

The Church of Our Lady of The Immaculate Conception, at Guelph:

Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly

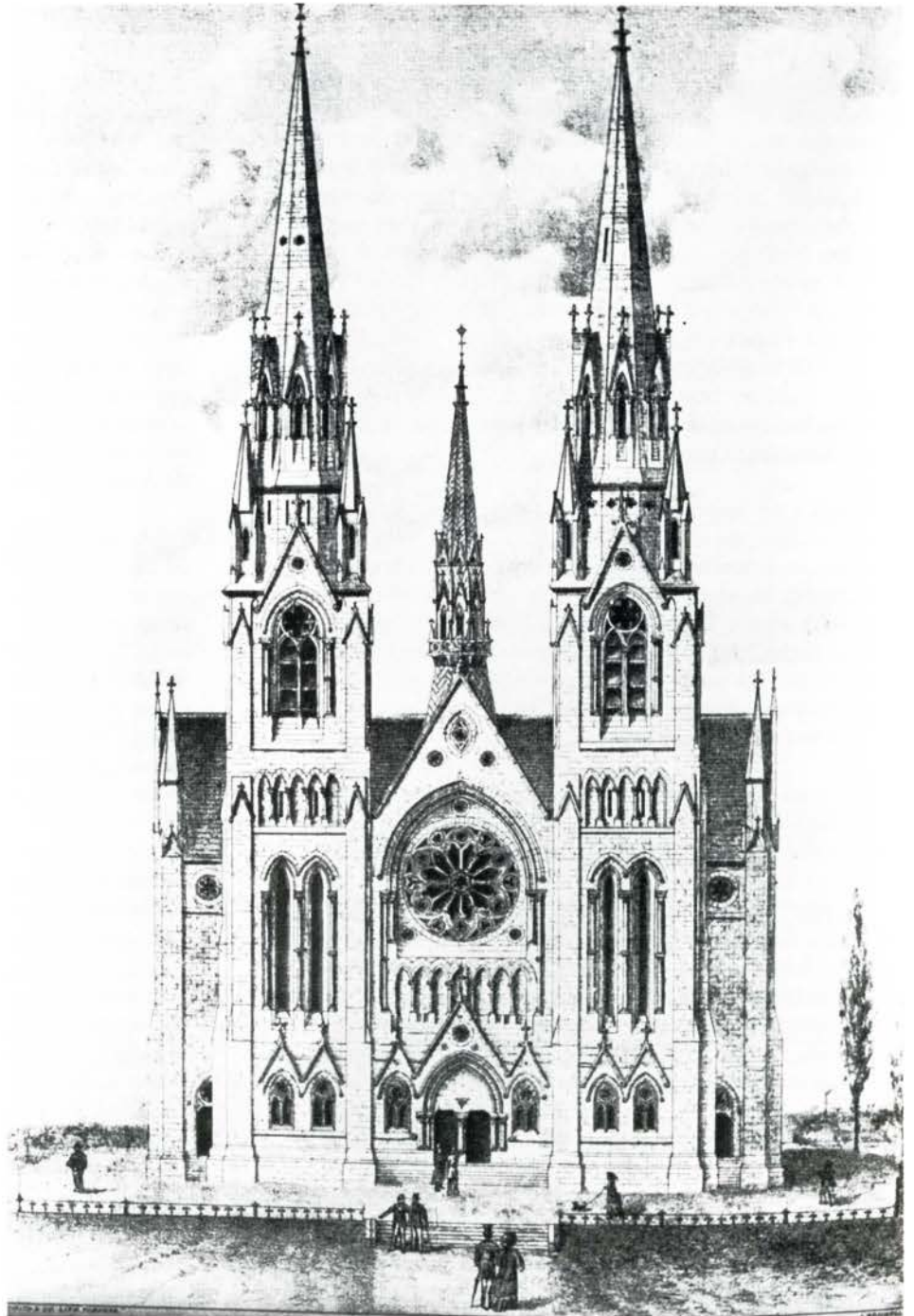


Figure 2. *The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Guelph, Ontario. West front as proposed by Joseph Connolly. (Historical Atlas of Waterloo and Wellington Counties, 1881)*

By Malcolm Thurlby



Figure 1. The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Guelph, from the southeast.

Roman Catholic church architecture in Britain was revolutionized in the late 1830s and 1840s by the publications and practice of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852).¹ Until that time neoclassical and classical vernacular styles enjoyed a great popularity for church design, as at Hereford, St. Francis Xavier (1838-39) and Longford Cathedral (1840).² Even when the Gothic style was employed it seldom had more than a superficial resemblance to the works of the Middle Ages. By the time of Pugin's death Gothic had become the norm; the galleried preaching boxes of James Gibbs' tradition had been abandoned in favour of designs based on the precise archaeological study of medieval originals with separate chancel, nave, porch, and tower. The stylistic change was not just a question of taste; it was rooted in Pugin's equation of classicism with paganism, and of Gothic with true Catholic Christianity.

Pugin believed that the introduction of Protestantism under Henry VIII had been possible only because of a decline in the Roman Catholic Church and the consequent decline in Christian social values. Coupled with Protestantism was the introduction of Renaissance architectural classicism, classicism that reached its peak in the early 19th century. Thus Protestantism, classicism, and social problems went together in the same way as Catholicism, Gothic, and good society, a point most forcefully made in Pugin's book *Contrasts*.³ To return to the Gothic manner of building of the 13th and 14th centuries would therefore represent a return to the Christian social values of the Middle Ages.

