

HENRY LANGLEY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH COMMISSIONS

Adapting Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones* to the Gothic Revival in Canada¹

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> CANDACE IRON

Volume 20, issue 1, of the *Canadian Architect and Builder* described the architect Henry Langley (1836-1907) as, "one of the oldest practitioners in the City of Toronto... identified with its development and progress for many decades" (fig. 1).² In point of fact, Langley was the most prolific architect of the nineteenth century in Ontario; he designed civic, public, and commercial buildings, and houses for many of the prominent citizens of Toronto.³ Additionally, he and his firm⁴ designed more than seventy churches and altered dozens more. Of all his church commissions, only ten⁵ were for the Catholic Church, and of those, only six remain. These Catholic churches demonstrate how Langley was able to sustain such a productive practice by relying on a set of principle drawings that he could adapt for different commissions by incorporating the needs and wants of the religious denomination that required a building.

Henry Langley was born November 26, 1836, in Toronto, Ontario.⁶ His training as an architect began at the Toronto Academy, a non-denominational private school that was established by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1846 as a subsidiary of Knox College.⁷ While a student at the Toronto Academy, Langley likely would have been enrolled in the school's regular program of study, which included: mathematics, English, French, the classics, commercial subjects, and, most importantly for his future career, the principles of linear drawing, directed by the Toronto Academy drawing master, Edward Claxton Bull, an artist and designer.⁸



FIG. 1. HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT (1836-1907). | *CANADIAN ARCHITECT AND BUILDER*, 1907, VOL. 20, NO. 1.

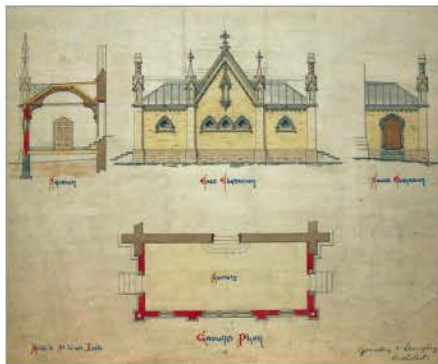


FIG. 2. ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – SACRISTY, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.



FIG. 3. ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, SACRISTY EXTERIOR. | CANDACE IRON.

Around the age of eighteen, Langley became an apprentice to the Scotsman William Hay (1818-1888) at his Toronto office.⁹ Hay was above all an architect and a devout Episcopalian, which led him to design many churches throughout his career in Britain, Bermuda, and Canada.¹⁰ Under Hay's tutelage Langley developed a clear drafting style and was immersed in architectural training in the Gothic Revival style of building. For Hay, architecture was informed by theory; therefore Langley became knowledgeable with the ideologies that had been published regarding church building and thus became fluent in the language of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), a Catholic convert and architect, who, along with being the Revival's most influential proponent, was Hay's favourite Gothic Revival apologist.¹¹ The education and experience Langley garnered while

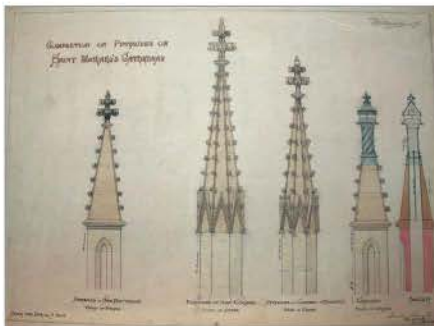


FIG. 4. ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – PINNACLES, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

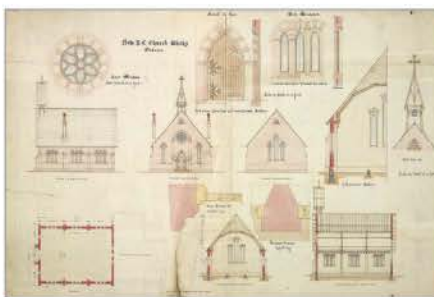


FIG. 5. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHITBY, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

indenturing with Hay would prove vital to his career and architectural practice, as his familiarity with all of the major architectural publications, including those by Pugin, allowed him to modify his designs for different Christian denominations to incorporate the architectural principles they valued.

While Langley was influenced by the major publications, including Pugin's *Contrasts* (1836)¹² and *The True Principles of Christian Architecture* (1841), it is likely he also looked to a lesser-known source for his Catholic work, Cardinal Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesasticae*, a two-volume, thirty-three-chapter treatise of norms regarding church building.¹³ More commonly known as *The Instructiones*, this document was drafted in 1577, fourteen years after the Council of Trent

(1545-1563), as a summation of the Catholic Church's traditions pertaining to the design of churches. Essentially, Borromeo applied the Tridentine Creed, the decrees of the Council, to architecture and concomitantly codified the canons of Catholic church building.

The Instructiones was released and republished with very few revisions at least nineteen times between 1577 and 1952,¹⁴ and its directives dictated the appearance of most Catholic buildings until the Church renegotiated its position within modern society at the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).

