

An Architecture of the Printed Page: Canada's Consumption of Pattern Books and Journals in Late Nineteenth-century Church-building

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BARRY MAGRILL lectures at the University of British Columbia in the Department of Art History, Visual Art and Theory. His recently completed doctoral dissertation, entitled "A 'Commerce of Taste' in Pattern Books of Anglican Church Architecture in Canada 1867-1914" (UBC), examines the business of church-building in nineteenth-century Canada, arguing that print culture, economy, and religion no less than taste were visible in the architecture of settlement expansion. His research interests include the impacts of print culture on emerging economies as well as the relationship between religious architecture and shifting patterns of immigration in North America.

By the close of the nineteenth century, the architectural books that Canadians imported had, for nearly six decades, marked a close cultural affinity with Britain.² For that reason, illustrated books of church designs published in Britain were listed among the routine shipments entering Canada's ports.³ These books were wrapped in an aesthetic and ideological "packaging" likened to the oil-cloths protecting books that routinely crossed the Atlantic. Church architectural pattern books predominantly marketed the Gothic Revival, making a "medievalizing" aesthetic the preserve of religious monuments. The pattern books surveyed the architectural and engineering accomplishments that Canada's church-builders prized, effectively tethering the drawing boards of its architectural practitioners to the fashions marketed in Britain. At the same time, consumers of the books used the volumes in ways unanticipated by their authors, as demonstrated by the eclectic tastes of some Canadian practitioners whose choice of books appeared unrelated to their architectural output. That is, knowledge travelled in a linear pathway across the Atlantic that then expanded in networks of new, and seemingly unrelated, connections.

Pattern books claimed to offer the pinnacle of good taste, visually and textually supported by their excavation of history. Pattern books associated with the Gothic Revival were the favourites of the Church of England. By contrast, readers expected trades newspapers and journals, including *The Builder* (1843-1966), to offer the latest designs in a

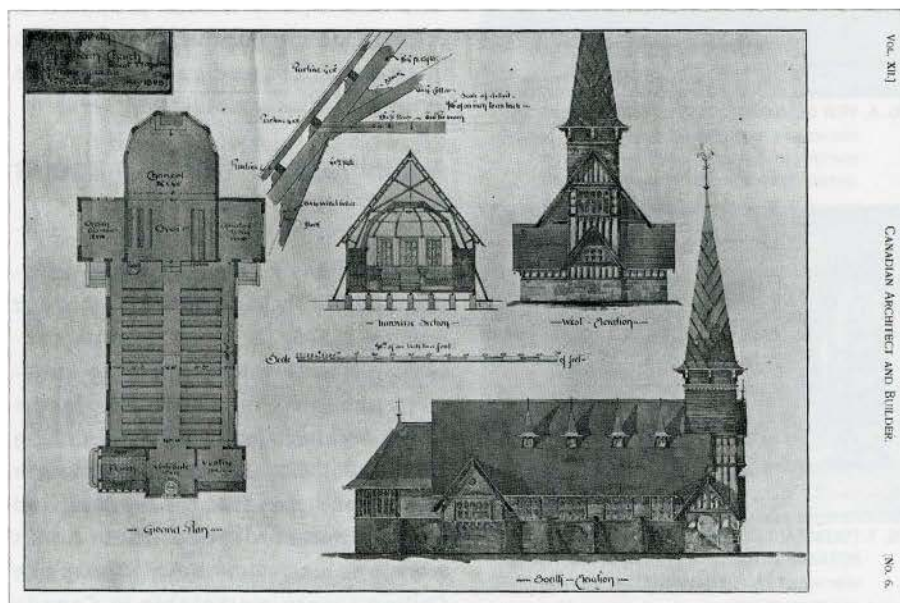


FIG. 1. R. MACKAY FRIPP, "SKETCH FOR AN ANGLICAN CHURCH," *THE CANADIAN ARCHITECT AND BUILDER*, VOL. 12, NO. 6, 1899, P. 114. | PERMISSION: BLACKADER-LAUTERMAN LIBRARY OF ARCHITECTURE AND ART, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

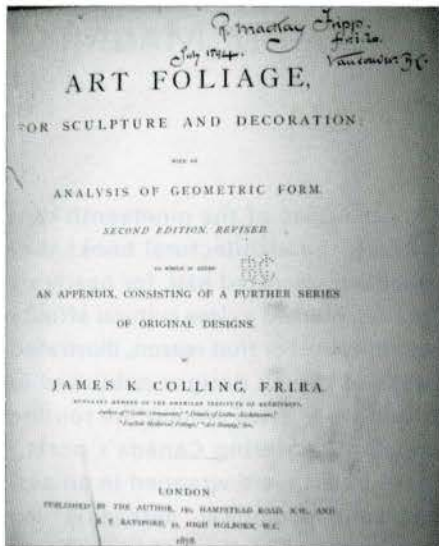


FIG. 2. FRONTISPIECE. JAMES K. COLLING, *ART FOLIAGE: OR SCULPTURE AND DECORATION*, LONDON, B.T. BATSFORD, 1878.

