
CAC	Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader–Lauterman Library of Art and Architecture, McGill University (Montreal)
<u>JRAIC</u>	<u>Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada</u>
NAC	National Archives of Canada (Ottawa)
NPA	Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History (Montreal)
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (Edinburgh)
SSAP	Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul (Montreal)

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INTRODUCTION

A church building is the result of a complex set of causes: a community joined in common purpose, a chosen locale, the availability of funds and building materials, current fashions in architecture, and the combined vision of an architect or builder and the patron. A new church may also incorporate elements of its earlier buildings and thus maintain a real and tangible connection with the past.

The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, situated on the corner of Sherbrooke and Redpath streets in Montreal represents the union in 1918 of two powerful, historic and wealthy Presbyterian congregations. St. Andrew's Church of Scotland and St. Paul's Presbyterian Church were formed early in the nineteenth century. Each would enjoy a long history of prominent ministers and influential patrons. Among the latter were several of Canada's preeminent businessmen, many of whom were noted art collectors. They acted as church trustees and formed building committees, participating closely in new building projects. The list includes Sir Hugh Allan and Andrew Allan; William Watson Ogilvie; George Stephen, Lord Mount Stephen; Richard Bladworth Angus; Donald Smith, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal; Edward Black Greenshields; and Hugh Graham, Lord Atholstan.

This thesis will follow the five building campaigns undertaken by these patrons beginning with: the first St. Andrew's Church which opened in 1807, and moved to a new building in 1851; the first St. Paul's which opened in 1834, and relocated in 1868;

and the final amalgamated Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, which was completed in 1932. The number and stature of the architects employed in these building campaigns is impressive. The following prominent firms were involved in competitions, designing, supervising, rebuilding, and alterations: John Wells, Tate and Smith; Thomas Seaton Scott; Hopkins, Lawford, and Nelson; and H.L. Fetherstonhaugh. The following study of their buildings is based on a close examination of documentation including: minutes of trustees' meetings, correspondence, annual reports, architectural drawings, pew plans, notarial contracts and specifications, and contemporaneous newspaper accounts and photographs.

The thesis thus reflects the development of architectural practice in the city of Montreal during this 125 year period: from the early nineteenth century reliance of patrons on builders for their projects, to the full professionalism of architectural practice finally achieved in the first half of the twentieth century.

Chapter One deals with the founding of St. Andrew's church in 1805 and the simple church constructed for the congregation by a builder under the direction of the building committee. Chapter Two discusses the second church constructed for St. Andrew's congregation, which had expanded considerably by the 1840s. The new church erected between 1847 and 1851, in a transitional neo-Gothic style, was the result of a competition between four well-known Montreal architects. Chapter Three traces the early history of St. Paul's church, which opened in 1834. This church was the first of either congregation to adopt an early form of the revived Gothic style. Chapter Four traces the history of the new church built for St. Paul's in 1867-1868.

Its plan and elevations reflect the full flowering of the Gothic Revival style in Canada. Chapter Five examines the last building campaign undertaken by the recently amalgamated congregation. This ambitious and expensive Modern Gothic church scaled to the dimensions of a cathedral was the result of an important architectural competition held just prior to the Depression in Canada. It would signal the end of an era of large churches built in the downtown core of the city.

With the exception of the first St. Andrew's church, the churches manifested successive phases of the Gothic Revival style. The thesis therefore provides an overview of Gothic revivalism in Protestant urban churches in Montreal, seen within the broader context of North American and British models.

The design and construction of Presbyterian church buildings were subject to the approval and control, in varying degree, of several groups of people. First of all, the building represents the aspirations of the institution in question; in the present examples, the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Their goals were foremost -- the church building had to meet the needs of a specific Protestant liturgy, and satisfy the moral and religious sensibilities of the institution. The Kirk Session, made up of Elders, formed the ruling body of the church and was responsible for such concerns, mediating between the Presbytery and the congregation.

The second group participating in the construction of new church buildings was the Board of Trustees. As custodians of the building they were responsible for the operation of the church; overseeing subscriptions and expenditures, and forming building and site committees. In the five churches under discussion, the Boards of

Trustees were composed of men who were the business elite in Canada.

Consequently, the trust and confidence of the congregation greatly empowered the Board in the decision-making process for new building projects.

The congregation itself, formed -- both as a group and as individual donors -- the third party involved in church patronage. Although they voted on the larger issues, such as the location of a new church, and its cost and style, these issues were ultimately decided by the trustees. However patronage by individual members of the congregation was exhibited in the fabric of the building, in the form of memorials such as stained glass windows, church organs, engraved plaques and tablets, church silver and furniture, and architectural devices such as metalwork screens and railings.

Such memorials were an important component of Victorian churches. Most of the former memorials of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's congregations were incorporated into the current church building. Two windows and a memorial bell from St. Andrew's church are extant, while a large collection of stained glass from St. Paul's is preserved in the current church. An overview of these memorials and the firms who made them, the methodology employed in this study, and the difficulties inherent in this type of research, is included in Chapter Six. The final chapter takes the form of a catalogue raisonné, providing a full account of the history and provenance of eighteen stained glass windows, dating from 1870 to 1932. The relationship of the memorial windows to the earlier buildings will be clearly established. The chapter concludes with a description of more recent memorials donated to the current church building at the time of its construction and in the following decade. Examples of metalwork and

textiles which constituted significant furnishings in the new church have also been catalogued.

PART I

**THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. PAUL:
AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY 1805-1932**

CHAPTER 1

EARLY CHURCHES: THE FIRST ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH 1805-1807

The earliest Presbyterian services in Montreal were held in 1786 by the Reverend John Bethune, a retired military chaplain, who rented a room in the old city for the purpose.¹ The following year Bethune was succeeded by John Young, an American pastor who was granted permission to conduct Presbyterian services in the Récollets' Roman Catholic Church.² In 1792 the congregation purchased land for a church which was constructed within six months. Known as the St. Gabriel Street Church (Fig. 1), it was the first Protestant church in Montreal and the earliest Presbyterian church constructed in Lower Canada. It would produce numerous offshoots in the following century.³

The first of these was St. Andrew's, which had its origin in 1803 when the membership of the St. Gabriel Street Church divided into factions over the choice of a minister. The minority seceded with the Reverend Robert Forrest and rented a room

¹ William Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the Earliest Times to 1834 (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company, 1885), 155-56.

² William Henry Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914, vol 2 (Montreal: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), 275. The Pères Récollets refused remuneration for the occasional use of their church, but accepted two hogsheads of Spanish wine and a box of candles from the Presbyterians.

³ Gregg, 158.

in Notre Dame Street, while planning for a new church building.⁴ A new minister, the Reverend Robert Easton, was inducted a few months later. Under his direction two lots on St. Peter street near St. Sacrement street were purchased in 1805, "the one lot with a good stone house, the other lot to be reserved for building a Church of this congregation."⁵

Church records reveal that Alexander Logie was engaged as "Builder of the Church" in 1805. The terms of payment accepted by Logie give some idea of the proposed building schedule, which depended on raising adequate subscriptions:

£50 to be paid this fall, £80 in the course of the winter ensuing, if that amount is then collected £50 in May next, and the remainder in the course of the next summer ensuing.⁶

Logie was expected to follow the detailed specifications of the Building Committee, whose members included the Reverend Robert Easton, William Hunter and Alexander Rea, merchants; John Robertson, joiner; William England, cooper; William Thompson, brewer; Robert Tait, schoolmaster; John Lambie, master tailor; David Nelson, harness maker; and William Gilmor, stone mason.⁷ The latter was a master mason and had recently supervised the construction of the Montreal Court House, Simon McTavish's

⁴ Heine, Rev. Colborne G., D.D., "Historical Sketch of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal," Church Magazine, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul I, no. 3 (Feb. 1926): 1.

⁵ "Minutes of the Church Committee, St. Andrew's Church," 10 May 1805.

⁶ "Minutes of the Church Committee," 26 August 1805.

⁷ The members of the Committee and their occupations were listed in: "Contract between Nicolas Kinsler and a Committee for the building of a Scotch Presbyterian Church in this City, before Jonathan Abraham Gray, notary public, 23 April 1806." No. 1552, ANQM.

country house, and the villa Monkville for Chief Justice Monk.⁸ The members of the committee undertook to help in various capacities, such as inspecting the project, furnishing plans for a cornice, and providing windows.⁹

The Committee resolved unanimously that the dimensions of the Church should be 70 feet long by 51 feet wide "without the walls." The foundation was

to be of Black Stone, the upper part of Grey Stone, [and] the front of *Pierres de Passeur* or Court Stones . . . the window jambs to be the same as those of the Court House . . . [and] that as much ground as possible be left in front of the church.¹⁰

Seating for 760 people would be available, with four classes of pew rents.¹¹ Plans evolved as the church progressed, with the Committee having a hand in every aspect of the building's execution.

The corner stone was laid on 15 October 1805 with considerable ceremony. By order of the Committee, the speech delivered by the Reverend Robert Easton was published in the Montreal Gazette. It underscores the goals and aspirations of this early church:

I congratulate you upon the commencement of a Building, designed for the benefit of Society in matters of infinite importance. . . . Churches are commonly reckoned as an embellishment to a City. And though the saying may be true, that there are more Churches, than what are well

⁸ See Wendela F. Stier, "Chief Justice Sir James Monk, Monkville in Montreal, and Some Related Neo-Palladian Revival Architecture in Early Lower Canada and Nova Scotia" (Master's Thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1990), 84–86, 88–90, 100.

⁹ "Minutes of the Church Committee," 26 August 1805, 20 January 1806, and 6 June 1806. Archives, SSAP.

¹⁰ Ibid., 26 and 30 August 1805.

¹¹ Heine, 1, and "Minutes of the Church Committee," 30 August 1805.

attended; yet the application of this fact to futurity would be improper, in the case of an increasing population, and when experience shews us, that nothing tends more to fill Churches, than the rise of new ones: for by this means a greater degree of dutiful attention is usually produced among the different Parties; pious Strangers are more generally invited to the place, from larger Bodies of the same Church Connexion; yea the prospect of happiness is enlarged to all New Comers, who have thereby a better chance to find the particular sentiments of their early education, to settle and become agreeable members of society.¹²

Several contracts were assigned in the following year. Nicolas Kinsler, master carpenter, was hired to "erect and put on a roof agreeable to a plan in the possession of said committee."¹³ Antoine Coté, joiner, was contracted to "make the front door, frame and fanlight . . . to prepare and make one hundred and sixteen pews . . . and to put up and do the work of the ceiling in the said Church the same as a batten flooring."¹⁴

By April 1807, roof, pediment, and cornice were in place, and the Church was opened.¹⁵ Final plans in September 1807 specified a wall and central gate to enclose the front property, with masonry to be executed by Logie and Gilmor.¹⁶

¹² Montreal Gazette, 21 October 1805.

¹³ "Contract between Nicolas Kinsler and a Committee for the building of a Scotch Presbyterian Church in this City, before Jonathan Abraham Gray, notary public, 23 April 1806." No. 1552, ANQM.

¹⁴ "Contract between Antoine Coté [also listed as Cotté] and The Committee for erecting a Presbyterian Church in Montreal, before Jonathan Abraham Gray, notary public, 5 and 9 June 1806." No. 1595, ANQM.

¹⁵ Newton Bosworth gives the opening date in Hochelaga Depicta; or the History and Present State of the Island and City of Montreal (Montreal: William Greig, 1839; reprint, Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1974), 118.

¹⁶ "Minutes of Church Committee," 14 September 1807.

The new church was known simply as the St. Peter Street Church, or the Scotch Presbyterian Church. It was constructed at a total cost of £1500, £600 of which had been contributed by members of American origin who sympathized with the Scottish Secession Churches.¹⁷

Two years after the church opened major repairs were deemed necessary, and carpenter and joiner Isaac Shay was engaged to:

put on a new roof . . . to be twenty feet in height . . . to rebuild and make new such part of the walls as may require it . . . and to reduce the pitch of the gable ends and put four new consols of cut stone to prepare the ribs for an arch ceiling and to plaster the same.¹⁸

By 1816, the expanding membership necessitated the addition of a gallery "on three sides of the church."¹⁹ Curiously, a year later joiner Thomas Steel was hired to erect a new elaborate gallery and exterior entrance porch. The specifications stated:

The Porch to be built of Brick, faced with Roman Cement . . . To be covered with Tin, a window on each side of the Porch (proportioned) with Circular heads . . . The Foundation of the Porch to be of stone 4 feet deep one foot of Cut Stone to be above the Ground. The Porch to have an arched ceiling plastered and neatly finished with a light wooden Cornice. The stairs to be finished according to plan -- with a neat Rail, to be covered and folding Doors at the stair head. The depth of the Gallery on the side 11 feet. In front of the Pulpit 15 feet to be

¹⁷ Heine, 1.

¹⁸ "Agreement between Isaac Shay and a Committee for repairing the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Montreal, before Jonathan Abraham Gray, notary public, 9 August 1809." No. 2443, ANQM. Two tinsmiths were also hired to cover the new roof, "Marché entre Jean Baptiste Dubuc et François Decoste, par devant les Notaires Thomas Barron and Jonathan Abraham Gray, 9 Août 1809." No. 1585, ANQM.

¹⁹ "Minutes of the Committee of the Church on St. Peter Street, 1815-1849," 21 July, 12 August, and 1 September 1816. Carpenter John Robertson received £350 for the commission.

supported by 12 Pine Ionic Columns on a stone foundation of 3 feet in depth -- The height of 9 feet from the ground floor -- to the lower part of the Gallery. . . . The Pews to be framed with a plain ovolo on the one side and Bead and But on the other. The Doors to be framed in the same manner and fastened with Buttons the same as in the English Church -- and hinges the same.²⁰

The alterations which comprised an arched plaster ceiling in both the church and entrance porch, an elegantly supported gallery, and modestly ornamented woodwork, suggest a refined interior program and the Committee's awareness of decorative elements in other churches.

Despite efforts to the contrary, the church had no official ecclesiastical or denominational connection until 1824 when it engaged the Reverend John Burns, a minister of the Church of Scotland, and adopted the name St. Andrew's. As a consequence the American membership withdrew, and formed the American Presbyterian Church.²¹ By 1826, the Church was flourishing. A new Scottish minister, the Reverend Alexander Mathieson, arrived on Christmas Eve.²² He would eventually be known as the father of the Church of Scotland in Canada.²³ At the

²⁰ "Contract between Thomas Steel and The Committee approved by the Congregation of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, Nicolas Benjamin Doucet, notary public, 18 April 1817." No. 4209 ½, ANQM. The contract also noted: "The Present Gallery to be the Property of the Person who erects the New one."

²¹ The American Presbyterian Church was built in 1826, and has been attributed to James O'Donnell. See Franklin Toker, The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal: An Architectural History, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970), 54.

²² See window 8, and item 20 for Mathieson memorials, Chapter 7.

²³ James Croil, An Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland for the Year 1866. 2d. ed. (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868, text-fiche), 66.

time of his induction, St. Andrew's maintained a congregation of 1500, with an average attendance of 650 members. The annual revenue was £450, the Minister's salary £250. The Sunday School numbered sixty students and seven teachers.²⁴

In 1839, Newton Bosworth described St. Andrew's "as a plain and substantial building of stone . . . with a Sabbath school and theological library."²⁵ An engraving in *Hochelaga Depicta* depicted an austere two-storey, flat-roofed structure ornamented with spare classical detailing (Fig. 2). The symmetrical façade was divided into three bays, the wider, slightly projecting central bay crowned by a false pediment pierced by an oculus. Quoins marked the corners, and keystone arches framed the windows in the side bays. A gabled entrance porch extended into the front yard. Here, the entrance doorway was surmounted by an elliptical arch, and was flanked by four simple pilasters.²⁶

Although no architectural plans or drawings remain, pew plans dated 1833 give some idea of the interior disposition of the church (Fig. 3).²⁷ It was planned as a large preaching-box, with a central pulpit flanked by boxed sittings. Pews extended around the available wall space and formed four rows down the length of the church,

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Bosworth, 118-19.

²⁶ The engraving of the church is somewhat naïve, hence this description is provisional.

²⁷ Plans from "Pew Book, St. Andrew's Church," 1833. Archives, SSAP.

with a narrow centre aisle. The horseshoe gallery described in the 1817 specifications is indicated in outline (Fig. 4).²⁸

The simple church is typical of the work of early nineteenth-century builders in Montreal, who lacked architectural training. It was not until the advent of trained British architects and engineers, that larger and more sophisticated ecclesiastical buildings were erected in the city.

²⁸ According to the "Minutes of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church 1850-1818," the old church was burned in the summer of 1852, and the lot was sold to Mr. Gilmor for £2000.

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH 1847-1851

By the 1840's, the congregation of St. Andrew's had grown considerably, and its neighbourhood had become increasingly commercial. This led the Church to look for a more suitable location. In 1847 a newly-formed Building Committee purchased a lot from Edwin Atwater at the corner of Beaver Hall Hill and Lagauchetière streets for £2000.²⁹ This more northerly site, recently opened through the sale and subdivision of the Frobisher estate, reflects the steady residential growth of Montreal away from the old city located close to the harbour and up towards Mount Royal. It was however, farsighted of the trustees to choose this particular location, since the site high on Beaver Hall Hill was then considered a long way from the city.³⁰ An

²⁹ "Minutes of Proceedings of the Building Committee, Church of St. Andrew," 30 July 1847. The lot, #1148 of the St. Antoine Ward, was a "Sale from Edwin Atwater to Reverend Alexander Mathieson and others, Trustees of St. Andrew's Church, J.J. Gibb, N.P., 4th December 1847. Those certain two lots of land situate... forming part of the 'Beaver Hill Property' known and distinguished on the plan of said Beaver Hill property as lots nos. 1 and 3." The prior sale was from "Alfred Phillips and others executors of late Thomas Phillips to Edwin Atwater 17th May, 1844, W. Ross, N.P. reg. M/W 5th June 1844." (Typewritten document titled St. Andrew's Church, Dossier for Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Archives, Communauté Urbaine de Montréal). Note that Thomas Phillips had purchased a large area of property from Frobisher, one of the founders of the North West Company whose celebrated mansion, Beaver Hall, named the hill. See "Beaver Hall Hill Very Rich in Episodes," Montreal Daily Star, 7 April 1928.

³⁰ Atherton, 276.

engraving c. 1839 of the area in Hochelaga Depicta shows a rural track leading up to Beaver Hall, bordered by a row of poplars (Fig. 5). By 1870 it was thus described:

Beaver Hall, but a few years since the play-ground and skating field of those who are still young men, is now covered with the dwelling houses and villas of our monied aristocracy, and here are erected the large proportion of our churches.³¹

Late in 1847, the Building Committee resolved to ask several architects to submit plans for a new Church, with the following specifications:

the proposed building be of stone, to measure 62 x 90 feet within the walls, of Gothic style of architecture, with a spire raising from a tower, the cost of erection not to exceed £6000.³²

The resolution was communicated to four practising Montreal architects: John Wells, John Ostell, James Kay Springle, and Charles Maitland Tate. At this time Wells (1789–1864) would have just completed the imposing classical structure of the Bank of Montreal (1845–47) located on Place d'Armes.³³ A decade earlier he had executed a church for St. Paul's (1834).³⁴ Ostell (1813–1892) was known for the neo-classical Customs House (1836) on St. Paul street and the Arts Building of McGill College (1838–1843). In 1848 he was working on the High School of Montreal, in a revived Gothic style. Springle (1819–1877) had made an unsuccessful bid to design the head

³¹ "Our Canadian Letter," American Architect and Builder's Monthly 1, no. 2 (April 1870): 22–23.

³² *Ibid.*, 10 November 1847.

³³ Money Matters: A Critical Look at Bank Architecture (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 36. Note that all architect's dates in the text are from Robert G. Hill's Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800–1950 (preliminary list, unpublished), consulted at the Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University.

³⁴ The church was designed by Francis Thompson.

office of the Bank of Montreal in 1845, completed the Canada Baptist College in 1846, and was later awarded contracts for the Hagar building (1855) on St. Paul street,³⁵ the Harrison Stephens house (1857) on Dorchester Boulevard,³⁶ and the Chouillou building (1859) on Saint-Jean.³⁷

The four architects were unable to agree on a fee for their submissions and finally decided to have the unadopted plans returned without recompense. Later, however, the Committee expressed surprise when one by one the three unsuccessful competitors sent in a bill for their drawings. After much deliberation on the part of the Committee, each was paid the sum of £12 and 10 shillings.³⁸

Little is known about the winner Charles Maitland Tate, active in Montreal between 1847 and 1863. He is listed as both civil engineer and architect in the city directory, and likely trained as an engineer.³⁹ Tate won the commission for St. Andrew's along with his partner George Horatio Smith, who practised in Montreal

³⁵ Architecture Industrielle, Répertoire d'Architecture Traditionnelle sur le Territoire de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal (Montréal: Communauté Urbaine de Montréal, 1982): 10-13.

³⁶ Montreal Daily Star, 16 May 1928. Springle also designed three branch banks in Ontario. Christina Cameron, "Housing in Quebec before Confederation," Journal of Canadian Art History 6, no. 1, (1982): 1-34.

³⁷ Les Magasins, Les Cinémas, Répertoire d'Architecture Traditionnelle sur le Territoire de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal (Montréal: Communauté Urbaine de Montréal, 1985): 27-29.

³⁸ "Minutes of Proceedings of the Building Committee," 10 Nov. 1847, 12 May 1848.

³⁹ The Montreal Directory 1849-1850 (Montreal: Lovell's, 1849) lists Charles M. Tate, civil engineer. Robert G. Hill suggests Tate trained as an engineer. See Montreal Transcript, 13 March 1855, 2.

between 1846 and 1854. Tate & Smith had designed a brick cottage on Sherbrooke street in 1847.⁴⁰

Despite the lack of information concerning Tate and Smith's practice, their final design for St. Andrew's Church illustrates skill in the neo-Gothic mode, while Tate's expertise as an engineer was essential in producing and executing the design for a church which included a lofty spire rising from a tower (Figs. 6, 7).

The Committee's desire to build a new church in a "Gothic style of architecture" reflects the influence of the recently-completed parish church of Notre Dame. This monumental neo-Gothic landmark did much to propel the Gothic Revival to the forefront of ecclesiastical design in Montreal.⁴¹ Coupled with the recommendations of the influential Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society), whose opinions on the importance of authenticity in church architecture were disseminated through its review, The Ecclesiologist after 1841, it is not surprising that a new and more authentic version of Gothic was gradually embraced by the Protestant denominations in the city, who had previously used neoclassical buildings for their preaching.⁴²

⁴⁰ "Contract between R. Jackson, bricklayer, and J. Leeming, esq., before Thomas J. Pelton, notary public, 19 July 1847." No. 2695, ANQM.

⁴¹ Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal in Evolution (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 164. For a complete study of this complex church building, see Franklin Toker, The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal: An Architectural History, 2d. ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

⁴² See James F. White, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 105.

Hugh Allan (1810-1882) was nominated to the Building Committee in 1848. Allan's stature as an entrepreneur and businessman gives some indication of the financial support available to the Church's projects. He and his younger brother Andrew (a member of St. Paul's Church) had built the Allan Shipping Line into a major commercial force, with a fleet of more than twenty steamers by the 1860s. Hugh Allan also founded the Merchant's Bank, was a director of the Bank of Montreal and of two American telegraph companies, and was one of the founders of the St. Andrew's Society, an influential benevolent association of Presbyterian Scots.⁴³ Other generous supporters of the church included William Dow (1800-1868), founder of a brewery which by the 1860s was larger than Molson's, and William Watson Ogilvie (1835-1900) who established the Ogilvie Flour Mills empire.

Raising subscriptions from the congregation went smoothly. The Building Committee met frequently to vote on the architects' suggestions, such as a plan to place the tower and façade of the church facing south on Lagauchetière street because of site restrictions.⁴⁴ In February 1848, Tate and Smith submitted an estimate for:

Masonry and cut stone work, with brick arches for terraces, & stone steps and landings to the East front;
Carpenter's & Joiner's work for roof, floors, pews, staircases, panels, partitions, window lining, doors, three water closets, galleries &c, &c. exclusive of the Spire and the pulpit,

⁴³ For a more complete account of Hugh Allan's achievements, which included a knighthood from Queen Victoria; see Thomas E. Appleton, Ravenscrag, The Allan Royal Mail Line (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974); for biographical information on other members of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's, see Donald Mackay, The Square Mile, Merchant Princes of Montreal (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987).

⁴⁴ "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Building Committee," 21 January 1848.

and fitting up of the recess behind it;
 Ornaments to roof;
 Ornaments to recess;
 Plastering all the walls & ceilings, & ground ceiling to the entrance;
 Spire;
 Iron columns;
 Girders;
 Glazing;
 Sashes (iron)

The architects judged the total cost of erecting the church to be £7122, charging five percent for their fee.⁴⁵ Other specifications included a hot air apparatus and lining for the pews. Their original plans were revised extensively after tenders submitted for masonry were deemed to be too expensive by the Committee.⁴⁶ The final cost of the land, church building, insurance and other extras, was £12,500, equivalent to about \$64,000.⁴⁷

St. Andrew's Church opened for worship on 12 January 1851, and was considered a handsome structure "modelled after Salisbury Cathedral."⁴⁸ Numerous publications repeat this description, and several were more specific:

⁴⁵ "Abstract of Estimate for Erecting St. Andrew's Church", document signed by Tate and Smith Architects, 9 February 1848, Archives, SSAP.

⁴⁶ Ibid. The first tender for masonry from the firm of Hutchison and Morrison was for £7861, however once the revised plans were submitted by the architects, Hutchison and Morrison won the contract with their estimate of £3566.6.7, "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Building Committee," 24 February 1848. The actual total for the mason work proved to be £4252.6.4; see entry for 24 August 1849.

⁴⁷ The total in English pounds is listed in a summary of accounts dated 1 December 1851, inserted into "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Building Committee." James Croil listed the amount in dollars, *Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D.D.* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870): 116.

⁴⁸ Heine, 4; H  l  ne Bergevin, *Eglises Protestantes, Patrimoine du Qu  bec* (Montr  al: Libre Expression, 1981), 86.

The finest site in the city was secured, . . . where was reared the finest specimen of ecclesiastical architecture hitherto attempted in Canada. 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. They also superintended its construction, and engrafted, as it were, on this young colony hallowed associations and pleasing memories of the old world.⁴⁹

The Montreal Gazette quoted an article in The Presbyterian:

This beautiful edifice was opened on Sunday last . . . before a very large concourse of people. It will at once be observed that the attempt to transplant to this side of the Atlantic some of the features of the Ecclesiastical architecture of the older world has in this instance been most successfully made. The Cathedral of Salisbury, which is perhaps the noblest example of this style in England, supplied the model, and the architect, Mr. G.H. Smith, has ably carried out the design. 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 afforded by the stained glass windows. The interior dimensions are ninety feet by sixty feet exclusive of the transept. The seating is arranged so as to accommodate about nine hundred and fifty people. Beneath the Church are School and Lecture Rooms, upwards of sixty feet square and sixteen feet high, which are entered by an arched door in the base of the tower. The beauty of the style of the building and its admirable structure render it an ornament to the city.⁵⁰

In the absence of architectural drawings and interior photographs of St. Andrew's, these accounts are critical in establishing the interior program of the church. The description above suggests that the plan of the church was essentially a galleried rectangle, without the side aisles and chancel typical of later developments in the

⁴⁹ Croil, Life of Mathieson, 116.

⁵⁰ "St. Andrew's Church," Montreal Gazette, 15 January 1851.

Gothic Revival in Canada which demonstrated greater faithfulness to medieval models. The old-fashioned plan was offset by architectural display -- "rich Gothic work" in the area of the pulpit and galleries, and by the introduction of tinted windows for which the Building Committee had chosen various patterns of ruby glass.⁵¹ The commodious basement of the church was necessary for the active Sunday school, and for the numerous charitable and social organizations which functioned under the aegis of the congregation.⁵² It also provided space for the regular meetings of the Kirk Session and Trustees.

Although Salisbury might seem an unusual model for a Scottish Presbyterian congregation, several factors were involved, not the least of which was doctrinal rivalry. The celebrated Christ Church Anglican Cathedral (1845) in Fredericton, New Brunswick, had just been completed by Frank Wills (himself from Exeter and Salisbury). It is said to have been the first example of "true Gothic" in Canada

⁵¹ "Minutes of Building Committee," 21 January 1849. The glass was furnished by Crowford Glen, who was to "perform the glazing of the windows... according to the drawings made by the architects," "Tender by Crowford Glen Submitted to the Building Committee of St. Andrew's Church," 17 January 1850, Archives, SSAP. A rare view of St. Andrew's pulpit may be seen in John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925), Fig. 8, plate inserted at p. 213. The raised pulpit was carved in dark wood with Gothic tracery elements, and stood before a matching screen.

⁵² The lecture hall of St. Andrew's church was a popular location for public meetings. St. Andrew's Church Young Men's Association frequently held lectures and debates in the hall. A notable example was a debate with the Crescent Church Young Men's Association on the question "Should Women enjoy all the privileges accorded by law and custom to Men?" St. Andrew's group argued the negative position.

"which owes much to Salisbury in the decorated tracery and spire over the crossing."⁵³ The wealthy trustees of St. Andrew's were certainly aware of current ecclesiastical fashion. Many of the men had emigrated from Scotland and travelled regularly to Great Britain. The minister of the Church, the Reverend Dr. Mathieson, also travelled to Scotland, and maintained close connections to Church of Scotland clergy there.

The 1840s was a period of intense church building in Scotland. As a result of the Disruption of 1843, one third of the Church of Scotland's ministers and congregations left to form the Free Church. In 1847 various Secession churches joined to form the United Presbyterian Church. Three separate organizations were now in place. As a result,

each denomination [was] trying to build bigger and better churches than either of the others. Curiously at this time of theological ferment, there was no Presbyterian equivalent of the Anglican arguments about the appropriateness of architectural styles for churches. Greek was no longer admissible, but the Gothic and Italian Renaissance styles were adopted by congregations apparently oblivious of their connexion with the unreformed church of the Middle-Ages or the Counter-Reformation papacy. Gothic was the more popular style; its drawback was that it was not easily adapted as a dress for the dominant preaching-box plan.⁵⁴

⁵³ R.H. Hubbard, "Canadian Gothic." Architectural Review 116, no. 692 (August 1954): 107. Wills was later editor of The New York Ecclesiologist, the journal of the New York Ecclesiological Society formed in 1848. His design for Christ Church Anglican Cathedral (1856) in Montreal, carried out after his death by Thomas Seaton Scott between 1857-1859, repeated to some extent the successful formula for the Fredericton church.

⁵⁴ John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, and David Walker, Edinburgh. The Buildings of Scotland Series (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984), 39-40.

Of the three factions, the Church of Scotland maintained a "high church" position in both liturgy and the architectural program of its churches. As such, it was closest to practices in the Church of England. Given the lack of concern about the propriety of styles for Presbyterian worship and the high church proclivities of the Church of Scotland, it is perhaps not surprising that prominent Anglican churches and cathedrals were adopted as models for new church buildings. During this period, when churches were proliferating rapidly in both Scotland and in Montreal, visibility was an important factor in attracting new adherents.

Allusions to Salisbury in St. Andrew's Church can be seen in the square tower surmounted by a slender pointed spire banded with decorative patterning, and in the sturdy pinnacles which crown the buttresses. Smaller pinnacles were employed as fence posts between the iron railings that surrounded the property. The church's Gothic windows exhibit the influence of Salisbury Cathedral as well. Most were tall and narrow, with thin hood-moulds and geometric tracery. Prominent windows of five lights with generous quatrefoils were located in the transepts and at the rear of the church.

The church was constructed in Montreal limestone, and rested on a high basement of rock-faced masonry. The remaining cut-stone surfaces of the façade and side elevations were smooth and left undecorated. Ornament in the form of corbelled stonework was limited to the tower and the eaves. Lateral entrances on the tower facilitated movement into the church from the main thoroughfare, Beaver Hall Hill, as well as from LaGauchetière street. Owing to the steeply sloping site, these entrances

were reached by prominent stairways constructed in stone. At street level, a door in the tower gave entry to the church basement. The tower's second storey contained sets of louvred Gothic windows. Set below these were large clocks (visible in photographs) on two sides of the tower. The graceful spire was pierced by narrow openings at its base and at the second level and terminated in a finial surmounted by a weathervane. The original roof of the church was slate.

A small gabled porch at the rear of the church facing Belmont Street had a large finial over the entrance, similar to those which crowned the many pinnacles. The porch walls were pierced with trefoils. The rear elevation (Fig. 7) with its emphasis on the flat gabled façade demarcated by pinnacled buttresses, recalls late Georgian Gothic compositions, such as the first St. Paul's Church.

The Latin cross plan allowed seating for about 900 people.⁵⁵ The shallow projection of the transepts lent a square aspect to the composition, with buttressing on most of the corner angles. The church represents a transitional phase in Gothic Revival architecture -- one which still clung to a planar interpretation of the style, before a true understanding of the volumetric and plastic nature of Gothic taught by Pugin had taken hold of the nineteenth-century imagination.

Like many Montreal churches during this period, the initial subscriptions for the new church did not cover the expense of the church spire. It was not completed

⁵⁵ Heine, 4.

until 1857.⁵⁶ A contemporary photograph reveals the supporting structure of iron girders, referred to in Tate & Smith's initial estimate (Fig. 8). Comparisons of the finished steeple can be made to the spire of St. Paul's church in Hamilton by William Thomas, "one of the best monuments of the Gothic Revival in Canada."⁵⁷ It is to St Andrew's credit that its equally tall and elegantly proportioned spire was designed earlier and constructed the same year that St. Paul's, Hamilton, was erected.

By 1866, St. Andrew's was flourishing, and was said to have: the largest and wealthiest congregation in the Church [Presbyterian, in connection with the Church of Scotland in Canada]. Their contributions for all purposes during the year 1866, amounted to \$10,312. In this sum is included \$3000. paid for the purpose of procuring an organ. A very fine instrument built by Mr. Warren of Montreal has since been placed in the Church, at a cost of about \$5000.⁵⁸

The introduction of an organ to St. Andrew's represents a significant liturgical reform. The Church of Scotland had resisted trained choirs and psalmody for over a century, and:

the restoration of organs and organ accompaniment aroused for some time heated opposition, often resulting in scenes of mob-rule, when the newly-installed organs were removed and publicly burnt or destroyed after service.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ "St. Andrew's Church," Montreal Pilot, 31 October 1857. I am grateful to Robert Lemire for this reference.

⁵⁷ Hubbard, 107.

⁵⁸ James Croil, An Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland for the Year 1866, 2d. ed., (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868, text-fiche), 67.

⁵⁹ William D. Maxwell, A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 166-67. I am indebted to the Reverend Dr. J.S.S. Armour for this reference.

The protests soon failed and organs were universally adopted. Their placement would have a significant impact on ecclesiastical design, as is apparent in successive plans for St. Paul's church. The pioneers in Scotland were Dr. J. Marshall Lang's church in Glasgow and Dr. Robert Lee's Old Greyfriar's in Edinburgh paving the way in 1860. St. Andrew's was quick, if not audacious, to follow this trend. Early in 1863, the Minutes record:

members of the congregation favourable to the introduction of an organ in the church . . . and further being of opinion that the use of instrumental music in the service of the Church is not contrary to the word of God, but is in fact a matter of wise Christian expediency.⁶⁰

Ten years later, the issue was still a contentious one in Montreal. In 1874, Dr. William Dawson, Principal of McGill University, walked out of Erskine Presbyterian Church when the organ began to play. Over sixty members of the congregation followed him, and a new church, Stanley Street Presbyterian, was then organized with the specific intention that instrumental music would never be introduced.⁶¹

St. Andrew's was destroyed by fire on Sunday morning, 24 October 1869 (Fig. 9). The "night of fires," "the carnival of flame," and "the burning of the churches" as it was characterized in the popular press, was an unforgettable event in Montreal's long history of conflagrations. Several small fires had broken out around the city and

⁶⁰ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church, 1850-1918," 3 April 1863.

⁶¹ Edgar Andrew Collard, "When the Organ Played," *Montreal Yesterdays* (Toronto: Longmans Canada, 1962): 262-268. McNeill noted that "the failure to legislate against the organ at the Union [of the Presbyterian Church in Canada] in 1875, was an offence to some... [and] it was not until 1900 at least that it became a matter of moral indifference." *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925*, 211.

early in the morning a fire began inside of St. Andrew's, quickly spreading to the roof and spire. High winds aggravated the situation. The neighbouring Baptist church across LaGauchetière street was in danger several times, but suffered only slight fire damage. The Church of the Messiah, just across Beaver Hall Hill, was showered with burning embers and its roof completely destroyed.

The following excerpts taken from newspaper reports of the calamity, make informative reading, offering additional facts about the interior of the building and its immediate surroundings.

An entrance was first made through the door on Belmont Street, and going into the interior, the flames were found to be raging in greatest volume in the western corner . . . They had crept over pulpit and pew, up the tall and slender pillars that supported the gallery and roof . . . The chief point of attraction now was the burning spire . . . The sight was indescribably grand. The saddest feeling came over the spectator as he saw one of the finest spires in the city now a tall column of flame. It was two hundred feet high; one hundred feet of stone, and the upper hundred feet of wood and galvanized iron.⁶²

This is the only evidence that slender columns supported the roof and galleries. These may have been the iron columns referred to in the architects' estimate. Additionally, the article details the structure of the church steeple, which in actuality was 180- feet high.

The purple prose of the Evening Star disclosed information about the location of the choir and gallery, the strength and weight of the tower, the use of materials like

⁶² "The Burning of the Churches, Montreal," *Canadian Illustrated News* 1 (13 November 1869): 23-24.

iron and slate, the architectural character of the neighbouring houses, and the state of the former memorial window and church organ:

A faint glow might be perceived above the western end of the gallery occupied by the choir. . . . The lofty spire was evidently undermined and was tottering to its fall. . . . Conjecture was rife as to which way it would fall. One enthusiastic individual wanted to sell the pools on the result. . . . it wavered once or twice, . . . Then the flames gathered it in a death-grapple, and it reeled amid the shouts of the crowd. And pitched heavily into Lagauchetière street, like a man shot through the brain. And as the blazing mass fell it turned a complete somersault in the air, so that the vane was nearest the tower, while the butt fell outward with a tremendous crash. It struck the front of numbers 648 and 650, smashing the jalousies, . . . A tremendous chasm in the roadway, marks the force of the fall. The street around is strewn with pieces of burned iron and slate. The windows are gone, the beautiful memorial window is wrecked, the floor is a mass of slaked cinders. That beautiful organ (who does not remember the . . . Overture to William Tell on the night of its inauguration?) has vanished into fragmentary unsightliness. The building is gutted.⁶³

The trustees wasted no time. The day after the fire, they decided to rebuild, secure in the knowledge that the church was well insured.⁶⁴ The trustees resolved to rebuild the Church according to its original plans and agreed that Thomas Seaton Scott (1826–1895) should be architect.⁶⁵ A few years earlier Scott had assisted St. Andrew's with plans for the placement of the organ.⁶⁶ A British-trained architect, he had an illustrious career in Canada. He was responsible for carrying out the late Frank

⁶³ "The Carnival of Flame, A Busy Night for the Firemen," Montreal Evening Star, 25 October 1869. For information on the memorial window to Janet Mathieson which was destroyed in the fire, see window 11, Chapter 7.

⁶⁴ Ibid., St. Andrew's was insured for \$20,000 with the Royal Insurance Company, and for \$20,000 with the Liverpool and London Insurance Company.

⁶⁵ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church, 1850–1918," 25 October 1869.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 22 October 1866.

Wills's plans for Christ Church Cathedral (1857–59) in Montreal and designed Bishop Strachan Memorial Church in Cornwall, Ontario (c.1868–1875), and Saint Luke's Church in Waterloo, Quebec (c.1871).⁶⁷ In 1871, he was appointed Chief Architect of the Federal Department of Public Works in Ottawa, where he spent ten years.⁶⁸

Although St. Andrew's is often credited as one of Scott's designs, in actuality he reproduced the original plans by Tate & Smith. No interior views of the church before or after the fire are extant, so it is difficult to assess accurately what changes Scott may have introduced. It is certain however, that no major changes were implemented. The minutes of the trustees state:

Plans of the interior of the Church were submitted . . . one on the old plan, another showing a different mode of arranging the pews . . . decided that the old plan should be adopted. That Mr. C.P. Thomas and T.S. Scott architects be consulted as to whether placing the organ in the rear of the pulpit.⁶⁹

The resulting report from the architects was in favour of placing the organ in the gallery fronting the tower.⁷⁰ It had previously been housed in the east transept. The only other changes, visible in photographs of the exterior, were the removal of the clocks from the tower and alterations in the geometric tracery of the larger windows.

⁶⁷ *Canadian Illustrated News* 3 (17 June 1871): 371–372; 12 (11 December 1875): 371.

⁶⁸ Scott was one of four architects who were charter members of the Royal Canadian Academy, see Hugh G. Jones, "The Architect's Place in the History of the Royal Canadian Academy," *JRAIC* (November 1935): 188–89.

⁶⁹ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church, 1850–1918," 16 November 1869.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 December 1869.

The original tracery incorporated three quatrefoils, this was exchanged for a large circle containing a six-pointed star with a central quatrefoil.

St. Andrew's church reopened on 20 November 1870. It was featured in numerous guides to the city and in contemporary reviews of Canadian architecture. An American publication of 1870 praised the church, along with Christ Church and the second St. Paul's:

In the erection of [St. Andrew's] Mr. Scott was evidently governed not by "ancient traditions," but by the internal requirements and peculiarities of the site. The floor plan is a fan-cross, with the pulpit at the summit, while behind the pulpit are the vestries. The arms are galleried, and to the south arm is added a tower, with a spire of considerable height, which, from the fact of the ground falling rapidly in that direction, and the detail being honest, although somewhat late, [i.e. late Early English as opposed to earlier more acceptable models] is truly an imposing composition.⁷¹

This description clarifies the plan of the church which would appear to resemble St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (1809–1810) in Quebec City.⁷² According to the article, the tower is in the south "arm" of the church, i.e. the main entrance, and both the south and north arms are galleried. The "pulpit at the summit" indicates the area of the west transept (the organ had until recently occupied the east transept). Rows of

⁷¹ "Canadian Church News." American Architect and Builder's Monthly 1, no. 7 (September 1870): 105. I am grateful to Michael Lewis for this reference.

⁷² I am grateful to the Reverend Andrew Fullerton, Assistant Minister, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, for this suggestion. St. Andrew's, Quebec City, built by John Bryson in 1809, was subsequently modified and enlarged by John Phillips in 1823, and by J.J. Browne in 1836. See Hélène Bergevin, Eglises Protestantes, 74, 184. Like St. Andrew's in Montreal, the plan was partly due to site restrictions. The Quebec church features the pulpit in a central location against the long wall of the church with galleries in the corners, while in the Montreal church the pulpit would have been placed in the centrally located west transept.

pews would have crossed from one transept to the other, facing the pulpit. On either side, angled pews extended toward the galleries; hence the description of the floor plan as a "fan-cross."

A church bell by Mears & Stainbank of Whitechapel, London, was donated to St. Andrew's in 1871, a memorial to the Reverend Alexander Mathieson who survived the shock of the fire for only a few months (see item 20, Chapter 7).⁷³

The congregation of St. Andrew's worshipped in the rebuilt church until 1918, when they joined with St. Paul's Church, located a short distance away on Dorchester street. The vacated church was rented by several groups until 1927, when it was sold to the Bell Telephone Company⁷⁴ and demolished to make way for a new Head Office, designed by Ernest Isbell Barott (1884–1966). Despite a diligent search, the corner stone of St. Andrew's was never found. A.J. Major, Limited was awarded the wrecking contract and given forty-five days to raze the building. The process of demolition was difficult, particularly in the removal of the elevated spire and the 325

⁷³ An exiting chapter in the history of the church began in 1872 when an elder, James Johnston, took issue with proposed liturgical changes. The trustees responded by refusing to rent him a church pew. The subsequent battle went through the Superior Court of Montreal, the Court of Queen's Bench for Lower Canada, and ultimately, to the Supreme Court of Canada where in 1877 Mr. Johnston won his case. See R.D. McGibbon, A Complete Synopsis of the Great Pew Case, James Johnston (Plaintiff) Appelant and the Minister and Trustees of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal (Defendants Respondants (Montreal, Lovell, 1877); Edgar Andrew Collard, "The Great Pew Case," Montreal Yesterdays, 125–131; and Fred Bowman, "St. Andrew's Church and the Celebrated Pew Dispute," Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society 9, no. 4 (1973): 168–69.

⁷⁴ The church and its property were sold for \$175,000. "New Site Bought by Telephone Co., Old Church to Make Place for Head Office of Bell Company," Montreal Gazette, 21 July 1927.

feet of cast iron railings imbedded in the pinnacle-like columns of the fenceposts.⁷⁵ The iron church bell was salvaged and later transferred to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. Photographs of the demolition of the church recall its destruction by fire over fifty years earlier, and illustrate the changing character of the area (Figs. 10, 11). The popular press in Montreal and across Canada reported the razing of this important Montreal landmark.

⁷⁵ "Workers Start to Wreck Old Church," Montreal Gazette, 22 July 1927.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY CHURCHES: THE FIRST ST. PAUL'S CHURCH 1834

St. Paul's Church opened in 1834 under the stewardship of the Reverend Edward Black (1793–1845). It was the second offshoot of the St. Gabriel Street Church, the result of a bitter dispute in that congregation.⁷⁶ Edward Black came to Canada from Scotland in 1822. The following year he was ordained as a colleague (assistant) along with Henry Esson, at St. Gabriel's where the Reverend James Sommerville was minister.⁷⁷ The triple pastorate lasted nearly ten years and caused considerable friction in the congregation.⁷⁸ One Sunday morning in 1831, members of the church arrived to find the doors locked and barricaded; "entrenched within was Mr. Black and his party holding the fort."⁷⁹ The church was closed for a year, while a struggle for power ensued between the ministers. Ultimately separate congregations were formed. Mr. Esson's followers were in the majority and retained the church building, while Dr. Black seceded with his supporters.

⁷⁶ Atherton, 276.

⁷⁷ Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 384.

⁷⁸ "The Hundredth Anniversary of Knox Church 1786–1886," booklet, Presbyterian College Library, Montreal.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

The newly formed congregation met at the Baptist Church on St. Helen Street while planning their own church building.⁸⁰ According to James Croil, "it was built entirely through Dr. Black's energy and perseverance, and chiefly by money advanced by himself for this purpose."⁸¹ Land was purchased on the corner of St. Helen and Récollet streets, which had previously been part of the Jesuit's College.⁸² On 3 August 1833, Dr. Black contracted with architect John Wells to construct a new church building.⁸³ The specifications refer to excavations for a basement "5 feet-6 inches below the ground line" and the type of required mason work. The stone used was "to be the best grey building material" tooled in various finishes.

The principal Front to be fine bouchard . . . excepting the base moldings, labels, cornices, copings, molded jambs of doorway, splays of windows & buttresses complete which are to be chiseled. The Base of the Building on the Principal Front to be broad & boldly tooled. The courses of ashlar to average 12 inches and none to be less than 10 inches in height. The Flank Elevation . . . to be Bouchard Work . . . the rear of the Church to be built of rubble Masonry and the gable part to be carried up 18 inches above the roof.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ The Rev. Colborne Heine, "Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Church, Montreal," Church Magazine, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul 1 (April 1926): 1.

⁸¹ Croil, Historical and Statistical Report for 1866, 67. The deed of St. Paul's was in Black's name; after his death ownership of the church passed to his family. The church was later purchased by the Trustees. Personal ownership of a church by a minister was highly atypical.

⁸² Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, 119.

⁸³ "Contract and Agreement between John Wells, architect, and the Rev. Edward Black and Joseph Ross, before Henry Griffin, notary public, 3 August 1833." No. 11178, ANOM.

⁸⁴ Specifications annexed to "Contract and Agreement between John Wells, architect, and the Rev. Edward Black and Joseph Ross, before Henry Griffin, notary public, 3 August 1833." No. 11178, ANOM.

The cost of both land and construction was £3569.⁸⁵ On 24 August 1834, St. Paul's Church of Scotland opened for worship (Figs. 12, 13).

The Church quickly made a favourable impression. The Gazette reported:

The splendid new Gothic Church, recently erected in St. Helen Street, . . . was on Sabbath last devoted to the service of the Almighty. The new church is one of the neatest of all the public buildings in this city, reflecting equal credit upon the congregation who have erected it as upon the architects who designed and the several tradesmen who constructed it. THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND can now boast a place of worship in this city, elegant in its exterior and capacious in its internal arrangements, and we were happy to notice that the greatest interest appeared to be taken by the SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN inhabitants of this city on the occasion of opening for public worship the *third* temple in MONTREAL.⁸⁶

According to Bosworth's Hochelaga Depicta, the church was erected by John Wells, "from a plan by Mr. Thompson, Architect, from London, who resided here some years."⁸⁷ Few references remain regarding Francis Thompson (1808-?) except that he collaborated with Wells on plans for St. Ann's Market.⁸⁸ In 1832, just prior to the commission for St. Paul's, Wells had completed a modest building for St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Lachine.

St. Paul's was described shortly after its construction as:

a chaste and elegant building of cut stone. In the centre of the front, which is entirely Gothic, are two large octagonal buttresses, and small

⁸⁵ Bosworth, 120.

⁸⁶ Montreal Gazette, 26 August 1834.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸⁸ Bosworth, 149. A notice of the sale of Thompson's household furniture and effects appeared in the Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 15 March 1859. See Thompson file, CAC.

square ones at the ends. The buttresses terminate with pinnacles; the parapets are embattled, and the whole is surmounted by open Gothic balustrades (the lateral parapets are now removed). The flanks are pierced by five large windows on each side, fifteen feet high, by five wide. The interior of the building is Grecian; and underneath is an extensive cellar, seven feet three inches high, with vaulted ceiling. . . . Though not imposing by its magnitude, the Scotch Church in St. Helen Street is richly entitled to commendation as one of the most beautiful and ornamental edifices in the city.⁸⁹

With the exception of Notre Dame, it was the only neo-Gothic church illustrated in *Hochelaga Depicta*.

St. Paul's represents an early phase of neo-Gothic building in Canada. The fanciful decoration of its crenellated façade, which masked a "Grecian" interior, clearly places it in the context of late Georgian design. The exterior of a standard Classical Protestant preaching-box was simply given a Gothic treatment. The lack of correspondence between the "Gothic" exterior elevations and "Grecian" interior plan and ornament was typical of churches in this manner (see for example, Christchurch in Herne Bay, England, Fig. 14), which reflect the influence of the Commissioner's Churches in London.⁹⁰

St. Paul's was an example of the type of church building which later critics, steeped in the doctrine of "correct" and scholarly Gothic Revival, regarded as meretricious. An American review of Canadian churches in 1870 contains several sharp criticisms which might apply to St. Paul's. After discussing the frontal emphasis

⁸⁹ Bosworth, 119-20. The measurements of St. Paul's, 71 feet in length by 53 in width, correspond almost exactly to those of the first St. Andrew's Church.

⁹⁰ See Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, vol. 1, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954), 56.

of early nineteenth-century classicizing churches, the anonymous author of the critique goes on to state:

None of this finery ever found its way to the sides of the building; and we find our ancestors considering this as complete. . . . During the expiring years of this rage, Batty-Langley Gothic made its appearance, its cheapness and novelty quickly recommending it to the Canadian public. The churches built after this pattern were of the old box-shape, with pointed openings; a few useless buttresses, surmounted by wooden pinnacles, covered with carved vegetables, a row of battlements, and the thing was done. The experience of the "classic" people taught these new lights to have the show-front monopolize all the decoration. So we generally find the sides totally disregarded in this respect, and, let us confess, looking the better for it.⁹¹

The Church struggled for several years with a small membership and inadequate revenues.⁹² The persevering minister overcame these difficulties by opening "a select school, adjoining his church, thus supporting himself and training his students, many of whom attained to positions of wealth and influence in professional and commercial life."⁹³ Membership gradually increased. After Black's death in 1845, the committee of management became trustees of the Church and had to contend with improvements in lighting, cold drafts in the building, and a church in debt.⁹⁴

⁹¹ "Canadian Church News," *American Architect and Builder's Monthly* 1, no. 7 (September 1870): 105.

⁹² The earliest statistics dated September 1836, listed 178 communicants; 77 'hearers'; 29 intending communicants; and 205 children -- a total of 489 under the care of the Kirk-Session. The average attendance was 200 between 1845-1856; 260 between 1857-1864; and 327 between 1865-1877. Quoted in *Annual Report, 1878, St. Paul's Church*.

⁹³ Heine, 2. The cost of constructing the School House is quoted as £436 in Bosworth, 120.

⁹⁴ "Minutes of the Trustees and Annual Meetings, St. Paul's Church, 1842-1868," 97-98. A stained glass window commemorating Dr. Black was installed in the church in 1879. See window 18, Chapter 7.

Early trustees were John Redpath, Joseph Ross, John Greenshields, Robert Armour, and the Hon. Peter McGill, all prominent citizens of Montreal.⁹⁵ The renting of the cellar rooms and the school house augmented church revenues, as did pew rents from a newly added gallery. In 1857, it was noted that the church could accommodate 800 people.⁹⁶

St. Paul's was a prominent city church and was often highlighted in guide books. A pictorial map of the city published in 1846 illustrated the church along with landmarks such as the parish church of Notre Dame, St. Patrick's Church, the first Christ Church, and the Custom House.⁹⁷

By the 1860s membership had increased and the financial status of the church had greatly improved. A business directory of 1864 illustrates the commercial character of the neighbourhood surrounding the church at this time (Fig. 15). St. Paul's sits amid a dense concentration of shops and businesses, and as the map indicates, more would soon be appearing.⁹⁸ The value of the church's property was an important factor in a proposal to relocate the church.

⁹⁵ Bosworth, 120; "St. Paul's Church," Canadian Illustrated News 5 (13 January 1872): 18.

⁹⁶ The Stranger's Guide Through the City of Montreal with Engravings of the Most Prominent Public Buildings and Churches (Montreal: 1857. text-fiche), 16.

⁹⁷ "Topographical and Pictorial Map of the City of Montreal, surveyed and drawn by James Cane, with views by James Duncan," M12019, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

⁹⁸ Whitefield's Patent Topographical Business Directory, Montreal, C.E. (Montreal: Edwin Whitefield, 1864), 22-23.

The Trustees of St. Paul's Church desire to submit to the Congregation the following statements and considerations: First.-- It has been for a long time thought desirable, by at least a considerable number of members and adherents, that the present Church of St. Paul's should be sold, and a new structure built for the use of the Congregation. Two reasons chiefly have weighed with the individuals who have so long favoured this opinion: (1st) The great value of the property in St. Helen Street, for business purposes; and (2d) the undesirableness and inconvenience, so far as a large portion of the Congregation is concerned of the present situation of the Church. To these may now be added a third reason, namely, that the Pews in the lower part of the Church are all occupied, besides a large proportion of those in the gallery, so that there is not a good available Pew to let in the whole Church, and applications for Pews from families or individuals wishful to sit under its ministrations have been, and must continue to be declined.⁹⁹

Many other churches faced the same dilemma as the city around them changed. In a single year, 1864, seven new churches were initiated, most of which were older churches relocating to be nearer their membership.¹⁰⁰ In October 1866, St. Paul's was sold at public auction for \$27,440.¹⁰¹ The last sacrament in the church building was given on 20 January 1867 to three hundred and fifty-five communicants.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Address to the Congregation, originally read at a meeting on 25 November 1865, quoted in "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899," 9-10.

¹⁰⁰ Atherton lists these as Trinity Church on Viger Square; The Church of the Gesu, Bleury Street; three Wesleyan churches; the American Presbyterian Church; Knox Church on Dorchester street; and Erskine Church on St. Catherine street, 648.

¹⁰¹ Croil, An Historical and Statistical Report, 67. James Croil, "Early Church Records" (Ms., Archives, SSAP) stated that the property was purchased by Messrs. James Johnston & Co. Presumably this was the same firm as "J. Johnston & Co." whose Wholesale Dry Goods was around the corner from St. Paul's, see map (Fig. 15). Johnston was a member of the Church, and sat on the new Site Committee. One wonders if he was assisted in his bid for the old church. "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899," 12. Johnston later joined St. Andrew's where he was embroiled in the infamous pew dispute. See note 73, page 32.