Langley's career began in 1862, when Hay returned to Scotland, leaving his architectural practice to Thomas Gundry, his partner of one year, and Langley. It was reported in his obituary that Langley's function on the team was to create the designs and execute the drawings, while Gundry's role was more financial, assessing estimates and valuations.¹⁵

The first Catholic commission the newly formed partnership would attain was for St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto (figs. 2-3). One of the most important Catholic structures in Ontario, St. Michael's was designed by William Thomas (1799-1860) in 1845, but was not completed until after Thomas' death. In 1864, Gundry and Langley were commissioned to enlarge the sacristy.

For the sacristy, Langley's design was, in keeping with the rest of the Cathedral, Gothic. The addition is located at the east end of the cathedral, incorporating into the design multiple stepped buttresses, pinnacles, and small pointed windows.

The interior of the sacristy was marked by an exposed timber ceiling, which makes reference to one of Pugin's strongest

principles, truthfulness in the use of materials. For Pugin, religious truth was expressed through ecclesiastical architecture; therefore, architectural arrangements, he argued, were the consequence of, and symbolic of, religious beliefs and practices.¹⁶ This resulted in the principle of truth in both design and materials; materials were to be used to their full account and could not be paraded as something they were not: stone was to look like stone, brick like brick, and wood like wood. Additionally, all ornament in Gothic Revival (Christian) architecture was to consist of the “enrichment of the essential construction of the building.”¹⁷ According to Pugin, “Pointed architecture does not conceal her construction, but beautifies it...”¹⁸ Langley, as a follower of Pugin, used the open timber of the ceiling to place decoration, which was the only ornamentation in the otherwise austere designed sacristy.

The use of timber in the sacristy also enhanced the link between the addition and the main body of the Cathedral, which was overseen by a “truthful” wooden roof. This sense of continuity would have been significant, as it was outlined by Borromeo that the sacristy is the most important building annexed to a church and the only structure that can be directly attached to the body of a church.¹⁹

In 1866, St. Michael’s again employed Gundry and Langley, but this time to furnish the exterior of the Cathedral with pinnacles and to complete the west tower and spire (fig. 4). The pinnacles Langley added to the exterior demonstrate a sense of variety, with an assortment of pointed elements, crockets, finials, and serpentine motifs. These kinds of details were encouraged for Gothic Revival architecture throughout the nineteenth century and can be found in numerous publications,

including Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon’s *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*, first published in 1847, which provided more than seven hundred Gothic architectural details taken from English parish churches. At St. Michael’s, the presence of pinnacles is not structurally required to load the supporting elements of the cathedral, which would seemingly make them “untruthful” in terms of Pugin’s *True Principles*; however, even Pugin justified the use of pinnacles for their ability to create a vertical element evocative of the resurrection.²⁰ Practically, the pinnacles at St. Michael’s Cathedral enhance the Gothic exterior of the building and create a sense of continuity between the older body of the cathedral and the newer sacristy.

In 1867, Langley received his first extant Catholic church commission from the parish of St. John the Evangelist in Whitby, Ontario (fig. 5). That year, the *Whitby Chronicle*, the local newspaper, reported that the new Catholic church was to bear a striking point in similarity to that of All Saints’ Church, also located in Whitby, which Langley had designed in 1865-1866 (figs. 6-7).²¹ In actuality, Langley did not reproduce his design for All Saints’ for the Catholics of Whitby, but rather reworked his design for St. Peter’s Anglican Church, Toronto, which he had executed in 1865. St. Peter’s Church is modeled after St. Michael’s, Longstanton (Cambridgeshire), a thirteenth-century English parish church that was recommended as a model for Anglican churches in the colonies by the Cambridge Camden Society, later renamed the Ecclesiological Society, a group of Cambridge undergraduate students that in 1839 set out to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture and the “restoration... of mutilated Architectural remains.”²² The society published pamphlets and a journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, which together promoted the use of the Gothic Revival

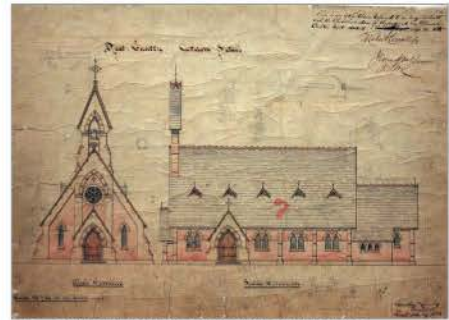


FIG. 6. ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – FAÇADE AND SOUTH ELEVATION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.

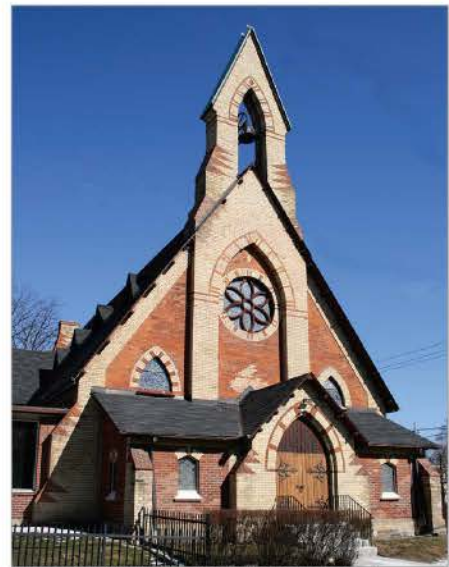


FIG. 7. ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, TORONTO. | CANDACE IRON.

style and its ability to inspire liturgical reforms, essentially moulding the plans of Anglican church architecture in the nineteenth century throughout the British Empire.²³ For Langley, the reproduction of an ostensibly Anglican design would not have been appropriate for a Catholic parish; however, there are many elements of St. Peter’s Church that align with the principles for Catholic churches outlined by Borromeo, making it an easily adapted plan for the Catholic parish. To accomplish this, Langley referenced Catholic literature and employed the building concepts that were recommended for churches by



FIG. 8. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 10. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – SOUTH ELEVATION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY.

