

THE NINE-YEAR ODYSSEY OF A HIGH VICTORIAN GOTH: THREE CHURCHES BY FRED CUMBERLAND

Frederic William Cumberland's considerable reputation as an architect rests largely on a few major monuments executed in the 1850's in Toronto: St-James' Anglican Cathedral, 1850-3, at King and Church Streets (Figs. 5-7, 9-11); University College, 1856-8, on the north side of the University of Toronto's center campus; and the central portion of Osgoode Hall, 1857-60, on Queen Street at University Avenue.¹ These three alone demonstrate a highly eclectic and greatly gifted talent but Cumberland did outstanding work in many fields and deserves to be more widely known. His contribution includes other notable public and educational buildings, not only in Toronto but in such places as Hamilton, Whitby and Cayuga.

So far as we know, Cumberland designed only three churches, the subject of this paper, all for the Anglican Communion, all within the decade of the 1850's. Each was a particular ecclesiastical type, each was intended for a different situation, and hence each took a different form. In addition to the cathedral already mentioned, Cumberland's two other churches were the Church of the Ascension, 1850-1, on the corner of John Street and Forest Avenue in Hamilton (Fig. 1), and the cemetery chapel of St. James the Less, 1857-61 (Figs. 12-14), at the entrance to St. James' Cemetery on Parliament Street in Toronto. The Church of the Ascension was designed for a small but thriving industrial city. St. James' Cathedral was designed for the Diocese of Toronto yet was required to answer the needs of both parish church and cathedral. St. James the Less was planned to serve both as a cemetery chapel and chapel-of-ease. Each represents a solution to a particular problem through the adaptation of British precedents. Central to the understanding of these churches is the rapid development of High Victorian forms in the service of the Anglican "science of ecclesiology".

Fred Cumberland, as he normally signed himself, was born in London, England, in 1820 or 1821 and died in Toronto in 1881. His education commenced in Dublin and was completed at King's College, London, where in accordance with nineteenth-century tradition, he trained as a civil engineer and architect. Upon completion of a five-year apprenticeship with the English architect William Tress, he took employment with the London and Birmingham Railway. In 1844 he joined the Engineering

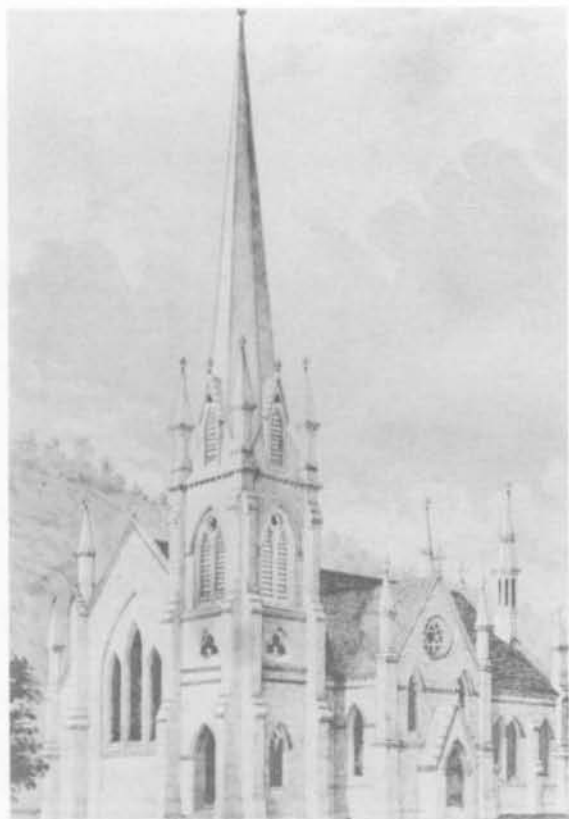


Fig. 1. F. W. Cumberland, Church of the Ascension (Ang.), Hamilton, 1850-51, view from the north-east; chromolithograph. (Photo: Hamilton Reference Library).



Fig. 3. A. W. Pugin, St. Wilfred's (R. C.), Hulme, near Manchester, 1839-42, view from the north-east, as projected. (*Dublin Review*, 1841).



