NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHURCHES IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND THEIR PLACE IN THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

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INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth-century churches of Prince Edward Island are relatively well known thanks to the publications of H.M. Scott Smith, Canon Robert Tuck, and Father Art O'Shea.[2] Smith provides a useful starting point for any study of the churches on the Island. Yet there are some strange omissions from his books, not least of which are three churches in Charlottetown. First, there is the monumental, one thousand two hundred-seater Trinity Wesleyan Methodist (now United) Church, built in 1863-1864; then, St. Peter's Anglican Cathedral, 1867-1869, and St. James Old Kirk, 1877, both by David Stirling (1822-1887), one of the most accomplished nineteenth-century architects in the Atlantic provinces. William Critchlow Harris (1854-1913), who apprenticed with Stirling from 1870 to 1875, was responsible for a large number of churches in Prince Edward Island, all of which are carefully documented by Robert Tuck. Art O'Shea provides a comprehensive overview of Roman Catholic churches in Prince Edward Island, complete with excellent colour photographs. This paper builds on the work of these authors to investigate the nineteenth-century churches of Prince Edward Island in the context of the Gothic Revival in Canada, Britain, and the United States.

EARLY GOTHIC REVIVAL CHURCHES DOWN TO 1840

The earliest churches in Prince Edward Island depend strongly on the eighteenth-century tradition of meetinghouses and churches in New England and Nova
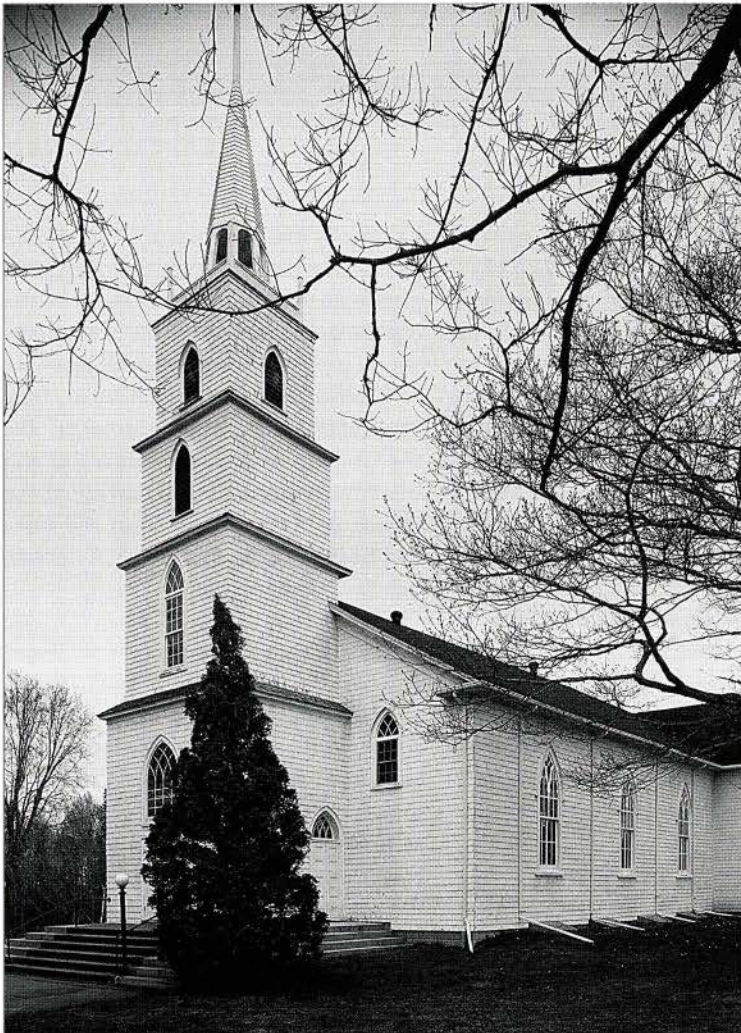

FIG. 1.   BELFAST, ST. JOHN'S PRESBYTERIAN, 1824. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby

FIG. 2.   CROOME D'ABITOT (WORCESTERSHIRE), ST. MARY MAGDALENE, 1763. LANCELOT BROWN. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 3.   WEST COVEHEAD, ST. JAMES'S PRESBYTERIAN (UNITED). EXTERIOR FROM SW (SE). | Malcolm Thurlby.

Scotia. For the churches, the influence of the English architect James Gibbs (1682-1754) is of paramount importance, as witnessed, for example, in St. Paul's, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749, which was modeled on Gibbs's Marylebone Chapel, London, 1721-1722.[3] St. John's Presbyterian, Belfast, 1824, has the pulpit platform against the east wall and galleries around the other three sides of the sanctuary, in a simplified version of that eighteenth-century tradition.[4] The west tower is divided into four stages with pronounced setbacks in each storey (fig. 1). Setbacks on towers are a distinctly English feature that goes back to the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon tower at Earls Barton, Northamptonshire, and remain popular through the rest of the Middle Ages.[5] However, the setbacks at Belfast are far more extreme than in medieval towers. Smith has compared the tower with Sir Christopher Wren's St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London.[6] The parallel is not a close one, although it is interesting that St. Dunstan's tower is Gothic. A better
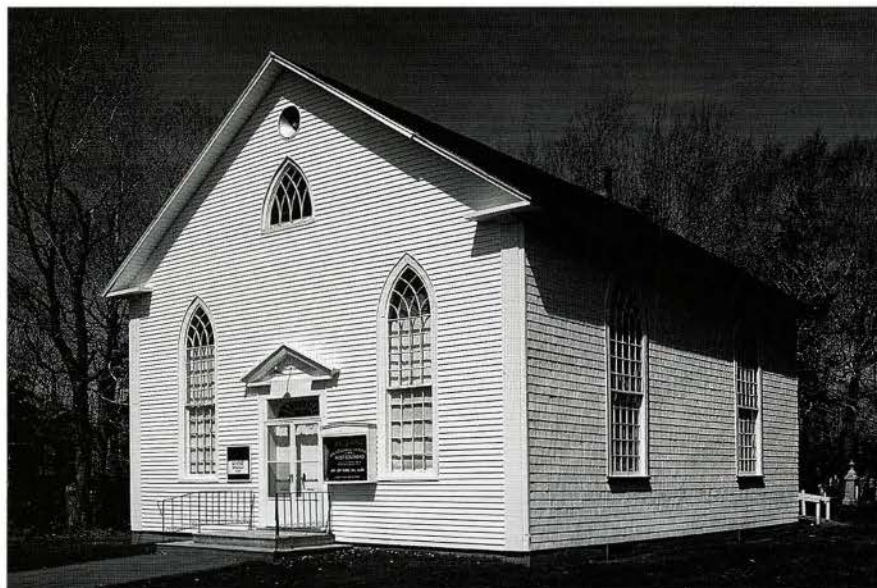
parallel for the setbacks is Wren's Christ Church, Newgate Street, 1703-1704.[7] Just as the Belfast tower owes nothing directly to medieval Gothic sources, so the multi-pane, sash windows of the west front and tower are made Gothic with pointed arches and intersecting glazing bars in the eighteenth-century tradition of Batty and Thomas Langley (1696-1751).[8] The cusped Y-tracery of the side windows at first seems more convincingly medieval, but the appearance of similar forms in the Gothic Cathedral designed for Kew Gardens by Johann Heinrich Müntz, circa 1758,[9] and at St. Mary Magdalene's, Croome d'Abitot, Worcestershire, by Lancelot Brown, 1763 (fig. 2), suggests that eighteenth century intermediaries were a factor in the design at Belfast.

Pointed windows with intersecting glazing bars light the early 1830s St. James Presbyterian (United), West Covehead (fig. 3), where the small scale of the church provides room only for a western

gallery in the sanctuary.[10] The simple pilasters at the corners of the church are paralleled in St. Paul's, Halifax, while the broken pediment above the west doorway is a common neoclassical detail, as in Greenock Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, 1824. Other elements, like the fan transom above the doorway and the differentiation in the surface of the façade of the building from the sides and back, also recall a North American neoclassical heritage.

In Charlottetown, the former St. James Presbyterian Old Kirk of 1831 (fig. 4) was designed according to similar principles, and even included emphasized keystones and pilasters with recessed panels on the angles on the nave from a North American classical-vernacular tradition. The main entrance was on the south wall of the tower, as in meetinghouses like Old Covenanter Church, Grand Pré, Nova Scotia.[11] On the tower, the stepped buttresses, the pinnacles and the arcades at the top of the walls
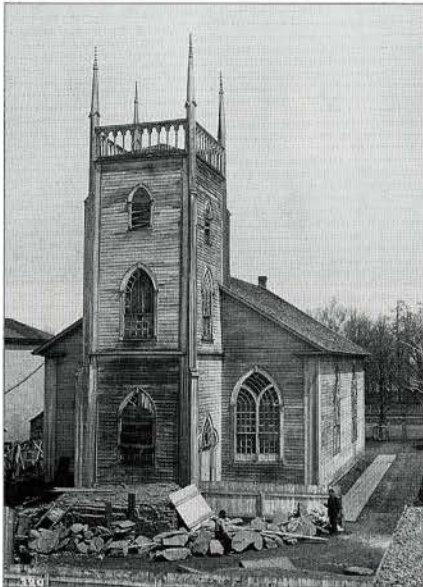
FIG. 4.   CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. JAMES OLD KIRK, 1831-1878. PHOTOGRAPH IN THE VESTRY OF OLD KIRK. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 5.   SOUTH RUSTICO, ST. AUGUSTINE, 1838-1841. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.
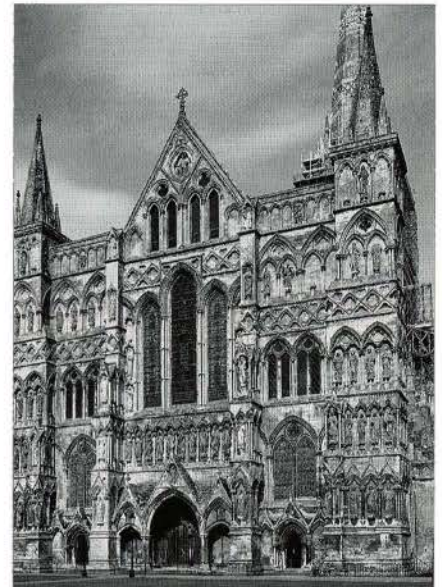

FIG. 6.   SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, 1220-1258. W FRONT. | Malcolm Thurlby.

were Gothic, but they lacked sufficient monumentality to be directly associated with medieval models.