The impact of Pugin and the revived Gothic style spread beyond Britain to Europe and the English-speaking world. In Ontario the classicism of St. Raphael's (1821) and St. Paul's, Lot Street, Toronto (1823), gave way to the Gothic of St. Mary's Cathedral, Kingston (1843) and St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto (1845).⁴ And yet, as we shall see, the Roman Catholic Gothic of Ontario would fall somewhat short of Pugin's ideals until the arrival of Joseph Connolly.

CONNOLLY WAS BORN IN LIMERICK IN 1840 and received his architectural training in the Dublin office of J. J. McCarthy, "the Irish Pugin" as he was popularly known.⁵ Following a period as McCarthy's chief assistant, Connolly made a study tour on the continent before returning to Dublin to start his own practice.⁶ His stay there was short-lived, however, and by 1873 he had moved to Toronto where he formed a partnership with the engineer/surveyor/architect Silas James.⁷ This alliance was dissolved before 28 April 1877, after which Connolly practiced alone, working primarily for the Roman Catholic church until his death on 13 December 1904.⁸ Connolly was responsible in whole or in part for thirty-four Catholic churches and chapels in Ontario and the Cathedral at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, the majority being built in the Gothic Revival style as recommended by Augustus Welby Pugin.⁹

Of these, the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, formerly St. Bartholomew, at Guelph is an outstanding example (figure 1). The ceremony of planting the cross and turning the sod for the new church was held on 10 July 1876.¹⁰ Construction

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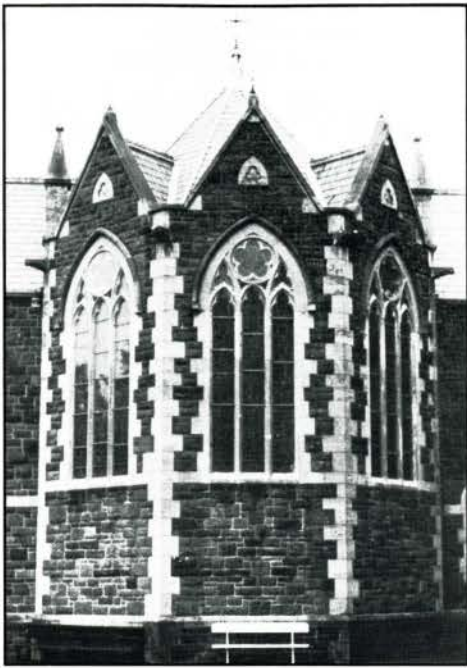


Figure 3. St. John's Convent Chapel, Tralee, Co. Kerry, J. J. McCarthy, architect, 1860.

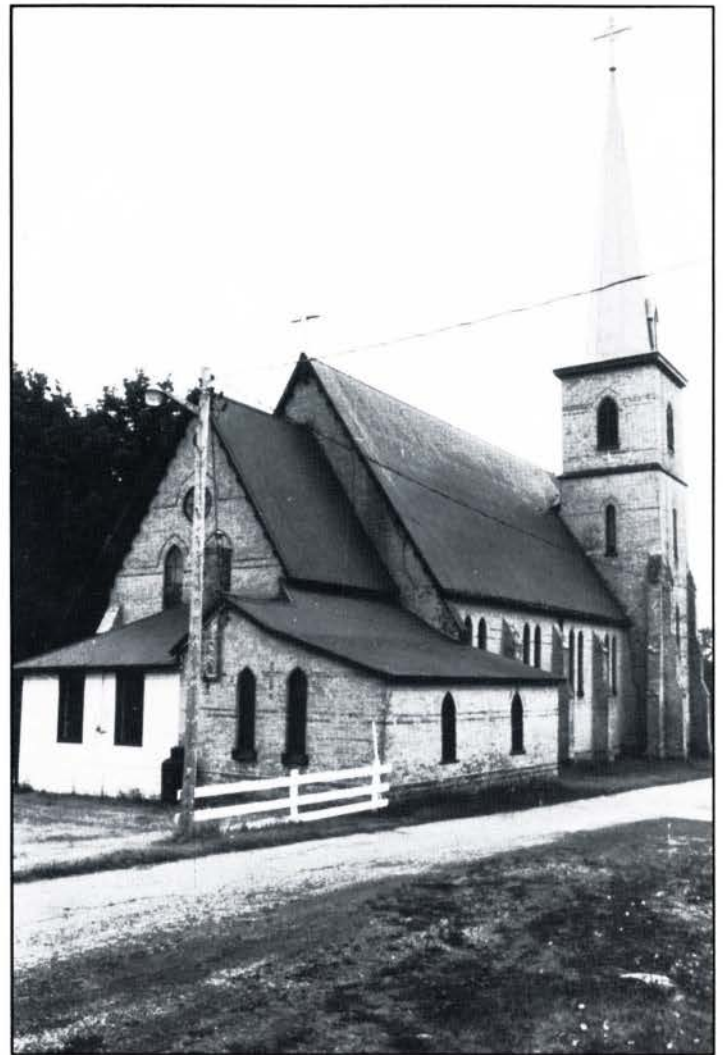
progressed rapidly and by 1 November of that year “already the entire basement of the back half (i.e., the liturgical east, actual west, end) which rises 14 feet in the clear has been completed, and the public by examining the walls can even now have something of an idea of what architectural beauty will be when completed.”¹¹ The foundation stone was laid on 5 July 1877 by Monsignor Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois and Apostolic Delegate to the Dominion of Canada, and by 14 November it was reported that “the work done up to the present time includes the walls encircling the nave and chancel and the small chapels at the rear. All this is expected to be roofed before winter sets in.”¹² After a break in construction the nave was commenced in 1885, and was completed, with the exception of the upper sections of both towers, for the consecration of 10 October 1888.¹³