¹⁰² Croil, An Historical and Statistical Report, 67.

CHAPTER 4

THE SECOND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH 1867-1868

The decision of the Church trustees to relocate closer to the membership was taken under the direction of St. Paul's most recent minister. The Reverend John Jenkins, D.D., LL.D. had an unusual background. He was born in Exeter, England, in 1813 and educated at the Wesleyan Theological Institute in London. In 1837 he was ordained in the Wesleyan Methodist Church and left as a missionary to India. He returned to England five years later, in ill health. He then accepted pastorates on the Island of Malta and in Cornwall, England, before accepting an appointment in 1847 as minister of St. James Methodist Church in Montreal, where he quickly established a reputation for eloquence.¹⁰³ In 1853 Dr. Jenkins converted to the American Presbyterian Church and accepted an appointment as minister of Calvary Church in Philadelphia. After returning to London in 1863, he accepted a call from St. Paul's and was inducted on 27 June. In 1869 he was elected Moderator of the Synod of the Church of Scotland and was later Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Union of Presbyterian Churches in Canada.¹⁰⁴ Like two previous ministers of St. Paul's, the Reverend Robert McGill and the Very Reverend Dr. William Snodgrass, Dr. Jenkins

¹⁰³ McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 34-35.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Dr. Jenkins retired from St. Paul's in 1881 and moved to a London suburb, where he died in 1898. See memorial to his first wife Harriette Jenkins, window 14, Chapter 7.

was Chairman of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners.¹⁰⁵ His high profile advanced St. Paul's reputation in Montreal, and the new church was widely regarded as a monument to Dr. Jenkins.

Once the decision was made to relocate, £10,000 was immediately raised.¹⁰⁶ While deliberating over the choice of a site, an architect, and the raising of additional subscriptions, the trustees and congregation met for services in the hall of the McGill Normal School on Belmont Street. A Site Committee was elected to review available properties and purchase land for a new church. The Committee determined the situation of the church's members from Dr. Jenkins:

In Dorchester street, and south of Dorchester, are 145 families, leaving only 67 families north of Dorchester. East of Bleury street are 91 families. North of St. Catherine street are 42 families . . . It is clear that the convenience of a very large majority would point to the neighbourhood of Dorchester Street as a locality for our new Church.

¹⁰⁷

The majority of the congregation voted in favour of a portion of the Mills estate on the corner of Dorchester and St. Monique.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Canadian Illustrated News (13 January 1872), 18. Dr. Snodgrass left St. Paul's to become the Principal of Queen's University, Kingston. For the congregation's memorial to the Reverend McGill, see Window 2 in Chapter on memorials.

¹⁰⁶ This included most of the proceeds from the sale of old St. Paul's, amounting to £5400. "Minute Books of the Trustees of St. Paul's Church," 2, 14.

¹⁰⁷ "Minutes of Kirk Session, St. Paul's Church," 239.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 246. The property encompassed 130 feet fronting Dorchester street by 170 feet in depth, and was purchased for \$11,241., Annual Report, 1895, St. Paul's Church, 25. It was directly opposite the residence of Harrison Stephens. Several locations on Dorchester, Sherbrooke, and St. Catherine streets were considered, "Report of the Site Committee," 22 January 1866.

A Building Committee, selected from the membership of the Board of Trustees, included Donald Ross (1811–1877), the Chairman, a wealthy Scottish merchant and philanthropist who founded the Trafalgar School for Girls; George Stephen, (later Lord Mount Stephen, 1829–1921), president of the Bank of Montreal and one of the principal financiers of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and Andrew Allan (1822–1901), who later became Chairman of the Allan Line Steamship Company. While they deliberated over the choice of an architect, trustee Charles Low pledged to donate £1000 to the building fund on the condition that a design by the late Frederick Lawford (1821–1866) be carried out (Fig. 16).¹⁰⁹ This offer proved irresistible.

The corner stone ceremony for St. Paul's Church was a solemn occasion, scheduled propitiously during the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada on 8 June 1867, when numerous Presbyterian ministers were meeting in Montreal. The corner stone of the new church was laid in a "skilful and workmanlike manner" by the Reverend John Jenkins, who had been presented with an engraved silver trowel for the purpose. Local newspapers gave extensive coverage to the event, publishing the participants' speeches in their entirety. These reports provide an invaluable record, not only of details of the building campaign, but of the thoughts and intentions of the trustees, Minister, and Presbytery, concerning the construction of a new and important city church. The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette reported:

¹⁰⁹ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868–1899," 14. Charles Low's daughter Anne married Frederick Lawford on 6 June 1856 at St. Andrew's Church. Both families shared a semi-detached house built by Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson (1858) at Ottawa Place, 303 & 305 Sherbrooke Street, now the site of Erskine and American United Church. I am grateful to Robert Lemire for the last reference.

On Saturday the interesting ceremony of laying the corner stone . . . took place in the presence of an immense concourse of the members of St. Paul's congregation and other friends. Two platforms had been erected, the upper one occupied chiefly by ladies, the lower one being filled with the members of the synod, office bearers of the church and others. Flags were suspended over the platforms, giving a holiday appearance in the building. On reaching the new building the procession advanced to the platform. . . The Rev. Dr. Jenkins having repeated the Lord's Prayer, gave out the 100th Psalm, which was sung by all present. . . Mr. James Nelson, architect, then read the following list of documents and coins deposited in the corner stone [these included newspapers of the day, church reports, year books and almanacs, and coins of the realm].¹¹⁰

Some of the speeches reveal the competitive aspect inherent in the building campaign, as well as the architectural context for the new project:

St. Andrew's congregation, being straitened in its Church accommodation, and largely increased in numbers and wealth, erected in the edifice in which the Synod has been holding its session, one of the most graceful structures to be found on this Continent; which remained for several years unapproached in beauty by any similar edifice in this city. St. Paul's having reached a like stage in its history now seeks with a great spirit and liberality, not merely to supply its actual wants in accommodation, but also to erect an edifice which shall arrest the attention of the community by its splendor, and rank among the foremost of noble buildings already to be found in this city.¹¹¹

The responsibilities of wealthy parishioners were emphasized:

and especially is it desirable that where wealth abounds and is apt, even when accompanied by refined taste, to overflow into unnecessary worldly display, the temples of religion should hold their proper place alongside of the Halls of Justice, the marts of commerce, the shops of traders, and the mansions of our merchant Princes. . . . Suitable and even elegant churches have their value, and that a high value, for the purpose of giving outward dignity and influence to the institutions of

¹¹⁰ "Laying the Corner Stone of New St. Paul's Church," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 10 June 1867.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

religion, and, therefore, they should be erected by those whom God has enabled so to do. It is not necessary that all our churches should be of that class, or even that all our cities should be so; but there can be no propriety in the cultivation by Christian men of social elegance and luxury, while they content themselves with rigid simplicity or positive shabbiness in the house of God.¹¹²

This desire for elegance and beauty reflects a new direction on the part of Presbyterians, who maintained an ambivalent attitude regarding ecclesiastical ornamentation.

On 27 September 1868 the congregation moved into the imposing neo-Gothic structure designed by Lawford & Nelson. The firm had recently completed three other churches: St. James the Apostle (1864) on the corner of St. Catherine and Bishop streets, the Knox Presbyterian Church (1865) on the corner of Dorchester and Mansfield streets, and Holy Trinity Church (1865) on Viger and St. Denis streets in Montreal.

Frederick S. Lawford was born in England, where he practised as an architect before emigrating to Canada c.1854-55.¹¹³ He was a pupil of the well-known English architect, Sir Charles Barry.¹¹⁴ During his apprenticeship, Lawford may have worked on Barry's Parliament Buildings, under construction in London during the

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Robert G. Hill, Letter to the author, 21 April 1992.

¹¹⁴ "New St. Paul's (Church of Scotland), Montreal," Illustrated London News (21 November 1868): 495. I am grateful to Robert G. Hill for this reference. See also "Canadian Church News," 105.

1840s.¹¹⁵ Lawford opened his own architectural practice in London about 1848 and entered into partnership with Richard William Heneker by 1851.¹¹⁶ Their practice which continued to 1853, included commissions for churches.¹¹⁷ Lawford's subsequent practice in Montreal included partnerships with John William Hopkins (1825–1905) and James Nelson (1830–1919) from 1855 to 1859, and with Nelson alone from 1860 to 1866.¹¹⁸ Lawford's untimely death from typhoid fever on 11 August 1866 provoked the following comments during the corner stone ceremony for St. Paul's:

Some who began this work with us have not been permitted to see it in progress, they have gone to "A temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." And here I am reminded of the withdrawal from this work of one, the late production of whose accomplished culture and skill in art was the design of this church. Admired by every lover of art in this city for the works which he had achieved, endeared to all who had the privilege of his friendship, Mr. Fredk. Lawford designed the building,

¹¹⁵ Indeed, among Lawford's books in Montreal was a first edition of Barry's Illustrations of the New Palace of Westminster. See Charles Barry, Illustrations of the New Palace of Westminster, and A History of the Palace of Westminster, by Henry T. Ryde. First series. (London: Warrington & Son, 1849). Inscribed on recto of second leaf *Fred. Lawford/ Montreal./ 1855*. The book was acquired in 1912 by architect William Maxwell, whose library is at the Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader–Lauterman Library of Art and Architecture, McGill University.

¹¹⁶ I am grateful to Robert Hill for this information. Hill notes that Heneker later moved to Lennoxville, Quebec, where he was appointed Mayor and served as a Chancellor of Bishop's College.

¹¹⁷ Drawings and plans for two churches signed by Lawford and Heneker are at the ANQM. See "Lowestoft, Design and Ground Plan for Proposed New Church," no. 442, and "Westbury Church, Proposed Plan of Pewing," no. 444, P–147, ANQM.

¹¹⁸ These dates were established by Robert Hill. See also Robert Hill, comp. "Montreal Architects: Classified City Directory Listings 1842–1950." TMs [photocopy], December 1982, CAC.

laid down his pencil and died. St. Paul's, when completed, will be a noble monument to his taste and skill.¹¹⁹

The Montreal Herald was less dramatic in their report:

The design selected was that submitted by the late firm of Messrs. Lawford & Nelson, in a limited competition, and was the last work on which the talented senior member of that firm was engaged, his death having occurred within a month from the time the plans were completed.¹²⁰

Lawford's designs for St. Paul's Church were carried out after his death by James Nelson and by John William Hopkins. The latter was initially called in to improve ventilation and later received a commission for a railing and gates. A description of building fund costs lists the fees paid to both architects as \$2368.49, exclusive of the railing commission.¹²¹

Contractors for the new church included several important Montreal firms: Peter Nicholson for masonry (\$27,350.), Wright & Hutchison for carpentry (\$15,889.), Philips & Wand for plastering (\$1693.), Henry Millen for painting (\$1149.), J.C. Spence for stained glass (\$950.), George W. Reid for slating the roof (\$2355.), Rogers

¹¹⁹ "Laying the Cornerstone of New St. Paul's Church," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 10 June 1867. Lawford died in Sherbrooke, Quebec, however his funeral was held at St. Paul's on 14 August 1866, "St. Paul's Church Register 1860-1866."

¹²⁰ "St. Paul's Church," Montreal Herald, Illustrated Edition, March 1867. No information exists on the terms of the competition alluded to here, or the names of participating architects.

¹²¹ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899," 38. Hopkins' plans for a railing were "preserved for future reference" as funds were running out.

& King for iron work (\$285.), and Robert Mitchell & Co., gasfitters (\$600.).¹²²

The original amount spent on the church building was \$60,000; final expenses which included the land, completed tower, manse, and caretaker's house, totalled \$104,520.¹²³

St. Paul's was described as: "for size, beauty and convenience, one of the most important of our city churches."¹²⁴ An 1867 photograph of a perspective by Lawford provides the only record of the architectural drawings and plans for St. Paul's Church (Fig. 16).¹²⁵ Designed in the Decorated style (a term for a period in 14th century English architecture much favoured by the Ecclesiologists), it had a square,

¹²² Ibid., 38. The complete specifications for St. Paul's are contained in "Contract and Agreement between Peter Nicholson, contractor, and the Trustees of the Montreal St. Paul's Church represented by Donald Ross, Chairman of the Building Committee, before William Ross, notary public, 9 November 1866." No. 13086, ANQM. See also contract for Ohio stone, "Contract and Agreement between George Nisbet and James Dawson, stonecutters, and Peter Nicholson, city contractor, before William Ross, notary, 9 May 1867." No. 13224, ANQM.

¹²³ "Memo of Original Cost of St. Paul's Church Property," Annual Report, 1895, St. Paul's Church, 25.

¹²⁴ Alfred Sandham, Picturesque Montreal, or the Tourist's Souvenir of a Visit to the Commercial Metropolis of the Dominion of Canada (Montreal: 1876), 54.

¹²⁵ The drawing was photographed by William Notman and deposited in the corner stone. 29,467-BI, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. Numerous archives were searched for St. Paul's drawings, with no result. These include the archives of The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul; the Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal which contain many drawings by Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson; the Canadian Centre for Architecture; the Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Art and Architecture, McGill University; The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto; Presbyterian College Archives, Montreal; The United Church Archives, Toronto; The Montreal and Ottawa Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada, Montreal; and the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. The drawings are presumed lost.

asymmetrically disposed buttressed tower.¹²⁶ To the left of the tower, the façade was enlivened by a wide gable with a large geometric window, fronted by a series of smaller gables over a vestibule. Crocketed pinnacles and slender turrets rose from the vestibule roof. On the far left was a projecting entrance porch connected by the vestibule to the main entrance at the base of the tower. Each gable was surmounted by an ornamental element carved in Ohio sandstone; a Celtic cross at the apex of the main front gable, a bell cote over the rear gable, and finials at the top of each transept. Rough textured walls in Montreal limestone contrasted with smoothly detailed neo-Gothic ornamentation; the weatherings, groins, and pinnacles were carved in a warm buff Ohio sandstone. The aggressive texture of the masonry is visible in a later photograph of 1929 (Fig. 17). The roof was covered in slate from the Melbourne quarries.¹²⁷

The Church was cruciform in plan and comprised a ten foot wide vestibule, a nave, one hundred and two feet long by sixty feet wide; and transepts ninety-five feet in width (Fig. 18). The nave terminated in an apsidal recess at the south end, twenty-one feet deep and thirty-two feet wide. The apse contained a gallery for the organ and choir elevated eleven feet above the floor.¹²⁸ Beneath this gallery were vestries for the Minister and Elders of the Church, reached through doorways on either side of

¹²⁶ Basil F.L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938), 108.

¹²⁷ Montreal Herald Illustrated Edition, (March 1867): 1.

¹²⁸ "The word apse was often used as a Presbyterian synonym for chancel, irrespective of shape." Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, Edinburgh, 42.

the apse. The transepts were separated from the nave by three arches, resting on octagonal pillars of Ohio sandstone with carved capitals (Fig. 19). The entire length of the church was one hundred and forty feet. Pews filled the nave and transepts with a seating capacity of 1000. The interior was spanned by an open timbered roof fifty-eight feet high at the apex; plastered panels filled the spaces between the timbers. Stone corbels supported hammerbeams which terminated in distinctive carved wooden angels (Figs. 20, 23).

Additional exterior entrances at the rear of the church gave access to both the main body of the church and its basement. The high basement was divided between rooms for the Sunday School and lecture rooms.¹²⁹ Members of St. Paul's were active in the community and maintained a variety of charitable, educational, and social groups which met regularly in the church. Over the next several decades these would include the Dorcas Society and Ladies' Aid Association, the Minister's Bible Class, the Ladies' Missionary Auxiliary, the King's Daughters' Association, the Boys' Club, the Literary and Debating Society, and the Young Mens' Association.

Membership in the church increased rapidly after its dedication on 27 September 1868, fulfilling the unspoken but transparent desire of the Elders and trustees to attract new members with a prominent church building. By 1878, the communion roll numbered 546 members.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Iron columns were used in the construction of the raised basement. See contract, "Nicholson and Trustees of St. Paul's Church, William Ross, notary public, 9 November 1866." No. 13086, ANQM.

¹³⁰ Annual Report, 1878, St. Paul's Church, 3.

The new St. Paul's was the first church erected for either St. Andrew's or St. Paul's to reflect Ecclesiological influence in its plan, elevation, and detail. The affluent Presbyterians of St. Paul's eagerly adopted the visual appearance of modern Anglican Gothic Revival churches, to connote both fashion and prestige. However they did not embrace the ritual functions which were important to the style but were foreign to their own liturgy. As Henry-Russell Hitchcock observes, the use of the Ecclesiological Anglican style by English Nonconformists was "for the most part, quite superficial, barely more than a retarded acceptance of an upper-class fashion. This was true also as regards the various independent Presbyterian sects in Scotland."¹³¹ Elsewhere, Hitchcock makes the following point:

The success that Victorian Gothic, initiated by a Romanist and supported by the Catholicizing wing of the Church of England had with non-Anglicans in England and throughout the English-speaking world is surprising. Ritualistic planning, almost the essence of the Revival to Pugin and his Camdenian followers, was naturally avoided. . . .¹³²

The features of St. Paul's which conform to Ecclesiological practice were the asymmetrical tower and the varied silhouette and massing of the exterior, which exploited colour and texture in a combination of local and imported stone.¹³³ The sophisticated interpenetration of the wall and roof planes, and the plastic moulding of the splayed buttresses and carved ornament were other important elements. The

¹³¹ Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain, vol. 1, 111.

¹³² Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 19th and 20th Century Architecture, 2d. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 101.

¹³³ Georg Germann, Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), 117.

emphasis on craftsmanship, apparent in the decorative stonecarving on the exterior and gothicizing woodcarving on the interior was another component, as was the geometric tracery of the windows.

The interior program draws on Ecclesiological tenets in church design, specifically in the clearly articulated plan, with its long nave, chancel, and transepts. The absence of galleries would have been considered commendable by the Ecclesiologists. The upward thrust of the steeply pitched roof was regarded as "essential to the Christian effect of a church," as were the conspicuous rafters and hammerbeams.¹³⁴ An important element was the inclusion of a projecting chancel marked off by a chancel arch.¹³⁵ Chancels had been eliminated in Protestant reform churches, but were re-introduced during the Gothic Revival by Anglican churches which embraced ritual in their church planning.

An American publication of 1870 noted Presbyterian digressions in the church:

The style is middle-pointed English, carefully worked out. Like its neighbour St. Andrew's, its chief claim rests on the adaptation of the forms and details of this style to the requirements of a Presbyterian place of worship.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ William H. Pierson Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects; Technology and the Picturesque, the Corporate and the Early Gothic Style* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1980), 157.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹³⁶ "Canadian Church News," 105. 'Middle-pointed' refers to 14th century English Gothic, and is interchangeable with the term 'Decorated'. See Clarke, 108-109. Another adaptation, not mentioned here, was the practice of pew rentals which was frowned upon by Ecclesiologists.

The adaptations refer to the lack of side aisles, unusual for a church with transepts, and the use of the apse for the organ and choir, instead of the usual altar and sanctuary.¹³⁷

Lawford seems to have had a predilection for projecting chancels in his church designs. A number of Anglican churches by the architect incorporated a projecting polygonal chancel, notably Holy Trinity Church (1865) and St. James the Apostle (1864) in Montreal.¹³⁸ An early proposal c. 1850, for a church in Lowestoft, England, by Lawford and Heneker also included a projecting vaulted apse (Fig. 21).¹³⁹ A transverse section illustrates a one-bay chancel similar in its economy to that of St. Paul's (Fig. 22, 23). A slight discrepancy between the two is the inclusion of three windows on the angled walls of the Lowestoft chancel, compared to two windows flanking the organ on the rear wall in St. Paul's apse. A more significant difference is that the earlier church had window openings on either side of the chancel arch, whereas St. Paul's had doorways leading from the same position. The polygonal

¹³⁷ It has been pointed out that the "organ, pulpit, and communion table were sometimes designed as a single formidable ensemble [in Scottish churches], particularly loathed by high-minded church restorers of the C20." Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, *Edinburgh*, 41.

¹³⁸ A similar polygonal chancel was incorporated in St. George's Anglican Church (1869-1870) by William Tutin Thomas. I am grateful to Virginia Nixon for this information.

¹³⁹ Lawford and Heneker, "Design for a Proposed New Church, Lowestoft, England," c.1850. Drawing no. 442, P-147, ANQM. The denomination of the church is not indicated. The stonework and design of the geometric windows also resemble St. Paul's church.

apse at St. Paul's was contained within a wide transept-like arm at the rear of the church, allowing space for a passageway and small rooms on either side (Fig. 18).

The apse was modified several times in response to changing trends in the placement of church organs. An early view is featured in a well-known illustration of the Presbyterian Joint Union Committee meeting, held at St. Paul's Church on 28 September 1870 (Fig. 22).¹⁴⁰ At this time the apse was separated from the nave by a screen of neo-Gothic woodwork and an elevated pulpit. The organ situated on a gallery can be seen above the screen.¹⁴¹ In 1878 the gallery was removed and the organ was lowered to the floor of the apse (Fig. A29). A decorative metal work railing (recalling Anglican altar rails) separated the area, with the pulpit maintaining its central location. The gift by Lord Strathcona of an entirely new organ in 1899 changed the appearance of the apse once again. It too was centrally located; however, exuberant decoration made it even more of a focal point (Fig.23).¹⁴²

Late in 1919, the Minutes record discussions on the reconstruction of the organ which necessitated structural alterations to the apse. A memorial window commemorating soldiers of the Black Watch regiment was also planned at this time

¹⁴⁰ The illustration by Inglis of Montreal appeared in "St. Paul's Church," *Canadian Illustrated News* 2 (31 December 1870): 434, 440-441.

¹⁴¹ The centrally-located organ reflects practice in Scottish Presbyterian churches, where "the instrument was often given pride of place behind a central pulpit " Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, 41.

¹⁴² Annual Report, 1899, St. Paul's Church, 22.

(see window 1, Chapter 7).¹⁴³ The new design called for the removal from the apse to the transepts of two memorial windows. The polygonal walls were to be removed, and the large Black Watch window installed on the renovated rear wall. By 1921 the new chancel was complete (Fig. A6). It was rectangular and open to the nave, giving full visibility to the window and its accompanying memorial plaque. The organ pipes were relocated on either side of the window, with the Elder's seats below and a wooden pulpit situated at the right.

Organ music and choral singing were an important and progressive aspect of worship at St. Paul's from the time of the dedication of its second church. The first discussion pertaining to the acquisition of an organ was in January of 1866, while planning for the new church was underway. In 1868 the following decision was taken unanimously: "that it was desirable to have an Organ at the opening of the new Church, and secondly that the cost should not exceed \$3500, unless a larger sum was subscribed." The entire expense, about \$5500, was paid by subscription.¹⁴⁴ St. Paul's had a celebrated musical history. The organist and large choir often gave recitals, and the Church hosted concerts by organists from the United States and Britain.

¹⁴³ "In many churches the need for a memorial after the First World War was to be the excuse for arranging the 'sanctuary' along ecclesiological lines." Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, 42.

¹⁴⁴ Annual Report, 1878, St. Paul's Church, 22.

Soon after its dedication, St. Paul's attracted the favourable notice of the London Illustrated News, which published an engraving of the church (with its proposed tower), and commented:

This spacious and tasteful church, [was] built through the liberality of one of the old Scotch congregations of Montreal . . . The entire cost of this structure will be £12,500. St. Andrew's and new St. Paul's are amongst the finest ecclesiastical edifices in the country, and some of the wealthiest and most influential citizens are found belonging to the congregations that worship in them.¹⁴⁵

The tower of St. Paul's remained incomplete for fourteen years (Fig. 24). As early as 1872, the Canadian Illustrated News was provoked to remark:

In the interests of architectural art in the city, and of architectural effect, it may be permitted us to express the hope that, ere long, the wealthy and influential congregation of St. Paul's Church will complete the tower of their very beautiful edifice. The present appearance of this part of the structure is an eyesore which every inhabitant of Montreal would rejoice to have removed.¹⁴⁶

The tower was finally completed in 1881 after an additional sum of \$11,175. was raised.¹⁴⁷ It was made according to Lawford and Nelson's original plans by Nelson and his current partner, Charles Ballard. The skilful masonry and stone carving were carried out by Peter Nicholson, the original contractor, who was according to Nelson,

¹⁴⁵ "New St. Paul's (Church of Scotland), Montreal," Illustrated London News (21 November 1868): 495.

¹⁴⁶ "St. Paul's Church," Canadian Illustrated News 5 (13 January 1872): 18.

¹⁴⁷ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899," 202. Approximately seventy feet was added to the height of the tower, p. 110. The additional masonry weighed 400 tons, p. 159.

"one of only two contractors in Montreal who have erected in Ohio stone, buildings of this description and at an altitude."¹⁴⁸

Lawford's plans specified the pointed outlines, scale, and geometric tracery of the church's windows, which would determine the fenestration in the final structure of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.¹⁴⁹ The windows initially contained "stained glass of a comparatively plain pattern" made by John C. Spence, a well-known Montreal glazier.¹⁵⁰ This was in keeping with the austere program of the Presbyterian Church which then preferred to keep such decorative elements to a minimum, and because of a long-held doctrine that images in stained glass were idolatrous. The reluctant introduction of choirs and organ music to Presbyterian churches in the 1860s was a similar phenomena. However, during the following decade artistic constraints were loosened as members of the congregation expressed the desire to beautify the church through memorial windows.¹⁵¹ The first stained

¹⁴⁸ The other contractor named was a Mr. Wilson, "Minute Book of the Trustees," 160. Ohio sandstone was easily worked and lent itself to ornament, which was plentiful on St. Paul's tower. A final bill submitted by Nicholson specified "4 iron stays for pinnacles, copper stays to 24 pinnacles, erecting scaffolding, ornament pinnacle stone, cutting and carving," p. 230. Nicholson had also received the contract for stone work on St. George's Anglican Church, "Contract and Agreement between Rev. Bond and Peter Nicholson, before J.S. Hunter, notary public, October 1868." No. 14326, ANQM. I am grateful to Virginia Nixon for this reference.

¹⁴⁹ All of the memorial windows at St. Paul's were relocated to the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

¹⁵⁰ Montreal Herald, Illustrated Edition, 1. For more on Spence, see Chapter 6.

¹⁵¹ For a complete account of stained glass windows in St. Paul's Church, see Chapters 6 & 7. The earliest post-Reformation stained glass was introduced to Scottish churches in the 1850s. Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, 41.

glass memorial was introduced in 1870 and commemorated the church's founding minister, the Reverend Edward Black. A quick succession of memorial windows followed. The minute books of the trustees of St. Paul's shed light on this changing ideology and on the formal procedures necessary for the patronage of stained glass memorials (see Chapter 7). Entries in the minutes reflect the opinions of such illustrious board members as Richard Bladworth Angus (1831–1922) general manager of the Bank of Montreal and a founding director of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR); Donald Smith (1820–1914), later named 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, a director of the Hudson's Bay Company, financier of the CPR and High Commissioner for Canada to Britain in the United Kingdom; and several members of the Greenshields family including E.B. Greenshields (1850–1917), later a director of both the Grand Trunk Railway and the Bank of Montreal. All these men had notable art collections.¹⁵²

The following families commissioned stained glass memorials: Hope, Jenkins, Allan, Redpath, Ross, Greenshields, Samuel, Watson, Kinghorn, and McLennan. Ministers Black, McGill, and Barclay were commemorated by the congregation. Both St. Paul's and St. Andrew's were surprisingly quick to accept both organ music and stained glass in their churches. A likely determinant was the wealth and sophistication of the congregation.

¹⁵² For a description of the art collections of these and other Montreal patrons, see Janet Brooke, *Discerning Tastes; Montreal Collectors 1880–1920*, exhib. cat. (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989).

More colour was added to the interior of the church in later decades, following the British fashion for experiments in polychromy in ecclesiastical architecture during the 1850s and 1860s. In 1889 Castle & Son were hired to update the interior of St. Paul's.¹⁵³ This included polychrome wall decoration incorporating a wide variety of symbolic and geometrical motifs. Large vines and flowers were stencilled over the walls of the nave, and around each stained glass window (Figs. 23, 19, A14). The ceiling panels over the nave were stencilled with geometric patterns, and the ceiling of the apse was painted with alternating panels of scrolled vines which emphasized the vaulting. Biblical texts were painted above the windows and around the chancel arch (Fig. 23). The latter proclaimed: "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth."¹⁵⁴

By the 1880s the grounds of the church had been landscaped. "The Church is surrounded with beautiful and well kept lawns and trees, and in Summer time there is a fine variety of choice flowers and shrubs."¹⁵⁵ In 1886 a caretaker's house was constructed behind the Church on St. Monique street by architect and church member, Eric Mann (1847–1929). The Annual Report noted its cost, \$4500, and called it a "handsome building, externally corresponding with the church in its architectural

¹⁵³ Annual Report, 1889, St. Paul's Church, 20, 22. The well-known firm of decorators was paid \$2,334. for their work.

¹⁵⁴ Rev. Samuel Massey, Historical Sketches of the Protestant Churches and Ministers of Montreal (Montreal, Witness Publishing House, 1885. text-fiche), 5.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

style."¹⁵⁶ In 1890 Mann designed and erected a manse for the current minister, Dr. James Barclay. It was built to the east of the church facing Dorchester street and cost a total of \$14,300. Like the church, both the caretaker's house and manse were constructed in rock-faced Montreal limestone (Fig. 25).

The status of both St. Andrew's and St. Paul's churches and their prominent congregations was considerable. When, in 1917, the Kirk Sessions and Trustees of both churches proposed a union, local newspapers reported every step of the complicated negotiations. Long articles were written about the venerable history of each church and the future of the joint congregation. The churches united in 1918, with both congregations sharing St. Paul's church building.

Ironically, during the same period, the trustees had to contend with the possibility of damage from nearby blasting by the Mount Royal Tunnel Company.¹⁵⁷ This presaged future changes in the vicinity of the church (Fig. 26). A decade later, the church and its land were expropriated for the construction of the Canadian National Railway's Central Station.

¹⁵⁶ Annual Report, 1886, St. Paul's Church, 18.

¹⁵⁷ "Joint Report on Condition of St. Paul's Church," Archives, SSAP. This report was prepared in September 1917 by two groups of architects and engineers, one group acting on behalf of St. Paul's Church which was concerned about damage from nearby blasting, the other on behalf of the Mount Royal Tunnel & Terminal Co. Ltd.

CHAPTER 5

THE NEW CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. PAUL 1929-1932

The trustees of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul had been considering a move prior to the notice of expropriation. The congregation had expanded considerably with the union of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's, and, as was the case in the previous situation of both churches, the city had changed around them. Members had moved to newly developed residential areas northwest of Dorchester street, which in recent years had become a thoroughfare for commerce and transportation.

Notification of the possibility of expropriation came to the trustees in 1926. During the sensitive negotiations with Canadian National Railways (C.N.R.) in the following years (in which the aid of Prime Minister Mackenzie King was invoked), the trustees obtained a free option on the Mackay estate on the corner of Sherbrooke and Redpath streets, immediately to the west of the Art Association of Montreal (now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts).¹⁵⁸ The shrewd trustees, all of them prominent businessmen, were highly experienced at such negotiations and during numerous conferences with Sir Henry Thornton and Ernest Decary, directors of the C.N.R., they managed to raise the railway's initial offer of \$400,000 to a final selling price in 1930

¹⁵⁸ In the "Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Kirk Session," entry for 29 May, 1930, notation is made of Lord Atholstan receiving a letter from the Prime Minister, the Hon. Mackenzie King, "assuring him [Atholstan] of his sympathy with the Church's position" vis-a-vis the expropriation negotiations with the C.N.R.

of \$600,000.¹⁵⁹ Also, "the Church was allowed to remove the organ, memorial windows, tablets, etc., which represented additional substantial compensation."¹⁶⁰

The Mackay property, which included a house, Kildonan Hall, was purchased for \$300,000 in 1929.¹⁶¹ The house, demolished in 1930, later gave its name to the church hall. A new Building Committee was formed which included representatives of several church organizations. The Reverend Dr. George H. Donald, minister of the Church, was among several members chosen to represent the Kirk Session. His influence on the building project was considerable. Norman J. Dawes, president of National Breweries Limited and a director of numerous companies including the Royal Trust and the Dominion Bridge Company, was a key representative chosen by the Board of Trustees. Hugh Graham, Lord Atholstan, the publisher of the Montreal Star, was chosen to represent the interests of the congregation.

Despite a vote by many in the congregation for a modest new building, (the Depression was looming in Canada) the trustees and Building Committee chose to set up an architectural competition for a church scaled to the dimensions of a

¹⁵⁹ "Summary of Building Committee Negotiations," Annual Report, 1930, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 27-29. Archives, SSAP. The church property purchased by the C.N.R. comprised lots 1115 and 1116, St. Antoine Ward, Montreal.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. The total amount available for the new project was the sum of \$605,000 from the C.N.R. (amount of sale, plus interest), plus \$200,000 from the sale of the St. Andrew's Church property (amount of sale, plus accumulated interest).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

cathedral.¹⁶² Their decision must have reflected the desire of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to recoup some of its losses during the 1920's when many of its congregations had left to join the United Church of Canada.¹⁶³

A bid had been made by the Collège Saint-Laurent to take down and reconstruct old St. Paul's in a new location. The church was sold for a token sum, and the architectural firm of Lucien Parent (1893-1956) and Henri Labelle (1896-1989) undertook the enormous project of dismantling the church.¹⁶⁴ Each stone was removed, numbered, colour-coded, and transported by train to St. Croix Boulevard in St. Laurent. The stones were then reassembled in their original position, and the rebuilt church was dedicated 22 November 1931 as the new Chapel of the Collège St. Laurent (now the Musée d'Art St. Laurent).¹⁶⁵ It was remarked at the time that "the

¹⁶² A secret ballot was organized by the Building Committee. The questions however were such that the congregation's responses could be interpreted in several ways. Archives, SSAP.

¹⁶³ The United Church of Canada was formed in 1925 from various Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian congregations.

¹⁶⁴ The Collège de Saint-Laurent purchased St. Paul's church building from Canadian National Railways for \$1.00 in 1930. They also paid for the process of demolition, transport, and rebuilding. See Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de Saint-Laurent* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1969), 198-99. Parent & Labelle's plan and elevation drawings for the "Nouvelle Chapelle en Collège de St. Laurent" were included in the Forty-eighth Spring Exhibition of the Montreal Art Association in 1931, items 329 & 330. Several artists recorded the demolition of the church. Harold Beaumont painted The Demolition of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1930, which now hangs in the Kirk Session Room, SSAP. The church archives contain photographs of three watercolours illustrating stages of the demolition painted by Henry Simpkins in 1931.

¹⁶⁵ Annual Report, 1931, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 15. The church underwent several significant alterations, for example, the basement was redesigned as a large auditorium and its pointed windows were replaced by rectangular openings, the chancel was modified, various small additions were constructed as passageways to college

transportation of this fabric [of the church] in sections must be almost if not absolutely unique in the annals of Canadian church architecture."¹⁶⁶

A limited competition for the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul was held in 1929, according to the Competition Code approved by the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (P.Q.A.A.).¹⁶⁷ On 13 May 1929 the following Montreal firms were issued a copy of the regulations and invited to participate: Cecil McDougall, Maxwell & Pitts, Nobbs & Hyde, Ross & MacDonald, H.T. Davis, H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, Hugh Vallance, Shorey & Ritchie, Melville Miller, Kenneth Rae, Barott & Blackader, and David R. Brown. Six of the firms decided to enter and drew up revised regulations with the help of William S. Maxwell (1874-1952), chairman of the Competitor's Committee. The revisions addressed questions which had been raised by the first set of the Building Committee's requirements, such as the number of scholars to be accommodated in the Sunday School, an outline of the required organ equipment, the proposed location for the pulpit, and, whether a chancel was

buildings, and new stained glass windows and woodwork were added to the interior. However, much of the original building remains intact, specifically the decorative stonework of the supporting columns, and the wooden structure of the roof.

¹⁶⁶ "Aged City Church Rises on New Site, St. Andrew and St. Paul Building Becomes Chapel in St. Laurent," *Montreal Gazette*, 29 August 1931. The enterprising Collège de St. Laurent had garnered experience in a similar project undertaken in 1913 when masonry from the façade of the demolished YMCA building on Dominion Square was incorporated into the Collège. Dossiers for Collège Saint-Laurent and St. Paul's Church, Archives, Communauté Urbaine de Montréal.

¹⁶⁷ *Annual Report, 1930, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul*, 27-29. The competition was held before negotiations with the C.N.R. had concluded.

required.¹⁶⁸ The competitors also requested photographs of the memorial windows at St. Paul's church, which were to be incorporated into the design for the new building. The total cost of construction, including the church, manse, and caretakers's house was to be approximately \$500,000.

The six submissions were coded by number to preserve their anonymity and were judged by the chairman of the Board of Trustees, Norman J. Dawes; architect John S. Archibald (1872–1934), a member of the Church who had been appointed by the congregation; and architect Henry Sproatt (1866–1934) of Toronto, who had been nominated by the competitors.¹⁶⁹ The competition closed on 1 November 1929.

The winning entry, published in the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in December 1929, was by the firm of H.L. Fetherstonhaugh (Fig. 27).¹⁷⁰ Harold Lee Fetherstonhaugh (1887–1971) received a degree in architecture from McGill University in 1909 and spent the next two years in architectural offices in Montreal and New York City.¹⁷¹ He then spent two years abroad travelling and

¹⁶⁸ "Minutes of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926–1941," 10–11.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. See also JRAIC 6 (Dec. 1929): 442–443. The unsuccessful competitors were paid \$200. for their submissions.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. Fetherstonhaugh had an illustrious career in Montreal. He was later named a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, an Associate of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, and was President of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada from 1938–1939.

¹⁷¹ The Montreal and New York architectural firms have not been identified.

studying at the Atelier Laloux, affiliated with the École des Beaux-Arts.¹⁷²

Fetherstonhaugh began his Montreal practice in 1919 and during the 1920s built a number of private residences.¹⁷³ Just prior to winning the commission for the church, he was awarded the contract for Divinity Hall (now the William and Henry Birks Building, 1929–1931) at McGill University. This design was in the Collegiate Gothic style.¹⁷⁴

Henry Ross Wiggs (1895–1966), who worked for Fetherstonhaugh as designer and draftsman, claimed responsibility for the winning conception -- a Modern Gothic design.¹⁷⁵ Wiggs had studied architecture at McGill and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). After graduating from MIT in 1922, he took the post of draughtsman in the New York office of architect H.T. Lindeberg, where he developed

¹⁷² Victor Laloux, architect of the Gare du Quai d'Orsay, had trained many noted American architects including William Emerson, Charles Butler, and Henry Ives Cobb. "Hommage à Laloux, de ses Élèves Américains," *Pencil Points* 18 (October 1937): 621–630. Information on Fetherstonhaugh's career from "Harold Lee Fetherstonhaugh," *JRAIC* 15 (March 1938): 50; and William Wood, *The Storied Province of Quebec*, vol. 4, 443.

¹⁷³ See "Recent Domestic Architecture in the Province of Quebec," *JRAIC* 5 (May 1928): 171–183.

¹⁷⁴ For a description of Divinity Hall, now known as the William and Henry Birks Building, see *The William and Henry Birks Building* (Montreal: Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, 1984), and *JRAIC* 11 (July, August 1934): 114–116. This building, on the drawing boards simultaneously with the commission for St. Andrew's and St. Paul's, shares many of its characteristics.

¹⁷⁵ In a 1937 article, Samuel Chamberlain stated: "At the right is Wiggs's rendering of the winning design in a competition for the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in Montreal, Que., which he won in collaboration with H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, F.R.I.B.A." See "H. Ross Wiggs de Bas Canada," *Pencil Points* (June 1937): 343. The accompanying drawing is virtually identical to the winning competition perspective. I am indebted to Robert Lemire for this citation, and for suggesting this line of inquiry -- based in part on an interview he had with Wiggs.

skill as a perspectivist and was eventually promoted to designer.¹⁷⁶ He was also affiliated with Alfred C. Bossom.¹⁷⁷ After his work in New York, which continued to 1926, he returned to Montreal and took charge of the drafting room of David R. Brown. In 1928 Wiggs became a junior partner in the firm of H.L. Fetherstonhaugh.¹⁷⁸

Wiggs's claim appears to be valid. He wrote the following in his autobiography:

I also had the interesting experience of . . . taking a major part along with Harry Mace in designing the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in Montreal for which a competition had been held. Nine leading architects of the city had been invited to submit designs and there was great jubilation in the office when we learned that our design had won the competition.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Harrie T. Lindeberg (1881?–1959) was noted for large Tudor houses, designed with great virtuosity, and for his love of detailed finishes. See R.F. Whitehead, "Harrie T. Lindeberg's Contribution to American Domestic Architecture," Architectural Record 55 (1924): 309–72.

¹⁷⁷ Alfred C. Bossom was born in England in 1881 and practised in New York City in the 1920s, where he designed the National Bank. See Architectural Record 51 (May 1922): 476–85.

¹⁷⁸ See entry for Wiggs, A.R.C.A., A.R.I.B.A., in National Reference Book, Vol. 8 (Montreal: 194–1948): 632–33. Wiggs was active as an architect in Quebec and Ontario between 1933–1967. He was an accomplished painter and had studied with William Brymner and Maurice Cullen. His war sketch-books are at the War Museum in Ottawa.

¹⁷⁹ Henry Ross Wiggs, "Giving an Account of Myself," quoted in a letter to the author from Wiggs's daughter, Marjorie Gould, 5 June 1992. The book was privately published.

Certainly, the competition perspective suggests Wiggs's personal style of drawing (Fig. 27).¹⁸⁰ Several sources have pointed out that Fetherstonhaugh was not really a Gothicist, indeed his firm was mainly associated with scholarly Georgian work.¹⁸¹ According to architect Richard E. Bolton (b. 1907), who worked for Fetherstonhaugh on this project and who later became a partner in the firm, Henry Ross Wiggs and Thomas Henry Mace (1888-?),¹⁸² chief draughtsman and designer for the firm, were largely responsible for the design of the building.¹⁸³ Most of the detail drawings for the Church contained in the Fetherstonhaugh Collection at the National Archives of

¹⁸⁰ An almost identical drawing in the Church's collection which reveals subsequent changes to the original design is signed H.R.W. and dated 1932. Both Richard Bolton and Robert Lemire have identified the drawing style of the winning design to be that of Henry Ross Wiggs.

¹⁸¹ Among these have been Prof. John Bland, McGill University, (interview by author, August 1988, Montreal); as well as architect Richard E. Bolton (interview by author, 25 January 1990, Montreal). An example of Fetherstonhaugh's "scholarly Georgian work" is Douglas Hall, which won an RAIC medal. "Harold Lee Fetherstonhaugh," *JRAIC* 15 (March 1938): 50.

¹⁸² Mace apprenticed with Hutchison and Wood from 1907-1910. He graduated from MIT with a Master's degree in Architecture in 1913 and was awarded a Gold Medal which enabled him to study and travel in Europe. In Montreal he was associated with Brown & Vallance, and Barott & Blackader. In 1924 he became a partner of H.L. Fetherstonhaugh. See entry for Mace in William Wood, ed. *The Storied Province of Quebec: Past and Present*. 5 vols. (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1931-32): 711.

¹⁸³ Richard E. Bolton graduated from MIT in 1929. His first job was for Fetherstonhaugh on the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. An elevation drawing by Bolton is illustrated in Fig. 29. Bolton also observed that Mace, as a Classicist who felt that 20th-century Gothic architecture was an affectation, was somewhat uncomfortable with this commission. Interview with Richard Bolton by the author, 25 January 1990, Montreal.

Canada are signed "H.R.W." and "T.H.M."¹⁸⁴ Bolton recalls that Fetherstonhaugh, Mace, and Wiggs divided the project into three different areas. Wiggs, for example, was completely responsible for the design of Kildonan Hall, which included the exterior elevations and interior decorative program of the Church's offices, Sunday school, and spacious panelled auditorium. However, Bolton maintains that Fetherstonhaugh was interested in the planning essentials of the project and would have meticulously gone over the work of his draftsmen and designers. It is likely that Wiggs did indeed conceive the original design, but that he, Mace, and Fetherstonhaugh worked together as a team in refining its ultimate program.

The competition process was not without controversy. Correspondence by Gordon McLeod Pitts (1886–1954) with the council and Professional Practice Committee of the P.Q.A.A. underscores this point.¹⁸⁵ Pitts criticized several key features of the winning design -- specifically that it did not meet the requirements set forth in the competition regulations. Pitts's primary concern was that the cost of the successful design could be estimated conservatively at \$900,000., exceeding the specified limit of \$500,000 by at least another \$400,000. In his view:

the successful design should have been excluded from the competition as it did not conform with the mandatory clause No. 6 . . . as to cost.

¹⁸⁴ Job 303, H.L. Fetherstonhaugh Collection, 81203/1, National Map Collection, NAC.

¹⁸⁵ This correspondence, dated February to July 1934, and the regulations for the competition can be found in the Maxwell Archive, CAC 2B, Box 9, A10, at the Canadian Architecture Collection. Unfortunately the Maxwell & Pitts competition drawings are not extant.

. . . I need hardly point out that a Competitor governing himself by the mandatory cost paragraph of the "Regulations" could not compete with one who did not meet the very exacting conditions of design imposed thereby.¹⁸⁶

Other significant departures from the rules were pointed out:

Paragraph #7 calls for a seating of 1200 people, all to be arranged on the Church Auditorium floor . . . the winning design will accommodate some 1030 persons on the Auditorium floor. This design therefore requires a gallery to provide the seating specified, while the terms specifically indicate that the design shall not incorporate a gallery . . . the Entrance Porch is required to provide space to accommodate the Memorial Tablets of the Church. The design referred to does not provide this accommodation. Under paragraph #7 and Paragraph #9, the stained glass memorial windows of the present Church are to be incorporated in the design. The design in question incorporates but four of the existing memorial windows, and no provision has been made for the triple windows of the nave of the present Church. Other features of this design . . . which may be seriously questioned, are as follows: Over 25% of the congregation are over 100 feet from the Pulpit, and 176 feet from the Communion Table. . . . Sufficient space has not been provided to accommodate the mechanism of the organ. . . . The feature of a "porte cochère" is not in keeping with the democratic spirit which is a fundamental characteristic of Presbyterianism, and is not ecclesiastical. . . . The result of the award was widely broadcast before the Competitors were officially advised [12 November, 1929], and a notification of the successful competitor appeared in the social columns of the Ottawa press on Thursday, November 7th.¹⁸⁷

Pitts's criticisms were not without substance -- the winning design as it stood did not meet the terms of the competition and was in actuality modified extensively over the course of construction. During this process, several of the competition mandates as noted by Pitts were addressed. For example, each of the memorial

¹⁸⁶ Letter from Gordon McLeod Pitts to P.Q.A.A., 8 February 1934. CAC 2B, Box 9, A10, Maxwell Archive, CAC.

¹⁸⁷ Gordon McLeod Pitts, "Memorandum Re Church Competition," and Letter to P.Q.A.A., 8 February 1934. CAC 2B, Box 9, A10, Maxwell Archive, CAC.

stained glass windows was adeptly incorporated into the design, a Memorial Room was conceived as part of the narthex, and the components of the organ were placed behind screens on either side of the chancel. However, several features of the plan of which Pitts disapproved, such as the great length of the church and the inclusion of a gallery and porte cochère, were successfully implemented. Certainly the porte cochère, typical of residential designs for affluent clients, appealed to anything but the "democratic spirit." Doubtless the trustees and Building Committee were attracted by the possibility of arriving at the Church with some formality (Fig. 37). In spite of such considerations, the porte cochère signalled the modernity of the design and created diversity and interest on the side elevation.¹⁸⁸ It was also practical given the variable local climate.

The final cost of the church building, over \$800,000, was close to Pitts's projected cost per cubic foot. Apparently the assessors were willing to overlook serious departures from the competition rules because they were taken with the proposed exterior of the church -- which was indeed impressive (Fig. 27). The response of the P.Q.A.A.'s Professional Practice Committee to Pitts was as follows:

. . . the conduct of the competition for the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul has received the careful consideration of the Committee. They consider that the time to have dealt with a matter of this kind would have been at the time the irregularity, if any, took place and not four

¹⁸⁸ Very few churches feature porte cochères. A notable example which may have inspired the Fetherstonhaugh firm was Timothy Eaton Memorial Church on St. Clair Avenue West in Toronto. I am grateful to the Reverend Andrew Fullerton for this reference. Architects A. Frank Wickson (1861-1936) and Alfred Holden Gregg (1868-1945) built the church with a prominent porte cochère on its west side in 1913-1914 for a wealthy congregation

years after the award was made. . . . the competitors agreed to the conditions as they were finally drawn up, and also to accept the decision of the Assessor. To protect the members of the Association in any future competition that the Association may be asked to conduct . . . the following conditions be included . . . A Professional Adviser be appointed to draw up the programme . . . and before the award is made, satisfy himself that all mandatory conditions have been observed. He should check the cube, and if greatly in excess of that set down in the conditions, must place such drawings out of the Competition.¹⁸⁹

Unfortunately, the competition drawings appear to be lost.¹⁹⁰ However,

Pitts's correspondence discloses a tantalizing reference:

There was some reluctance on the part of the Owners in permitting the drawings of the Competition to be publicly exhibited, but finally, due to the good offices of Mr. Maxwell, arrangements were made for these to be accessible to the profession and the public at the Arts Club.¹⁹¹

The laying of the corner stone of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul took place on 10 October 1931 and was performed by Lord Atholstan in the presence of a large crowd which included ministers, church dignitaries, and members of the congregation and the Presbytery.¹⁹² A metal box from the corner stone of St. Paul's

¹⁸⁹ P.Q.A.A. Professional Practice Committee, 26 March, 1934. CAC 2B, Box 9, A10, Maxwell Archive, CAC. Pitts was well aware of the delay in his complaint and responded "because the competitors did not invoke their rights at the time of the competition, and thereby embarrass the Church and its Architect by undesirable publicity, the delay is being cited as a just cause for taking action in this case. . . . as to the Competitors agreeing to the Conditions as drawn, they did, and one of the Conditions guaranteed to them that the Competition would be carried out in accordance with the Code of this Association, which was not done." It appears, however, that the Committee had said their final word on the matter, and the issue was dropped.

¹⁹⁰ A search was made in the archives listed in the Bibliography of Sources

¹⁹¹ Letter from Pitts to P.Q.A.A., 8 February 1934.

¹⁹² See "Laying Corner-stone of Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul," *Montreal Standard*, [17 October 1931].

Church had been retrieved. Its contents, described in the cornerstone ceremony of 1867, were in excellent condition and photographed for posterity.¹⁹³ They were duly placed in the corner stone of the new church, along with a second set of current church reports, calendars, newspapers, and Canadian coins. The ceremony was an important event in Montreal's architectural history. It signified the inauguration of the last great cathedral church to be built downtown and thus represented the end of an era.

The style of the church reflects the influence of the leading American church architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869–1924), who along with his partners Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942) and Frank W. Ferguson (1861–1926), spearheaded the revival of a modern Gothic architecture in North America in the face of prevalent classicism early in the twentieth century.

Like Augustus Charles Pugin and subsequent Gothic Revival architects, Cram and Goodhue aspired to design buildings that began with an articulate and functional plan yielding vigorously composed, artistic masses enriched with expressive symbolism and built with a craftsman's attitude toward construction.¹⁹⁴

The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul represents a comparatively late example of Modern Gothic. The style made its appearance in Montreal as early as 1908, as a direct result of Cram and Goodhue's widely-published innovative designs

¹⁹³ A commemorative album of photographs by S.J. Hayward is contained in the Archives, SSAP.

¹⁹⁴ Maddex, Diane, ed. Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects (Washington: The Preservation Press, 1985): 114.

which were themselves inspired by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's winning competition design for Liverpool Cathedral (1901–1902). The first example in the city was the Unitarian Church of the Messiah (1906–1908) designed by Edward and William Maxwell.¹⁹⁵ Characterized by its cubic mass, restrained ornament, and lack of a tower, spire or pinnacles, the church's design proved to be influential. Two churches quickly followed: the First Baptist (1908, demolished) on the corner of Sherbrooke and Union streets by Mitchell & Crighton and St. John's Lutheran Church (1908) on Jeanne–Mance and Prince Arthur streets by H. Montgomery Rodden. Later churches in the Modern Gothic style exploited the sculptural massing of compact forms and the textural potential of exterior stonework. The First Presbyterian Church (1910) at the corner of Prince Arthur and Jeanne–Mance streets by Hutchison, Wood, & Miller, and Dominion Douglas United Church (1927) on the Boulevard in Westmount by Hugh G Jones are examples of this type of Modern Gothic church. All shared modern construction methods and materials and a commitment to the free adaptation of Gothicizing elements.

The exterior of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul (Figs. 28, 29) clearly derives from Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson's St. Thomas Church (1905–13) at the corner of 5th and 53rd streets in New York City (Figs. 30, 31).¹⁹⁶ The massing of

¹⁹⁵ For a description of this church see Sandra Coley, "Church of the Messiah," in *The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell*, exhib. cat., ed. Harold Kalman and Susan Wagg (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 179–182.

¹⁹⁶ See H.L. Bottomley, "The Story of St. Thomas' Church," *Architectural Record* 35 (February 1914): 100–131; Montgomery Schuyler, "The New St. Thomas' Church, New York," in *American Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press

forms, restrained detailing, and confident asymmetry resulting from the single thrust of the square bell tower are strikingly similar.

The stonework on the monumental exterior of the Montreal church is particularly impressive (Figs. 28, 38). Variegated Indiana limestone was chosen for its warm buff-coloured hues and tooled in a variety of finishes including; smooth, tooth-chiselled, bush-hammered, shot sawn, rock face, crandalled and picked.¹⁹⁷ Carved ornament is limited to the spandrel and parapet over the deeply recessed main entrance and to the moulded courses and parapet of the tower. As such emphasis is given to the large expanses of textured masonry. "The tower, which rises 135 feet above the ground, is pointed by four turrets, one higher than the others, emblematic of a closed hand with one finger pointing upwards [to heaven]."¹⁹⁸ Belfry openings contain louvres of green slate and carved tracery. Just below are the small carved figures of two frogs "in the attitude of retreat, symbolic of the spirit of evil driven out of the sacred edifice."¹⁹⁹ The sculpted figures of St. Andrew and St. Paul in decorative niches flank the two main doors, which are divided by a buttress and crowned with elegant carving. The busts of enigmatic cowled figures emerge from the stonework on

of Harvard University Press, 1961): 598-604; Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, and John Massengale, New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915 (New York: Rizzoli, 1983); and Richard Oliver, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1985): 61-74. Oliver's text provided the dates used for St. Thomas's Church.

¹⁹⁷ "Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal," Construction (October 1932): 228.

¹⁹⁸ The Reverend George H. Donald, Stones that Speak (Montreal: The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, [c. 1948]): 7.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

either side of the large main window. These were said to be "sentinels looking down on those who enter, symbolic of ministering spirits clothed and ready for service."²⁰⁰

The exterior of the church was also indebted to Cram and Ferguson's Princeton University Chapel (1926–27), particularly the west front; to Goodhue's Saint Vincent Ferrer (1914–1918) in New York City, and to Goodhue's perspective of the first scheme for Rockefeller Chapel (1918), at the University of Chicago (Fig. 32).²⁰¹

The Church's Annual Report for 1929 noted that Fetherstonhaugh and two members of the Building Committee visited New York "and inspected a number of Churches, deriving a great deal of informative benefit from the visit."²⁰² Clearly they had the opportunity to examine some of the churches mentioned above. Several of the significant modifications to the competition designs can be seen as a response to the trip. The earlier experience of both Fetherstonhaugh and Wiggs in New York architectural offices must also be considered in this context.