Fig. 2. R. C. Carpenter, St. Paul's (Ang.), Brighton, Sussex, largely 1846-48, view from the north-east. (*Ecclesiologist*, 1846).



Fig. 4. William Hay, Anglican Church, Bampton, 1854, view as projected. (*Anglo-American Magazine*, 1854).

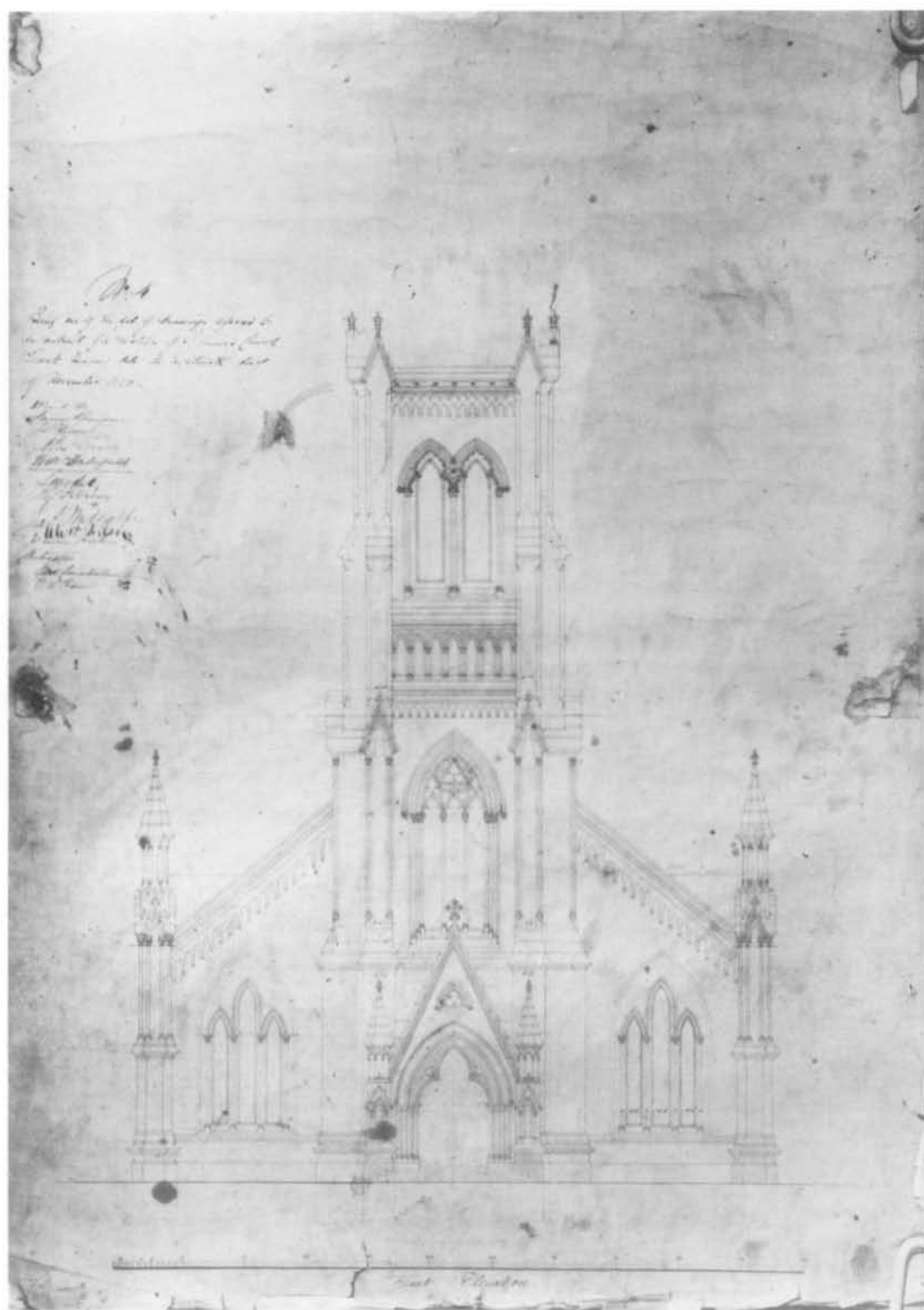


Fig. 5. F. W. Cumberland, St. James' Cathedral (Ang.), Toronto, largely 1850-53, front (south) elevation; contract drawing, 1850. (Photo: Archives of St. James' Cathedral).

