HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH AT STANLEY MISSION (1856-1860), SASKATCHEWAN

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FIG. 1. MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN SHOWING MAJOR SETTLEMENTS, CANADA, 2013. | NATURAL RESOURCES CANADA.

The oldest extant structure in the province of Saskatchewan is an isolated northern wooden church that has survived forest fires and neglect alike. Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission/La Ronge (1856-1860) (figs. 1-2) is an important building not just for its longevity. The church was constructed during the harsh conditions and fierce rivalries that characterized the fur trade era (1670-late 1800s). It now stands as a lone survivor of that time, offering a tantalizing glimpse into the forces that moulded the province.[1] However, it must be understood that the church is not typical for the period, rather it is a paragon of achievement in both skill and style. Nonetheless, by no means can we think of it in the same light as the great/cathedral churches of eastern Canada. Stanley Mission is a fur-trade-era mission church, constructed in the wilderness with the purpose of providing a base for ministering to the First Nations population and fur traders. Consequently, many of its contemporary structures were modest in both scale and design. Unlike its contemporaries however, Holy Trinity used unparalleled height, lavishness, and cutting-edge design to become a symbol of Anglican might in the competitive ethos of the era, leaving an enduring legacy.

The fur trade era of Saskatchewan was typified by harsh conditions and limited resources. Fur trading companies and independent traders established and sustained all of the early settlements in Rupert's Land. The largest of these trading companies was the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). It was established with the support of Prince Rupert and granted

FIG. 2. SOUTHERN SIDE OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, STANLEY MISSION (SK), 1854-1860, ARCHITECT UNKNOWN. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

a (supposed) monopoly over the fur trade in Rupert's Land in 1670 (the region now encompassing Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and much of the Northwest Territories).[2] The fur trade provided the potential for profit, but was not without its challenges. Chief among these was isolation; most settlements had only rudimentary services and were few and far between. During the long harsh Prairie winters, this isolation often had fatal consequences. The stories shared by immigrants with those back in England often held accounts of children starving and of finding families huddled in the snow.[3] Another major challenge was the difficulty of obtaining resources. Acquiring enough building materials to construct a serviceable shelter from the elements

was labour-intensive. There were no brick kilns or stone quarries, so immigrants were left to gather at hand materials such as wood, mud, or local fieldstone for their structures. The generally tough nature of life in most of the settlements meant that professionally trained architects were not attracted to the region. Consequently, building design was the prerogative of local carpenters, priests, or amateurs, who did the best they could in spite of the limitations.

Working within this challenging environment, the Roman Catholic and Anglican religious denominations established missions across the region. As might be expected, their expansion into the region was rather slow at first. The Catholic

Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was the first religious body active in Rupert's Land, followed by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) who established a base at Red River (the first agricultural settlement in the western interior) in 1829.[4] By the mid-nineteenth century, the primarily French or French-Canadian Roman Catholic order, known as the Oblates, became the principal Catholic presence in the region.[5] The primary focus of both the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans was to minister to the First Nations people through education and agriculture, but they also provided medical support.[6] Their efforts to provide these services in the harsh fur trade society often brought them into conflict with each other. Although the conflict had its roots in their rivalry in England, the scarcity of potential converts and sources of support increased the challenges and put denominations in direct competition with each other, often with the result that only one would be successful in any given settlement.[7] The traditional rivalry between the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, coupled with the difficult conditions the Churches encountered in the region during that period, resulted in a strongly competitive environment.

Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission (1856-1860) (fig. 3) was constructed in this tough and competitive climate. However, it is by no means characteristic of the period. Holy Trinity is a paragon of achievement, given the constraints of the region. Firstly, the church was constructed on a scale that was completely unprecedented. It was 25 metres in length, 10.5 metres in width, 15 metres high on the inside, and the steeple and spire were 27 metres high (the current steeple and spire are 5 metres shorter).[8] All other churches and even secular buildings in the region at the time were only about half this size.[9] The nearby Roman Catholic mission of Château Saint-Jean at

FIG. 3. VIEW OF THE LANDSCAPE SURROUNDING HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, STANLEY MISSION (SK). | KRISTIE DUBÉ.
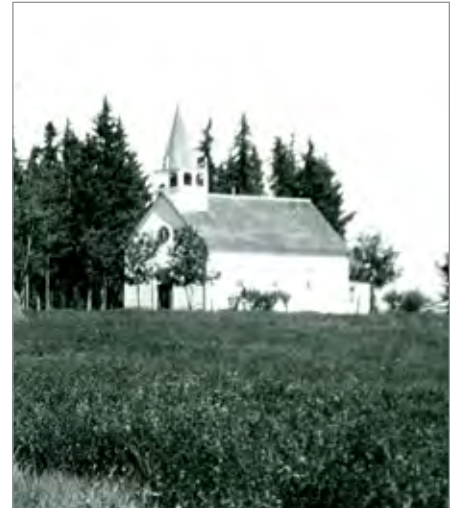

FIG. 5. ST. JOSEPH'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, CUMBERLAND HOUSE (SK), 1870, BUILDER UNKNOWN. | N.D., RB-254, SAB.

FIG. 4. SKETCH OF CHÂTEAU SAINT-JEAN, ÎLE-À-LA-CROSSE (SK), 1860, BUILDER UNKNOWN. | VYE BOUVIER, 1860, RA-24431, SAB.