According to local tradition, which may be documented back to 1908, Father Hamel instructed Connolly to model his design on Cologne Cathedral, with which Hamel had been particularly impressed on his European travels.¹⁴ Cologne Cathedral had been commenced in 1248 but was left unfinished until the 19th century.¹⁵ Boisseree's publication about the building (in several editions after 1821), the start of restoration of the medieval fabric in 1823, and the recommencement of construction in 1842 — which was to last until 1880 — did much to attract attention to this monument.¹⁶ Its twin western towers and spires influenced F.C. Gau's church of Sainte-Clothilde in Paris (1846-57) and von Ferstel's Votivekirche in Vienna (1856-79), while in North America it served as model for the Cathedral of St. Patrick in New York (1858-79).¹⁷ It must therefore have been perceived by Father Hamel as the perfect exemplar of Catholic superiority over other churches in Guelph.

In Connolly's scaled-down version of the German Cathedral he adopted the apse-ambulatory plan with radiating chapels, clerestory windows with bar tracery set in gables (a motif he extended down to the windows of the chapels), the transept arms, and the flèche over the crossing. One other parallel may be made between the two churches: originally the liturgical west (east) towers of Guelph were intended to have spires, as shown in the *Historical Atlas of Waterloo and Wellington Counties* (figure 2).¹⁸ Although there is no reason to question the traditional connection between the cathedrals in Guelph and Cologne, Connolly's interpretation of the German model omitted the elaborate Rayonnant open work in favour of the more solid early Gothic appearance characteristic of works such as the southwest tower of Chartres Cathedral.¹⁹ Connolly's design also owes a considerable debt to his Dublin mentor J. J. McCarthy. The main entrance and rose window, set beneath a richly molded pointed arch carried on detached shafts, and the blind arcade beneath the rose are similar to the transept and west facades of McCarthy's Monaghan Cathedral.²⁰ The design of the transept buttresses and pinnacles is also paralleled at Monaghan, where on the north transept facade one also finds two-light bar tracery windows as in the transept facades at Guelph. The substitution of solid gables above the clerestory windows of the choir for the tracery in the originals of Cologne reflects McCarthy's Chapel of St. John's Convent at Tralee, Co. Kerry (1860) (figure 3).²¹

As executed, the liturgical west (east) front of Guelph represents a thorough reworking of the architect's original design: details like the gabled bar tracery windows of the ground storey were replaced by ungabled lancets, the detached shafts of the tall second-storey lancets of the towers were abandoned, and the windows were subdivided horizontally, while the twin towers, not built until 1925-26, owe nothing to Connolly's original concept.²² Connolly also intended a twin-spired west (south) front for St. Peter's in London, Ontario, commenced in 1880 (figure 4), but once again the spires failed to materialize.²³ He did, however, receive some consolation in the church of St. Patrick at Kinkora (1882), where a single-spired variant of his cathedral design was completed, a scheme he was to modify for the 1886 commission for St. Michael's, Belleville.²⁴

Before moving to the interior of the Church of Our Lady at Guelph, it is useful to compare the plan and exterior with earlier Catholic churches in the province, and with churches of other denominations in Guelph. For example, at St. Mary's Cathedral, Kingston, commenced in 1843, the bay division of the aisled walls, with stepped buttresses and the pointed bar tracery windows, adhere to general Gothic principles, while the huge window of the east front may be found in many English Gothic cathedrals and large churches.²⁵ But the rectangular box-like exterior in no way prepares us for the interior spatial arrangement, a nave flanked by single aisles and a polygonal sanctuary. In essence, the Kingston design belongs to the tradition of the early Gothic Revival, which may be traced back to works such as the nave of St. Mary's, Warwick (1694-1704), which in turn reads as nothing more than a Gothic version of the rectangular preaching box later popularized through James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture*.²⁶ It was against just this type of arrangement that Pugin directed his polemics; for him, church design followed the true Catholic principles of the Middle Ages in



which the interior spaces were separated according to liturgical requirement and these divisions were in turn clearly expressed in the exterior articulation of the building — as, for example, at St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester.²⁷

Connolly's application of Pugin's principles is seen by comparing St. Wilfrid's with St. Mary's, Grafton, of 1875.²⁸ In both, the square-ended chancel with Early English lancets surmounted by a small rose projects at a lower level from the east end of the nave, while at the north-west angle there is a tower with spire (figure 5).²⁹ Details throughout are Early English, a style frequently used by Pugin, especially in his Irish churches (Killarney Cathedral, for example).³⁰ Similarly, at St. Patrick's, Hamilton, also of 1875, the apse, sacristy and morning chapel, nave aisles, baptistery, tower, and Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament are all expressed separately.³¹ And so with Guelph, with its internal divisions of apse, ambulatory, radiating chapels, transepts and chapels, nave, aisles, and western (eastern) towers all playing their role in the massing of the exterior.