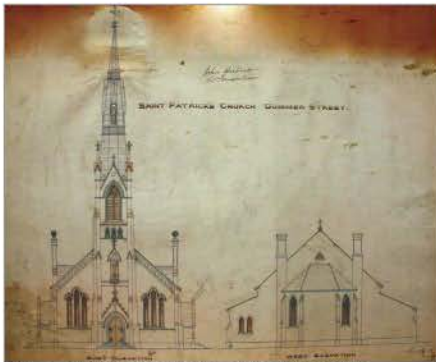


FIG. 9. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – FAÇADE AND REAR ELEVATION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.



FIG. 11. ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GUELPH. | CANDACE IRON.

Pugin, making them specifically Catholic by incorporating the directives in the *Instructions*.

The façade of the church is similar to that of St. Peter's, Toronto, with a western rose window and a raised entrance, both of which were elements that Borromeo had recommended in the *Instructions*. The *Instructions* specifically outlines the

proper forms of lighting for churches indicating that if a nave is dark, a western rose window should be placed directly in line with the central western portal.²⁴ The elevated entrance, however, was especially important. Borromeo specified that the approach to a church "requires three steps or five at the most," and further recommended the inclusion of an atrium, portico, or vestibule to mark

the primary entrance to a church.²⁵ In his analysis of the *Instructions*, Matthew Gallegos interprets Borromeo's inclusion of a distinctive architectural element at the entrance to a church as symbolically creating a visual transition between the sacred church space and the secular exterior world. Additionally, Gallegos deciphers meaning in the often-quoted numbers found throughout Borromeo's text, claiming that they relate to Catholic doctrinal teaching, wherein three and five respectively relate to the Trinity and Pentecost.²⁶ At St. John's, Whitby, where there is only one entrance, Langley achieved this symbolic transitional architectural element through the inclusion of three steps to elevate the entryway, which, when coupled with multiple orders leading to the doors, creates a sense of depth and provides Borromeo's required transitional spatial element.

The bellcote is one area of St. John's façade that offered a variant from its St. Peter's model. Rather than be constructed of brick, St. John's bellcote was rendered in wood and was surmounted by a cross. In the *Instructions*, Borromeo devotes a chapter to bell towers and bells. He dictates that towers should be either freestanding or part of the church façade, and sanctions the use of small towers and brick piers serving in the place of bell towers in small churches, indicating that a bell tower should be in proportion to the rest of the church.²⁷ St. John's Church was very small and consisted of only three bays and therefore compositionally could not have accommodated a full tower.

Although the bellcote is small in comparison to most bell towers, Langley still incorporated the "rules" for bell towers that were outlined in Borromeo's chapter: the wood construction of the bellcote sufficiently fulfills the suggestion to incorporate strong joisting, and its placement over

the central façade entrance, with a cross at its apex, meets Borromeo's precise requirements for tower placement and iconography—as Borromeo was specific that all towers should be surmounted by a cross.²⁸

The next Catholic commission Gundry and Langley would secure was for St. Patrick's Church in Toronto (fig. 8). This church marks an important point in Langley's Catholic church designing career, as the plan that he created here, he would use repeatedly with only subtle alterations for all of his future Catholic commissions.

The Parish of St. Patrick's was founded as a mission by Reverend Armand-Francois-Marie de Charbonnel, Bishop of Toronto, and was established as a parish in its own right in 1861.

The first St. Patrick's Church, Toronto, a frame building located on Dummer Street (now St. Patrick's Street), was destroyed by fire June 22, 1865. The second church, designed by Gundry and Langley, was built in 1870 in the same location.

St. Patrick's is a yellow brick, Gothic Revival church. As a material, brick was generally viewed unfavourably in the nineteenth century for church architecture. The Cambridge Camden Society originally outlawed its use for Anglican churches, referring to it as a miserable material,²⁹ although by 1850 they had changed their opinion and even went so far as to recommend brick for "town churches."³⁰ For Catholic construction, brick was more acceptable; Pugin used brick in some of his churches, including St. Wilfred's Hulme, Manchester (1839), which was illustrated in Plate VII of *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, first published in 1843. Moreover, in *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*, Pugin compares brick's building properties to those of

stone.³¹ Additionally, Borromeo allowed for the use of brick in the *Instructiones*, which suggests that it was considered a legitimate material for Catholic churches.