Geddes Memorial Church, Springbrook, 1836-1837, represents the eighteenth-century meetinghouse tradition without any reference to Gothic details, while at First Baptist (Cross Roads Christian), Cross Roads, 1836, just east of Charlottetown, we witness the same tradition, but with pointed windows on the ground storey.[12]

The choice of the Gothic style, or rather the introduction of Gothic elements, in the ecclesiastical architecture in Prince Edward Island, should be considered against three backgrounds: England, the United States, and Nova Scotia. The origins are to be found in England. Horace Walpole (1717-1797), creator of the Gothic "castle" Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, 1749, and author of the Gothic novel, *Castle of Otranto* (1764), wrote:

One must have taste to be sensible to the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants passions to feel Gothic. In St. Peter's [Rome] one is convinced that it was built by great princes [...] In Westminster Abbey, one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes its first impression [...] and though stripped of its altars and shrines, it is nearer converting one to popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes.[13]

The importance of John Carter (1848-1817) for the revival of Gothic is encapsulated by Mordaunt Crook:

"Classical architecture [...] has its place, in mansions and other structures of ease and pleasure." But it was "the invention of foreigners." And for mystery, sublimity and drama there is nothing to match "that awful style of building" barbarously misnamed "Gothic." Compare [...] Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's: that "mortal repository of English glory" on the one hand, and "Sir Christopher's heathenized prodigy" on the other. "Which has the greater effect on

the mind [...] which pile of building conveys the more devout ideas; which fills the senses with the greatest attention of the heaven above us; which leads us more to contemplate on the life to come? If I may take the liberty to judge, it is [Westminster Abbey]. St. Paul's can never impart those sensations; it has the opposite effect. We behold the wondrous object with a familiar eye; we consider [it] as raised to pass the hours in business, pleasure, and delight; no pious thoughts possess the mind, as while we are gazing on the vaulted roof of [Westminster]."[14]

The Church Building Act of 1818 was not specific on the matter of style, but some architects suggested that Gothic was less expensive than a classical alternative.[15] Kenneth Clark reported that of the two hundred and fourteen churches that resulted from the 1818 Act, one hundred and seventy-four were Gothic.[16] While the quality of these churches varied considerably, the sheer weight of numbers could only further raise interest in the

FIG. 7. SOUTH RUSTICO, ST. AUGUSTINE, 1838-1841. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

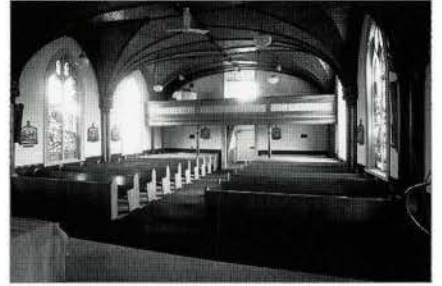FIG. 8. GRAND RIVER, ST. PATRICK, 1844. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

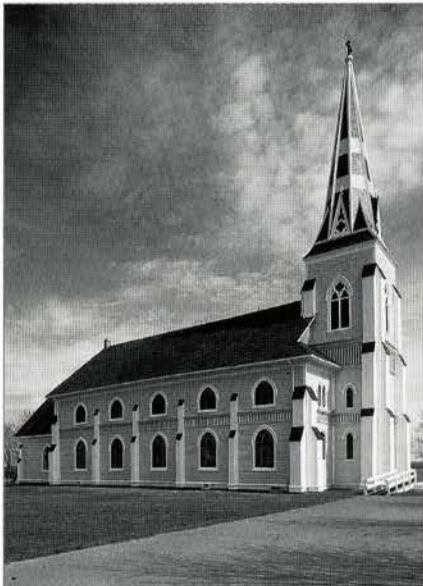FIG. 11. COVEHEAD, ST. EUGENE. INTERIOR TO W (E). | Malcolm Thurlby.

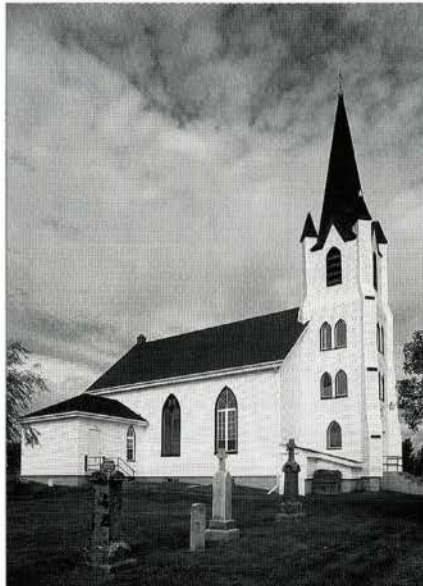FIG. 9. GRAND RIVER, ST. PATRICK, 1844/1890. EXTERIOR FROM NW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 10. COVEHEAD, ST. EUGENE. EXTERIOR FROM NW (SE). | Malcolm Thurlby.
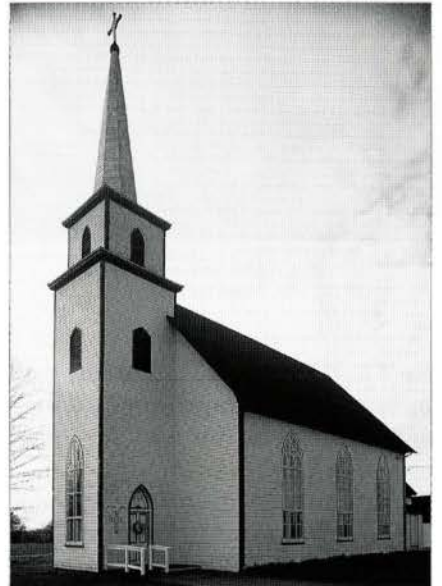
FIG. 12. LITTLE POND, ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, 1863. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

revival of the Gothic style for ecclesiastical architecture.

Aside from that English impetus, American Gothic analogues are important.[17] Here we witness the Gothic modification to a Gibbsian tradition in the second Trinity Church, New York, 1788-1790.[18] Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820) produced a Gothic design for Baltimore Cathedral.[19] It was not built, but his Gothic Christ Church, 1808, Washington, District of Columbia, stands to this day, so does his St. Paul's Episcopal, 1817, in Alexandria, Virginia.[20] Just as the classicist Latrobe had his Gothic adventures, so his Boston,

Massachusetts, contemporary, Charles Bulfinch (1763-1844), adapted the meetinghouse tradition to Gothic in Federal Street Church, 1809.[21] Old St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral, New York, 1809-1815, by French-born architect Joseph F. Mangin, is also Gothic.[22] So is Ithiel Town's (1784-1844), Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut, 1817, and here Town himself reported that "the Gothic style of architecture has been chosen and adhered to in the erection of this Church, as being in some respects more appropriate, and better suited to the solemn purposes of religious worship."[23] In general, Gothic was preferred by the Episcopal (Anglican)

and Catholics whereas Congregationalists opted for neoclassical.

In Nova Scotia, pointed windows already appeared in the Gibbsian box at Christ Church, Karsdale, 1791-1793, and that was followed in Goat Island Baptist Church, at Upper Clements, circa 1810, St. Luke's, Annapolis Royal, 1814-1817, and St. Mary's Halifax, 1820-1829.[24] In Newfoundland, St. Paul's Anglican at Trinity used pointed windows with intersecting glazing bars in 1814-1818.[25] In New Brunswick, St. Anne's Westcock, 1817, has three pointed windows on each side of the Gibbsian box, one pointed west window, pointed arches

FIG. 13. LITTLE POND, ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, 1863.
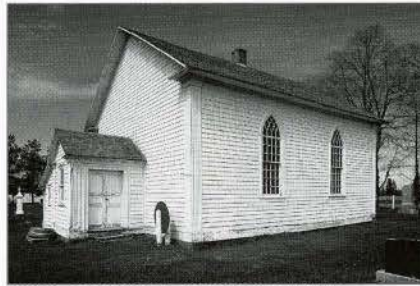INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 14. PORT HILL, ST. JAMES, 1843. EXTERIOR
FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 15. PORT HILL, ST. JAMES, 1843.
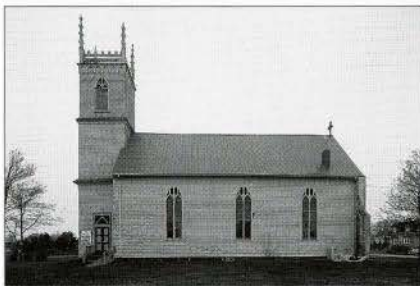INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 16. GEORGETOWN, HOLY TRINITY, 1839. EXTERIOR
FROM S. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 17. GEORGETOWN, HOLY TRINITY, 1839. EXTERIOR
FROM ENE. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 18. GEORGETOWN, HOLY TRINITY, 1839.
INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

to the otherwise Gibbsian belfry, and even a Gothic version of a Venetian window in the apse.[26] Similar Gothic adaptations of the Gibbsian tradition are found at St. Paul's, Chatham Head, 1823, and Old Stone Church in Saint John, 1824.[27] In Quebec, Christ Church Anglican at Saint-André Est, 1819-1821, is a red-brick box with four pointed side windows and a west tower with a Gothicised-Gibbsian belfry and spire, and Gibbsian roof pitch; the chancel was added later.[28] In 1823, Gothic was chosen for Notre-Dame in Montreal.[29] In Ontario, general parallels for Gothicised-Gibbsian churches are at St. Mary's Anglican, Picton, 1823,[30] Haldimand Baptist, 1824,[31] and St. Thomas's Anglican in St. Thomas.[32]

