A REASSESSMENT OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF ELIZABETH COTTAGE, KINGSTON, ONTARIO

This article is a reassessment of the published architectural history of Elizabeth Cottage, perhaps the earliest Gothic Revival house in the Kingston area—making a close examination of its building date of particular importance. Because this date is established here as five years later than customarily accepted, the changing social and historical setting must be considered in light of the earlier date of 1841, occurring during Kingston’s reign as the capital of the United Province of Upper Canada and Lower Canada from 1841 to 1844, when a large number of buildings were under construction. In general, the depression following Kingston’s abandonment as the capital meant that building activities significantly declined with vacancies available in existing housing stock because of the exodus of government officials and their support workers. Why then did architect Edward Horsey build this attractive and stylistically innovative house in 1846 during this depression? What were his sources for this relatively novel style?

In 1839, Edward Horsey, a thirty-year-old carpenter and builder, sold his property in Kingston and with family set sail for Devonshire, England, where he had begun his career as a builder. Only seven years earlier, with high hopes for a better life in the New World, the family had left London, England, for Kingston. Although it was later claimed that Horsey prospered as a builder in Kingston in the 1830s, his name appears only infrequently in the newspaper accounts of architectural projects. His career may have suffered due to a downturn in the building industry following the departure of the capital.
to the success of fellow builder-architect William Coverdale who had arrived in Kingston at about the same time, but who acquired the plum job of architect at the Provincial Penitentiary, as well as working on lucrative private commissions.4

In the spring of 1841, the Horsey family was re-established in Kingston.5 They no doubt had heard that Kingston was chosen capital of Upper Canada and Lower Canada.6 It was also later hinted that there was trouble in England: Horsey was lured back to the colony “having enjoyed the freedom and blessings of a Canadian life.”7 It was a wise decision because there was a building frenzy during the capital period, and the services of craftsmen and designers were in high demand. In fact, Horsey then described himself as architect and civil engineer.8 At that time there were no formal qualifications required to be an architect. An architect had to be able to create designs expressed as architectural drawings: Kingston craftsmen William Coverdale and Joseph Scobell also declared themselves architects.

Horsey threw himself into land development (fig. 1). On “the best part of Brock Street” in the summer of 1841, he built a large stone double house, now known as 247-249 Brock Street (fig. 2).9 He had the backing of an influential and wealthy entrepreneur and land owner, John Watkins, who arranged to have Horsey build and manage eighteen frame cottages facing Clergy Street between Princess and Brock Streets.10 That row of rough-cast cottages suffered a fire in 1862 and left about thirteen working-class families, mostly of Afro-American descent, homeless.11

**DATING ISSUES**

As early as 1963, attention was drawn to Elizabeth Cottage due to its inclusion in MacRae and Adamson’s *The Ancestral Roof*, a landmark book on Ontario architecture.12 In 1966, Alan Gowans, in *Building Canada*, called it an example of Pugin-esque Gothic domestic architecture.13 In 1994, Harold Kalman, in *A History of Canadian Architecture*, gave the building date as 1841-1843, describing it as an “Ontario cottage with aggressive Gothic detailing.” He credited Margaret Angus’s *The Old Stones of Kingston* of 1966 for the historical details.14 She may have interpreted the “unfinished house” in the city tax assessments as referring to Elizabeth Cottage, but we know that it was Horsey’s 247-249 Brock Street, which was ready for tenants in the spring of 1843.15 Angus noted the influence of the Horsey home in Sherborne on its design.16 In 1999, I re-examined the tax records and established that Elizabeth Cottage was not built until 1846.17 This may seem like splitting hairs, as the difference is only five years, but the social and economic situation for Kingston in 1841 and in 1846 was radically different. For the earlier year, it was a time of great optimism as Kingston was the capital, as previously noted. Horsey’s frenzied building activity at that time is an example of what was happening throughout the town. In fact, seasoned building materials became hard to acquire.18 Contrast that with the situation in 1846, soon after the Seat of Government had moved in early 1844 to Montreal, leaving Kingstonians with the burden of their improvements and in great shock.19