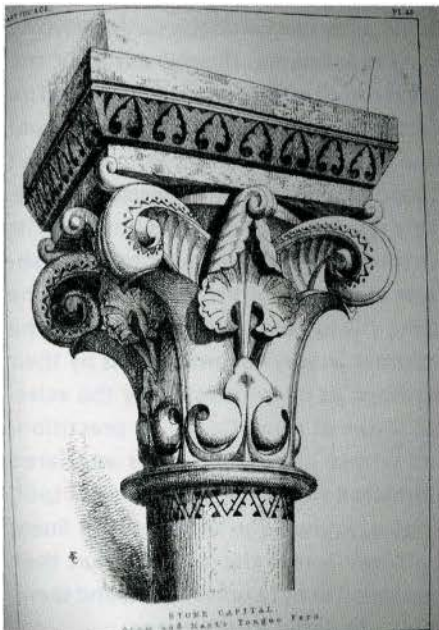


FIG. 3. PLATE 40. JAMES KELLAWAY COLLING, *ART FOLIAGE: OR SCULPTURE AND DECORATION*, LONDON, B.T. BATSFORD, 1878.

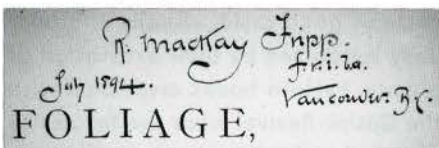


FIG. 4. SIGNATURE OF R. MACKAY FRIPP IN *ART FOLIAGE: OR SCULPTURE AND DECORATION*, LONDON, B.T. BATSFORD, 1878. | THE VOLUME IS HELD IN THE IRVING K. BARBER LEARNING CENTRE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VANCOUVER, BC.

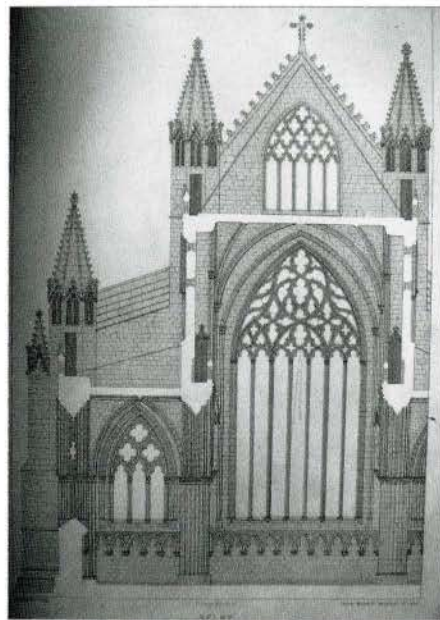


FIG. 5. ELEVATION OF SELBY ABBEY. | FROM EDMUND SHARPE'S *ARCHITECTURAL PARALLELS: OR THE PROGRESS IN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND THROUGH THE TWELFTH AND THE THIRTEENTH CENTURIES EXAMINED IN A SERIES OF PARALLEL EXAMPLES*, LONDON, J. VAN VOORST, 1848.



FIG. 6. VIEW OF MONT ST. MICHEL, FRANCE. | FROM WILLIAM EDEN NESFIELD'S *SPECIMENS OF MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE CHIEFLY SELECTED FROM EXAMPLES OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES IN FRANCE AND ITALY*, LONDON, DAY AND CO., 1862.

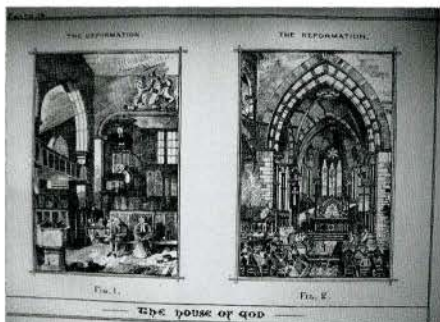


FIG. 7. POLEMICAL ILLUSTRATION OF TWO CHURCH INTERIORS ENTITLED "THE HOUSE OF GOD." | FROM HENRY HUDSON HOLLY'S *CHURCH ARCHITECTURE*, HARTFORD (CT), M.H. MALLORY AND CO., 1871.

continuous stream of British architectural culture. Indeed, this journal influenced church-building in Canada more broadly by illustrating developments in Scottish Baronial, Chateau style, and Arts and Crafts designs as well as High Victorian Gothic.⁴ The contents and format of this British journal inspired the *Canadian Architect and Builder* (CAB) (1888-1908), an illustrated professional newspaper that provided a venue for architects in Canada to publish experimental ideas.⁵

This paper shall focus on the publication, in 1899 in the CAB, of a generic design for an Anglican church composed by the Vancouver architect R. Mackay Fripp, F.R.I.B.A.⁶ (1858-1917). Fripp conceived of the idea of marketing an Arts and Crafts design to a conservative clientele, the Church of England (fig. 1). The intrigue about Fripp lays principally in his conservative nature, reflected in his retention of a traditional rectangular aisleless nave scheme, contrasted with his insistence that the Anglican church adopt Arts and Crafts as its outward expression. To begin we shall examine Fripp's conservative side through his consumption of a Neo-Gothic pattern book produced in Britain that also illustrated the complex interface of print media and architecture in the Canadian situation.