A comparison of the Fetherstonhaugh plans (Fig. A2) with those for St. Thomas's Church is revealing (Fig. 35). Aside from differences in dimension, the

²⁰⁰ Ibid. They are essentially identical to draped figures in the same position on the south front of Goodhue's Rockefeller Chapel at the University of Chicago. See *The Uses of Gothic*, 157.

²⁰¹ See *The Work of Cram and Ferguson Architects*, including *Work by Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson* (New York: Pencil Points Press, 1929), and "Modern Gothic and the Chapel Block," in Jean F. Block, *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the Campus of the University of Chicago 1892–1932*, exhib. cat. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984): 152–161. The firm of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson was formed in 1898. A New York office headed by Goodhue was opened in 1903. The firm dissolved in 1913; Goodhue opened his own practice while Cram and Ferguson remained partners. See Maddex, *Master Builders*, 114.

²⁰² *Annual Report, 1929, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul*, 25. Archives, SSAP.

main body of each church is remarkably similar (Figs. 33, 34). The side walls of each nave are pierced with arched openings. In the Montreal church these arches frame views of the memorial windows. Circulation, through the double doors of the entrance porch into the narthex and its side chambers, and then into the nave with narrow side aisles and through to the chancel, is essentially the same in both churches. Additional features of each design differ. The New York church comprises a large chapel on the left hand side of the nave, while in the Montreal church, a smaller Chapel of Youth with its own tiny raised chancel extends on the right of the nave (Fig. A34). Both plans include the church offices at the back of the church to the left of the chancel. Fetherstonhaugh's plan indicates the L-shaped projection of these large facilities which create a small courtyard accessible from the semi-circular drive and porte cochère on the side elevation. Fetherstonhaugh's plan also features an exceptionally wide nave, achieved through the elimination of transepts. The architect disclosed his reasons in a description of the Church published in the JRAIC (Nov. 1932).

Entering largely into the general plan were the following conditions -- the ritual and form of service of this church (Presbyterian), an unobstructed view of the pulpit and communion table for all the congregation. . . . Accepting the unobstructed view as essential, transepts were definitely abandoned, and a nave forty-eight feet four inches wide by one-hundred and forty-six feet in length, including the gallery, provided the stated seating arrangements.²⁰¹

The nave's dramatic breadth and height (70 feet at the apex) is accentuated through the use of smoothly dressed limestone piers and arches, tiled walls, and a

²⁰¹ JRAIC (Nov. 1932): 240.

restrained and elegant program of decoration.²⁰⁴ The ribs and intersections of the vaulted plaster ceiling are stencilled in subdued colours with symbolic emblems of the universe in the following formation: star – moon – fish – sun – water – beast – flower – bird – tree. The chancel vaulting features similar rows of stencils: cross – dove – crown – chalice – IHS – crown – chalice – star.²⁰⁵ Pews in white oak are stained nut-brown and soberly carved. Ornamental lanterns formed by clusters of mica cylinders are suspended from the ceiling at regular intervals and can be controlled by a dimmer switch to reduce the lighting during the service. The aisles and narthex are floored in polished Crab Orchard stone.

The prominent chancel is distinguished by the large Black Watch memorial window (Fig. A7, see window 1, Chapter 7).²⁰⁶ A communion table, carved in stark white limestone, gleams against the surrounding woodwork (Fig. 36). On either side of the chancel double arches in stone frame the organ chambers which are screened in carved oak. Five types of marble, including Numidian red, Belgian black, Correntville, Alps Green, and Sienna, and green slate were used to create decorative mosaic patterns on the chancel floor and steps. The many smooth and polished

²⁰⁴ The nave walls are faced in "Akoustolith" tile; the chancel area is lined with Guastavino plaster tile.

²⁰⁵ See items #338, 339, Job 303, Fetherstonhaugh Collection 81203/1, National Map Collection, NAC.

²⁰⁶ Chancels were currently regarded as an indispensable element in ecclesiastical designs -- for any denomination. "The reasons (for the chancel) are artistic, ecclesiastical, religious, and practical. There are no sound arguments against it. It dignifies the small chapel, it is necessary in the great cathedral-like church." W.M. Birks, *The Chancel Before and After* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, [1947]).

surfaces of the church and its furnishings lend a tactile quality to the interior which can only be described as glamorous. Like other architectural projects of the 1920s and 1930s, such as the imposing vestibules of office buildings and hotels or extravagantly outfitted banking halls; the attention given to lavish materials and the geometric precision of their finishes is reminiscent of a particular period aesthetic and suggestive of a cinematic influence.

The interior decorative program of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul also owes a debt to St. Thomas's. The elegantly carved wooden details of the elder's stalls in the chancel (Fig. 36) were inspired by examples in the New York church.²⁰⁷ The pierced cresting and traceried arches of the canopies above the stalls terminate in small sculpted heads, each one slightly different from its neighbour. Similar sculpted heads ornament the choir room of St. Thomas's church.²⁰⁸

Additional components of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul can be traced to the New York visit. For example, the Committee was impressed by the elaborate sound amplification system planned for Riverside Church (1930) by Allen & Collens, Henry C. Pelton, and Burnham Hoyt, on Riverside Drive between W. 120th and W. 122nd streets, and subsequently hired the same firm, Bludworth Inc., to implement a

²⁰⁷ Richard Bolton recalls that the woodcarving of the stalls was executed by G.H. Randall Co., under the direction of Stanley Foster.

²⁰⁸ See illustration in "The Story of St. Thomas' Church," Architectural Record 35 (February 1914): 131.

similar remote control system.²⁰⁹ The carved wooden canopy over the pulpit (which contained a loudspeaker) is a reduced copy of one in use at Riverside Church (Fig. 33).²¹⁰ A specific use of material resulting from the trip was Guastavino acoustic tile, which had been used to advantage in St. Thomas's Church.²¹¹

The processional aspect of the long nave and its wide centre aisle was essential for the many ceremonies associated with the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. As the Regimental Church of the Black Watch Royal Highland Regiment of Canada, the church displays the Colours no longer used by the Regiment which are deposited periodically in special services. The Colours are hung from iron standards on the walls of the nave and chancel. On the left hand side are the Regimental Colours; on the right, the Sovereign's Colours. Brass memorial plaques honouring the war dead of the Regiment are fastened to the chancel walls. The most famous of the ceremonies associated with the Black Watch (R.H.R.) was the Regimental Church Parade on 10

²⁰⁹ At a meeting of the Building Committee held in Fetherstonhaugh's office on 30 April, 1931, a representative from Bludworth Inc. described the system at Riverside in great detail. "Minutes of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941," 45.

²¹⁰ The stone pulpit and canopy are illustrated in Birks, *The Chancel Before and After*, chapter VII, fig. E, unpaginated.

²¹¹ Raphael Guastavino (1872-1950), a manufacturer of clay products, developed a system of thin tile vaulting used by architects to span large interior spaces. "The Guastavino vaults were of a . . . monolithic shell-like construction which creates very little horizontal thrust . . . the remarkable structural qualities of the tile vaults reduce the amount of mass required in the structural piers and thus eliminate the need for flying buttresses. This resolved a number of constructional problems resulting from the harsh North American winter." Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue*, 56.

June 1962 in honour of Her Majesty the Queen Mother, Colonel-in-Chief of the Black Watch of Canada.²¹²

As specified by the trustees, the stained glass memorials from the two former churches were incorporated into the side chambers of the narthex, the Chapel of Youth, and the walls of the nave. A large clerestory series with pale leaded glass also illuminated the church. Memorial plaques and tablets were designated for a single location, an octagonal Memorial Room at the base of the tower which effectively honoured past patrons. Current patrons, such as the Allan family, were celebrated in the fabric of the new building. Examples include a sailing ship carved in stone over the entrance to the vestry and church offices -- a reference to the Allan Shipping Line.

The entire commission illustrates an exceptional concern for detail and craftsmanship. Numerous detail drawings determined every aspect of the sophisticated finish. The highest quality materials were consistently used in conjunction with the most up-to-date construction methods. Anglin-Norcross Limited were the contractors for the project. They, in turn, sub-contracted work to numerous prominent firms and craftsmen.²¹³ Despite the extensive use of traditional craftsmanship, the building

²¹² For a description of this and other ceremonies see Colonel Paul P. Hutchison, Canada's Black Watch: The First Hundred Years 1862-1962 (Montreal: The Black Watch (R.H.R.) of Canada, 1962, 1987).

²¹³ These included Casavant Bros. Limited for a new organ, one of the three largest in the city; Henry Morgan & Company Limited for wooden pews and various furnishings; Lincoln G. Morris for electrical lighting fixtures and handwrought iron standards for the regimental colours; Wallace Sandstone Quarries Limited of Phillipsburg, Quebec, for the handsomely carved marble table in the Chapel of Youth; G.H. Randall & Co. for the

rests on a reinforced concrete and steel frame (Figs. 38, 39). The distinction was such that the Canada Cement Company saw fit to advertise this feature in *Construction* magazine. The advertisement also stated:

Built with concrete, St. Andrew's and St. Paul's combines massiveness with beauty of line. It is fire-safe. And it has provided a maximum of all-Canadian employment at a time when work in Canada was needed most.²¹³

The building project was complicated and immense. Finally, after three full years of planning and construction, the preparation of hundreds of architectural drawings,²¹⁴ and an expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars, the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul was dedicated on 21 September 1932.²¹⁵

The completed work received the highest critical acclaim. It won the First Award for ecclesiastical buildings from the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in

woodcarving of the chancel furniture; Hubert B. Tompkins, Carver and Modeller for the plaster scale models for the sculpted figures of St. Andrew and St. Paul which flank the entrance porch, the R. Guastavino Company and Akoustilith Plaster for acoustic tiles and plaster; Blutworth, Inc. for the amplification system; and Ritchie Cut Stone Co. Limited, in Hamilton, Ontario, suppliers of the Indiana limestone. McDougall & Friedman, Consulting Engineers, were in charge of plumbing and ventilation specifications, as well as electrical specifications; the latter pertaining to the power system, lighting and dimmer switches, a control panel at the organ, thermostatic control, signal system and doorbells, public address system, and telephones.

²¹⁴ *Construction* (Oct. 1932).

²¹⁵ Over four hundred drawings have been catalogued. Job #303, H.L. Fetherstonhaugh Collection, 81203/1, National Map Collection, NAC.

²¹⁶ Of the \$805,736. spent on the new Church, \$740,925. was paid to the contractor Anglin-Norcross Corporation Limited, and \$46,983 was listed as the architect's fees. "Statement of Expenses in Connection with the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul Certified in the Architect's Office," 7 February 1933. An Anglin-Norcross statement dated 4 August 1932 lists the architect's fees as \$50,000. Box #1, File 2, Job 303, MG 31 B 38, Fetherstonhaugh Collection 81203/1, Manuscript Division, NAC.

1932.²¹⁷ The design had been exhibited under the title "the Cathedral Church of St Andrew and St. Paul" in the architecture section of the Forty-seventh Spring Exhibition of the Montreal Art Association (M.A.A.) in 1930.²¹⁸ Fetherstonhaugh submitted three large photographs of the exterior and interior of the completed church to the Fiftieth Spring Exhibition of the M.A.A. held in 1933.²¹⁹ Subsequent features of the church's design were lauded, such as a memorial screen donated for the Chapel by Lady Meredith, which won an honourable mention for metalwork craftsmanship at the RAIC exhibition of 1933 (Fig. A35, see item 21, Chapter 7).²²⁰ A later design for a chancel gates and railing by Fetherstonhaugh and Durnford was exhibited at the Fifty-sixth Spring Exhibition of the M.A.A. in 1939 (Fig. A36, see item 22, Chapter 7).²²¹ The commission for the Church also received wide and detailed coverage in the popular press, and in architectural journals such as the *JRAIC* and *Construction*. The latter stated:

²¹⁷ *JRAIC* (Nov. 1932): 240-247.

²¹⁸ The design for the church was listed under H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, Item 215. The exhibition was held 21 March - 21 April 1930. The Montreal Art Association is now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

²¹⁹ The photographs were listed under H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, Items 370, 371, and 372. They are now contained in the Archives, SSAP.

²²⁰ It was listed simply under the name of Fetherstonhaugh, although Harold Stout, a draughtsman for the firm had designed the screen, and Paul Beau had crafted it by hand. See *JRAIC* (Dec. 1933): 196, 205. The drawings for the screen are Items 359, 365, 366, 367, Job 303, in the Fetherstonhaugh Collection 81203/1, National Map Collection, NAC.

²²¹ The design was listed under Fetherstonhaugh & Durnford, Item 319. The chancel railing, completed in 1938, was illustrated in the *JRAIC* 21 (March 1944): 54

A . . . study of the new building for the use of the congregation of St. Andrew and St. Paul shows the careful attention which has been given to the problems involved, and the measure of success which has been attained. It is a building which is eminently practical, the component parts of a truly modern church development of large dimensions having been excellently and economically correlated. . . . The building represents the successful adaptation of the very best traditions in ecclesiastical architecture and is one of the outstanding achievements in the church architecture of the Dominion.²²²

Despite an uncertain economic climate and financial difficulties for many members of the congregation who had to honour pre-Depression subscriptions for the new church, the great expense of the building could in part be justified by the large number of people employed in its construction. It was the indomitable pride and tenacity of the church trustees, however, which proved the determining factor in seeing a project of this magnitude to completion.

The dedication of the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul represented an unbroken tradition of one hundred and twenty-five years of ecclesiastical building in the city, from the opening of the first modest church of the joint congregation in 1807 to the final splendid church building of 1932. The entire pattern of relocation, rebuilding, and renewal of membership engaged in by these congregations is highly representative of other churches in the city and therefore provides a model for study.

Within that span of time, Montreal had developed into an international city with a generous stock of churches of every denomination. The five churches built for the congregations of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's are notable not only for their historic

²²² Sinaiticus, "Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal," Construction (October 1932): 230.

value, but also for the commitment of their trustees and building committees to the religious and social community of the city, and to excellence in architecture.

In the intervening period, many churches have lost the battle to stay alive in the downtown core of the city. Others are still struggling. Fortunately, the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul is more than a landmark. It remains a vibrant city church committed to the future of its congregation, while at the same time accepting of the multifaceted challenge of historic preservation.

PART II

MEMORIALS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. PAUL

CHAPTER 6

OVERVIEW OF MEMORIALS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. PAUL

Memorials in stained glass, metal work, stone carving, textiles, and other media, form a significant aspect of church architecture and decoration. In the widest context, they represent prevailing taste and religious sensibilities. More important, memorials are the direct contribution of individual members of a congregation to the fabric of a church building.

Such individual choices, particularly in the area of commemorative stained glass, contribute to our understanding of aesthetic preferences, social status, religious beliefs, attitudes towards death, and issues of patronage. Moreover, because memorials are added to a church over a period of decades, they record changing influences in aesthetic appreciation. Like the elements of architecture, memorials are invested with meaning and it only remains for the researcher to identify the layers of allusion.

This chapter presents an overview of important memorials in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, which are catalogued in the following chapter. Most were transferred from two former church buildings belonging to the individual congregations. St. Andrew's Church, completed in 1851, stood on the corner of Beaver Hall Hill and LaGauchetière streets. St. Paul's, erected in 1868, was a short

distance away on the corner of Dorchester and St. Monica streets. Both were influential Presbyterian churches with a predominantly Scottish membership. Each maintained close links to Scotland, usually insisting on 'imported' Scottish ministers. St. Andrew's maintained a connection to the Church of Scotland long after most congregations had joined together and formed the Presbyterian Church of Canada. St. Paul's had joined the Union in 1875. Both congregations had as members a large number of prominent Canadians who were major forces in Canadian industry and business during an unprecedented period of expansion. They also funded and organized a wide variety of charitable and educational institutions in Montreal, including the Royal Victoria and Montreal General Hospitals, an endowment for a Chair at the Presbyterian College, the Trafalgar Institute for Girls, and the Art Association of Montreal (now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts).²²³ Many members of the church amassed important collections of British and European art.²²⁴

In 1918, St. Andrew's congregation gave up their church and joined the congregation of St. Paul's, forming the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. The memorials from St. Andrew's, including commemorative plaques and two stained glass windows, (see windows 8 and 11) were transferred to St. Paul's in 1921. In 1930 the church and its land were expropriated by Canadian National Railways to make way for

²²³ Sir George Stephen and Sir Donald Smith contributed the sum of one million dollars in 1885 for the construction of the Royal Victoria Hospital. G. Colborne Heine, "Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Church," Church Magazine, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul (October 1926), 7.

²²⁴ See Brooke, Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920, 26-30, 243.

a new terminal. A major architectural competition was held for a new church building with the stipulation that all memorials were to be incorporated in the design.

The new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul was completed in 1932, on the corner of Sherbrooke and Redpath streets in downtown Montreal. The former memorials formed part of the decorative program. A total of eighteen stained glass windows were placed in the nave, the children's chapel, and over the chancel and church entrance. Among these were two windows dating from 1872 from St. Andrew's Church, thirteen windows dating 1870–1907, originating from St. Paul's, and two windows dated 1921 and 1925, which were commissioned for the joint congregation. The eighteenth window was a composite, formed from panels of glass removed from the 1925 Barclay window, and new glass (see chronological summary of memorials, Fig. 1). Although many of the windows were altered to conform to the new location, in general the transition was highly successful, and a rich heritage was preserved. Brass and stone memorial plaques from the former church buildings were set into the walls of a Memorial Room at the base of the church tower, and in the narthex. St. Andrew's church bell was installed in the new tower (item 20).

The new church inspired further memorials, including a wrought-iron screen and chancel gates, a hymn-board, and a late tapestry by Morris & Co. woven at Merton Abbey. These objects which date from 1933–1948, represent significant contributions to the furnishings of the new church.

Several recent memorials fall outside the limits of this thesis, which concludes with the construction and furnishing of the present church building. They include a

variety of church silver: flower vases, bowls and communion sets, as well as paintings and furnishings.

The foremost of these was a series of ten stained glass windows designed for the clerestory in the 1960s by Lawrence Lee, A.R.C.A. Lee was the director of the Stained Glass Department of the Royal College of Art in London, England, and had recently completed an extensive series of windows for Coventry Cathedral. Although the new windows were memorials, inscriptions were not included in their design. Instead the donors were recorded in a Memorial Book, which featured watercolour renderings of the windows by Lee, and calligraphy by Sheila Waters. The book is on view in a stone display case designed by architect Galt Durnford, and is housed appropriately in the Memorial Room. Each new window for the clerestory was dedicated in a special Church service, beginning auspiciously on 10 June 1962, when the first window was unveiled by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother.

The clerestory series represents the culmination of a long tradition of artistic patronage by individual members of the congregation. The fashion for memorials faded over the years and was replaced by fund-raising campaigns.

The following catalogue raisonné includes entries on the history and provenance of the stained glass, metalwork, and tapestry memorials. Of these, it is the series of windows which provides the richest area for study. The program of glazing in the church represents the gradual accumulation of memorials between 1870 and 1925 (excluding the composite window of 1932).

A brief discussion of the history of stained glass will help to illuminate the context in which these windows were commissioned and executed. Of primary importance in this respect is an understanding of Presbyterian attitudes toward church decoration during this period. Like the introduction of organs and choral music into Presbyterian churches, the question of stained glass was a contentious issue. Opinions on the propriety of these practices (in the context of Presbyterian liturgy) were hotly debated and often led to divisions and secessions amongst congregations. In Scotland stained glass had been regarded as idolatrous for centuries and had been banished from Presbyterian churches since the Reformation. This view was gradually overturned during the Gothic revival, when the craft of stained glass was revived. The emergence of stained glass windows in English churches in the 1840s had a profound impact on church decoration.

The new churches and practices of rival denominations were carefully gauged by the Presbyterians. As one source explains: "The richness of Episcopalian appointments may have emboldened Presbyterians to enliven the drab interiors that were a background to their preaching, praying and still unaccompanied singing."²⁵ Ecclesiastical stained glass was reintroduced in Scotland at Glasgow Cathedral in 1854 and had appeared in Edinburgh by 1857, when Old Greyfriars Church was restored

²⁵ John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, and David Walker, *Edinburgh, The Buildings of Scotland Series* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984), 41.

with eight stained glass windows by James Ballantine, the glazier responsible for many of the windows in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.²²⁶

The paucity of Canadian literature on the subject makes it difficult to outline the introduction of stained glass into Canadian churches. It is known that native studios like J.C. Spence in Montreal and McCausland in Toronto were producing stained glass as early as 1855. A comprehensive study of eighty windows in Quebec City, undertaken by Ginette LaRoche, lists the dates for the earliest windows in an Anglican church as 1863–1866, and the earliest in a Presbyterian church as 1875.²²⁷

In general, the windows in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul follow the example of Scottish Presbyterian churches with a delay of about ten years. This is certainly due to the abundance of imported Scottish windows in the series, but it also reflects a close allegiance to the parent country and its traditions. The earliest Presbyterian windows were abstract patterns of coloured glass (see windows 2 & 18) which rapidly evolved into figural representations of biblical scenes, and depictions of saints (see windows 8, 12, & 14 for the former, 1 & 10 for latter).²²⁸

²²⁶ *ibid.*, and Painton Cowen, A Guide to Stained Glass in Britain (London: Michael Joseph, 1985), 232.

²²⁷ Ginette Laroche, "Les 'Memorial Windows,' Une Mémoire de Verre," The Journal of Canadian Art History, IX, no. 2 (1986): 97–141. During the 1860s and 1870s thousands of English windows were imported for American churches. See Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "A New Renaissance: Stained Glass in the Aesthetic Period," In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement, exhib. cat. (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 177.

²²⁸ Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, Edinburgh, 41.

Stained Glass Studios

By consulting the chronological summary of memorials (Fig. A1), we see that up to nine windows were ordered from the Scottish firm of Ballantine, two were commissioned from Morris & Co. in England, one was made by an unidentified American firm, and the remaining six windows were ordered from local firms in Montreal; J.C. Spence and Castle & Son.

Since information on the majority of Victorian stained glass studios is not readily available, an account of these firms follows so that the reader can more fully understand the provenance of these memorials.

Ballantine

Ballantine of Edinburgh was the studio of choice for St. Paul's Church.²²⁹ Memorials were commissioned from the firm on a steady basis for five decades spanning the 1870s to the 1920s. The program of glazing in the church therefore offers a singular opportunity to study the evolution of design within this Scottish studio.

²²⁹ The firm was originally located in Carrubers Close off High Street, Edinburgh. See Michael Donnelly, *Glasgow Stained Glass: A Preliminary Study* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1981): 5. According to Ian Gow, Curator, RCAHMS, the firm was later located at 42 George Street, Edinburgh.

The firm underwent several incarnations or name changes. The first, Ballantine & Allan, was founded in Edinburgh in 1837.²³⁰ James Ballantine (1808–1877) is listed in The Dictionary of National Biography:

an artist and man of letters, born at Edinburgh in 1808, was entirely a self-made man. His first occupation was that of a house-painter. He learned drawing under Sir William Allan at the Trustees' Gallery in Edinburgh, and was one of the first to revive the art of glass-painting. . . . [he] was appointed by the royal commissioners on the fine arts to execute the stained-glass windows for the House of Lords. . . . He was the author of several popular works. . . . There is also a volume of verses published by Ballantine in Jamaica, whither in later life he seems to have retired for the benefit of his health. . . . He was the head of the firm of Messrs. Ballantine, glass stainers, Edinburgh.²³¹

According to another source, Ballantine & Allan won a competition for stained glass for the new Houses of Parliament in London in 1843; but ultimately only contributed some of the windows for the House of Lords.²³² In 1845 James Ballantine

²³⁰ Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, Edinburgh, 44, lists a founding date of 1828. The authors point out that *Ballantine* was the spelling listed in the Post Office directories, but that windows were usually signed *Ballantyne*. This explains the use of both spellings in archival references at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), 21, lists the founding date of the firm as 1837, as do other sources.

²³¹ The Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to 1900, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 999–1000.

²³² Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, 21. Pugin was not impressed with Ballantine's work at the Houses of Parliament, and made the following disparaging remark about an upcoming commission for St. Margaret's church in Edinburgh, "Ballantyne ought to do the windows for next to nothing -- for the advantage of having good cartoons to work to -- for he is ignorant of the first principles of stained glass, and it goes rather against my grain supplying these people with all the cream of my labours." Letter from Pugin to Bishop James Gillis, quoted in Joseph Sharples, "A.W. Pugin and the Patronage of Bishop James Gillis," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 28 (1985): 140. I am grateful to Ian Gow for this reference.

published one of the earliest books on the history and technique of stained glass, entitled A Treatise on Painted Glass.²³³ About this time, the firm contributed four heraldic windows to the Scott Monument in Edinburgh.²³⁴ It has been pointed out that:

Ballantine's own studio style of the time, although severely restricted by the poor quality of available glasses, was firmly based on an enlightened reinterpretation of the lively glass-painting styles of the 15th century.²³⁵

Ballantine & Allan were among twenty-five stained glass studios to submit designs to the Great Exhibition of 1851, held at the Crystal Palace in London.²³⁶ Their contribution was listed as "Stained glass, Elizabethan style & Stained Glass, decorated style."²³⁷

By the 1850s the firm was producing a variety of stained glass for churches in Edinburgh, such as the earliest examples of Presbyterian glass in the city at Greyfriars church; colourful mosaic glass for St. John Episcopal Church; and 'naive' figural glass for Newhaven Parish Church in 1858.²³⁸ Many outstanding stained glass designers and artists received their training in Ballantine's studio, including Francis Wilson

²³³ Michael Donnelly calls this "slim volume" a "courageous if inadequate attempt to supply some basic information on the subject." Glasgow Stained Glass, 5.

²³⁴ Cowen, A Guide to Stained Glass in Britain, 232.

²³⁵ Donnelly, 5.

²³⁶ The firms are listed in Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass, 23-24

²³⁷ A.C. Sewter, "Victorian Stained Glass," Apollo 76 (December 1962): 762.

²³⁸ See Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker for a description of these churches

Oliphant (1818–1859) who later designed for William Wailes and A.W.N. Pugin.²³⁹

George Allan left in 1860, and the firm continued as Ballantine & Son for the next 32 years. During the 1870s Ballantine & Son was commissioned by St. Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh for several windows including heraldic glass for the clerestory, and a scheme for the choir windows. Also included were two windows dating from 1876, illustrating the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, and the parable of the talents.²⁴⁰ The identical subjects were made for St. Paul's Church at this time, indicating the possible re-use of cartoons for windows (see windows 12 & 14).

James Ballantine died in 1877 and his son Alexander continued the family business. Additional windows were commissioned for St. Giles Cathedral, including an 1888 example illustrating scenes from the life of St. Paul, a subject which was later reproduced at St. Paul's Church in 1900 (see window 10).

In 1892 Ballantine went into partnership with Gardiner, an association which lasted until 1905. Of note were a series of sixteen windows for St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, where Ballantine was an elder of the church.²⁴¹ Alexander then resumed the name of Ballantine & Son by entering into partnership with his own son, James Ballantine II. Although Alexander died a year later, the firm retained the name until 1918. From that point until the mid 1930s James Ballantine II continued the

²³⁹ Donnelly, 5.

²⁴⁰ The windows are listed under the entry for St. Giles Cathedral in Gifford, McWilliam and Walker.

²⁴¹ "Report on the Hope Memorial Window," in Annual Report, 1900, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. Archives, SSAP. This report is quoted extensively in the documentation for window 10. See also Cowen, 234.

stained glass studio.²⁴² He was responsible for war memorials in stained glass at Morningside Parish Church, and St. Paul's, Newington, near Edinburgh. He also designed and executed the McLennan or Black Watch memorial window for St. Paul's Church in Montreal. Installed with great ceremony in 1921, this large window must be considered one of his major works (see window 1).

Stained glass was commissioned from Ballantine for numerous churches outside of Edinburgh, including St. Michael's Church at Linlithgow and Liverpool Cathedral. Their work also appears elsewhere in Canada, notably at Holy Trinity Church in Toronto, however no documentation or list of their windows has been compiled to date.²⁴³ Several attempts have been made to locate the archives of the firm in Scotland, with no success.²⁴⁴

The firm has been described as "ever reliable but never brilliant, the Ballantines were purveyors of any approved style to any denomination, the quality

²⁴² This information has been gathered from the description of churches, and index of artists (p. 691) in Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, Edinburgh.

²⁴³ I am grateful to Shirley Brown, Director of the Registry of Stained Glass Windows in Canada for the reference to Holy Trinity Church.

²⁴⁴ The Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh was not able to trace any records of the Ballantine firm in their holdings, nor in the index to surveys of privately-held material compiled by the National Register of Archives. Letter to the author from Mrs. Jane M. Hill, Scottish Record Office, 1 February 1993. According to the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, no body of archive from the Ballantine firm has survived. Letter to the author from Ian Gow, Curator, RCAHMS, 8 February 1993.

apparently varying according to price."²⁴⁵ The merits of their exported (and expensive) work to Canada should be judged accordingly.

Morris & Co.

A striking pair of memorials in the church were commissioned by the Allan family from Morris & Co. in 1885 and 1903 (see windows 4 & 5). The windows of this renowned firm have been meticulously documented in A.C. Sewter, The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle. The memorials, made to designs by Edward Burne-Jones, are the finest windows in the church. They display the artist's characteristic Pre-Raphaelite imagery, superb drawing, and colour harmonies. The compositions which portray figures against a vibrantly patterned background of scrolled foliage, demonstrate changes in stained glass design which were implemented by the Morris studio and widely copied. In such examples the canopy-work, pedestals, and borders typical of nineteenth-century English glass have been abandoned.

With the exception of one unidentified American-made example, the remainder of the church's windows can be attributed to Canadian stained glass studios.

J.C. Spence & Son

A pair of stained glass memorials was designed and executed in 1872 by John C. Spence of Montreal for members of the Mathieson family (see windows 8 & 11).

²⁴⁵ Edinburgh, 44.

The Alexander and Catherine Mathieson window, commemorating the minister of St. Andrew's church and his wife, contains a rare and unusually effective memorial device: two photographic portraits on glass made by William Notman's photography studio in Montreal. Although the quality of these windows is not comparable to British examples found elsewhere in the church, they are a valuable resource for the study of Canadian glass, especially for the early and innovative use of photography.

John C. Spence (c.1829–1891) is said to have founded "the oldest stained glass manufactory in the Dominion."²⁴⁶ Spence was the only Canadian glazier to exhibit at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1855. Examples of his work were also included in the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibitions of 1855 and 1857, and the Quebec Provincial Exhibition of 1859.²⁴⁷

The firm was open for business in Montreal by 1856, and a year later Spence published an advertisement in the Canada Directory of 1857–1858 for the "Canada Stained & Ornamental Glass Works, located at 21 Notre Dame Street." Among a lengthy list of the firm's products:

. . . every Description of Stained, Painted, Embossed, Cut and Figured Enamelled Glass, For Windows of Churches, Public Buildings, Hotels, Steamboats . . . Leaded Windows in Cathedrals and Ground Glass for

²⁴⁶ J. Douglas Borthwick, History of Montreal, Including the Streets of Montreal: Their Origin and History (Montreal: D. Gallagher, 1897), 156. The Notman Photographic Archives contain two portraits of John Spence and his family, see Portraits, (1861) 0.293.1, and (1872) 79782-I.

²⁴⁷ J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 295; and Gerald Stevens, Early Canadian Glass (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited, 1967), 111.

Churches &c, &c, . . . Specimens may be seen at the Office (Montreal, October, 1857).²⁴⁸

In 1860, Spence entered into a short-lived partnership with John McArthur and moved his premises to 118 McGill Street. By 1862–1863, the firm was listed in the Montreal Directory as "John C. Spence, glass stainer, &c, 52 Great St. James Street."²⁴⁹

Shortly thereafter, Spence moved his workshop again, to the corner of Bleury and Jurors Streets, where it remained for several decades.²⁵⁰ Spence was noted as the glazier for the second St. Paul's Church in 1868, to which he contributed a series of patterned windows.²⁵¹ The firm may have received commissions for two additional stained glass windows at St. Paul's which commemorated past ministers, the Reverend Robert McGill, and the Reverend Edward Black. The memorials which feature colourful patterns of decorative strapwork, date from 1870 and 1879 respectively (see windows 2 & 18).

In 1876, J.C. Spence exhibited stained glass at the Philadelphia Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition.²⁵² His sons, William R. and Henry J. Spence joined the firm as partners during the 1880s. J.C. Spence & Sons routinely advertised in the Canadian

²⁴⁸ The advertisement is quoted in full in Stevens, Early Canadian Glass, 112. An advertisement in Borthwick states the business was founded in 1856, see page 282.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 113.

²⁵⁰ Montreal Directory 1872–1873 (Montreal: John Lovell's, 1872); Borthwick, History of Montreal, 156.

²⁵¹ Montreal Herald Illustrated Edition, March 1867. These windows are not extant.

²⁵² Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, 295.

Architect and Builder (Fig. 4)²⁵³. In 1885 and 1889, designs for stained glass were submitted to the Art Association of Montreal's Annual Spring Exhibitions.²⁵⁴ John Spence died in 1891, and the studio was continued by his sons. They received an award for stained glass at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.²⁵⁵ In 1897, an advertisement for the firm stated, "this is one of the most successful firms in Montreal, engaged in the manufacture of ecclesiastical and domestic stained glass, church furnishings and decorations. The business occupies two spacious floors 75 x 30 feet in area . . ."²⁵⁶ J.C. Spence & Sons was dissolved in the 1920s.²⁵⁷

The studio appears to have been highly successful and deserves to be more fully studied. From various sources (listed in the reference notes and bibliography), it has been possible to locate some of the firm's stained glass memorials: the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, St. George's Anglican Church, Holy Trinity Church (Église Saint-Sauveur)²⁵⁸, and Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal; St. James Anglican

²⁵³ CAB 1 (September 1888), 10. I am grateful to Father Kent Doe of the Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa for allowing me to consult the late Michael Newton's 1988 report on St. Alban's, which contains references to Spence in the CAB; see also vol. 2 (1889) 128; vol. 3 (1890), 71; vol. 10 (1897), 56.

²⁵⁴ Evelyn de R. McMann, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts formerly Art Association of Montreal: Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

²⁵⁵ Borthwick, 282.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ The last reference for the firm is in Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1919-1920, cited in Ginette Laroche, "Les 'Memorial Windows,' The Journal of Canadian Art History, 138.

²⁵⁸ Spence is listed as the glazier for Lawford & Nelson's Holy Trinity Church in the Montreal Gazette Illustrated Supplement, 25 December 1865, 6.

Church, Hudson Heights; Holy Trinity Cathedral, St. Matthew's, and St. Andrew's in Quebec City; the Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa; St. George's Chapel, Kingston; and Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City. Work by Spence may also be found in churches in Lennoxville, Stanbridge East, Chambly, and Sutton, Quebec.²⁵⁹ Spence's work for the Bishop Strachan Church in Cornwall, Ontario was noted in the Canadian Illustrated News which stated:

Several of the windows (which are all filled with stained glass) are very beautiful in design. . . by Mr. J.C. Spence of Montreal, so well known in this department of art, throughout Canada and the United States.²⁶⁰

Castle & Son

Two of the church's windows can be attributed to Castle & Son, a firm which specialized in the decoration of private residences and churches (see windows 3 & 13). The firm was established in Montreal by Thomas Castle in 1865.²⁶¹ By 1879 the studio was located at 40 Bleury street (not far from J.C. Spence & Sons). Castle's sons, William T. and Montague, worked for the firm at various times. Montague Castle was also a painter, and had studied in Florence under V.G. Stiepeveich, and in

²⁵⁹ Rosalind Pepall, "Stained Glass Windows in Montreal at the Turn of the Century." Bulletin, The Association for Preservation Technology 13, no. 3 (1981), 49. A three-light window for a Lennoxville church is illustrated in Borthwick, History of Montreal, 157.

²⁶⁰ Canadian Illustrated News 12 (11 December 1875): 371.

²⁶¹ This date was listed in an advertisement for the firm in the Canadian Architect and Builder 2 (November 1889), iv.

Paris, where he won a prize for drawing.²⁶² By 1884 the firm advertised the making of stained glass memorials. During the 1880s and 1890s they routinely advertised in the Canadian Architect and Builder, highlighting their stained glass production (Fig. 4).

Castle & Son submitted designs for stained glass to the Spring Exhibition of the Art Association of Montreal in 1885 ("St. John"); in 1889 ("Courtship of Gabriel" & "Longfellow's Evangeline"); and in 1901. Stained glass designs by Montague Castle were exhibited at the 1888 and 1891 Spring Exhibitions.²⁶³ Castle & Son were responsible for an extensive program of decoration, including the stencilling of the walls and ceilings, at St. Paul's Church in 1889, about the time their first stained glass memorial was made for the church. By 1894, the firm was listed as "Painters, Glass Stainers, Church Furnishers" and their premises had moved to 20 University street.²⁶⁴ Castle & Son frequently worked with local architects as interior decorators and cabinet-makers.²⁶⁵ The firm continued well into the twentieth century (see item 23).

²⁶² Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, 60. Harper notes that an 1899 advertisement stated that a member of the firm had studied for six years in France. This was almost certainly a reference to Montague Castle -- the CAB noted that he won a prize for drawing in Paris. CAB 6 (April 1893): 47.

²⁶³ McMann, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Spring Exhibitions.

²⁶⁴ Montreal Directory 1894-1895 (Montreal: Lovell's, 1894).

²⁶⁵ The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, exhib. cat., ed. Harold Kalman and Susan Wagg (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 47.

The stained glass produced by this prominent and diversified Montreal firm has also not been catalogued. Therefore only a small portion of their work can be accounted for. This includes domestic glass for the Louis-Joseph Forget house in Montreal,²⁶⁶ two memorials for St. Paul's Church described below, and stained glass made for Joliette College (1887), Joliette Cathedral; (1894) and Lotbinière Church (1900) in Quebec.²⁶⁷

American innovations in opalescent glass are represented by a single window in the Church, the Greenshields memorial, made about 1892 (see window 16). A definite attribution is not possible at present, however one authority has suggested the New York firm of J. & R. Lamb (see window 16).

Methodology

The methodology employed to research the history and provenance of the church's memorials took several directions. The primary focus was a search for documentation in the church archives. A variety of materials proved to be significant. The minute books of the trustees were a particularly important resource, for as custodians of the church building they received the formal requests for memorials. This correspondence, copied into the Minutes, occasionally reveals the name of the

²⁶⁶ This window is illustrated in The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell, 64, cat. 44f.

²⁶⁷ Harper, 60.

stained glass artist or related details of a commission. The minute books of the Kirk Session, the body in the church which regulates liturgical issues, periodically yielded similar information. A particularly useful source was a manuscript by James Croil, an Elder of St. Paul's, entitled "Early Church Records." As longtime editor of *The Presbyterian*, a biographer, and prolific author on Canadian Presbyterian history, it is safe to assume that his recollections are accurate. Annual Reports, published by the Church, often included an update of recent gifts, which helped to pinpoint the precise date that a window or other memorial would have been installed. These materials not only furnished details of provenance; they also expressed changing attitudes toward church decoration and the function of memorials.

For example, a speech given at the 1867 corner stone ceremony for the second St. Paul's Church reflects the gradual appreciation that decorative churches could be harmonious with Presbyterian ideology:

. . . Suitable and even elegant churches have their value, and that a high value, for the purpose of giving outward dignity and influence of religion.²⁶⁸

In responding to a request for a window in 1882, the trustees stated:

. . . in communicating this resolution . . . intimate to Mrs. Redpath and those concerned the thanks of the trustees for their intention to perpetuate the memory of Mr. W.W. Redpath in this way which will also they feel assured add greatly to the beauty of the Church.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 10 June 1867.

²⁶⁹ "Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899," entry for 6 June 1882.

A report on the Hope window in 1900 clarifies an important aspect of memorials:

The window is greatly admired and grows in beauty the more it is studied. It is a most helpful incentive to devotional spirit and life, and the donor's name will be ever gratefully remembered.²⁷⁰

On Easter Sunday, 1925, a stained glass window commemorating the Reverend James Barclay was unveiled and dedicated. An address by the Reverend Dr. D.J. Fraser, Principal of Presbyterian College, McGill University, is quoted in the Annual Report:

The window speaks for itself in expressing the affectionate and grateful regard of many of his former parishioners . . . and a few other friends, who could not be content until they had placed in the scene of his conspicuous ministry a worthy tribute to his service to this congregation and community.

Lord Altholstan, a member of the church, was called upon to give his remarks:

Those of us who knew and loved Dr. Barclay have little need of a memorial in stained glass, however beautiful it may be. Our beloved pastor was the sort of man who leaves a lasting memorial in the sorrowing hearts of his people. . . . This memorial window, which is to be unveiled this morning, has only one mission. It cannot make our departed friend dearer to us. It can only tell future generations that the men and women who in his day worshipped in this place loved sincerely and remembered as long as they lived the lovable man whose ministry it commemorates.²⁷¹

Statements like this are crucial in determining contemporary intentions.

Other types of archival materials also proved useful. The absence of extant architectural plans and drawings for St. Andrew's and St. Paul's churches was an obstacle. However, pew plans survive which provide some idea of the church's interior layout. Another important source in this respect is an elevation drawing of

²⁷⁰ Annual Report, 1900, St. Paul's Church, 38.

²⁷¹ Annual Report, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1925, 19, 22.

memorial windows in St. Paul's, prepared by H.L. Fetherstonhaugh in 1930, for the transfer of the windows to the new church. The drawing includes a "key plan showing position of windows in the old church." From this key plan and the pew plans, it was possible to establish the original position of the windows and the relation between their location and the pew rented by the family. Not surprisingly, many windows were placed close to, or in view of, the family pew (see Fig. 3). A comparison of the drawing with the current setting of the windows revealed that Fetherstonhaugh ensured that most would occupy a similar position in the new church (Figs. 2 & 3).

Photographs in the church archives were invaluable for determining the original appearance of the windows and subsequent alterations. The Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum of Canadian History contains photographs which supplied additional data.

Biographical research proved to be extremely important. Biographical dictionaries revealed the character and accomplishments of the lives of those commemorated, while the Church Registers provided details on the age of the deceased and cause of death. Such information helped to pinpoint the motivation behind many of the church's memorials. Although many were commissioned in memory of older, established members of the church, in several instances the sudden death of a young person created the need for a memorial. A tragic and unexpected death sometimes moved a whole portion of the congregation to contribute, as with Janet Mathieson, daughter of the minister of St. Andrew's, who drowned at the age of twenty-one (see window 11). In this case, the "ladies of the congregation" were

obliged to order the window twice, as the first was destroyed by fire only two weeks after it was installed.

The deaths of several of St. Paul's younger men produced a similar response. The memorial to Charles Hope, who died at the age of thirty-eight, was commissioned from Alexander Ballantine at a cost of \$11,000. The window was said to be one of the largest and most expensive in Canada (see window 10). The accidental death of J.H. Samuel, killed at the age of twenty-five while on duty with the Victoria Rifles, led the Young Men's Association of St. Paul's to gather subscriptions for an unusual memorial (see window 3). In the case of the memorials for William Wood Redpath, who died at twenty-three of typhoid fever, and Samuel Greenshields, who died by accidental asphyxiation at the age of thirty-four, biographical details were the key to unravelling the complicated relationship between the windows and the obscure memorial iconography of the Greenshields window (see windows 15 & 16). The related subject matter which dealt with close friends separated by tragic circumstances, emphasized the poignancy of these memorials.

Despite the abundance of material, in many cases the records did not help to establish a memorial's provenance and it was therefore necessary to adopt a more archaeological approach. A close examination of the physical components of the stained glass windows, for example, yielded the signatures of the studio and glass painter (see window 3), and in the case of the Mathieson memorial, certain aspects of the photographic process employed, i.e., emulsions on glass.

The archaeological method also utilized a visual study of each window in conjunction with photographic documentation. In this way, it was possible to trace areas of missing glass which had resulted from a window's relocation, as well as glass that had been transferred from one window to another. Such analysis revealed the provenance of the Composite window (see window 17), which had been created from panels of glass from the Barclay memorial, and also helped to identify the tracery of several windows as originating in the Kinghorn window (from window 9 to windows 8 & 11).

The methods described above differ from an iconological treatment which yielded other types of information, such as visual similarities in composition, drawing, and style in various windows. In some cases this method led to attributions. For example, the Jenkins memorial was identified as a Ballantine window primarily through comparisons with the canopy, pedestal, borders, and overall composition of the Ross and Redpath windows by Ballantine.

A study of memorial iconography was essential for an understanding of the donor's intentions. The chosen scriptural subject revealed their views on the life and character of the deceased, the virtues most admired, religious beliefs, and so on. Memorials also conformed to popular notions, such as which subjects were suitable for women. An example of iconography for women was the representation of the gospel of Matthew 25:35-37:

For when I was hungry, you gave me food; when thirsty, you gave me drink; when I was a stranger you took me into your home, when naked you clothed me; when I was ill you came to my help, when in prison you visited me.

The subject celebrated women as nurturers and caregivers, and reflected the role of many women in the church as the leaders of charitable institutions, such as the Ladies' Dorcas and Aid Society, and the Women's Missionary Auxiliary. Two memorials in the church illustrated this subject, the Isabella Allan window and the Janet Mathieson window (see windows 6 & 11). The Harriette Jenkins window illustrated another popular subject for memorials to women, "the Wise and Foolish Virgins," which idealizes and allegorizes conventional feminine virtues such as faithfulness and preparedness. Another popular subject for stained glass, "Christ Blessing the Children" was depicted in a Morris & Co. tapestry, based on a cartoon by Edward Burne-Jones (see item 19).

Secondary sources were consulted extensively. These included studies of Victorian stained glass, particularly the relevant British studios, which were examined to establish a context for the pattern of acquisition of memorials. A survey of the literature also helped to establish popular subject matter in British and American memorials. Catalogues and texts on wrought iron and textiles were necessary for an appreciation of related memorials in the church. Nineteenth century publications on Presbyterian history and practice in Canada were consulted, as well as biographical accounts of the ministers associated with both churches. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canadian directories, newspapers, and architectural journals were used to compile information on Canadian stained glass studios and to establish the history of the relevant churches. In one instance newspaper accounts provided the only information on the location of stained glass memorials in St. Andrew's church

(see windows 8 & 11). Correspondence with experts in the field also provided vital information. The foregoing all helped in the investigation of the social and historical factors which complement a formal analysis.

Once the catalogue was compiled, it was possible to interpret the results of this research. The products of British stained glass studios could be compared with examples of locally produced glazing, a study could be made of memorial iconography, and the patterns of commissions within a Presbyterian context could be established. The entire process of a commission, from the request of the donor, the choice of location in the church, the raising of funds, the choice of subject, text, and memorial inscription, the time needed to produce a memorial, and the subsequent reaction of the congregation, could be charted.

CHAPTER 7
CATALOGUE OF MEMORIALS
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. PAUL
1870-1948

NOTE

The following inventory is a numbered list of twenty-three memorials in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. The first eighteen memorials are stained glass windows; each has a heading "window" and is assigned a number. Windows are numbered consecutively, beginning with the McLennan-Black Watch window in the chancel and continuing counter-clockwise around the church (Fig. A2). Other types of memorials such as metalwork and textiles, are headed "item" and numbered consecutively from the last window. For a chronological list of memorials, and a summary of information, see the table in Fig. A1.

For each memorial, a description has been prepared indicating information in the following order: name of memorial, location, date, memorial inscription, text (i.e. Biblical quotation), subject, description, biographical note, documentation, photographic documentation, provenance, exhibition history (where relevant), and bibliographical references (where relevant).

Several of the categories require explanation. For example, the locations referred to reflect liturgical directions, i.e. it is assumed the altar is located in the east

end of the church. The description for each memorial includes a sub-heading for alterations where applicable. The sources in the documentation category are quoted in full. This was necessary to establish important details of provenance and history without complicated explanations. Each new reference is included because it contains relevant details; where possible, information has not been repeated. Documentation is from the church archives unless otherwise noted. Issues of attribution may be contained in this category if the sources necessitate a discussion or explanatory note; final conclusions are presented under provenance. As is usual in a catalogue raisonné, entries under bibliography refer only to the memorial in question. Illustrations relevant to the catalogue are numbered A1 to A36, and follow the illustrations for the main text. A separate bibliography for chapters 6 & 7 is included at the end of the general bibliography.

Window 1

Figs. A5, A6, A7

McLennan (Black Watch Window)

LOCATION

Chancel

DATE

1921

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*IN PROUD/ REMEMBRANCE OF/ LT. COL. BARTLETT McLENNAN, DSO/
OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE 42ND BN. R.H.C.*

TEXT

They sought the Glory of their Country/ They see the Glory of God

SUBJECT

Historic and modern warriors are the theme in this war memorial which includes portrayals of a medieval crusader, the victorious David, and a soldier of the Black Watch (R.H.R.) of Canada.

DESCRIPTION

This large chancel window comprises a middle section of three lights, flanked by single lights, and reticulated tracery. At the centre rises a dramatic figure of the Celtic Christ with outstretched arms, surrounded by emanating rays of golden light. Four figures are grouped below. The outer left light depicts a Crusader in medieval armour with a shield and sword; next to him stands the scriptural figure of David with the head of Goliath. St. Andrew, patron Saint of Scotland, stands to the right of Christ; and on the far right is a private of the Royal Highlanders of Canada in full battle dress, carrying the Union Jack. The background and tracery is filled with naturalistic depictions of ivy and purple thistles.

Of singular interest is the inclusion of the Star of David, visible behind the shoulder of David. It commemorates Lieutenant Myer T. Cohen, M.C., a Jewish officer in the 42nd Black Watch battalion, who was killed at Passchendaele, France in 1917.

At the lower left are the scriptural emblems of the Cross and Crown of Thorns. The regimental badge of the Black Watch is represented on the lower right. Three factors signal this window as modern in design; the inclusion of a 20th-century soldier in contemporary uniform, the insertion of a Jewish symbol as a memorial in a Christian window, and the abstract patterning of the glass around the figure of Christ.

Alterations: none

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Bartlett McLennan was born in Montreal in 1868 and was killed in action in France on 3 August 1918. He succeeded his father, Hugh McLennan, as president of the Montreal Transportation Company in 1899. McLennan was a director of numerous prominent companies, including the Royal Trust, and was a keen philanthropist, serving on the Executive Committee of the Montreal General Hospital for many years. He joined the Royal Highlanders of Canada in January 1915, and was given command of the 42nd Battalion, R.H.C., in April 1917. He received the Distinguished Service Order posthumously.

Note that the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul is the Regimental Church of the Black Watch. The dedication ceremony for this window, which included a parade of the Royal Highlanders Unit to the Church, was the first of many Regimental Church Services to take place.

DOCUMENTATION

Annual Report, 1919, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

"The Memorial Window is under consideration, and a well-known firm which has already done excellent work for the church is preparing designs."

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1918-1925."

Entry for 26 October 1920: "It was resolved that the application from Lt-Col. R.L.H. Ewing on behalf of the Royal Highlanders of Canada to install a memorial window to the 42nd Battalion be accepted, it being understood that the panel underneath the window be reserved to inscribe the names of those killed in that Battalion. . . . the application was approved by the Trustees."

"Commemorative Program, Dedication Ceremony for McLennan Memorial Window." 1921.

The program includes a reproduction of the sketch-design for the window and the statement "Designed by James Ballantine, F.S.A., Scot. [Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland]."

Annual Report, 1921, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "The Session records its pleasure that the Memorial Window given by the 42nd Battalion, in memory of its members who were killed in the Great War, has been installed. The great beauty of the window has exceeded our highest expectations."

Trustees Report: "During the year the installation of the Memorial Window to the officers and men of the 42nd Highlanders, O.M.F.C., took place with fitting ceremony, and has added much to the beauty and decoration of the Church, and the thanks of the congregation are tendered to the donors."

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941."

Entry 28 February 1929: "Dr. Donald recorded the advice of Miss McLennan that this Memorial Window [McLennan] is so designed as to admit of its being adapted to another structure."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

James Ballantine, Proposed sketch-design for Black Watch window (photograph), n.d. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A5)

This design differs in several key respects from the final version of the window. The upper portion depicts a body on a palette, surrounded by praying figures. Tracery on the left contains an image of the crucified Christ. The pattern of rays around the figure of Christ is less abstract.

Notman & Son, Unveiling of the McLennan/Black Watch memorial window (20,163 View), 1921. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

Notman & Son, View of McLennan/Black Watch memorial window and Chancel, 1921, Archives, SSAP.

S.J. Hayward, Photograph of the McLennan/Black Watch memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A6)

S.J. Hayward, View of the chancel with the McLennan/Black Watch memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A7)

John Sleeman, McLennan memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP.

PROVENANCE

Commissioned from Ballantine of Edinburgh in 1919 by the McLennan family and the Royal Highlanders of Canada.

Designed and executed by James Ballantine, F.S.A., Scot., of Edinburgh.

Unveiled and dedicated in the chancel of St. Paul's Church on 13 November 1921 by General Sir Arthur W. Currie, former Commander of the Canadian Corps, World War I.

Moved to current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1931.

Restored 1992 by Lubbers Studio, Montreal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Black Watch Honors its Own." Canadian Jewish News, 9 November 1989.

Hutchison, Col. Paul P. Canada's Black Watch: The First Hundred Years 1862-1962. 2nd ed. Montreal: The Black Watch (R.I.R.) of Canada, 1987.

Window 2

Fig. A8

The Reverend Robert McGill**LOCATION**

Corridor from north aisle leading to Church hall and offices

DATE

1870. This is the oldest window in the church.

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*ERECTED BY PERSONAL/ FRIENDS AND A FEW OTHERS MEMBERS OF/ THE
CONGREGATION TO COMMEMORATE/ THE FAITHFUL AND SUCCESSFUL
LABOURS/ OF THE SECOND MINISTER OF ST. PAULS/ THE REV'D. ROBERT
MCGILL DD A.D. 1870.*

TEXT

none

SUBJECT

none

DESCRIPTION

Two lights filled with a decorative pattern of grisaille strap-work forming knotted heart motifs. These contain stylized foliage in blue, green, yellow, and brown on a red background. Surrounded by a border of vines and berries.

Alterations: In its original location at St. Paul's church, the window was twice as long. A large quatrefoil with a central medallion depicted a chalice surrounded by stylized vines and grapes.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Reverend Robert McGill was minister of St. Paul's from 1845 until his death in 1856.

DOCUMENTATION

none

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, The Reverend Robert McGill memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A8)

PROVENANCE

A comparison suggests this window was manufactured by the same firm as the Reverend Edward Black memorial window (window 18).

The quality of the window suggests it was produced locally, possibly by J.C. Spence who was commissioned for a series of patterned windows for new St. Paul's Church in 1868.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, south transept, west wall, c. 1870.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 3

Fig.A9

John Henderson Samuel**LOCATION**

North aisle, fifth window

DATE

c.1887

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

None on window, however a memorial plaque below states:

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED IN LOVING MEMORY OF PILOT OFFICER JOHN SAMUEL BRYSON, R.A.F. WHO WAS KILLED IN ACTION DURING AIR-RAID OPERATIONS IN ENGLAND ON THE 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1940. HE WAS THE NEPHEW OF JOHN HENDERSON SAMUEL WHOM THIS WINDOW COMMEMORATES. GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS.

The original bronze plaque which presumably was placed next to this window in St. Paul's church, is now located in the narthex. It reads:

*IN MEMORY OF JOHN HENDERSON SAMUEL L.D.S./ACCIDENTALLY SHOT/
3rd OCTr. 1885 IN HIS 26th YEAR/ WHILE ON DUTY WITH HIS REGIMENT/
THE "VICTORIA RIFLES OF CANADA"/ AT MOUNT ROYAL HOSPITAL./
ERECTED BY HIS FAMILY, THE/ YOUNG MEN OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,/ AND
A FEW PERSONAL FRIENDS.*

[St. Paul's Church Register lists Samuel's date of death as 4 October 1885]

TEXT

This is the Victory that overcometh the world even our Faith
[1 John 5:4]

SUBJECT

Jesus is Asked to Heal a Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1-10)

DESCRIPTION

Three lights containing a Gothic canopy and pedestal. The figure of Christ occupies the central light. On the left three Jewish elders are shown entreating Christ; two Roman centurions appear on the right. The details of their uniforms are carefully drawn. A large tree spreads verdant foliage behind the figures, and in the distance, villages are visible in a hilly landscape. Vibrant colour is used throughout.