Demonstrating Pugin's principles for church architecture, St. Patrick's Church has a steeply pitched roof and a defined separation of nave and chancel (figs. 9-10). Pugin insisted that a roof's pitch be in the form of an equilateral triangle, which he argued is the soundest in terms of beauty and utility for its ability to create a pleasing appearance and simultaneously resist the actions of weather.³² Additionally, Pugin's principle of truth in design deemed that the basic components of a building should be articulated on the exterior, which is demonstrated at St. Patrick's by the separation of the nave and the apse. Recalling Pugin's prerogative to enrich only the essential construction elements of a church, St. Patrick's is rather plain from the exterior. It employs little in the way of ornament save for stepped buttresses, labels, and paired lancet windows that are placed centrally in each bay, an arrangement Borromeo dictates in the *Instructiones*, while describing the importance of having the windows match on both sides of the nave (fig. 11).³³ Langley likely modeled the general austerity of the exterior as well as the placement and design of the tower after William Hay's St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Guelph, which ultimately can be traced to his 1842 design for St. James' Episcopal Church, Cruden Bay, Scotland. The pinnacles placed at the base of the spire are especially telling in this regard.

To address Borromeo's directive to have the entrance marked by a spatial separation from the body of the church, Langley designed the tower to project forward, which simultaneously fulfills the suggestion to have the tower attached to the façade, marking the building as a place of

prominence in the landscape. In *Contrasts*, Pugin illustrates how spires could accomplish this in his sketch of contrasted towns. *Contrasts* is essentially a picture-book, wherein Pugin demonstrates his distaste for classicism, which he associates with paganism, while emphasizing his clear admiration for Gothic architecture by comparing the two styles and demonstrating the degradation associated with the former. Pugin's sketch depicts the importance of spires for Christian architecture; each religious building is marked by a soaring spire exemplifying height and verticality, which Pugin equates with the resurrection.³⁴

St. Patrick's tower is the most ornamented feature of the exterior with its multi-ordered entrance, buttresses, crockets, and finials (fig. 12). This was prescribed by Borromeo in the *Instructiones*, where seven chapters address the exterior appearance of churches. Borromeo specifically indicates that because it holds the entrance, the façade is the most important exterior wall of a church and therefore should be the only area to have ornamentation. Furthermore, he specifically states that an image of either the Virgin Mary or the saint to whom the church is dedicated should be placed above the entrance of a church,³⁵ a principle Langley introduced at St. Patrick's.

The interior of St. Patrick's is entirely prescribed by the *Instructiones* (figs. 13-14). Its walls were plastered and then painted with stencilling and murals, and the supporting elements are composed of compound piers, which create a nave-aisle arrangement that supports an elaborate timber and paneled roof.

While the truthful usage of wood for the roof is Puginian, the arrangement of nave and aisles enclosed under a single roof elevation is not, but rather comes

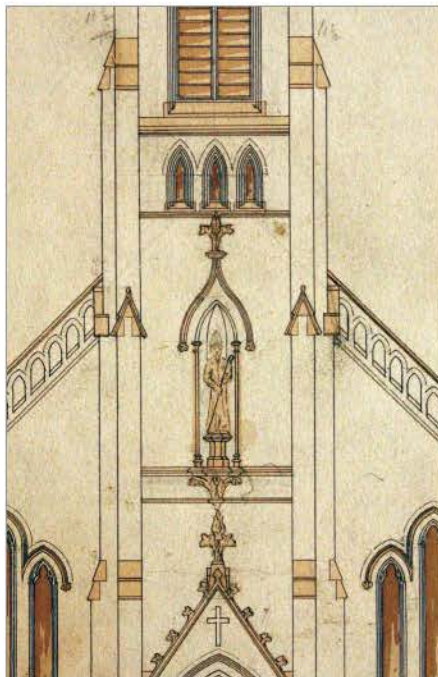


FIG. 12. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – DETAIL OF ST. PATRICK, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.



FIG. 15. ST. BASIL'S CHURCH AND COLLEGE OF ST. MICHAEL (TORONTO), NEGATIVE OF ENGRAVING, WILLIAM HAY, ARCHITECT. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.



FIG. 13. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING – TRANSVERSE SECTION, GUNDRY AND LANGLEY, ARCHITECTS. | COURTESY OF TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY, BALDWIN ROOM.



FIG. 16. ST. BASIL'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPH – INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE ARCHIVES.



FIG. 14. ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, TORONTO, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 17. ST. FRANCES DE SALES CATHOLIC CHURCH, DUFFERIN'S CREEK/PICKERING. | CANDACE IRON.

from the Anglican Commissioners' Gothic style, which predates Pugin's truthfulness in design principle (figs. 15-16).³⁶ A similar arrangement was used by William Hay in his design for St. Basil's Catholic Church, Toronto (1852-1855), which had the aisles and nave under a single roof, albeit with a different roof pitch delineating the aisles from the nave. Be that as it may, the inclusion of aisles in Catholic church plans was

described by Borromeo, who indicates that a church should have "one nave, or three or five naves."³⁷ Additionally, when describing the apse, Borromeo was specific that, "its pavement should be made higher than that of the body of the church [and that it should be] vaulted, and moreover, properly ornamented with mosaic work or with some other dignified decoration in painting..."³⁸