FIG. 6. ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, ST. JOHN'S (NF) 1847-1850, ARCHITECT GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

Île-à-la-Crosse (also constructed in 1860), for instance, was a modest rectangular structure that was the same size as the small vernacular buildings surrounding it (fig. 4).[10] The other important church in the region, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church at Cumberland House (1870) (fig. 5), was a "small log house" only 6.7 square metres in size, a fraction of Holy Trinity's size.[11] The only comparable churches are found in eastern Canada in cathedral churches such as George Gilbert Scott's St. John's Anglican Cathedral in Newfoundland (1847-1850), with a width of 18.3 metres, a general height of 17.4 metres and a roof ridge height of 24.4 metres (fig. 6).[12] Since height was one of the features advocated to separate a simple country church from a more elaborate "town church" in

the literature of the period (for example George Edmund Street's essay[13]), the size of Holy Trinity was clearly designed to place it on par with large urban churches. However, even when compared to these churches, Holy Trinity stands apart due to its use of aisles, a feature that was not common in Anglican "town churches" of the period (fig. 7). An early example would be the contemporary Grace Anglican Church in Brantford (1856-1859) (fig. 8) by William Hay and John Turner, but generally the use of aisles was not common until the 1870s.[14] Holy Trinity, therefore, was conceived to be on par, and in some cases, superior to the large churches of the era.

Because of the large/great church scale of the structure, the choice of material,

namely wood, is slightly unusual. Due to the aforementioned limitations on materials, wood was by far the more common choice for the region. However, most of these structures were originally intended as temporary, to accommodate a small congregation until larger numbers would warrant the construction of a more permanent structure of stone or brick.[15] Château Saint-Jean, for instance, was replaced in the late 1890s with a larger structure, only thirty years after its construction.[16] A clarification should be made though, as not every wooden church was intended as a temporary structure. In the Maritimes, wood was often the material of choice, resulting in churches like Edward Medley's Christ Church in St. Stephen, New Brunswick (1863-1864)

FIG. 7. INTERIOR VIEW OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH FACING WEST, STANLEY MISSION (SK). | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 8. GRACE ANGLICAN CHURCH, BRANTFORD (ON), 1856-1859, ARCHITECTS WILLIAM HAY AND JOHN TURNER. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

FIG. 9. CHRIST CHURCH, ST. STEPHEN (NB), 1863-1864, ARCHITECT EDWARD MEDLEY. | MALCOLM THURLBY

FIG. 10. ALL SAINTS MARGARET STREET ANGLICAN CHURCH, LONDON, ENGLAND, 1849-1859, ARCHITECT WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

(fig. 9).[17] However, as there was no comparable regional tradition of permanent wooden structures in what would become Saskatchewan, Holy Trinity must be seen as anomalous.

While its scale and more permanent aspirations clearly set it apart from its rivals, the greatest exceptional feature of Holy Trinity Church was its design. All of the churches in the region, including the Roman Catholic churche at Île-à-la-Crosse, were essentially vernacular buildings with a few Gothic or Romanesque elements (ex.: pointed arch windows, a crenelated tower, or an apse) attached to the exterior as superficial decoration. These churches definitely conform to Mathilde Brosseau's assertion that nineteenth-century Prairie architecture "reflected the limitations of pioneering settlement" and was consequently limited to mimicking the simple designs of eastern Canadian pioneer churches from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[18] Holy Trinity on the other hand was designed to match the very latest architectural trend in England, namely the High Victorian Gothic Revival style, initiated by William Butterfield's All Saints Margaret Street, in London (1849-1859) (fig. 10). This style was part of a larger Antiquarian trend toward reviving past architectural styles with new associations and purpose.[19] Past styles were used in an effort to reject the supposed ills of industrial society. They were perceived to be imbued with the so-called proximity to nature and piety of those past societies and were thus in direct contrast with industrial society's architecture, which was viewed as being artificial and full of scepticism.[20] Literary works such as Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's *Contrasts*, which championed the use of the Gothic style as a way to return to a more natural, pious, and pure society, did much to cement an

association between the "Pointed" style and religious architecture.[21] This torch was further carried by Anglican organizations such as the Cambridge Camden Society / Ecclesiologists (1846). The CCS was formed by a group of undergraduates at the University of Cambridge in 1839 in order to promote the study and restoration of medieval religious architecture, but ultimately ended up promoting the use of English Gothic architectural motifs in contemporary architecture across the world (specifically to countries that were part of the British Empire).[22] As a result, the Gothic Revival style in particular became so strongly associated with church architecture that it was used continuously in Canada for one hundred and forty years (from the 1790s in eastern Canada to the 1930s in the Prairies).[23]

The Gothic Revival style had multiple phases that became gradually more complex and refined as architects developed a greater sense of familiarity with Gothic motifs. One of the most innovative and rich phases of this style was the High Victorian. In the mid-nineteenth century, the focus for medieval sources of inspiration shifted from England to Europe thanks to illustrated books on architecture such as John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851), which praised and illustrated Venetian and northern European Gothic churches.[24] Architects and patrons alike were inspired and the resulting phase used European Gothic motifs alongside English ones. The style was lavish and generally required expensive materials and architects who were well versed in Gothic Revival architecture. In addition, the style was more focused on going beyond simply copying precise details of medieval exemplars (a key characteristic of the earlier Ecclesiological Gothic style) to create a new version of Gothic that was precisely adapted to the limitations and traditions of each location.[25] The first

structure to use the style was an English "town church," All Saints Margaret Street Anglican Church in London (1849-1859) (fig. 10). While the construction of that church was constrained by the narrow site, it displays opulence through its height, constructional polychromy (including expensive black brick), and inventive design (adapting Gothic principles to the unique requirements of the site). Such a high level of innovation and opulence is what characterized the High Victorian phase and would not have been possible without the aid of its architect, William Butterfield.[26] It was this new, lavish, and expensive style that Holy Trinity Church attempted to emulate.