The Church of Our Lady must also be viewed as an architectural rival to other churches in Guelph. The Wesleyan Methodist church, finished in 1856, lacked both the liturgical propriety in planning and the correctness of style to be taken seriously by Catholics holding Pugin's vision.³² St. Andrew's Presbyterian (1857-58), although built in the Gothic style, would have been similarly dismissed as a "preaching box."³³ But the Anglican Church of St. George, designed by Henry Langley and finished in 1873, was a different matter.³⁴ Here, ecclesiological principles were presented in the internal separation and external articulation of sanctuary, transepts, nave, aisles, and southwest angle tower and spire. The Catholics rose well to the Anglican challenge: Connolly's cathedral-style apse-ambulatory plan with radiating chapels and twin-towered facade, not to mention the commanding hilltop location of the church, must all have represented a symbolic victory to the Catholics. It was therefore doubtless a disappointment for them to have to abandon the spired-facade, and indeed to leave the front without towers until 1925-26.³⁵

Figure 4 (left). St. Peter's Basilica, London, Ontario, west front, Joseph Connolly, architect, 1880.

Figure 5 (right). St. Mary, Grafton, exterior from the northeast, Joseph Connolly, architect, 1875.



Figure 6 (left). *The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Guelph, interior to the east.*
 Figure 7 (right). *St. Patrick, Hamilton, interior to the east, Joseph Connolly, architect, 1880.*

The interior of the Church of Our Lady is unique among Connolly's churches in having a triforium, a feature included, once again, to emulate cathedral grandeur.³⁶ The other motifs, however, conform to the standard repertoire of the architect. The division of the nave and aisles with a pointed main arcade carried on columns with richly carved acanthus capitals and molded bases on octagonal plinths and surmounted by a clerestory may be found, for example, at St. Patrick's, Hamilton, while the polished granite of the shafts and taller arches leading to the transepts are found in St. Mary's, Toronto, (1885) and St. Peter's, London (figures 6,7).³⁷ An additional similarity between Guelph, London, and Toronto is the use of a pointed arcade beneath the clerestory windows of the polygonal apse, although only at Guelph does it communicate with an ambulatory.³⁸

The immediate source for many of these details is, not surprisingly, the work of J. J. McCarthy. For example, the pointed main arcade with symmetrically-carved acanthus capitals, polished granite shafts, molded bases, and tall plinths occurs at Sacred Heart and St. Brigid, Kildare, Co. Kildare (1869) (figure 8),³⁹ while as at Monaghan Cathedral (1861) the arches leading to the transepts are somewhat wider and taller than the main arcade and the piers supporting them are proportionally larger (figure 9). In contrast to the two-storey elevation of Monaghan, however, Connolly's Guelph interior is more truly cathedral-like in having three storeys, main arcade, triforium and clerestory, and high rib-vaults, features paralleled in E. W. Pugin and G. Ashlin's cathedral at Cobh, Co. Cork (figure 10).⁴⁰

From about 1870, the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists were introducing numerous innovations in their church plans. In addition to the integration of vestries, lecture halls, and classrooms for Sunday Schools into the overall design of these Protestant churches, there was an increasing tendency toward centralization in the nave, with an amphitheatrical arrangement of seats around the pulpit platform becoming particularly popular.⁴² Given such novel developments it was time for the Catholics to emphasize the traditional elements of



their faith, and this could be visually achieved by employing the traditional Gothic style and the medieval basilican plan for their churches.

Connolly's churches were far from being out-of-date in Irish terms. McCarthy's St. Peter and St. Paul, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, (1878) had a pointed main arcade supported on columns with polished granite shafts, molded bases, and symmetrical acanthus capitals, like the Church of Our Lady at Guelph.⁴³ The west front of Kilmallock included a large rose window set beneath a pointed arch, and a southwest angle tower, features common in Connolly's repertoire, while the articulation of the chapel at the east end of the south aisle at Kilmallock has similarities to St. Patrick's, Hamilton. The central section of the west front of McCarthy's Chapel of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, (1875) compares favourably with the west front of Guelph, as do the radiating chapels at the east end of the structure, although unlike Guelph they communicate directly with the choir rather than with an ambulatory.⁴⁴

It is true that one may not expect to find significant innovations in these late works of McCarthy, but examination of the late 19th-century Gothic churches of his younger contemporaries shows that the formal vocabulary remained conservative, and concomitantly similar to Connolly's. The works of William Hague and O'Neill and Byrne featured traditional basilican plans, pointed molded arches, polished granite shafts, rich acanthus capitals, paneled timber roofs, and towers with elaborate stone spires, as seen in Hague's Church of the Sacred Heart, Omagh, Co. Tyrone, (1893-99) and St. Patrick's, Killygordon, Co. Donegal, (1893-95) by O'Neill and Byrne.⁴⁵

Given the close connections between the designs of Connolly, McCarthy, and Pugin and Ashlin, one might be tempted to label Connolly as a mere copyist. Against this, however, is Connolly's plan for Guelph, which came not from McCarthy, or Pugin and Ashlin, or even A. W. Pugin, but from the application of Pugin's *principle* of the study of a medieval original, namely Cologne Cathedral. Indeed, Connolly's work must be seen in the light of A. W. Pugin's doctrine: "We seek for authority, not originality ..., for the establishment of a principle,



Figure 8 (top left). Sacred Heart and St. Brigid, Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, interior to the east, J. J. McCarthy, architect, 1869.

Figure 9 (top right). Monaghan Cathedral, interior to the east, J. J. McCarthy, architect, 1861.

Figure 10 (below). St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork, interior to the east, E. W. Pugin and G. Ashlin, architects, 1867.

not individual celebrity.”⁴¹ Here it must be emphasized that Connolly’s position in Ontario was not dissimilar to that of Pugin’s in Ireland and England. Admittedly in the 1870s in Ontario Connolly was not faced with the tradition of neoclassical church building with which Pugin had to deal in the 1830s, but the prevailing Catholic Gothic style in Ontario must have been nearly as disconcerting to Connolly as the minimally Gothic churches of the 1820s and 30s were to Pugin. In light of his role as a champion of Puginian principles in the province, and particularly in Guelph, Joseph Connolly can reasonably lay claim to the title “the Ontario Pugin.”