It has long been rumoured that one of the Roman centurions is a portrait of John Henderson Samuel. Unfortunately, no photographs of Samuel could be found to confirm this point. However, the Victorian moustaches on both centurions do appear out of context -- suggesting perhaps an allusion to, if not portraits of, both Samuel and donor Alex McFee (see documentation below). The choice of centurions for the subject is particularly apt considering that Samuel was killed while on duty with his regiment, the Victoria Rifles.

The presence of the company signature *Castle and Son, Montreal* inscribed on the lower right corner indicates that this is an important work by the firm.²⁷²

The window is signed *J.R. Bird* on the lower right, indicating that it was painted by John R. Bird under the auspices of Castle and Son.²⁷³

Alterations: In its original location at St. Paul's church, the window contained geometric tracery comprising three trefoils. The trefoils were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory where they remained until the 1960s, when the new clerestory series was installed. They are currently in storage. Some of the canopy was removed in 1932 to adapt the windows to the smaller heads of the lights.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

John Henderson Samuel was born in 1860, and died in Montreal on 4 October 1885.

²⁷² This point was made by Sarah McCutcheon, the great great grand-daughter of Thomas Castle, who possesses Castle archival materials.

²⁷³ John R. Bird is listed as a painter in the Montreal city directories of the 1888-1890 and 1897-1898. He also worked for J.C. Spence & Sons. See Ginette Laroche, "Les 'Memorial Windows,' Une Mémoire de Verre," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* IX, no. 2 (1986): figs. 9, 10.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899."

Entry for 17 December 1886: "A letter from Alex McFee secretary to the Committee for the Samuel memorial was read asking permission to erect a stained glass window in the Church. It was decided to grant permission provided the Board of Trustees approved of the design and that it was satisfied that the whole cost had been provided for."

Entry for 5 January 1887: "A letter from Mr. Samuel was read, agreeing to the terms proposed by the Trustees regarding the memorial window to be erected. Mr. Ewan was appointed to act with Mr. Barclay and Mr. Samuel - the plans to be submitted to the Trustees before anything was definitely done in the matter."

Annual Report, 1886, St. Paul's Church.

The Young Men's Association, encouraged by its vice-president, Alex McFee, raised subscriptions of \$24.65 toward the cost of the memorial window to Samuel. J.H. Samuel had been on the committee of the Association from 1883-1885.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

John Sleeman, Detail of John Henderson Samuel memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A9)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the friends and family of John Henderson Samuel.
Painted by artist John R. Bird. Executed by Castle & Son, Montreal.
Installed in St. Paul's Church, north aisle, third window, c. 1887.
Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pepall, Rosalind. "Stained Glass Windows in Montreal at the Turn of the Century." Bulletin, The Association for Preservation Technology 13, no. 3 (1981): 51 (ill. only).

Window 4

Fig. A10

John Hope & Isabella Aitken**LOCATION**

North aisle, fourth window

DATE

1907

The inscription was repainted in situ to include Isabella Aitken's name in 1908.

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORY OF JOHN HOPE DIED JUNE
26TH 1906/ AND OF ISABELLA AITKEN HIS WIFE DIED JULY 10TH 1908*

TEXT

*UNTO DEATH/ BE THOU FAITHFUL/ AND I/ WILL GIVE THEE/ A CROWN OF
LIFE/ And/ their eyes/ were opened/ and they knew/ Him/ He took bread and
blessed it and brake and gave to them/ BY THY PRECIOUS DEATH AND BURIAL.
[Revelation 2:10-11, Luke 24:30]*

SUBJECT

The Supper at Emmaus (Luke 24:13-35)

DESCRIPTION

A window of three lights, with angels bearing scrolls of text in the cusp of each light. Three angels are also found in the lower panels; they carry the "instruments of the Passion," (from left to right): spear and hammer, nails, and ladder. Floating behind is a banner with the text: *BY THY PRECIOUS DEATH AND BURIAL*. The placement of the angels has replaced the traditional Gothic canopy and pedestal. The central light reveals a standing figure of Christ blessing the wine and bread before the kneeling disciples whom He had met on the road to Emmaus. Christ is surrounded by a large halo, golden rays of light, and deep red and purple shadows.

A town is visible through an open window in the left hand light; an open window on the right reveals a dramatic view of Mount Calvary with the three crosses silhouetted against a vivid orange sunset.

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, the window terminated in geometric tracery. The topmost trefoil featured an angel with a crown of thorns and a banner stating *BY THINE AGONY AND*. The trefoil on the left depicted a recording angel with a plume, and a banner which read *BLOODY SWEAT BY THY*. The trefoil on the right depicted an angel holding a small ionic column and a banner stating *CROSS AND PASSION*. The trefoils were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory. They were removed again in 1962 when the new clerestory series was installed. At that time the trefoil featuring the recording angel was donated to the St. Luke Chapel of the Verdun Protestant Hospital (now the Douglas Hospital). It was inserted into the seventh window from the altar; with one change -- the banner was overpainted in red. The other trefoils were donated to Leggatt's Point Presbyterian Church, Quebec.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

John Hope was a member of the Board of Trustees of St. Paul's for 38 years until his resignation in 1903.

Isabella Aitken died in St. Andrew's, N.B., at the age of 79.

They had commissioned the St. Paul window for their son, Charles Cowan Grant Hope in 1900 (see window 10).

DOCUMENTATION

Annual Report, 1907, St. Paul's Church.

Trustees Report: "The trustees have pleasure in recording that during the year the Church was enriched by the addition [of a] memorial window [in] loving remembrance of Mr. John Hope, the gift of his widow and family. The Hope window is a beautiful picture of the Supper at Emmaus when the Risen Christ revealed himself to the Disciples and their eyes were opened."

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

"Another beautiful window by the same artist [as Charles Hope window by Alexander Ballantine], representing Christ and the two disciples at Emmaus; bears the inscription to the Glory of God and in memory of John Hope and his wife Isabella Aitken."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, Photographic negative of John Hope and Isabella Aitken memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP.

John Sleeman, John Hope and Isabella Aitken memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A10)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Isabella Aitken Hope and family from Ballantine, Edinburgh.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, north aisle, fourth window, 1907.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 5

Figs. A11, A12, A13

Andrew Allan**LOCATION**

North aisle, third window

DATE

1903

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION*TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORY OF ANDREW ALLAN 1902***TEXT**

none

SUBJECT

Christ, St. Martin, and St. George are depicted with three allegorical figures; Prudence, Justice, and Humility.

DESCRIPTION

This window, one of a pair in the church, is an outstanding example in Canada of the work of Morris & Co. (see window 6).

The upper left panel depicts the figure of St. Martin wearing armour. Below him is Prudence, shown with an open book and mirror. The figure of "Christ as Love" is represented in the upper central light. Just below is the figure of Justice, holding a crown in his right hand and a sword in his left. The upper right panel depicts St. George with a spear and shield. On the lower right is Humility, carrying a lamb. The colour of the armour and drapery ranges from pink to deep red and russet, with deep blue and green. This tonal intensity serves to accentuate the figures against the patterned background of pale green densely scrolled foliage. The drawing is characteristic of Burne-Jones, and the figure and countenance of Justice is exceptional.

The Burne-Jones cartoon for the figure of Humility was used for a window (1902) in the chapel of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal. (See Sewter below for more information)

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, the window terminated in geometric tracery comprising three trefoils containing minstrel angels. These were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory, where they remained until the 1960s when the new clerestory series was installed. The trefoils are currently in storage. Some of the foliage in the heads of the lights was removed to adapt the window to the smaller cusp. A narrow monochrome border which surrounded each light has been removed or imbedded in the wall.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Andrew Allan was born 1 December 1822 and died on 27 June 1901, in his 79th year. He was Chairman of the Allan Line Steamship Company as well as the Montreal Harbour Commission, and was president of the Merchants' Bank and Montreal Telegraph Company. Allan had been a member of St. Paul's Church since 1848 and a trustee since 1849. He was named Chairman of the Board of Trustees in 1871 and held the position for thirty years until his death.

DOCUMENTATION

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

"The following resolution was unanimously passed, viz - that the Kirk Session record in their minutes their sincere appreciation of the gift of the members of his family of a memorial window to the late Andrew Allan as a most beautiful addition to the beauty of the church and as a pleasing remembrance of one whose worth and services well deserve to be long and gratefully remembered in St. Paul's."

Morris & Co., Sketch-design for Andrew Allan window (#187-1903),
The Sanford and Helen Berger Collection, California.²⁷⁴ (Fig. A11)

The sketch-design, which includes the original trefoils, reveals no modifications to the final version of the window.

²⁷⁴ I am indebted to Sanford L. Berger for providing a photocopy of the sketch.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, Andrew Allan memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929.
Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A12)

John Sleeman, Andrew Allan memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A13)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the family of Andrew Allan.
Made by Morris & Co. in 1903 from cartoons by Edward Burne-Jones.
Installed in St. Paul's Church, north aisle, first window, c.1903.
Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

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- _____. The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle: A Catalogue. New
Haven: Yale University Press, 1975. 215-216.

Window 6

Figs. A11, A14, A15

Isabella Anne Smith (wife of Andrew Allan)

LOCATION

North aisle, second window

DATE

1885

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

in memory of isabella anne smith wife of andrew allan

TEXT

none

SUBJECT

Illustrates the text: "For when I was hungry, you gave me food; when thirsty, you gave me drink; when I was a stranger you took me into your home, when naked you clothed me; when I was ill you came to my help, when in prison you visited me." (Matthew 25:35-37)

DESCRIPTION

This window, one of a pair in the church, is an outstanding example in Canada of the work of Morris & Co. (see window 5). In the left hand light the figure of Hope points to the roundel above her illustrating "Leading the Blind." The roundel below her represents "Drink to the Thirsty." The centre panel depicts Charity, holding a flame, and surrounded by infants. The roundel above her illustrates "Visiting the Sick;" the roundel below, "Visiting the Prisoners." On the right, is the figure of Faith holding an oil lamp. The roundel above her depicts "Feeding the Hungry"; the roundel below illustrates "Clothing the Naked." The background and heads of the lights are filled with densely interwoven scrolled vines and foliage over a white backdrop. Colour is lucid throughout, and the quality of the Burne-Jones drawing is noteworthy, particularly the fine folds of drapery worn by Hope. A narrow monochrome border surrounds the lights and small elements of tracery.

The Burne-Jones cartoon for the figure of Charity was later used for a window (1903) in the chapel of the Royal Victoria Hospital. The design dates from 1870, and was first used for a window in Christ Church, Oxford. (See Sewter below for more information).

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, the three lights terminated in geometric tracery comprising three trefoils. Each contained an angel with a scroll proclaiming *ALLELUIA*. The trefoils were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory, where they remained until the 1960s when the new clerestory series was installed. They are currently in storage. Some of the foliage in the heads of the lights has been removed to adapt the window to the smaller cusp.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Isabella Smith Allan died at the age of fifty-four in London, England, on 16 October 1881, and was buried in Montreal on 1 November 1881.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899."

Entry for 3 September 1883: "I would like very much to get the permission of the Trustees of St. Paul's Church to put a stained or painted glass window in the Church in memory of my wife. I now beg through you to ask the consent of the other trustees for me to do so. I would suggest the second window from the pulpit on the left hand side. Yours truly, Andrew Allan."

Morris & Co., Watercolour sketch-design for Isabella Allan window (#44-1885), The Sanford and Helen Berger Collection, California.²⁷⁵

The sketch-design, which includes the original trefoils, reveals no modifications to the final version of the window. (Fig. A11)

²⁷⁵ I am indebted to Sanford L. Berger for providing a photocopy of the sketch.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, Isabella Allan memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929.
Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A14)

John Sleeman, Isabella Allan memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A15)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned from Morris & Co. by Andrew Allan c.1883.
Designed by Edward Burne-Jones. Executed by Morris & Co.
Installed in St. Paul's Church, north aisle, second window, c.1885.
Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.
Damaged twice in 1991. Subsequently repaired by Lubbers Studio, Montreal.
A small area on the lower right roundel has been repainted.

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Window 7

Fig. A16

The Reverend James Barclay**LOCATION**

North aisle, first window (lit from porte cochère entrance)

DATE

1925

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*ERECTED TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF THE
REVEREND JAMES BARCLAY D.D. LL.D. MINISTER OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH
1883-1910 BORN JUNE 19TH 1845, DIED MARCH 18TH 1920, IN PUBLIC
RECOGNITION OF HIS BROAD HUMANITY, HIS EDUCATIONAL/
LEADERSHIP, HIS SPIRITUAL VISION, AND RELIGIOUS CHARITY.*

TEXT

(left panel) *TAKE FAST HOLD OF INSTRUCTION*

(middle panel) *MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE KING - THE SPIRIT OF THE
LORD IS UPON ME*

(right panel) *QUIT YOU LIKE MEN BE STRONG THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD
SHALL REST UPON HIM, THE SPIRIT OF WISDOM AND UNDERSTANDING.
THE SPIRIT OF COUNSEL AND MIGHT. THE SPIRIT OF KNOWLEDGE AND
THE FEAR OF THE LORD.*

[Proverbs 8:10, 1 Corinthians 16:13, Isaiah 11:2]

SUBJECT

The allegorical subjects "Faith," "Hope," and "Charity" are illustrated, as are the scriptural texts quoted above.

DESCRIPTION

The three lights of the window deal with several related themes. The main portion of each light is devoted to characterizations of aspects of Barclay's life, which are alluded to in the memorial inscription and chosen scriptural texts. The left hand light depicts a teacher, leaning on a truncated column and holding a scroll of Greek text before his students, representing Barclay's "educational leadership" and the text "take fast hold of instruction." The central light portrays a standing figure of Christ -- an allusion to Barclay's "spiritual vision." The right panel depicts a young athlete with a discus, about to receive the laurel crown of victory. This scene refers to Barclay's promotion of sports for young men in charitable and educational institutions, and to his own personal sportsmanship -- he was a champion cricketer and golfer. Despite the Gothic framework of the window, the manner of representation is Classical, in subject, figural style, and accoutrements. The heads of the lights contain allegorical figure groups labelled (from left to right) Faith, Charity, and Hope. The lower portion of the window contains a pair of angels supporting the memorial inscription. A narrow geometric border surrounds the window. The colour of the drapery includes unusual hues, while the background exhibits rich jewel tones. The drawing is atypical in the use of heavy shading.

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, this was a much larger window with geometric tracery in opalescent glass, including two elaborate quatrefoils surmounted by a trefoil. Three additional panels of glass formed the lower third of the window. All of these elements were removed when the window was transferred to this location. The detached panels were used to create a composite window for the Chapel of Youth (see window 17). The trefoil and quatrefoils were used as decorative elements in the plain glazing of the clerestory from 1932 until the 1960s, when these were replaced by the new clerestory series. At that time the central medallions from the tracery were removed. One of these, an illustration of "the burning bush," is now located in the minister's office. The other two, illustrating a cross and anchor respectively, were donated to Little Metis Presbyterian Church in Metis, Quebec.

A major drawback to this setting is the poor lighting. The window is situated in the entrance behind the porte cochère and receives no exterior light.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Reverend James Barclay was minister of St. Paul's Church from 1883-1910. Dr. Barclay had an illustrious career. He was highly regarded by Queen Victoria, who asked him to preach at Balmoral in Scotland three times during his pastorate in Montreal. He was also served as Chaplain for the military expedition to the Red River Rebellion in 1885. Dr. Barclay was the highest paid minister in Canada. In

1908, after 25 years of service at St. Paul's, the congregation presented the minister with an illuminated address. Lord Mount Stephen, a member of the church, presented the minister with a magnanimous gift of \$75,000 in securities.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1918-1925."

Entry for 25 October 1921: "A letter was read from Mrs. Peter White asking permission to erect a memorial window to the late Dr. James Barclay, and asking that the space reserved next to the Kinghorn window be reserved for that purpose. The funds for this window were to be collected by a Committee of ladies [of St. Paul's Church] . . . It was decided to reserve the space asked for."

Entry for 25 June 1924: "Dr. Barclay Memorial Window -- Mr. W.W. Walker reported that the contract with Messrs. Ballantyne, of Edinburgh, had been completed; and that the window was now under construction."

Annual Report, 1925, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "A notable event of the year was the erection of the window in the west transept to the memory of the late Rev. James Barclay, D.D, LL., D., Minister of St. Paul's Church, 1883-1910, which was unveiled by Lord Atholstan and dedicated by Principal Fraser [McGill University] at the Morning Service on Sunday the 12th April."

Trustees Report: The Memorial Window to the late Reverend James Barclay, D.D., executed by Messrs. Ballantyne of Edinburgh, was unveiled at a special service, and the thanks of the congregation are tendered to the donors."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, The Reverend James Barclay memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A16)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the congregation c.1924 from Ballantine, Edinburgh.

Installed in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul (old St. Paul's), south transept, central window, 1925.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 8

Figs. A17, A18, A19, A20

Alexander Mathieson & C.E. Mathieson

LOCATION

Memorial Room, north wall, facing Redpath Street

DATE

1872

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*IN MEMORY OF ALEX^r. MATHIESON D.D. MONTREAL BORN 1795 DIED 1870
AND C.E. MATHIESON HIS WIFE BORN 1822 DIED 1856*

TEXT

*"BEHOLD I COME QUICKLY AND MY REWARD IS WITH ME"/ "BE YE ALSO
READY"/ "BEHOLD THE BRIDEGROOM COMETH"*

[Revelation 22:12, Matthew 24:42, Matthew 25:6]

SUBJECT

The upper left panel illustrates the story of "The Good Samaritan" (Luke 10:30-37); the upper right panel portrays "The Widow's Offering" (Mark 12:42). The lower left panel depicts "The Faithful Servant Guarding His Master's Household" (Matthew 24:45); and the lower right depicts "The Wise Virgin Greeting the Bridegroom" (Matthew 25:6).

DESCRIPTION

A window of two lights with geometric tracery including a quatrefoil containing scrolled foliage. Four panels illustrate the texts listed above. Each is surmounted by a Gothic canopy. The rather wooden drawing of the figures is enlivened by the use of warm rich colour and is offset by the convincing detail of the furnishings.

Of unusual interest are two photographic medallions on glass set into the decorative scheme on the lower portion of the window. On the left is a portrait of the Reverend Alexander Mathieson, on the right, Mrs. C.E. Mathieson (Fig. A19). The images are reversed enlargements of a carte de visite and an early photograph made by William Notman's photography studio in Montreal, (Copy Revd. Mathewson [sic], 45813-1 (1870); Copy Mrs. Mathewson [sic], 64522-1 (1871), Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal).²⁷⁶ The same photograph of Alexander Mathieson was used as the frontispiece in Croil's biography of the minister (listed below), and for a painted photographic portrait by the Notman Studio in 1871. The memorial portrait was later donated to the Church and now hangs in Kildonan Hall.

According to Stanley Triggs, curator of the Notman Photographic Archives, this is the only known example of Notman photography incorporated in a stained glass window. The medallions were presumably ordered from Notman by J.C. Spence, the designer of the window. The association between the two firms deserves further investigation. Both establishments (which used glass in their work) were founded in the 1850s, and for many years were located near each other on Bleury street in Montreal. Two members of Spence's family later worked for Notman in the 1870s.

The use of photographic portraits in stained glass was not at all common in 19th-century English stained glass,²⁷⁷ and while the process may have been employed in the United States, few examples have been noted.

Alterations: In its second setting at St. Paul's Church, the window contained six narrative panels, divided evenly between two lights, and a large quatrefoil depicting an angel with a banner proclaiming "*GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.*" The quatrefoil is currently in storage. The heads of the lights were larger and contained more canopy-work. An additional biblical passage was included at the bottom, "*THERE IS JOY IN THE PRESENCE OF THE ANGELS OF GOD OVER ONE SINNER THAT REPENTETH.*" The lights and tracery were surrounded by a plain monochrome border.

²⁷⁶ I am indebted to Nora Hague of the Notman Photographic Archives for her help in finding the original photograph of Mrs. Mathieson and references in the Notman index book. I am also grateful to Stanley Triggs, curator of the Notman Archives, for making a careful examination of the window.

²⁷⁷ I am grateful to Peter Cormack, Deputy Keeper, William Morris Gallery, London, for this information.

The current setting displays many significant changes. Two panels, illustrating "the Wise and Foolish Virgins" and "Christ as the Good Shepherd," were removed when the window was transferred to this setting. The four remaining panels mimic the original order of the upper part of the window, except for the lower right panel which has been replaced by the middle right panel. The original tracery was removed in 1932 and replaced with glass from the Kinghorn window (see window 9). The monochrome border was exchanged for a border of scrolled foliage and patterned quarries, which considerably alters the general effect of this already colourful window.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Alexander Mathieson was born in Renton, Scotland, in 1795. A graduate of Glasgow University, he was inducted as Minister of St. Andrew's Church on Christmas Eve 1826. He led the congregation until his death in Montreal on 14 February 1870.

Alexander Mathieson married Catherine Elizabeth McKenzie on 30 July 1840. She died at the age of thirty-three on 29 February 1856. Their daughter Janet died prematurely in 1868. A window was also erected to her memory (see window 11).

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church, 1850-1918."

Entry for 8 December 1869: "The chairman stated that two designs of stained glass for the windows, were being prepared by Mr. Spence and when finished would be submitted to the approval of the committee "

This reference pre-dates Dr. Mathieson's death and may refer to designs for a second memorial window to Janet Mathieson (see window 11), as the first was destroyed by fire on 24 October 1869. It may also refer to designs of patterned glass for the church, which would indicate that the church was accustomed to employing Mr. Spence as glazier. Support for a Spence attribution for the window also lies in the link between Spence's firm and William Notman's photography studio. (See description above, and Notman documentation below). Additional evidence lies in the collaboration between architect Thomas Seaton Scott, who rebuilt St. Andrew's church in 1870-71, and J.C. Spence. Spence was the glazier for at least two of Scott's churches, including Bishop Strachan Memorial Church in Cornwall, Ontario (c 1868-1875), and Saint Luke's Church in Waterloo, Quebec (c.1871).

Entry for 28 March 1870: "a conversation was had about a Mathieson Memorial Window and in the event of one being adopted, the Building Committee agreed to give \$330. being equivalent to the cost of the stained glass window and Mrs. Mathieson's tablet." The final design for the window commemorated Mrs. Mathieson as well.

Entry for 16 December 1870: a list of expenditures for rebuilding the church includes "Stained Glass Windows \$1467." The use of the plural and a comparison with the price quoted for one window directly above, suggests the congregation had decided in favour of ordering the two windows (Alexander & Catherine Mathieson, Janet Mathieson) simultaneously.

Entry for early 1872: A memorandum lists "insurance from the London Assurance Corporation No. 2 Memorial Window - Rev. Dr. Mathieson - \$1,000."

St. Andrew's Church, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1872."
Listed under disbursements, "Placing memorial windows \$72.87."

William Notman Index Book No. 5, 1870-1872. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

Under Miscellaneous listings: "Copy design of Dr. Mathewsons [sic] Memorial Window 64521-1." Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. Unfortunately the negative and photograph have been lost. Note that the number of the photograph directly precedes the copy photograph of Mrs. Mathieson's photograph, 64522-1, listed above, indicating that the two photographs were ordered together.

Montreal Herald and Daily Telegraph, January 12, 1918.

"On the right and left of the pulpit there are memorial windows to Dr. Mathieson and members of his family."

Annual Report, 1921, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "The Session is also glad to note that the Memorial Windows and tablets of St. Andrew's Church have been installed in our present edifice."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

William Notman, Copy photograph of Revd. Mathewson [sic] (45813-1), 1870.
Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History,
Montreal. (Fig. A17)

William Notman, Copy photograph of Mrs. Mathewson [sic] (64522-1), 1871.
Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History,
Montreal. (Fig. A18)

S. J. Hayward, Alexander and Catherine Mathieson memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A20)

John Sleeman, Details of Alexander and Catherine Mathieson memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A19)

John Sleeman, Alexander and Catherine Mathieson memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP.

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the congregation of St. Andrew's Church.

Designed and executed by John C. Spence, Montreal.

Installed in St. Andrew's Church, to the side of the pulpit, in 1872.

The window was relocated to St. Paul's Church in 1921 and placed in the south transept, third window, directly across the nave from the Janet Mathieson memorial window.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Cleaned and restored 1991 by Lubbers Studio, Montreal. Note that the scriptural texts for the two lower panels were reversed during this process.

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Croil, James. Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D.D. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870.

"St. Andrew's Church of Scotland was Founded Ninety-three Years Ago Under the Rev. John Burns", Montreal Herald and Daily Telegraph, 12 January 1918.

Window 9

Fig. 21

George M. Kinghorn**LOCATION**

Memorial Room, west wall, facing Sherbrooke Street

DATE

1907

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*IN LOVING MEMORY OF GEORGE M. KINGHORN/ DIED 25 JAN. 1906 AND
ELIZABETH S. SCOBELL/ HIS WIFE DIED 14TH MAY 1905 ERECTED BY
THEIR CHILDREN*

TEXT

HE IS NOT HERE HE IS RISEN
[Matthew 28:6]

SUBJECT

The Women at the Empty Tomb (Matthew 28:1-7)

DESCRIPTION

A window of two lights with geometric tracery, including a quatrefoil whose design amplifies the theme of the window. It depicts Christ as the Agnus Dei (lamb of God), carrying a banner with the emblem of resurrection.

In the left light, two angels give their message to the women at the tomb. On the right are the three Marys; the second figure is Mary Magdalene, identified by the casket of perfume she carries.

The colour in this window, which features jewel-tones and white and gold, is exceptionally lucid. The looser, more naturalistic figure drawing denotes the influence of the later Pre-Raphaelites. The introduction of opalescent glass in the area of the sky reveals an American influence, stemming from the stained glass innovations of John La Farge and Louis Comfort Tiffany. The treatment of the

drapery, canopy-work, and lettering is typical of the commercial manner of the large stained glass firms.²⁷⁸

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, the window included a slightly larger quatrefoil. A small portion of the glass was removed to adapt the tracery to its new shape. Extra panels of glass depicting scrolled foliage and floral motifs were located at the base of the window and over the canopy, which was also more extensive. Approximately one-third of the original glass has been removed. A narrow monochrome border was also removed.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

George M. Kinghorn died in Montreal in his 81st year. Elizabeth Scobell Kinghorn died in Montreal in her 76th year.

Kinghorn was ordained in 1874, the year he became an elder at St. Andrew's Church. He later joined St. Paul's and was an elder there from 1885 until his death.

DOCUMENTATION

Annual Report, 1907, St. Paul's Church.

Trustees Report: "The Trustees have pleasure in recording that during the year the Church was enriched by the addition [of a] memorial window.. in loving remembrance of Mr. G.M. Kinghorn and Mrs. Kinghorn, the gift of their children . . . [It] is a striking representation of the visit of Mary and Mary Magdalene to the sepulchre, and the vision of the Angel with the glad tidings 'He is not here, He is Risen.'"

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

"A fine stained glass window in the western transept has for its subject the women at the empty tomb with the motto: He is not here; he is risen, and these words . . . in loving memory of George Mathieson Kinghorn."

²⁷⁸ I am grateful to Peter Cormack, Deputy Keeper, William Morris Gallery, London, for these observations.

The Reverend George H. Donald, Stones that Speak. Montreal: The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, [c. 1948].

"Two windows which add colour and beauty are among these memorials . . . the other to George M. Kinghorn -- a beautiful example of the work of Ballantyne and Son."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S. J. Hayward, George Kinghorn and Elizabeth Scobell memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A21)

John Sleeman, George Kinghorn and Elizabeth Scobell memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP.

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the children of George Kinghorn from Ballantine, Edinburgh.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, south transept, first window, 1907.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 10

Fig. A22

Charles Cowan Grant Hope (St. Paul's Window)**LOCATION**

Choir window over main entrance, Sherbrooke Street

DATE

1900

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORY OF CHARLES COWAN GRANT
HOPE ERECTED BY HIS FATHER AND MOTHER AD 1900*

TEXT

TO ME TO LIVE/ IS CHRIST AND/ TO DIE IS GAIN
[Philippians 1:21]

SUBJECT

Events in the Life of St. Paul

DESCRIPTION

The large choir window is composed of five lights and geometric tracery, comprising a sexfoil depicting the Transfiguration of Christ, and two quatrefoils with angels. The larger central light shows St. Paul as a missionary, standing in front of a Greek temple, with his hand raised in benediction. Just below is his emblem, the sword, over which is written *TO ME TO LIVE IS CHRIST AND TO DIE IS GAIN*. Surrounding St. Paul, from left to right, are four of his "partners in the gospel": Barnabas, Timothy, Silas, and St. Luke. The lower portion of the window illustrates four scenes from the Acts of the Apostles. From left to right: Barnabas laying the proceeds from his property at the feet of the disciples, Paul ordaining Timothy, Paul and Silas in prison, and Luke writing the gospel.

Alterations: none

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Charles Hope died at the Moise River, Quebec, on 15 June 1898. He was 38 years old. The window was commissioned by his parents, John and Isabella Hope (see window 4).

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899."

Entry for 29 December 1898: "Gen'lemen, I desire if you will grant me permission, to remove the present chief window on the Dorchester Street side of St. Paul's Church and to put in its place a window of stained glass. The plans and drawings for the new window to be made subject to the approval and under the supervision of the Pastor Rev'd. Jas. Barclay D.D., from John Hope. . . . Resolved, thanks to J.H. for his generous proposal."

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1900-1918."

Entry for 5 September 1900: "To the Trustees for the Congregation of St. Paul's Church Montreal, From the enclosed letter to me by Mr. Eric Mann architect you will see that the memorial window which you kindly gave me permission with the assistance of the Rev'd. Barclay to place in the North Gable of St. Paul's Church has been completed and placed in position. I now have the pleasure to present it through you to the congregation. I am Dear Sirs, your obliged and obedient servant, signed John Hope. . . . It was unanimously resolved that the munificent gift of the Hope Memorial Window be accepted by the Trustees on behalf of the congregation. . . ."

[Eric Mann was a local architect and member of the Church; he designed the manse for St. Paul's (1890).]

Annual Report, 1900, St. Paul's Church.

Trustees' Report: "During the summer the Memorial Window (the gift of our respected colleague, Mr. John Hope) was completed and presented by him to the Church. The Trustees, on behalf of the congregation, again desire to express their thanks to the generous donor for this most beautiful addition to our Church. Andrew Allan, Chairman."

Kirk Session Report: "As to the Memorial Window recently placed in the church by Mr. John Hope. . . . It is an object lesson to be studied; the beauty of which as regards its composition and its finish grows upon one the oftener it is seen."

Pastor's Report: "In closing, I wish to express for the congregation and myself, our sincere gratitude to Mr. John Hope for the beautiful window which he has dedicated to the church in memory of his son. It is not only beautiful as a work of art, but it is a constant source of instructive interest and spiritual incentive."

Report on the Hope Memorial Window: "The latest addition to the beauty of our church is the magnificent window, perhaps the largest and finest in Canada, over the front entrance. It is the gift of Mr. John Hope. . . . When he resolved to dedicate this window in the beautifying of the sanctuary to the memory of his son, he also resolved that it should be the best that could be procured.

After due deliberation the work was entrusted to Mr. Alexander Ballantine, of Edinburgh, an elder of St. Cuthberts [sic], the former charge of the present minister of St. Paul's, and the son of the well known Scottish poet. . . . Mr. Ballantine for many years has had a great reputation and his work may be seen in many of the prominent buildings of Scotland and elsewhere including St. Giles and Linlithgow Cathedrals; he has studied his art frequently at Munich and has several Munich workmen in his manufactory. It was at once and appropriately decided that the window should be a "St. Paul" window. . .

Mr. Ballantine took a deep interest both in the selection of the design and the execution of the work. Not only did he send out one of his most skilled workmen, but came himself and spent some time studying the church, and the situation of the window as regards light, &c.; he also associated with him Mr. Eric Mann, architect, to whom the superintendence of the work became a labour of love; and such was the care exercised that when the window came to be placed, every section down to the minutest, fitted in, as if made on the spot. Mr. Ballantine's first suggestion was that the window deserved something better than the wooden framework, and Mr. Hope at once agreed to substitute the finest stone that could be procured. . . ."

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

"The magnificent memorial window erected by Mr. Hope "To the Glory of God, and in memory of his son Charles'[sic] will be a lasting monument of Mr. Hope's aesthetic taste and his love of St. Paul's Church. It is probably the largest and finest work of the kind in Canada, executed by Alexander Ballantyne of Edinburgh at a cost of about \$11,000.

"Joint Report on Condition of St. Paul's Church."

This report was prepared in September 1917 by two groups of architects and engineers, one group acting on behalf of St. Paul's Church who were concerned about damage from nearby blasting, the other on behalf of the Mount Royal Tunnel & Terminal Co. Ltd.: "In testing the setting of the stone tracery of the Hope Memorial window, it was ascertained that the north wall of the Church was considerably out of plumb when the window was put in place, the amount being from 1 3/8 inches to 2 1/2 inches in the vertical distance between the window sill and the springing line of the arch." The discrepancy referred to above may have contributed to structural problems in the window, which necessitated major repairs in 1990.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S. J. Hayward, Charles Cowan Grant Hope memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A22)

John Sleeman, Charles Hope memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP.

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by John and Isabella Hope.

Designed and executed by Alexander Ballantine of Edinburgh for \$11,000.

Installed over the Dorchester street entrance of St. Paul's Church by architect Eric Mann during the summer of 1900.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1931.

Restored 1990 by Lubbers Studio, Montreal.

Rededicated 27 January 1991.

Window 11

Fig. A23

Janet Ewing Mathieson**LOCATION**

Narthex, south wall

DATE

1872

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*IN MEMORIAM JANET EWING MATHIESON BORN 1846 DIED 1868/ ERECTED
BY THE LADIES OF THE CONGREGATION*

TEXT

*HUNGRY AND YE GAVE ME MEAT/ THIRSTY AND YE GAVE ME DRINK/ A
STRANGER AND YE TOOK ME IN/ NAKED AND YE CLOTHED ME*
[Matthew 25:35-37]

SUBJECT

Illustrations of the text quoted above

DESCRIPTION

A window of two lights with geometric tracery including a quatrefoil containing scrolled foliage. Four panels illustrate the individual passages in the chosen text, which was a popular subject for memorials to women. Each scene is depicted at nightfall, a device which throws the figures into relief against the darker background. The gestures and facial expressions are clearly Victorian in their sentimentality, exhibiting a quality that is nonetheless charming and reveals contemporary taste. The colour consists mainly of warm hues: red, yellow, and brown. The canopies surmounting each scene are painted in yellow stain, with red and blue elements, creating a warm radiance. Geometric patterns fill the lower portion of both lights.

Alterations: In its second setting, in St. Paul's Church, the window contained six narrative panels, divided evenly between two lights, and a large quatrefoil depicting an angel with a banner proclaiming *KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH*. The quatrefoil is in storage. The heads of the lights were larger and contained more canopy-work. The lights and tracery were surrounded by a plain border of coloured glass.

The current setting displays many significant changes. Although the original order of the upper two-thirds of the window has been reproduced, the two panels which formed the lower third of the window were removed when the window was transferred to this setting. They were labelled *SICK AND YE VISITED ME* and *IN PRISON AND YE CAME UNTO ME*. The original tracery was removed in 1932 and replaced with glass from the Kinghorn window (see window 9). The monochrome border was exchanged for a border of scrolled foliage and patterned quarries, which considerably alters the general effect of this already colourful window.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Janet Mathieson, daughter of the minister, was drowned while swimming at Cacouna, Quebec, on 29 July 1868. She was 21 years of age.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church, 1850-1918."

Entry for 8 December 1869: "The chairman stated that two designs of stained glass for the windows, were being prepared by Mr. Spence and when finished would be submitted to the approval of the committee." This reference may refer to designs for a second memorial window to Janet Mathieson, as the first was destroyed by fire on 24 October 1869 (see Croil reference below). It may also refer to designs of patterned glass for the church, indicating that the church was accustomed to employing Spence. Support for a Spence attribution for this window lies in the connection between Spence and Notman, who had prepared the unusual photographic medallions for the Alexander and Catherine Mathieson memorial (see window 8). It is likely that Spence prepared designs for both windows simultaneously -- probably reproducing the original design for Janet's window which was destroyed in the fire of 24 October 1869. (See reference to Notman Index Book below). Additional evidence lies in the collaboration between architect Thomas Seaton Scott, who rebuilt St. Andrew's church in 1870-1871, and J.C. Spence. Spence was the glazier for at least two of Scott's churches, Bishop Strachan Memorial Church in Cornwall, Ontario (c.1868-1875), and Saint Luke's Church in Waterloo, Quebec (c.1871).

Entry for 16 December 1870: a list of expenditures for rebuilding the church includes "Stained Glass Windows \$1467."

Entry for early 1872: A memorandum lists "insurance from the London Assurance Corporation No. 1 Memorial Window – Miss Mathieson – \$1,000."

"St. Andrew's Church, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1872."
Listed under disbursements "Placing memorial windows \$72.87."

"The Night of Fires." Montreal Gazette, 25 October 1869.

In a description of the fire which destroyed St. Andrew's Church: "The beautiful memorial window to Miss Mathieson had been only finished a week ago."

Croil, James. Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D.D. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870.

The memorial biography mentions the Janet Mathieson window three times. The first reference (p.117), states: "A costly and beautiful memorial window, which had been but two weeks before placed in the Church, in memory of the late Miss Mathieson . . . perished in the general conflagration." Later in the text (p.198), Croil quotes from the Reverend John Jenkins' funeral sermon for the Reverend Mathieson, ". . . and for her whom he mourned, which some of you evinced in the erection of that beautiful memorial destroyed by the calamity of the 24th of October." Jenkins' sermon concludes with the public reading of a letter that Mathieson had written, "Language is inadequate to express my gratitude for your kindness in raising a memorial window in remembrance of my dear Janet Ewing Mathieson . . . The frail memorial, like her lovely life, has passed away; teaching us not to fix our affections on any earthly blessings."

"St. Andrew's Church of Scotland was Founded Ninety-three Years Ago Under the Rev. John Burns." Montreal Herald and Daily Telegraph, 12 January 1918.

"On the right and left of the pulpit there are memorial windows to Dr. Mathieson and members of his family."

Annual Report, 1921, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "The Session is also glad to note that the Memorial Windows and tablets of St. Andrew's Church have been installed in our present edifice."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S. J. Hayward, Janet Mathieson window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP.

John Sleeman, Janet Mathieson memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A23)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned (twice) by the women of St. Andrew's Church, first in 1869, and again in 1871, after the original window was destroyed by fire.

Designed and executed 1871-1872 by John C. Spence, Montreal.

Installed in St. Andrew's Church, to the side of the pulpit, in 1872.

Relocated to St. Paul's Church in 1921 and placed in the north transept, third window, directly across the nave from the Alexander and C.E. Mathieson memorial window.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Restored 1991 by Lubbers Studio, Montreal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Collard, Edgar Andrew. "Quebec had 'Saratoga of Canada'-- But Even the Romantic 'Seaside' had its Tragedies." Montreal Gazette, 18 August 1990.

Croil, James. Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D.D. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870.

"The Night of Fires." Montreal Gazette, 25 October 1869.

"St. Andrew's Church of Scotland was Founded Ninety-three Years Ago Under the Rev. John Burns," Montreal Herald and Daily Telegraph, 12 January 1918.

Window 12

Fig. A24

Donald Ross**LOCATION**

South aisle, first window

DATE

c. 1878

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*IN MEMORY OF DONALD ROSS BORN IN MILTON OF NEW TARBAT
ROSS-SHIRE SCOTLAND 12th OCTr 1811. DIED AT MONTREAL 16th MAY
1877*

TEXT

*UNTO EVERYONE THAT HATH SHALL BE GIVEN AND HE SHALL HAVE
.ABUNDANCE BUT FROM HIM THAT HATH NOT SHALL BE TAKEN AWAY
EVEN THAT WHICH HE HATH*
[Matthew 13:12]

SUBJECT

The Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25:14-30)

DESCRIPTION

A window of three lights which illustrates the biblical story of the master judging the resourcefulness of his slaves. The setting is a vaulted chamber, with blue sky and foliage visible through open windows. The master sits at a stone table, pointing to a scroll, and listens to the slave at the left who has just given in several bags of talents. On the right is a downcast slave, shown with the shovel he used to bury his bag of talents. The composition is clearly articulated, if a little crowded with crisp detail. The figures are skilfully drawn, with pronounced shading of the limbs and draperies. However, it is the expressive features of the downcast slave which captures attention. Colour in the window is bright and clear, relying to some extent on the exuberant patterning of the wide Gothic canopies and pedestal.

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, the window terminated in geometric tracery comprising three trefoils with angels. They were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory, remaining there until 1962 when the new clerestory series was installed. At that time one trefoil was donated to the St. Luke Chapel of the Verdun Protestant Hospital (now the Douglas Hospital). It was inserted into the second window from the altar. The other trefoils are currently in storage.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Donald Ross died at his home, Viewmount, in Montreal at the age of sixty-five. A philanthropist, and a passionate believer in education, he founded and incorporated the Trafalgar Institute for Girls in 1871, which drew trustees from the membership of St. Paul's Board of Trustees. A significant portion of Ross's estate was left to the Trafalgar Institute, which eventually opened in 1887. Donald Ross had chaired both the Site and Building Committees for new St. Paul's Church in 1867-1868.

DOCUMENTATION

J. Ballantine & Son, Edinburgh, Sample Sketch-Designs, 16 November 1877.

One of the sketch-designs depicts a three-light window with "The Sower" for its subject. The central panel is blank. A handwritten notation states: "Figure of Christ as 'The Sower' is required here to complete this design, but Messrs. Ballantine regrets that as it has been sent to a party it cannot be returned in time for this mail - 16th Nov. 1877."

A second sketch-design shows a window of two lights, with the subject noted as "St. Matthew XIII 37-39", i.e. "The Parable of the Sower." The Parable of "the Sower" occurs twice in the gospel of St. Matthew, first in Matthew 13:4-9, then in Matthew 13:37-39.

This suggests a conclusive connection between the Ballantine sketch-designs and the Ross window, because the text inscribed on the window, from Matthew 13:12, is found just after the first account of the Parable of the Sower, and not much before the second account. As well, the subject illustrated in the Ross window -- the Parable of the Talents, (Matthew 25:14-30) -- relates thematically to the Parable of the Sower, i.e. wasteful versus fruitful endeavour. These facts suggest that the original subject for the window, based on the chosen scriptural text, was meant to be "The Sower", but the unavailability of the design as noted by Ballantine on the sketch, led to the adoption of a similar subject, the Parable of the Talents. As it turned out, the latter subject can be seen as even more appropriate as a memorial to Donald Ross, a man who multiplied his "talents" i.e., capital and good works, to make a profit in this world.

In 1876 Ballantine executed a stained glass window for St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, illustrating the same subject.²⁷⁹

The dated Ballantine sketches, and the issue of related subject matter confirms an attribution of Ballantine for the window. As well, in the unusual circumstances outlined in the documentation below, the window was commissioned by the Church trustees. The presence of the Ballantine sketches in the archives suggests a connection to the trustees, and hence to this particular window, because in most cases the ordering of windows was the responsibility of the family of the deceased and this type of correspondence is not found in church archives.

A Ballantine attribution is also suggested by Samuel Greenshields's letter of request for the W.W. Redpath window (see window 15), which implies that most, if not all, of the windows in St. Paul's Church which date from before 1882 are by the Ballantine firm.

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899."

Entry for 4 April 1878: "The treasurer of the Building Fund having explained to the Trustees that at the time of the late Mr. Donald Ross's death a portion of his subscription for the liquidation of the Church debt, amounting to \$1250. was still unpaid, and that through some legal obstacle the executors under Mr. Ross's will did not feel warranted in paying the amount, but that Mrs. Ross had generously expressed a strong desire to have it paid, and that it had been arranged accordingly, the Trustees unanimously Resolved, as a mark of their appreciation of Mrs. Ross's desire, and also of Mr. Ross's valuable services and gifts to the Church during his long connection with it, that a Memorial window be erected in some suitable part of the Building to Mr. Ross's memory. Messrs. Rankin and Hope were appointed a Committee to carry out this determination."

²⁷⁹ See entry for St. Giles' Cathedral in John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, and David Walker, *Edinburgh. The Buildings of Scotland Series* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984). According to a list of windows supplied by St. Giles' Cathedral, the window is in memory of Alexander Clapperton and is located in the Albany Aisle.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, Photographic negative of Donald Ross memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP.

John Sleeman, Donald Ross memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A24)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the Church trustees from J. Ballantine & Son, Edinburgh, c. 1877.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, south aisle, second window, c. 1878.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 13

Fig. A25

John C. Watson**LOCATION**

South aisle, second window

DATE

1898

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*IN LOVING MEMORY OF JOHN C. WATSON/ WHO DIED APRIL 14 1895/
ERECTED BY HIS WIDOW*

TEXT

SURELY HE HATH BORNE OUR GRIEFS AND CARRIED OUR SORROWS
[Isaiah 53:4]

SUBJECT

The Agony in the Garden (Matthew 26:36-50)

DESCRIPTION

The design of this window, which depicts the Garden of Gethsemane by moonlight, is quite unusual. Foreground, middle ground, and background are effectively presented in the three lights. Deep sombre colours emphasize the atmosphere and drama inherent in the scene. The focus of the composition is the praying figure of Jesus in the central light. An angel in flowing draperies appears on the right. The left hand light contains the most dramatic elements of the narrative. In the background a full moon illuminates the approach of soldiers carrying weapons and torches. One face in particular stands out, Judas, his glaring eyes lit by torchlight. Between the soldiers and Christ are the supine figures of the sleeping apostles. The immediate foreground depicts a scene of natural beauty, with a stream flowing from the left, and a variety of plants, including rushes, grasses, and flowers. The white canopy and pedestal are luminous, providing a contrast with the rather dark window. This is an especially painterly window.

Brushstrokes are visible in several areas, such as the rendering of the soldiers, where paint is built up on opaque glass to suggest the outline of their forms. The representation of water in stained glass is particularly ambitious. The design makes good use of the leading to produce a mosaic effect.

These elements, and the emphasis on chiaroscuro in the window suggest the work of Montague Castle, of Castle and Son, Montreal. Although Castle may have worked in New York during this interval, he regularly exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal and the Royal Canadian Academy. According to Sarah McCutcheon, the design of the window corresponds to Castle's iconography during this period, which explored aspects of moonlight and darkness.²⁸⁰ Aspects of the window resemble the John Henderson Samuel memorial (see window 3) by Castle and Son.

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church, the window terminated in geometric tracery. The three trefoils featured angels: the first with a shield emblazoned with a chalice, the second with a shield emblazoned with the crown of thorns, and the third offering a crown on a tasselled cushion. The trefoils were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory, remaining there until the 1960s when the new clerestory series was installed. They are currently in storage.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

John C. Watson died in Bermuda in his sixty-ninth year. He co-founded the first wall-paper manufacturing company in Quebec known as Watson & Foster Co. Ltd. Watson married Harriet Allan in 1859. He joined the Board of Trustees of St. Paul's in 1869.

²⁸⁰ I am grateful to Sarah McCutcheon for these observations. She is the great great grand-daughter of Thomas Castle and owns archives from the Castle firm. Information on Montague Castle and his exhibited work in Evelyn de R. McMann, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts formerly Art Association of Montreal: Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), and J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899."

Entry for 19 September 1898: "The members of the family of the late Mr. John C. Watson having applied for permission to place a stained glass window in the Church to the memory of the deceased, it was decided to grant this request - it being understood that all expenses connected with the insertion of the window be borne by the said family."

Annual Report, 1898, St. Paul's Church.

Kirk Session Report: "On the motion of the chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the relatives for the stained glass window placed in the church to the memory of the late John C. Watson."

Trustees Report: "During the year a stained-glass window was placed in the west side of the Church by his relatives, a memorial to the late Mr. John C. Watson."

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

"John C. Watson died in Bermuda April 1, 1895. A beautiful stained glass window was placed in the church to his memory by his widow who survived him but a short time."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, Photographic negative of John Watson memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP.

John Sleeman, John Watson memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A25)

John Sleeman, Detail of John Watson memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A25)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Mrs. John Watson.

The window may be attributed to Montague Castle of Castle & Son, Montreal (see Description above).

Installed in St. Paul's Church, south aisle, third window, 1898.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 14

Fig. A26

Harriette Jenkins

LOCATION

South aisle, third window

DATE

c. 1875-1880

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

IN MEMORY OF HARRIETTE WIFE OF JOHN JENKINS D.D. MINISTER OF THIS CHURCH SHE DIED IN MONTREAL 22nd AUGUST 1875 AGED 60 YEARS ERECTED BY HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN

TEXT

None

SUBJECT

The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew 25:1-13)

DESCRIPTION

This subject was extremely popular for Victorian memorials to women. The principal scene spreads across three lights in a linear fashion, between a well-articulated and colourful canopy and pedestal. Three virgins appear on the left, four in the central panel, and three on right. The five wise virgins are easily identified by the flames on their lamps which are held upright. The empty lamps indicate the foolish virgins. The tension in the scene is heightened by the dark night sky lit by a sickle moon and by the crowding of the figures which suggests the panic of the hopeless virgins. Although the figures appear homogenous, each has individual features. Gestures are used to suggest emotion; a notable example is the despairing figure who holds her head in the background of the central light.

The manner of presentation, drawing of the figures and draperies, and style of the canopy and pedestal bears a strong resemblance to the Redpath and Ross windows by Ballantine. The attribution is also suggested by Samuel Greenshields's letter of request for the W.W. Redpath window (see window 15), which implies that most, if not all, of the windows in St. Paul's Church which date from before 1882 are by the Ballantine firm.

In 1876 Ballantine executed a stained glass window for St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, illustrating the same subject.²⁸¹

Alterations: In its original location at St. Paul's church, the window included geometric tracery. Three trefoils contained depictions of an angel with a sword, a recording angel with a large plume, and an angel holding its head. They were removed in 1932 and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory. The trefoils were removed again in 1962 when the new clerestory series was installed. At that time two of the trefoils were donated to the St. Luke Chapel of the Verdun Protestant Hospital (now the Douglas Hospital). They are easily identified in the following positions: the window closest to the altar contains the trefoil with angel holding its head, and the sixth window from the altar contains the trefoil with the recording angel. The third trefoil is currently in storage.

Alterations to the lights include the removal of part of the canopy in order to adapt the window to its new outline. The narrow monochrome border has been removed or imbedded in the stone wall.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

John Jenkins was born in Exeter, England, in 1813 and died in London in 1898. He was Minister of St. Paul's Church from 1865 until he retired in 1881. St. Paul's second church building, completed in 1868, was considered to be Dr. Jenkins' great monument in Montreal. This window is a memorial to his first wife, Harriette G. Shepstone. He remarried in Ottawa in 1877.

DOCUMENTATION

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

" . . . a brass tablet on the wall of St. Paul's Church adjoining the beautiful stained glass window which he [Jenkins] erected in memory of his first wife."

²⁸¹ See entry for St. Giles' Cathedral in John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, and David Walker, *Edinburgh. The Buildings of Scotland Series* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984).

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, Photographic negative of Harriette Jenkins memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP.

John Sleeman, Harriette Jenkins memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A26)

PROVENANCE

The window was commissioned by the Reverend John Jenkins and may be attributed to Ballantine & Son.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, south aisle, fourth window, after 1875.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 15

Figs. A27, A28

W. W. Redpath

LOCATION

Chapel of Youth, west wall facing Sherbrooke Street

DATE

c. 1882

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM WOOD REDPATH 1881

TEXT

THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD/ I WILL FEAR NO EVIL.
[Psalm 23.1]

SUBJECT

Christ as the Good Shepherd (Psalm 23 or John 10:11), and the Youthful David as Harpist (1 Samuel 16:18)

DESCRIPTION

A window of two lights and geometric tracery, with an elaborate canopy, pedestal, and border; the latter composed of alternating architectural motifs such as crocketed pinnacles, lancets, stonework, and rosettes. Praying angels fill the heads of the lights. The setting is a verdant landscape at twilight, with a flagstone path in the foreground. Christ as the Good Shepherd appears in the left hand light. He carries a crook and lamb and is surrounded by a flock. The young David appears on the right, playing his harp amongst the flock. The figure and facial drawing is accomplished, with delicate shading visible on the features and limbs of the men, as well as on the sheep. Colour in the window is strong and clear. An abundance of white glass distinguishes the foreground from the darker backdrop, notable for the variety of blues used in the milky glass portraying a cloudy sky.

Alterations: In its original setting next to the apse organ at St. Paul's Church, the two lights terminated in flowing tracery. Two elements from this tracery, Alpha and Omega motifs, now form part of the tracery of the composite window (see window 17). In its second setting, c. 1927, in the north transept, the flowing tracery was exchanged for a single large quatrefoil containing stylized floral motifs. It was likely ordered from a local glazier. When the window was relocated to the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932, the quatrefoil was removed and inserted into the plain glazing of the clerestory, where it remained until the 1960s, when the new clerestory series was installed. The quatrefoil is now located in the minister's office.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

William Wood Redpath was born 25 February 1858, the son of John Redpath, founder of the Redpath Sugar Refinery. He died in Metis, Quebec, on 26 July 1881 at the age of twenty-three.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Paul's Church, 1868-1899."

Entry for 6 June 1882: "On behalf of Mrs. Redpath and some of the friends of the late Mr. W.W. Redpath, I would ask the permission of the Trustees to erect a memorial window on the eastern side of the organ. They prefer this window to any of the others although they are aware that it will not be quite as well seen. The work will be executed by Messrs. J. Ballantine & Son who put up the other windows and the subjects will be the Good Shepherd and the Youthful David. Please bring this before the first meeting of the Board. Much obliged, S. Greenshields."

"Whereupon it was resolved that the request be granted, and that in communicating this resolution the Secretary intimate to Mrs. Redpath and those concerned the thanks of the trustees for their intention to perpetrate the memory of Mr. W.W. Redpath in this way which will also they feel assured add greatly to the beauty of the Church."

The specific location was chosen for its association with Redpath, who had been a member of the choir (see window 16 for more information).

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1918-1925."

Entry for 31 December 1919: "Mr. Angus reported that the Greenshields and Redpath Memorial windows could not be replaced in the windows of the transept as they were too large. It was decided to postpone taking any action in this matter."

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941 "

Entry for 23 March 1927: "Letter was read from Mrs. Henderson, requesting that the Greenshields and Redpath windows be put in a permanent position in the Church."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

William Notman, Samuel Greenshields and William Redpath memorial windows in the apse of St. Paul's Church (98706-II), 1892. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. (Fig. A27)

S.J. Hayward, Photographic negative of William Redpath memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP.

John Sleeman, William Wood Redpath memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP (Fig. A28)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned c. 1882 by Mrs. Redpath and friends of W.W. Redpath from J. Ballantine & Son, Edinburgh.

Installed in St. Paul's Church on the north side of the organ which occupied a central location in the apse.

Removed in 1919 when the chancel was redesigned to accommodate the large McLennan-Black Watch window and the reconstructed organ. The window was relocated a short distance away, to the east wall of the north transept, c.1927.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

Window 16

Figs. A27, A29, A30

Samuel Greenshields**LOCATION**

Chapel of Youth, south wall

DATE

1892. The window was presumably installed in 1892, the year E.B. Greenshields ordered it to be photographed by Notman (see documentation below)

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

IN MEMORY OF/ SAMUEL GREENSHIELDS/ BORN 1854/ DIED 1888

TEXT

none

SUBJECT

Christ, and Jonathan with the bow and arrows used to warn David (1 Samuel 20)
The subject of the Greenshields memorial corresponds to the Redpath window (see window 15).