**WHY BUILD IN A TIME OF DEPRESSION?**

In the early autumn 1846, Edward Horsey was appointed architect of Kingston Penitentiary. He replaced William Coverdale who was forced into resigning because his annual salary of two hundred
pounds was suddenly cut in half. Coverdale had served loyally as penitentiary architect since 1834, but seems to have fallen victim to intrigue. The warden, Henry Smith, was accused of engineering the cut to Coverdale’s salary on behalf of his son Henry Smith Junior who had bought a house from Horsey in 1839. Supposedly, Jane Horsey’s dower on the property had not been settled, but would be forgiven if her husband acquired the post of penitentiary architect. Furthermore, as soon as Horsey was in the position, the salary was reinstated to two hundred pounds. However, during an official investigation, this plot was discounted. Horsey remained as penitentiary architect until his death in 1869.

It can, therefore, be argued that Horsey gained in 1846 an important long-term government position that exposed him to public scrutiny, particularly because of the concurrent problems in governing the penitentiary. The timing was propitious for a new residence in a boldly contemporary style.

**STYLE CONSIDERATIONS**

To that point, residential architecture in Kingston was dominated by variations on the classical style typified by 247-249 Brock Street. The houses were box-like in overall form with dominant roofs forming a gabled or hipped arrangement. End walls might project slightly beyond the plane of the roof to form parapets, supported near the front walls by carved console stones and sprouting massive chimneys at the peak of the roof. The window openings, sheltered by shutters, were rectangular and usually featured twelve panes of glass. A shallow ellipse arch might span an opening for a carriage-way (later filled in at 247-249 Brock Street). The overall impression was conventional with an emphasis on regularity of design.

Bellevue House of circa 1843, attributed here to architect George Browne, was an important exception, in that it was a Tuscan villa with pronounced wooden detailing contrasting with its rough-cast walls (fig. 3). The centre of the complex design pivoted on a tall campanile or tower with romantic balconies, tall casement windows, and bay windows. The box-like shape has been discarded here in favour of forms showing a more picturesque complexity. The appeal of nature has been considered when siting the villa. In choosing the Gothic Revival style for Elizabeth Cottage (figs. 4-5)—his own house—Horsey was making his statement about being a fashionable architect, much like Browne and Coverdale had done earlier for houses of important clients. This may be the first use of Gothic Revival for houses in the Kingston area, but hardly the last: Allen Cottage (demolished) of 1848 on Wolfe Island by William Coverdale, McIntosh Castle of 1852 by John Power, the Superintendent’s Lodge of 1853 at Cataraqui Cemetery by James Stewart, and 102 Centre Street of 1855 by William Coverdale. However, it is Elizabeth Cottage that has the lightest touch of whimsical decoration, which makes it particularly visually appealing, especially in contrast with the scored rough-cast surface of the brick walls. If Horsey was the earliest local designer in this medieval style, where did he get his ideas?

**SOURCES FOR THE DESIGN OF ELIZABETH COTTAGE**

One answer was proposed in a newspaper article of 1955: “[Horsey] modelled [Elizabeth Cottage] on his own home at Sherborne [Dorset, England], a Gothic manor house; its chandeliers replicas from Westminster Abbey, it was a model of sixteenth-century architecture.” We should note that, at the time of the article, there were no direct sources for this information, as the last of Edward Horsey’s children had been dead for twenty-six...
One suspects an element of wishful thinking that emphasized the status of the Horseys in England. Sherborne was not mentioned in sources close to the time of Edward and Jane Horsey, when Devonshire was given as their home, and carpentry as his trade in England. Elizabeth Cottage lacks the scale and forms of a true medieval manor house: it rather conforms to the appearance of contemporary North American revival houses.