In 1870, Langley reproduced his design of St. Patrick's for St. Frances de Sales, Pickering (figs. 17-18), where he designed a one-storey elevation church with bays separated by buttresses and a clear articulation between the apse and the nave on the exterior. He also included the projecting central tower that he had used at St. Patrick's, which at St. Frances de Sales is also the most ornamented part of the

exterior. Departing from the St. Patrick's design, Langley added pseudo-transepts, dormer windows in lieu of a clerestory, and changed the arrangement of the tower by eliminating the pinnacles and creating an octagonal belfry. Dormers are relatively rare on church buildings, but Borromeo's *Instructiones* indicate that, in addition to windows being placed along the sides of naves, lights located above a church's roof line to illuminate the nave are preferred.³⁹

Inside, the church has a wide-nave plan with a clearly articulated, elevated and vaulted apse (fig. 19). As was the case at St. Patrick's, the apse does not have a window directly behind the altar. Borromeo was careful to describe the lighting of apses, indicating that, "precaution must be taken that no part, even the smallest, of any altar be blinded by the windows of the back wall."⁴⁰

The wide-nave plan, which Borromeo would refer to as "only one nave,"⁴¹ and the ceiling design are different from those that Langley had used in Toronto, but rather look back to his wide-nave design for St. John the Evangelist, Whitby, demonstrating another merge in Langley's Catholic design elements.

In 1872, Langley recreated his scheme for Pickering when designing a church for St. Patrick's Parish in Stayner, Ontario (figs. 20-21). In Stayner, the Pickering plan was developed further to incorporate more of the design elements recommended by Borromeo and Pugin.

On the exterior, the articulation of the various areas of the church, including the sacristy, evoke Pugin's doctrines regarding truth in design, while the plain exterior with little ornamentation is maintained (fig. 22). Additionally, the tower projects forward to create a transitional vestibule

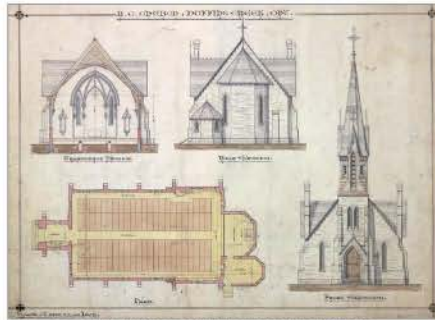


FIG. 18. ST. FRANCES DE SALES CATHOLIC CHURCH, DUFFERIN'S CREEK/PICKERING, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.



FIG. 19. ST. FRANCES DE SALES CATHOLIC CHURCH, DUFFERIN'S CREEK/PICKERING, INTERIOR LOOKING SOUTHEAST. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 20. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 21. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER. | CANDACE IRON.

in accordance with Borromeo's rules and, although not executed, Langley intended there to be dormers on the roof to meet the *Instructiones'* church lighting requirements. The area of divergence from the Pickering design is the ornamentation on the tower, which warrants examination. Langley incorporated a cross in stone in the upper gable of the tower and another in the gable that frames the entrance. This recalls Borromeo's suggestion to cap towers with a cross, which, according to Evelyn Carole Voelker who translated the *Instructiones* to English in 1977,

represents the solidity of the Catholic faith.⁴² In Stayner, that symbolic message is not only added as an appendage to the tower, but is incorporated into the architectural fabric of the church.

The interior of St. Patrick's, Stayner, has an exposed wooden ceiling, which makes a clear reference to Pugin's concept of truth in materials (figs. 23-25). For Langley, however, it also makes a distinctive allusion to Hay, who used an identical ceiling design in 1856 for St. George's Anglican Church, Pickering Village.

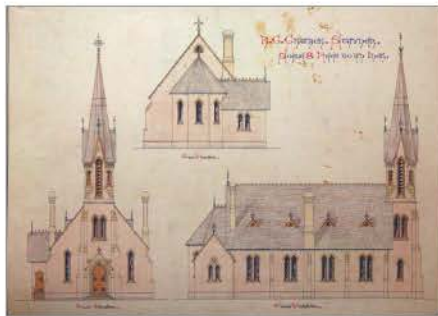


FIG. 22. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.



FIG. 23. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, STAYNER, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 24. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH (PICKERING VILLAGE). | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 25. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, PICKERING VILLAGE, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 26. GUARDIAN ANGELS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ORILLIA. | COURTESY OF GUARDIAN ANGELS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ORILLIA.



FIG. 27. ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, RENAMED GUARDIAN ANGELS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ORILLIA, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