DESCRIPTION

A window of two lights in opalescent glass employing unusual variegated tones of green, blue, brown, and purple. Minstrel angels fill the cusp of each light. The typical canopy, border, and detailed landscape have been abandoned in this boldly Aesthetic window, which instead emphasizes the physical presence of the two figures. The pedestal has been replaced by panels of swirling foliate decoration, studded with roughly cut knobs of coloured glass. Christ appears on the left, holding a scroll and pointing heavenward. Jonathan, on the right, looks Christ in the eye. He holds the bow and arrows used to warn David. The manner of representation differs from the other windows; for example, the folds of the draperies are not painted on glass, but are created from numerous small pieces of glass in different tones. The lead lines which hold the pieces together are used to emphasize the drawing.

Although dissimilar in style, the window takes its cue from the Redpath memorial. An understanding of the relationship between the windows provides the only clue in identifying the iconography of the later window. Samuel Greenshields had requested the location next to the organ for W.W. Redpath's memorial window (see window 15). The men were friends, and both died young. Greenshields's own memorial was chosen to occupy the corresponding position on the other side of the organ. The location was particularly suitable: Greenshields had been the organist and choir director for many years, and Redpath was a member of the choir. The earlier Redpath window illustrates Christ on the left, and David as a harpist on the right. David is meant to evoke the memory of Redpath, the youthful musician. This framework clarifies the subject matter of the Greenshields window. Christ is depicted on the left, therefore the youth on the right with a bow and arrows, must represent Greenshields. The facts suggest the biblical story of David and Jonathan, two friends separated by unhappy circumstances.²⁸² The story describes how Jonathan warned David to leave for safety by shooting arrows from his bow.

Alterations: In its original setting next to the apse organ at St. Paul's Church, the window terminated in flowing tracery. This contained the same type of foliate decoration found on the lower portion of the window. When relocated to the transept, the tracery was exchanged for a large quatrefoil of opalescent glass representing an area of blue sky. When the window was relocated a third time to the current church, the heads of the lights were reduced. As a consequence part of the angels' wings were removed. A narrow portion of the edge of both lights was also removed or imbedded in the stone wall, obscuring a portion of Christ's sleeve in the left light and an arrowhead from the right hand light. The original window was greater in length, and featured a larger expanse of sky.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Samuel Greenshields was the grandson of the Reverend Edward Black, the first minister of St. Paul's Church. He donated his services as organist and choir-master of St. Paul's from 1873-1882. He died in Montreal on 21 November 1888 at the age of thirty-four.

²⁸² I am indebted to Dr. J.S.S. Armour, Minister of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, for helping to unravel the iconography and subject matter of this window.

DOCUMENTATION

Morris & Co., Sketch-design labelled 'St. Paul's organ apse window,' c.1888-1892. #1022, The Sanford and Helen Berger Collection, California. (Fig. A29)

Curiously, this sketch appears to be a rejected design for the Greenshields window, one of a pair of windows located next to the organ in the apse of St. Paul's church. The other, for W.W. Redpath, was ordered from Ballantine in 1882 (see documentation, window 15, and description above). The outline of the proposed two-light window with flowing tracery duplicates the original Redpath window, as does the dimensions of the canopy and base. This suggests that the memorial was intended to correspond visually to the Redpath window. The date of the sketch-design, confirmed by Sanford Berger, points to the Greenshields window. The subject, two angels with musical instruments, also indicates a memorial to Greenshields as such emblems were appropriate for the organist. The final version of the window by an American firm included a pair of minstrel angels with a harp and pipes in the heads of the lights.

That the patron, E.B. Greenshields, was interested in the work of Edward Burne-Jones during this period is clear from a letter of 5 September 1889 from Burne-Jones to Greenshields. The artist, acquainted with Greenshields, regretted that he could not comply with a request of 19 August 1889 to begin a fresh painting as he had far too much work at the time.²⁸³

What is unanswerable at this point is why E.B. Greenshields rejected a Morris & Co. window and ordered in its place a memorial in a bold new style. Undoubtedly, the Greenshields window, with its striking use of opalescent glass and powerful, albeit mysterious figures, represented a conspicuous departure in stained glass for this congregation. Indeed, most of the windows commissioned after it retreated to more traditional styles.

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1918-1925."

Entry for 31 December 1919: "Mr. Angus reported that the Greenshields and Redpath Memorial windows could not be replaced in the windows of the transept as they were too large. It was decided to postpone taking any action in this matter."

²⁸³ Letter from Edward-Burne Jones to E.B. Greenshields, 5 September 1889. Album of clippings and correspondence, Greenshields Collection, Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History. The Greenshields Collection contains no references to the commission for the memorial window.

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941."

Entry for 23 March 1927: "Letter was read from Mrs. Henderson, requesting that the Greenshields and Redpath windows be put in a permanent position in the Church."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

William Notman, Samuel Greenshields and William Redpath memorial windows in the apse of St. Paul's Church (98706-11), 1892. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. (Fig. A27)

S.J. Hayward, Samuel Greenshields memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A30)

John Sleeman, Samuel Greenshields memorial window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP.

PROVENANCE

No definite attribution has been possible; however the window is certainly the work of an American firm, possibly J. & R. Lamb of New York.²⁸⁴

Although rumoured to be a window manufactured by Louis Comfort Tiffany, no reference to it is made in any of the major Tiffany catalogues.

It is likely that the window was commissioned by Samuel's brother, Edward Black Greenshields, who had ordered the Notman photograph in 1892. E.B., as the head of the family, signed as witness to Samuel's funeral at St. Paul's. He was an avid collector (and later became a recognized art historian and connoisseur) and as such would have been interested in the details of this commission.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, on the south side of the organ which occupied a central position in the apse.

Removed in 1919 when the chancel was redesigned to accommodate the large McLennan-Black Watch window and the reconstructed organ. The Greenshields window was relocated a short distance away to the east wall of the south transept, c. 1927.

Moved to the current Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in 1932.

²⁸⁴ I am indebted to Virginia Raguin, Director of the Census of Stained Glass Windows in America, for this suggestion

Window 17

Fig. A31

Composite Window**LOCATION**

Chapel of Youth, south wall

DATE

1932

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

none

TEXT

none

SUBJECT

Upper panels: Christ Healing the Sick

Lower panels: Christ Blessing the Children

DESCRIPTION

This window is a composite of glass panels from the original Barclay window in St. Paul's church, with the addition of one new panel. The original panels by Ballantine can be seen in the upper left, lower left, and lower right portions of the window. The new panel, on the upper right, depicts Christ in profile with his right hand stretched in benediction. The new design creates two separate scenes from the life of Christ. Tracery was added incorporating small medallions containing the Alpha and the Omega. These elements were relocated from the original flowing tracery of the Redpath window, made by Ballantine c.1882.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941."

Entry for 13 May 1932: "Blank window to children's chapel . . . A design was submitted, composed of three panels from the Barclay memorial window and one new panel. The committee approved the design and authorized the expenditure on this window."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

John Sleeman, Composite window at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990.
Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A31)

PROVENANCE

Three panels of glass from the original Barclay window, St. Paul's Church, and one new panel of glass form this composite window, which was conceived in 1932 as a solution to a design problem in the new Church building. The original panels were made by Alexander Ballantine of Edinburgh in 1925. The new panel was almost certainly made by the same company -- the drawing and colour appear identical to the original, the matching of the panels is seamless, and the overall composition is quite sophisticated.

Installed in the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1932.

Window 18

Fig. A32

The Reverend Edward Black**LOCATION**

Vestry, off north aisle

DATE

1879

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

*A FEW PERSONAL FRIENDS JOINED WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE
CONGREGATION & HAVE ERECTED THIS WINDOW TO THE MEMORY OF/
THE REV. EDWARD BLACK DD IN RECOGNITION OF HIS SELFDENYING
WORK AS THE FOUNDER OF THIS CHURCH. AD 1879*

TEXT

none

SUBJECT

none

DESCRIPTION

A window of two lights filled with a decorative pattern of grisaille strap-work forming heart-shaped motifs. These contain green and white stylized foliage on a red background. All against a blue background, with a border of orange lilies.

Alterations: In its original setting at St. Paul's Church the window was twice as long, and included geometric tracery. The central medallion of the quatrefoil depicted a white dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Reverend Edward Black was born in Scotland in 1793. He founded St. Paul's Church in 1832 and led the congregation until his death in Montreal on 8 May 1845.

DOCUMENTATION

Croil, James. "Early Church Records." Ms.

"Rev. E. Black . . . A stained glass window in the church bears further testimony to the estimation in which he was held in the community and the congregation."

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

S.J. Hayward, The Reverend Edward Black memorial window at St. Paul's Church, 1929. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A32)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by friends of the minister and members of the congregation.

A comparison suggests this window was manufactured by the same firm as the McGill window (see window 2).

The quality of the window suggests it was produced locally, possibly by J.C.

Spence who was commissioned for a series of patterned windows for new St. Paul's Church in 1868.

Installed in St. Paul's Church, north transept, west wall

TEXTILES

Item 19

Figs. 33, 34

Tapestry "Suffer little children to come unto me"**LOCATION**

Chapel of Youth, east wall

DATE

1934 (1933-1935)

Given the dates of when weavers were available and of the dedication ceremony for the tapestry (see below), it is possible to pinpoint a date of 1934.

TEXT

suffer little children to come unto me
[Matthew 19:14]

SUBJECT

Christ Blessing the Children

DESCRIPTION

This wool and silk tapestry is a rare example in Canada of the work of Morris & Co.'s Merton Abbey Tapestry Works. The tapestry is a late work by the firm which was inaugurated in 1881 and closed in 1940.

The design for "Christ Blessing Children" was originally made by Edward Burne-Jones in 1874 for a stained glass window by Morris & Co. in the church of St. Mary the Virgin in Speldhurst, Kent, England.²⁸⁵ Tapestry designs were often adapted from earlier stained glass compositions, and share a similar shallow perspective.

²⁸⁵ I am indebted to Sanford L. Berger for this reference. The cartoon (BJ277) for the window is reproduced in A. C. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) Plate 449.

Like the cartoon for the window, the tapestry depicts the seated figure of Christ in profile, his hands outstretched in blessing to a group of small children and their mothers. The foreground is a rocky terrain; the background contains a hilly landscape with a young tree spreading its foliage immediately behind the figure group. A border contains naturalistic depictions of grape vines and briar rose, interspersed with pomegranates, pears, and anemones, against a black background. The text, in gothic script, appears on an unfurled banner along the upper edge. This arrangement of border and inscription is typical of Morris & Co. tapestries.

MARKINGS

Sewn on selvage: *PS. SM. WS. HW Merton Abbey*. Also included is a bishop's mitre, the firm's mark which appears on all tapestries of importance after 1912.

The initials indicate the following weavers: Percy Sheldrick (at Merton Abbey 1921–1939), Sidney Mears (1933–1936), Wallace Stevens (1933–1936), and Arthur Wingate (1933–1935).²⁸⁰ Stevens was the most junior member of the staff and he, Mears, and Wingate were the least experienced weavers. Percy Sheldrick left the firm in 1939 as master weaver.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Isobel Brenda, Lady Meredith, was the daughter of Andrew Allan and Isabella Anne Smith (see windows 5 & 6). She was born 23 May 1867 in Montreal and was baptized at St. Paul's Church. She remained a member of the congregation until her death on 12 April 1959 at the age of ninety-one. Lady Meredith was one of the church's great benefactors and commissioned several gifts specifically for the Chapel of Youth. These include the Merton Abbey tapestry, the wrought-iron screen in memory of her husband, Sir H. Vincent Meredith (see item 21), and the carved wooden pews, given in 1950 in memory of her brother, James Bryce Allan, K.C. Although the tapestry is not identified as a memorial, it is certainly associated with her memory, and it is fitting that it was made by Morris & Co. who had designed her parent's memorial windows.

²⁸⁰ Weavers' dates from Linda Parry, *William Morris Textiles* (New York: Viking Press, 1983): 177; and Oliver Fairclough and Emmeline Leary, *Textiles by William Morris and Morris & Co. 1861–1940* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981): 105.

DOCUMENTATION

Annual Report, 1935, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "On May 12th a beautiful symbolic tapestry, the gracious gift of Lady Meredith, was unveiled and dedicated in the Chapel of Youth."

Morris & Co., Watercolour Design for Tapestry "Suffer the little children to come unto me." #1023, The Sanford and Helen Berger Collection, California.²⁸⁷
(Fig. A33)

A change in proportion to a vertical presentation is the only major variation between this preparatory watercolour design and the final version of the tapestry. In the tapestry, a larger area is devoted to the immediate foreground, while the upper portion has been expanded to include additional foliage.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

John Sleeman, Merton Abbey tapestry at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP.

PROVENANCE

Given by Lady Meredith. It is not clear whether she specifically commissioned the tapestry for the Chapel of Youth, although the subject is certainly fitting.
Woven at the Merton Abbey Tapestry Works of Morris & Co. between 1933-1935.
Dedicated at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul on 12 May 1935.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Donald, The Reverend George H. Stones that Speak. Montreal: The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, [1948]. pp. 16-17. (Fig. 34)

²⁸⁷ I am grateful to Sanford L. Berger for bringing the painting to my attention, and for sending a colour photocopy of the work

METALWORK

Item 20**Alexander Mathieson Memorial Church Bell****LOCATION**

Church tower

DATE

1870

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

none

DESCRIPTION

An open-mouth non-portable tower bell

MARKINGS

Inscribed *Mears & Stainbank Founders London 1870*

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Reverend Alexander Mathieson was Minister of St. Andrew's Church from 1826-1870. (See window 8 for more details)

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Andrew's Church, 1850-1918 "

A letter from Edinburgh dated 30 January 1871 and signed Chisholm states: "I have secured a bell already cast of nearly twenty one hundred weight with all the necessary stock, from the parties recommended by you (Messrs Mears + Stainbank) who have advised me not to send it out until navigation between Halifax and Quebec is open, on account of the risk of breaking and delay by the Portland route -- they are to send it Montreal direct by the first steamer in the spring, the tone is E."

The well-known firm of Mears & Stainbank (now the Whitechapel Bell Foundry) is one of the oldest established firms in England, and has been in

existence under various names since 1567.²⁸⁸ Mears & Company supplied a series of bells to the Parish Church of Notre Dame in Montreal in the 1840s. The church in turn donated the "Charlotte," a bell cast in 1774 by the founders, to St. Patrick's Church, Montreal (re-cast in 1908).²⁸⁹ George Mears ran the firm from 1844-1865. After his death in 1865, the foundry passed into the hands of Robert Stainbank. The name of the firm remained Mears & Stainbank until 1968. The most famous bells produced by the founders are the second (and current) hour bell for Big Ben of Westminster (1858), and the Philadelphia Liberty Bell (cast 1752, cracked same year).²⁹⁰

Entry on page 174: "The Bell presented by the Chisholm to St. Andrew's Church Montreal in memory of the late Rev. Alexander Mathieson D.D. was rung for the first time on Sunday the 28th day of May 1871."

Entry for early 1872: A memorandum lists "insurance from the London Assurance Corporation on The Bell - \$500."

Annual Reports in the Minute Book indicate the bell was rung every Sunday until at least 1910. A bell ringer was paid \$50 per annum for the task.

PROVENANCE

Commissioned to the memory of the Reverend Alexander Mathieson by the Chisholm.

Made in 1870 by Mears & Stainbank, Bell-Founders, of Whitechapel, London, and shipped by steamer to Montreal in the spring of 1871.

Hung in St. Andrew's Church in May 1871, where it remained until 1927 when the church was demolished to make way for the new Bell Telephone Head Office.

In storage until c.1932, when it was built into the upper level of the tower of the new Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

The bell was not rung until 1992, after being set in a new cradle and electronically wired. Re-dedicated Easter Sunday, 1992, by the Reverend Dr. J.S.S. Armour, minister of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

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²⁸⁸ H.B. Walters, Church Bells of England (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1912): 216.

²⁸⁹ William Henry Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914, vol 2 (Montreal: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914): 255-256, 265.

²⁹⁰ Percival Price, "Whitechapel Foundry," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 20 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980): 385-386.

Item 21

Fig. 35

Wrought-iron Screen**LOCATION**

Chapel of Youth

DATE

1933

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

A raised inscription in gothic script on the stone wall between the two panels of the screen states: *This screen is erected and dedicated to/ the Glory of God and in loving Memory of/ Sir Vincent Meredith Bart. LL.D. DCL./ 1850-1929.*

DESCRIPTION

Two floriated, wrought-iron screens which separate the Chapel of Youth from the nave. Each is composed of three panels, those at the far left and right open onto the chapel. The elaborate handwrought cresting of each screen contains numerous examples of applied leafwork, including the water leaf and acanthus. Prominent standards are surmounted by sprays of stylized tulips and lilies. The cresting on the left screen contains the Meredith family shield of arms, crest, and motto, *SUB SPE VIRTUTIS PRAEMIUM*. The cresting on the right screen includes an enamelled plaque surrounded by wrought iron thistles and roses. It depicts the church's patron saints with their attributes: St. Andrew and the transverse cross, and St. Paul with the Bible.

The style of the screen resembles English metalwork of the first quarter of the 18th century.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Sir H. Vincent Meredith, an internationally recognized financier, had been President of the Bank of Montreal and a director of numerous prominent corporations. His philanthropic interests were extensive; for example, he was President of the Board of the Royal Victoria Hospital and Vice-President of the Art Association of Montreal. He was created a baronet on 15 September 1916.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941."

Entry for 14 October 1932: "The question of an iron screen between the Nave and the Children's Chapel was discussed. The Architect was instructed to see the donor, with regard to this work, and it was resolved that any design should be submitted and approved by the Building Committee before any arrangements for its fabrication were entered into."

Entry for 16 January 1933: "In viewing the full size sketch of the Memorial Screen . . . the position of the inscription was discussed and the west side of the central pier was considered most suitable. To give greater prominence to memorial inscriptions, the Architect is to obtain price on raised letters."

Annual Report, 1933, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

"To the list of gifts for Church furnishings . . . there is now to be added the gift of the beautiful wrought-iron screen, which forms the western side of the Chapel of Youth. This screen has been erected by Lady Meredith in memory of her late husband, Sir Vincent Meredith. . . . The dedication of the screen was conducted by the Reverend Dr. Donald . . . on Sunday 7 May [1933]."

Drawings for screen:

"Proposed wrought iron screen," Item 359; "Detail of screen, lower portion," initialed H.B.S. and dated 19 January 1933, Item 364; "Flower basket, side panels (Memorial screen)," signed H.B. Stout and dated 6 February 1933; "Details of screen," Items 366, 367; Job 303, Fetherstonhaugh Collection, 81203/1, National Map Collection, NAC.

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

John Sleeman, Wrought-iron screen at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1990. Archives, SSAP. (Fig. A35)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Lady Meredith.

Designed in 1933 by Harold B. Stout of the firm of H.L. Fetherstonhaugh.

Crafted by Paul Beau, who, among other commissions, was responsible for ornamental iron-work in the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

Dedicated at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 7 May 1933.

EXHIBITIONS

Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (R.A.I.C.), Fourth Annual Exhibition, held at the Montreal Art Gallery [Montreal Museum of Fine Arts]. Opened 16 November 1933.

The memorial screen was awarded an Honourable Mention for Craftsmanship in the category of Metal Work.

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Pepall, Rosalind. Paul Beau (1871-1940) exhib. cat. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1982.

Item 22

Fig. 36

Chancel Rail and Gates**LOCATION**

Chancel

DATE

1938

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

An inscription in cut stone to the left of the rail states: *To the glory of God and in thankfulness for the lives of/ Hugh Andrew Allan, 1857–1938, and/ Margaret Elizabeth Rae, 1858–1926, these Chancel Gates are erected and dedicated./ The gift of their daughter Margaret Rachel Wheeler.*

DESCRIPTION

The memorial consists of four wrought iron panels with a fixed railing at either end, and two gates which open from the centre. A sculpted vine containing the symbolic motifs of grapes, wheat, roses, and split pomegranates, flows along the top of the railing. Emblems sculpted in low relief decorate each panel. A chalice and sheaf of wheat, symbols of Holy Communion, are represented on the gates. Both railings contain a depiction of the brig "Jean," the first ship of the Allan Line to cross the Atlantic, from Scotland to Quebec.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Hugh Andrew Allan was the son of Andrew and Isabella Allan (see windows 5 and 6). He was born 22 September 1857 in Montreal and married Margaret Rae in 1884. She was a directress of the Woman's National Immigration Society. Allan became a partner in the Montreal Ocean Steamship Co. (the Allan Line) in 1881, was in charge of the Boston branch between 1887–1892, and ultimately was named President of the Allan Line Steamship Company. He died in Montreal on 28 January 1938.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1926-1941."

Entry for 7 February 1938: "The Chairman presented a drawing of the Memorial Gates for the Chancel . . . Unanimous approval was expressed."

Annual Report, 1938, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "On Sunday, September 25th, our sixth anniversary . . . a Chancel Rail and Gates, as a Memorial to Mr. and Mrs. Hugh A. Allan, were dedicated. Following the ceremony, the gates were formally opened by Lady Meredith."

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Margaret Wheeler.

Designed by Fetherstonhaugh & Dunford, Architects.

Dedicated at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 25 September 1938.

EXHIBITIONS

Montreal Art Association [Montreal Museum of Fine Arts]. Fifty-sixth Annual Spring Exhibition, 9 March - 2 April 1939. no. 349.

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"Interior of Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal, Quebec." JRAIC 21 (March 1944): 54-55 (ill.).

Item 23**Hymn Board****LOCATION**

To the right of the chancel arch

DATE

1948

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

TO THE GLORY OF GOD/ 1879 G.T.H. 1944

DESCRIPTION

A painted metal hymn board surmounted by a row of sculpted thistles

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

George Taylor Hyde was born in 1879 and died in Montreal on 23 June 1944. He had been a partner in the architectural firm of Nobbs & Hyde, Montreal.

DOCUMENTATION

"Minute Book of the Trustees, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 1911-1957."

Entry for April 23, 1948: "Mr. G.M. Hyde, approved for payment by Church, an invoice from Castle & Sons in the amount of \$147.96, covering the memorial hymn board made to his specifications. . . amount to be taken from the 200. Hyde donated for purpose."

Annual Report, 1948, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

Kirk Session Report: "At the morning service on the sixteenth day of May, a Memorial Hymnboard, the gift of Mr. G. Miller Hyde in memory of his father, was dedicated by the Minister."

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by Justice G. Miller Hyde.

Designed by Percy Nobbs, Architect, and made by Castle & Sons, Montreal.

Dedicated at the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 16th May 1948.

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Manuscript Division, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal

Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto

Presbyterian College Library, Montreal

Registry of Stained Glass Windows in Canada, North York, Ontario

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh

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Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh

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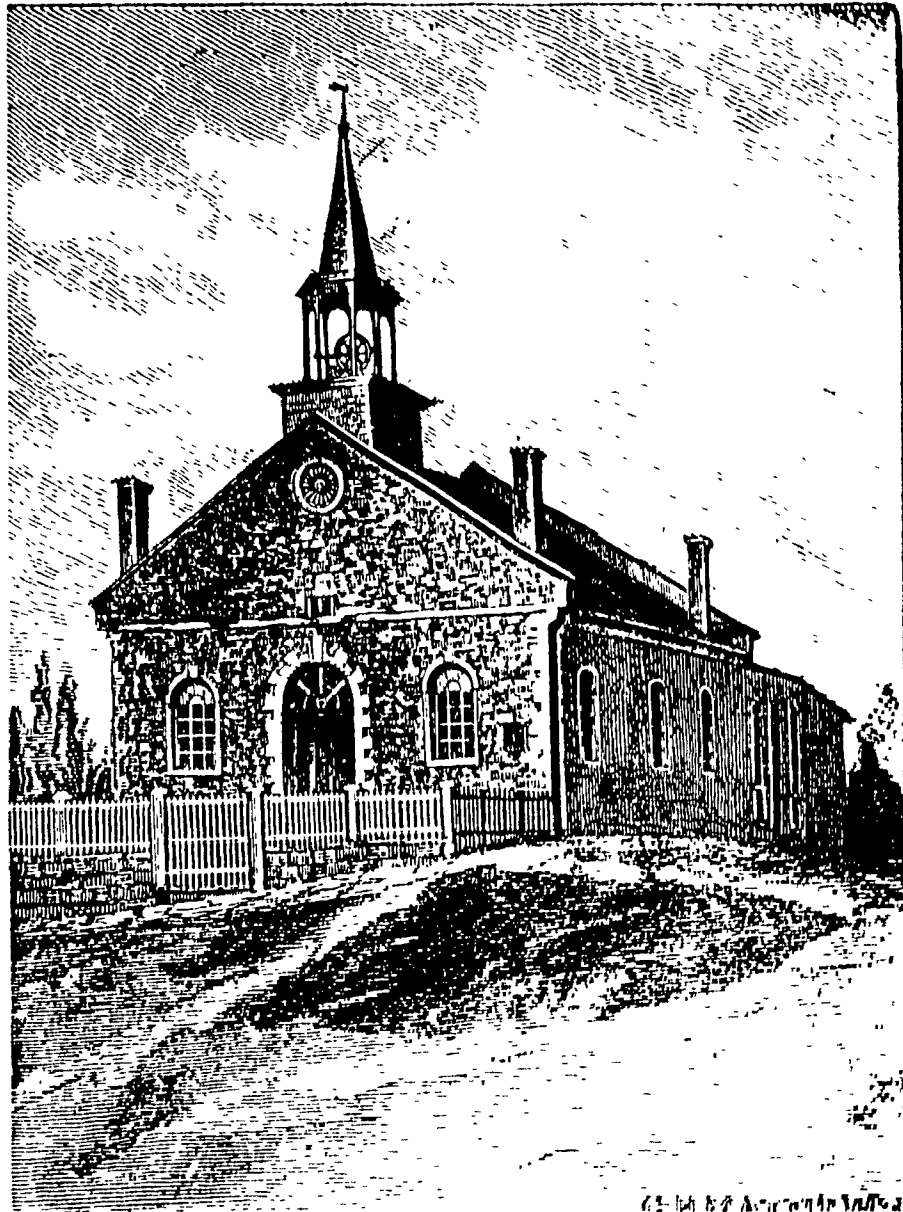
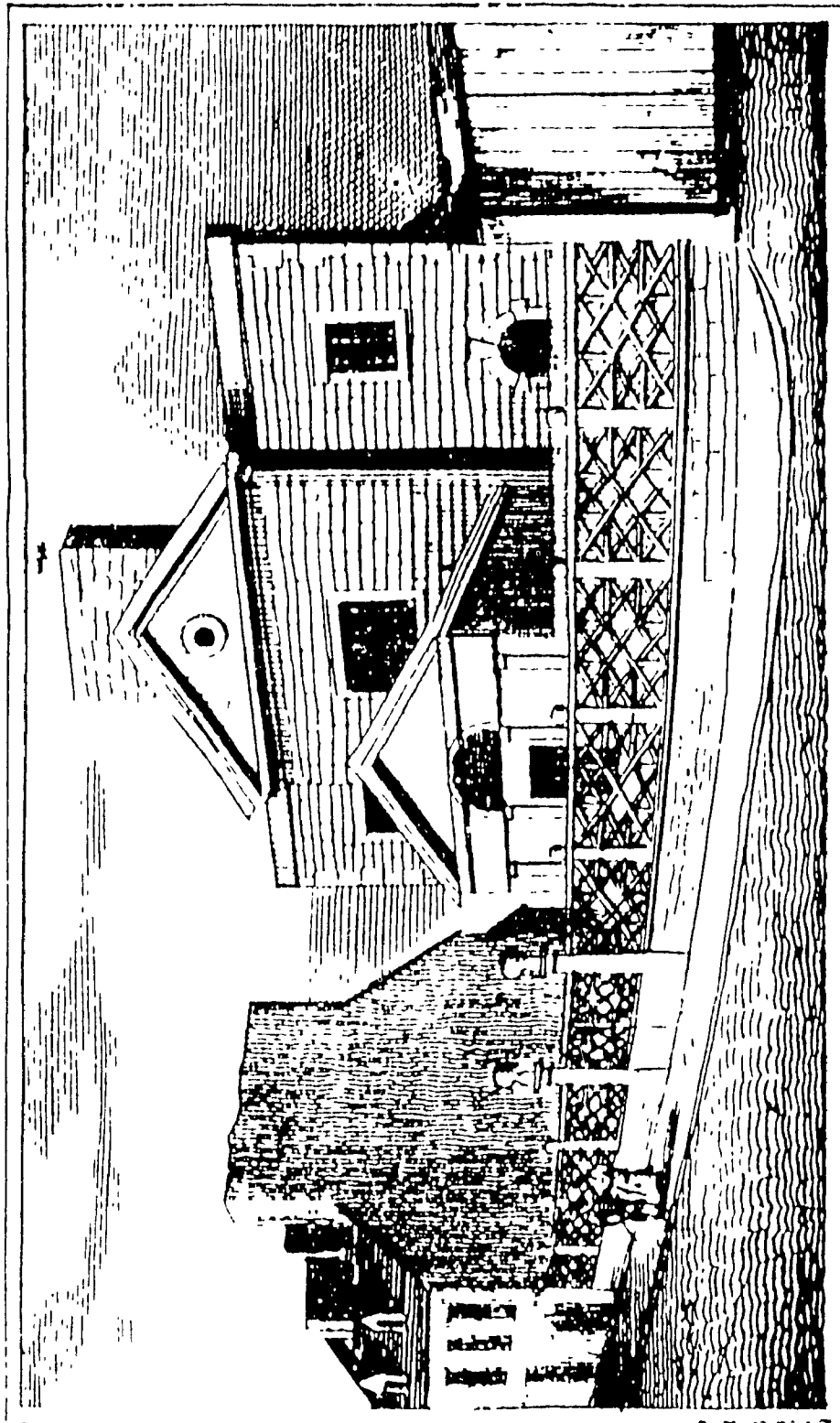


Fig. 1



ST ANDREWS'S SCOTCH CHURCH

Fig 2

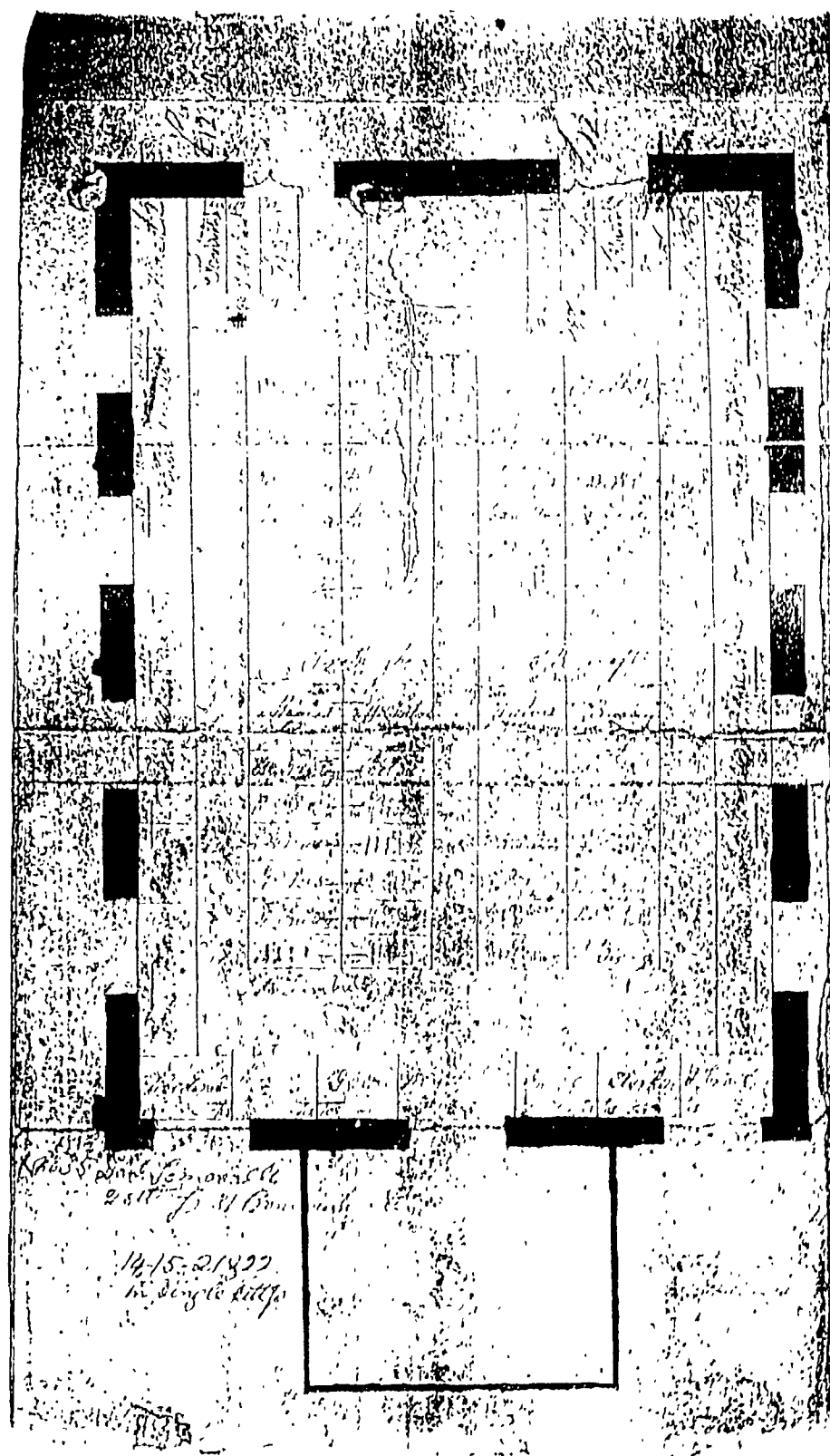


Fig 3

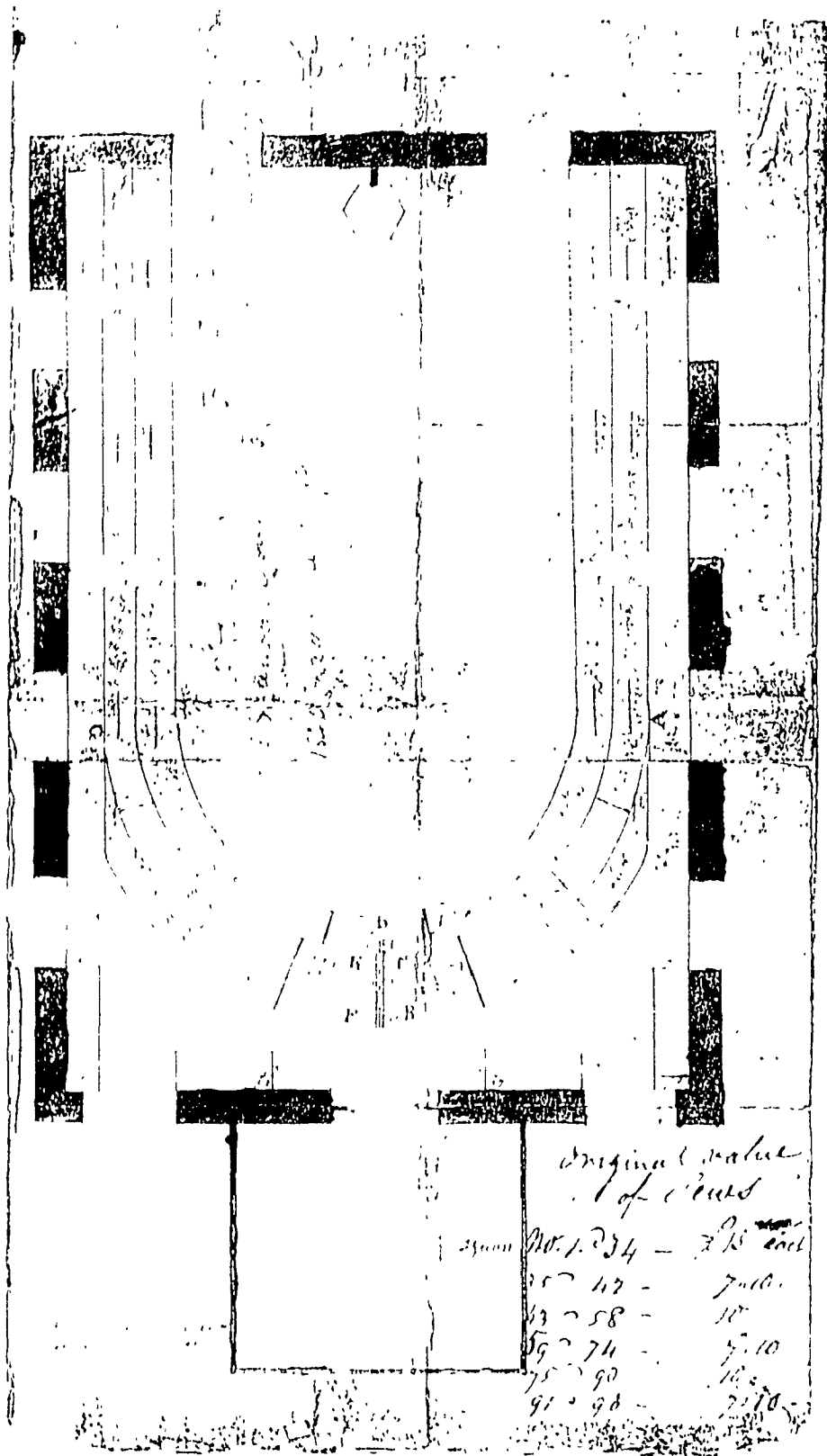
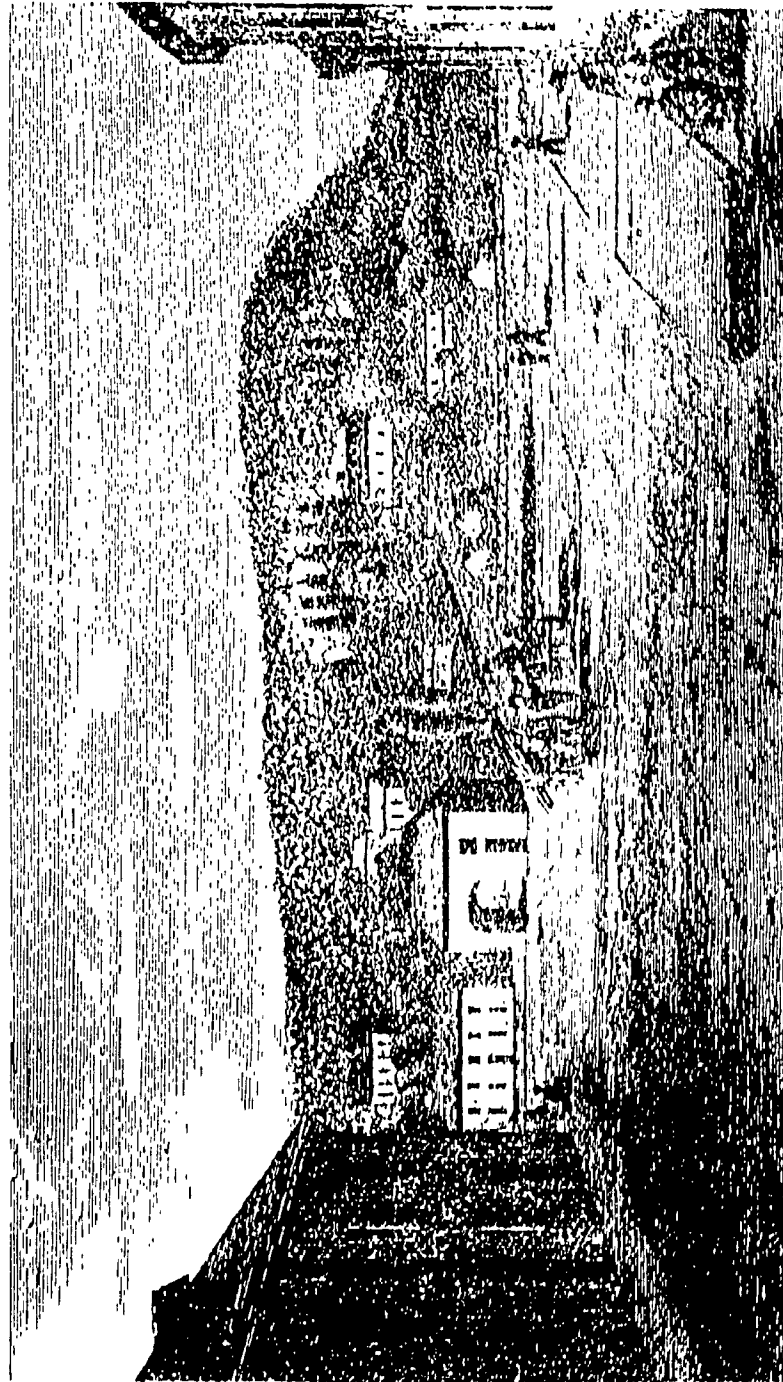


Fig. 4



VIEW FROM THE HALLWAY

Fig 5



Fig. 6

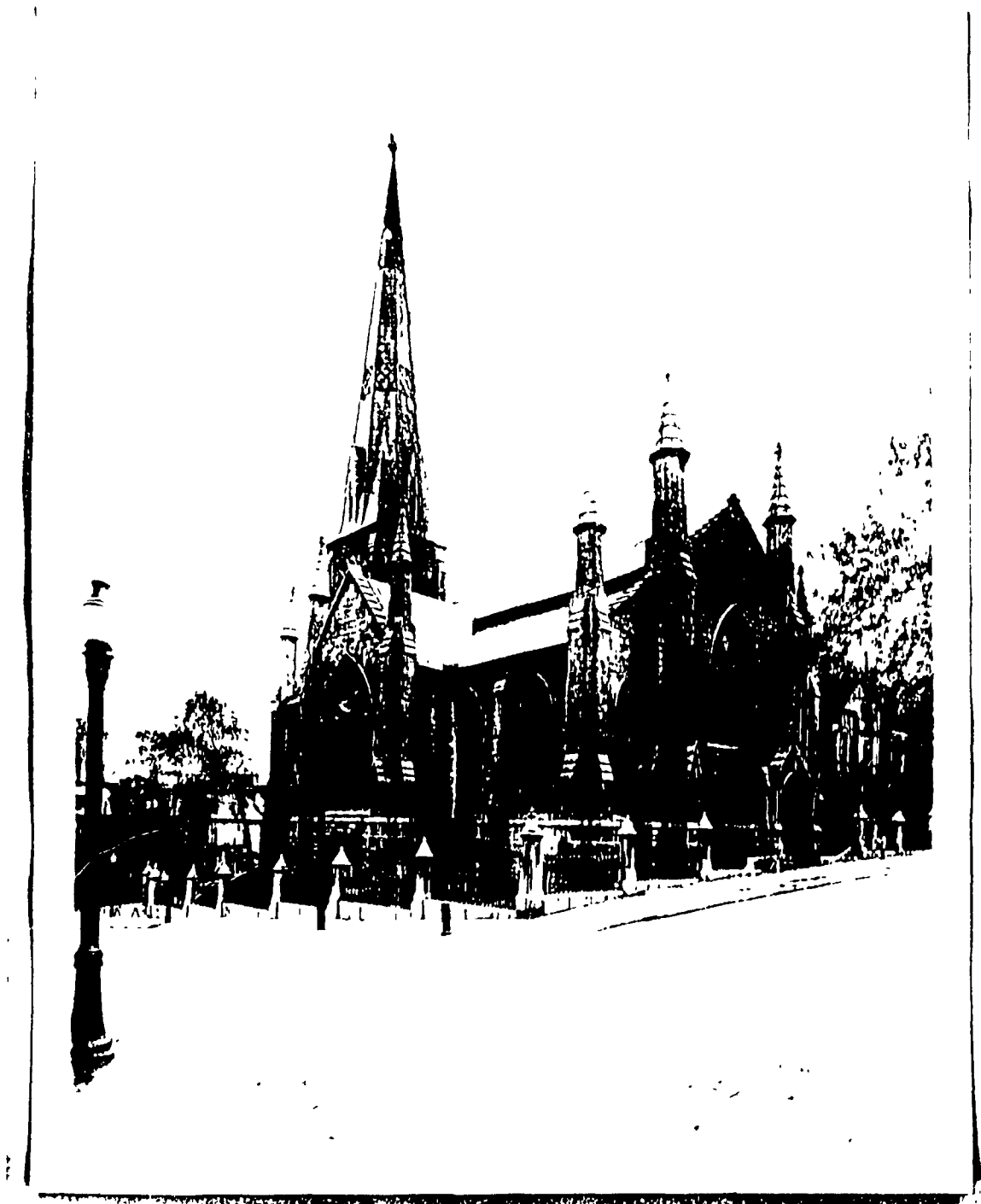


Fig. 7

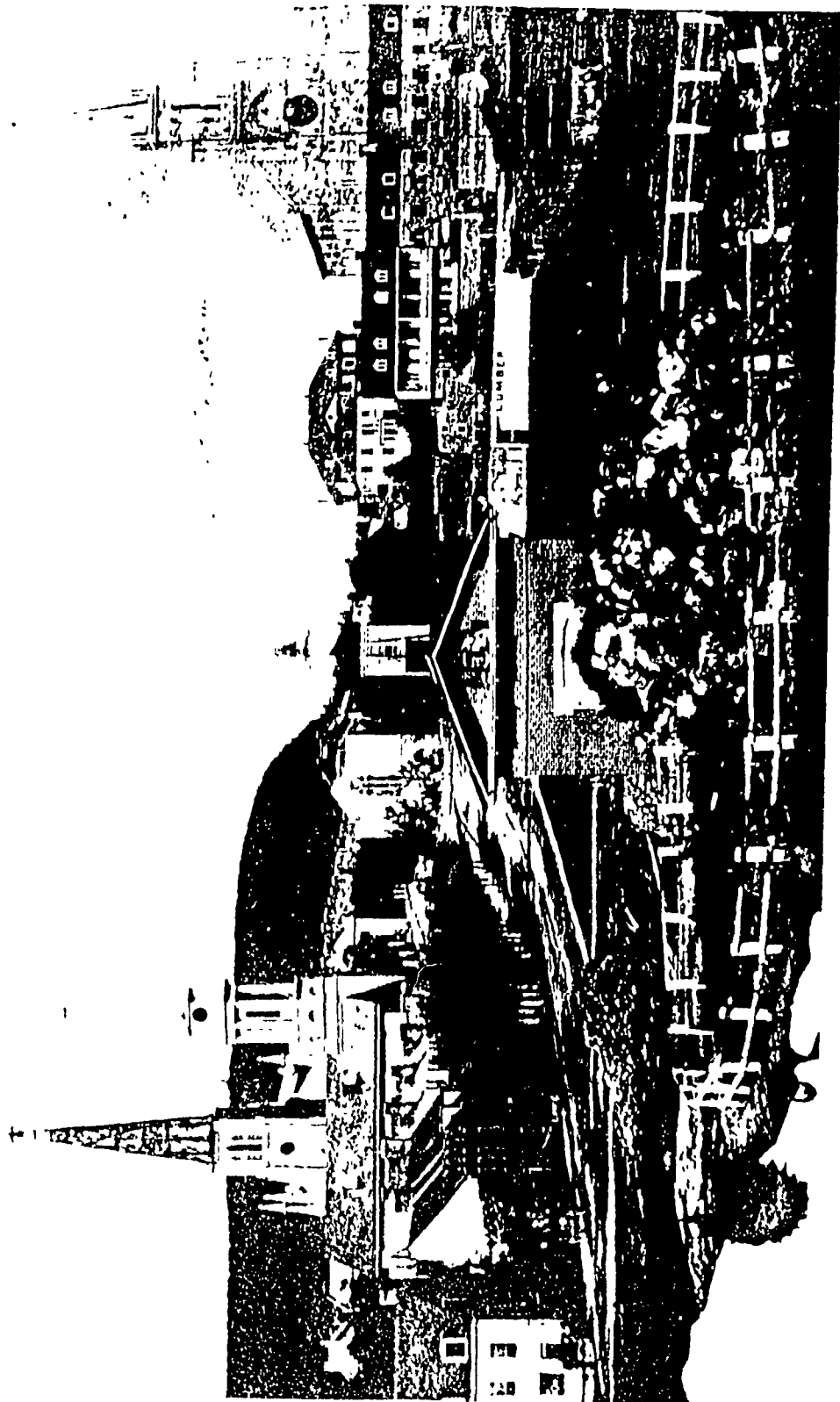


Fig 8

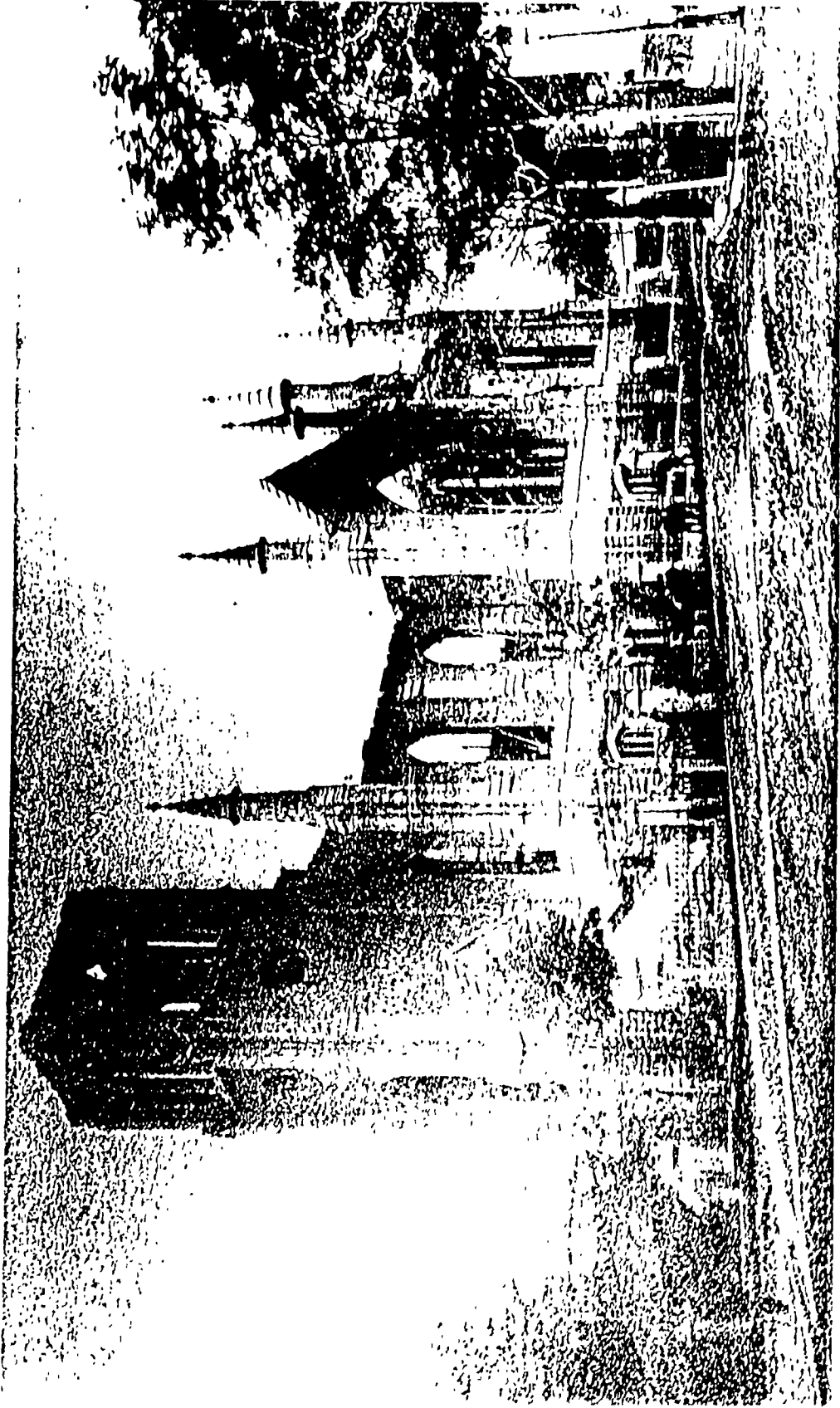


Fig. 9

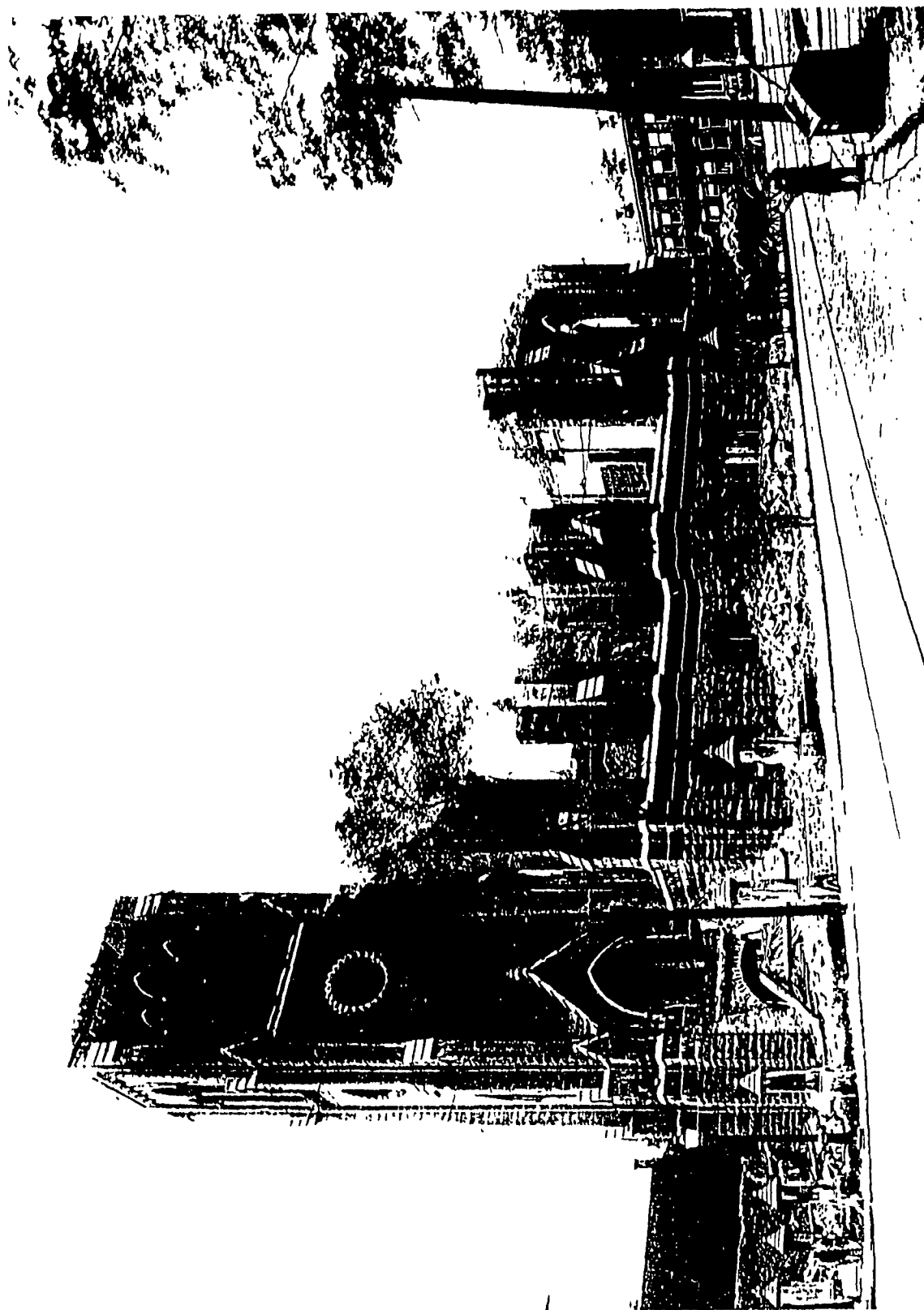


Fig. 10

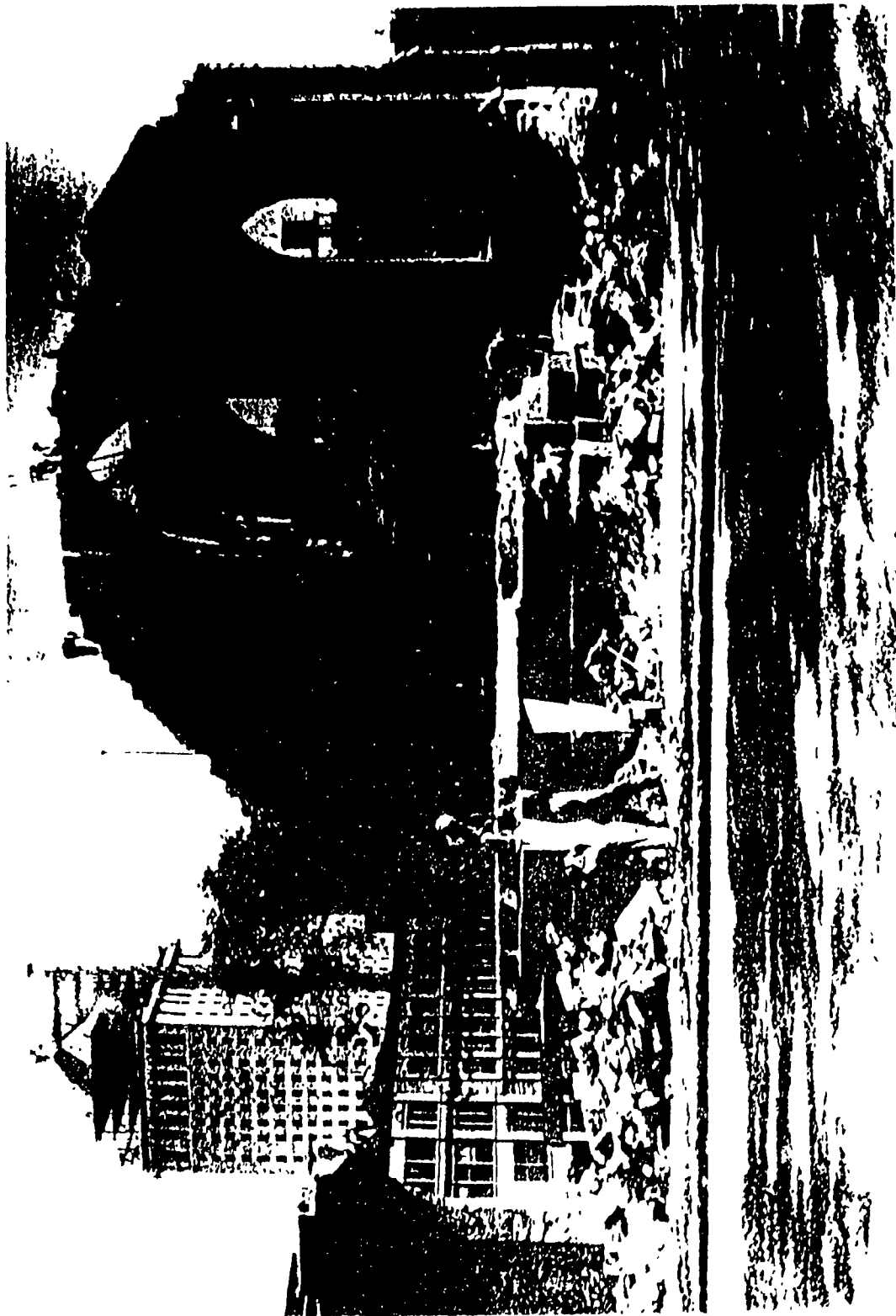
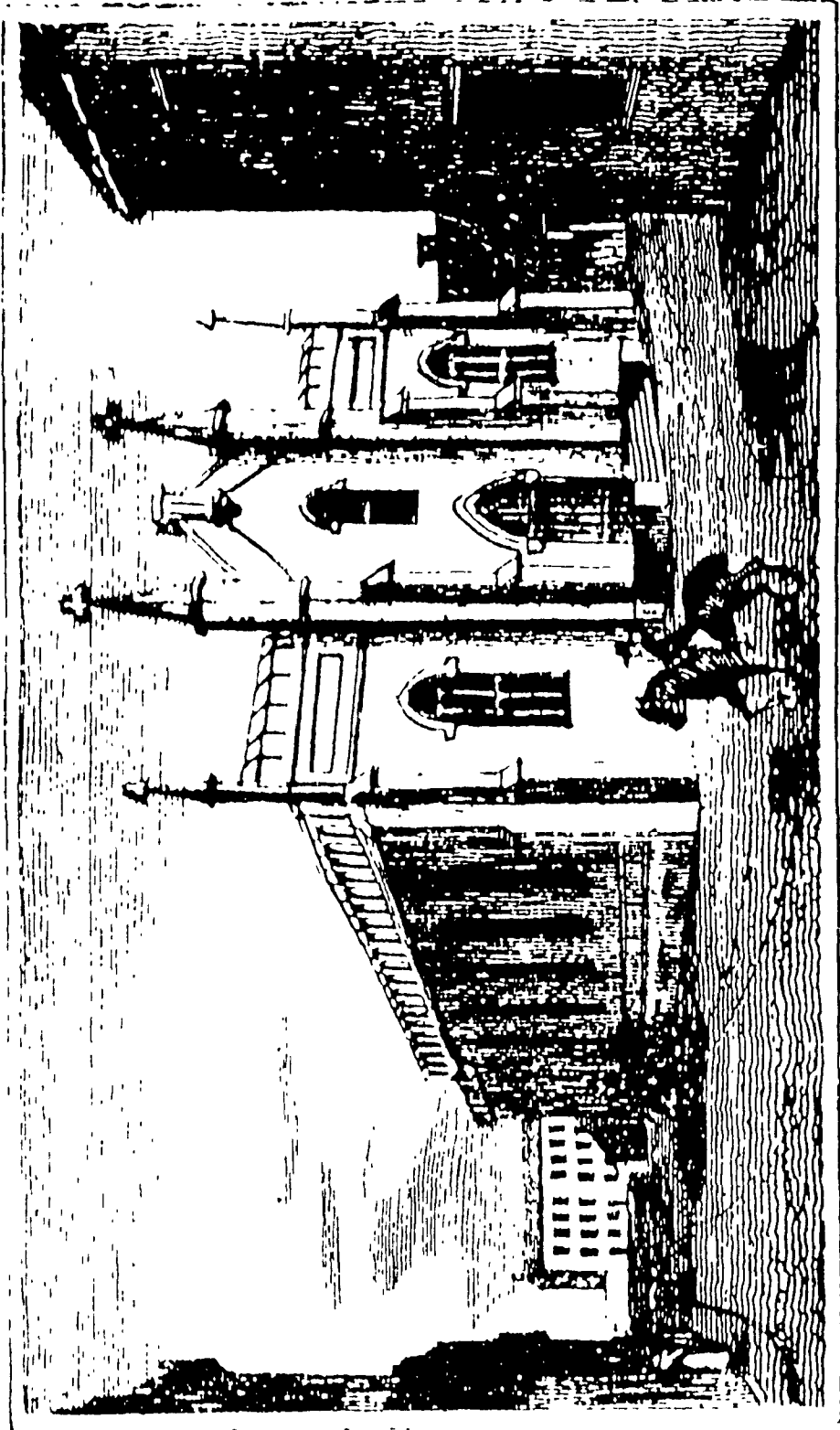