A BUSINESS OF PATTERN BOOKS AND CHURCH-BUILDING

In July 1894, R. Mackay Fripp autographed the flyleaf or title page of *Art Foliage* (1878, [2nd ed.]), a book containing Neo-Gothic architectural ornament published initially in 1865, by the British architect James Kellaway Colling (1816-1905) (figs. 2-3). Fripp's signature (fig. 4) confirmed that the practical and artistic characteristics of these books were a valued commodity. Books like Colling's were marketable in Canada

because local practitioners used them both to verify the authenticity of medieval architecture and to access those most respected architectural fashions in Britain. Canadian clientele in the Anglican Communion, though resistant to architectural innovation, were well aware of the latest developments in Britain, but typically chose to emulate standard church schematics. This explains the lag time between the smooth wall surfaces of William Butterfield's High Victorian Gothic achievement at All Saints Church, Margaret Street (begun 1849), and its belated appearance in Canada, for instance, at St. John the Evangelist, Montréal (1874).⁷ The polychrome brickwork of Butterfield's High Victorian experiments was eventually embraced in Canada.

As with *Art Foliage*, most pattern books were educational tools that also appealed to a broader reading public not unused to architectural criticism found in newspapers and perhaps even journals. To reach a broader audience, church pattern books often contained picturesque and moralizing imagery alongside the edifying plans, sections, elevations, and perspective drawings (figs. 5-7).⁸ Yet, a significant difference between pattern books and serialized newspapers was the former being called upon to market conservative designs, whereas the latter more often presented experimental compositions. This notion coincided with the perception that newspapers were a transient medium dictating fashion, while pattern books appeared to trade in the more enduring qualities of taste, including associated references to social class.

In specific, *Art Foliage* was a niche item since it depicted only a series of ornamental architectural details, making Fripp's purchase of it an anomaly in his professional practice. Fripp's usage of

illustrations of Gothic-inspired carving remains somewhat unclear since he was devoted to the bold lines of Arts and Crafts. It is possible to speculate that Fripp's apprenticeship to Richard Norman Shaw exposed him to an eclectic mélange of styles, including Queen Anne, Scottish Baronial, and Dutch motifs. However, these hardly blended with Colling's stalwart focus on Neo-Gothic foliated capitals, friezes, label stops, and floor tiles.⁹ Indeed, Fripp seemed quite unsuited to Colling's tastes since the contents of *Art Foliage* appeared more appropriate for commercial fabrication than artisan production. One important practical consideration was that Fripp must have used *Art Foliage*, in a traditional method, to train Swinburne Annandale Kayall (1892-1962), who apprenticed for several years in the Vancouver office.¹⁰

Of special interest in this case was Fripp's choice to educate students with a book originally written in 1865 when he was no more than a boy. The book's continued availability must also have been due to its continued resonance with architects and general readers. In this sense, the book's endurance was likely due to its conservative nature and its ability to connect religion and art. Fripp's purchase also indicated something related to economy, that there was an appreciation for British imports during a period when U.S. pattern books were more easily and cheaply available in Canada.

Fripp's ownership of *Art Foliage* linked his Vancouver office, and Canada more broadly, with a colonial book agent representing the publishing house of B.T. Batsford Co. of London. The purchase from Batsford's put Fripp into a loose association with other practitioners working in Canada known to have owned pattern books, particularly the Ontario architects Fred Cumberland and William

George Storm.¹¹ The date of inscription, in 1894, coincided roughly with the nascent formation of schools of architecture in Canada. This is an important step towards demonstrating Fripp's traditional adherence to apprenticeship during a period of emerging architectural curriculum.¹² As a consequence of the colonial situation, Fripp's preference for *Art Foliage* indicated the high expectations that consumers of architecture in Canada placed upon transatlantic knowledge.

INSIDE J.K. COLLING'S *ART FOLIAGE*

The lithographic illustrations in *Art Foliage* represented a complex educational tool focused on architectural details—so as to guide the evolving patterns of public taste. Its contents satisfied a niche market for the minutiae of architectural sculpture contrasted against the wider visual scope typical of most pattern books that illustrated sectional and perspective views of churches. The most compelling of these details were rendered as three-dimensional carved motifs rather than flattened pattern work.

At the same time, J.K. Colling delivered a strong religious punch by including short biblical passages alongside certain of his images, for example plate 52, where a foliated capital accompanied the inscription "Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit"—a biblical passage from Matthew 7:17 (fig. 8). This took advantage of Neo-Gothic's association with Christian architecture.¹³ Following the path of the Neo-Gothic architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) and more precisely the architect and critic John Ruskin (1819-1900), Colling's method combined medieval history with the force of religion in the contemporary social formation. His implicit intent was to use the

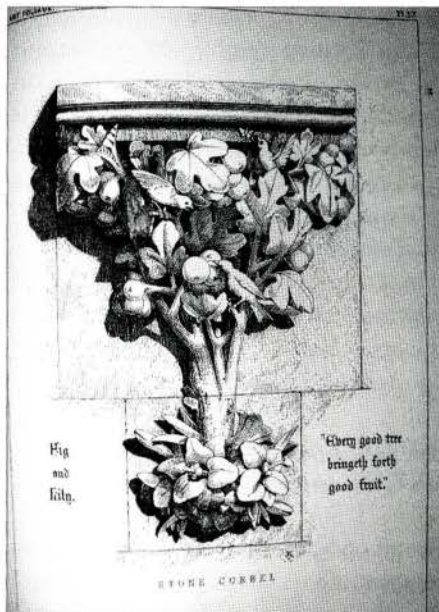


FIG. 8. PLATE 52. JAMES KELLAWAY COLLING, ART FOLIAGE: OR SCULPTURE AND DECORATION, LONDON, B.T. BATSFORD, 1878.