APPENDIX

Connolly’s Catholic cathedrals, churches, and chapels, 1874-1894 (in Ontario unless otherwise noted):

- Arthur**, St. John the Evangelist (1874), *The Canadian Architect and Builder [hereafter CAB]* 17 (December 1904): 205.
- Grafton**, St. Mary (1875), *Cobourg Sentinel*, 23 January 1875, p. 3, and 18 September 1875, p. 3; building accounts are preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Kingston.
- Hamilton**, St. Patrick (1875), *The Globe*, 27 April 1875; *The Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser*, 28 June 1877, p. 1; *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205.
- Guelph**, Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (1876).
- Owen Sound**, St. Mary, vaulting (1876), *The Globe*, 1 September 1876.
- Toronto**, St. John the Baptist, Bond Street (pre-1877), design for belfry preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto. I would like to thank Christopher Thomas for this reference.
- Thorold**, Holy Rosary (1878), *Jubilee History of Thorold* (Thorold: John Henry Thompson for the Thorold and Beaverdams Historical Society, 1897), p. 147. Cornerstone laid on first Sunday in October, 1878, consecrated 19 June 1892.
- [no location], St. Mary, drawing of the northwest view of church exhibited at the Canadian Academy of Arts First Annual Exhibition (Toronto, 1880, no. 369); no evidence of the church having been built.
- Formosa**, Immaculate Conception, *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; 1880 date stone on west face of tower.
- London**, St. Peter (1880), *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; *Annual Exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts catalogue [hereafter RCA]* (Toronto, 1883), p. 22, no. 350; *The Catholic Record* 7 (4 July 1885), no. 351; *History of the County of Middlesex, Canada* (Toronto and London; W. A. and A. L. Goodspeed Publishers, 1889), pp. 313-14.
- Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan**, Cathedral (1880), *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205.
- Kinkora**, St. Patrick, *The Globe*, 7 January 1882, p. 6; *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205.
- Toronto**, House of Providence, Chapel (1882), John Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, 12 vols. (Toronto, 1904), 4: 581-82, illustration of interior to east; *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; *The Globe*, 7 November 1882, p. 5, tender call for coloured fresco and painted decoration. Accounts for 1882-1886 in Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto.
- Spencerville**, St. Lawrence O’Toole (1883), date stone on west wall of tower; attribution by author.
- Toronto**, St. Mary (1885), Bathurst and Adelaide, *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; Robertson, *Landmarks*, 4: 320-23.
- Caledon**, St. Cornelius (1885), *The Globe*, 12 March 1885, p. 2; according to the records of St. John the Evangelist Parish, R.R. 3, Caledon East, the church was opened on Tuesday, 2 February 1886 by Archbishop Lynch of Toronto.
- Chatham**, St. Joseph (1886), *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; foundation stone 17 October 1886.
- Belleville**, St. Michael (1886), foundation stone 22 August 1886; Louis J. Flynn, *Built on a Rock: The Story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston, 1826-1976* (Kingston: Archdiocese of Kingston, 1976), p. 235; *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; *The Irish Canadian*, 18 October 1888, p. 2; *Toronto Daily Star*, 17 December 1904, p. 12, for reference to fire, after which the church was rebuilt according to the original design.
- Cushendall**, St. Mary (1887), *RCA catalogue* (Montreal, 1887), p. 18, no. 185; no evidence that the church was built.
- Kingston Mills**, Holy Name of Jesus (1887), Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 328; attribution by author.
- Tweed**, St. Carthage (1887), *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; cornerstone 22 May 1887.
- Kemptville**, Holy Cross (1887), Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 256.
- Prescott**, St. Mark (1887), *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 233.
- Toronto**, St. Paul (1887), Queen and Power Streets, *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; Robertson, *Landmarks*, 4: 315-20; foundation stone 9 October 1887, dedication 22 December 1889. Buildings accounts in Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto.
- Kingston**, Cathedral of St. Mary (1889), *CAB* 2 (January 1889): 16; *CAB* 2 (March 1889): 36; *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; correspondence and accounts in Archives of the Archdiocese of Kingston back to 25 February 1888; Connolly designed west transept and tower.
- Kingston**, Chapel of St. James Boanerges (1890), Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 78; foundation stone on south wall of south porch.
- Toronto**, Cathedral of St. Michael (1890), remodeling of Cathedral including roof and addition of dormers; *Contract Record* 1 (10 May 1890): 2; Account for \$38,739 in Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto.
- Toronto**, St. John’s Chapel, St. Michael’s Cathedral (1890), Robertson, *Landmarks*, 4: 313; dedicated 7 June 1891.
- Gananoque**, St. John the Evangelist, dedicated 1891, Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 267.
- Portsmouth**, The Good Thief (1892), Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 322.
- Picton**, St. Gregory (1892), Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, pp. 245-46.
- South Mountain**, St. Daniel the Martyr (1894), Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 257; attribution by author.
- Toronto**, Chapel of St. Joseph’s Convent, *CAB* 17 (December 1904): 205; Robertson, *Landmarks*, 4: 177; cornerstone 15 August 1894; dedicated 19 December 1895.
- Macton**, St. Joseph, no date, attribution by author.

I would like to thank Kent Rawson for the references to the tender calls in *The Globe*.

