The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul: Architecture and Patronage

The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, on the corner of Sherbrooke and Redpath streets in Montreal, illustrates many of the particular characteristics of ecclesiastical patronage. The church represents the joining of two powerful, historic, and wealthy Presbyterian congregations in 1918. Both began as individual churches early in the nineteenth century, with each enjoying a long history of prominent ministers and influential patrons, the latter including several of Canada's preeminent businessmen.

A study of the role of patronage in this church reveals not only the outward context of a religious institution as it evolved through several building projects in Montreal, but also the structure of the social forces which were instrumental in producing the final architectural designs. Almost two centuries have transpired since the first church was built for this congregation. The number and stature of architects employed for their buildings is impressive. Moreover, an investigation of the relationship between these patrons and their architects can be illuminating.

The design and construction of a church building is subject to the approval and control, in varying degree, of several groups of people. First of all, the building represents the aspirations of the institution in question—in this example, the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Its goals are foremost: the church building must meet the needs of a specific Protestant liturgy; it must satisfy the moral sensibilities of the institution, and it must express its religious function through its design. The Kirk Session, made up of Elders, forms the ruling body of the church and regulates such fundamentals, mediating between the Presbytery and the congregation.

The second group participating in patronage is the Board of Trustees. As custodians of the building they are responsible for the operation of the church, controlling finances and fund-raising. In the case of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, where Elders have often filled positions on the Board of Trustees, and where these selfsame men have been the powerhouses of Canadian industry, the trust and confidence of the congregation has greatly empowered the Board in the decision-making process for new building projects.

The congregation itself—both as a group and as individual donors—forms the third entity involved in church patronage. Although they may vote on the larger issues of patronage, such as the style of a new church, these issues are ultimately decided by the Trustees. Patronage by individual members of the congregation, however, can be manifested in the very fabric of the building, through memorials such as stained glass windows, engraved plaques and tablets, church silver and furniture, and architectural devices such as metalwork screens and railings.

ST. ANDREW'S, THE FIRST CHURCH OF THIS JOINT CONGREGATION, opened its doors on the west side of St. Peter Street near St. Sacrament in old Montreal in 1807 (figure 1). The church was established in 1803, when the congregation of the St. Gabriel Street Scottish Presbyterian Church divided into factions over the choice of a minister. The members who seceded rented a room on Notre Dame Street while planning for a new church building. Church records reveal that Alexander Logie was engaged as "Builder of the Church" in 1805. Logie was expected to follow the detailed specifications of the church's Building Committee, which included the Reverend Robert Easton and several members of the congregation, who also undertook to help in various capacities, such as inspecting the project, furnishing plans for a cornice, and providing windows.

The Committee "resolved unanimously" that the dimensions of the church should be 70 feet long by 51 feet wide "without the walls, on a foundation of Black Stone, the upper part of Grey Stone, and the front of Pierre de Pesceur or Court Stones." Seating for 760 people would be available, with four classes of pew rents. Plans evolved as the building progressed, with the Committee having a hand in every aspect of the building's execution. By September 1807, roof, cornice, and pediment were in place. Final plans specified a wall and central gate to enclose the front property, with masonry to be executed by Logie and William Gilmor, another member of the Committee.

By Sandra Coley

2 "Minutes of the Church Committee, St. Andrew's Church," 26 August 1805, 20 January 1806, and 6 June 1806, Archives of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal (hereafter Archives, SSAP).
3 Ibid., 30 August 1805.
4 Heine, "Historical Sketch," 1; and "Minutes of the Church Committee," 30 August 1805.
5 "Minutes of Church Committee," 14 September 1807.
The congregation of St. Andrew's had grown considerably by the 1840s. This fact, and the increasing commercialization of the area, led the church to look for a more convenient site. A new Building Committee purchased a lot at the corner of Beaver Hall Hill and Lagauchetiere streets in 1847. This more northerly site reflected the steady residential growth of Montreal away from the old city, centred close to the harbour, and up towards Mount Royal. Later that year the Building Committee decided to ask several architects to submit plans for a new church, with the following specifications:

- the proposed building be of stone, to measure 62 x 90 feet within the walls, of Gothic style of architecture, with a spire raising from a tower, the cost of erection not to exceed £6000.