FIG. 10. ADVERTISEMENT FOR "DIXON'S LOW DOWN PHILADELPHIA GRATE." | PLACED IN THE REAR OF WOODWARD'S NATIONAL ARCHITECT, NEW YORK, G.E. WOODWARD, 1869.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| THE LONDON BUILDER— Weekly—Per annum | \$12 00 |
| THE LONDON BUILDING NEWS— Weekly—Per annum | 10 00 |
| THE LONDON ARCHITECT (over)— Weekly—Per annum | 12 00 |
| THE WORKSHOP— An American Edition in English of the Celebrated German Monthly, THE WORKSHOP, A Monthly Journal, Devoted to Progress of the Useful Arts. SPLENDIDLY ILLUSTRATED. "The Workshop" is devoted to Progress in all departments of the Useful Arts. It gives Descriptions and Designs, with details in large size, for Architects, Builders, Cabinet and Furniture Makers, Carvers and Joiners, Carriage Makers, Carvers, Sculptors, Stone Cutters, Statuaries and Plasterers, Decorators, Designers, Painters, etc. | 3 00 Single Numbers 50 |
| SLOAN'S ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW— Monthly—Per annum Single Numbers | 6 00 50 |
| VAN NOSTRAND'S ECLECTIC MAGAZINE OF ENGINEERING— Monthly—Per annum | 6 00 |
| SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN— Weekly—Per annum | 3 00 |
| AMERICAN ARTIZAN— Weekly—Per annum | 3 00 |
| HARPER'S MONTHLY— Monthly—Per annum | 4 00 |
| HARPER'S BAZAAR— Weekly—Per annum | 4 00 |
| HARPER'S WEEKLY— Weekly—Per annum | 4 00 |

RURAL CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.
EIGHTEEN DESIGNS FOR CHURCHES

of different styles and sizes and Twenty-eight Engravings, generally in perspective, in color, and
Thirty-one Plans and Sections on heavy blue paper 1/32 inch, by the following prominent Archi-
tects:—F. B. Rowley, Wm. H. Brown, James C. Hutton, James H. Hunt, etc.

This work contains the Freshest Designs of the leading Architects in this country, as submitted in the
competition, and is the most complete and valuable work of the kind ever published. It does not contain build-
ings, but increasing gradually as the art and taste of those engaged in larger and more able enterprises.

To Architects, Builders, and Building Committees,
it is an invaluable aid, giving suggestions of style, arrangement and construction, to be found nowhere else;
any alterations to suit the wants of different communities can easily be made. This is the only work on
Church Architecture now published. The edition is limited, and being Colored-Lithographed, will not be
reprinted.

One Large Folio Volume, Post-paid, Twelve Dollars.

FIG. 9. ADVERTISEMENT FOR "WOODWARD'S RURAL CHURCH ARCHITECTURE" NOTING THAT ARCHITECTS, BUILDERS, AND BUILDING COMMITTEES WERE A TARGET AUDIENCE. | PUBLISHED IN THE REAR SECTION OF WOODWARD'S NATIONAL ARCHITECT, NEW YORK, G.E. WOODWARD, 1869.

past to market something new: books of architectural details adapted from a medieval template intended to influence the pattern of public taste. *Art Foliage* performed suitably well on the market given its reprinting. Colling further connected religion with education in his opening introduction, where he noted: "we thus follow the teaching of Nature by enriching and clothing our own works with elegant foliage."¹⁴ "Nature" was equated with the Divine. Colling further injected commerce, taste, and morality into the narrative with this refrain common to architectural criticism:

[I]n our great cities, [there are] miles of brickwork, covered with nothing but a monotonous coating of dingy-coloured cement, with long lines of plain run cornices, and with windows and doors surrounded by architraves and elaborate mouldings, which we, in our conceit, term decoration.¹⁵

His next lamentable note resonated robustly with those few critics of the advanced and much debased political economy: no life, no thought, except for "how much it would cost per yard."¹⁶

The combination of moral integrity and distrust of commerce, as expressed in *Art Foliage*, must have resonated with readers and critics because the book was reprinted up to 1905—the year of Colling's death. Perhaps Colling's hostility towards advanced economy was the attraction for Fripp. Alas, not all were enamoured of Colling. One anonymous critic wrote a scathing review of the 1905 edition that was published in the *American Architect and Building News* accusing Colling of having "a most unhappy influence on American architecture of the day."¹⁷ It noted that the book misguided individuals into believing they had achieved a triumphal Gothic masterpiece simply by adding to "their facades a bit of carving

copied textually from one of Colling's plates."¹⁸ Implied in the review was that Colling's "unnatural influence" was most strongly felt among those novices whose architectural "taste" was as yet only partially formed. Depending upon one's perspective, R. Mackay Fripp may have fallen into this category since, as we will see, he produced few religious monuments in a career dominated by residential commissions for well-to-do Vancouverites. Fripp was a complex character whose morality may have wrestled with his daily practice of feeding the desires of a wealthy residential market. In fact, his publication of a church design subsequent to a series of published housing projects could be explained as a mature attempt to engage with social issues rather than material ones.