THE BEGINNINGS OF MEDIEVAL REFERENCES

The Roman Catholic church of St. Augustine at South Rustico, 1838-1841, provides evidence for the continued popularity of the James Gibbs tradition in Prince Edward Island (fig. 5). The proportions of the box-like nave with pilasters at the angles are paralleled at St. Paul's, Halifax.[33] However, there are details on the exterior that suggest that the knowledge of Gothic has moved beyond Batty and Thomas Langley. For instance, the plate tracery of the windows recalls the west front of Salisbury Cathedral (figs. 5 and 6). And there is a much more specific link with Salisbury. On the tower at South Rustico, there are friezes of quatrefoils with trefoils in the spandrels exactly as on the west front of Salisbury. Salisbury Cathedral was published in John Britton's *The Beauties of England and Wales*, and in his *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* of 1814.[34] Salisbury also served as a specific model for Holy Trinity, Theale, Berkshire, by Edward Garbett and John Buckler, 1820-1826.[35] More generally, interest in original medieval Gothic was stimulated with the publication of Thomas Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation* in 1817,[36] as well as John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* and *Cathedral Antiquities*, the latter with over three hundred illustrations.[37]

Like the exterior of St. Augustine's, South Rustico, so the interior of the church speaks of a Gothic modification of a James Gibbs-derived church (fig. 7). The use of galleries on three sides of the nave and the giant order may be compared with Gibbs's St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 1721-1726, and his Marylebone Chapel, London.[38] Such cosmetic Gothicism were not at all unusual and may be paralleled in England at St. James's, Poole, Dorset, 1820,[39] and in Nova Scotia in St. Mary's Cathedral, Halifax, also of 1820.[40]

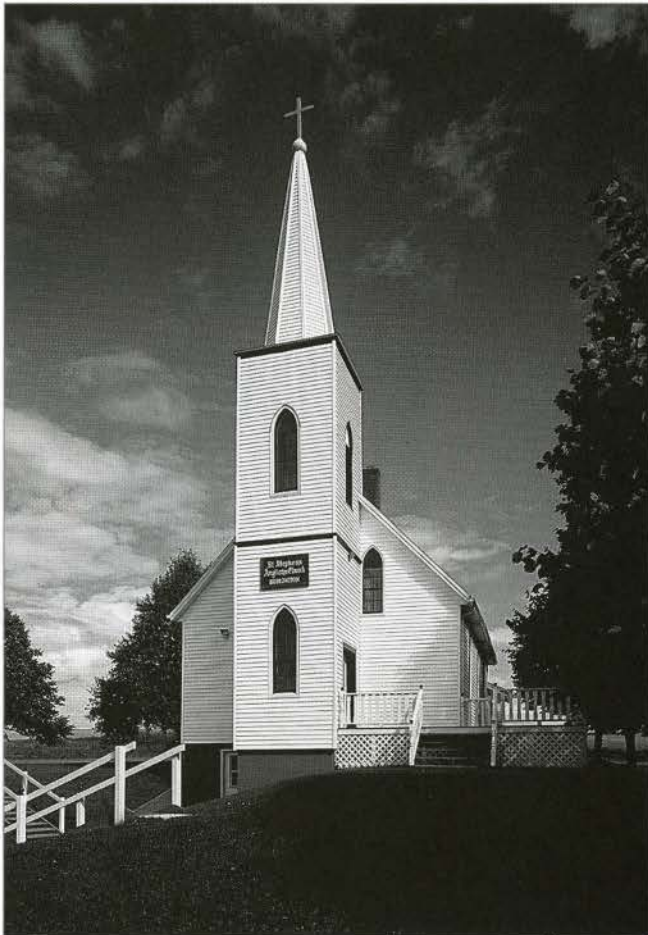St. Dunstan's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Charlottetown was commenced in 1843

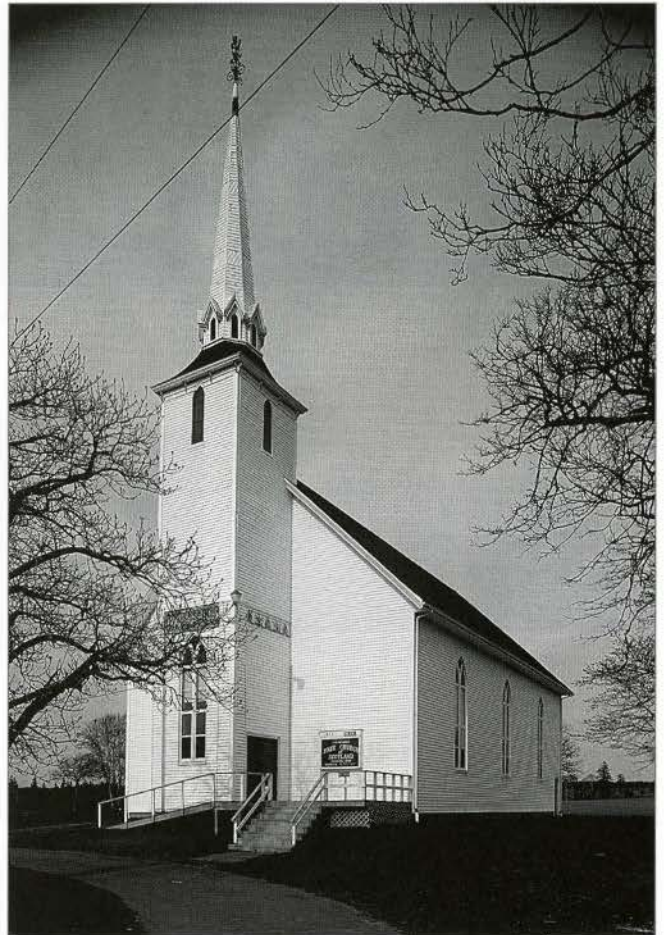FIG. 19. IRISHTOWN/BURLINGTON, ST. STEPHEN, 1855. EXTERIOR FROM NW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 21. DESABLE, FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1855. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 20. IRISHTOWN/BURLINGTON, ST. STEPHEN, 1855.
INTERIOR TO W. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 22. DESABLE, FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1855.
INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

and the *Royal Gazette* of Tuesday, July 25, reported that "it will be the largest building in the Island, being one hundred and forty-one feet long, including the Tower, by seventy feet wide, and thirty-six feet in the post."[41] The juxtaposition of the tower and nave was the same as South Rustico, and there was a six-bay division on the exterior articulated with simple pilasters. Tall pointed windows with Perpendicular tracery illuminated the interior from the sides while at the east end single lancets flanked a three-light window also with Perpendicular tracery, which included super mullions at the top. Reference to the Perpendicular—the last phase of English Gothic that started around 1330—was popular in the 1820s in England, as at St. Mary's, Bathwick, Somerset, by John Pinch (1820), and as late as 1839-1841, it was adopted by Pugin for St. Alban's, Macclesfield, Cheshire. In the 1840s, Pugin and the Ecclesiologists preferred Middle Pointed or Decorated; Early English was suitable for small churches and chapels, and in larger churches if funds would not run to the more elaborate Decorated. In North America, Perpendicular was chosen by Richard Upjohn for his Trinity Church, New York, 1839-1846.[42] For the tower of St. Dunstan's, Charlottetown, the proportions of the octagonal belfry and spire owe more to Gibbs than to medieval Gothic. However, the three set-offs in the elevation of the tower and the substantial stepped buttress look more convincingly medieval.

St. Patrick's, Grand River, was completed in 1844 and then remodelled by William Critchlow Harris in 1890.[43] It is an excellent barometer of the great change in church design during that time. The interior, with galleries on three sides and giant octagonal columns, belongs with St. Augustine's, South Rustico (figs. 8 and 9). The exterior is convincingly gothicised by Harris with the addition of a finely proportioned

FIG. 23. CHARLOTTETOWN, TRINITY WESLEYAN METHODIST (UNITED), 1863-1864. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 24. CHARLOTTETOWN, TRINITY WESLEYAN METHODIST (UNITED), 1863-1864. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.
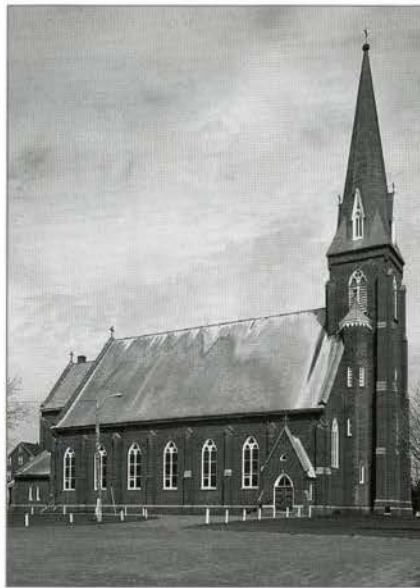

FIG. 25. TIGNISH, ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE, 1859-1860. PATRICK C. KEELY. EXTERIOR FROM NW (SE). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 26. TIGNISH, ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE, 1859-1860. PATRICK C. KEELY. EXTERIOR FROM W (E). | Malcolm Thurlby.

tower and spire, stepped buttresses and a "chancel" (fig. 8). The appearance of the latter may be convincing from the exterior but, rather than housing the high altar, it provides office space entered through two doorways in the east wall of the nave to either side of the high altar (figs. 7 and 8).