One of the important American designers of houses in the Gothic Revival picturesque style was Alexander J. Davis, whose work was admired and published by landscape architect and author Andrew J. Downing. The latter’s Cottage Residences of 1842 and The Architecture of Country Houses of 1850 were very popular and included house designs in Gothic Revival. The 1850 book, of course, was too late to have influenced Horsey, but shows that Elizabeth Cottage was au courant in style. In the earlier book, one design shows “a cottage in the pointed or Tudor style” (fig. 6) with the central front bay projecting outward and topped by a parapet consisting of a gable that expands laterally at its base, much like Elizabeth Cottage (in the original section). In the upper portion of the front bay of Downing example, there is an ornate projecting window and balcony that corresponds to Elizabeth Cottage’s oriel window. A similar window and balcony was on the end wall of the back wing of Elizabeth Cottage before it was enlarged in 1883-1884. A large three-sided bay window illuminates the parlour of Downing’s cottage, as is also found on Elizabeth Cottage, and there are also similar hood mouldings over the other windows and main doorway. The Kingston building sports a simplified version of the verge boards and finial of Downing’s Design II (“a cottage in the English or rural Gothic style”) (figs. 7-9). One of the advanced features of Horsey’s design is the L plan (fig. 10)—although nascent in form—which later became commonplace, but was only being introduced in America by architects such as A.J. Davis in the 1840s. It is seen in Downing’s book—this dynamic opposition of major parts of the house challenged the traditional box-shape of Kingston houses.

Elizabeth Cottage would have been characterized as Tudor because of the perpendicular nature of its window tracery. More generically Gothic Revival are the pointed arches, crenellations, hood mouldings, finials, verge boards, and oriel window. But in a broader sense, the house is part of the Romantic and Picturesque movements, one manifestation being Gothic Revival. The Romantic and Picturesque seemed easier to express in housing than in more formal public buildings. When George Browne turned from Bellevue House to creating a city hall for Kingston,
and Edward Horsey to creating a court house and jail for Frontenac County, they selected severely symmetrical designs in the classical style.

After the row of old frame cottages disappeared, Horsey added elements (many removed in 1883) to enhance his house and maximize the corner site (see fig. 4). A large stable with a decorative cornice and a gable decorated by an oculus was built along Clergy Street. A high fence ran between the stable and the corner of the main house. Along Clergy Street, Horsey placed another lower stone wall that terminated in the stone pier that survives today. The pier had a cap with gables on each face, and a spear-like recessed shape on the shaft (see fig. 16). A low stone fence topped by an unusual cut-out (of wood or iron) design of acute triangles was immediately beside the sidewalk along Brock Street. Behind this and running from the corner of the house’s main entrance to the Clergy Street stone wall was a solid fence with buttresses that could be seen from Brock Street. Thus the potential for the grounds to have been landscaped in a picturesque manner was compromised by the multitude of fences giving the scene an urban rather than suburban or rural appearance.

**LATER YEARS LEADING TO THE 1883 ADDITION**

It was not until 1851 that Edward Horsey finally purchased the land from John Watkins for the very high sum of £900. To finance the transaction, Edward and Jane Horsey had to mortgage 247-249 Brock Street. At that time Edward and Jane were in their forties with children still living at home. Their eldest son Henry, aged twenty-one, was in Toronto having apprenticed as an architect and a land surveyor with John George Howard. Around that time, Horsey’s architectural office is noted in a separate entry in the tax assessments and there is confirmation that the family occupied the cottage (as opposed to living in the stone double house):

> To Let. Those two cut stone three storey house [sic] [247-249 Brock Street], together with stone coach house, stabling, etc., pleasantly situated on Brock Street, having a commanding view of the Lake; one of which is at present occupied by staff surgeon Dowse. Apply to the subscriber at the adjoining cottage, Edwd. Horsey, Kingston, Oct. 2, 1854 (Daily British Whig).

That was a good time for Horsey’s career: he had a regular salary as architect at the penitentiary and had won the 1855 competition (with his son Henry) for the county courthouse and jail. He was also architect of the Napanee town hall and market house and, in the late 1850s, the township hall on Wolfe Island. Elizabeth Cottage remained in his hands until the spring of 1867, when he sold it to his son-in-law, Dr. Fife Fowler.

In 1870, Edward’s oldest son Henry Hodge Horsey, aged forty, was living in Elizabeth Cottage with his family. Horsey had been the city engineer for Kingston but, after his marriage in 1863, had moved to Ottawa, where he formed the architectural firm of Horsey & Sheard (1864-1884). Among their projects were the Ottawa city hall and Ottawa jail. The Henry Horsey family moved back and forth to Ottawa and Kingston during the next decades.

In 1883, Fowler hired architect William Newlands (1853-1926) to convert the cottage into a double house for rental purposes (figs. 11-12).