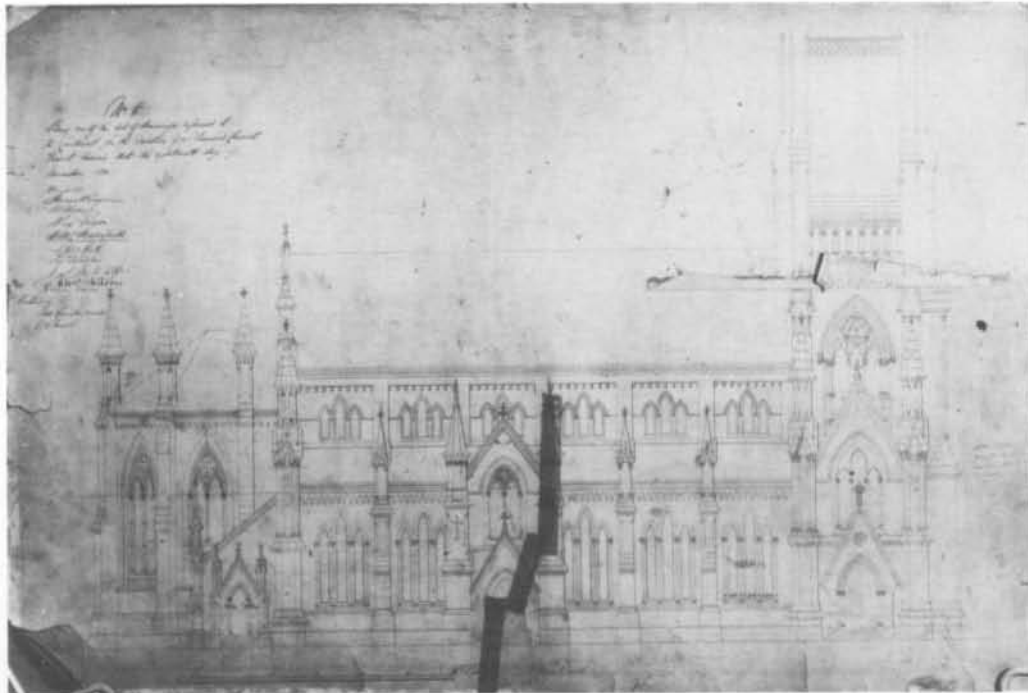


Fig. 6. F. W. Cumberland, St. James' Cathedral (Ang.), Toronto, largely 1850-53, side (west) elevation; contract drawing, 1850. (Photo: Archives of St. James' Cathedral).