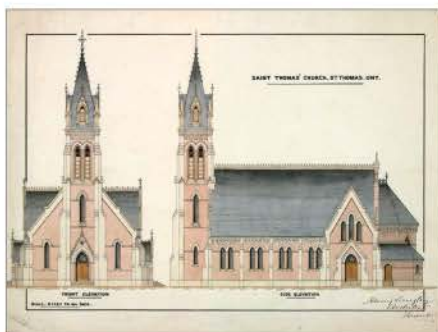


FIG. 28. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

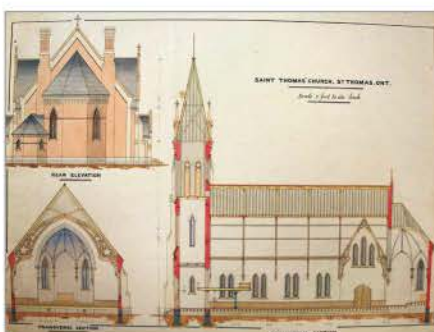


FIG. 29. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

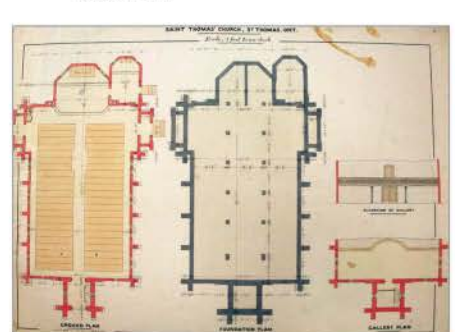


FIG. 30. ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ST. THOMAS (ON), ARCHITECTURAL PLAN, HENRY LANGLEY, ARCHITECT. | ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F4359, LANGLEY AND HOWLAND FONDS.

From 1872 to 1875, Langley would execute his five final Catholic designs: Church of Guardian Angels, Orillia (1870-1872),⁴³ Church of the Holy Angels, St. Thomas (1872), St. John Chrysostom, Newmarket (1873), Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie (1875), and Sainte-Croix, Lafontaine (1875). Although only two of

these churches remain, they all combined the design elements of Langley's prior Catholic commissions in varying manners.

The Church of Guardian Angels, Orillia (figs. 26-27), demonstrates the method in which Langley melded his former plans to create something "new" by combining

the church body with dormer windows that he had first used in Pickering, with the tower arrangement he had designed for St. Patrick's, Toronto, which incorporates pinnacles at the base of the spire; however, to that tower Langley added the permanent stone crosses located in gables below the spire that he had first used in



FIG. 31. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, ANCASTER. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 32. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, ANCASTER, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 33. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM CATHOLIC CHURCH, NEWMARKET, ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPH. | COURTESY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM CATHOLIC CHURCH, NEWMARKET.



FIG. 34. PRECIOUS BLOOD CATHEDRAL, SAULT STE. MARIE. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 35. PARISSIE SAINTE-CROIX, LAFONTAINE. | CANDACE IRON.



FIG. 36. PARISSIE SAINTE-CROIX, LAFONTAINE, INTERIOR LOOKING EAST. | CANDACE IRON.

Stayner. The site and the number of bays in the church are notable. First, the church was located on a hill in a domineering position overlooking Orillia. The act of placing a Catholic church atop a hill or in a place of prominence within a community has medieval European roots; however, in Ontario, examples can be found at Our Lady of Assumption Church, Windsor (1842-1846), The Church of Our Lady,

Guelph (1876-1888), St. Anne's Church, Penetanguishene (1873-1902), and St. Joseph's Church, River Canard (1913). While the location of the church would have been the choice of the parish or local bishop, Borromeo allocated chapter one of the *Instructiones* to the site of a church. Line one states that, "when a church is to be built, the site most suitable for such a building should be chosen by the bishop

in consultation with the architect he will have commissioned or approved [and] it is of great importance that it should be in a fairly prominent place."⁴⁴

Secondly, Guardian Angels had five regular bays. In the *Instructiones*, Borromeo indicates that there should be, where possible, an uneven number of bays and windows running laterally along

the nave.⁴⁵ In Orillia, there were five bays and fifteen windows, including the dormers. This, combined with the location, permanent crosses atop the tower, and the forward projection of the tower to create a vestibule, made Orillia's exterior a nearly perfect specimen in terms of Borromeo's treatise.⁴⁶

In 1872, when Langley designed the Church of the Holy Angels in St. Thomas, Ontario (fig. 28), he reproduced all of the elements of Guardian Angels, Orillia, but omitted the dormer windows and added pseudo-transepts. Langley first introduced pseudo-transepts for Catholic churches at St. Frances de Sales, Pickering (1870). At Holy Angels, as was the case at St. Frances de Sales, the pseudo-transepts have a separate roof line, which makes their design truthful in terms of Pugin's principles regarding design; however, their inclusion was also suggested by Borromeo. While dispelling the use of round designs for church plans, calling them pagan, Borromeo indicates that wherever possible, cruciform churches are preferable to all other designs.⁴⁷

In terms of truthful use of materials, the interior of Holy Angels was comparable to that of St. Patrick's, Toronto; however, at Holy Angels there were no aisles, therefore Langley introduced an open-timber hammer-beam roof to cover the nave (figs. 29-30). He had only used this kind of roof once for his Catholic churches, at the sacristy for St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto. This kind of roof was extremely fashionable in nineteenth-century Gothic Revival churches and was popularized by Pugin's principles and publications, including Raphael and J. Arthur Brandons', *Masterpieces of Medieval Open Timber Roofs*. First published in 1849, this book was intended to be a pattern book that provided architects with examples of wooden roofs to be emulated in designs

that could not accommodate vaulting. Besides the sacristy of St. Michael's Cathedral, Langley had incorporated open-timber designs into several of his Anglican churches prior to the design of Holy Angels, including St. John's Anglican Church, Ancaster (1868) (figs. 31-32); however, for Langley the use of open timber for Catholic churches likely stems from William Hay, who designed a stunning open-timber roof for St. Basil's Church, Toronto in 1852-1855.