Newlands’s addition to Elizabeth Cottage appears different than Horsey’s original—as the later detailing seems heavier (fig. 13). Yet Newlands was sensitive to
the original design. Although working in the mid 1880s, he turned to a publication of the early 1850s for ideas and thus narrowed the distance in time from Horsey’s work of 1846. Samuel Sloan (1815-1884), an American author and architect, published a very popular work, The Model Architect, in Philadelphia in 1852. A design for “An Old English Cottage” has a projecting wall topped by a gable with verge boards and finials and in the upper portion of the wall a pair of pointed-arch narrow windows below a common hood moulding (fig. 14). Projecting from the lower storey is a bay window. A pointed arch doorway is located nearby on the main wall of the house, the cornice of which is interrupted by a window in a gable. The verge board on the Newlands section closest to Clergy Street echoes the Sloan design. In another design for “An Ornamented Cottage with a Gothic Front,” the bay window has pointed arches and a cornice topped with crenellations in a manner similar to Elizabeth Cottage (fig. 15, compare with fig. 12). Newlands re-used the motif of an oculus with its multitude of cusps from the old stable. He installed a handsome cast-iron fence along Clergy Street and, at some point, the Brock Street fences were demolished, except for the stone pier of the early 1860s on the corner of Clergy Street (figs. 4 and 16).

The Elizabeth Cottage property was transferred from Fife Fowler to his wife Elizabeth and then to their daughters. The last surviving daughter, Louisa, left it in 1954-1955 as a retirement home for “Protestant ladies,” named in honour of her mother. It still serves as a retirement home for women, regardless of religious affiliation.

**IN SUMMARY**

In summary, Elizabeth Cottage was built in 1846 as a home and office by architect-owner Edward Horsey and enlarged into a double house for rental income for Horsey’s son-in-law in 1883-1884 by architect William Newlands. Both architects were inspired by designs in American pattern books of the 1840s and 1850s. It is in the spirit of the New York country houses of nineteenth-century architect A.J. Davis (1803-1892) in Ariadne’s project for the Pierrepont House, Garrison (NY), 1841, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University (1940.001.00642).
shortly followed by other examples. It adds greatly to our knowledge of Edward Horsey’s œuvre, whose career is only now being closely examined (fig. 18).

The contribution of Elizabeth Cottage to Canadian architecture was acknowledged on October 15, 1999, when it became a National Historic Site.37

NOTES

1. Kingston Chronicle & Gazette, July 1, 1840 (notice of Smith moving into Horsey’s house). Report on Smith buying the house in 1839, Journals of the Legislative Assembly (Toronto, 1849), appendix BBBB. Horsey’s obituary, Daily British Whig, Kingston, April 3, 1869. The house was built in 1836 in front of his new workshop, British Whig, Kingston, August 11, 1836.

2. Horsey’s obituary (see note 1) gives the emigration date as 1831, but his gravestone in section L, Catarachi Cemetery, records it as 1832. The census of 1851 gives the place of birth for the children. Mary J. was born March 14, 1832 in England (and died in 1918).

3. Horsey obituary (see note 1).


5. Thomas was born February 17, 1840 (Kingston Chronicle & Gazette, February 19, 1840) but died in 1841 on the ship Quebec during the family’s passage to Kingston (ship passenger list, May 17, 1841). The sale of a library of architectural books “by a gentleman of the profession about to return to England,” advertised May 14, 1840 (Chronicle & Gazette), is often taken to refer to Horsey but, according to his obituary, he may have already left for England.

6. The selection of Kingston as the capital was discussed well ahead of the actual event, for example, Ann Macaulay to Helen Macaulay, September 7, 1840, Macaulay Papers, Archives of Ontario.

7. Horsey obituary (see note 1).

8. Id.

9. Instrument A91, Registry Office, Frontenac County (microfilm, Queen’s University Archives). Rental notice British Whig, May 2, 1843.

10. The cottages were occupied and taxed in 1842 (reflecting 1841).

11. My thanks to Rick Neilson for providing the information on the fate of the cottages, Kingston Daily News, October 30, 1862. In a story in the British Whig, March 7, 1864, speculation was voiced about the possibility of Horsey rebuilding the cottages, but this does not appear to have happened. The site is empty on the 1865 Innes map.