Fig. 11



S- PAUL'S SCOTCH CHURCH

Fig 12



Fig. 13

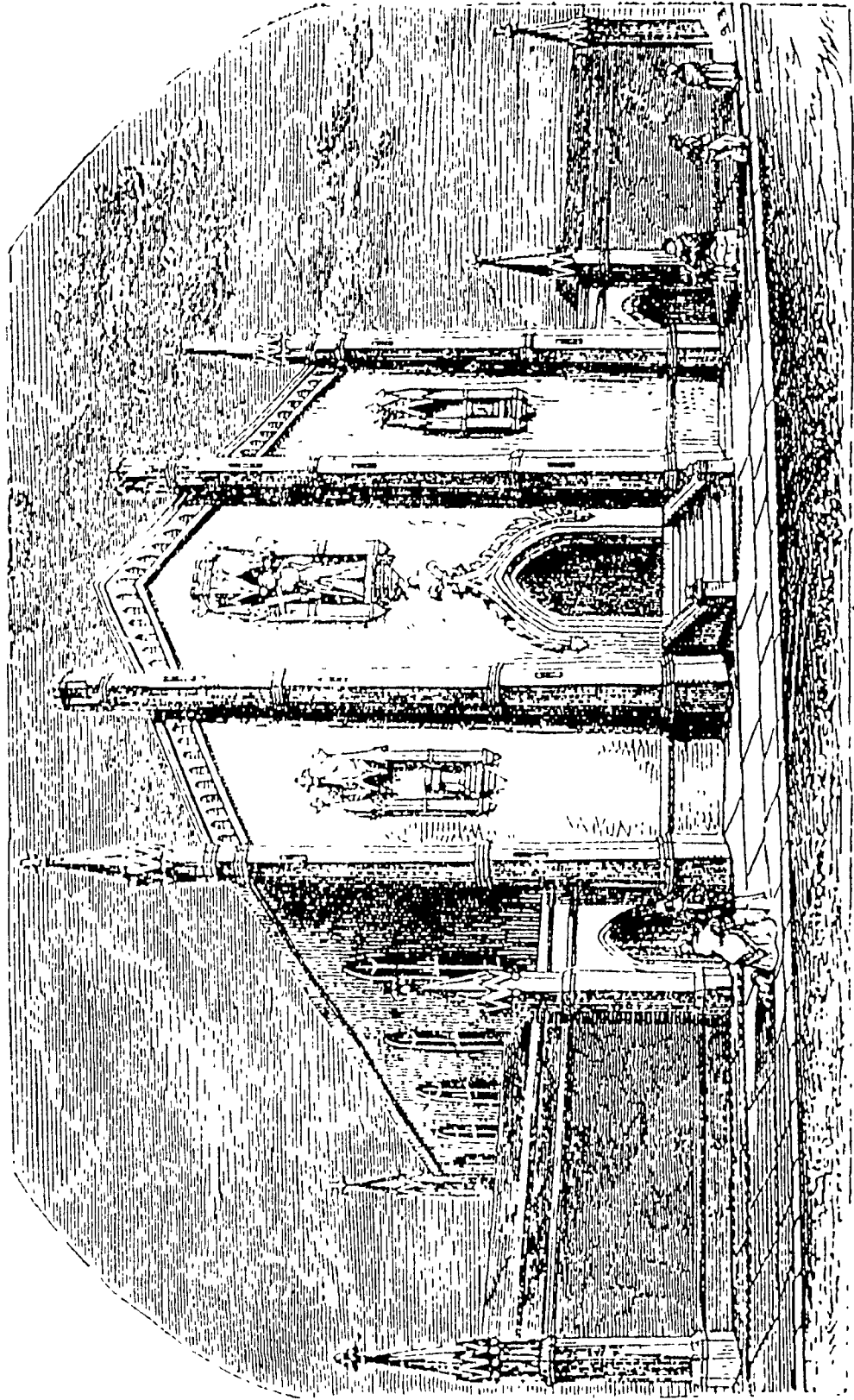


Fig. 14

NORTH	SOUTH	WEST	EAST
<p>W. S. WILLIAMSON & CO. Importers of Fancy and Stable Dry Goods.</p>	<p>W. S. WILLIAMSON & CO. Importers of Fancy and Stable Dry Goods.</p>	<p>W. S. WILLIAMSON & CO. Importers of Fancy and Stable Dry Goods.</p>	<p>W. S. WILLIAMSON & CO. Importers of Fancy and Stable Dry Goods.</p>
<p>ST. PAUL'S CHURCH. Presbyterian</p>	<p>ST. PAUL'S CHURCH. Presbyterian</p>	<p>ST. PAUL'S CHURCH. Presbyterian</p>	<p>ST. PAUL'S CHURCH. Presbyterian</p>
<p>ALEX. WALKER. Dry Goods and Provisional</p>	<p>ALEX. WALKER. Dry Goods and Provisional</p>	<p>ALEX. WALKER. Dry Goods and Provisional</p>	<p>ALEX. WALKER. Dry Goods and Provisional</p>
<p>EMERY JONAS & CO. Dry Goods Importers.</p>	<p>EMERY JONAS & CO. Dry Goods Importers.</p>	<p>EMERY JONAS & CO. Dry Goods Importers.</p>	<p>EMERY JONAS & CO. Dry Goods Importers.</p>
<p>N. S. WALKER. Provisional</p>	<p>N. S. WALKER. Provisional</p>	<p>N. S. WALKER. Provisional</p>	<p>N. S. WALKER. Provisional</p>
<p>THOMPSON, MURPHY & CO. General Commission Merchants</p>	<p>THOMPSON, MURPHY & CO. General Commission Merchants</p>	<p>THOMPSON, MURPHY & CO. General Commission Merchants</p>	<p>THOMPSON, MURPHY & CO. General Commission Merchants</p>
<p>W. STEPHEN & CO. Wholesale Dry Goods and Fancy and Provisional</p>	<p>W. STEPHEN & CO. Wholesale Dry Goods and Fancy and Provisional</p>	<p>W. STEPHEN & CO. Wholesale Dry Goods and Fancy and Provisional</p>	<p>W. STEPHEN & CO. Wholesale Dry Goods and Fancy and Provisional</p>
<p>ST. PAUL'S</p>	<p>ST. PAUL'S</p>	<p>ST. PAUL'S</p>	<p>ST. PAUL'S</p>

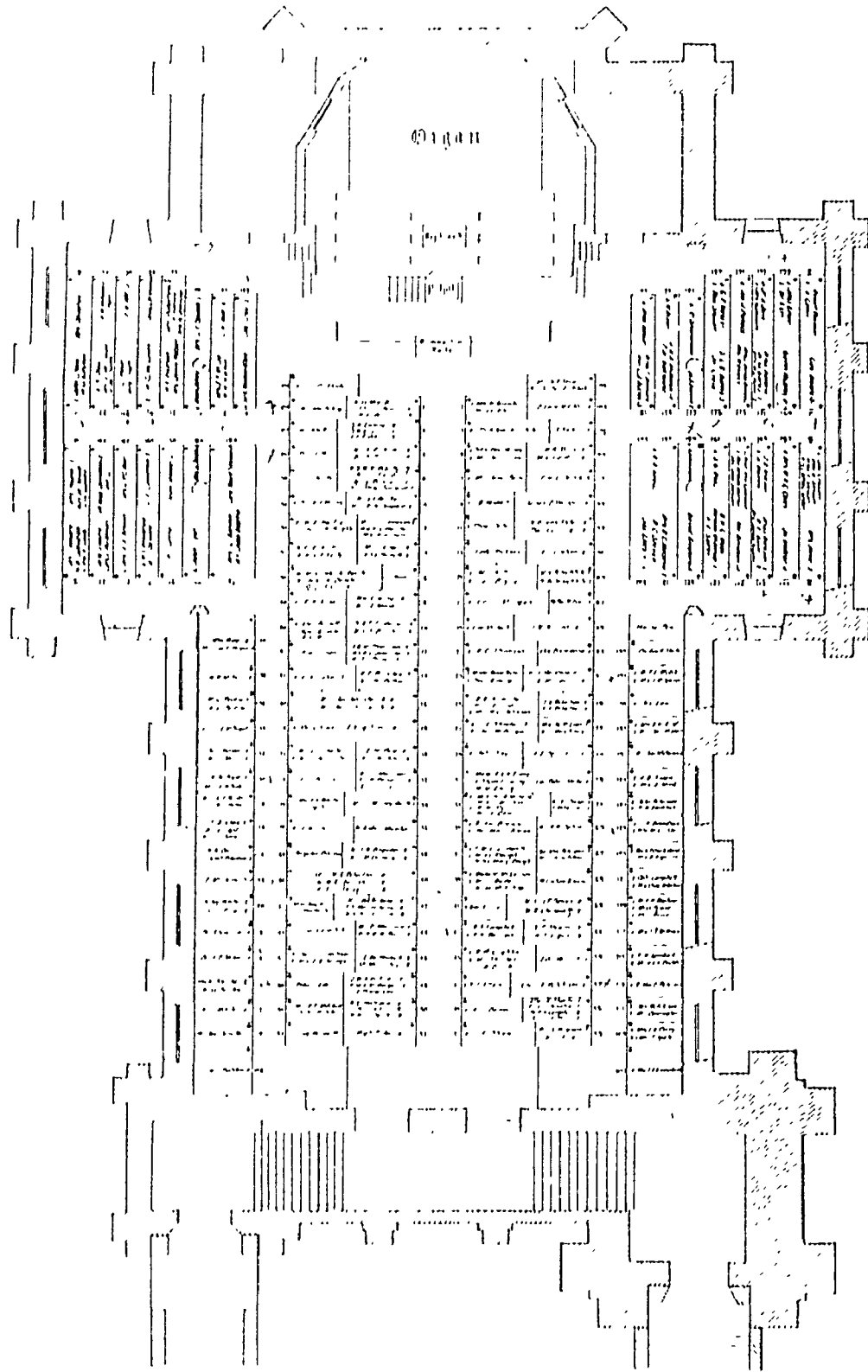
Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Arrangement of Jews

Fig. 18

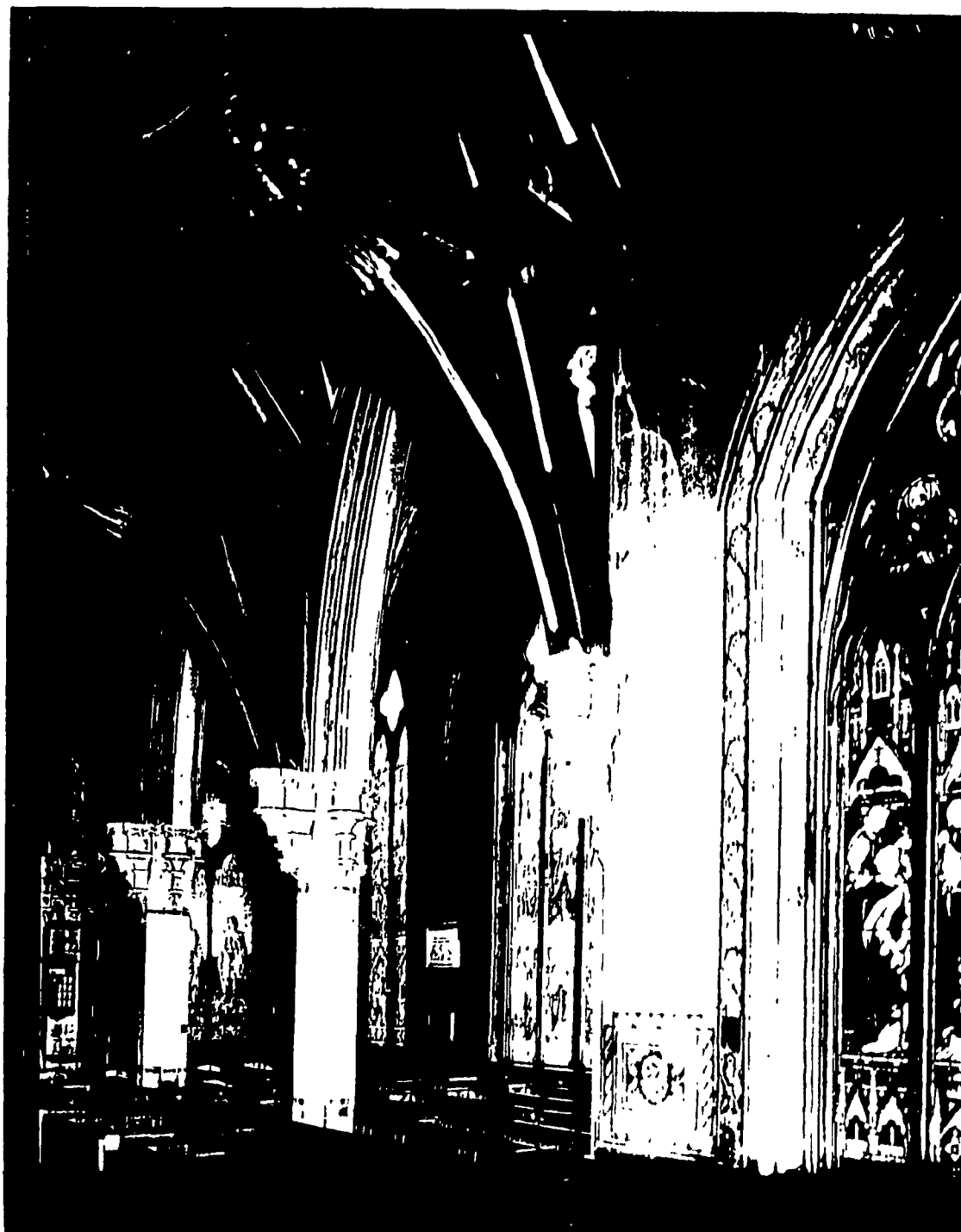


Fig. 19



Fig. 20

— LOWER STORY
— DESIGN FOR PRISONERS' HALL

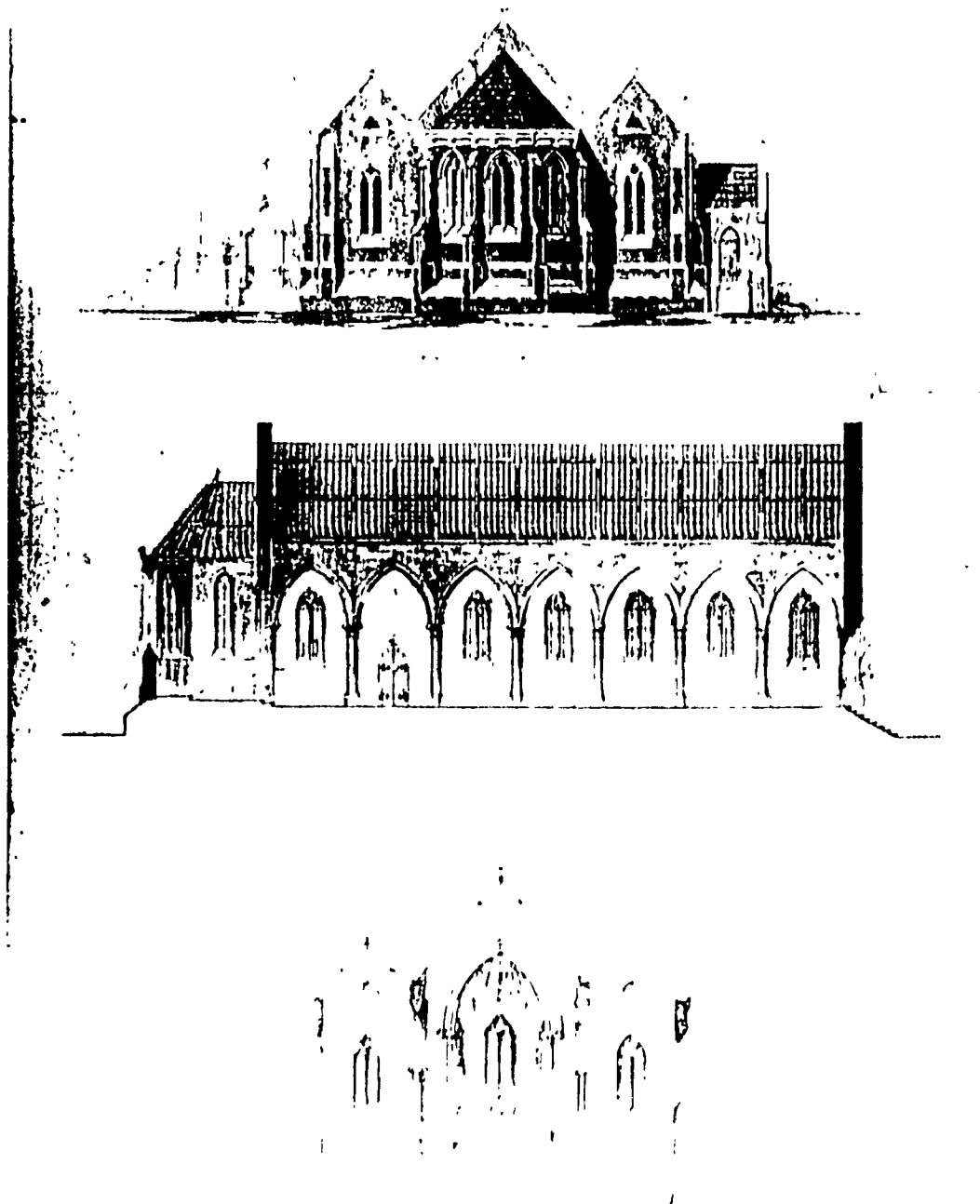
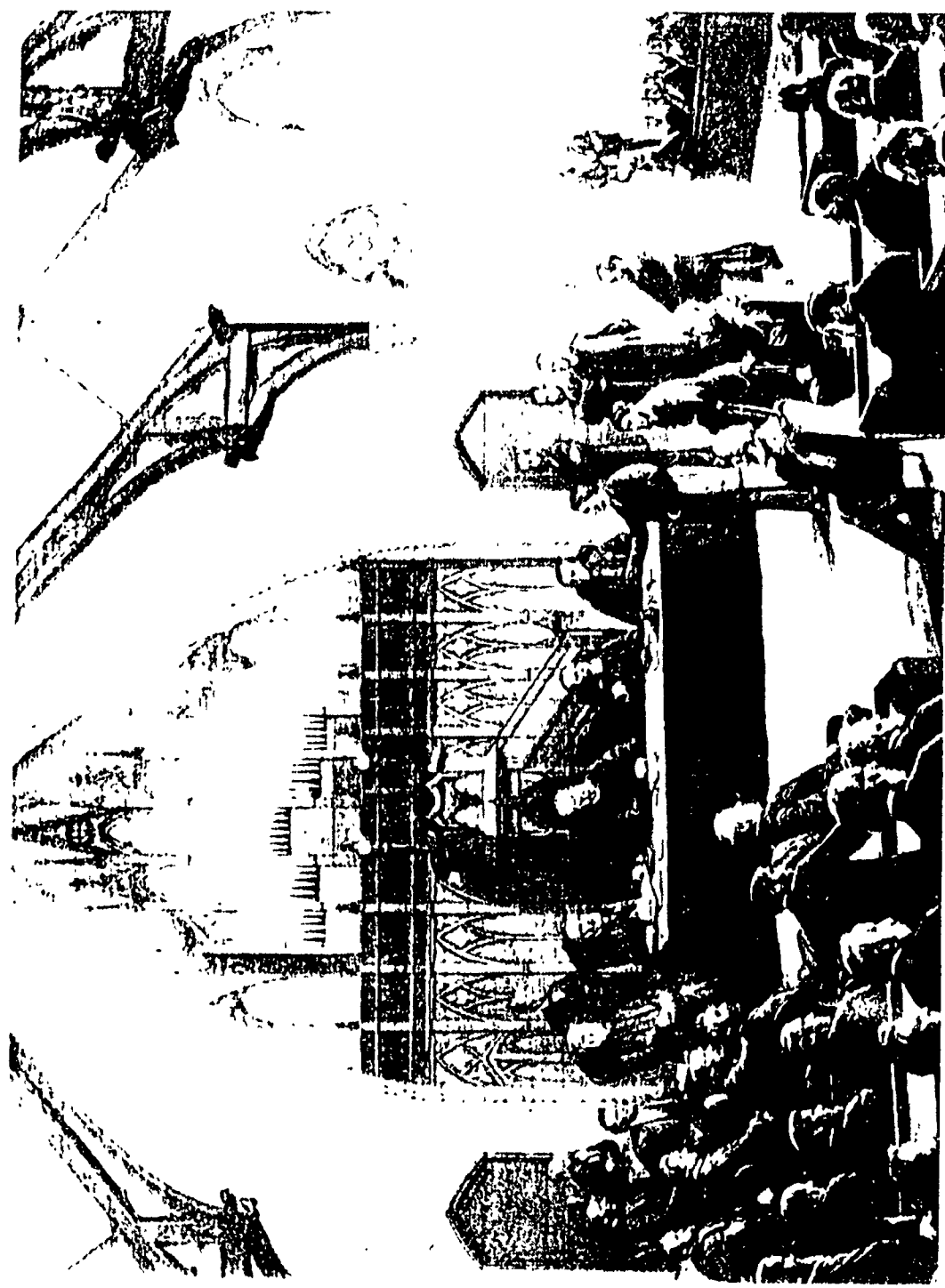


Fig 21



First Meeting of a Joint Union Committee Meeting in St. Paul's Church, Montreal, 1870.

Fig. 22

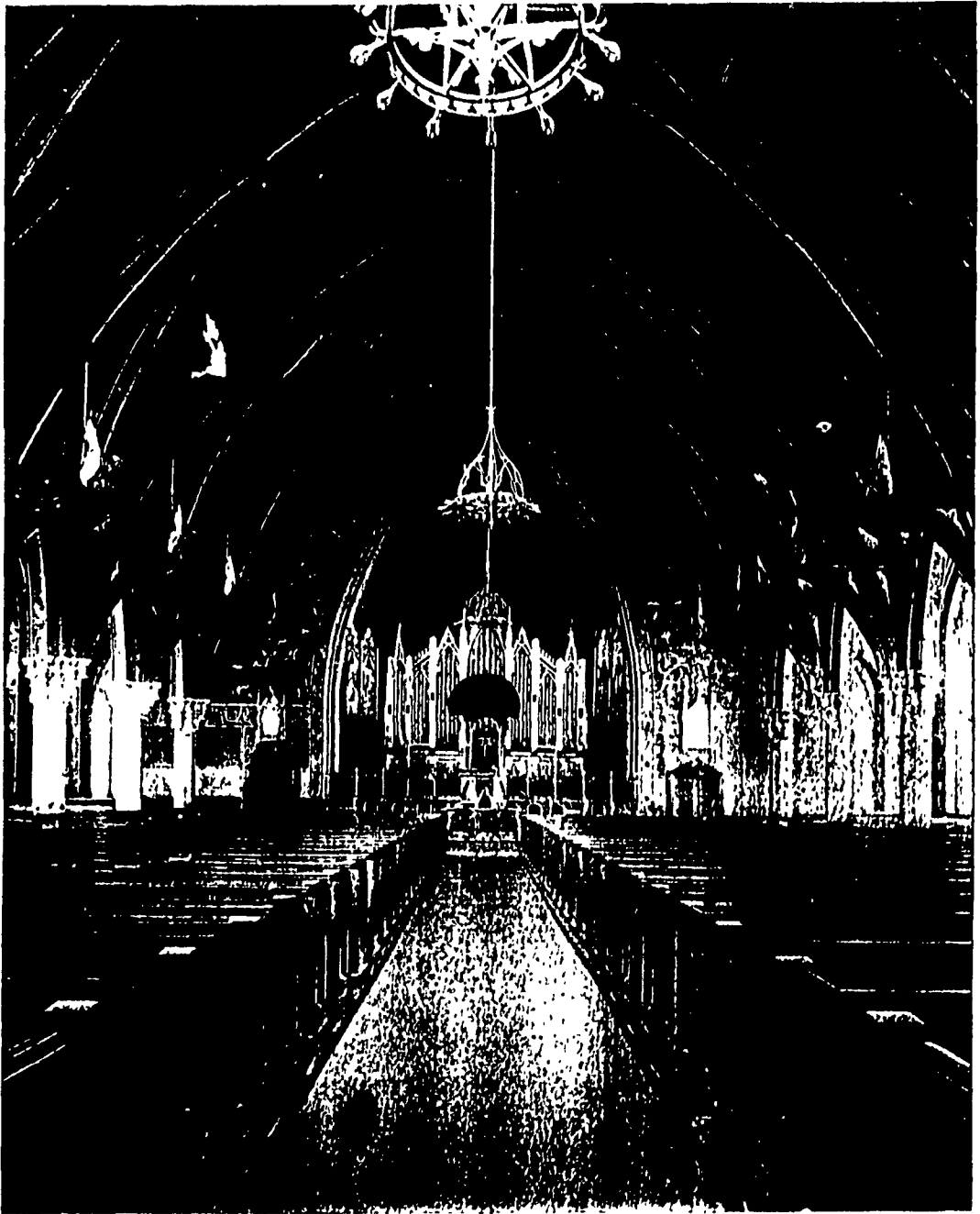


Fig. 23

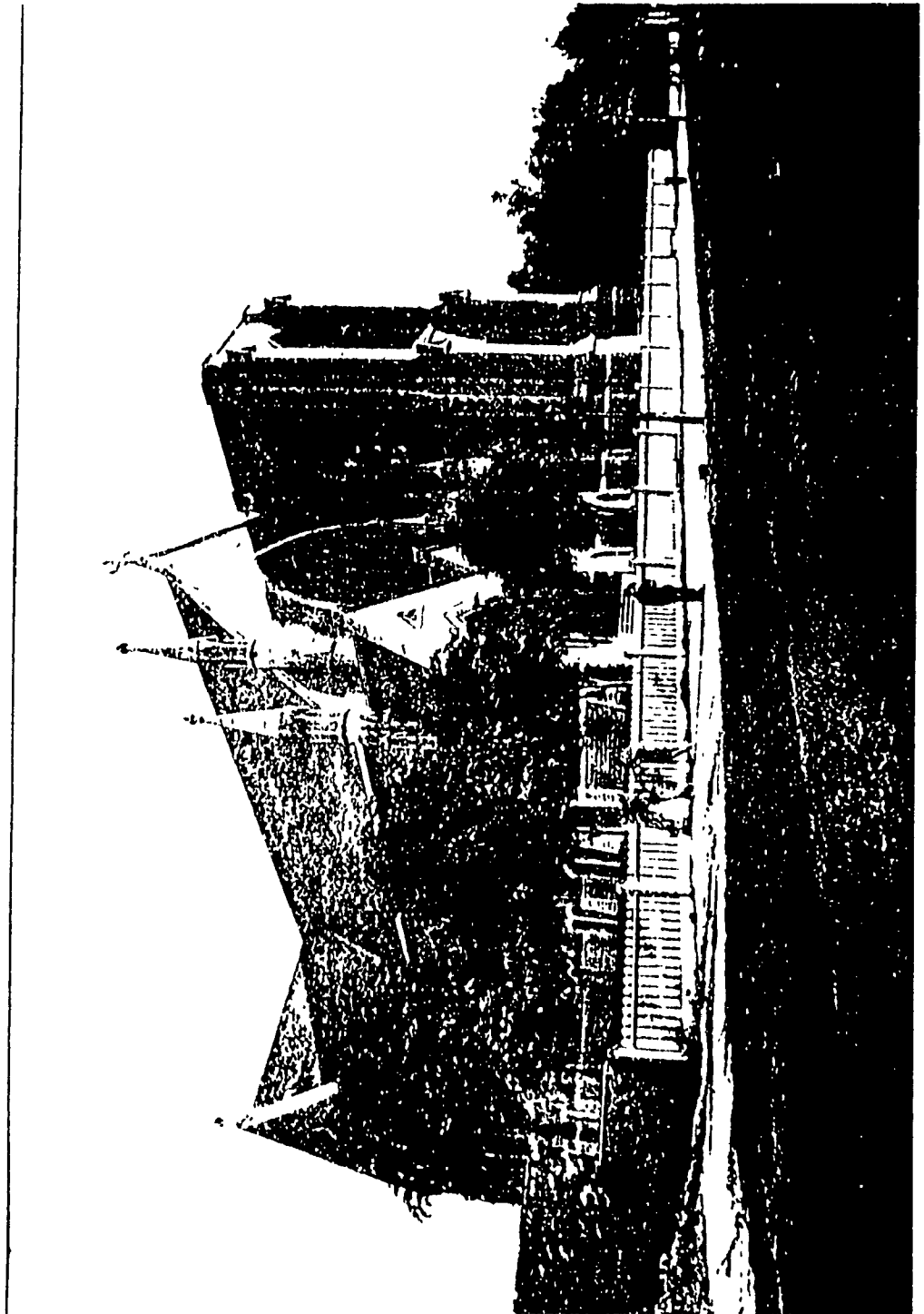


Fig. 24

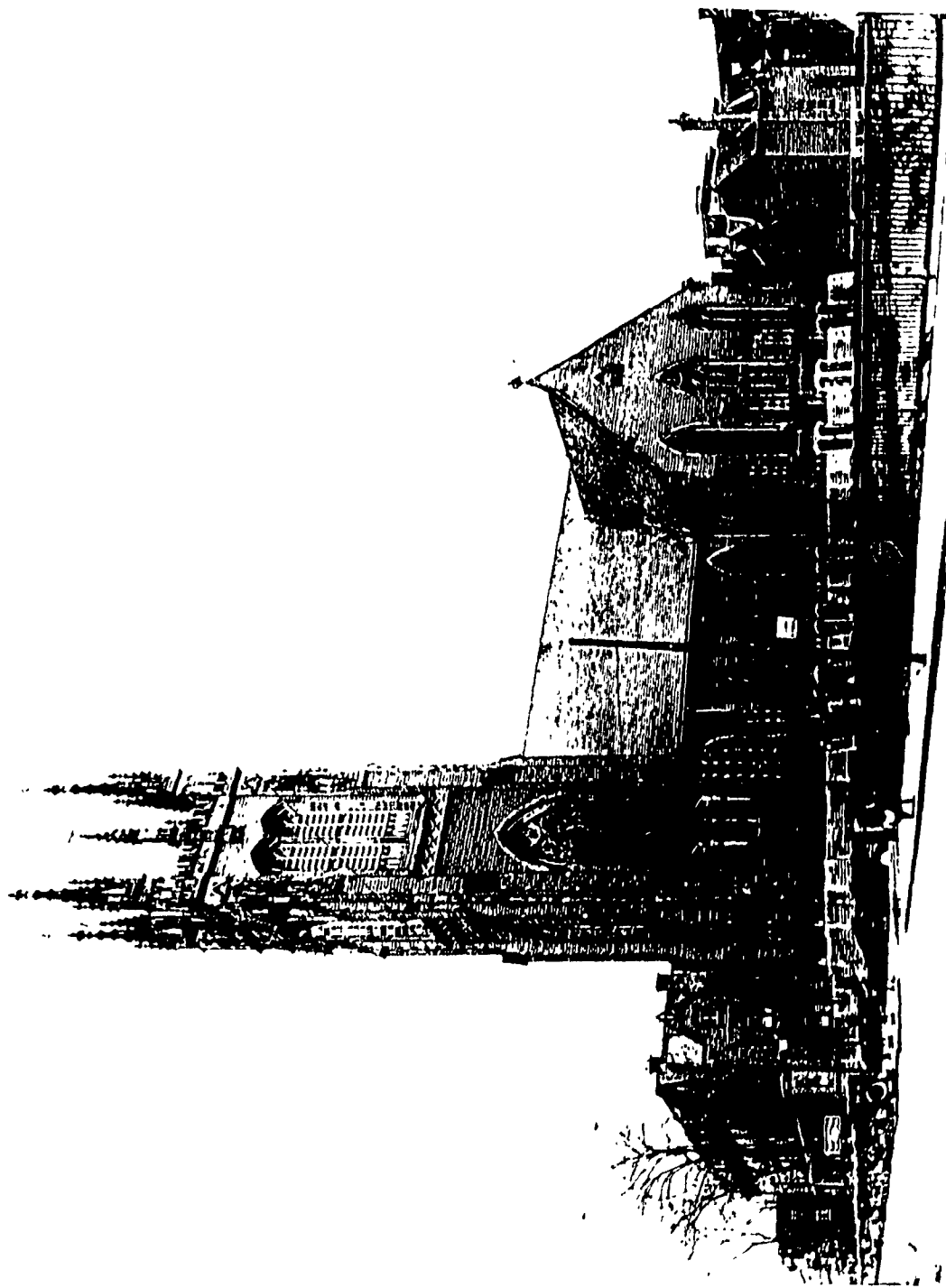


Fig. 25

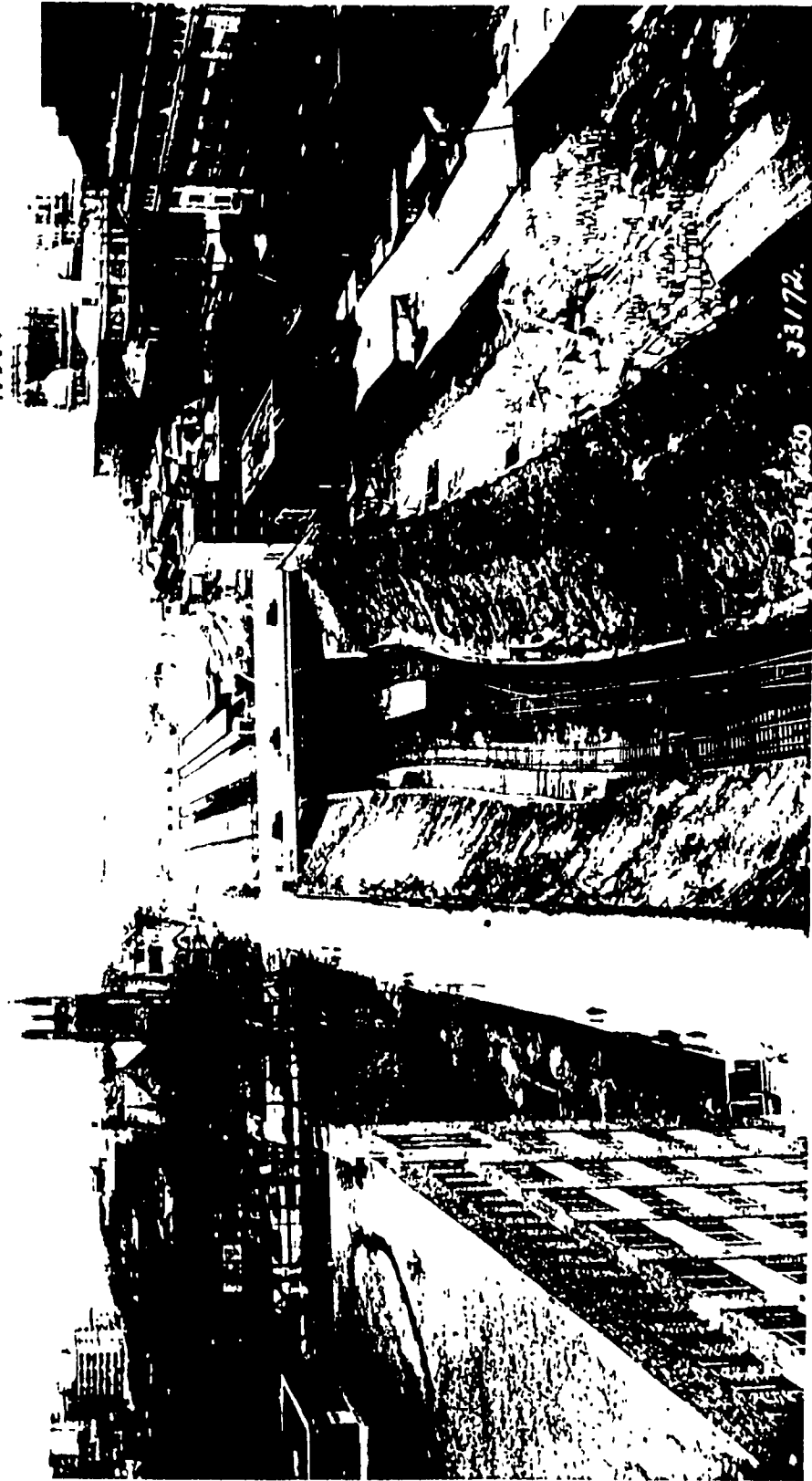
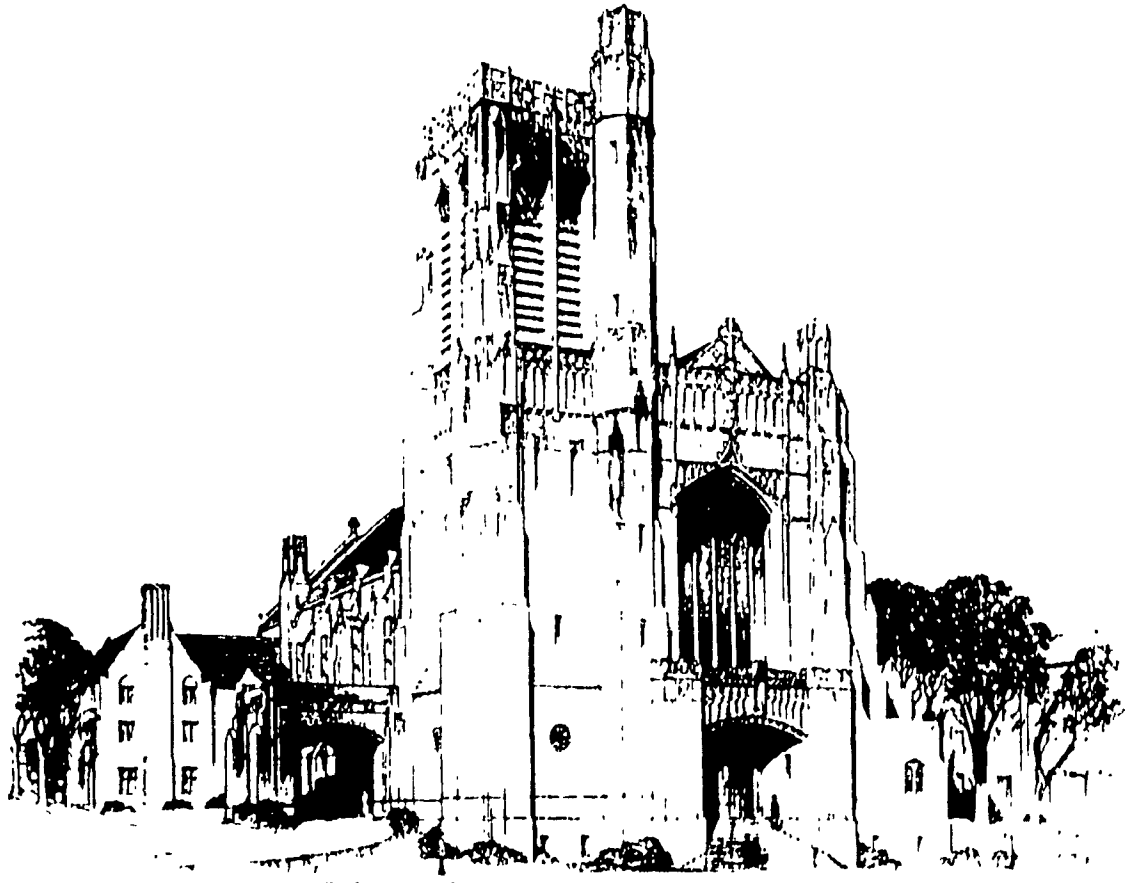