Notwithstanding the limitations in terms of architects, funds, and materials, Holy Trinity Church was constructed with reference to the newly created High Victorian style. Just like All Saints Margaret Street, Holy Trinity's design used the High Victorian aspects of monumentality, polychromy, and massing. No other Saskatchewan church of the period was willing or able to go to such expense. Château Saint-Jean Church at Île-à-la-Crosse, for instance, was constructed as part of a well established and successful mission complex alongside a North West Company (NWC) trading post.[27] The mission was started in 1846 by Fathers Alexandre-Antonin Taché and Louis-François Richer Laflèche (from St. Boniface) and, by 1860, was comprised of the church, a boarding school, and a convent that provided medical care.[28] While a record of the exact size of the mission is unavailable, a later report by inspector D.M. Howard (North-West Mounted Police) on his trip from Prince Albert to Fort McMurray in 1898 described Château Saint-Jean as "the largest mission in the Northwest district."[29] Despite such a strong position, the church was designed as a modestly sized rectangular building

with only an integrated west end spire and belfry attached to the top of the building to mark the structure as a church (fig. 4). The simplicity of this essentially vernacular church is indicative of how restrictive the challenges of the era were even with a strong position.

Holy Trinity mission faced many of the same challenges as the Île-à-la-Crosse mission, but was instead able to build a lavish church. Traditionally, one man, Reverend Robert Hunt, has been attributed with the design and construction of the church. While it is common and justified practice to trace the defining attributes of a structure designed by a well-known architect back to the architect's training and sources of inspiration, most early Saskatchewan churches are not well served by this method.[30] In Holy Trinity's case, there is no record of an architect attached to the project. The earliest official record remaining of who was responsible for the design is a 1918 federal survey report by Franklin Hugo Kitto, who attributed the church to the mission's Reverend Hunt and stated that the church was built by "a devoted English missionary at his own expense."[31] The basis for Kitto's statement (made some fifty years after Holy Trinity's construction) is unknown and cannot be corroborated by records from the church, as they were destroyed in a fire.[32] Nevertheless, the belief that Reverend Hunt (and his wife) were responsible for the construction of Holy Trinity became so entrenched that *The Beaver* later reported that the Hunts were "chiefly responsible for the building of the church and invested their personal savings in its erection."[33] There are several other sources that can be examined to determine if this attribution is correct. The first would be Hunt's personal journal. In an entry from April 10, 1854, Hunt mentions that he "studied the views and descriptions of more than fifty churches

FIG. 11. LITHOGRAPH BY J.C. DAHL (1837) OF URNES STAVE CHURCH, NORWAY, *C.* 1150. | [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Urnes_stave_church,_Dahl.jpg].

FIG. 12. CLOSE-UP OF GEOMETRIC STAMPED STAINED GLASS, HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, STANLEY MISSION (SK). | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

and chapels" and had submitted more than one design for the church. An earlier entry from July 25, 1853, counteracts this and states: "the Bishop settled the site, size and principal details of the intended church, wishing it to be executed nicely and to have a tower and spire [so] that it may be an object of attraction to the Indians who are awed by such things." A further entry from a year later mentions the efforts made in order to find a design that would "meet the Bishop's wishes as to size."[34] This attribution of the design to the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, David Anderson, by Hunt himself seems to be indicative that Hunt was not the only person responsible for the design.

The sparse surviving written documentation suggests two possible people responsible for the design of the church, Bishop Anderson and Reverend Hunt. Another source of information is the

church itself. The first feature of note is the aforementioned general massiveness of the church, which has no local precedent. While this was a common feature in many High Victorian churches, it was mostly the result of looking to loftier European (often French) Gothic structures for inspiration.[35] However, Anglicans tended to favour English examples and principles for their churches due to a perceived connection between the Gothic style and the "history of the English Church or nation."[36] As there were very few exemplars of large English "ancient" (Gothic) wooden churches in England, it is likely the church builder(s) looked to the publications of the CCS for acceptable alternatives. Beginning around the 1840s, discussion surrounding acceptable medieval models of wooden churches was frequent in the architectural publications of the day in response to requests from places like Newfoundland, where wood was the preferred material. The most

influential of these was an 1843 presentation by James Laird Patterson of lithographs from a translated version of Christian Dahl's work on Norwegian stave churches (1837) to the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, which stimulated the advocacy of wooden structures for places with harsh climates.[37] By 1848, an influential publication of *The Ecclesiologist*, written by William Scott and titled "On Wooden Churches," gave three lofty Norwegian stave churches (among others such as Nether Peover Church in Cheshire) as acceptable examples for wooden structures in places like Newfoundland and New Zealand (fig. 11). Certainly, the advocated steep pitch of the roof (for climates with snow), the small, high windows (to keep out extreme temperatures), and the non-cruciform plan were all incorporated into Holy Trinity's design.[38] Given the lack of easily available materials and the tendency of the Anglicans to closely follow

FIG. 13. NORTHWEST VIEW OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH SHOWING RED AND YELLOW PAINT REMNANTS, STANLEY MISSION (SK). | CHRISTINA BATEMAN, 1919, SB-581, SAB.

FIG. 14. CLOSE-UP IMAGE OF ALL SAINTS MARGARET STREET ANGLICAN CHURCH SHOWING CONSTRUCTIONAL POLYCHROMY LOZENGE AND ZIGZAG PATTERNS. | MALCOLM THURLBY.

Gothic models, the likelihood that the CCS's recommendation was considered is rather high. Therefore, the CCS was probably one of the contributors to the design of the church, albeit indirectly.