13. Gowans, Alan, 1966, Building Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, ill. 124. A.W.N. Pugin probably would not have found Elizabeth Cottage to be a very convincing piece of Gothic.


15. This is usually the basis in secondary sources of attributing the building date of 1841-1843 to Elizabeth Cottage and thus placing its construction during the capital era.


17. I researched Elizabeth Cottage’s architectural history in preparation for Parks Canada installing an interpretative plaque as part of the procedure declaring it a National Historic Site. Tax assessments usually reflect the previous year’s situation, and Horsey would not have to pay full taxes until he was able to acquire tenants. (Also there is no assessment otherwise of the double house.) In 1847 or 1848 (the tax ledgers are mixed up for these years), Horsey was assessed for $50 each for two tenants (presumably for the double stone house), $25 for himself, and about $12 for each of the cottages. This adds up to more than the total of $125 he was assessed in 1846 (this particular entry lumped together all of Horsey’s assessed properties). It is apparent that the $25 refers to the cottage, as one continues to track it into the years when we know for certain that Elizabeth Cottage exists. (It is on maps of circa 1848 and 1850.) By 1849, for example, there are nine persons living on the property, and this corresponds to the Horsey family, who had seven surviving children by then.


20. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, appendix BBBB.


22. For a discussion and illustrations of houses of the 1830s, 1840s, and early 1850s, see McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, With Our Past before Us: 19th-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 40-51.

23. Gothic Revival appeared in church architecture in the Kingston area as early as 1843: St. Mary’s Cathedral of 1843 on Johnson Street by Pierre-Louis Morin, St. Mark’s Church of 1843 in Barriefield Village by Alfred Brunel, and St. James of 1844 on Union Street by William Coverdale. (See McKendry, 1995: 68-76.)

24. I have attributed 102 Centre Street to William Coverdale (usually given to John Grist) based on his correspondence with the owner, Alexander Campbell, in 1855 and its strong...
resemblance to St. John’s Rectory, 162 Mowat Avenue, of 1855, which is firmly documented to Coverdale (McKendry, Jennifer, 2010, “Illustrated Chronology of 102 Centre Street,” unpublished report, City of Kingston).


26. The article goes on to say that “the first Horsey belonged to a distinguished family in England, which had its own chapel in Sherborne Abbey.” A quotation from Senator Herbert Horsey is given to support this, although he had been dead for thirteen years at the time the article was written (1871-1942, son of Henry H. and Amey Ann Horsey). MacRae and Adamson (p. 162-165) repeat the Sherborne story with the variation that the cottage design has been influenced by the abbey in Sherborne.

27. Early stories about other families or family members point to Edward Horsey’s connection with Devonshire (however, his father, Ralph, was born in Ilminster, Somerset). In a biography on R.M. Horsey (born 1828), son of John Horsey, it was noted that John Horsey’s family lived in Colyton, about twenty miles east of Exeter (British Whig Special Number, December 1886), and that Edward Horsey, “architect of the Kingston Penitentiary,” also came from Colyton, “an old but romantic town of about 1000 inhabitants.” This seems to be a reliable source, because R.M. Horsey was still alive to provide the information. John was a cousin of Edward. My thanks to Gloria Horsey and Susan Horsey Dees for sharing family history. The most convincing evidence of Edward’s birthplace is in his son Henry’s 1911 obituary stating that his parents “were born in Devonshire” (Journal of the Association of Ontario Land Surveyors, 84).

28. Downing illustrated a “villa in the pointed style” (Design XXXI of the Architecture of Country Houses) in 1850 that reminds one of Elizabeth Cottage because of the finials and an oriel window in the upper part of the parapet front bay. It was a project by A.J. Davis for the Pierrepoint House, Garrison, New York, in 1841, and may have circulated as an engraving previous to its inclusion in Downing’s book.


30. The Tudor dynasty included the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but the title “Elizabeth Cottage” does not refer to style but to Edward and Jane Horsey’s daughter Elizabeth (1834-1915), who married Dr. Fife Fowler (circa 1828-1903). Their daughter, Louisa Anderson Fowler (died 1954), named the family home “Elizabeth Cottage” after her mother in 1954 and left it as a retirement home.