While Langley's next two Catholic Church designs for St. John Chrysostom, Newmarket (1873), and Precious Blood Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie (1875) (figs. 33-34), were somewhat unremarkable in that they reproduced his past design elements in fairly standard manners, his final Catholic church, Sainte-Croix in Lafontaine, represents a high point in Langley's Catholic church designing career (fig. 35). Executed in red brick, the exterior of the church is extremely plain. The only ornaments are the enclosing arches over the louvered openings in the tower. These arches point upward to the four iron crosses at the peaks of the louvered gables of the spire, which in turn point to the large cross at the apex of the spire. Additionally, there is a single quatrefoil located in the tympanum over the western façade doorway, a motif that Langley also used in Sault Ste. Marie (also dating from 1875). Langley first used the tympanum of a church entrance for ornament in his design for Metropolitan Methodist (United) Church, Toronto (1870), but in terms of Catholic design it satisfies Borromeo's requirement to accentuate the importance of the entrance. Overall, in terms of Pugin's and Borromeo's theories, the façade ornament in Lafontaine underscores the Church doctrine of the resurrection of the Messiah, and emphasizes the gravity of the entry into the sacred space of the church.

While the exterior was largely unadorned, the interior of Sainte-Croix has an exquisite timber and paneled roof that Langley modeled after his design for St. Patrick's Church, Toronto (1869-1870) (fig. 36). In design, the nave of the Lafontaine church has been broadened and transepts have been included, which allow for the inclusion of minor "chapels" with altars, which Borromeo deemed necessary for churches with aisles.⁴⁸

Overall, Langley's church in Lafontaine represents the most cohesive Catholic design that he produced, integrating the elements that were most central to the architectural doctrines of both Pugin and Borromeo.

While it is clear that Langley incorporated Borromeo's *Instructiones* into his Puginian Gothic Revival in Ontario, the question remains of why this was necessary.

Langley was working in an era where there were perceived threats to the Catholic Church. The First Vatican Council, held in 1869 in Rome, was convened to deal with the threats the Church recognized from the rising influence of rationalism, liberalism, and materialism, and in part revisited the Tridentine Creed of the Council of Trent, the very council that resulted in the *Instructiones*. According to Anthony Blunt, who wrote about artistic theory in Italy, the Council of Trent was born out of an act of counter-reform, which aimed to undo all that the Renaissance had done by returning to a "feudal and medieval state of affairs."⁴⁹ The pairing of Pugin's theories with those of Borromeo is then perhaps not that surprising because Pugin's aim was not tremendously different and he was writing for many of the same reasons in the nineteenth century. Although focused on architecture and society, Pugin was essentially calling for a return to the faith and

social structure of the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ In *Contrasts*, Pugin illustrated this by comparing Medieval and nineteenth-century communities, showing the clear superiority of the former. Pugin's illustrations in *Contrasts*, as well as his arguments for reform in both society and architecture published in *Contrasts*, *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*, and *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, were persuasive and, according to Pugin's biographer, Rosemary Hill, "spoke with the voice of the rising generation."⁵¹

It could be that Langley was incorporating the "rules" for Catholic building of these two influential theorists in response to this; however, in Ontario there was also a denominational rivalry between churches. Confederation had occurred in 1867 and there was no longer an established Church in Canada. For Langley this meant that he needed to negotiate a way to accommodate the needs of the religious denominations that were commissioning his designs while still maintaining the ability to sustain a thriving, cross-denominational practice. By creating a set of drawings that he could adapt by incorporating the assorted building regulations of the various denominations, Langley was able to successfully accomplish this and thus became the most influential and prolific architect of the nineteenth century in Ontario in terms of religious architecture.