The simple rectangular nave of St. Eugene's, Covehead, 1853, has two-light windows with Perpendicular tracery in the side walls (fig. 10).[44] There is a substantial tower with stepped angle buttresses and three storeys of squat

lancet windows rather incongruously arranged with one in the ground storey, two in the second, and three in the third storey. Above that, the belfry openings are better proportioned and are topped by gables, and the angle buttresses are continued up as pinnacles. The octagonal spire is now covered with asphalt tiles. The design of the belfry with the angle pinnacles and octagonal spire is closely paralleled in the work of William Critchlow Harris, as at St. John's at Milton, 1898 (fig. 55), St. John's at Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1898, St. John's at Crapaud,

FIG. 27. TIGNISH, ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE, PATRICK C. KEELY, 1859-1860. INTERIOR TO E (W). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 28. TIGNISH, ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE, 1859-1860. PATRICK C. KEELY. SE (NW) CHAPEL, EXTERIOR FROM W (E). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 30. CARDIGAN, ALL SAINTS, 1874. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 31. VERNON RIVER, ST. JOACHIM, 1877-1879. INTERIOR TO E (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 29. TIGNISH, ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE, 1859-1860. PATRICK C. KEELY. SE (NW) CHAPEL, INTERIOR TO E (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.

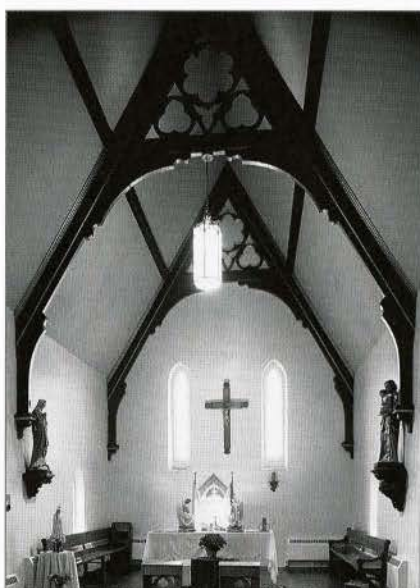FIG. 32. PALMER ROAD, IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, 1891-1893. INTERIOR TO E (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.

1902, Immaculate Conception at Truro Nova Scotia, 1908 (destroyed 1977), and formerly at St. Cuthbert's at St. Teresa, 1912. The motif is adapted from David Stirling's churches, as at Fort Massey, Halifax, and Westminster Presbyterian New Glasgow, Nova Scotia. Inside, the association with Harris is confirmed in the form of the wooden rib vault, or groined ceiling as Harris would have called it (fig. 11). In particular, the form of the triple-shaft responds with

the foliage capitals relate closely to a number of Harris examples, such as St. Paul's, Charlottetown, 1894-1896 (figs. 52 and 53). This suggests that the interior of the church was remodelled by Harris in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century at which time he rebuilt or added the belfry and spire.

St. Francis de Sales, Little Pond, 1863, demonstrates the conservative nature of church design in rural Prince Edward Island. The plan still follows the basic Gibbsian box with the west tower articulated by pilasters at the corners (fig. 12). The main entrance is on the south wall of the tower, in the eighteenth-century meetinghouse tradition. The galleried interior of Little Pond follows the mode of South Rustico and Grand Bend, but with separate columns for the main arcades and galleries (figs. 7, 8, and 13). The only concessions to the more progressive aspects of the Gothic revival are in the steeper pitch of the roof and the geometric bar tracery in the windows.

Turning to the Anglican churches in Prince Edward Island, St. Paul's, Charlottetown, was built in 1836, extended twenty-two feet to the east in 1845, and demolished in 1896. It was a Gibbsian box with a three-stage west tower with pointed openings surmounted by an octagonal spire.[45] With the 1845 extension there were four pointed windows on each side of the church and, in the west wall, there was one to either side of the tower. Inside, there was a segmental lath-and-plaster barrel vault over the 1836 part of the nave in the tradition of James Gibbs, but a flat ceiling in the 1845 eastern extension. Columns carried galleries on three sides faced with a Doric entablature complete with triglyphs and metopes in the frieze.[46] A brick chancel with a five-light bar-tracery east window was added in 1873-1874 to the design of Thomas Alley.[47] The chancel

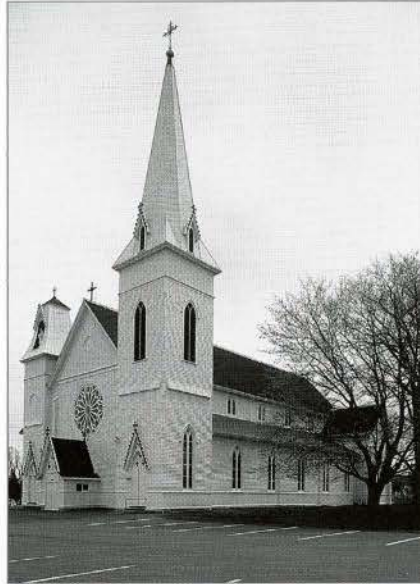FIG. 33. CARDIGAN, ALL SAINTS, 1874. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 34. PALMER ROAD, IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, 1891-1893. EXTERIOR FROM SW (SE). | Malcolm Thurlby.
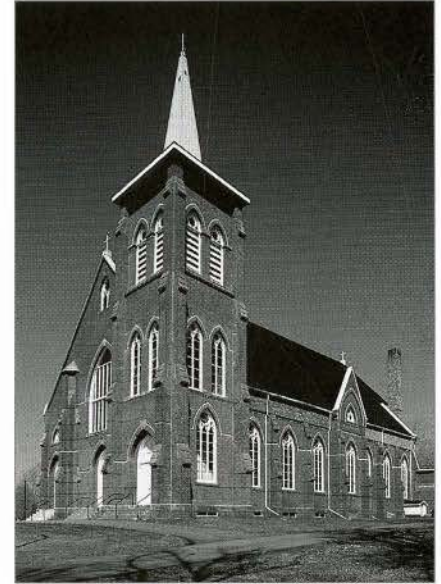

FIG. 35. VERNON RIVER, ST. JOACHIM, 1877-1879. EXTERIOR FROM SW (SE). | Malcolm Thurlby.

communicated with the nave through a wide plain pointed arch. The geometric bar tracery depends on medieval design principles of the second half of the thirteenth century.

St. John's at St. Eleanors, 1838-1841, incorporates several Gibbs-derived features; the rectangular box complete with angle pilasters, the segmental lath-and-plaster barrel vault, the gallery at the west end of the nave carried on fluted responds.[48] Moreover, the vestries that flank the chancel are not articulated on the exterior of the church, although there is a doorway to each vestry in the east wall (fig. 16). This derives from James Gibbs's Marylebone Chapel and, in turn, from St. Paul's, Halifax, based on that very Gibbs model.[49] The main entrance is in the south wall of the west tower as in the 1836 Presbyterian Old Kirk, Charlottetown. The side door to the tower appeared in an Anglican context in Nova Scotia in Old Holy Trinity,

Butlers Hill, Yarmouth, 1807, where the doorway was in the liturgical north wall of the tower.[50] Similarly, in New Brunswick, at Trinity, Kingston, 1769-1857, and St. Paul's, Whitehead, 1841, the doorway is in the south wall of the tower, while St. Peter's, Upham, 1843, has a door in the liturgical north wall of the tower.[51] In the side walls at St. Eleanors, the plate tracery windows are similar to those in St. Augustine's, South Rustico, and, concomitantly, the plate-tracery windows at Salisbury Cathedral. The triple lancet windows in the east wall of the chancel may also have been inspired by the aisle windows or the Lady Chapel east windows of Salisbury Cathedral.

St. James, Port Hill, 1841, perpetuates the Gibbs tradition, and here we even witness a distinct classicising element in the delicate fluting of the angle pilasters (fig. 14).[52] The chancel projects at the east end of the nave, but it is very shallow with barely enough room

for the altar and quite unlike any medieval Gothic chancel (fig. 15). There is a western porch with the doorway on the south side, and a room to the north of the porch. There are multi-pane sash windows with intersecting glazing bars in the pointed heads on the side walls, and a two-light Y-tracery window with plate tracery in the head in the east wall of the chancel. That last detail is the only feature derived from medieval precedent.

Christ Church, Cherry Valley, 1842, has a short chancel, a simple rectangular nave with two pointed windows in the north and south walls, and a two-storey west tower surmounted by a spire, and a pointed doorway in the south wall. The angles of the building are articulated with two-step pilasters. Inside, there is a gallery at the west end of the nave. The chancel is entered through a broad segmental arch that bears witness to classicising antecedents.
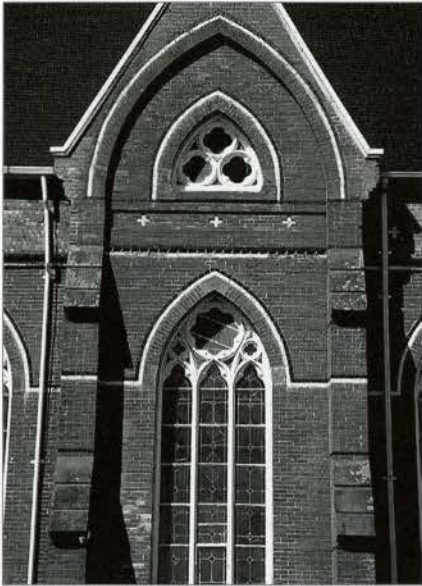
FIG. 36. VERNON RIVER, ST. JOACHIM, 1877-1879. S (E) TRANSEPT FAÇADE. | Malcolm Thurlby.
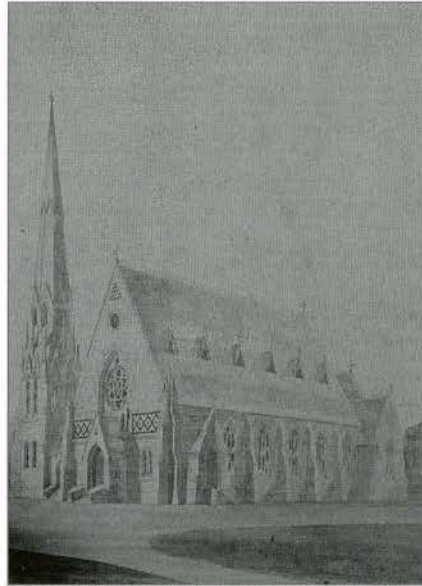