Fig. 26



WEST G. DE LO COMPLETTO FOR THE CHURCH OF S. PIERRE A D'ESTRE TO THE
ILLUSTRATION

Fig 27

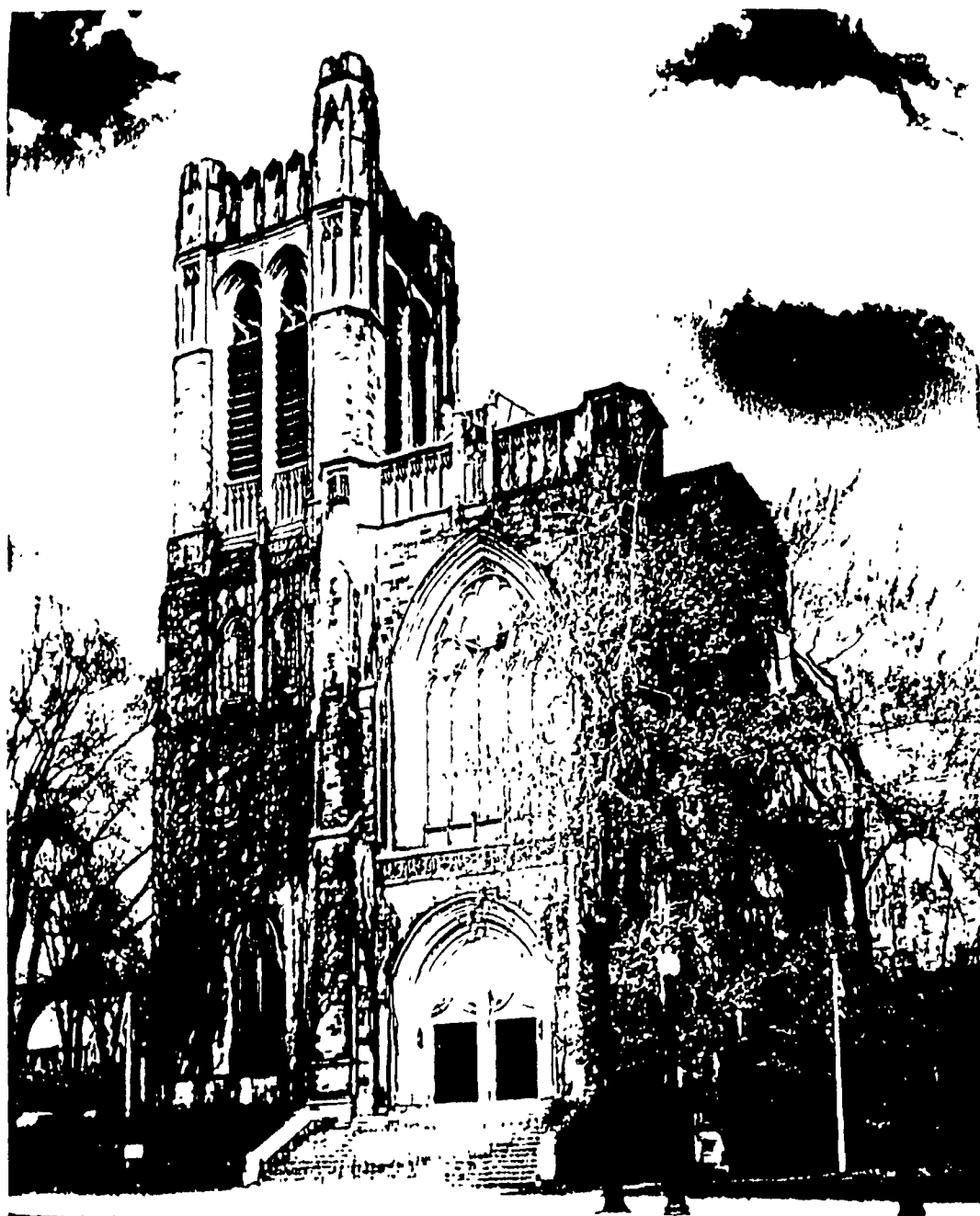


Fig. 28

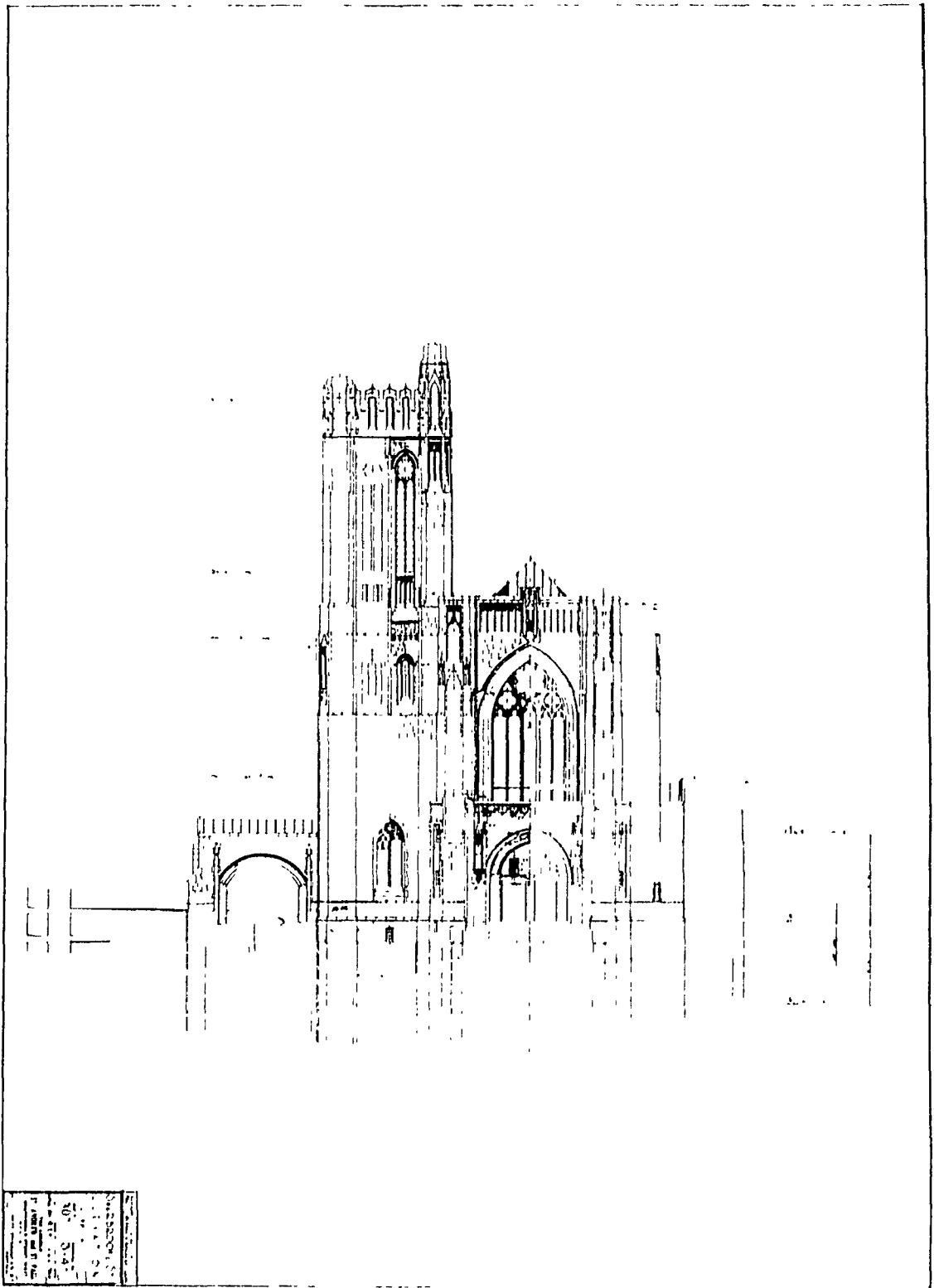


Fig. 29



Fig. 30

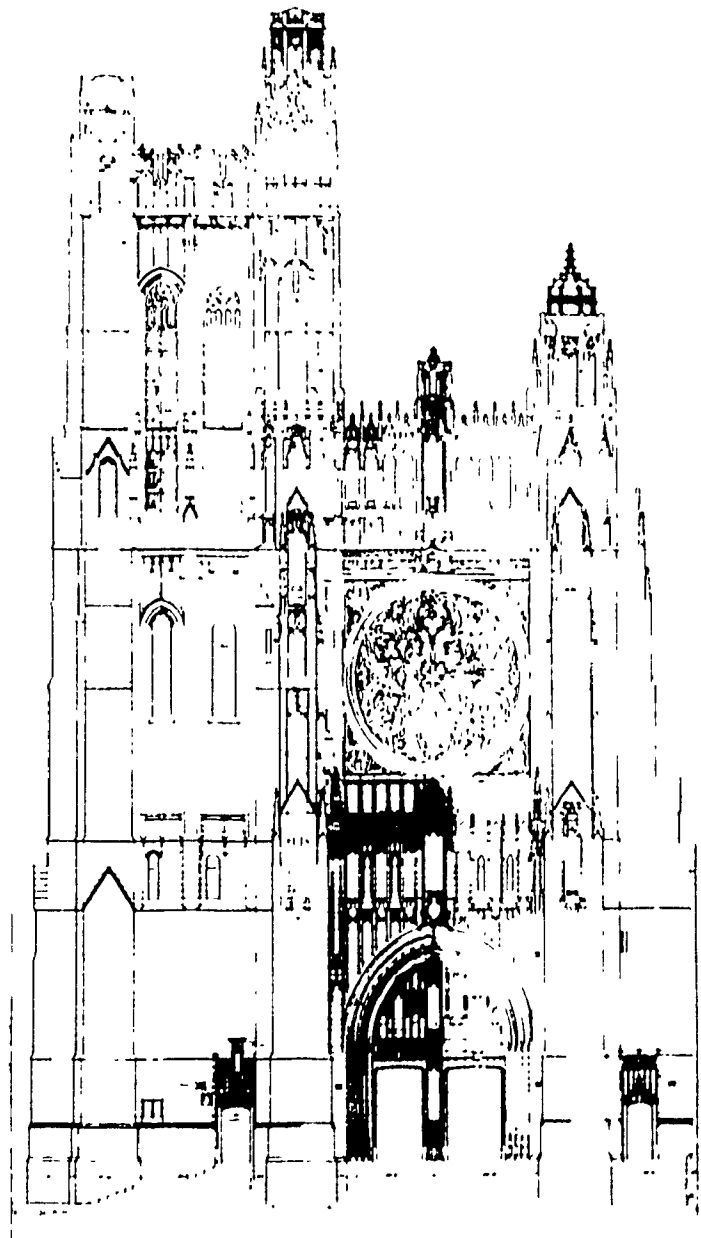


Fig. 31

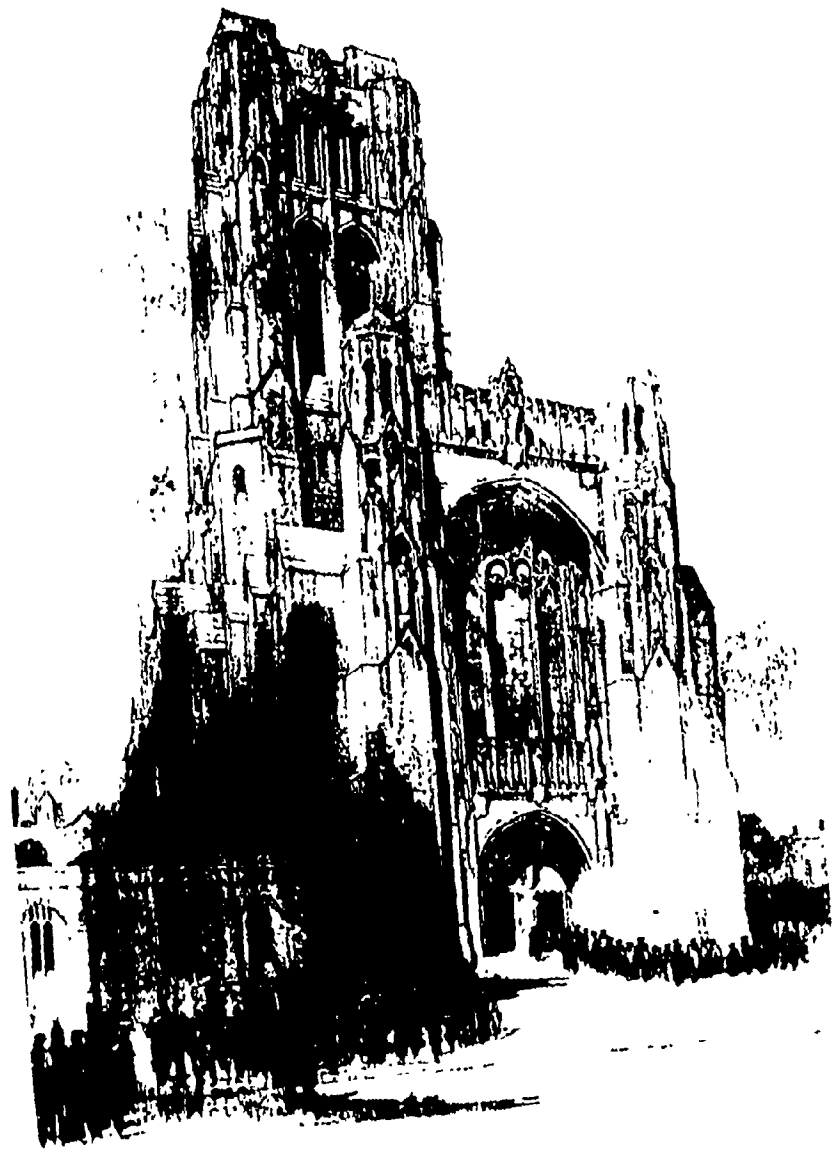


Fig. 32

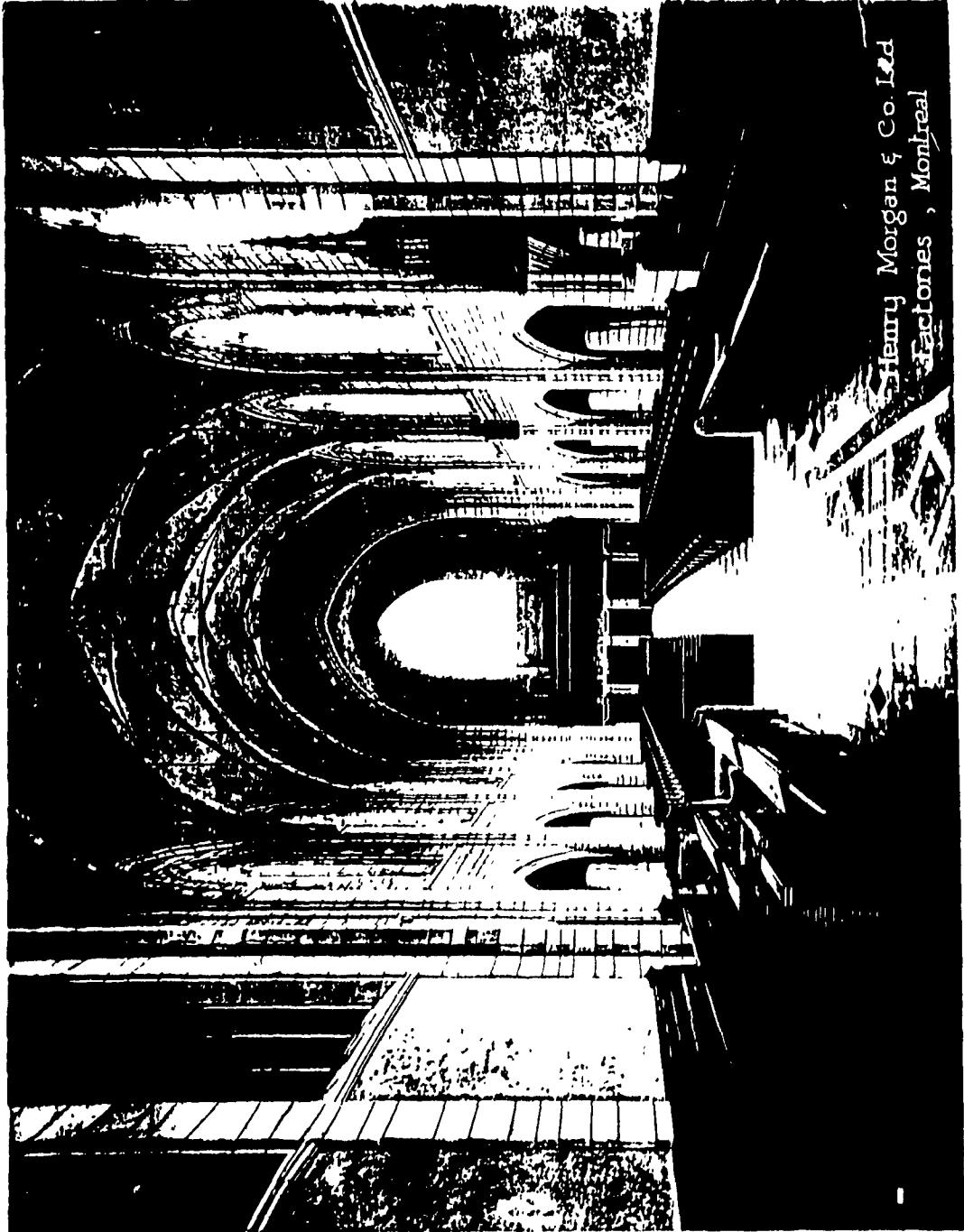


Fig. 33



Fig. 34

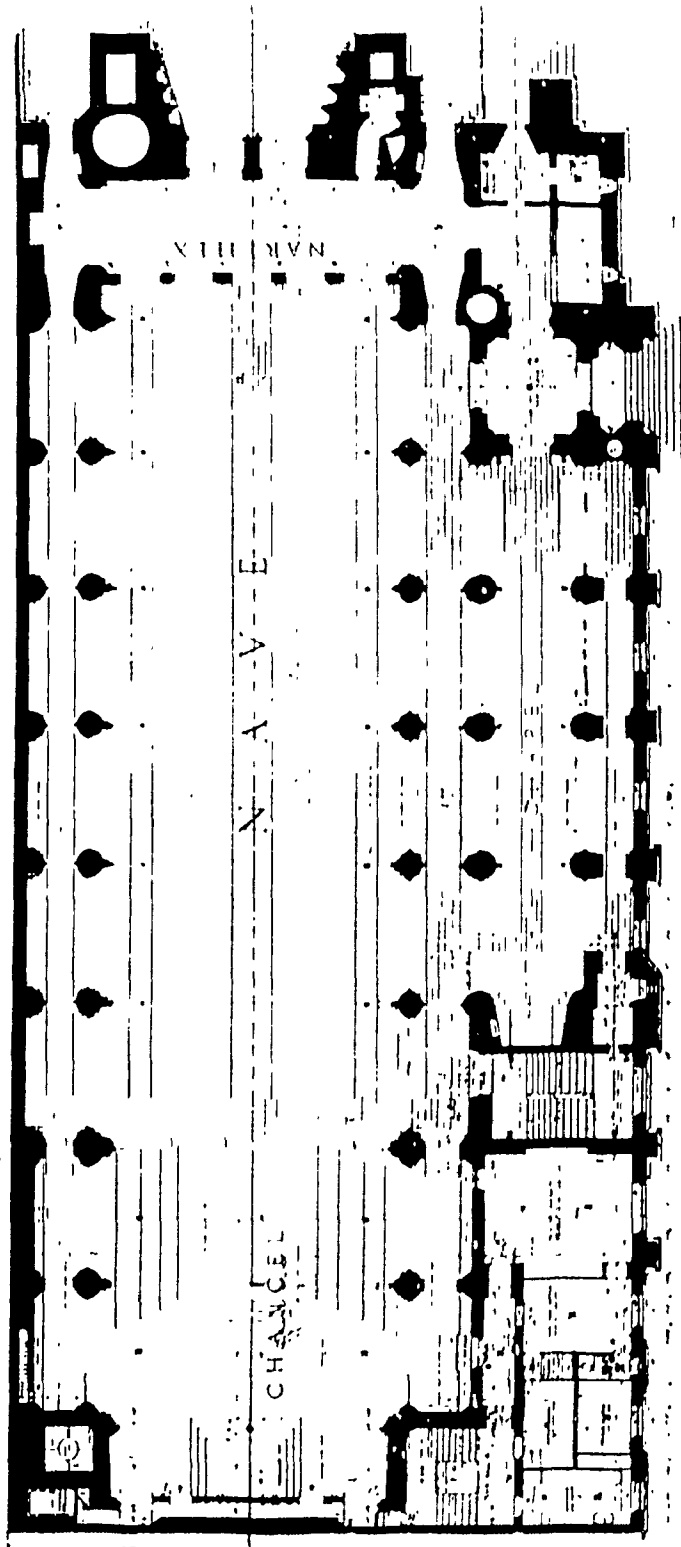


Fig. 35



Fig. 36

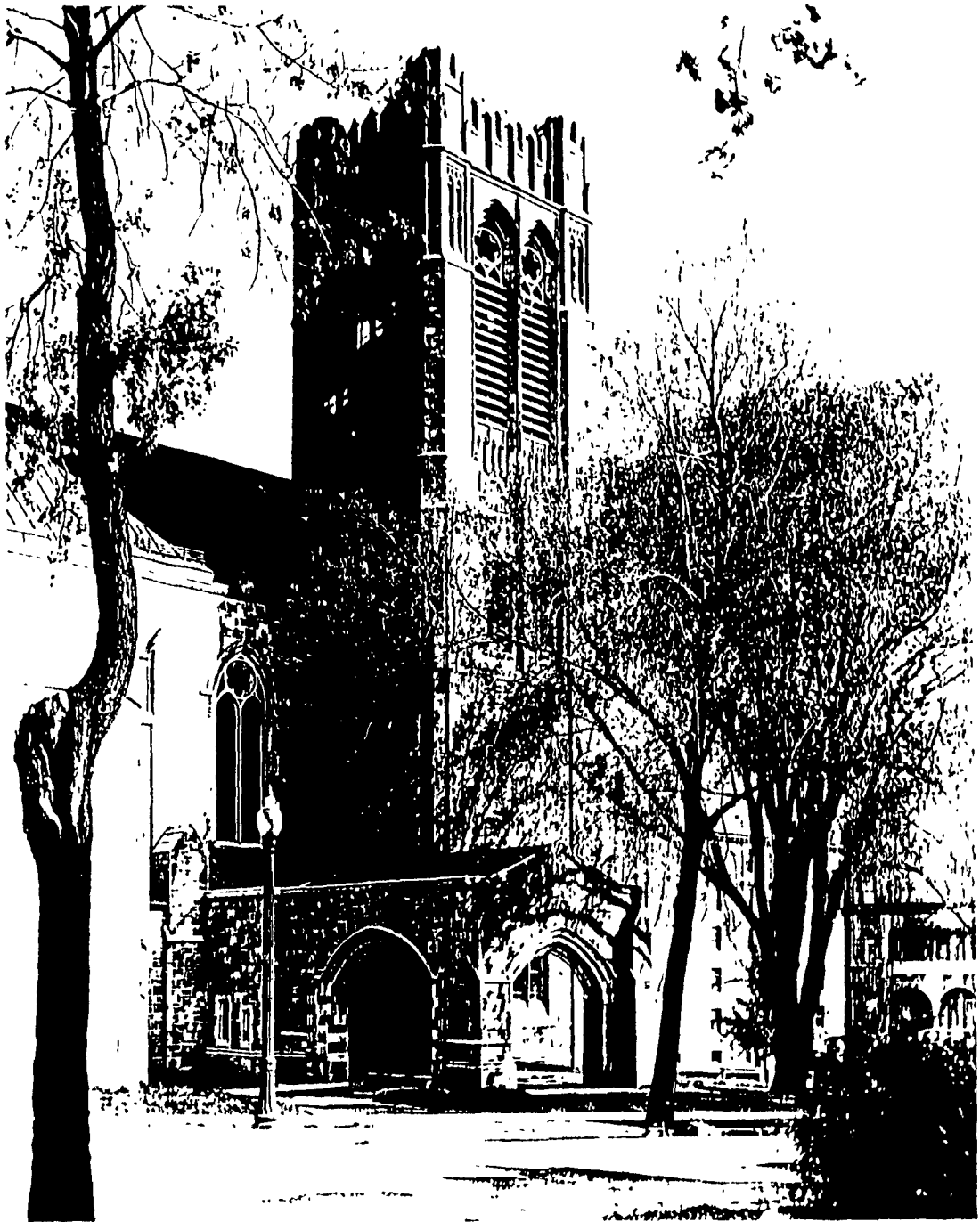
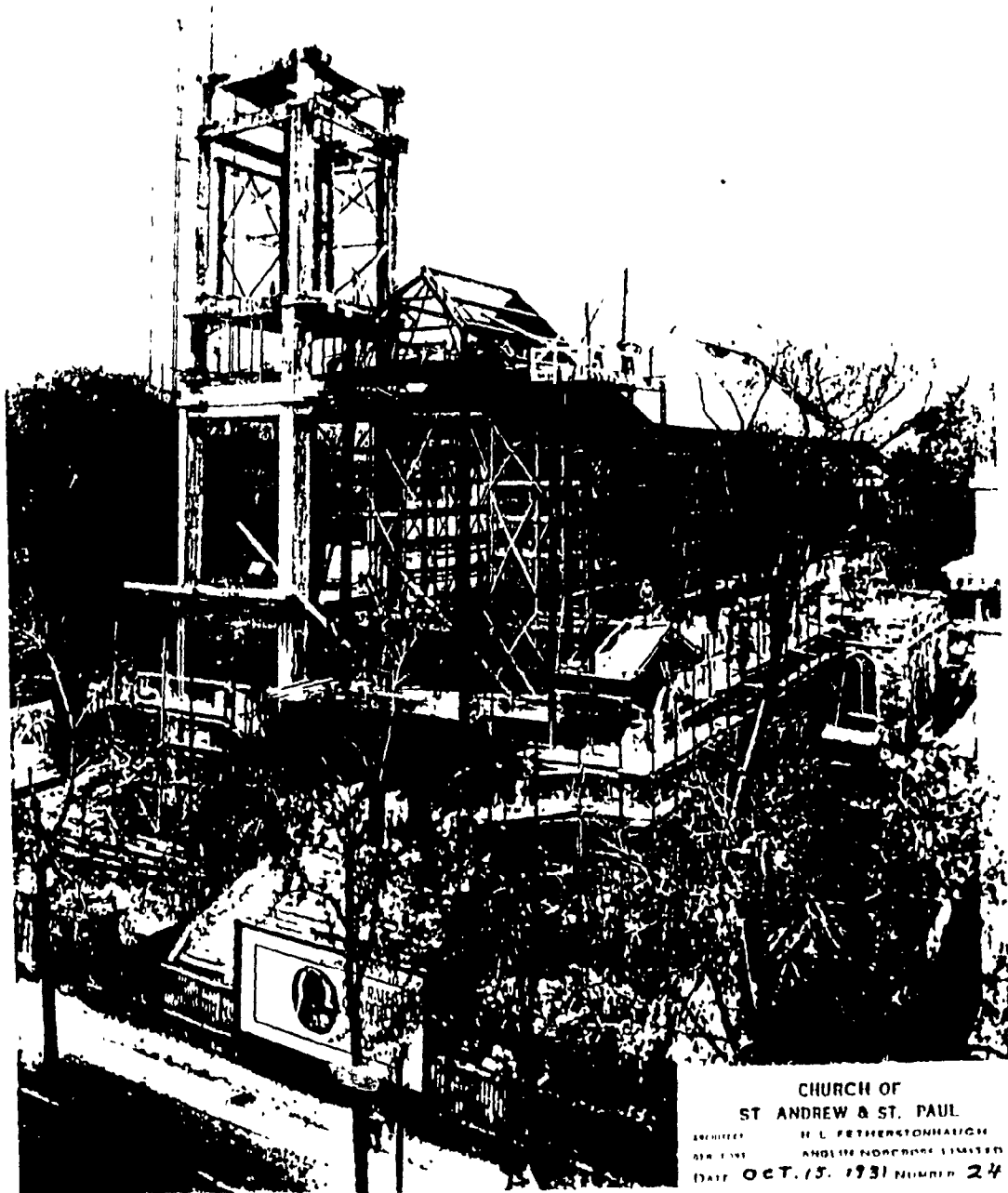


Fig 37



CHURCH OF
ST ANDREW & ST. PAUL
ARCHITECT H. L. FETTERSONHALICH
GEN. ENG. AND CIV. ENGRS. LIMITED
DATE OCT. 13, 1931 NUMBER 24

Fig. 38



Fig. 39

Date	Window or Item No.	Title	Designer	Original Location
1870	2	McGill	J.C. Spence [?]	St. Paul's
1872	20	Mathieson Bell	Mears & Stainbank	St. Andrew's
1872	8	A & C. Mathieson	J.C. Spence	St. Andrew's
1872	11	Janet Mathieson	J.C. Spence	St. Andrew's
c.1875-80	14	Jenkins	Ballantine	St. Paul's
c 1878	12	Ross	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1879	18	Black	J.C. Spence [?]	St. Paul's
c 1882	15	Redpath	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1885	6	I Allan	Morris & Co.	St. Paul's
c 1887	3	Samuel	Castle & Son	St. Paul's
c 1888- 92	16	Greenshields	[American]	St. Paul's
1898	13	Watson	Castle [?]	St. Paul's
1900	10	C. Hope	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1903	5	A Allan	Morris & Co.	St. Paul's
1907	4	J. & I. Hope	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1907	9	Kinghorn	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1921	1	McLennan	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1925	7	Barclay	Ballantine	St. Paul's
1932	17	Composite	Ballantine	St. Andrew and St. Paul
1933	21	Screen	H B. Stout for Fetherstonhaugh	St. Andrew and St. Paul
1934	19	Tapestry	Morris & Co. Merton Abbey	St. Andrew and St. Paul
1938	22	Chancel Gates	Fetherstonhaugh & Durnford	St Andrew and St. Paul
1948	23	Hymn-Board	Percy Nobbs for Castle & Son	St. Andrew and St. Paul

Fig. A1

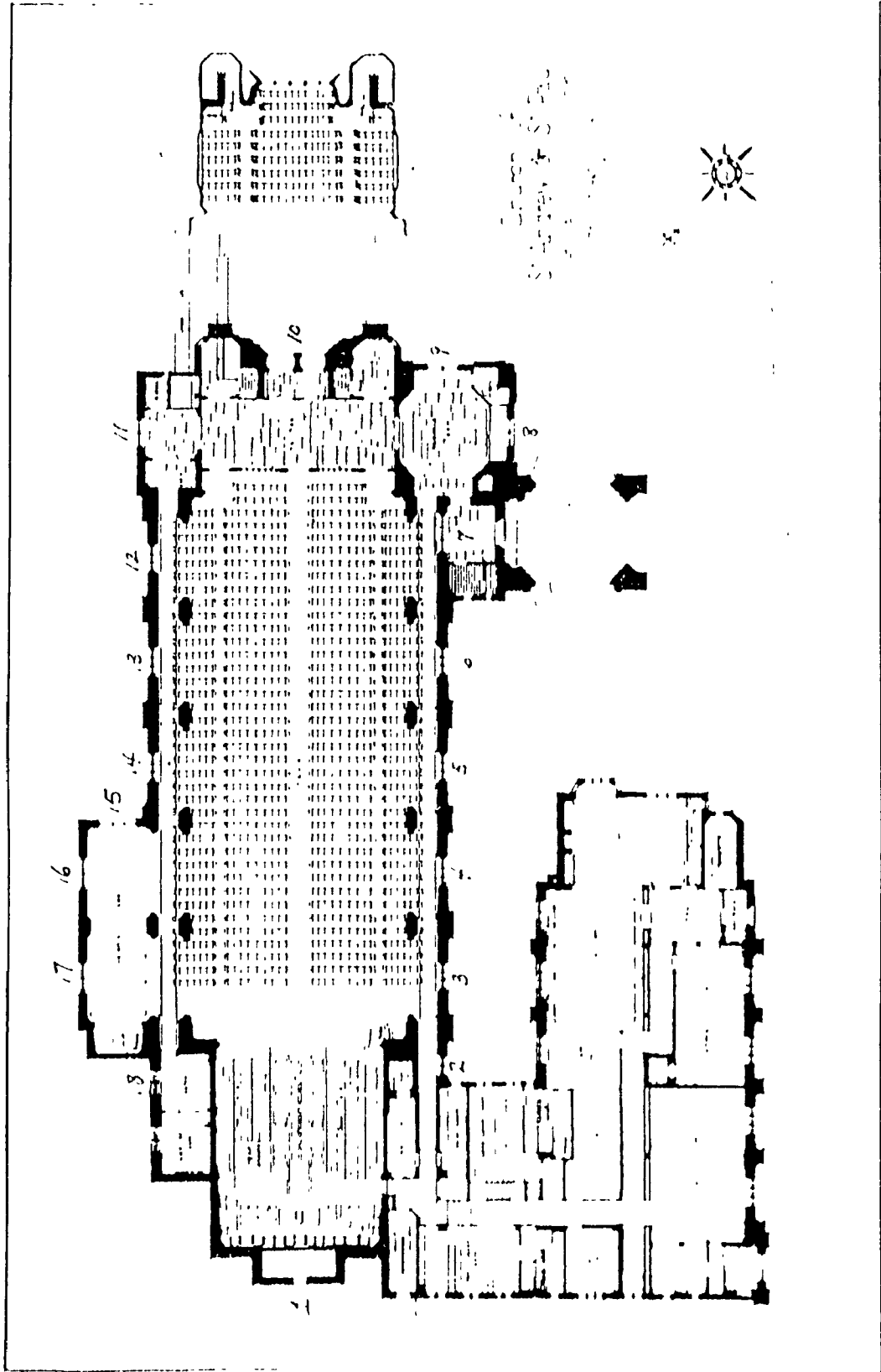


Fig A2

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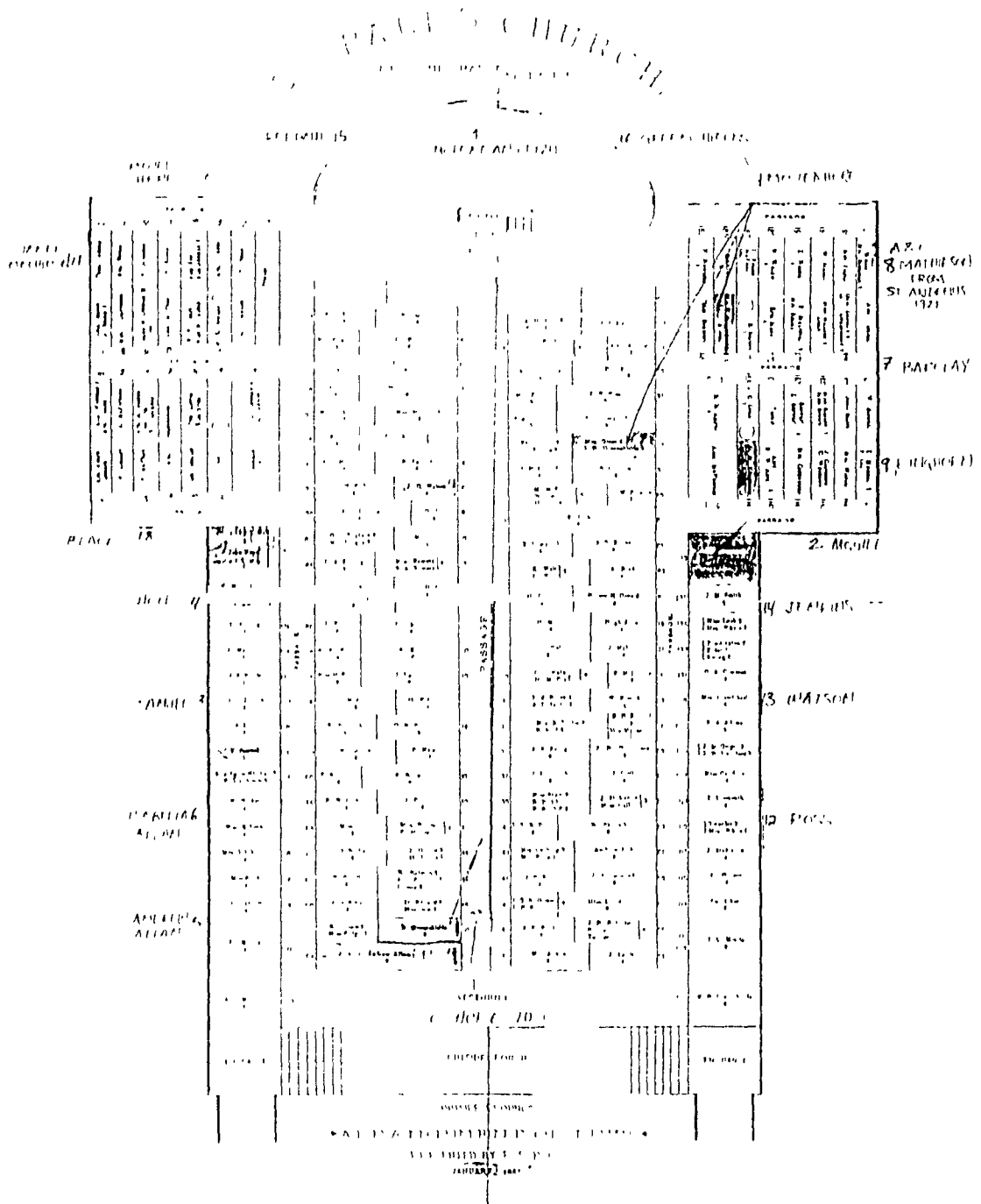


Fig A3

STAINED **G**LASS
 OF EVERY DESCRIPTION
J. C. SPENCE & SONS



ECCLESIASTICAL & DOMESTIC
 GLASS PAINTERS
 MURAL DECORATORS
 CHURCH FURNISHINGS BRASSES & CO.
 COR. BLEURY & JURORS STREETS
 MONTREAL.

U.S. BRANCH: Fort Covington, N. Y. CANADA BRANCH: 40 Bleury Street, Montreal.
 Established 1866.



Stained Glass
CASTLE & SON.

Decorative, Etc., etc.
 DESIGNS SUBMITTED

Fig. A4

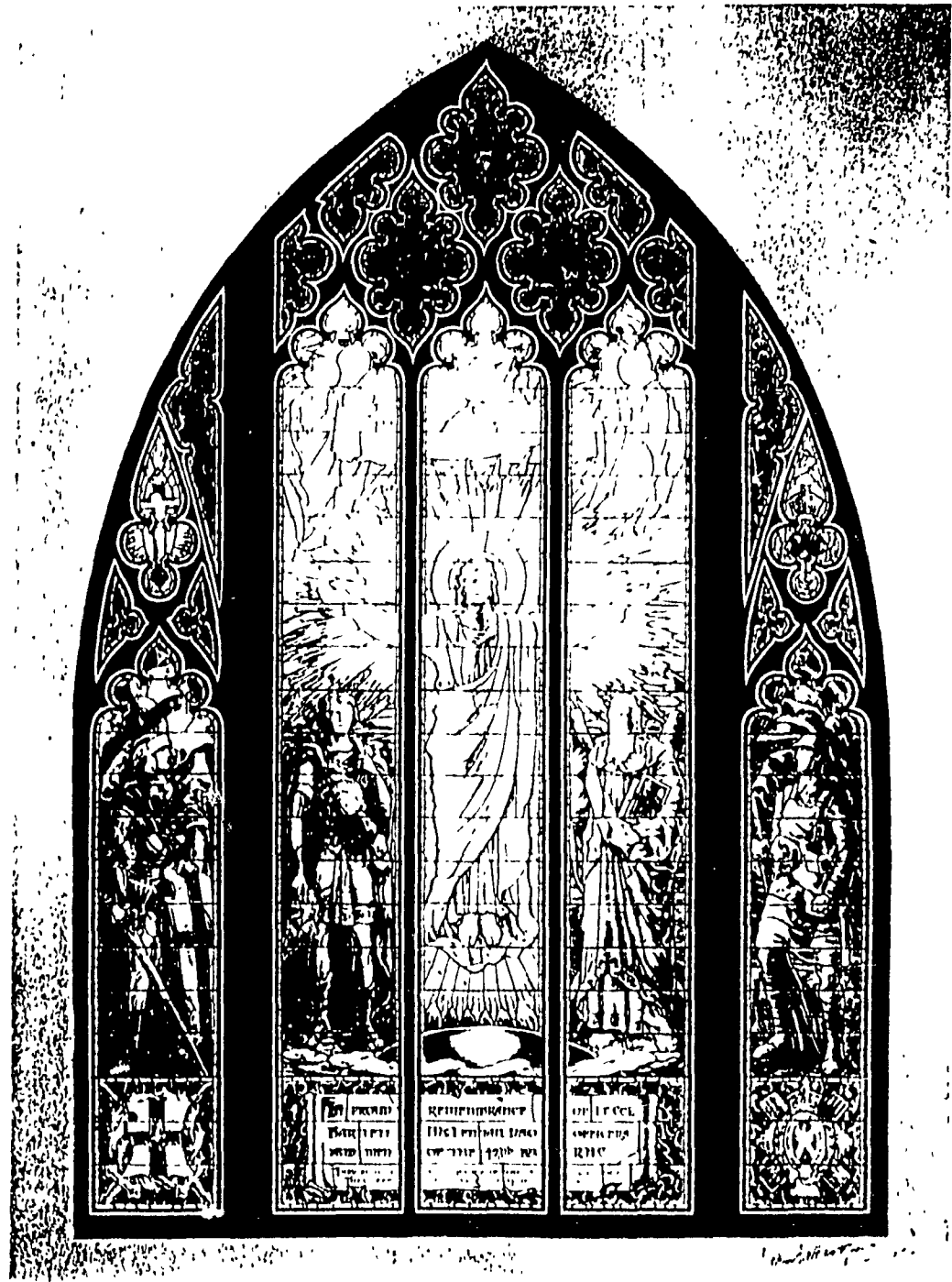


Fig. A5

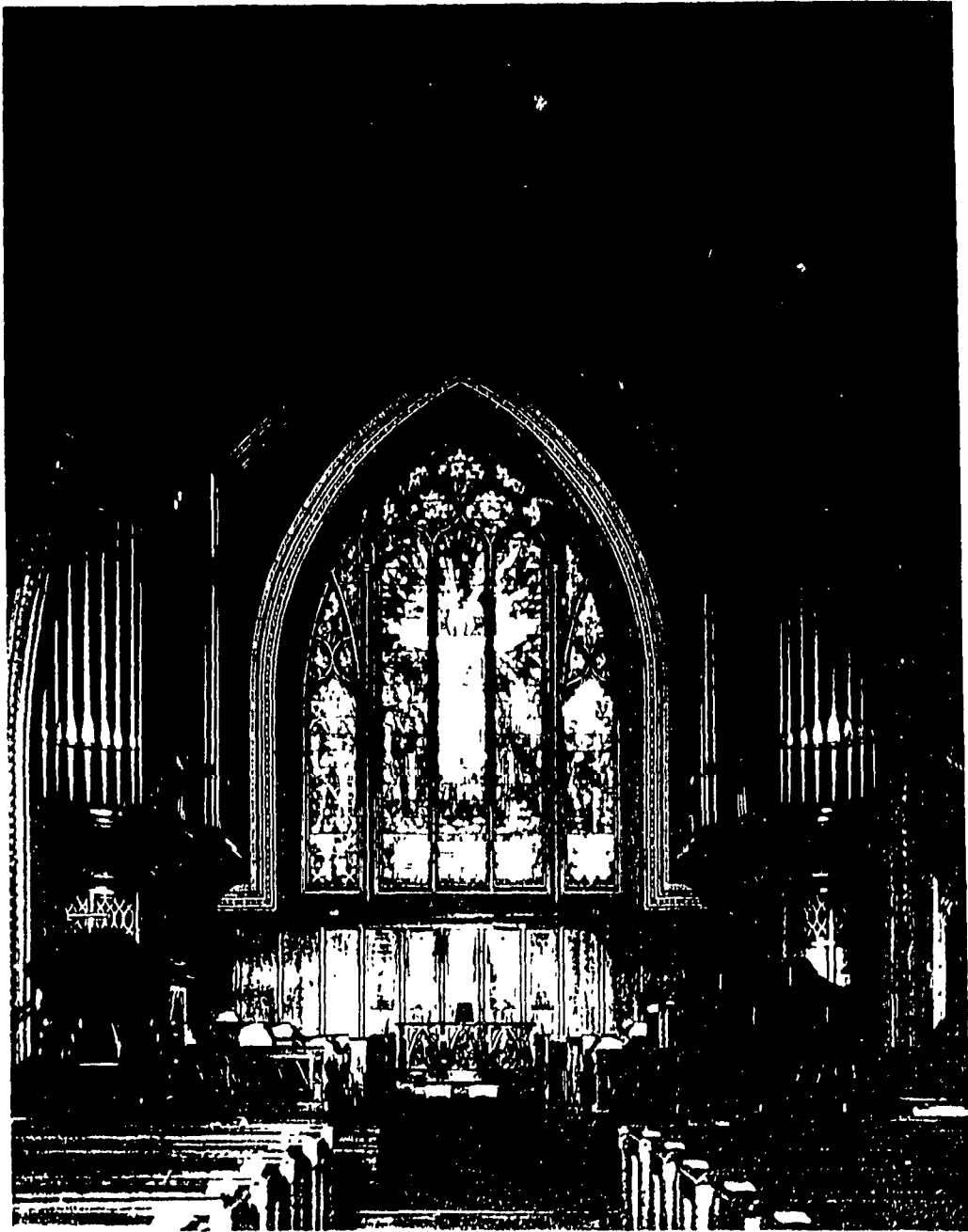


Fig A6

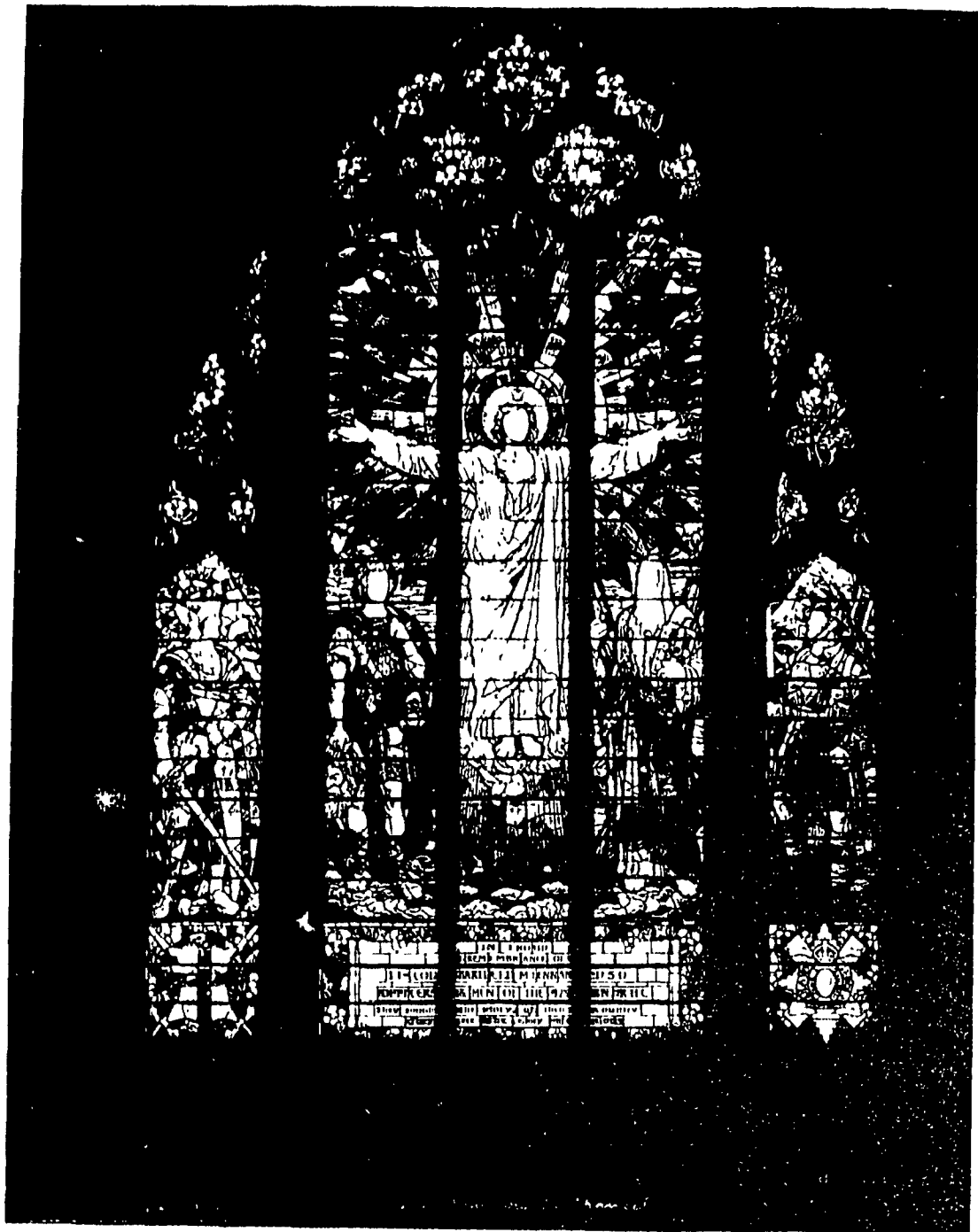


Fig A7

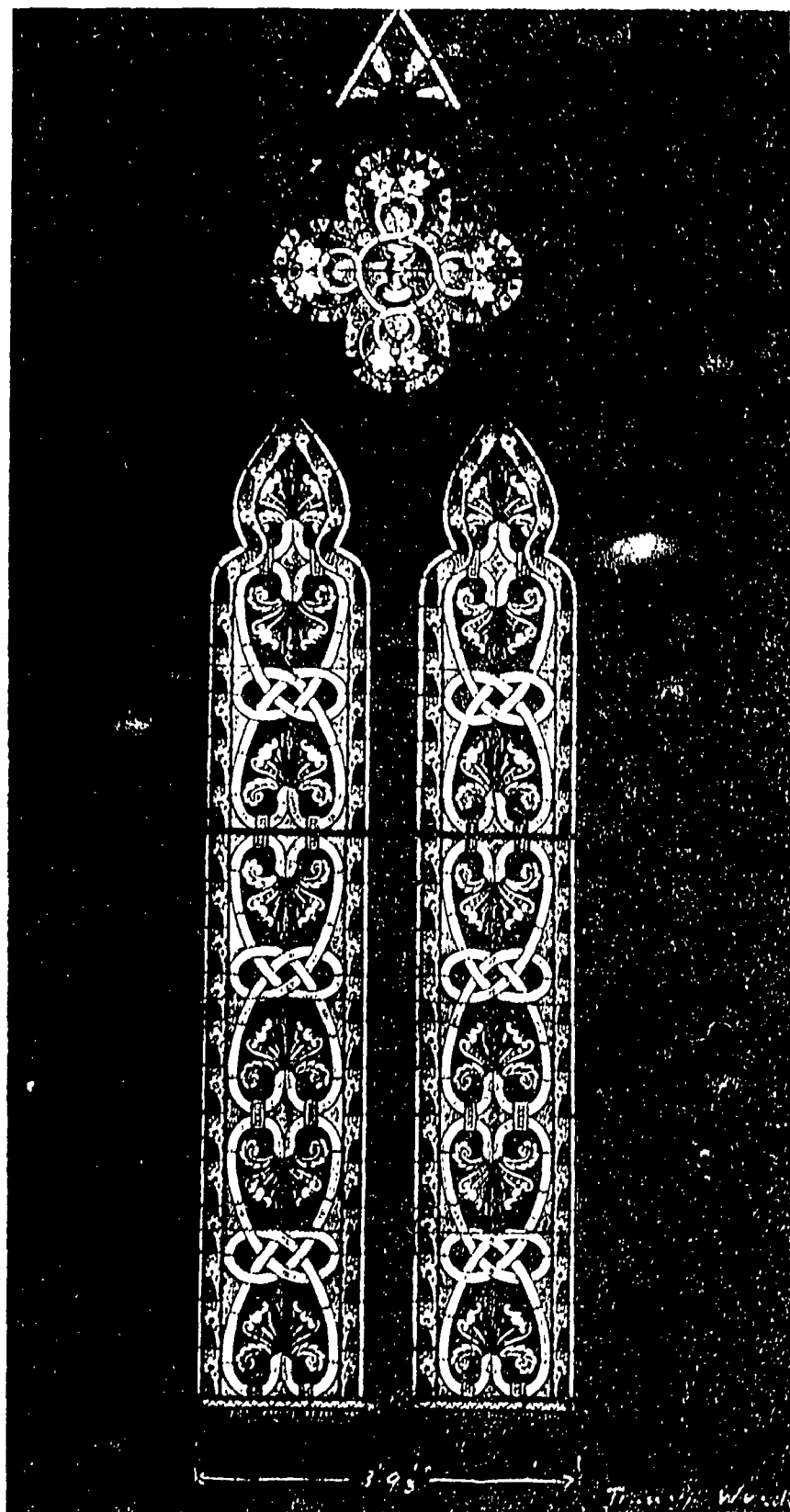


Fig. A8

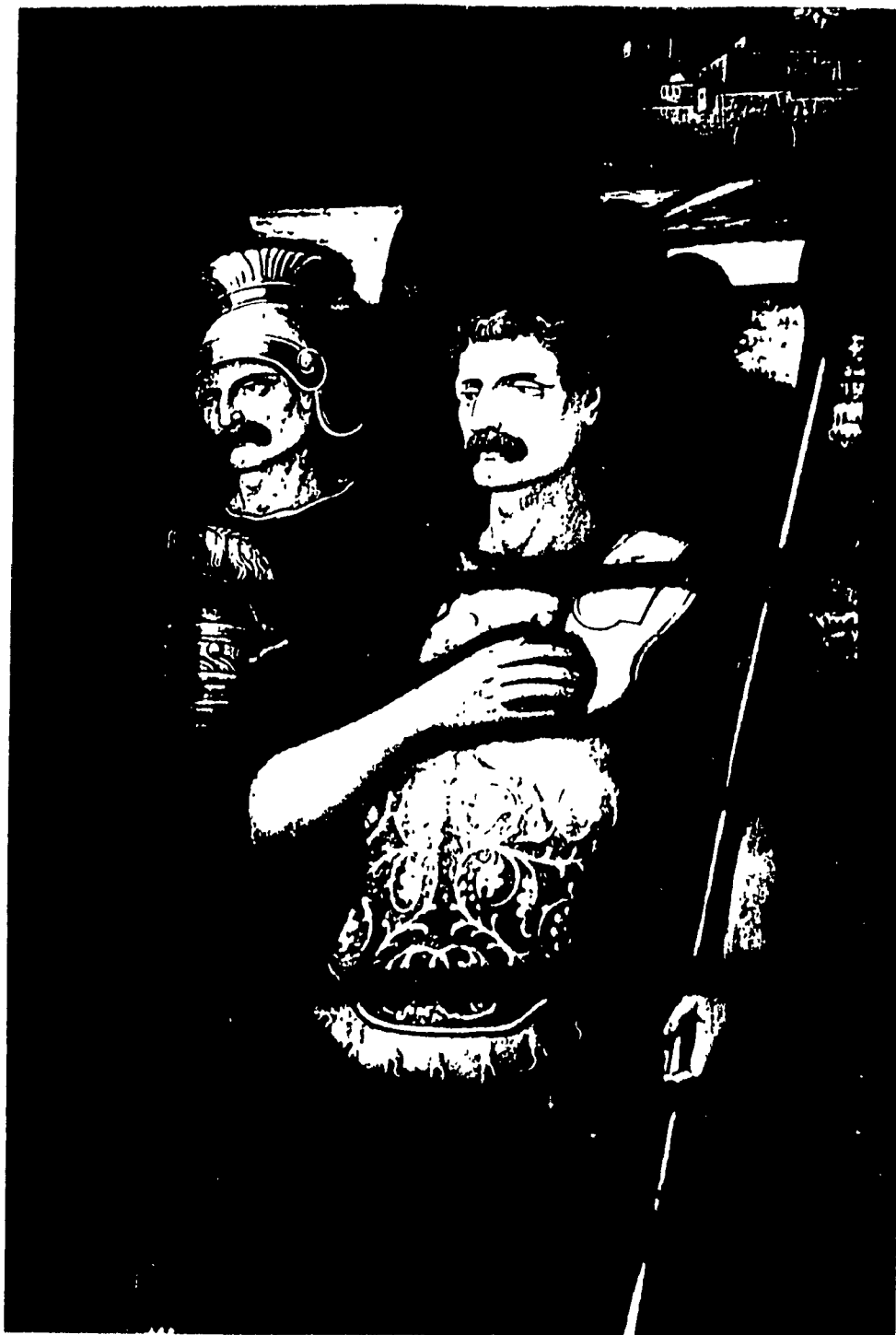


Fig. A9

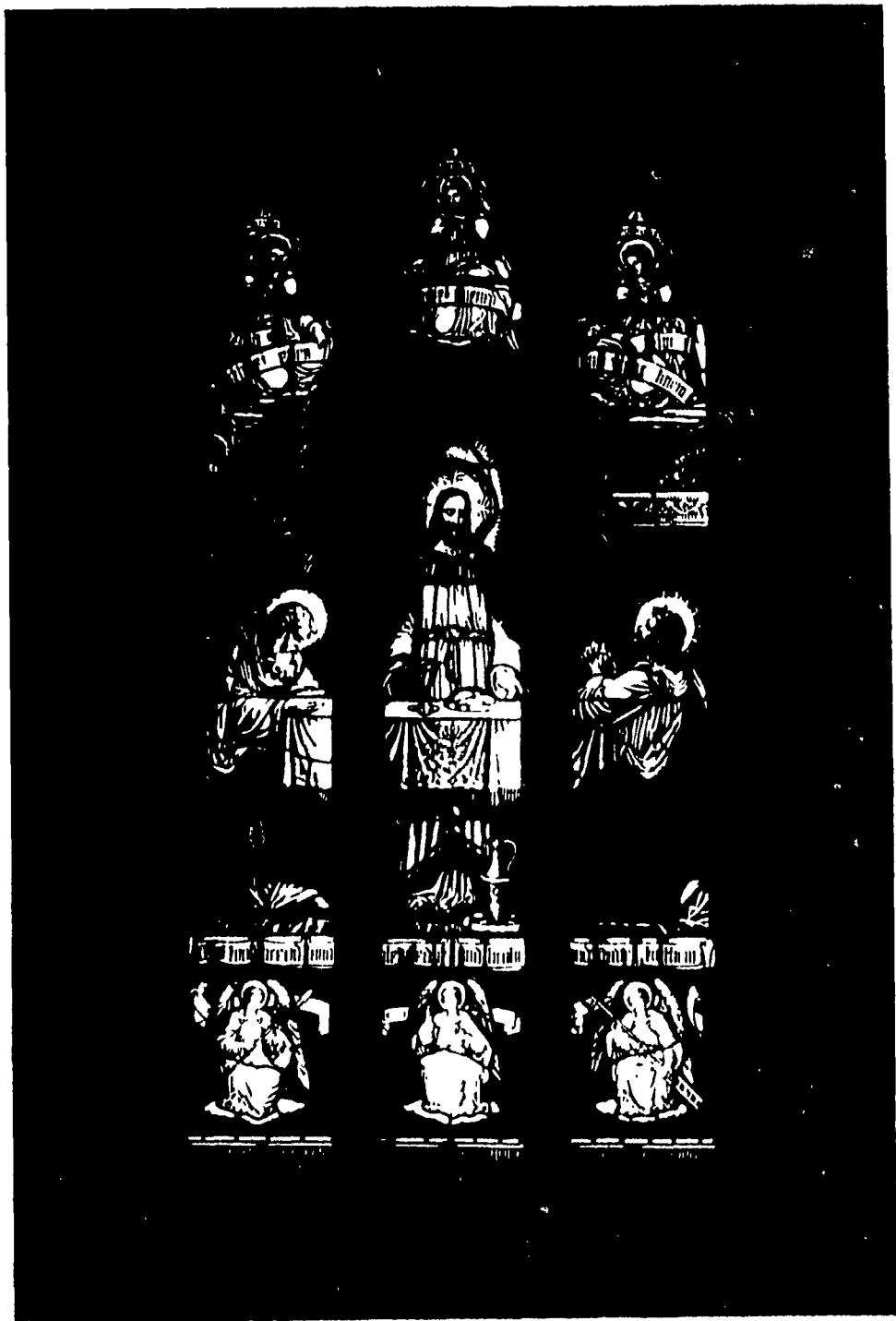


Fig A10

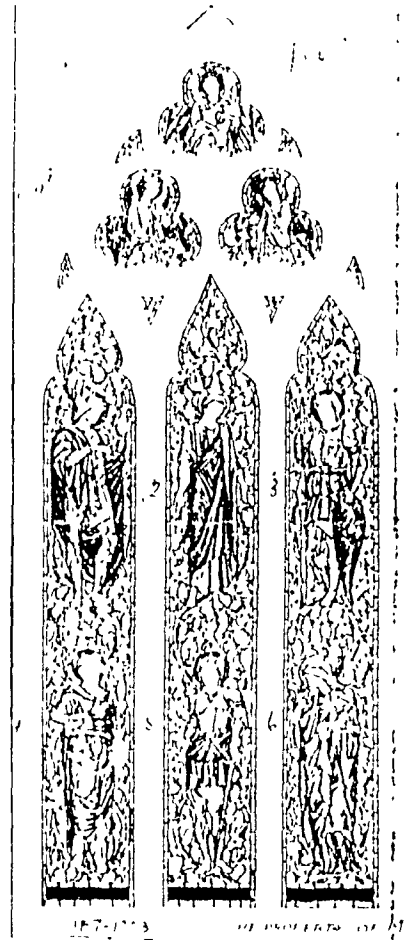
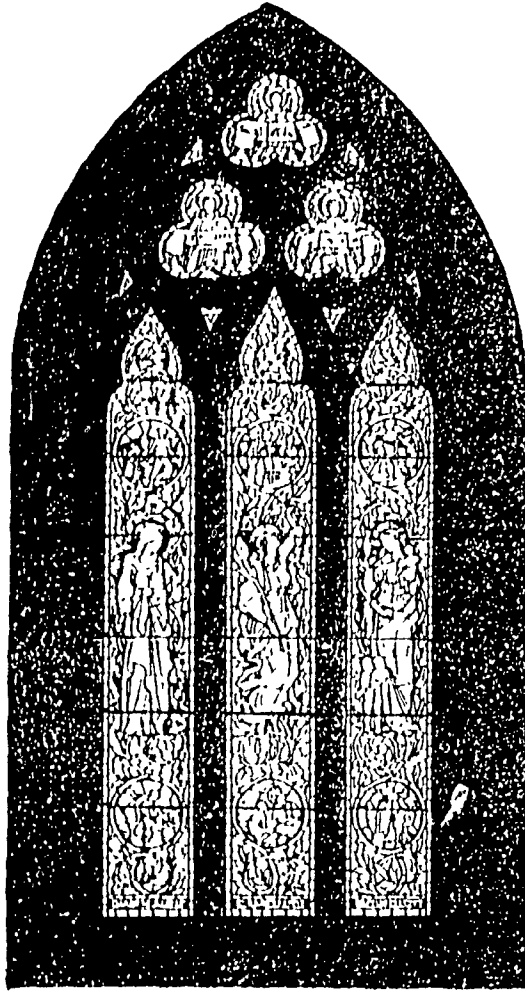