ENDNOTES

- 1 On Pugin see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 56-96, and Pheobe Stanton, *Pugin*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), which has an extensive bibliography.
- 2 On Charles Day's St. Francis Xavier at Hereford, Pugin remarked, "This new church at Hereford might be fitly termed the new Catholic Concert Room; it does not possess the slightest character or essentials of a church." Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A. W. N. Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin* (London: Edward Stamford, 1861; reprint ed., London: The Scolar Press, 1978), p. 378.
- 3 Augustus Welby Pugin, *Contrasts: Or a parallel between the noble edifices of the Middle Ages, and corresponding buildings of the present day: Shewing the present decay of taste* (Privately Printed, 1836; 2nd ed., London: Charles Dolman, 1841; reprint ed., Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973).
- 4 For the original St. Paul's, Lot Street, Toronto, see Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Hallowed Walls* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1975), pp. 82, 83-86; for St. Raphael's, *ibid.*, pp. 53-57; for St. Mary's, Kingston, see Margaret Angus, ed., *City of Kingston, Ontario, Buildings of Architectural and Historical Significance*, vol. 5 (Kingston, 1980), pp. 108-111; for St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, see Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 86-90, plates 126-129.
- 5 *The Canadian Architect and Builder* (hereafter CAB) 17 (December 1904): 205. For J. J. McCarthy see Jeanne Sheehy, *J. J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival in Ireland* (Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1977) and Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 488-92. I would like to thank Professor Richardson for the loan of his personal copy of his dissertation.
- 6 CAB 17 (December 1904): 205.
- 7 CAB 17 (December 1904): 205. An advertisement for the James and Connolly practice was placed in *The Irish Canadian* on 12 August 1873 which appeared on the following day (p. 5). MacRae and Adamson in *Hallowed Walls* (p. 167) give the date for Connolly's design for the Church of Our Lady at Guelph as 1863. While it is true that a start was made on rebuilding the church of St. Bartholomew in 1863, there is no evidence to connect this event with Connolly, of whom there is no mention before 12 August 1873: he is first listed in Toronto directories in 1874 (*Fisher and Taylor's Toronto Directory*, pp. 25, 155, 203). For a discussion of the attempted rebuilding in 1863 see Leo A. Johnson, *History of Guelph, 1827-1927* (Guelph: Guelph Historical Society, 1977), pp. 222-23. The pre-Connolly church — that is, pre-1876 — is illustrated by Johnson on p. 21. The *Directory of the Town of Guelph, 1873* (Guelph: J. H. Hacking, 1873), p. 23, gives the following description of the Roman Catholic church: "This prominently situated edifice was built in 1845. Adjoining it is a ruin, but not one of time's making; being the foundation work of a very ambitious building commenced some years back but never completed."
- 8 The tender call in *The Globe*, 28 April 1877, p. 7, names Connolly alone. Obituaries in CAB 17 (December 1904): 205; *The Globe*, 15 December 1904, p. 10; *Toronto Daily News*, 15 December 1904, p. 3; *Toronto World*, 15 December 1904, p. 2; *The News*, 15 December 1904, p. 3.
- 9 See Appendix for a list of Connolly's cathedrals, churches, and chapels. See also Malcolm Thurlby, "The Irish-Canadian Pugin: Joseph Connolly," *Irish Arts Review* 3, (1986): 16-21; Christopher A. Thomas, "A High Sense of Calling: Joseph Connolly, A. W. Holmes, and their Buildings for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1885- 1935," *RACAR* 13 (1986): 97-120.
- 10 *The Irish Canadian*, 19 July 1876, p. 3; the ceremony was performed by Bishop Crinnon of Hamilton.
- 11 *The Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser*, 1 November 1876, p. 1. This report also observes that "The entire cost of the edifice will be about \$80,000. It is roughly estimated that about \$10,000 has been expended this year." *The Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser*, 25 November 1876, p. 1, informs us that about \$20,000 will be spent next season and that "the back half of the church it is expected will be ready for occupation about Christmas 1877.... For some months next summer St. Bartholomew's congregation will be obliged to secure some suitable place in which to conduct their worship, probably the Court House or Drill Shed." Tender calls [kindly drawn to my attention by Kent Rawson]: *The Globe*, 14 March 1876, for the erection and completion of the new church of St. Bartholomew, Guelph, James and Connolly, Temple Chambers, Toronto; *The Globe*, 6 April, p. 3, for the erection of the entire church of St. Bartholomew, Guelph (notes that "Mr. Connolly will be in Guelph on Monday 19th inst. to give any information that might be required by persons tendering"); *The Globe*, 28 April 1877, p. 7, for the carpenters, joiners, and plasterers for the western (liturgical east) portion of the new church of St. Bartholomew, Guelph, J. Connolly, York Chambers, Toronto Street, Toronto.
- 12 A full account of the laying of the cornerstone is given in *The Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser*, 5 July 1877. See also *The Irish Canadian*, 11 July 1877. The progress report is from *The Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser*, 14 November 1877.