The resolution was communicated to four practising Montreal architects: John Wells, John Ostell, James Kay Springle, and [J.W.?] Tate. At this time (about 1848), Wells would have been working on the imposing classical structure of the Bank of Montreal located on Place d'Armes, known for the neoclassical Customs House (1836) on St. Paul Street and the Arts Building of McGill College (1838-1843), had early in the 1840s received the commission for the neo-Gothic towers of Notre Dame Cathedral. In 1848 he was working on the High School of Montreal, also in the Gothic style. Springle (1819-1877) had made an unsuccessful bid in 1846 to design the head office of the Bank of Montreal, though was later awarded contracts for three branch banks in Ontario. Little is known about Tate; nevertheless, he, along with his partner George Horatio Smith (who practised in Montreal between 1846 and 1854) won the commission for St. Andrew's Church. Although not much is known about Tate and Smith's practice, their final design for St. Andrew's illustrates an adeptness in the fashionable neo-Gothic mode (figure 2 and cover). The Committee's desire to build a new church in this style probably reflects the influence of the recently-completed Notre Dame Cathedral.

Hugh Allan (1810-1882) was nominated to the Building Committee just in time to vote on the plans. Allan's stature as an entrepreneur and businessman gives some idea of the financial support available to the church's projects. He and his younger brother Andrew (a member of St. Paul's) had galvanized the Allan Line into a major commercial force, with a fleet of more than twenty steamers by the 1860s. Hugh Allan also founded the Merchant's

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6 Mr. Atwater's lot was purchased for a total of £2,000. "Minutes of Proceedings of Building Committee, Church of St. Andrew," 30 July 1847.
7 Ibid., 10 November 1847.
8 The architects were unable to agree on a common fee and finally decided to have the unadopted plans returned without recompense. Later the Committee expressed surprise when, one by one, the three defeated architects sent bills for their drawings. The Committee, after much deliberation, paid each the sum of £12 12s. "Minutes of Proceedings of Building Committee," 10 November 1847, 12 May 1848.
11 Hill lists the dates of Smith's practice in Montreal.
For a more complete account of Hugh Allan's achievements, which included a knighthood from Queen Victoria, and those of other members of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's Churches, see Donald Mackay, *The Square Mile, Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Toronto: Douglas & McIlvrie, 1987).


13 "Abstract of Estimate for erecting St. Andrew's Church," document signed by Tate and Smith Architects, 9 February 1848, Archives, SSAP.

14 Ibid. The first tender for masonry from the firm of Hutchison and Morrison was for £7,861; once the revised plans were submitted by the architects, Hutchison and Morrison won the contract with their bid of £5,356.6.7. "Proceedings of Building Committee," 24 February 1848. The final total for the masonry work was £4,2526.4. Ibid., 24 August 1849.

15 Ibid., 21 January 1849.

16 Heine, 4. See also *Églises Protestantes, Patrimoine du Québec* (Montréal: Libre Expression, 1981), 86.

17 Ibid., 4.

18 St. Andrew's Trustees Minute Book, 1850-1918, 25 October 1869. Scott had originally been associated with the church in 1866, when he had been asked to draw up plans for the placement of a new organ. Entry for 22 October 1866.

19 St. Andrew's Books," 16 November 1869, 8 December 1869. Scott was paid £1,500 for his services. Ibid., 16 December 1870.


21 Ibid. These measurements correspond almost exactly with those of the first St. Andrew's Church.

22 St. Andrew's Church was completed in 1851, and was considered a handsome structure "modelled after Salisbury Cathedral." Allusions to the great cathedral can be seen in the square tower surmounted by a slender pointed spire with two bands of decoration, and in the sturdy pinnacles which crown the walls. Smaller pinnacles were employed as fence posts between the iron railings that surrounded the site. Lateral entrances on both sides of the tower facilitated movement into the church from the main thoroughfare, Beaver Hall Hill Street, as well as from Lagauchetière. The Latin cross plan allowed seating for 900 people.

23 The church was destroyed by fire on a Sunday morning, 25 October 1869. The Trustees wasted no time: the following day they decided to rebuild, and agreed that Thomas Seaton Scott should be architect. Scott (1826-1895) had been entrusted with carrying out the large Frank Will's plans for Christ Cathedral (1857-59) on St. Catherine Street in Montreal. By November, the Trustees had resolved to rebuild the church to its original plans, although they consulted Scott and architect Cyrus Pole Thomas (1833-1911) and William Tun Thomas (1828-1892) on some minor changes. The church re-opened the following year.