Another feature of the church that gives clues to the possible source of design elements is the imported material. Saskatchewan lacked metal smiths and glaziers during that period and could not have produced glazed level glass or stamped metal features. Holy Trinity, however, has highly decorated hinges, locks, latches, and window glass (fig. 12). All these materials were imported from England and arrived along with Hunt.[39] Given the importance placed on the ability of stained glass to add "a chastened and solemn effect to a church" by the Ecclesiologists, Hunt's efforts to obtain the glass are not surprising.[40] While the windows themselves are only simple lancet forms and the stained

glass contains only geometric and foliage patterns, features more common in the earlier Ecclesiological Gothic Revival phase, the general richness of the surviving stamped design in the glass shows a trend toward more lavish decorative features. It also shows that aspects of the design of the church (likely the size and number of windows at least) were predetermined in England to the extent that the glass and fixtures could be preordered. This level of expense likely means that outside funding was acquired for the construction of the church. Funds were generally hard for missions to acquire in Rupert's Land as the "growth of the Anglican Church in Canada was at first painfully slow."[41] Therefore, the mission itself would not have been able to support such lavish details without external support. While it is possible that Hunt personally contributed some funds, based on the interest of the Bishop in the project and their primary function

of overseeing missionary activity in the region, it is also likely that the CMS would have raised/contributed some of the funds.

Another key feature of Holy Trinity is the eclectic choice of design motifs. Typically, in structures designed by an architect, the motifs used will be taken from complementary eras/sources. Holy Trinity, however, blends some of the most up-to-date motifs with very outdated motifs. The most radical feature is the polychromy of the church. While the wooden structure is now painted white, it was originally painted red and yellow by mixing local pigments with fish oil (fig. 13).[42] This feature is reminiscent of the constructional polychromy that was first used in All Saints Margaret Street where permanent lozenge and zigzag patterns were given to the exterior of the structure through alternating red and black bricks (fig. 14). As Holy Trinity was constructed from wood, it did not have the option of creating patterns through the use of naturally coloured materials, but it tried to come as close as possible through painting. Holy Trinity was painted in 1861, only two years after the completion of All Saints Margaret Street. While All Saints Margaret Street was very well received and promoted by the Ecclesiologists, the fact that the remote fur trade church at Holy Trinity attempted to match itself to this latest trend is remarkable. Even in the Maritimes, where building in wood was a tradition, painted polychromy was not used until Christ Church in St. Stephen (1863-1864) (fig. 9). The adaptive use of this feature at Holy Trinity indicates that the builder(s) wanted to be as up to date as possible in terms of current architectural trends despite limitations. Furthermore, the use of polychromy shows that the mission was intended to be on par with the great English churches of the era.

Conversely, Holy Trinity also made use of some rather outdated motifs. Chief among these would be the belfry and spire, which more closely resemble eighteenth-century Gibsian era churches, based on classical designs, than any Gothic church (fig. 15). In particular, the lightness obtained by its delicate proportions as well as the use of Greek dentil range features are more in line with the classical motifs favoured by James Gibbs in his churches (such as St. Mary le Strand, London, 1713-1724). The use of a spire motif from a century earlier is unusual in a church that also used some of the most up-to-date motifs available. Another stylistic anomaly is the large two-storey three-light west tower window enclosed in one large arch (fig. 16). There is no known precedent for this feature, although giant order arches (that span two or more stories) occur in Roman and later Romanesque buildings. However, the use of this motif with abnormally tall Gothic ABA lancet windows is highly unusual. As it would be unlikely for this amalgamated type of feature to occur alongside cutting-edge design under a trained architect, it probably indicates that it was the result of an amateur taking several motifs from a pattern book (or a trades newspaper or journal with architectural drawings) and combining them into one feature. Publications such as *The Builder* (1843-1966) were common reference works for builders in remote locations without access to trained architects, as they allowed amateurs to integrate some of the latest (and in some cases more traditional/old fashioned) motifs into their buildings.[43] Generally, the use of cutting-edge, outdated, and unusual motifs alongside one another in Holy Trinity is indicative of the use of a pattern book as well as multiple contributors to the eclectic design. The design features of the church itself thus reinforce the notion that this remarkable church

FIG. 15. CLOSE-UP IMAGE OF THE SPIRE OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH SHOWING DELICATE FEATURES AND DENTAL RANGE. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 16. CLOSE-UP IMAGE OF THE WESTERN TOWER WINDOW OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

was the product of many different interests (namely, Reverend Hunt's, Bishop Anderson's, the CMS's, and the CCS's).

An analysis of the general features of the church suggests that the structure is anomalous. The reasons for this unusual nature cannot be fully gleaned from looking at the church on its own. Rather, an examination of the experience of other mission churches in the region is necessary to determine why the church was constructed in such a way. The major trading posts of the era were located along the Churchill River as it was "one of the great trade routes across the continent to the northwest."[44] The general state of success of Anglican missions was very poor in contrast to Roman Catholic missions at these major posts. The Anglicans were generally much slower at making forays into the region than the Roman Catholics because of their reluctance to forge forward without the support of the HBC.[45]

The HBC and the CMS, as major English institutions, commonly sought to triumph over their non-English rivals and formed a close relationship against rival groups (the Roman Catholics and rival trading companies) in Rupert's Land.[46] This close relationship had the potential to make both parties flourish in a harsh and competitive environment, but success relied on one or the other party being strong enough to counter fierce opposition.