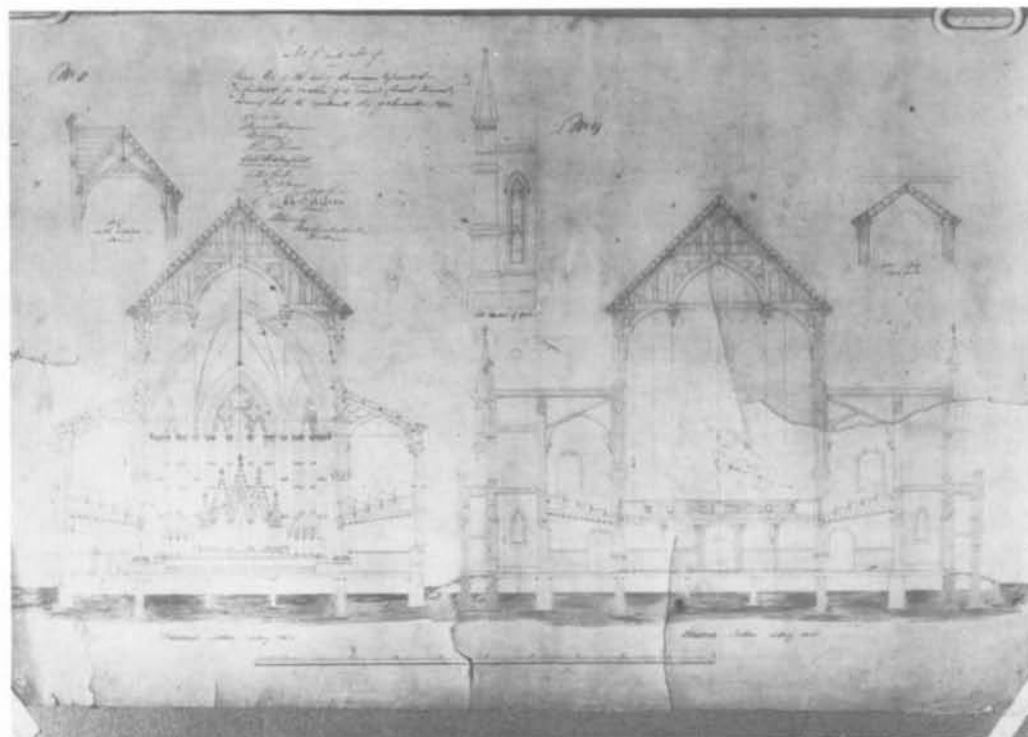


Fig. 7. F. W. Cumberland, St. James' Cathedral (Ang.), Toronto, largely 1850-53, transverse sections looking north (left) and south (right); contract drawing, 1850. (Photo: Archives of St. James' Cathedral).

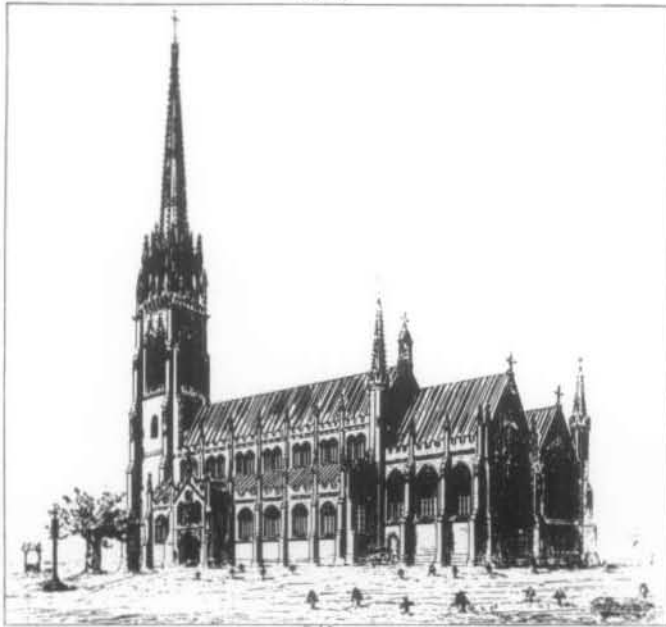


Fig. 8. The ideal
"old English parish
church" as
visualized by
A. W. Pugin.
(Pugin, *True
Principles*, 1841).



Fig. 9. St. James'
Cathedral, Toronto,
view of east side.
(Photo:
D. S. Richardson).

Department of the Admiralty, eventually assuming responsibility for the design and construction of dry-docks, forts and batteries, and government buildings at Portsmouth. Cumberland's son, Frederic Barlow Cumberland, has written that his father was a student of Charles Barry.² It is difficult to see how any significant interval of study with Barry can be fitted into the 1886 account of Cumberland's early life by G. M. Rose in his *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*.³ Rose states only that Cumberland arrived in Canada with a letter of recommendation from Barry testifying that from an acquaintance with his professional work as an architect he had "the highest opinions of his qualifications and character".

Cumberland emigrated to Canada in 1847. Soon after his arrival he was appointed engineer to the County of York and by 1850 he was professionally established with offices in both Hamilton and Toronto. Cumberland practiced architecture for only fifteen or so years during which time he combined it with an interest in the railways which eventually claimed his full attention. Yet during this period he made a very significant contribution to the development of Canadian architecture.