Colling's *Art Foliage* likely attracted a wide audience because it seemed to represent a high quality of publication when in reality lithographic print technique lowered the costs of production. In essence, the pages were filled with images that resembled hand-pulled etchings at a fraction of the cost, a key factor being that readers were not deceived except to say that they collectively and univocally accepted the pretended deception. In other words, consumers accepted trade-off between production quality and price. Some books went so far as to simulate the impressions that copper etching plates made on paper.¹⁹

A determining factor in the relationship between church pattern books and their audiences involved the space of advertisements located in the rear of individual books. Only U.S. pattern books included advertisement spaces and this indicated the power of fashion in North American society. For instance, the prolific pattern book author and architect George Woodward self-published *Woodward's*

Architecture and Rural Art (1868), in which he placed several advertisements for his own books that included *Rural Church Architecture: Eighteen Designs for Churches* selling for twelve dollars (fig. 9).²⁰ As well, typical advertisers buying space in the rear section of U.S. pattern books were manufacturers of goods necessary for worship, for instance pew seats and organs. Manufacturers of luxury items that included church plate and decorative floor and wall tiles also purchased advertisements. Woodward, once again, illustrated the close connection between his pattern book production and the pursuit of profit by adding an advertisement for "Dixon's Low Down Philadelphia Grate" (fig. 10), a heating unit that listed Woodward as sales agent. It ought not to be forgotten that the professionalization of architects in the nineteenth century did not preclude other schemes to make money. With these advertisements in mind, audiences would have put U.S. pattern books and newspapers in the same category with transient fashion.

The inclusion of advertising space in pattern books according to the U.S. manner of production became predominant. As a British publication, *Art Foliage* did not succumb to this practice—further illustrating its conservative nature and association with an anti-commercial movement. Even so, people only deluded themselves into believing that actual advertisements of goods in the books was that far removed from the marketing of history in the very pages of the pattern books.

EDUCATING CHURCH-BUILDING COMMITTEES

In Canada, pattern books and architectural newspapers were necessary items for church-building committees

whose members had financial skills that outweighed their architectural experience. These men would likely only ever sit on one such committee, that is, by volunteering their time and financial experience to their own congregation. The importance of a pattern book was thus augmented because building committee members rarely passed their knowledge and experience onto future generation. Rebuilding efforts usually skipped generations as congregations grew, except in the rare cases of a church's destruction by fire.

For building committees, pattern books were valuable pre-visualization tools used to assess costs before committing to construction. Considerable monies to build a church had to be raised in advance, sometimes years ahead of construction, so church-building committees valued advanced assessment. The church pattern books helped these committees to prepare for land purchases and cost-per-seating analyses. For instance, the American pattern book *Bicknell's Victorian Buildings* (A.J. Bicknell & Co., New York, 1878), which included several church designs, listed the expected costs of each building. As well, the architect Samuel Sloan even included a sample contract in *Sloan's Victorian Builder* (E.S. Jones, Philadelphia, 1852, reprinted 1876), which committees could use to ensure a contractor completed the project. These contracts were particularly useful in rural situations where the services of an architect were scarce and church-building committees had to deal directly with builders whose lack of reliability was not discovered until it was too late. In small increments, Arts and Crafts pervaded the pattern books, particularly in books for non-Conformist congregations interested in architectural innovation.

Church-building committees paid close attention to the architectural criticism emanating from Britain via the pattern books. In this sense, traditional building committees valued pattern books that reduced the variety of stylistic choices to subtle variants in Neo-Gothic. This suggests that consumers used books to confirm viable aesthetics alongside historical experience and cultural association.

With that in mind, Colling used the introductory section of his book, which contained a historical purview of medieval architecture, to attempt to influence the pattern of public taste. A historical narrative meant to validate, for instance, Colling's understanding of medieval history in addition to "honest" design principles linked to medieval piety and faith. Through Colling's textual imagery Canadian pattern book readers adopted Britain's medieval heritage. This meant recognizing the strength of the cultural affinity with Britain's medieval past given the fact that a medieval history for North America was a temporal impossibility, cultural connections between Canada's immigrants that claimed social dominion and associated privilege were chiefly of British descent. Such connection was particularly essential for Canadian representatives of the Church of England that continued to look to Britain for aesthetic inspiration on important commissions—so as to cement the privilege and prestige that imperial associations afforded. Since the monarch was styled "Defender of the faith" as constituted in the Church of England, this group believed itself deserving of special dispensation awarded during Canada's social formation.²¹ As a result, they used taste to assert class and regulate that self-described privilege. With few exceptions, the introductory sections that consisted of historical narratives were

intimately linked to the visual imagery of the pattern books as a way of marketing the author's sense of taste.

In a similar manner, Fripp used print media (articles and editorials) to thrust his view of taste on the Canadian market. Lamenting on the poor state of church construction, he offered the following commentary in the *CAB*:

Why has the church of the present day an evil rather than an elevating influence over the architecture of this colony? This is a question over which many a thoughtful architect must have pondered sadly enough; the contrast to be drawn between the magnificent temples that are an honor and a glory to Christian Europe, marking the devotion of her peoples, and representing as well the elevated taste, culture and persistent effort of the clergy of the Christian church, whose buildings reveal not only the highest ideal in architectural design but the greatest of constructive skill.²²

This claim was based on the precept that church architecture in Canada had inherently poor aesthetic values that were subsequently expressed in the colony's weak social values. Fripp summed up this conventional view of society by noting: "the temporary, and too often trumpery and wholly inartistic, nature of church building in Canada, is indeed a painfully strong one."²³

The vehemence of this criticism was alas not competently matched by Fripp's own ecclesiastical output. He was awarded only one religious contract for the First Unitarian Church (1912-1913, demolished) on 1550 W. 10th Avenue, Vancouver, which completed construction near the close of his career. The structure was a simple rectangular configuration. A plain fleche announced the building as a religious monument. Steeply angled buttresses

running between the window bays did not prevent an overall dull affair. By comparison, Fripp was able to display some flair on paper when the restraints of a client's wishes were absent.