At Île-à-la-Crosse, the Roman Catholic mission (established in 1846) completely outpaced the modest Anglican presence to the extent that some thirty years later there were still only nine Anglicans at the post.[47] The HBC had such difficulty establishing a post at Île-à-la-Crosse that they had abandoned their first post and had to return much later on. The lack of support from the HBC was made all the more difficult due to the attitude of the rival trading company toward missionaries. The leader

FIG. 17. WESTERN VIEW OF ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, QU'APPELLE (SK), 1885, WILLIAM HENDERSON, ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 18. SOUTHWESTERN VIEW OF ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, QU'APPELLE (SK). | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

of the rival NWC, Alexander Mackenzie, "eyed these 'missionaries' with distaste," believing that "nothing but trouble and pain would result from their intrusion into this unspoiled country" and that they would "ruin [his] Indians."[48] The Roman Catholics seemed to be able to weather this hostility (or ambivalence in the best situations) without much difficulty. The Anglicans by contrast were greatly hampered without support from a strongly established HBC. At Île-à-la-Crosse, the lack of support resulted in essentially little to no Anglican presence at this major trading post settlement, in contrast to the thriving Roman Catholic mission. Given the competitive history between these two denominations, the complete failure to establish a successful mission at such a prominent settlement no doubt spurred a heightened sense of rivalry and a desire to succeed. This increased sense of competition helps explain the motivation behind wanting to construct an impressive and

dominating structure like Holy Trinity Anglican Church.

Bishop Anderson, after all, mentioned his intention to create a church that "awed" people and would be "an object of attraction."[49] However, the desire to triumph was not sufficient to spur such a large expense without the hope of success. Optimism was a key component in the construction of Holy Trinity. Early success at the settlement by the HBC and two First Nations catechists (non-ordained religious teachers), James Settee and Henry Budd, led the CMS to believe that a mission would be "fruitful" and permission was granted to establish Holy Trinity mission in 1845.[50] However, as a higher degree of success had already been achieved at the other major trading post settlement in the region, Cumberland House, the choice of Holy Trinity for a major investment is curious. An Anglican mission was established at Cumberland House in 1839 (after a request

by HBC Governor Simpson).[51] The post at Cumberland House (HBC's first inland post) was very prominent.[52] Furthermore, the Roman Catholics did not have a mission at the post until much later (1870), after the Anglican mission was well established.[53] The result was a fairly well supported mission free of strong competition. The decision to invest heavily in Stanley Mission instead was the result of the hope that Stanley could become a permanent outpost and beacon of Anglican might.

This optimism was not without some merit as a combination of favourable factors set Stanley Mission apart as a potentially self-supporting, permanent Anglican base. One important factor was the efforts of the HBC post to support Anglican missionary activity. Reverend Hunt noted shortly after his arrival that the HBC post's leader, Samuel McKenzie, was "disposed to aid [their] efforts" and had engaged himself and his employees in taking "a

FIG. 19. SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE BUILDING, REGINA (SK), 1908-1912, EDWARD AND WILLIAM SUTHERLAND MAXWELL, ARCHITECTS. | DANIEL PAQUET [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saskatchewan_Legislative_Building.jpg].

leading part in [the] church work for many years."[54] The active support of HBC agents in Anglican missionary work would have created an optimistic environment for long-lasting missionary activity. Another factor was the perception that the land surrounding the mission was agriculturally rich. Hunt commented that the land was an anomaly in the region, where all other land was given over to "either water or rocks."[55] As missions were intended to be self-sustaining, this perceived fertility in the soil would have indicated that the mission had the potential to be long-lasting.[56] These favourable factors, along with an increased competitive spirit, the determination of Bishop Anderson, the support of the CMS, inspiration from the CCS, and the enthusiasm of Hunt, led to the design of the impressive and unparalleled Holy Trinity Church.

The legacy of this remarkable church would take half a century to come to fruition. Over these fifty years, northern Saskatchewan remained locked in a fur trade society, while the southern portion of the province moved on to the pioneer and eventually the boom periods. This was partly due to the actions of the HBC, who opposed an influx of agriculturally minded settlers into its fur trade territories, as they feared the settlers would disrupt the First Nations people and the animals they trapped. Perhaps more importantly though, the geography of the North was not well suited to agriculture and, therefore, was unsuitable for homesteading.[57] The focuses of the government, entrepreneurs, companies, and immigrants alike all shifted toward the central and southern regions of the province and Holy Trinity, by 1905, was left to languish and be used mainly for special occasions.[58]

During the pioneer period (1871-1905), church projects in the province failed

to challenge the prowess of Holy Trinity and instead were simple, modest, and used earlier design principles. St. Peter's Anglican Church in Qu'Appelle (1885) (figs. 17-18) is a good example of how the standard of high-level church design reached in Holy Trinity was not maintained, even in the best circumstances. Qu'Appelle was founded as part of a joint venture between the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), the Canada North-West Land Company, and the Dominion Government.[59] As such, it received support from the consortium and was able to secure a key position along the telegraph line connecting Prince Albert to Fort Pitt, as well as become a major distribution centre for freight, which in turn made the town a major jumping-off point for settlers.[60] As a town of some import, it was made the centre of the new Diocese of Qu'Appelle, and Bishop Adelbert Anson planned the construction of a prominent cathedral church complex that comprised St. John's Theological College.[61] The church received funds from the Bishop and abroad from The Qu'Appelle Association in England, which allowed them to commission a local architect, William Henderson, to design the structure and hire famous architect William Butterfield to design the plates and chalices.[62] In much the same way as Holy Trinity, St. Peter's was a uniquely important structure and the beneficiary of support from multiple fronts; however, unlike Holy Trinity, its design was simple. St. Peter's was constructed in the old-fashioned Ecclesiological Gothic style with a two-cell plan to divide the nave and chancel, a freestanding broach spire tower, and simple Y-shaped tracery lancet windows (apart from the larger western and eastern windows).[63] The only element that sets it apart from Holy Trinity in terms of design is the use of brick instead of wood. Brick was a rather lavish material during that period and