- 13 *The Guelph Weekly Mercury and Advertiser*, 11 October 1888. This report gives a description of the church, with materials, dimensions, and the names of contractors. It states that \$40,000 was subscribed in 1888 to complete the church and that "In years to come the twin towers will be built, and the interior arrangements of the church beautified at a cost of \$80,000, \$120,000 having so far been expended."
- 14 J. J. Connolly, S. J., *Church of Our Lady, Guelph, Ontario* (Guelph, 1908), p. 3. Earlier references to the style of the building state that it is "early 14th-century French Gothic" (*The Irish Canadian*, 18 July 1877, p. 2; William W. Evans, *Guelph City Directory for 1885-6* (Toronto, 1884), p. 36). It will be shown below that Cologne Cathedral is the most plausible model for the Church of Our Lady; indeed, there is nothing in early 14th-century France that supplies a convincing model. MacRae and Adamson in *Hallowed Walls* (p. 167) downplay the connection with Cologne Cathedral — the starting date of which they give incorrectly as 1275 — in favour of French Gothic. This seems unnecessary, given that "Cologne was perhaps the purest emanation of the Parisian milieu of the later 1240s. Its relationship with the style of the Sainte-Chapelle is particularly striking" (Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 396).
- 15 For Cologne Cathedral in the 13th century see Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1965), pp. 128-32, and A. Wolff, "Chronologie des ersten Bauzeit des Kolner Domes," *Kolner Domblatt* 28- 29 (1968).
- 16 Sulpice Boisseree, *Vues, plans, coupes et details de la Cathedral de Cologne, avec des restaurations d'après le dessin originale* (Stuttgart and Paris, 1821). For Cologne Cathedral in the 19th century see George Germann, *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas* (London: Lund Humphries with the Architectural Association, 1972), pp. 151-53, 156, 163, 164, 165, 184. "Cologne Cathedral as it was at the end of the medieval period," drawn c.1820 by Angelo Quaglio, is reproduced by Germann, *illus.* 51.
- 17 For Sainte-Clothilde see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 4th (Second Integrated) ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 161-62, *illus.* 98; for Votivekirche see Hitchcock, *Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1977), pp. 167, 213-14, *illus.* 131; for St. Patrick's see William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque, The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles* (New York: Anchor Books, 1980), pp. 206-69, with illustrations.
- 18 *Historical Atlas of Waterloo and Wellington Counties, Ontario* (Toronto: H. Parsell & Col Walker and Miles, 1881), p. 48.
- 19 For the southwest tower of Chartres see Bony, *French Gothic*, pl. 90.
- 20 For Monaghan see Sheehy, *McCarthy*, pp. 56- 57, cat. 55; *The Builder*, 12 September 1868, p. 675—for plan p. 676, for exterior from southeast p. 677. Both *Builder* illustrations are reproduced in Sheehy, (*illus.* 50, 51).
- 21 For Tralee see Sheehy, *McCarthy*, p. 54, cat. 41.
- 22 Johnson, *History of Guelph, 1827-1927*. Johnson illustrates a view of the facade of the church about 1905, with the partially completed towers.
- 23 See Appendix. The present towers were completed 1957-58: Frederick H. Armstrong and Daniel J. Brock, *Reflections on London's Past* (London: Architectural and Historic Sites Preservation Committee of the City of London, 1975), p. 29. A photo-montage of St. Peter's with completed towers and spires "from architect's plans" is given in *City of London, Ontario, Canada: The Pioneer Period and the London of Today*, 2nd ed. (London: The London Printing and Lithographing Co. Ltd., October 1900), p. 90.
- 24 See Appendix. For illustrations of Kinkora see *The London Free Press*, 7 November 1981. For Belleville see Louis J. Flynn, *Built on a Rock: The Story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston, 1826-1976* (Kingston: Archdiocese of Kingston, 1976), p. 235, with illustrations from the northwest.
- 25 Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, pp. 224-27, with illustrations of the exterior (southwest) and interior (to east) as in 1867, and the exterior (southwest) as today, with Connolly's west front (see Appendix). Connolly also added the Chapel of St. James Boanarges at the north-east of the Cathedral (see note 9 and Flynn, *Built on a Rock*, p. 226). See also Margaret Angus, *The Old Stones of Kingston* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 50, with an illustration of the northwest exterior on p. 51; Margaret Angus, ed., *Buildings of Architectural and Historic Significance, City of Kingston*, vol. 5 (Kingston, 1980), pp. 108-11; for St. James Boanarges, pp. 112-13, with on p. 112 an illustration of exterior from the northwest showing the chapel and the east front of the Cathedral.
- For large traceried windows in the east fronts of English Gothic cathedrals and churches see Lincoln Cathedral, Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), pl. 32; Ripon Cathedral, Cecil Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon* (London: Geo. Bell & Son, 1901), *illus.* p. 61; York Minister, A. Clutton-Brock, *The Cathedral Church of York* (London: Geo. Bell & Son, 1902), *illus.* p. 43; Selby Abbey, E. S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (London, 1900; reprint ed., Wakefield, Yorkshire: EP Publishing, 1974), *illus.* p. 338; Guisborough Priory, Bony, *Decorated*, pl. 39.
- 26 For St. Mary's, Warwick, see Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd.,