FIG. 37. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. PETER, PRESENTATION DRAWING, DAVID STIRLING(?), 1867.
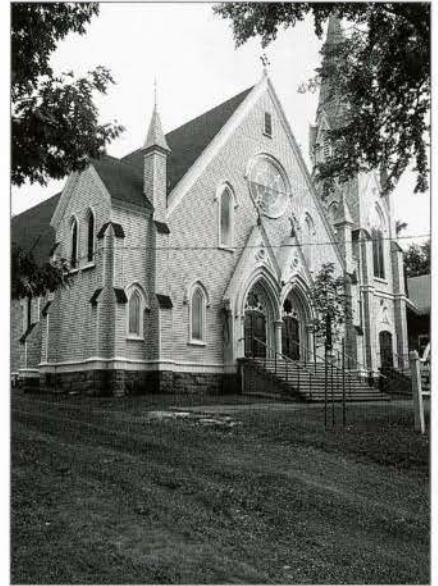

FIG. 38. NEW GLASGOW, NS, NEW WESTMINSTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, 1874-1876. DAVID STIRLING. W (S) FAÇADE. | Malcolm Thurlby.

Holy Trinity Anglican, Georgetown, 1842, is a rectangular box plus a west tower with a south side entrance to the tower as at St. Eleanors, Port Hill and Cherry Valley (figs. 14, 16, and 17).[53] The crocketed pinnacles on the tower ultimately depend on medieval sources but their flimsy nature is more characteristic of English Commissioners' churches of the 1820s. The window tracery follows Perpendicular models as in the east window of St. Dunstan's Cathedral, Charlottetown, and Trinity Church, New York, and the stepped buttresses at the eastern angles possess a degree of medieval substance. Inside, there are wooden octagonal columns as in St. Augustine's, South Rustico, and St. Patrick's, Grand River, and a pointed barrel vault covers the nave (figs. 7, 8, and 18). The vault is lath and plaster and is a Gothicised version of a Gibbsian structural practice rather than owing anything to a medieval building tradition. There is a division between nave and chancel, and the chancel is flanked by two vestries. As St. Eleanors, the vestries are not

articulated on the exterior of the church, although there are doorways to each vestry in the east wall (fig. 16).

Even after 1850, the Gibbsian-box plan plus west tower with south doorway is continued in two Anglican churches on the Island, at St. Stephen's, Irishtown, Burlington, 1855—the spire was added in 1884, and the chancel in 1903-1904 (fig. 19)—and St. Thomas's, Springbrook, 1876. The nave of St. Stephen's is covered with a wooden paneled vault with seven facets (fig. 20). In its truthful use of material, it reflects the principles of Augustus Welby Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society, but it is not up-to-date in ecclesiological terms.

NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES AFTER 1850

St. John's United, Mount Stewart, 1853, follows the Gibbsian-box tradition for the sanctuary and is lit by somewhat eccentrically patterned plate tracery

windows. The interior of the church is notable for its excellent carpentry details.[54] Fine woodwork is also evident in the frieze on the tower and the pulpit at the Free Church of Scotland, Desable, 1855 (figs. 21 and 22).[55] The basic form of Desable remains traditional, complete with the side entrance to the tower, although the roof has a steeper pitch, which is more in keeping with a Gothic aesthetic. The use of lucarnes at the bottom of each side of the octagonal spire seems exceptional in this context. That motif was used in the 1867 design for St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, probably by David Stirling, and later appears in a number of churches by William Critchlow Harris.

The cornerstone of Wesleyan Methodist, now United, Charlottetown, was laid on May 25, 1863, and the church was dedicated on November 13, 1864 (figs. 23 and 24). It was designed by two members of the congregation, Thomas Alley and Mark Butcher.[56] At the laying of the

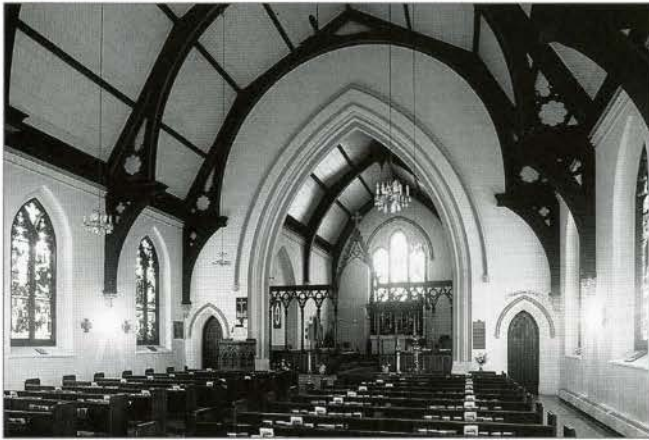FIG. 39. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. PETER, 1867-1869. DAVID STIRLING(?). INTERIOR TO E (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.
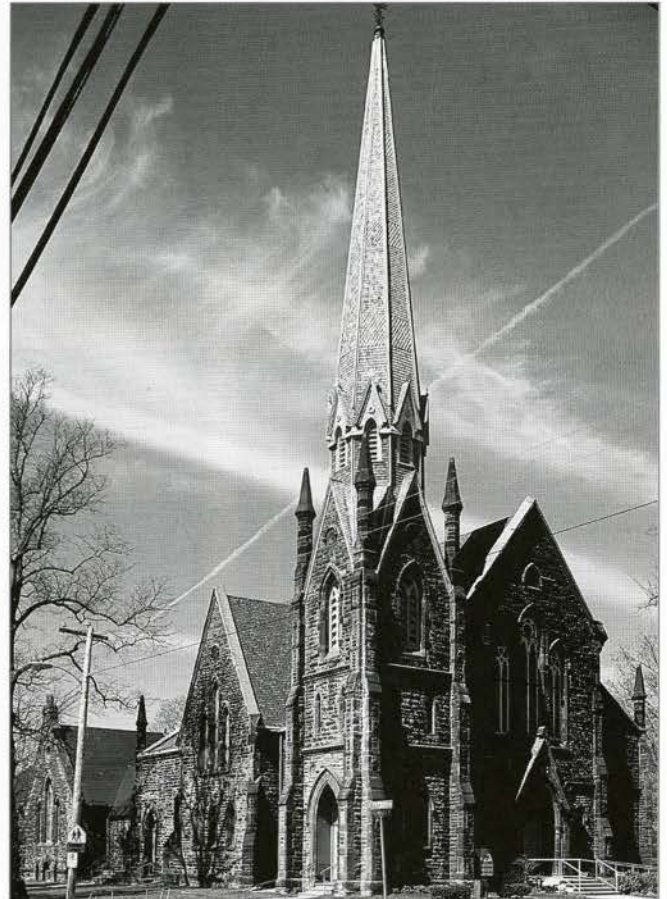

FIG. 41. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. JAMES OLD KIRK, 1877. STIRLING AND HARRIS. EXTERIOR FROM NW (SE). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FORT MASSEY CHURCH ARCHIVES.

FIG. 40. HALIFAX, NS, FORT MASSEY. DAVID STIRLING. INTERIOR TO E (N).

FIG. 42. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. JAMES OLD KIRK, 1877. STIRLING AND HARRIS. INTERIOR TO E (W). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 43. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. JAMES OLD KIRK, 1877. STIRLING AND HARRIS. S (W) ARCADE, PRE-1898. PHOTOGRAPH IN THE VESTRY OF OLD KIRK.

FIG. 45. PORT HILL, ST. JAMES, 1885. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 47. ELLERSLIE, ST. JOHN, 1894-1899. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

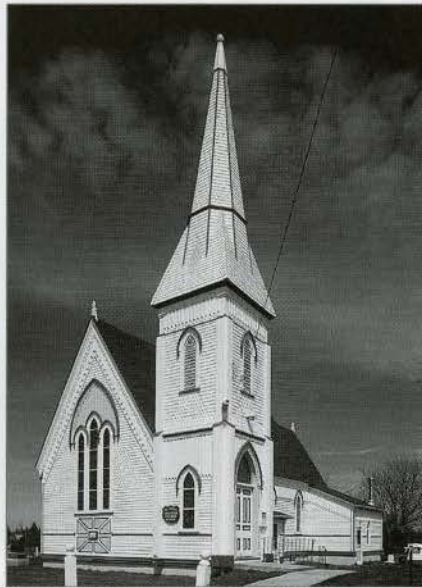FIG. 44. PORT HILL, ST. JAMES, 1885. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 46. ELLERSLIE, ST. JOHN, 1894-1899. EXTERIOR FROM SW. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 48. KENSINGTON, ST. MARK, 1885. W FAÇADE. | Malcolm Thurlby.

foundation stone, the minister, Reverend M. Brewster, announced:

> The building to be erected on this foundation will be simple, plain and exceedingly primitive. No rich carving in stone or fancy moulding will attract the eye. No tower or stately spire will grace its ample proportions. Its peculiar excellence will be in its facility for the preaching and hearing of the gospel of our blessed Lord.[57]

The design of the church is significantly different from the nonconformist churches examined so far. It is a monumental, red-brick town church with a U-shaped gallery carried on slender cast-iron columns around three sides of the interior focused on the pulpit platform. There is a full basement for offices, lecture rooms, and classrooms. The scale of the church, the basement, and seating arrangement may be derived from works like Wilmot Methodist, Fredericton, 1852, by Matthew Stead, although Stead's church is wooden and uses giant wooden columns to carry pointed arches and lath-and-plaster vaults rather than cast-iron columns to support the gallery.[58] Closer

to the interior articulation of our Charlottetown church is William Thomas's St. Matthew's, Halifax, 1856, but here again the gallery has wooden supports.[59] Centenary Methodist (United), Hamilton, Ontario, 1868, by A.H. Hills, provides a parallel for the cast-iron columns to carry the gallery in a large brick church, and shows that the Charlottetown church is up-to-date with nonconformist town churches elsewhere in Canada.[60] In contrast to the segmental lath-and-plaster barrel vault in Centenary Methodist, Hamilton, the sanctuary of Wesleyan Methodist in Charlottetown

FIG. 49. SPRINGFIELD, ST. ELIZABETH. EXTERIOR FROM NW (SW). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 50. SPRINGFIELD, ST. ELIZABETH. INTERIOR TO E (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.

is covered with a beautifully executed pointed wooden barrel vault. This has great acoustical benefits and provides precedent for the more elaborate vaults of William Critchlow Harris's churches.