AN ARTS AND CRAFTS DESIGN FOR AN ANGLICAN CHURCH

Fripp's competent design for an Anglican church, published in May 1899, updated the traditional Neo-Gothic template unflinchingly adhered to by the Church of England (fig. 1). Fripp's composition was closely allied to the Arts and Crafts churches by a generation of younger architects adopting broad facing gables divided by horizontal sections of stonework and half-timbering and identified most strongly by steeply pitched roofs that extend nearly to the level of the stonework. Indeed, it resembled a design published in the *CAB* some ten years earlier by the firm of Langley and Burke.

Fripp's version was an elegant Arts and Crafts offering that owed something to the older tradition of planning found in Neo-Gothic church stock. He retained the longitudinal plan preferred by his imagined client, the Church of England, laying out the seating in rows of open seating in the main body.²⁴ He reserved the transept arms for the organ and a Choristers' vestry. He provided an entranceway integrated into the southwest corner of the main body, yet he subtly articulated it as a separate mass on the exterior by the use of a distinct gable. In so doing, Fripp was challenging old meanings with the use of new ones. Medieval churches in Britain typically located entrance porches on north or south walls, reserving the western entrance for ceremonial processions. Clearly, much had changed in church-building since the publication of A.W.N. Pugin's *Contrasts* (London, 1836) and

True Principles (London, 1841), which established archaeological precedent, asymmetrical planning, truthful use of materials, as well as the truthful external representation of the internal function of a church. In a Broad Church fashion, he brought the altar area forward to meet the congregation rather than setting it back into the eastern arm. The Ecclesiological (formerly Cambridge Camden) Society and their journal of the same name brought Pugin's principles from a chiefly Catholic perspective into the purview of Anglican readers.²⁵

The exterior was a confident Arts and Crafts composition that employed vertical and horizontal half-timbering offset by irregularly cut fieldstone dressing for the lower third of the walling. In the section above this the fenestration consisted of rectangular and square blocks of windows divided vertically to imply lancet motifs, fashioned after Arts and Crafts aesthetic sensibilities. The west elevation was striking for its lyrical integration of gables and tower. The transverse section shown in the drawing was particularly enlightening. It represented the east end section in which a scissor truss supported the roof. Trusses were economical supporting units in Neo-Gothic churches built of timber, used liberally in Britain and in Canada.²⁶ What was particularly refreshing in Fripp's design was that the scissor truss supporting the roof extended down to the ground level via angled supports that terminated outside of the building's envelope. The structural importance of this supporting beam was highlighted by an inset in the *CAB* drawing detail that illustrated the correct assembly of joints. On the exterior wall, these supports read as sharply angled buttresses reaching half way up the low wall. A dressing of fieldstone hid the timber supports. The side elevation showing dormers fully integrated into the roof and the harmonizing effect of the horizontal proportions

suggest Charles Osbourne Wickenden's design, in 1895, for Christ Church Anglican Cathedral in Vancouver.²⁷

Absent from Fripp's pen and wash illustration was a perspective image, as he chose instead to place emphasis on the instructional aspects in two-dimensions. His attention to the educational component of imagery fit with his professional and public persona.

Knowledge and the Developing Profession

In the spirit of architectural development, Fripp established two organizations dedicated to the liberal arts: the Arts and Crafts Association in Vancouver, founded in 1900, and the British Columbia Institute of Architects, founded in 1914 (later Architectural Institute of British Columbia). The former was modeled on other societies that had sprouted up in the United States, such as the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts founded by Ralph Adams Cram and the architect firm of Bertam Grosvenor Goodhue. To this end, the Vancouver arm publicly announced its intention to promote the Arts and Crafts through the establishment of a collection of drawings and a reference library.²⁸ However, work on the library never went beyond the planning stages.

Frapp lectured publicly on art and architecture alongside his busy architectural practice located serially in Auckland, New Zealand, then Vancouver (BC), and California, before settling again in Vancouver in 1898. These lectures, which occurred in the Mechanics' Institute, underlined the production of knowledge in the nineteenth century in which books were prominently figured. Architecture was a subject frequently offered by the Mechanics' Institute, and draughtsmanship was its focus.²⁹

The subject of these lectures ranged from Maori artefacts to Arts and Crafts architecture, being extensions of writings by John Ruskin, the eminent critic of art and architecture.³⁰ Yet, little of this versatility entered Fripp's architectural practice since he remained devoted to one style. One could argue, and hardly be incorrect, that he was simply fulfilling the client's desires. Except, Fripp was a complicated fellow who alternately criticized other practitioners for pandering to what he considered was the baseness of public taste. Like many a critic of his day, Fripp bestowed elevated taste upon those that he believed were in agreement with his views, again being in good company with Ruskin.