Fig. AII



Fig. A12

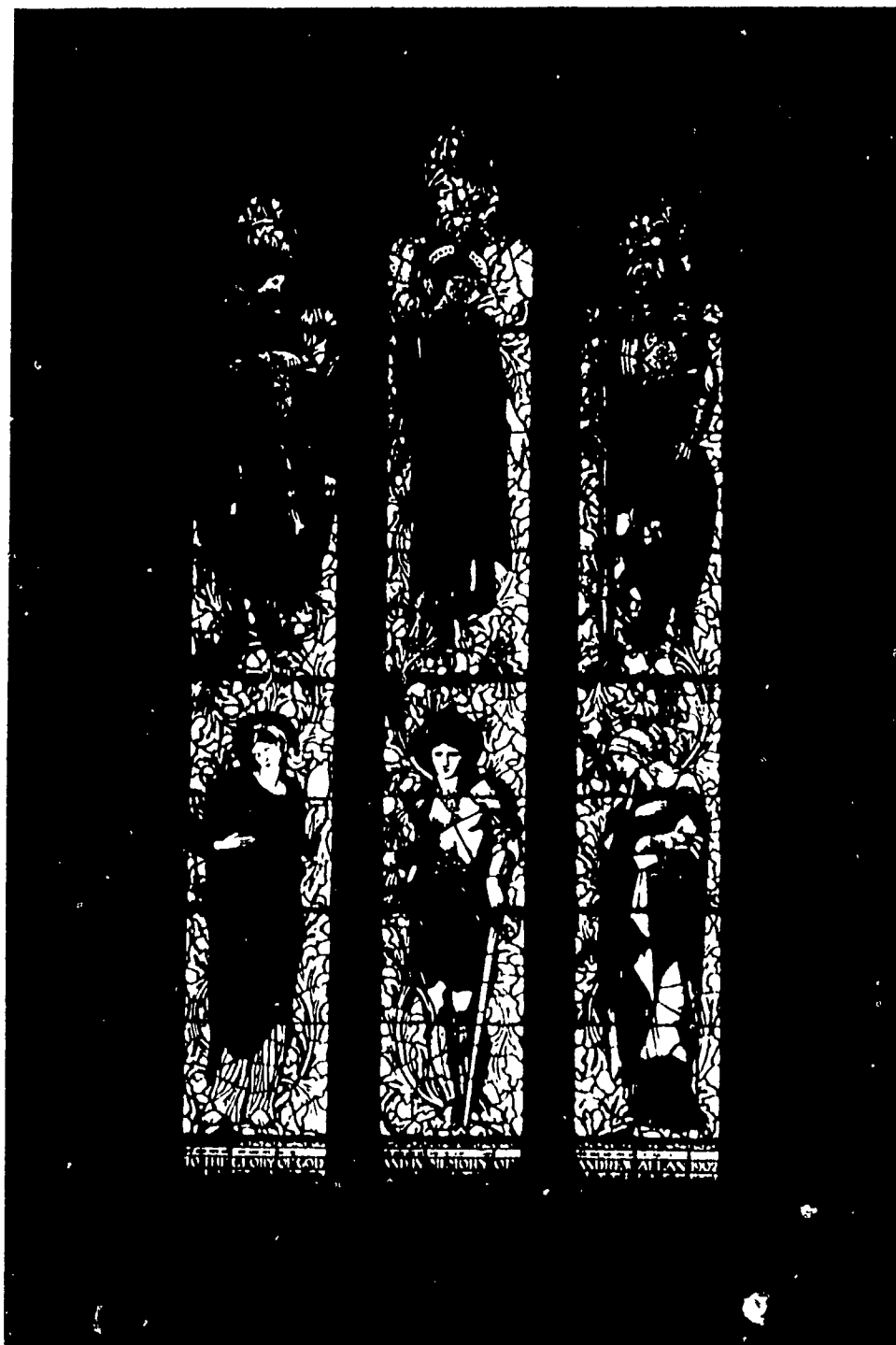


Fig A13

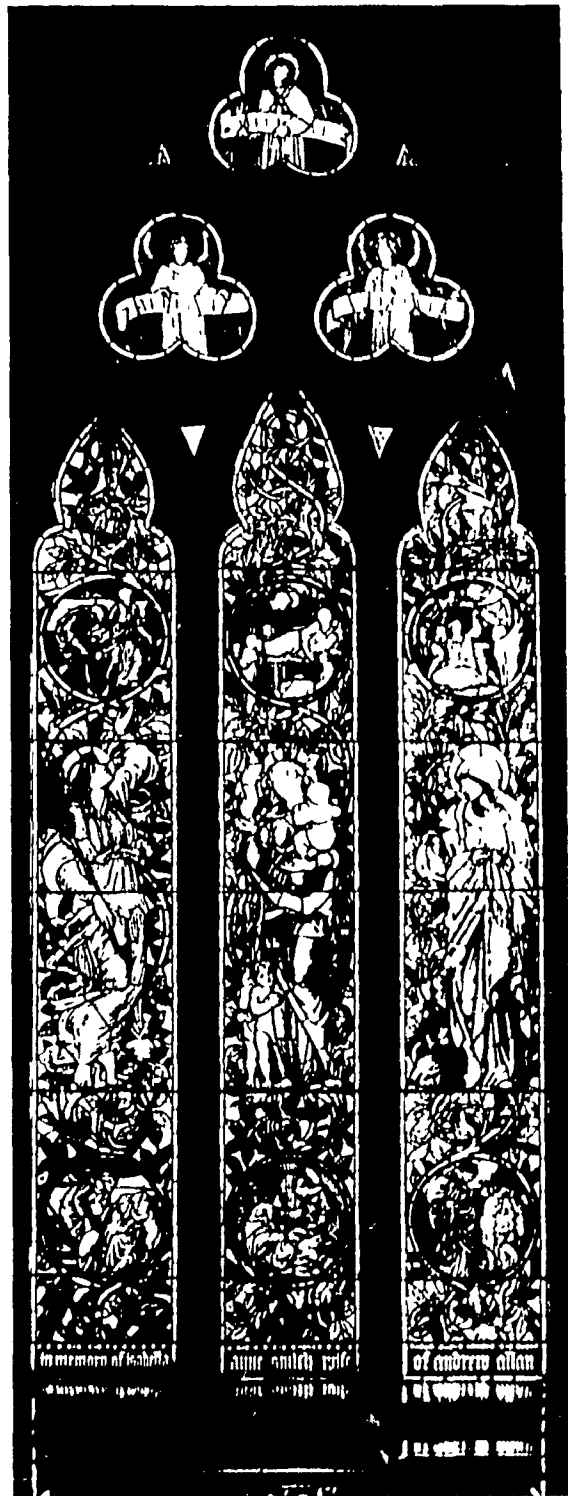


Fig. A11

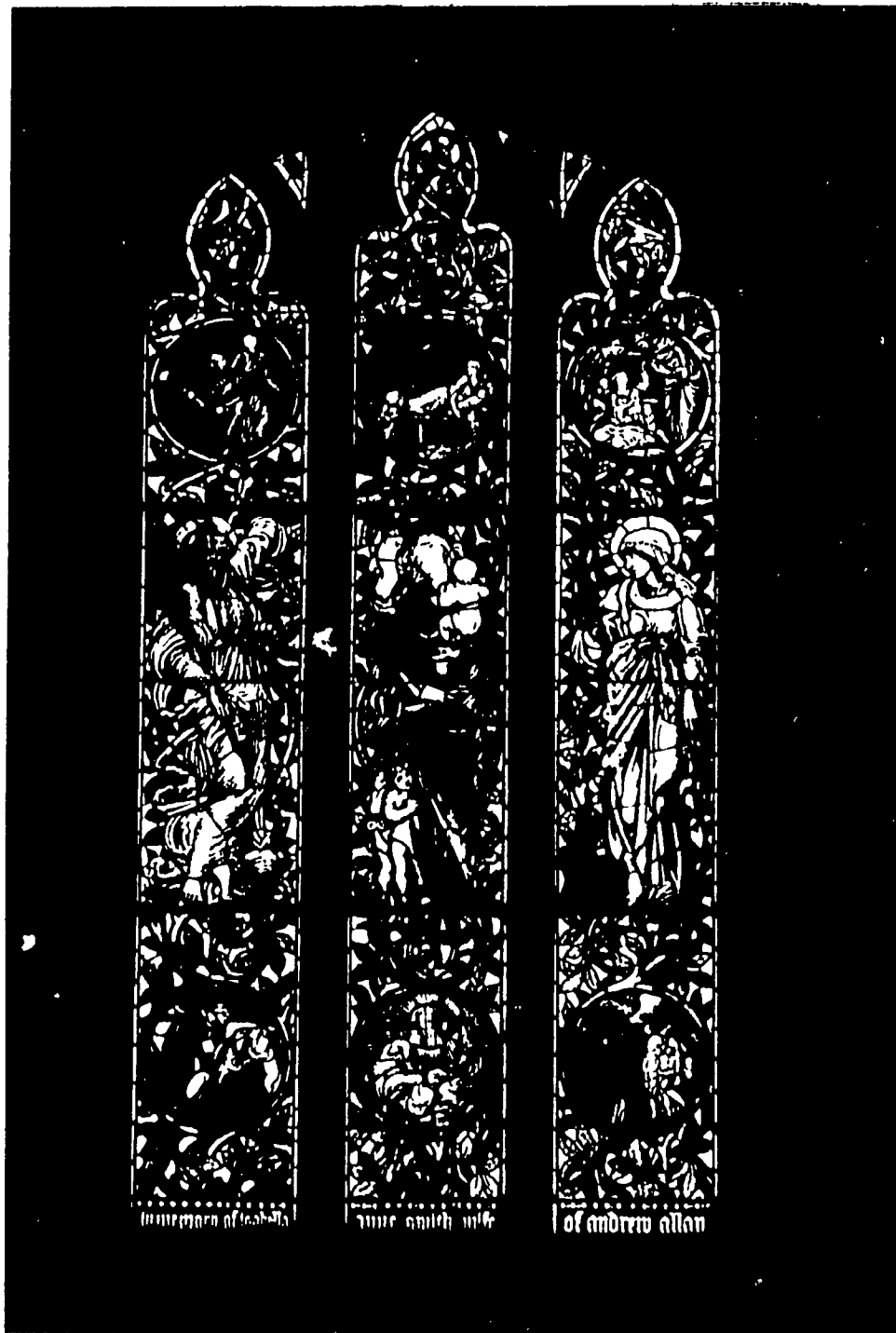


Fig A15



Fig A16



Fig. A17



Fig A18

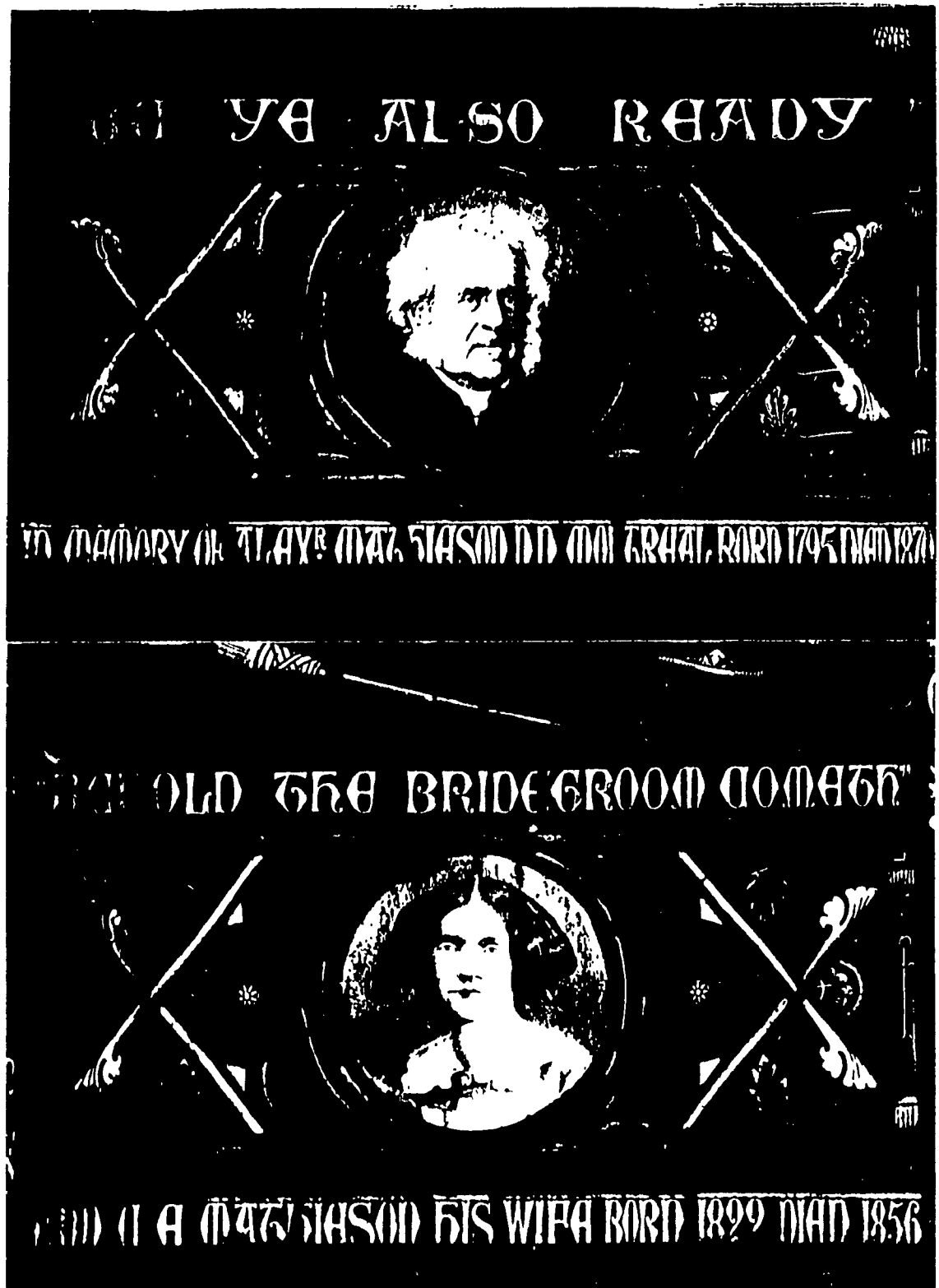


Fig. A19



Fig. A20

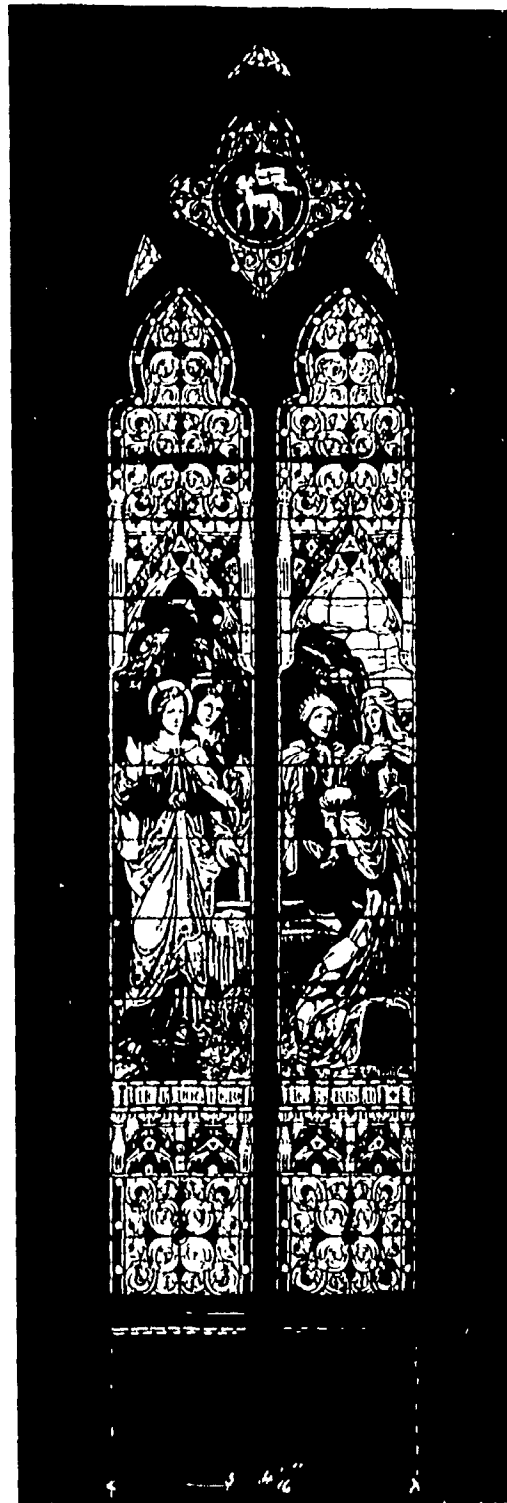


Fig. A21



Fig. A22

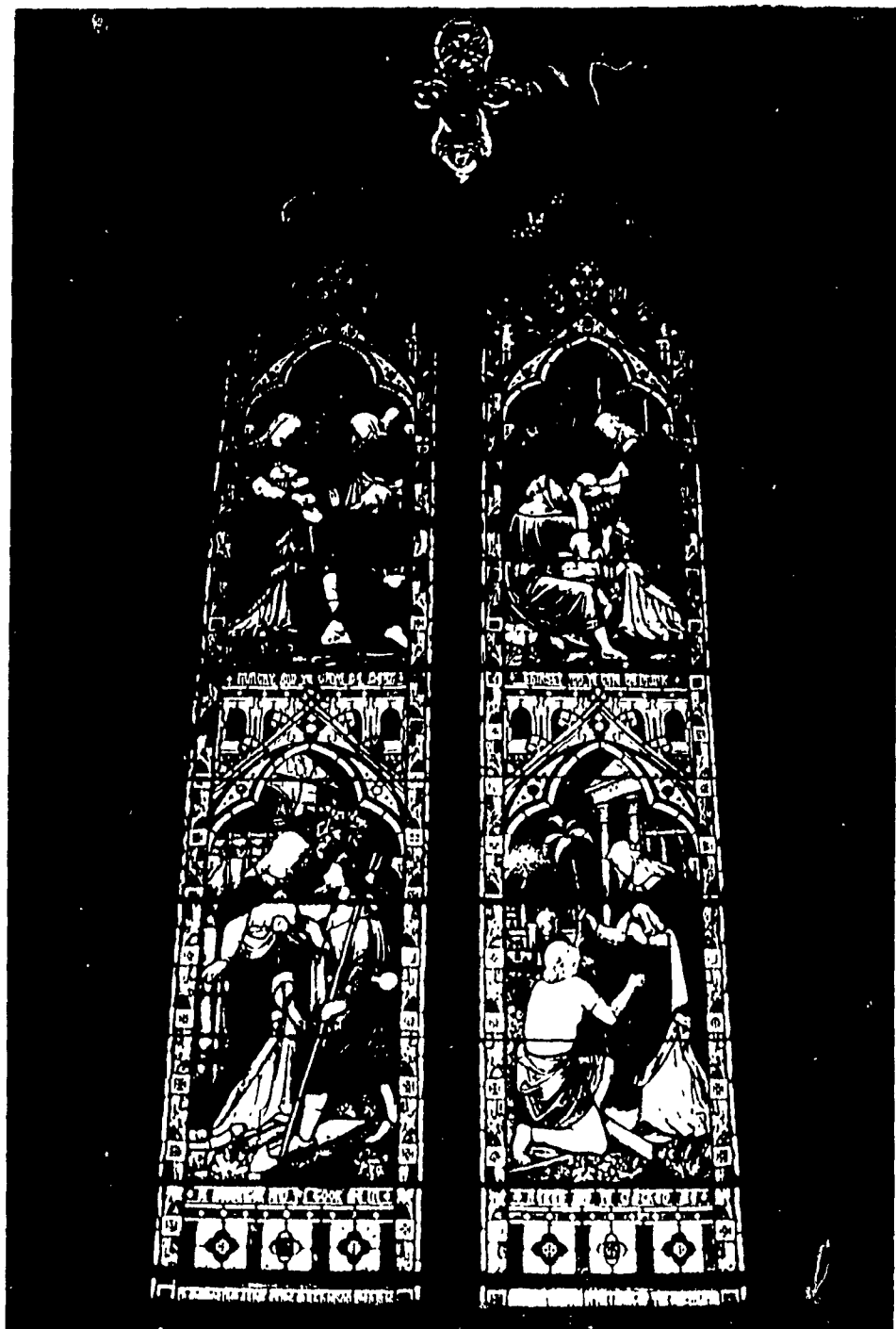


Fig. A23

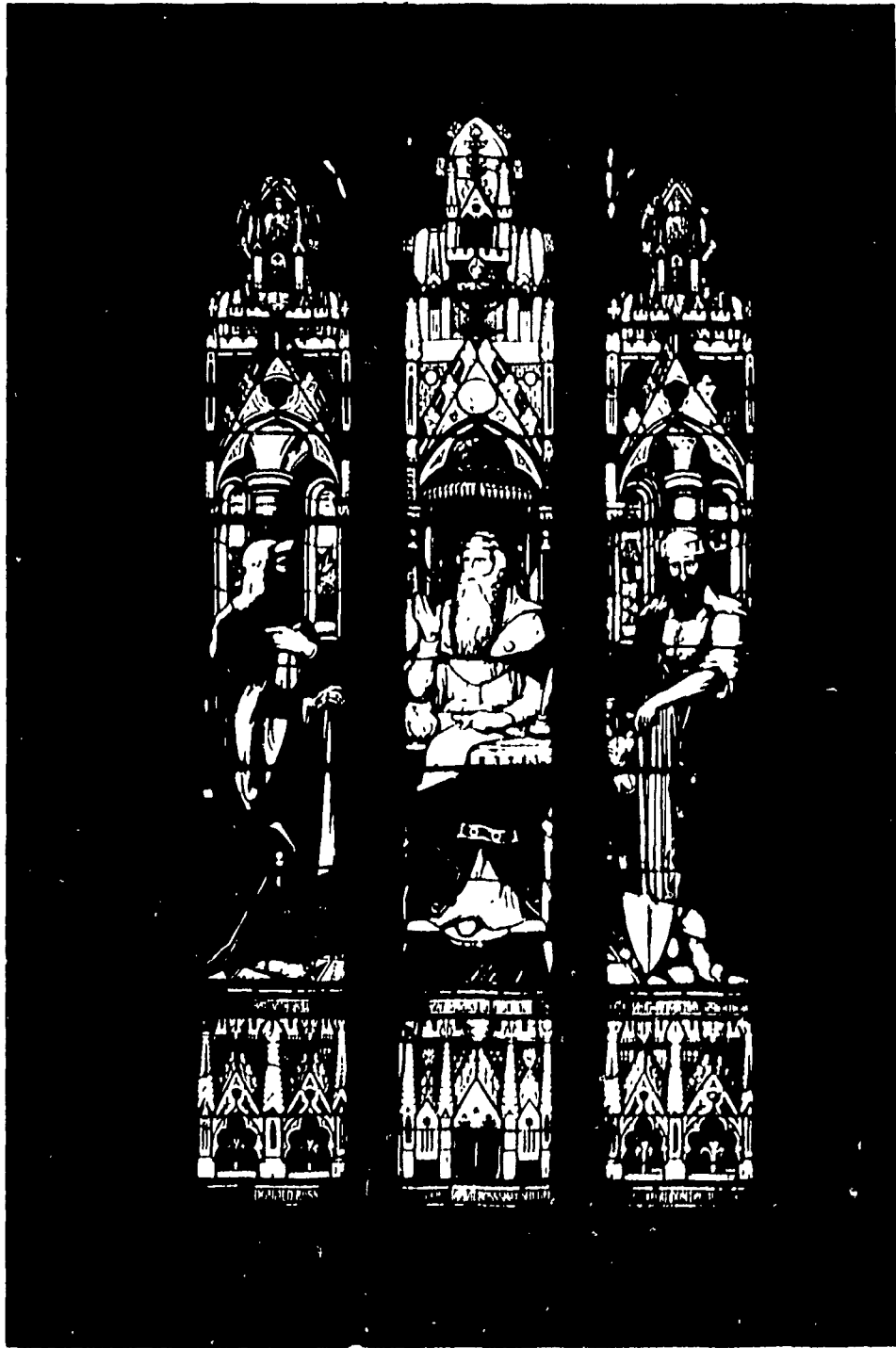


Fig. A24

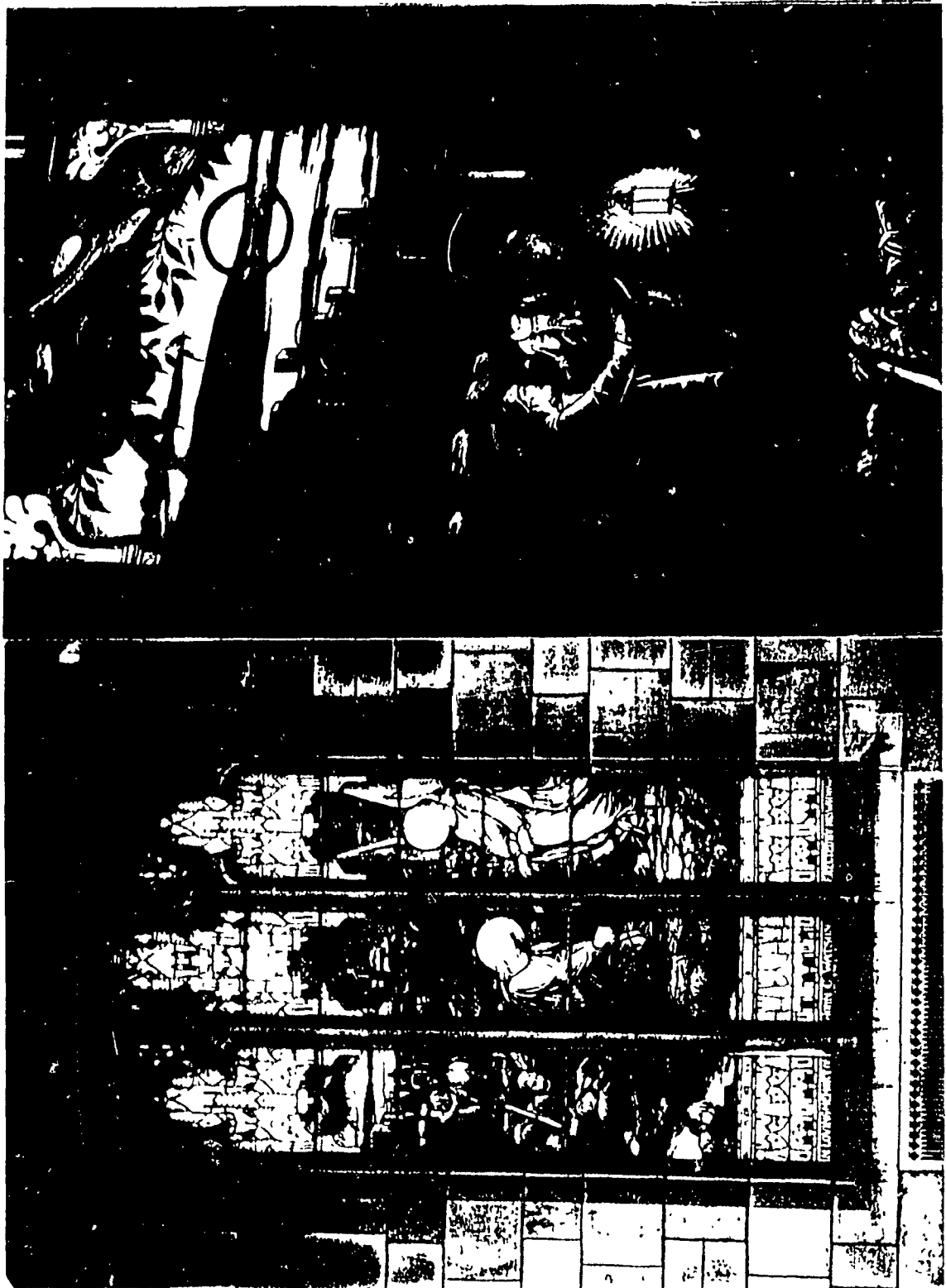


Fig A25

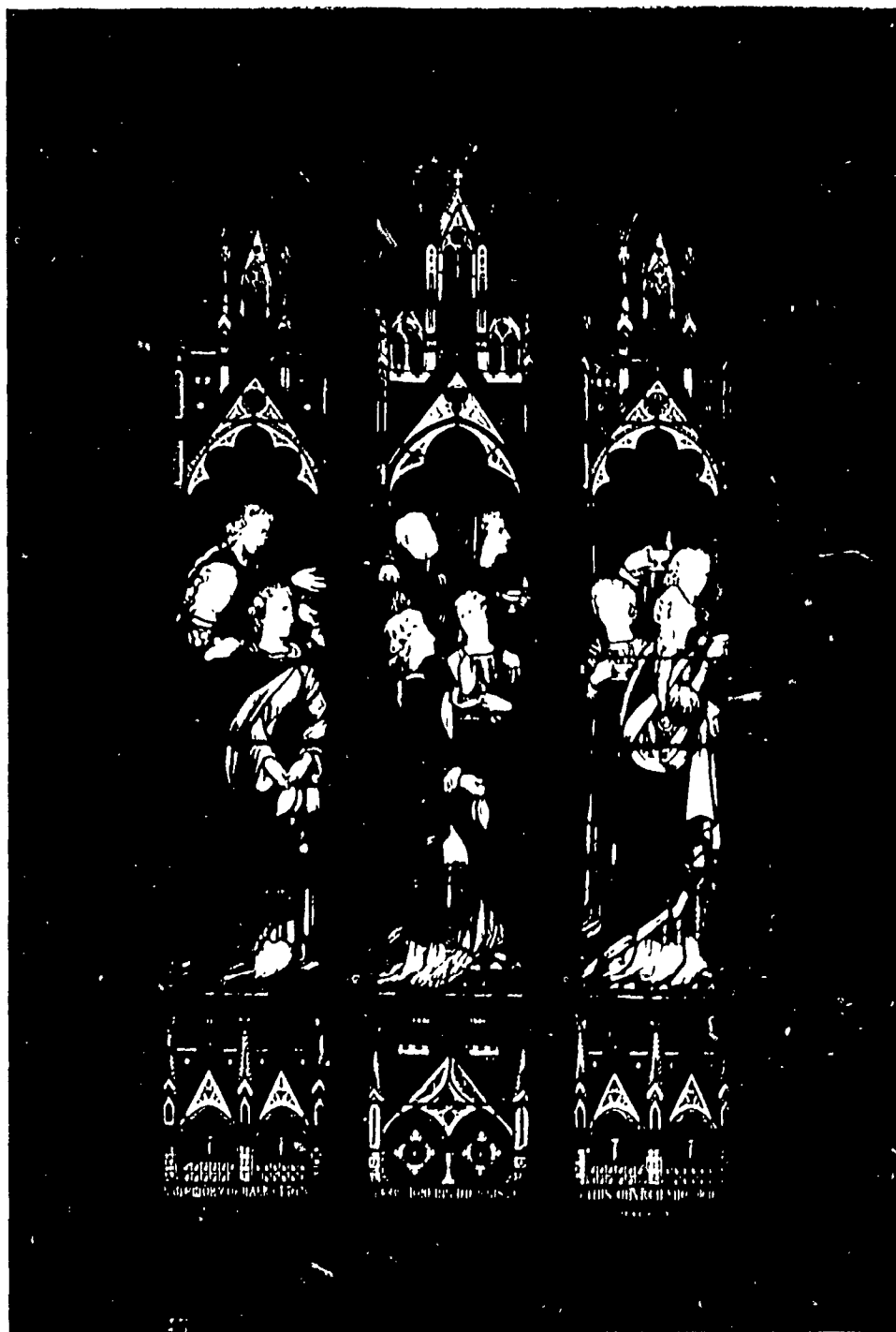


Fig. A26

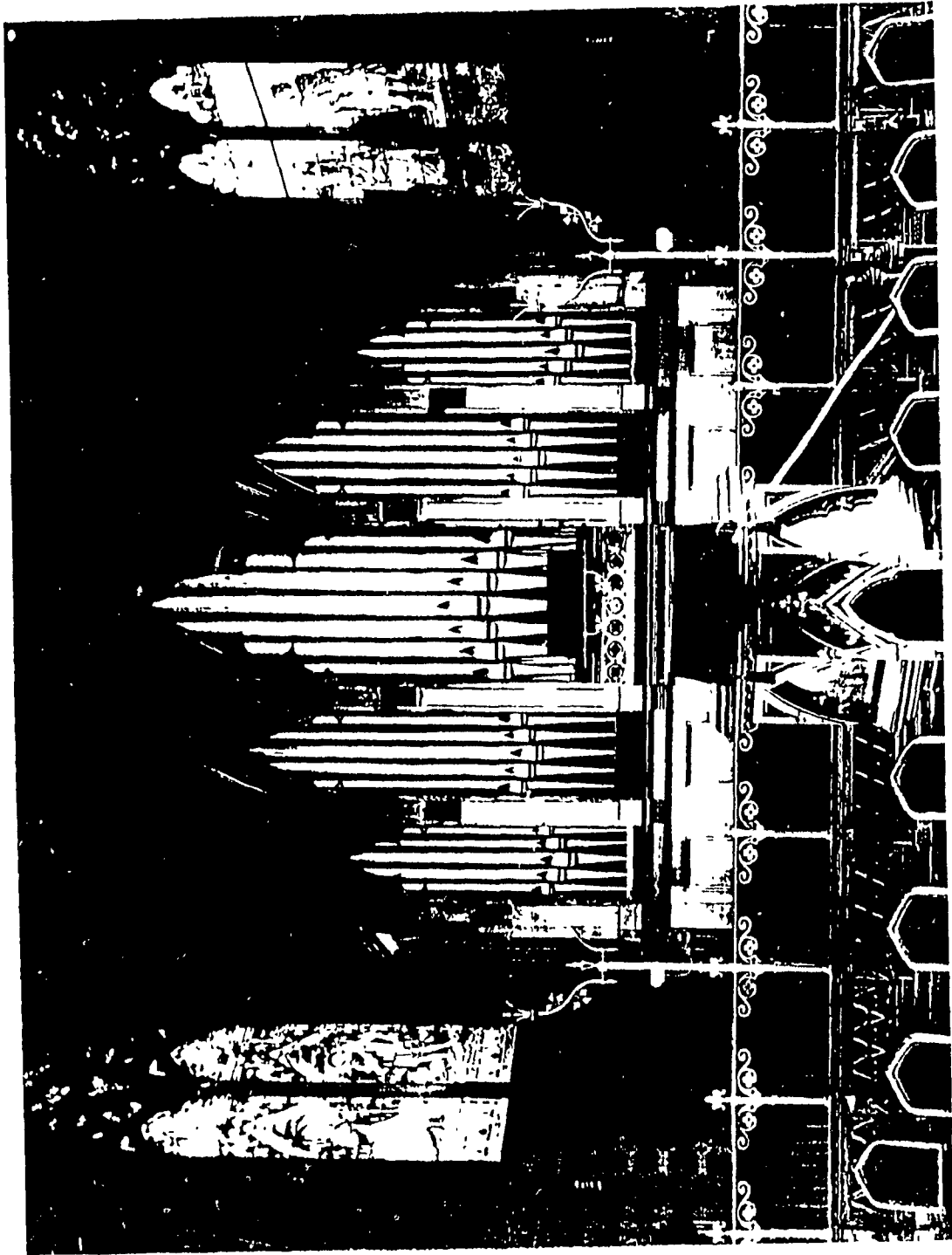


Fig. A27

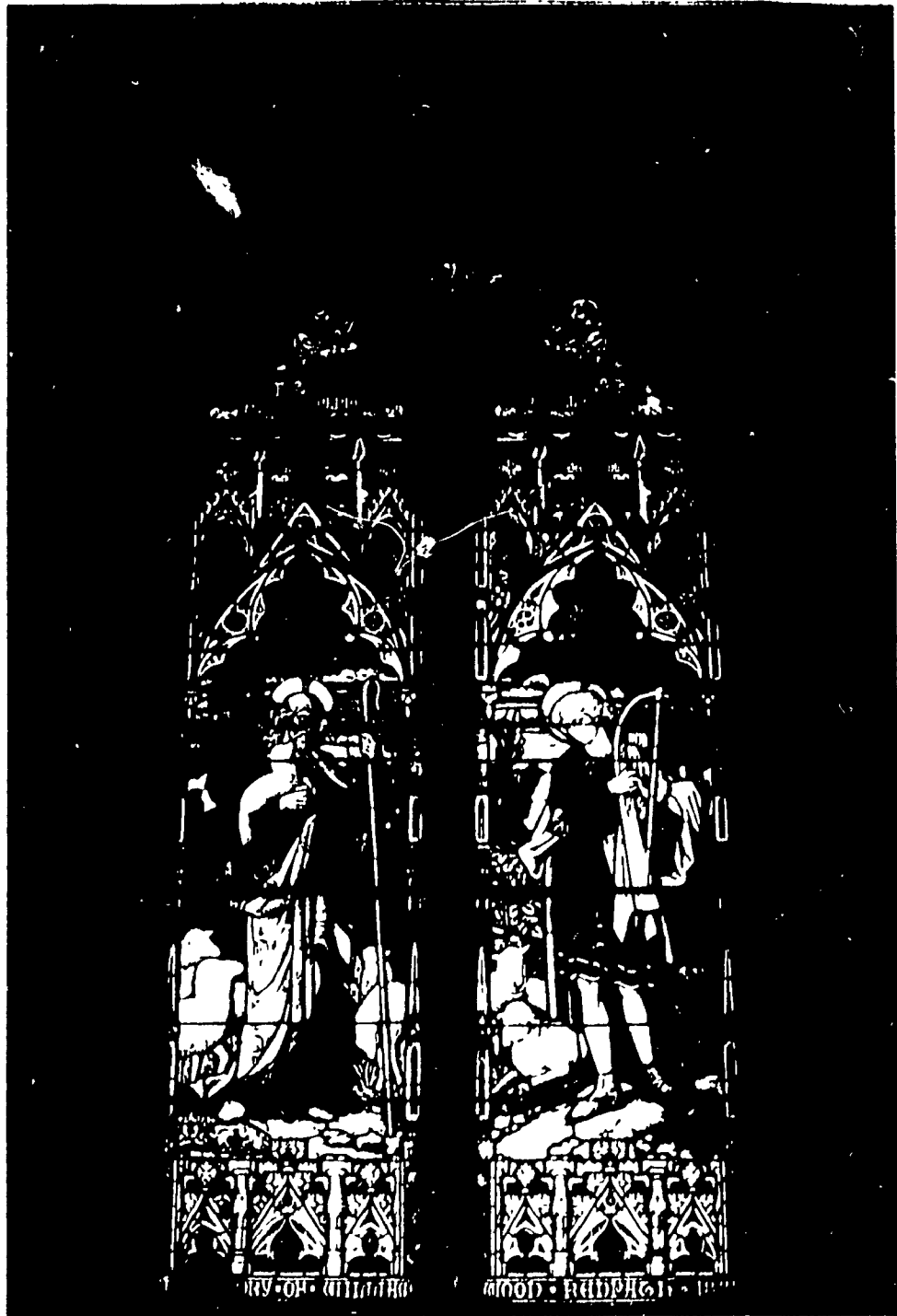
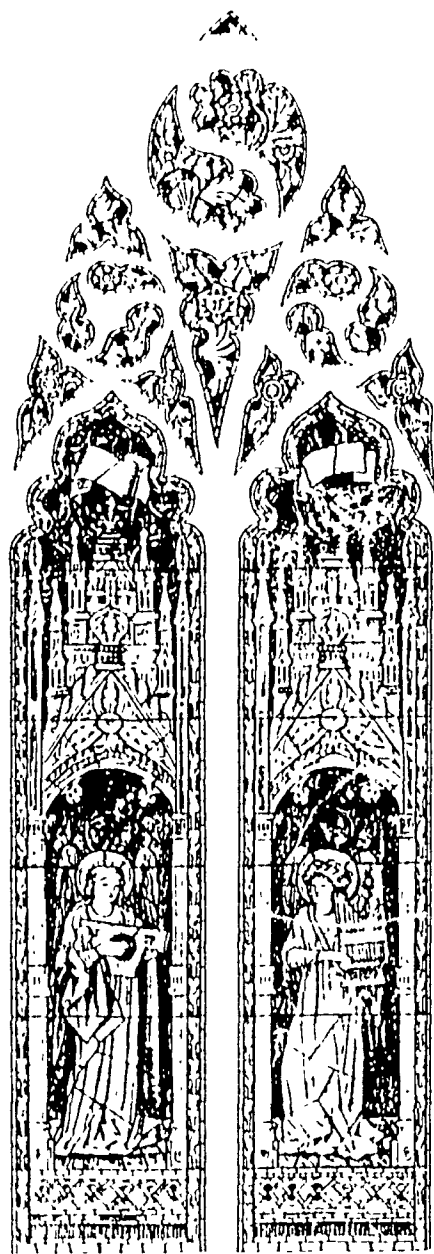


Fig. A28

MOHIRE AL
S. Pauls
Original from 1870



MOHIRE AL
S. Pauls
Original from 1870

Fig A29



Fig. A 30

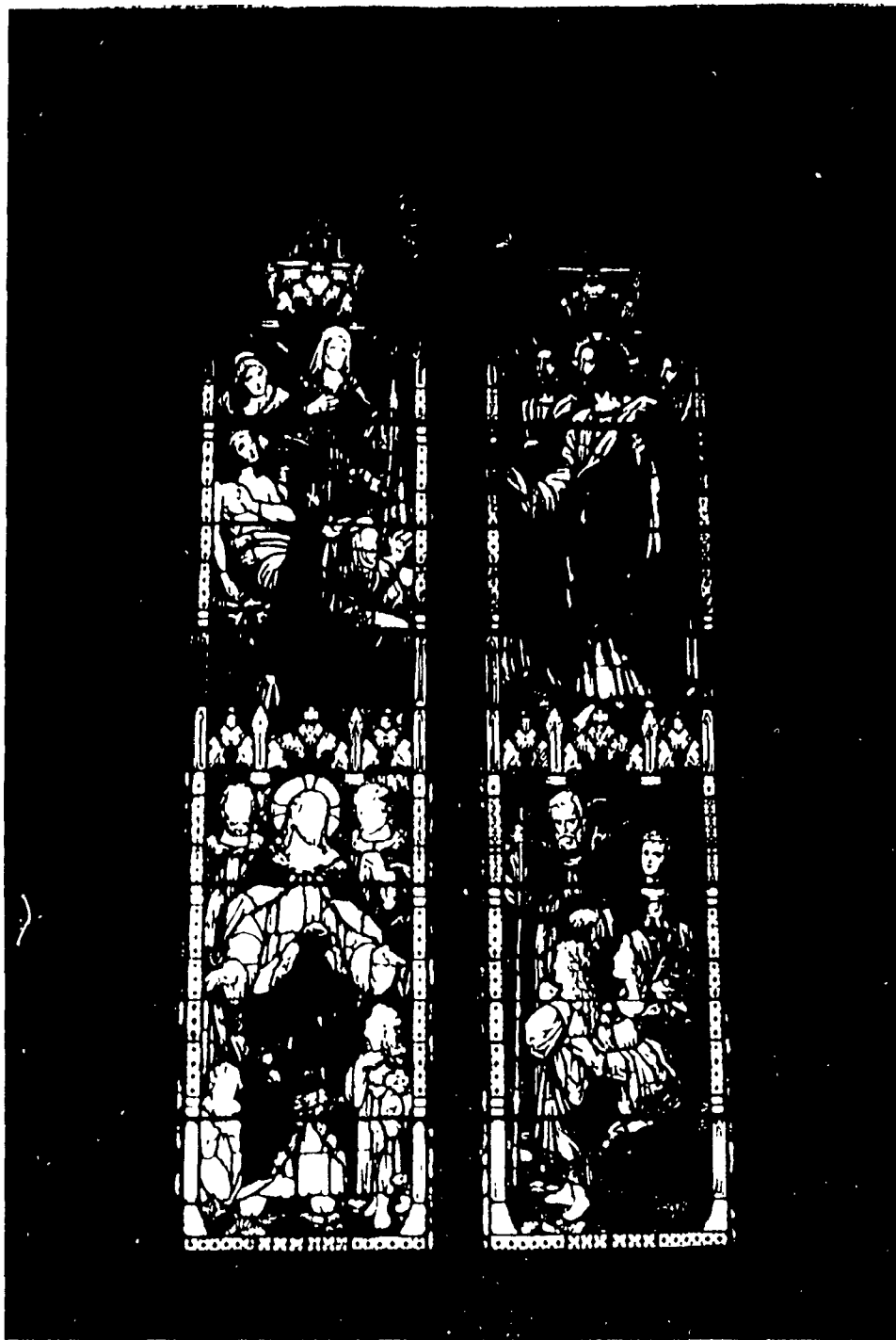


Fig A31

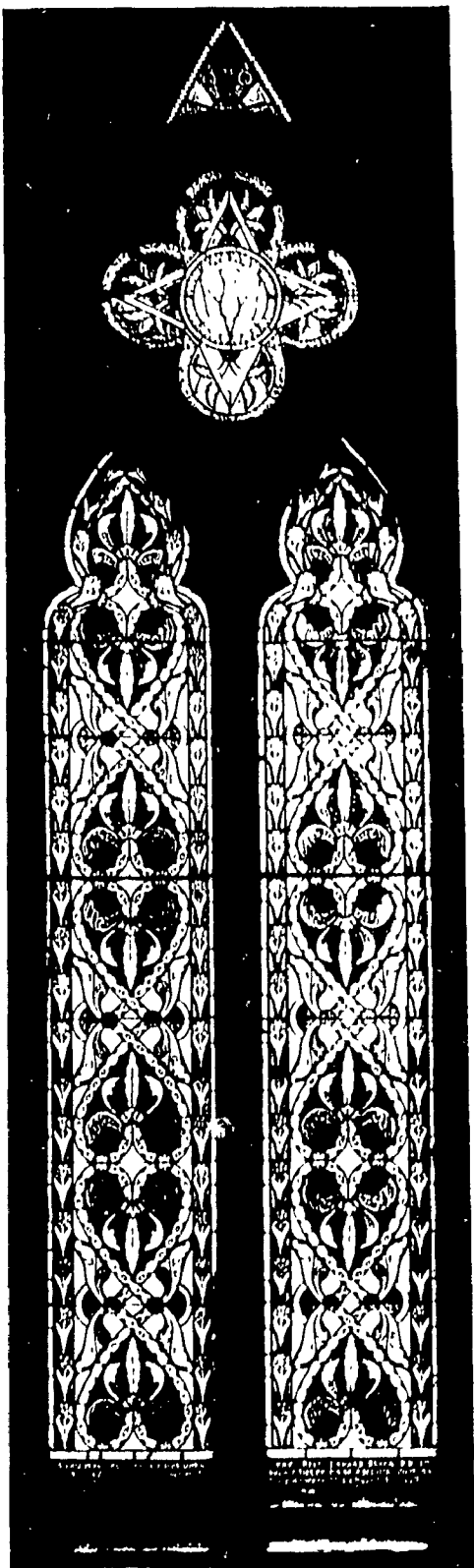


Fig A32



Fig. A33

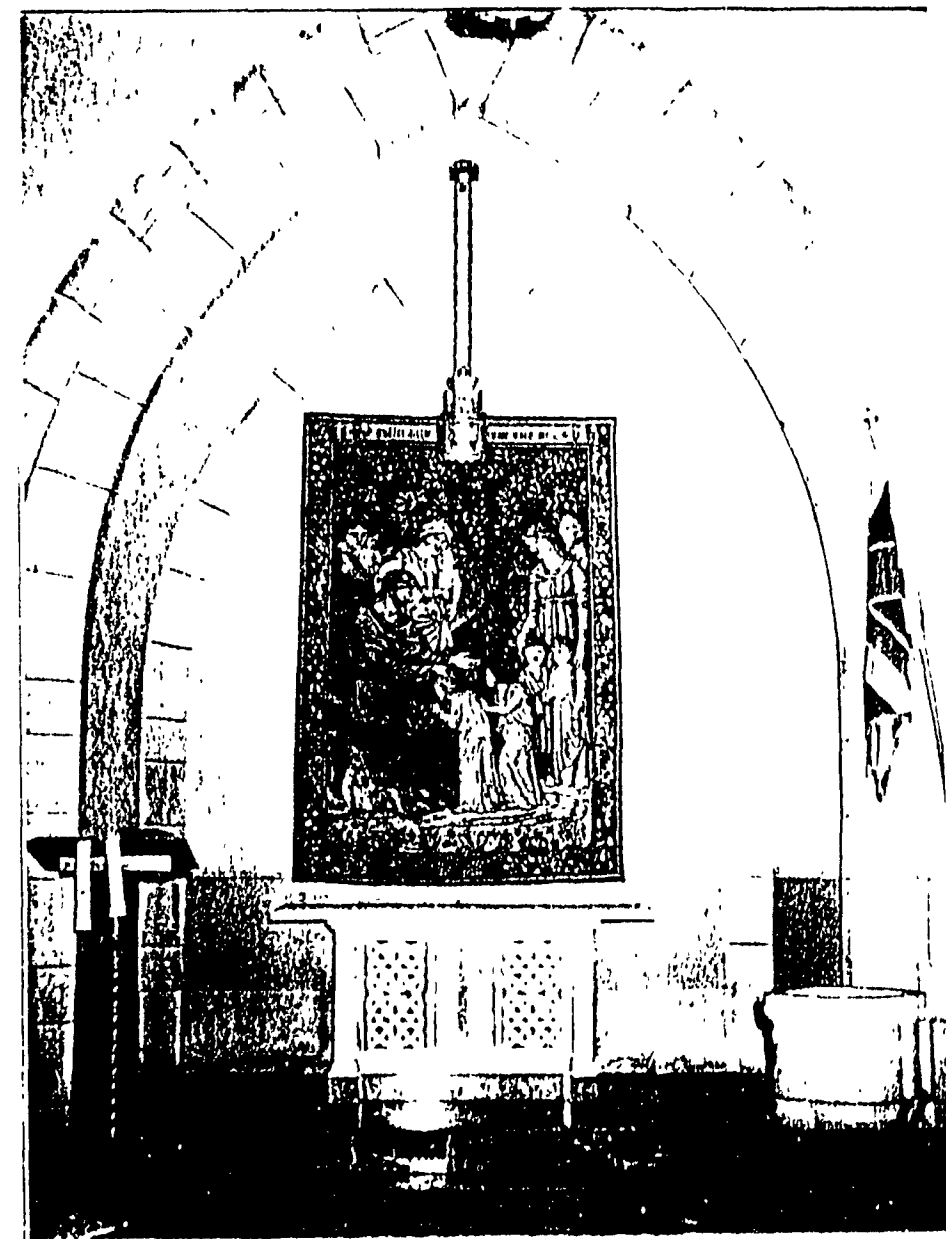


Fig A3i

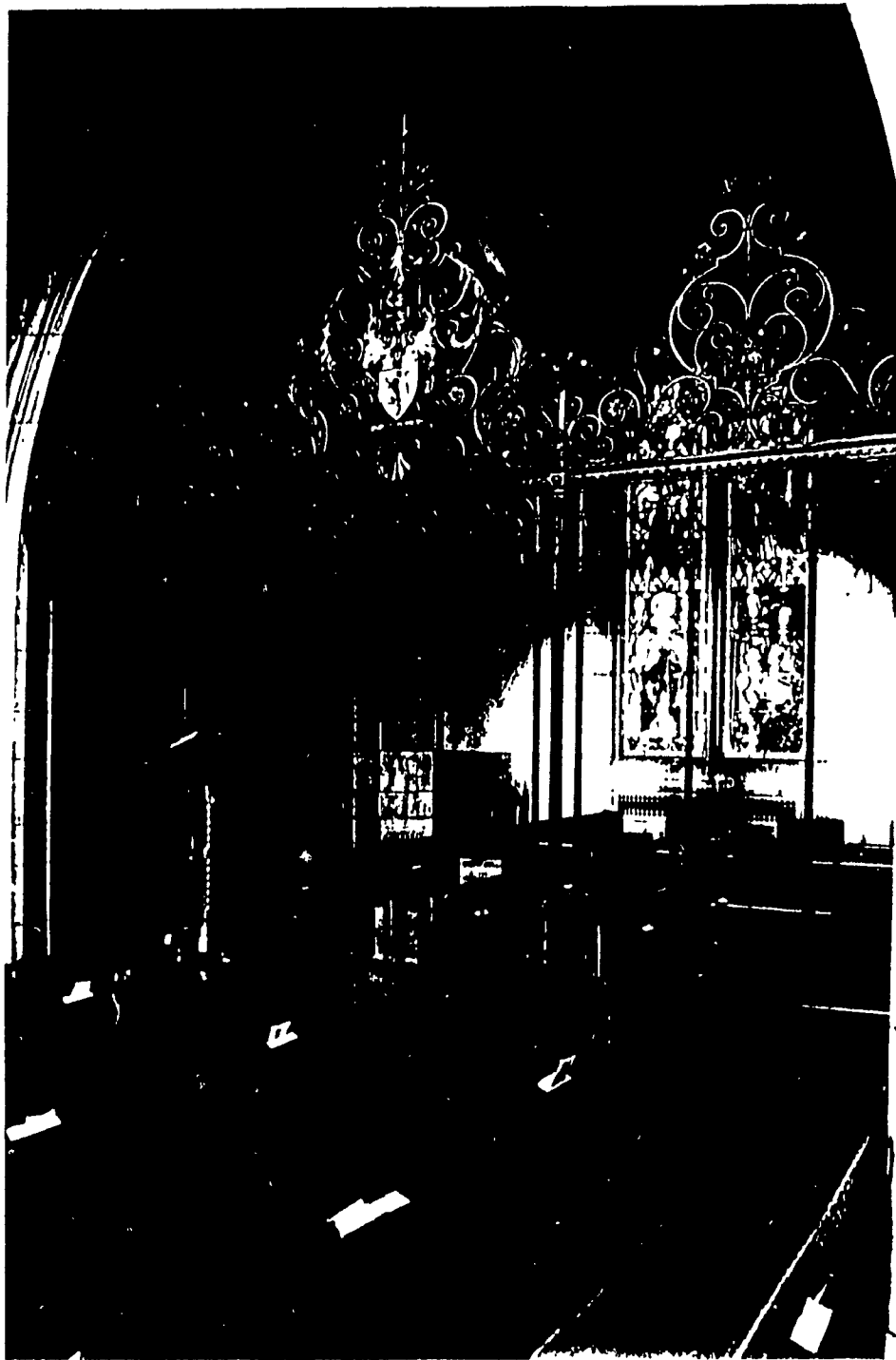


Fig A35

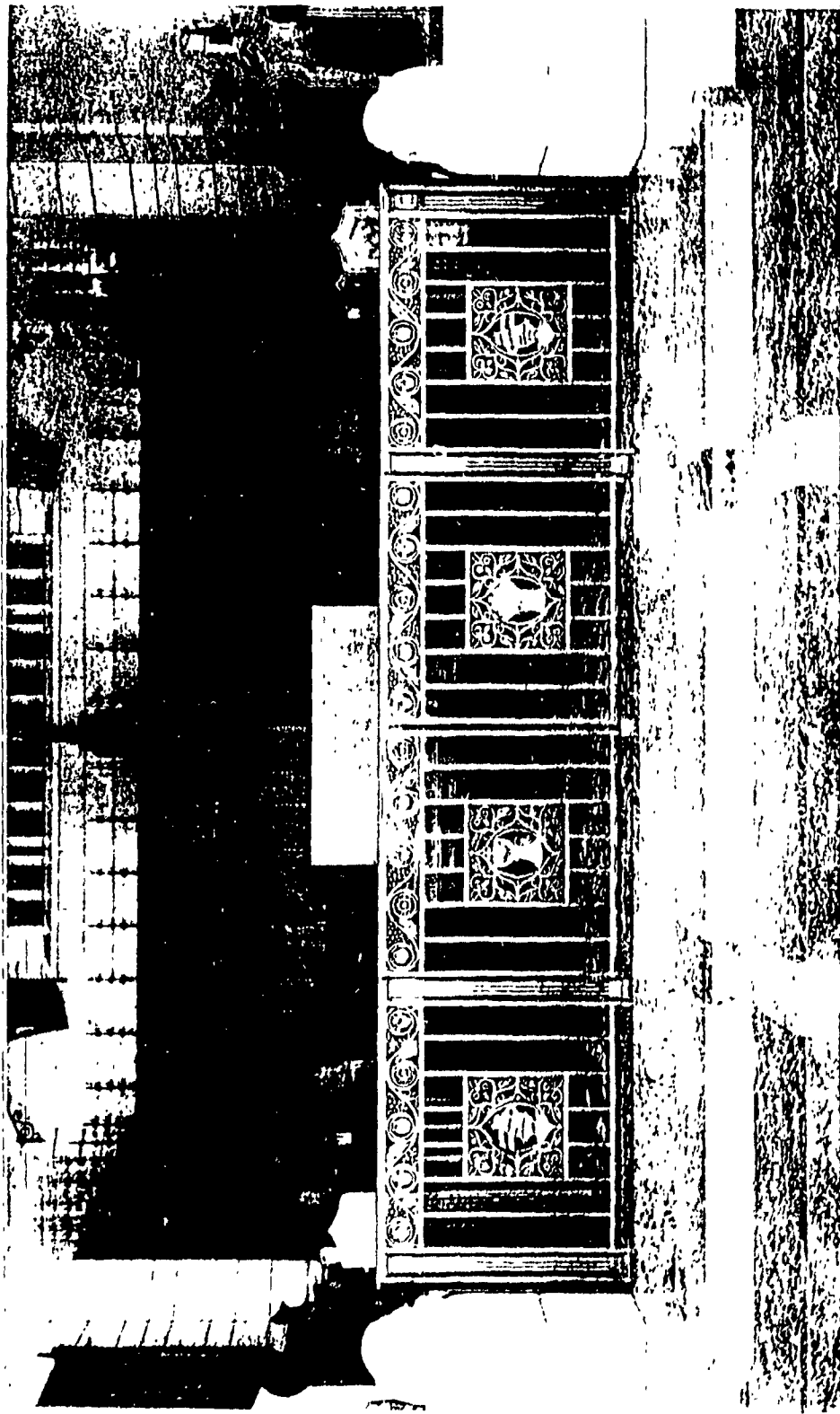


Fig A36