FIG. 20. WESTERN VIEW OF ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN/ UNITED CHURCH, MOOSE JAW (SK), 1912, JOHN H.G. RUSSELL, ARCHITECT. | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 21. CLOSE-UP OF THE WESTERN PORTAL AND WINDOW OF ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MOOSE JAW (SK). | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

FIG. 22. WESTERN VIEW OF HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN CHURCH, STANLEY MISSION (SK). | KRISTIE DUBÉ.

was rarely used (not even the newly constructed Government House in Battleford, 1876-1878, used brick). During the pioneer period, apart from the building material, even the most lavish structures (constructed some twenty-five years later) were generally simplistic in design and far removed from the majesty of Holy Trinity.

The true legacy of Holy Trinity can only be found in churches constructed during the boom period (1905-1913), some fifty years later. During that period, the Prairie region grew to unprecedented levels and became the perceived "centre of gravity for all Canada."[64] New settlements were created at a rapid rate and pre-established towns quickly burgeoned.[65] "Booster" businessmen united to bolster the chances of their town or city becoming successful.[66] The ensuing high levels of optimism and competition resulted in the construction of churches that used many of the features of Holy Trinity. One feature of Holy Trinity was that its large size and elaborate design were greatly inconsistent with the size of the congregation. Perhaps no church exemplifies how this feature was taken up once more in the boom period better
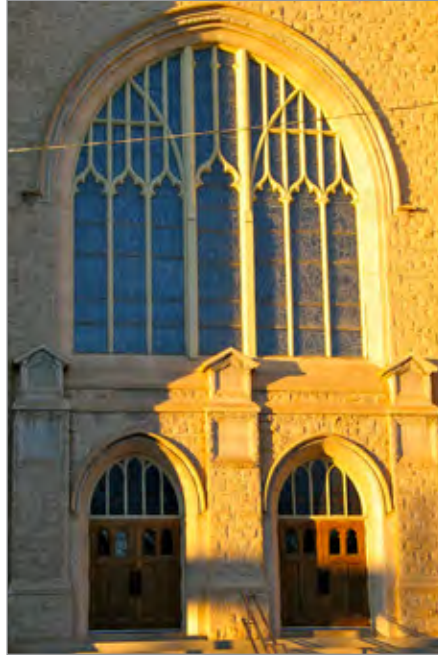
than the planned Anglican cathedral in Regina. In 1911, plans were begun for a fifteen-acre cathedral and college complex, which was to feature a "monumental" Collegiate Gothic style church that would rival the scale of the Saskatchewan Legislative Building (1908-1912) (fig. 19).[67] The plans were so ambitious that the cathedral was never able to make it past the planning stage and Bishop Malcolm Harding vowed that the diocese would never again be "diverted by any other [such] scheme."[68] The most ambitious church actually constructed is St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Moose Jaw (1912) (figs. 20-21). The one-thousand-four-hundred-seat church was constructed well beyond the means and needs of the congregation of nine hundred and nine members. The Late Gothic Revival Tyndall limestone church was constructed to such a level of lavishness that the debt for the construction was

not discharged until 1944.[69] The design uses the great church motif of a double tower west front with twin portals and a seven-light trefoil large window. Other decorative features such as buttresses topped by gables, crocket pinnacles, and carved hood mouldings further add to the extravagancy of the structure. The lavish size and design of the structure are indicative of both the competitive drive to outdo competitors and a high level of optimism for the future of the congregation and the town, in much the same way as Holy Trinity was an expression of the desire to have Stanley Mission become a permanent beacon of might for the Anglicans. Ultimately, Holy Trinity's legacy was the optimism and competitive drive that became an integral component of later Prairie society. It stands as a monument to this Prairie spirit, all but forgotten except for the few who recognize it for the treasure it is (fig. 22).

NOTES

1. Some of the research for this article was made possible by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through their Canada Graduate Scholarships Program. The research was completed as part of the requirement for the M.A. in history at the University of Regina under the guidance of William J. Brennan and Allison Fizzard. I am also greatly indebted to the guidance and generosity of Malcolm Thurlby, who made the pilgrimage with me to this remote structure and whose wealth of knowledge I have been privileged to access.

2. Rich, E.E., 1958, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company: 1670-1870*, vol. 1, London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, p. 53.

3. Hunt, Rev. Robert, July 25, 1950, Letter to CMS secretaries, Biography Hunt, Clippings File, Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), p. 4-5.

4. Fay, Terence J., 2002, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 163; "The Church of England in the Canadian Northwest," January 2, 1904, *The Telegram*, R 20 II 20, SAB; Coutts, Robert, 1991, "Anglican Missionaries as Agents of Acculturation: The Church Missionary Society at St. Andrew's, Red River, 1830-1870," in Barry Ferguson (ed.), *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970*, Regina, University of Regina Canadian Plains Research Center, p. 52-55.

5. Choquette, Robert, 1995, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, p. 2, 18, 21-22. The Oblates were first organized in France and later transplanted to French Canada after the rebellions of 1837-1838. They were aggressive, ultramontane, and determined to convert the First Nations peoples.

6. Coutts : 52-55.

7. *Id.* : 55.

8. Saskatchewan Parks and Renewable Resources, 1985, "Holy Trinity Stanley Mission," Stanley Mission Church Restored, E2924, SAB.

9. Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation, spring 1984, "Stanley Mission Church: An Example of Ongoing Preservation," *Liason*, Stanley Mission Church Restored, E2924, SAB, p. 10.