NOTES

1. I would like to express my thanks to the Department of Humanities at York University for giving me the opportunity to pursue my doctoral studies. My sincerest gratitude goes to my Ph.D. supervisor, Malcolm Thurlby, who is a constant source of inspiration, advice, and support. Thanks also to my supervisory committee and my close architectural friends (the Malcolmites), as well as UQAM professor Luc Noppen, who have all helped me immensely with my research into the careers of Henry Langley and his mentor, William Hay. Finally, I would like to thank all of the church parishes and congregations that have granted me access to their buildings and their records; it is most valued and appreciated.
2. 1907, "The Late Mr. Henry Langley," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 14.
3. For a list of Langley's buildings, see: "Langley, Henry," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1433], accessed December 10, 2012.
4. When examining the career of Henry Langley, it is necessary to establish that his practice was extremely large and included several partners and many pupils. While hundreds of drawings are attributed to the Langley firm, many do not have delineator initials. For this reason, for the purposes of this article, Henry Langley's "work" will be considered within the framework of the Langley firm, with Langley ultimately receiving credit for the designs.
5. This number reflects Langley's nine extant Catholic church commissions, as well as his commission to add a sacristy (1864), complete the tower and spire (1865), and add pinnacles (1865) to St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, which had been designed by William Thomas (1799-1860) in 1845-1848.
6. For information regarding Henry Langley's biography see: Beszedits, Stephen, 1983, *Eminent Toronto Architects of the Past: Their Lives and Works*, Toronto, B&L Information Services; Richardson, Douglas and Angela K. Carr, 2000, *Henry Langley*, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [http://biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=6841], accessed December 10, 2012.
7. While biblical studies and the establishment of a seminary were central to the educational program at the school, the intention from its conception had been to obtain the cooperation of other Christian denominations; therefore, in 1849, the Toronto Academy became a non-denominational institution.
8. *The Toronto Academy*, August 27, 1850, Toronto Academy (microfilm, original held at the Toronto Metropolitan Library).
9. Since no apprenticeship agreement survives, there is a general degree of uncertainty surrounding the age at which Langley entered Hay's office as an apprentice. The Toronto Board of Trade Souvenir of 1893 indicates that Langley was seventeen when he began his apprenticeship. Stephen Beszedits states that Langley entered Hay's office at the age of nineteen, while Angela Carr suggests a broader date range of seventeen to nineteen; however, Hay left Toronto in 1861-1862 and Langley had a seven-year apprenticeship, which implies that Langley was likely eighteen years old when he began his apprenticeship with Hay.
10. For information regarding William Hay, see: "William Hay," *Dictionary of Scottish Architects 1840-1989*, July 26, 2008, [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/index.php], accessed September 15, 2011; or Magrill, Barry, 2004, "Development and Ecclesiology in the Outposts of the British Empire: William Hay's Gothic Solutions for Church Building in Tropical Climates (1840-1890)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 1-2, p. 15-26.
11. In his architecture and his writings, William Hay was a devout follower of Pugin. In 1853, he published an article/eulogy for Pugin in the *Anglo-American Magazine*: Hay, William, 1853, "The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture," *The Anglo-American Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 70-73.
12. While more commonly referred to as *Contrasts*, the full title of Pugin's 1836 treatise is *Contrasts: or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Accompanied by Appropriate Text*.
13. For a full translation of the *Instructiones*, see: Voelker, Evelyn Carole, 1977, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesasticae, 1577, A Translation with Commentary and Analysis*, Ph.D. dissertation in Humanities, Syracuse University, available online: [http://evelynvoelker.com/].
14. Gallegos, Matthew, 2004, "Charles Borromeo and Catholic Tradition," *Journal of the Institute for Sacred Architecture*, vol. 9, p. 14-28.
15. 1907, "The Late Mr. Henry Langley," *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 14.
16. Pugin, A.W.N., 1841, "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. Accompanied by Appropriate Text," in Timothy Brittain-Catlin (ed.), *Contrasts and The True Principle of Pointed Architecture*, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., p. 2-3.
17. Pugin, A.W.N., 1841, "The True Principles of Pointed Architecture," in Timothy Brittain-Catlin (ed.), *Contrasts and The True Principle*

- of *Pointed Architecture*, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., p. 1.
18. *Id.* : 3.
 19. Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones* : 3, 359-360.
 20. Pugin, "The True Principles..." : 9.
 21. "Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Catholic Church in Whitby," *The Whitby Chronicle*, September 19, 1867.
 22. 1840, "First Annual Report of the Committee of the Cambridge Camden Society," in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, "*Temples... Worthy of his Presence*": *the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books, p. 53.
 23. *Id.* : 9.
 24. Voelker : 110.
 25. *Id.* : 35, 75.
 26. Gallegos : 14-15.
 27. Voelker : 326-329.
 28. *Id.* : 327.
 29. Neale, J.M., "A Few Words to Church Builders," in Christopher Webster (ed.), "*Temples... Worthy of His Presence*": *The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books, p. 141.
 30. Street, George Edmund, 1850, "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. XI, no. LXXXI p. 227-233. In 1850, Frank Wills used red brick for St. Paul's Anglican Church, Glanford, Ontario. See Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60.
 31. Pugin, "The True Principles..." : 2.
 32. *Id.* : 11.
 33. Voelker : 109-110.
 34. Pugin, "Contrasts..." : 3.
 35. Voelker : 64.
 36. The Commissioners' Gothic was an early form of the Gothic Revival that was largely propagated the Commissioner's Act of 1818, which provided one million pounds for the construction of new Anglican churches. The style is recognizable for its application of Gothic ornament to otherwise Neo-Classical (Gibbsian) preaching-hall churches. For more detailed information regarding the Church Building Commission and the churches that resulted from it, see: Port, Michael H., 2006, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*, Reading, Spire Books.
 37. Voelker : 52.
 38. *Id.* : 125.
 39. *Id.* : 110.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. *Id.* : 52.
 42. *Id.* : 336.
 43. Guardian Angels was originally named Angels Guardian; the name was changed to reflect the church's position on a hill overlooking Orillia.
 44. Voelker : 35.
 45. *Id.* : 109.
 46. In 1910, Langley's church was demolished and a new limestone one was erected to the plans of John W. Siddall of Yorkshire, England.
 47. Voelker : 51.
 48. *Id.* : 174.
 49. Blunt, Anthony, 1962, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, Oxford, Oxford UP, p. 105.
 50. Hill, Rosemary, 2012, "Pugin, God's Architect," *The Guardian*, February 24.
 51. Hill, Rosemary, 2007, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London, Penguin Book Ltd., p. 153.