31. Census of 1851.

32. Photocopy of H.H. Horsey’s biography from Association of Land Surveyors, 1911, p. 84-85.

33. Horsey’s death on March 27, 1869 took place at his “residence, Alwington Ave. [Kingston],” with the funeral at St. James Church and the burial at Cataraqui Cemetery (section L). The controversy over Coverdale losing his position as penitentiary architect in favour of Horsey in 1846 was explored again in the newspapers. Dr. Fife Fowler, who had emigrated in 1854 from Scotland to Kingston and who lectured in pharmacy at the general hospital, lived next door at 249 Brock Street with his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of Edward and Jane Horsey. Fowler had owned the 247-249 Brock Street since 1866, and rented out half to tenants such as druggists and professors. For more on the career and personality of Fife Fowler, see Gundy, H. Pearson, 1955, “Growing Pains: the Early History of Queen’s Medical Faculty,” Historic Kingston, vol. 4, p. 14-25.

34. Horsey’s obituary, Association of Land Surveyors, p. 84-85. Hodge was his mother’s maiden name.

35. The signed plans are #290 in the Newlands collection, Queen University Archives, Kingston. There are main floor and chamber floor plans for the whole building, as well as a front elevation and a cross-section of the addition on a single undated sheet of paper that is watermarked 1880. An unidentified and undated pencil drawing #7046 of a pair of panelled doors with Gothic detailing may be related to the Elizabeth Cottage project.

36. Davis’s work found its way into the publications of A.J. Downing, for example, Davis’s project for the Pierrepont House, Garrison (NY), 1841, appears as design XXXI in Downing’s The Architecture of Country Houses in 1850, where credit is given to Davis (on p. 338). Downing notes that the verandah and arrangement of the principal floor are well adapted to the American climate. Janet Parks of the Avery Library, Columbia University, kindly confirms the house’s identity in a project elevation (NYDA.1940.001.00042).

37. There are two plaques: the bronze bilingual one is more succinct than the larger illustrated one. The former reads: Elizabeth Cottage is a charming example of the Gothic Revival style. Reputedly built in the 1840s, with a later addition, it is the work of the Kingston architect, Edward Horsey, and originally served as his residence. The lively design features steeply pointed gables, projecting bays, and oriel windows which accentuate the play of light and shadow on the smooth stucco walls. Applied Gothic decorative details such as crockets, finials, and drip mouldings heighten the picturesque effect. The Gothic Revival was particularly fashionable for residences in Ontario in the mid-19th century.

The illustrated plaque reads:

In 1846 Edward Horsey acquired the important post of architect at Kingston Penitentiary—a position he held until his death in 1869. He then turned to designing and building Elizabeth Cottage as his architectural office and home for his wife Jane and their seven children. To one side of his new house was 247-249 Brock Street, a large double stone building, which he had built as a rental property in 1842-3, and on the other side, facing Clergy Street, eighteen frame cottages (demolished c 1864), which he rented to workers. Horsey selected a style—Gothic Revival—that was novel for Kingston houses at this time. Influenced by illustrations in contemporary American pattern books, his design features lacy verge-boards and strong finials accenting the parapeted front wall (on the right as you face the building). In the gable is a Romantic oriel window and below is a verandah with openwork butresses as posts. The plan was originally L-shaped.

Two years before his death, Horsey sold the property to his son-in-law, Dr. Fife Fowler, who was living with his wife Elizabeth and their five children in half of the double stone house at 249 Brock Street. Horsey’s widow lived in Elizabeth Cottage until 1883, and then Fowler hired architect William Newlands (1854-1926) to convert it into a double house for tenants. Newlands was careful to continue the medieval theme in his conversion (the left part as you face the buildings) with pointed mouldings, verge-boards, and bay windows, as portrayed in architecture pattern books of the 1850s. The extension necessitated the demolition of the stable Horsey had built c 1865 (visible in early photographs).

In 1954 Louisa Fowler, Edward and Jane Horsey’s granddaughter, left the property, now named Elizabeth Cottage after her mother Elizabeth Horsey Fowler, as a retirement home. The close connection of the cottage with the Horsey and Fowler families had endured over one hundred years.