24 The congregation of St. Andrew's worshipped in Scott's rebuilt church until 1918, when they joined with St. Paul's Church, located a short distance away on Dorchester Street. The vacated church was rented by several groups until 1927, when it was sold to the Bell Telephone Company and demolished to make way for a new hotel designed by Ernest Isbell Barott (1884-1966).

25 St. Paul's had opened in 1834 on the corner of St. Helen and Recollet streets under the leadership of the Reverend Edward Black (1793-1845) (figure 3). According to Newton Bosworth's *Hochelaga Depicta*, published in Montreal in 1839, it was erected by John Wells, "from a plan by Mr. Thompson [Francis Thompson, 1808-?], Architect, from London, who resided here some years." Built of cut stone, it was 71 feet in length and 53 feet wide. The fanciful decoration on its crenellated façade (which masked a "Grecian" interior) places it in the context of the Romantic Gothic Revival, an early phase of neo-Gothic building in Canada.

26 In 1867 the decision was made to relocate to a more accessible location, as many members had moved north and west on the island. A Building Committee, selected from the membership of the Board of Trustees, included George Stephen (Lord Mount Stephen, 1829-1921), president of the Bank of Montreal and later one of the principal builders of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Andrew Allan (1822-1901), who later became chairman of the Allan Line steamship company. £10,000 was raised spontaneously when the Committee resolved to build anew. While they deliberated over the choice of an architect, an offer was made by Charles Low to subscribe £1,000 to the building fund on the condition that a design previously developed by the late Frederick Lawford would be carried out (figure 4).

27 The offer proved irresistible. In 1868 the congregation moved up the hill to the corner of Dorchester and St. Monica streets into an imposing Gothic structure designed by Lawford (1821-1866) and James Nelson (1830-1919), who were also responsible for the Church of St. James the Apostle (1864) on St. Catherine Street and Holy Trinity (1865) on Viger Street in Montreal.
Lawford's designs were executed after his death by Nelson and by John William Hopkins (1825-1905), who was initially called in to improve ventilation, and who later received the commission to design a railing and gates. A description of building fund costs lists the fees paid to both architects as $2,368.49, exclusive of the railing commission.

The church, which cost $100,000, was described in 1876 as, "for size, beauty and convenience, one of the most important of our city churches." Built in the Early English style, it had a cruciform plan with narrow gabled transepts and a square asymmetrically disposed buttressed tower (completed in 1881 after an additional sum of $11,000 was raised by subscription). The interior was spanned by a hammerbeamed open-timbered roof. The church's façade was enlivened by a wide gable rising on the left of the tower, fronted by a series of smaller gables. Rough-textured walls in Montreal limestone contrasted pleasantly with smoothly detailed Gothic ornamentation carved in Ohio sandstone.

Lawford's plans specified the pointed outlines and scale of the church's Gothic windows, a factor which was later to determine the fenestration for the final Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. These windows initially contained plain glass in keeping with the rather austere programme of the Presbyterian Church, which, in contrast to elaborately-decorated Catholic churches, preferred to keep decorative elements to a minimum. This austerity was relaxed in the following decade as members of the congregation expressed a desire to beautify the church with memorial windows.

The minute books of the Trustees of St. Paul's shed light on this changing ideology and on the formal procedures necessary for the patronage of stained glass memorials. Entries for future reference, as funds were running out.
in the minutes reflect the opinions of such illustrious board members as Richard Blades Angus (1831-1922), general manager of the Bank of Montreal and a founding director of the CPR; Donald Smith (1820-1914), later 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, director of the Hudson's Bay Company, financier of the CPR, and high commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; and several members of the Greenshields family, including E.B. Greenshields (1850-1917), later a director of both the Grand Trunk Railway and the Bank of Montreal. All of these men were well-known art collectors.

An entry in the minutes dated 1867 reflects the gradual appreciation that attractive building designs could be harmonious with Presbyterian intentions: suitable and even elegant churches have their value, and that a high value, for the purpose of giving outward dignity and influence of religion.

In 1878 the first memorial window was commissioned “in some suitable part of the building” to the memory of Mr. Donald Ross, a wealthy Scottish merchant whose bequest had founded the Trafalgar School for Girls. A quick succession of similar requests followed. An entry dated 6 June 1882 and signed by Samuel Greenshields states:

On behalf of Mrs. Redpath and some of the friends of the late Mr. W.W. Redpath, I would like to ask the permission of the Trustees to erect a memorial window on the eastern side of the organ. The work will be executed by Messrs. J. Ballantine and the subjects will be The Good Shepherd and the Youthful David.