And it is on the subject of artistic taste and religion that Colling and Fripp, promoters of two different architectural expressions, became univocal. Each believed strongly in manipulating geometric principles observed in nature. Each objected to the rationality of machine production and intensified the ethics of design and labour by promoting handicraft. Each admired the purity of hand-made objects. Colling's line that "a work of art depends more upon one kind of beauty," a reference to nature and the Almighty, was an act of ventriloquism in Fripp's nostalgic comments about the churches of medieval Europe.³¹

AN UNSUPPORTABLE UNION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS AND ARTS AND CRAFTS BEFORE 1900

The relationship between Arts and Crafts and residential building was one of comfort that home-buyers virtually manipulated into a national style, and need not be expanded upon here. Even commercial contracts were completed in that style on an increasing level. Thus,

it is not surprising that Fripp drew Arts and Crafts into the early expansion of Vancouver's economy by constructing commercial blocks for businessmen A.G. Ferguson in 1888 and Harry Abbott in 1889, followed up by extended forays into the residential market. To that end, he completed expansive residences in the handicraft mode for A.J. Dana, the Canadian Pacific Railway's first purchasing agent (1889), and *The Bungalow* for Benjamin Tingley, the sugar magnate. The latter residence deployed perimeter surrounding verandahs typical of New Zealand villas (1890). Shortly after this period, Fripp won his largest commission to construct the Provincial Home (1893-1894) (demolished 1972)—or Old Men's Home—near the centre of Kamloops (BC). The two-storey structure sited on three hundred and twenty acres of the British Columbia interior exhibited the standard Arts and Crafts motifs that included half-timbering, broad gables

enclosing multi-pane sash windows, and sprawling pavilion components.³²

Comparatively, Arts and Crafts was difficult to sell to religious institutions whose orientation was the least bit conservative. In this respect, Fripp's unsuccessful attempt to market its broad gables and rustic exterior to religious groups was echoed by others. Shortly after Fripp's publication of the Anglican church design, another architect, whose accomplishments history has preferred to ignore, did much the same thing.

In 1893, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada solicited church plans for a competition to determine the proper aesthetics for their congregations. The best designs were promised to be bound together as a pattern book for distribution among Presbyterian churches. The book was called *Designs for Village, Town, and*

*City Churches*³³. Most of the competition entries consisted of rectangular church hall plans, some with curved pews, and all using different styles that included Scottish Baronial, Romanesque Revival, and Renaissance Revival. None opted to employ the Arts and Crafts, except one. An entry by the architect Arthur E. Wells (under the alias John Nox) comprised the broad gables, half-timbering, and verandah roofs of Arts and Crafts. This entry won the coveted prize offered by the Presbyterian council, except that it was stricken from the subsequent publication of the pattern book. It was clear that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church could not abide by the experimentation represented by Wells's variation of the Arts and Crafts. Instead they preferred to perpetuate the practice of mining the historical past for archaeological gems that could be incorporated into contemporary design. Except that the proverbial "gold mine" of Medieval Gothic had, more or less, become exhausted by the turn of the century. The narrative illustrates how the production of a pattern book, even the only one to have been published in Canada, was an affair marked by conventional habits. By contrast, the CAB, under a mandate to pursue new and innovative design schemes, released Wells's drawing to the public (fig. 11).

CONCLUSION

Church pattern books educated consumers and controlled their tastes via a specific sub-set of design types within the Neo-Gothic camp. Pre-visualization and cost-analysis were typical uses for the books, except that there had never really been an official instructional purpose for them. Apart from their intrinsic value in an architect's office, which cannot be discounted in the development of the Canadian profession, the broader social



FIG. 11. ARTHUR E. WELLS, "PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH COMPETITION" / DESIGN SUBMITTED BY "JOHN NOX (ARTHUR WELLS), TORONTO, *THE CANADIAN ARCHITECT AND BUILDER*, VOL. 5, NO. 8, 1892, P. 78. | PERMISSION: BLACKADER-LAUTERMAN LIBRARY OF ARCHITECTURE AND ART, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

life of church pattern books was connected with the appearance of greater consumer choice, though restricted by economy and class. These things represented in the pattern books continued to be the tether between architects working in Canada and those designing fashions in Britain. Fripp's ownership of *Art Foliage* demonstrated that British pattern books still had buyers in Canada despite the increased influx of cheaper U.S. volumes in the last quarter of the century. Pattern book production was a relatively inexpensive affair because of the advent of lithographic technique, but not so cheap so as to displace its underlying conventionalism.

By contrast, newspapers, which were the only viable publication option in Canada, were willing to support alternative design types. This was primarily because their cultural stakes were comparatively low compared to architects whose livelihoods depended upon an aesthetic courtship with their clientele.