Gothic continued to be popular with nonconformist congregations on the Island, as at Uigg Baptist Church, Princeton Presbyterian (United) Church, Malpeque, 1870, and St. Peter's Bay Presbyterian (United), 1886. That situation is not difficult to contextualize. In England, the case for Gothic nonconformist churches was articulated by F.J. Jobson, which was more than a little influenced by Augustus Welby Pugin.[61] Jobson stated that "Gothic architecture is Christian architecture, as distinctly and emphatically, as the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman are Pagan."[62] He continued:

> the propriety of employing Gothic Architecture on houses for Christian worship might be argued on other grounds—such as the confusion of apprehension or knowledge occasioned by our use of Pagan Architecture. Who has not felt the uncertainty of apprehension, and the incongruity of ideas, arising from the sight of a Chapel in Roman or Grecian Architecture when he entered a

city or town for the first time? On looking upon the building (unless an inscription-board was on it) he could not tell whether it was a Concert-room, a Theatre, a Town-hall or a Chapel. But who, on seeing a Gothic chapel, has had any difficulty in determining its appointed purpose? Its ecclesiastical form made known its use, at first sight, and without any possibility of mistake. What can more fully manifest the fitness and propriety of erecting buildings for Christian worship in the Gothic style of architecture?[63]

Jobson also suggested that Gothic is more economical than Grecian or Roman architecture.[64]

In the United States, George Bowler's *Chapel and Church Architecture* presented designs in various styles, but his observation that accompanied Design No. 11, a Gothic church, is instructive:[65]

> There is perhaps no style of architecture more perfectly adapted to the purposes of church building than that of the design which we here present. The idea has been very commonly diffused that this style is more costly than others; but such does not prove to be the fact. The Gothic is no more costly than others, while it presents

advantages which no other style gives for chaste ornament and beautiful effect.

Some congregations feared Gothic associations with popery and opted for a round-arched style, even though many other details of the designs, like stepped buttresses were Gothic. Examples are at Montague Baptist, 1876-1879,[66] and Victoria, Wesleyan Methodist, now United, 1877.

PUGIN'S TRUE PRINCIPLES?

St. Simon and St. Jude, Tignish, 1859-1860, by the New York-based architect Patrick C. Keely (1816-1896), represent something entirely new in Catholic church architecture in Prince Edward Island (figs. 26-29). Keely is credited with some six hundred churches for the Roman Catholics in America, and has been called the Irish-American Pugin.[67] St. Simon and St. Jude is a large brick-built church with a west (east) tower and spire in the centre of the façade, separate north and south porches towards the west (east) end of the church, square-ended sanctuary with a vestry to the north (south), and a chapel to the south (north) (figs. 26, 28, and 29). The interior is divided into a nave and aisles
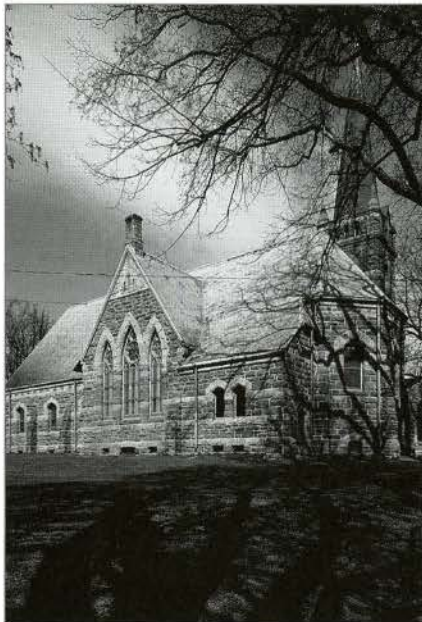
FIG. 51. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. PAUL, 1894-1896. WILLIAM C. HARRIS. EXTERIOR FROM SE. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 52. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. PAUL, 1894-1896. WILLIAM C. HARRIS. INTERIOR TO E. | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 53. CHARLOTTETOWN, ST. PAUL, 1894-1896. WILLIAM C. HARRIS. INTERIOR TO W. | Malcolm Thurlby.

with pointed main arcades on wooden compound columns, and is vaulted with lath-and-plaster groin vaults (fig. 27). That type of three-aisle, single-storey, vaulted interior was popular for Roman Catholic churches in Canada from the 1840s, as in St. Patrick's Montreal,[68] and St. Mary's, Kingston, Ontario. In 1860, Keely remodelled St. Mary's, Halifax, with exactly that type of interior.[69] Later, in 1878, he repeated the design in the Basilica of St. Michael at Chatham, New Brunswick, although his church was not built until 1904.[70] That type of interior is specifically Roman Catholic and is based on the Roman Gothic church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Iconographically, it fuses the Christian Gothic style with the centre of papal authority in Rome. Popular as it was with Roman Catholics throughout North America, the use of wooden columns and arches, and lath and plaster for the vault, all in imitation of stone, was far removed from the truth to material promoted in Augustus Welby Pugin's *True Principles*.[71] Be that as it may, such attitudes had relaxed a little by the 1860s and even Pugin's son, Edward Welby Pugin, was not averse to lath-and-plaster vaults. The clear external expression of the chancel, vestry, porches, and southeast chapel is at once quite different from the Gibbsian tradition, and entirely in keeping with Pugin's principles. And, it is taken further inside the southeast chapel where the timbers of the steeply pitched roof are clearly exposed (fig. 29).

The single-storey nave flanked by aisles with lath-and-plaster vaults, in the manner of St. Simon and St. Jude at Tignish, is followed in All Saints, Cardigan, 1874 (fig. 30),[72] St. Joachim, Vernon River, 1877-1879 (fig. 31), and with a wooden vault in St. Patrick's Fort Augustus, as rebuilt by William Critchlow Harris after a fire in 1897.[73] An exception to that tradition

is the church of the Immaculate Conception, Palmer Road, 1891-1893, where the wood of the columns, arches, and roof is truthfully exposed (fig. 32).[74] Cardigan (fig. 33), Fort Augustus, and Palmer Road (fig. 34) all have shallow transepts, while at Vernon River, transept façades add a degree of monumentality to the exterior even though there are no functioning transepts inside (figs. 31 and 35). That quest for the monumentality of the great church is also expressed in these churches with towers and spires. At Cardigan, the tower and spire are in the centre of the façade as at Tignish (figs. 26 and 33). At Vernon River, they are at the southwest corner of the nave (fig. 35), and at Palmer Road, there is a large tower and spire in this position and a smaller one at the northwest corner (fig. 34). The placement of the bell tower at the southwest angle of the nave follows the prescription of Charles Borromeo's 1577 *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* for churches with single towers.[75] Borromeo's *Instructiones* are also followed with the use of three doors in the façades at Vernon River and Palmer Road, and the round window in the Palmer Road façade. At Vernon River, the polychromatic treatment of the masonry belongs to a High Victorian aesthetic established by William Butterfield at All Saints, Margaret Street, London, 1849-1859 (figs. 35 and 36).[76]

THE LATE ARRIVAL OF ECCLESIOLOGY

Ecclesiology arrived late in Prince Edward Island. The full force of the movement that started in 1839 with the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society was unleashed in New Brunswick with the appointment of John Medley (1804-1892) as Bishop of Fredericton in 1845. Medley was the founder of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society in 1841, which promoted the very same principles as the

Cambridge Camdenians. On arrival in Fredericton, he built St. Anne's Chapel and the cathedral to the designs of Frank Wills, a young architect who had trained in the Exeter office of John Hayward. Wills subsequently moved to New York where he founded the New York Ecclesiological Society in 1848. In 1850, he published *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day* and, before his premature death in 1857, he built numerous churches in the United States and had commissions in New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, most notably Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal.[77]

Medley's counterpart in Newfoundland was Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1876. Feild began construction of his new cathedral in St. Johns to the design of George Gilbert Scott and under the direction of William Hay as clerk of works.[78] Hay designed Anglican churches in Newfoundland, Labrador, and Bermuda before moving to Toronto.[79] There he was associated with David Stirling, 1822-1887,[80] with whom he moved to form a partnership in Halifax in 1862. Hay returned to Scotland in 1864 to become restoration architect of St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh. Hay was a great champion of Pugin and, in 1853, he wrote an article entitled "The late Mr. Pugin and the revival of Christian architecture," in which he summarized Pugin's *True Principles*.[81] Stirling's association with Hay explains his profound understanding of the principles of medieval Gothic design.