The next entry pronounced the decision of the Trustees:

Whereupon it was resolved that the request be granted, and that in communicating this resolution the Secretary intimate to Mrs. Redpath and those concerned, the thanks of the trustees for their intention to perpetuate the memory of Mr. W.W. Redpath in this way which will also they feel assured add greatly to the beauty of the Church.

When the site of St. Paul's Church was expropriated for the construction of the Canadian National Railways' Central Station in 1929 (figure 6), the Trustees determined that any new church building must incorporate all of the earlier memorials, including the windows and tablets from St. Andrew's.

The Trustees had already considered moving, prior to expropriation. The congregation had expanded considerably with the union of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's in 1918, and as in the previous situations of both churches, the city had changed around them. Members had moved northwest of Dorchester Boulevard, which in recent years had become a thoroughfare for commerce and transportation. Notification of the possibility of expropriation came to the Trustees in 1926. During sensitive negotiations with the CNR the following year (in which the aid of Prime Minister Mackenzie King was invoked), the Trustees obtained a free option on the site of St. Andrew's Church was expropriated for the construction of the Canadian National Railways' Central Station in 1929 (figure 6), the Trustees determined that any new church building must incorporate all of the earlier memorials, including the windows and tablets from St. Andrew's.

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Despite a vote by many in the congregation for a moderate new building (the Depression was looming in Canada), the Trustees chose to set up an architectural competition for a church scaled to the dimensions of a cathedral. Their decision must have reflected the desire of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to recoup some of its losses during the 1920s, when many of its congregations had left to join the United Church of Canada. As for the old building, a bid was made by the City of St. Laurent to take down and reconstruct old St. Paul’s in a new location. The church was, in fact, sold for a token sum, and the firm of Lucien Parent (1893-1956) and Henri Labelle (1896-?) undertook the enormous project of dismantling the church, stone by stone, and rebuilding it on St. Croix Boulevard in St. Laurent, where it stands today as the Musée d’Art St. Laurent.  

A LIMITED COMPETITION FOR THE NEW CHURCH BUILDING was held in 1929 according to the rules and regulations of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects. The following Montreal firms were invited to participate: Cecil McDougall, Maxwell & Pitts, Nobbs & Hyde, Ross & MacDonald, H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, Hugh Valance, Shorey & Ritchie, M. Miller, H.T. Davis, Kenneth Rae, Barott & Blackader, and D.R. Brown. Six of the firms submitted entries, which were judged by Norman J. Dawes, the chairman of the Board of Trustees; architect John S. Archibald (1872-1934), a member of the church appointed by the congregation; and Toronto architect Henry Sproatt (1866-1934), who had been nominated by the competitors.  

The winning entry, published in the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in December 1929, was by the firm of H.L. Fetherstonhaugh (figure 7). Harold Lea Fetherstonhaugh (1887-1971) had built a number of private residences in Montreal, and was at the time working on Divinity Hall (1929-31), a Collegiate Gothic commission for McGill University. Some of the features of the winning design listed in the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada included a 1,200-seat church, a manse, caretaker’s house, Sunday school, session rooms, and offices.  

Henry Ross Wiggs (1895-1986), who worked for Fetherstonhaugh as a draftsman, claimed responsibility for the winning concept—a modern Gothic revival design. His claim appears to be valid. Several authorities have pointed out that Fetherstonhaugh was not really a Gothicist. As well, the competition designs recall Wiggs’ very personal style of drawing. According to architect Richard E. Bolton (b. 1907), whose first job after graduating from M.I.T. in 1929 was with Fetherstonhaugh on the church, Hal Ross Wiggs and Thomas Henry Mace (chief draftsman and designer for the firm) were largely responsible for the design details of the building. Indeed, most of the detail drawings (now in the Fetherstonhaugh Archive at the National Archives of Canada) are signed “H.R.W.” and “T.H.M.” Bolton also recalls that Fetherstonhaugh, Mace, and Wiggs divided the project into three different areas;
Figure 8 (above). The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul on the corner of Sherbrooke and Redpath streets in Montreal, H.L. Fetherstonhaugh, architect. (SSAP)

Figure 9 (below left). Sherbrooke Street elevation of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, drawn by Richard E. Bolton. (Item #96, File 81203/1, H.L. Fetherstonhaugh Collection, National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada)

Figure 10 (above). St. Thomas's Church, New York City (1905-13), Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson, architects. (Oliver, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, fig. 44)