10. Longpré, Robert, 1977, *Île-à-la-Crosse 1776-1976: Saskitawak Bi-centennial*, Île-à-la-Crosse: The Île-à-la-Crosse Bi-centennial Committee, Île-à-la-Crosse, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB, p. 2. The exact size is unknown as the only surviving evidence is a drawing of the church.

11. McKay, Virginia, Jean Carriere, Pierre Dorion, and Marie Deschambeault, 1974, *A History of Cumberland House . . . as Told by its own Citizens, 1774 to 1974*, Prince Albert, The Bi-centennial Committee of Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, p. 10.

12. Coffman, Peter, 2008, *Newfoundland Gothic*, Québec, MultiMondes, p. 100, 102; Coffman, Peter, 2006, "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 1, p. 3-22. It should be noted that the church then consisted of only the nave; the transepts, chancel, and sanctuary were added later (from 1880 to 1885).

13. Street, George Edmund, 1850, "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 11, London, Joseph Masters, Aldersgate Street, p. 228, 231.

14. "Hay, William (1818-1888)," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950*, [http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1510], accessed September 2013. See Henry Langley's St. George's Anglican Church in Guelph, Ontario, 1871-1873, and Trinity Anglican Church in Cornwall, Ontario, 1869-1875, for examples of aisled churches.

15. Kalman, Harold, 2000, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture*, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 255.

16. Howard, [Inspector] D.M., 1899, *Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police*, *1898*, Canada Sessional Papers, vol. 13, no. 12, p. 104.

17. Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic* : 113, 66. There were two main building materials, wood and stone, but the majority of the stone being too expensive to extract, wood became the building material of choice.

18. Brosseau, Mathilde, 1980, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, Ottawa, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, p. 33.

19. Dixon, Roger and Stefan Muthesius, 1978, *Victorian Architecture*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 20-21.

20. Pevsner, Nikolaus, 1963 [7th ed.], *An Outline of European Architecture*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, p. 350.

21. See Pugin, A.W.N., 1841, *Contrasts: A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day*, London, Charles Dolman.

22. Crook, J. Mordaunt, 1987, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, p. 63; Iron, Candace, 2006, "Why such an Odd Plan? Milton Earl Beebe's St. Thomas Anglican Church, St. Catherine's, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 12; Bremner, G.A., 2013, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c. 1840-1870*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

23. Kalman : 208. See Scrip United Church in the Rural Municipality of Ponass Lake no. 367, Saskatchewan (1933), or Central Lutheran Church in Moose Jaw (1929-1957) for evidence of the province's late use of the Gothic Revival style.

24. See Ruskin, John, 1851, *The Stones of Venice*, vols. 1-3, Harvard, Smith, Elder and Company.

25. Street : 227.

26. Dixon and Muthesius : 205-206; Kalman : 255.

27. Longpré : 24-25, 2, 6; McLennan, David, 2008, *Our Towns: Saskatchewan Communities from Abbey Park to Zenon Park*, Regina, University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, p. 175. The post was established in 1776 by two independent Montreal-based traders, Joseph Frobisher and Alexander Henry, but was taken over by the NWC in 1785.

28. Longpré : 24-25.

29. Howard : 104.

30. This approach has been used by architectural historians such as Malcolm Thurlby, Paul Atterbury, Clive Wainwright, Chris Brooks, Angela Carr, Harold Kalman, and many others, to properly attribute the sources of inspiration for numerous eastern Canadian structures.

31. Kitto, Franklin Hugo, 1919, "Athabaska to the Bay," Report of a reconnaissance expedition in 1918, Ottawa, Department of the Interior, p. 21, reproduced in a letter from Allan R. Turner, acting assistant archivist at the Saskatoon branch of the Saskatchewan Archives, to J.D. Herbert, director of Historic Sites, on March 22, 1954, Stanley Mission, January 28, 1955, R190.2, 1.134, SAB.

32. Kirk, Doras C., December 1950, "Church of the Pioneers," *The Beaver*, Stanley Mission, Local Histories, SAB, p. 52. Most early records pertaining to the construction of the church were destroyed in a fire.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Hunt, Rev. Robert, July 25, 1853, and April 10, 1854, Journal, obtained through his great granddaughter Margaret Wynne, personal collection, courtesy of Malcolm Thurlby.

35. Kalman : 233, 487; Brosseau : 20-21; Muthesius, Stefan, 1972, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870*, Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 53.

36. Coffman : 7. The close connection between Gothic styles and the English religious identity was common except in the early phase of the Gothic Revival style.

37. Millard, James E., 1845, "On the Style of Architecture To Be Adopted in Colonial Churches," *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture*, Oxford, Oxford University, p. 15-16.

38. Scott, William, 1848, "On Wooden Churches," *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 9, London, Joseph Masters, Aldersgate Street, p. 23, 20, 26, 18; Thurlby, Malcolm, 2010, "St. Paul's Anglican Church, Middleport, and Wooden Ecclesiology," [http://www.raisethehammer.org/article/1161/st_pauls_anglican_church_middleport_and_wooden_ecclesiology], accessed September 2013.

39. Korvemaker, E. Frank, 1982, *Holy Trinity Anglican Church: Stanley Mission*, R82-520, RE 1328, Holy Trinity Anglican Church Stanley Mission, SAB, p. 28.

40. Cambridge Camden Society, 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 26, no. 54, reproduced in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, *Temples. Worthy of His Presence: The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books, p. 158.

41. MacVean, W.C., 1954, "The Anglican Church in History," in Michael Qu'Appelle (ed.), *An Anglican Handbook for use in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle*, Regina, Bishop's Court, R20 IV 18, SAB, p. 7.

42. Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation : 10; Korvemaker : 31. The paint was applied in 1861 and remained until 1920, when a new layer of wooden siding was added and the church repainted a bluish grey.

43. Magrill, Barry, 2008, "An Architecture of the Printed Page: "Canada's Consumption of Pattern Books and Journals in Late Nineteenth-century Church-building," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 33, no. 2, p. 33, 37.

44. Holmes, C. Headley, "The Anglican Mission at Stanley and Lac La Ronge," Stanley Mission, SHS 208, SAB.

45. Fay : 163; "The Church of England...," *The Telegram*, *op. cit.*; Carrington, Philip, 1963, *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History*, Toronto, Collins, p. 98-99.

46. Coutts : 55.

47. Longpré : 24-25; McLennan : 175; MacKay, John Alexander, February 4, 1871, Journal, Diary 1870-1884, V. Mackay Papers, Innes Papers, SAB, p. 1.

48. Longpré : 24.

49. Hunt, July 25, 1853, Journal.

50. Buck, Ruth Matheson, 1973, "Stanley Mission," Stanley Mission, Local Histories, SAB, p. 25; Korvemaker : 3; Holmes, *op. cit.*

51. McKay *et al.* : 8.

52. Richards, Mary Helen, 1974, "Cumberland House: Two Hundred Years of History," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 27, no. 3, p. 108; Coutts : 55.

53. McKay *et al.* : 8, 10.

54. Hunt, Letter: 2; Matheson, Rev. Canon E.K., August 29, 1917, "The Work of the Church of England Among English-speaking Settlers in the Diocese of Saskatchewan in the Earlier Years of the Diocese," presentation at the meeting of the Rural Deanery of Battleford held in Meota, R 20 II 12, SAB, p. 3.

55. Hunt, Letter : 2.

56. Korvemaker : 6.

57. Nicholson, Norman L., 1979, *The Boundaries of Canadian Confederation*, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, p. 210, 219, 116.

58. Thompson, John Herd, 1998, *Forging the Prairie West: The Illustrated History of Canada*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 54; Titley, Brian, 1999, *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, p. 83-84; Korvemaker : 15.

59. Brennan, J. William, 1981, "Business-Government Co-operation in Townsite Promotion in Regina and Moose Jaw, 1882-1903," in Alan F.J. Artibise (ed.), *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, Regina, University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, p. 102, 104.

60. Foran, Max, 1984, "The CPR and the Urban West, 1881-1930," in Hugh A. Dempsey (ed.), *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation*, Toronto, Douglas & McIntyre, p. 94, 96, 99, 103; Amas, Frank, *c.* 1919, "Pioneer Days in Qu'Appelle," Qu'Appelle, R80-559, R-E698, SAB, p. 1; Wait, W.L. [Qu'Appelle station agent at the end of the nineteenth century], *Memoirs*, in Bruce Farrer, Eileen Herman, Larry McCullough, Jean Kurbis, and Melnie Beattie, 1980, *Qu'Appelle Footprints to Progress: A History of Qu'Appelle and District*, Qu'Appelle, Qu'Appelle Historical Society, p. 233.

61. Farrer *et al.* : 146.

62. Amas, Frank, *c.* 1927, "The History of Qu'Appelle, N.W.T," Qu'Appelle, R80-559, R-E698, SAB, p. 3; summer 2007, "Saint Peter's Anglican Church: Qu'Appelle Saskatchewan," Church Pamphlet; see also: *c.* 1838-1892, "Inventory of the William Butterfield Architectural and Design Drawings," Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Designed Ecclesiastical Objects, box 4, folder 1, [http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt2v19r584;style=oac4;view=dsc], accessed September 2013.

63. Hildebrandt, Walter, 1982, "Public Buildings in Battleford, 1876-1878," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 17.

64. Hall, David John, 1985, *Clifford Sifton: A Lonely Eminence*, vol. 2, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, p. 63; Friesen, Gerald, 1984, *The Canadian Prairies*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 381, 342. Between 1895 and 1901, the number of immigrants tripled and then tripled again from 1901 to 1905.

65. 1902, *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901*, Ottawa; 1907, *Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, 1906*, Ottawa; 1912, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, Ottawa.

66. Rees, R., 1974, "The 'Magic City on the Banks of the Saskatchewan': The Saskatoon Real Estate Boom 1910-1913," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 27, no. 2, p. 52-53.

67. Mawson, Thomas H., *c.* 1912-1913, *Regina: A Preliminary Report on the Development of the City*, City of Regina Pamphlets and Clippings, 24 n, R-962, SAB, p. 5; June 24, 1911, "Beautiful Parks are Planned by Provincial Government," *The Morning Leader*, vol. 8, no. 149, p. 1; Brennan, J. William, 1994, "Visions of a 'City Beautiful': The Origin and Impact of the Mawson Plans for Regina," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 46, no. 2, p. 23, 24, 27; Doull, Ian, September 1999, "Wascana Park and Legislative Precinct, Regina, Saskatchewan," Submission Report, Historic Sites and Monuments Board, Records of the Heritage Branch of Tourism, Parks, Culture and Sport, p. 16, 20.

68. Summer 1914, *Occasional Paper*, no. 115, R. 2.180, SAB, p. 8.

69. *75th Anniversary: St. Andrew's Church*, 1958, SA676 XIX, SAB, p. 7; 1914, *Dedication Services, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Moose Jaw, Sask., March 29-April 12, 1914*, Church Pamphlet, Moose Jaw, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB, p. 2.