- 1966), pp. 122, 123, fig. 66, illus. 548 and 550. James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1728; reprint ed., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968). Note, for example, plates XXV & XXVI, All Hallows Derby.
- 27 For St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, pp. 69-70, 71, 72, 74, 83, 101, 113, 125, illus. III 19.
- 28 For St. Mary's, Grafton, see Appendix.
- 29 Unlike St. Wilfrid's, the nave at Grafton is aisleless and therefore has no clerestory.
- 30 For Pugin's Irish churches see Stanton, *Pugin*, pp. 66-70, 114-20, and Richardson, *Gothic Revival in Ireland*, pp. 253-309. Stanton suggests the influence of Dunbrody Abbey, Co. Wexford, for Pugin's Irish designs (p. 70, illus. 45). For Dunbrody see Roger Stalley, *Architecture and Sculpture in Ireland 1150-1350* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1971), pp. 120-24; and *idem*, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 96-103.
- 31 Connolly's plan, along with three other presentation drawings for St. Patrick's, Hamilton, are preserved in the presbytery of the church. The projection of the baptistery from the north nave aisle derives from McCarthy's Monaghan Cathedral (see note 20) and ultimately from Pugin's St. Michael's Gorey, Co. Wexford, where the octagonal room projects from the south aisle (Richardson, *Gothic Revival in Ireland*, pl. 147).
- 32 For the Wesleyan Methodist church see Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 228-29, illus. 228.
- 33 For St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church see W. Stanford Reid, *A Century and a Half of Witness 1828-1978: The Story of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario* (Guelph, 1978). The reansepts were added to the church in 1878 (Reid, p. 34).
- 34 For St. George's Anglican Church see Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 223-25, illus. 225, and Gilbert A. Stelter, "Henry Langley and the Making of Gothic Guelph," *Historic Guelph* 27 (1989): 4-30 (esp. 13-22).
- 35 In 1925 Father F. Wafer Doyle began the construction of the towers, which were finished by fall 1926. *The Guelph Evening Mercury*, 20 July 1927, p. 50. A view of the Church of Our Lady about 1905 is given in Johnson, *Guelph*, p. 223, showing the west (east) front with the towers built up to the level of the top of the rose window.
- 36 The rarity of including a triforium is remarked upon in *The Irish Canadian*, 18 July 1877, p. 2. Although the report notes that the triforium "is a novelty in this country, being, we believe, the only one of its kind in the Dominion," a triforium elevation was also used in Notre-Dame Basilica, Ottawa; see MacRae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls*, p. 245, illus. X-10.
- 37 Polished granite shafts for the arcade were also used by Connolly at St. Mark's, Prescott, James Street Baptist Church, Hamilton, St. John the Evangelist, Gananoque, Holy Cross, Kemptville, St. Carthage's, Tweed, and St. Joseph's Convent Chapel, Toronto.
- 38 Connolly used the polygonal apse with the internal blind arcade at St. Mark's, Prescott, St. Patrick's, Kinkora, St. Michael's, Belleville, and St. Joseph's Convent Chapel, Toronto, and adapted the plan to a semi-circular apse in the "Roman Renaissance" designs at St. Joseph's, Chatham, and St. Paul's, Toronto. Polygonal apses without internal blind arcades are found at St. John the Evangelist, Arthur, Holy Rosary, Thorold, Immaculate Conception, Formosa, and the Cathedral in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.
- 39 Sheehy, *McCarthy*, p. 64., cat. 72.
- 40 Richardson, *Gothic Revival in Ireland*, pp. 500-02, figures 326-28. The lath and plaster vault in the Church of Our Lady at Guelph would probably have been dismissed by the mature Pugin as a "sham," but in Connolly's defence it must be recorded that it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find masons in Ontario with the skill to build a high stone vault. After all, even at St. Patrick's in New York, a plan for a high stone vault had to be abandoned in favour of a lath and plaster version (Pierson, *American Builders*, pp. 242-47). Furthermore, Pugin had used a wooden vault in his chapel of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin (Stanton, *Pugin*, illus. 28 and 30), and wooden vaults do have a very good pedigree in English Gothic architecture, as is seen, for example, at St. Alban's Cathedral (Bony, *Decorated*, pl. 115). High rib-vaults were used by Connolly at Holy Rosary, Thorold, St. Mary's, Owen Sound, Immaculate Conception, Formosa, James Street Baptist Church, Hamilton, and St. Joseph's Convent Chapel, Toronto. Rib-vaulted aisles are found in the above churches and at St. Peter's, London, St. Patrick's, Kinkora, St. Michael's, Toronto (two eastern bays), and the Cathedral in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Rib-vaulted apses are found at St. Mary's, Toronto, and St. Michael's, Belleville.
- 41 Augustus Welby Pugin, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (London: John Weale, 1843), p. 113.
- 42 Excellent examples of the innovations in Protestant churches are Central Methodist, Woodstock, by Henry Langley (MacRae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls*, p. 295 for plan), Wesleyan Methodist, Port Hope, by Smith and Gemmill (1874-75), Jarvis Street Baptist, Toronto, by Henry Langley, First Presbyterian, Brockville, by J. P. Johnston (1878-79) (Mathilde Brosseau, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980), p. 158, cat. 97), First Baptist, Brockville, by J. P. Johnston (1878-9) (*ibid.*, cat. 98 [note the captions to Brosseau's cat. 97 and cat. 98 are reversed]), and Dundas Street Centre Methodist, London, (1895).
- For discussions of the evolution of Protestant church design in 19th-century Ontario see William de Villiers-Westfall, "The Dominion of the Lord," *Queen's Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1976): 47-70; William Westfall and Malcolm Thurlby, "The Church in the Town: the adaptation of sacred architecture to urban settings in Ontario," *Études Canadiennes/Canadian Studies* (Association française d'études canadiennes) 20 (1986): 49-59; Malcolm Thurlby, "Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario: A Study in the Meaning of Style," *Historic Kingston* 35 (1986): 96-118; William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill University Press, 1989), pp. 126-58.
- 43 For Kilmallock see Sheehy, *McCarthy*, p. 67, cat. 79, illus. 33.
- 44 For Maynooth College Chapel see Sheehy, *McCarthy*, p. 60, cat. 57, illus. 53.
- 45 On the works of William Hague and O'Neill and Byrne see Alistair Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland: North West Ulster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 67-68; for Sacred Heart, Omagh, *ibid.*, pp. 444-45, pl. 122; for St. Patrick's, Killygordon, *ibid.*, p. 333, pl. 123.

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