Figure 11 (below right). Elevation drawing of St. Thomas's Church, New York City, Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson, architects. (Oliver, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, fig. 45)

Figure 12 (below centre). Perspective of the first scheme for Rockefeller Chapel, University of Chicago, 1918, E.G. Goodhue, Architect. (Oliver, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, fig. 98)
Wiggs, for example, was completely responsible for the design of Kildonan Hall, which included the exterior elevations and interior decorative plan of the church's offices, Sunday school, and panelled auditorium. Bolton, however, maintains that Fetherstonhaugh was interested in the planning essentials of the project, and would have meticulously gone over the work of his draftsmen. It is likely that Wiggs did indeed come up with the original concept for the new church, but that he, Mace, and Fetherstonhaugh worked together as a team in refining the design.

The style of the church reflects the influence of American architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, who, along with his partner Ralph Adams Cram, spearheaded the revival of a modern Gothic architecture in the face of the prevalent classicism of the early twentieth century. The exterior of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's (figures 8, 9) is clearly derived from Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson's St. Thomas's Church in New York (1905-13) (figures 10, 11). The massing of forms, careful detailing, and confident asymmetry resulting from the single thrust of the bell tower are strikingly similar. Comparisons can also be made to Cram and Ferguson's Princeton University Chapel (1926-27), particularly the west front; to Goodhue's Saint Vincent Ferrer (1914-1918) in New York City; and to Goodhue's first scheme for Rockefeller Chapel (1918) at the University of Chicago (figure 12).


(Presbyterian), an unobstructed view of the pulpit and communion table for all the congregation. ... Accepting the unobstructed view as essential, transepts were definitely abandoned, and a nave forty-eight feet four inches wide by one-hundred and forty-six feet in length, including the gallery, provided the stated seating arrangements.

The nave's dramatic breadth and height is accentuated through the use of smoothly dressed limestone walls, and a restrained and elegant programme of decoration.

Fetherstonhaugh and two members of the Building Committee visited New York City in 1929 and had the opportunity to carefully observe the above-mentioned churches. A specific use of material resulting from the trip was Guastavino tile, which had been used to advantage in St. Thomas's Church.

As specified by the Trustees, the stained glass memorials from the two former churches were carefully incorporated into the new design. The corresponding memorial plaques and tablets were designated to a single location, a memorial room to the left of the narthex. In one stroke Fetherstonhaugh gracefully removed “clutter” from the main body of the church while effectively contributing to the honour of past patrons. Current patrons, such as the Allan family, were honoured in the very fabric of the new building. Examples include a sailing ship carved in stone over the entrance to the vestry and church offices, a reference to the Allan Line.

The entire commission illustrates an exceptional concern for detail and craftsmanship. The stonework on the exterior is especially impressive. Variegated Indiana limestone, chosen for its warm buff-coloured hues, was tooled in a variety of finishes. The best quality materials were consistently used in conjunction with the most up-to-date construction methods. The Building Committee would have no less. In spite of the building's handcrafted appearance, it rested on a reinforced concrete and steel frame (figure 17).

The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, dedicated on 21 September 1932, received the highest critical acclaim. It won the First Award for ecclesiastical buildings from the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in 1932. Individual features of its design were also lauded, such as a memorial screen donated for the chapel by Lady Meredith, daughter of Andrew Allan, which won an honourable mention for metalwork craftsmanship at the RAIC exhibition of 1933. The church’s commission also received wide and detailed coverage in the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and in Construction, as well as in the popular press.

Despite an uncertain financial climate and financial difficulties for many members of the congregation who had to honour pre-Depression subscriptions for the new church, the great expense of the building (just over $800,000) could, in part, be justified by the large number of people employed in its construction. It was the indomitable pride and tenacity of the church Trustees, however, which proved the determining factor in seeing a project of this magnitude to completion. As in previous years and previous building campaigns, the Trustees and their building committees were instrumental both in creating the circumstances which would allow a prominent architectural firm to design a fitting edifice for the congregation, and in guiding construction through to completion. In the final analysis, all the churches which rose under the auspices of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's congregations manifested the values and aspirations—and the social structure—of the patrons who had them built.

Sandra Coley is a graduate student in Canadian Art and Architectural History at Concordia University, Montreal. Her essay The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul: A Case Study in Architectural Patronage was the winner of the SSAC’s 1990 Martin El Well Prize. She is currently preparing a catalogue raisonné of the church's architectural features, including stained glass windows, metalwork, and furnishings.