St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, was designed in 1867 and opened for services in 1869.[82] It began as a chapel of ease for St. Paul's church in town but was elevated to the rank of cathedral in 1879. As built, the church is a reduced

version of the intended design. The body of the church with the clearly separated chancel and nave were constructed as planned, but a tower was originally intended to project at the northwest angle of the façade (fig. 37).[83] The presentation drawing—of which only a small sepia print has survived—also indicates permanent polychrome in the form of a pattern of dark lozenges in a frieze on the façade. The name of the architect of St. Peter's is not recorded, but there can be little doubt that it was David Stirling. A number of motifs fit well with Stirling's other churches. The design of the façade and tower is most closely paralleled in New Westminster Presbyterian Church, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, 1874-1876 (fig. 38). The proportions of the façade, tower, and spire, the rose window, the two-step buttresses with pinnacles, and the lucarnes at the bottom of the spire are all similar. The steep gable above the pointed arch of the porch at St. Peter's is a single version of the paired portals at New Westminster, and an exact parallel is on the faced of St. James Old Kirk, Charlottetown, 1877 (fig. 41). The single lancet windows that flank the portals at New Westminster and Old Kirk are doubled in the St. Peter's front. A wooden façade was built with lancet windows and a porch designed by Stirling and Harris.[84] That was replaced by a brick façade in 1924 which in turn was rebuilt in 1950.[85]

The hammerbeam roof that covers the nave of St. Peter's is paralleled in Stirling's two Halifax churches, Fort Massey, and St. David's, and also in Holy Trinity, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia (figs. 39 and 40). The mouldings of St. Peter's chancel arch have the complexity characteristic of Early English Gothic, and are also used by Stirling in the arches framing the organ at St. David's and Fort Massey, Halifax (figs. 39 and 40).
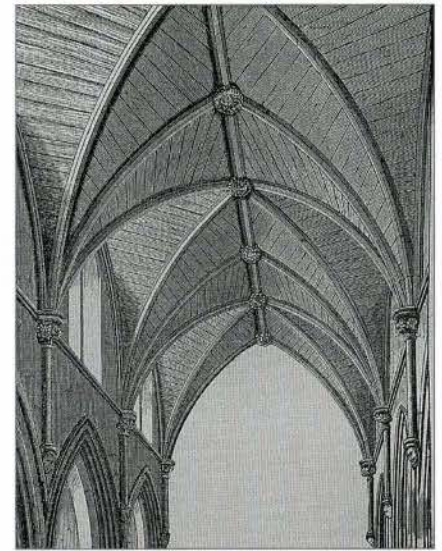
FIG. 54. WARMINGON (NORTHAMPTONSHIRE), NAVE VAULT (AFTER RICKMAN). | Malcolm Thurlby.

The differences between St. Peter's and the earlier Gothic Anglican churches in Prince Edward Island discussed above are all to be explained through the impact of the Ecclesiologists and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. Both advocated a return to the ritualistic liturgy of the Middle Ages and the accurate revival of medieval Gothic architecture in terms of the planning and detailing of the churches. It is especially instructive to contrast the interior of St. Peter's with Port Hill and Georgetown (figs. 15, 18, and 39). The flat ceiling of Port Hill and the pointed barrel vault of Georgetown are replaced by a magnificent hammerbeam roof in St. Peter's. The matter of roofing was a serious one. Pugin addressed the subject and illustrated three hammerbeam roofs.[86] In 1849, Raphael Brandon devoted an entire book to the subject.[87] The chancel at St. Peter's is much longer than at Port Hill and Georgetown to accommodate the choir as well as the high altar, and the screen, built in 1872, emphasizes

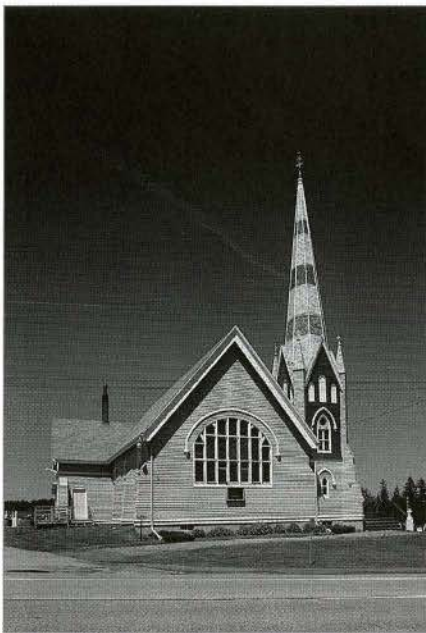FIG. 55. MILTON, ST. JOHN, 1898. WILLIAM C. HARRIS. EXTERIOR FROM W (S). | Malcolm Thurlby.

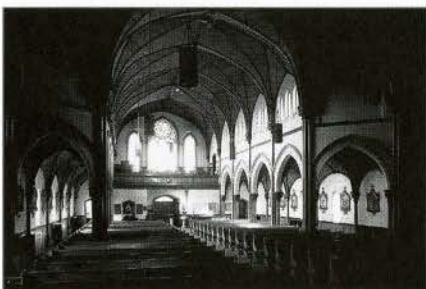FIG. 56. KINKORA, ST. MALACHY, 1898-1899. WILLIAM C. HARRIS. INTERIOR TO E (S). | Malcolm Thurlby.

FIG. 57. KINKORA, ST. MALACHY, 1898-1899. WILLIAM C. HARRIS. INTERIOR TO W (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.

the division between nave and chancel appropriate to the Anglo-Catholicism of the High Church. Here it should be noted that on Christmas Eve 1869 the ancient practice of midnight communion was revived for the first time in Canada, and the service books of St. Peter's show a steady record of Catholic progress.[88] Be that as it may, there is no way that the interior of St. Peter's with its English hammerbeam room and English Gothic details would be confused with the Roman Catholic vaulted interiors of Tignish, Cardigan, and Vernon River (figs. 27, 30, 31, and 39).

Just as St. Peter's appears quite distinct from a Roman Catholic church, so the wooden vault, gallery, and pulpit platform of Wesleyan Methodist, Charlottetown, are far removed from St. Peter's (figs. 24 and 39). In the 1870s, however, some nonconformist congregations in larger cities in Canada constructed churches on a larger scale, often with towers and spires, to vie architecturally with the Gothic cathedrals and town churches of the Anglicans and Roman Catholics. In Toronto, Henry Langley's McGill Square Methodist Church, 1870-1872, was known as the "Cathedral of Methodism."[89] Similarly, in Halifax, David Stirling's Fort Massey Presbyterian was described in a contemporary report as having a "cathedral appearance."[90] It is in that context that we should see St. James Old Kirk, Charlottetown, designed by David Stirling and William Critchlow Harris in 1877 (fig. 41). The monumental massing of the angle tower and spire, transepts, and separately articulated school rooms and offices at the liturgical east end of the church, boldly proclaim the Presbyterian presence in town. The walls are of Wallace "freestone" from Nova Scotia, with red Island sandstone for the dressing of the openings and buttresses.[91] The polychrome is enhanced through the smooth finish of the red

sandstone dressings and the rougher surfaces of the Wallace of stone. When completed in 1878, the Old Kirk was the finest church in town. The Roman Catholics of St. Dunstan still worshiped in their 1843 wooden church. The Wesleyan Methodist church, although built of brick, lacked a tower. The Anglicans at St. Peter's planned a tower but it was never achieved. It may seem somewhat ironic that for a church that had its origins in the sixteenth century, the stone construction of Old Kirk is more authentically medieval than the brick of St. Peter's. Be that as it may, Old Kirk is a testament to Gothic as Christian architecture.

The interior of Old Kirk, as completed in 1878 (figs. 42 and 43), fused the meetinghouse tradition and seating across the church, as in the Free Church of Scotland at Desable (fig. 22), with the basilican tradition and pointed main arcades of the Gothic great churches. The present seating arrangement and the wooden vaults date from after the 1898 fire. The large arch of the middle bay of the south arcade opened into the "transept" in which the pulpit platform and organ were located (fig. 43). The equivalent arch in the north arcade simply provided architectural symmetry. The same arrangement was earlier used by William Tutin Thomas in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Ottawa (1872-1874), although whether this was known to Stirling and Harris is not recorded.

Just as the 1890 remodelling of St. Patrick's, Grand River, was a measure of the change in Roman Catholic church design from the early 1840s, so at Port Hill, the 1885 St. James's Anglican Church provides an analogous contrast to the old St. James located across the road (figs. 14, 15, 44, and 45). The division and articulation of individual spaces in the new church are in
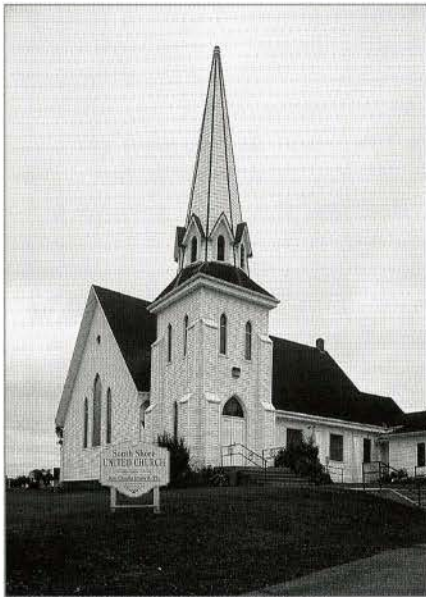
FIG. 58. TRYON, METHODIST (UNITED), 1880. WILLIAM CRITCHLOW HARRIS. EXTERIOR FROM SW (SE) | Malcolm Thurlby.
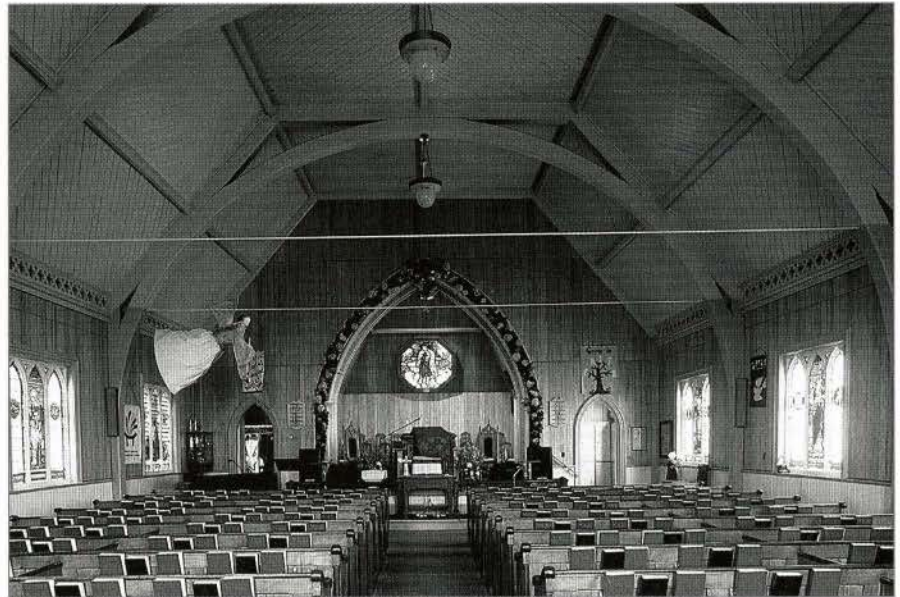