NOTES

- I have many people to thank for their assistance in helping bring this paper along to publication. Malcolm Thurlby has been an enormous resource offering rich architectural connections between the Gothic Revival and the Arts and Crafts. His early reading of a draft of this paper was greatly appreciated, and I think it is reflected positively in the reading. Rhodri Windsor-Liscombe's advice about the interconnections of economy, religion, and taste was integral to my research. Maureen Ryan and Carol Knicely at UBC, valuable members of my thesis committee, offered insight into the social and class distinctions revolving around the formation of taste. I would also like to thank Micheline Giroux-Aubin for editorial advice that markedly improved the text.
- This paper represents a facet of my unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled "A 'Commerce of Taste' in Pattern Books of Anglican Church Architecture 1867-1914," University of British Columbia, 2008. This paper would not have been possible without the dedication of my thesis committee comprised of Professors Rhodri Windsor-Liscombe, Malcolm Thurlby, Maureen Ryan, and Carol Knicely.
- An indispensable resource on the developments of print media in Canada is Lamonde, Yvan, Patricia L. Fleming, and Fiona A. Black (eds.), 2004, *History of the Book in Canada, vol. 2*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- I recognize that journalism was not always the catalyst for new designs and they also often announced completed building projects.
- Online access to the *Canadian Architect and Builder* journal is available through [<http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/cab/index.htm>].
- Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
- The aesthetics are consistent with the High Victorian movement although the proportions differ. I wish to acknowledge Peter Harper for accumulating data on this monument and Malcolm Thurlby for pointing it out to me.
- Figure 7 is an illustration entitled "the House of God" from the pattern book *Church Architecture* (1871) published by Henry Hudson Holly, an American architect and pattern book author. It is a polemical description of the "proper" Episcopal Church in which the purity of ritual observance is reflected in the execution of medieval aesthetics. The vignette called "the Reformation" depicts a High Victorian church interior displaying polychromy in the chancel arch and ribs of the choir and polygonal east end. Triple lancets grouped under an enclosing arch with plate tracery as well as what appear to be brownish grey coloured Purbeck marble shafts in the choir indicate English influence, although the three-sided east end is a French adaptation. The absence of a screen tells the viewer that this is an Episcopal church adhering to a Reformed liturgy, confirmed by the fact that the reverend is preaching from the pulpit. By contrast, the vignette entitled "the Deformation" expresses the loathsome habits and architectural "deprivations" applied to parishioners devoid of taste. In it, a couple attend a lackluster service seated facing away from the pulpit, the husband half asleep. The poor condition of the church's interior is highlighted by the font used to hold some gentlemen's top-hats. A gallery cuts through the only Gothic window visible inside a flat-roofed building that appears akin to a traditional meeting house. The entire page was meant to evoke the polemical illustrations in A.W.N. Pugin's well-known book *Contrasts* (London, 1836) as well as to make sport of poor church architecture while lauding the "genuine" Christian efforts of a certain kind of devout group.
- See Carr, Angela, 1995, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 39; and Luxton, Donald, 2003, *Building the West*, Vancouver, Talon, p. 158.
- Luxton : 470.
- A complete listing of the Cumberland and Storm collection is available at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library housed in the Robarts Library of the University of Toronto. Also, the builder-turned-architect William Coverdale owned an extensive collection of pattern books, as discussed in McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, *With Our Past before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- See Luxton : 158-162 for detailed whereabouts of Fripp who traveled between Lower Mainland of British Columbia and Auckland, New Zealand, before settling in Vancouver in 1898.
- For the initial phase of this movement, see: Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, 1836, *Contrasts: Or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Showing the Present Decay of Taste Accompanied by Appropriate Text*, London, Charles Dolman; and Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, 1841, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott*, London, John Weale. A most effective and recent critical analysis of the movement in Canadian terms is Coffman, Peter, 2008, *Newfoundland Gothic*, Québec, Université du Québec à Montréal.
- Colling, James Kellaway, 1865, *Art Foliage*, London, B.T. Batsford, p. b.
- Ibid.*
- Ibid.*
- American Architect*, 1905, vol. 88, p. 106.
- Ibid.*
- A good example appears in Truefitt, 1847, *Architectural Sketches on the Continent*, London, Joseph Masters. My thanks to Professor Thomas Coomans at the Free University of Brussels for providing specific background on the various technical methods of book production during that period.

20. The practice was engaged in by other architects, including John Henry Parker in various pattern book volumes.
21. The Clergy Reserves are one particularly good example of this. See Bishop John Strachan, 1851, *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell on the Present State of the Church in Canada*, London, George Bell.
22. Fripp, R. Mackay, 1899, « The Influence of the Modern Christian Church upon the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Dominion », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 12, no. 4, p. 9.
23. *Ibid.*
24. The growing support for open seating as opposed to closed pews was described in detail in Cambridge Camden Society, 1841 [1st ed.], *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
25. A good source for new insight into the operations of the Ecclesiological Society can be found in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, *“Temples...Worthy of His Presence” : The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Oxford, Spire Books.
26. See Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur, 1849, *Open Timber Roofs*, London, D. Bogue.
27. For illustration see Luxton : 164.
28. *Canadian Architect and Builder*, 1900, vol. 13, no. 5, p. 93.
29. Carr : 11.
30. Barry Bergdoll has shown how Owen Jones’s widely consulted *Grammar of Ornament* (1856, London, Day and Son) connected ornamental motifs culled from diverse cultures that included Maori art, bringing these forms under the umbrella of Arts and Crafts. (See *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 2000, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 219.)
31. Colling : 7.
32. Except for the Kamloops project, these larger jobs required Fripp to consult with partners. With his elder brother Charles, he completed the Fergusson and Abbott blocks. A short-lived partnership with Herbert Winkler Wills (1864-1937)—who had gained experience in the New York offices of McKim, Mead and White—resulted in the resolution of a residence for Judge W.W. Spinks of Vernon (BC). The partners might have disagreed on aesthetic grounds because each submitted separate designs for the Parliament buildings in Victoria, or they may have intended to double their chances for success by filing two entries. In any event, Fripp did not enter into partnership again until a brief sojourn with George Selwyn Goldsborough in 1898, preferring to work the residential market solo.
33. Committee on Church Architecture of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1893, *Designs for Village, Town and City Churches*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press.