FIG. 59. TRYON, METHODIST (UNITED), 1880. WILLIAM CRITCHLOW HARRIS. INTERIOR TO E (N). | Malcolm Thurlby.

accordance with ecclesiological principles. The square-ended chancel is significantly larger in the new church than in the old. It is raised three steps above the floor of the nave with a further step up to the altar in contrast to the single step to the chancel in the old church with no further elevation for the altar. In the new church, the vestry is on the south side of the chancel and abuts the east wall of the nave. The southwest tower serves as the main entrance to the church and carries the spire to mark the Anglican presence in the community. The same location of the tower is found in contemporary New Brunswick at St. Paul's, Browns Yard, 1884. Inside the new church, the elaborate timber roofing contrasts sharply with the flat ceiling of the old church. The same plan and ecclesiological principles are evident at St. John's, Ellerslie, 1894-1899 (figs. 46 and 47).[92] Here the elaborate variations in surface patterns on the exterior of the church suggest the influence of Queen Anne Revival style domestic architecture.

A less lavish version of that plan, but with the vestry to the north of the chancel, is at St. Luke's, O'Leary, 1888. In the same year, Holy Trinity, Alma, was designed with a similar nave and chancel while the simple central west tower reflects the earlier Gothic on the Island complete with the doorway in the south wall.

WILLIAM CRITHLOW HARRIS: ANGLICAN, ROMAN CATHOLIC, AND METHODIST CHURCHES

The ecclesiological principles of planning evident at Port Hill and Ellerslie are also witnessed in William Critchlow Harris's St. Mark's, Kensington, 1885 (fig. 48).[93] The board-and-batten construction finds ecclesiological pedigree with Frank Wills's Grace Church, Albany, New York, which he published in 1850.[94] But other aspects of St. Mark's, Kensington, suggest that Harris was in keeping with more progressive aspects of Anglican church design. His nave is broader than at Port Hill or

Elleslie, as in the contemporary United Empire Loyalist Church, Adolphustown, Ontario, 1884-1888, by Power and Son of Kingston.[95] He also favoured depressed pointed, or "Tudor," arches for larger windows, a motif he later applied to the tower doorway and chancel arch in St. Elizabeth, Springfield, circa 1890 (figs. 48-50). Here Harris rebuilt the nave but retained the chancel of the earlier nineteenth-century church.

St. Paul's Anglican, Charlottetown, 1894-1896, is a monumental stone church in which Harris introduces certain progressive aspects of church design from England and America, as well as an innovative form of vaulting.[96] The walls are built of red Island sandstone with dressings of grey Nova Scotia sandstone (fig. 51).[97] That polychrome is generally related to St. James Old Kirk, Charlottetown, but the execution is modified. St. Paul's uses large blocks of stone with a hammer-dressed finish rather than the

petit appareil of the Wallace stone and the smooth Island sandstone dressings at Old Kirk (figs. 41 and 51). The Old Kirk treatment follows the medieval manner advocated by Pugin,[98] modified with High Victorian polychrome. The large, hammer-dressed blocks are inspired by Henry Hobson Richardson, as at Grace Episcopal, Medford, Massachusetts, 1867-1869, where we also find a broad, one-bay chancel with a three-sided apse as at St. Paul's.[99] The relatively squat proportions of St. Paul's have more in keeping with Richardson's Grace Episcopal than with the tall town churches of the English High Victorian Gothic tradition. On the other hand, reference to the churches of Edward Buckton Lamb, like St. Martin, Gospel Oak, London, 1862-1865, and St. Mary Magdalen Addiscombe, Surrey, 1868-1870, may be relevant.[100] Lamb favoured polygonal apses to short chancels, vast crossings with shallow transepts, and elaborate wooden roofs. It is also worth mentioning that at St. Martin's Gospel Oak he used depressed or "Tudor" arches for the windows. They are much larger than at St. Paul's, Charlottetown, but seeing that the form was not overly popular in ecclesiastical architecture, there may be a connection. The broad nave and narrow aisles is far removed from the proportions of English medieval church planning and points instead to the "modern" English tradition or to Richardson (figs. 52 and 53). At St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, Lancashire, 1869-1874, George Frederick Bodley, inspired by the plan of Albi Cathedral, placed all the seating in the broad nave and reserved the narrow aisles for walkways.[101] Something similar was popular in the designs of James Cubitt, published in 1870.[102] Richardson then followed the arrangement in his plan for Trinity Church, Buffalo, New York, *circa* 1871, and subsequently in Trinity Church, Boston.[103] In an Anglican

setting, the form is used in St. Thomas's, Toronto, by Eden Smith, 1892.[104]

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of St. Paul's is that the church is covered throughout with wooden vaults. We have already met the wooden vault in Wesleyan Methodist, Charlottetown, but there it took the form of a pointed barrel whereas Harris used what he called groined vaults, even though they have narrow ribs. The fully vaulted interior has been associated with French Gothic churches, but there the vaults are invariably constructed in stone. However, wooden vaults were used in English Gothic churches, and the thirteenth-century example in the choir of St. Mary's, Warmington, Northamptonshire, was discussed and illustrated by Rickman (fig. 54).[105] Whatever the sources, St. Paul's vaults were renowned for the acoustical qualities that were explained by Harris.[106] In their truthful exposure of wood, they uphold the principles of ecclesiology as do the wooden arcade piers and responds and dado arcades in the chancel.

Harris also covered St. John's, Milton, 1898, with a wooden vault.[107] Here, for "low church" Anglican services, the nave and chancel are integrated into a single space which terminated in a polygonal apse at the east end.[108] The tower and spire are located towards the west (south) end of the south (east) wall of the nave and preserve their original colour. The steep gables on each side of the tower with the pinnacles on the angles derive from St. James Old Kirk, Charlottetown, and the octagonal spire also reflects this source, minus the lucarnes.

The Roman Catholic church of St. Malachy, Kinkora, was built to Harris's design in 1899-1901 (figs. 56 and 57).[109] However, it is recorded that on May 13, 1898, François-Xavier Berlinguet and René-

Pamphile Lemay of Quebec produced plans for Kinkora.[110] The Berlinguet-Lemay plans have not survived so we cannot determine whether or not they influenced Harris's design. As it is, many aspects of St. Malachy derive from St. Paul's, Charlottetown—the use of wooden groin vaults throughout, the nave flanked by narrow aisles, the wooden compound main arcade piers and single-shaft responds in the aisles, and the wooden dado arcade in the apse. However, there are two major differences in terms of the interior. First, there is a nave clerestory at Kinkora and, secondly, the crossing at Kinkora has expanded to a large octagonal space, perhaps inspired by the fourteenth-century octagon of Ely cathedral in which the vaulted superstructure would have relevance for Harris.

At Tryon Methodist (now United), 1880, Harris successfully adapted the planning principles of Anglican church design he would later apply at Clifton Royal, New Brunswick, and St. Mark's, Kensington, to the requirements of a Methodist congregation (figs. 58 and 59). The proportions of the nave are broadened so as to better focus on the pulpit platform and there is a single aisle between the seats rather than the usual two in a nonconformist setting. The main entrance is through the tower at the southwest (southeast) angle of the nave. What would serve as a chancel in a traditional Anglican church is adapted by Harris for a lecture/meeting room for the Methodists.

In sum, Gothic adaptations of the eighteenth-century, James Gibbs tradition of church design had a long life in the churches of Prince Edward Island. In spite of specific references to Salisbury Cathedral in South Rustico in 1838, subsequent referral to precise medieval models was rare. In 1860, St. Simon and St. Jude at Tignish brought Catholic

church architecture in the province up-to-date. Yet, in 1863, Little Pond still adhered to the tradition of Gibbs. The impact of Ecclesiology which was felt so strongly at mid-century with the presence of Frank Wills in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario, and William Hay in Newfoundland and Ontario, only arrived in Prince Edward Island with St. Peter's, Charlottetown, in the late 1860s. In the 1880s, in the Anglican churches at Port Hill and Ellerslie, ecclesiological principles were adapted to wooden construction, and that is also evident in the work of William Critchlow Harris. Harris also incorporated many contemporary late nineteenth-century developments in England, the United States and Canada in his designs. Most importantly, he made a brilliant original contribution with his wooden vaults both in terms of the monumentality of the church interiors and their acoustical qualities.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Peter Coffman, Luc Noppen, and Pierre du Prey for discussing various aspects of this paper with me. Father Art O'Shea has helped with information on Catholic churches in Prince Edward Island. Deacon Madonna Fradsham introduced me to the archival photographs in the collection of St. Paul's, Charlottetown, and Peter Westin was my guide to the archives of St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown. Most of all, I am deeply indebted to Canon Robert Tuck for freely sharing his wealth of knowledge on the churches of Prince Edward Island. He generously answered innumerable questions on William Critchlow Harris, David Stirling, and Anglican churches on the Island, kindly commented on an earlier draft of this text, and introduced me to several churches I might otherwise have missed.

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