Cumberland's churches mark critical points in his architectural career. At the same time they demonstrate the rapid progression from the Early Victorian to High Victorian style during the 1850's. Cumberland's entry into the field of ecclesiastical architecture was made with his competition drawings, no longer extant, for St. James' Cathedral. In 1849 the cathedral, a Georgian structure and the third Anglican church on that site, was destroyed in the "Great Fire" that devastated almost fifteen acres of Toronto's business section.⁴ Cumberland was one of eleven architects to enter the competition which was to produce the design for the cathedral's replacement. His competition drawings almost certainly represented his first essay in the Gothic style but between their submission in 1849 and their revision late in 1850, the Church of the Ascension in Hamilton was designed and its construction begun. Thus the Hamilton church, begun in May 1850, was designed while his ideas for the cathedral were still evolving. St. James the Less, coming seven years later, represents Cumberland at the peak of his architectural career when his abilities were fully developed and his judgment assured.

Of modest scale and constructed of local limestone, the Church of the Ascension stands on a gentle slope rising toward the Niagara escarpment at the south. It is not precisely Cumberland's church; the original

roof and upper walls were destroyed by fire in 1887, but reconstruction was generally faithful to the original design, the enlargement of the chancel being the only major change.⁵ Since the orientation of the church is orthodox, the chancel was required to face toward John Street which runs north and south providing the main approach from the north. The plan is basically cruciform: shallow transepts with entrance porches projecting from either side. However it is given asymmetrical focus through the positioning of the bell-tower at the north-east corner of the church. This was an unusual arrangement for its time and a departure from the Canadian Gothic churches of the forties which, in allegiance to Georgian ideals, were symmetrical, usually simple rectangular forms with central towers at the west.

Undoubtedly Cumberland's plan for the Church of the Ascension owes a debt to the English architects, R. C. Carpenter and A. W. Pugin. Carpenter's highly regarded design for St. Paul's, Brighton, 1846-8 (Fig. 2), had been reproduced in 1846 in a perspective view of the east end in the well-known English periodical, the *Ecclesiologist*.⁶ This was the vehicle through which the Ecclesiological Society of England advanced its theories. The Society, and offshoot of the High Church movement, was established in order to bring about a reform of the Anglican Church.⁷ Following the lead of Pugin, it called for a return to the ideals and observances of an earlier age and the architectural setting associated with them. The recommended model was the parish church from that period of English Gothic architecture described as "middle-pointed" or Decorated; a structure with a high-pitched roof, an open-timbered ceiling, and a plan incorporating a long nave and spacious chancel with the focus emphatically on the sanctuary at the east. Since each element of the plan carried an inherent Christian symbolism, it was required to be clearly differentiated and openly expressed, the church standing as a three-dimensional metaphor of the faith.⁸ As an architect and Anglican, Cumberland would certainly have been aware of the activities of the Ecclesiological Society and its publication. Carpenter's design developed the asymmetrical plan first advocated by Pugin (Fig. 3)⁹ and was particularly recommended by the *Ecclesiologist* as "exhibiting one way in which a church with its end toward the street can be handled as to the main entrance."¹⁰ Cumberland does not seem to have planned an entrance into the nave through the tower as Carpenter did. Nevertheless the positioning of the tower of St. Paul's was admira-

bly suited to the John Street site where, similarly located, the tower would dramatically dominate the slope and the approach to the church.

In his choice of such a plan, Cumberland must have had in mind its suitability to the natural setting with the wooded escarpment in the background. Picturesque asymmetry united with picturesque landscape recalled the bucolic appeal of the rural medieval church and so answered the ecclesiologists' plea for a sensitive collaboration of the architect with nature in the siting and design of churches.¹¹

Cumberland probably would have preferred to follow Carpenter and ecclesiological principle in his treatment of the east end of the church. While St. Paul's chancel is clearly expressed by Carpenter through its projection from the nave beyond the east wall of the tower, Cumberland's shallow chancel at the Church of the Ascension is almost flush with the tower (Figs. 1,2) and differentiated from the nave only by an awkward cutting away of the south-east corner of the church.¹² An awkward compromise, it no doubt relates to the congregation's evangelical form of worship and hence its rejection of the long chancel necessary for a more elaborate liturgical service.

Transepts would have raised an ecclesiological eyebrow. By this time they were regarded as a cathedral feature or as appropriate for an aisled church¹³ which the Church of the Ascension was not. Nor would the western gallery have been deemed admissible since galleries were condemned as a "theatrical" element associated with the classical "preaching-box" or auditory church. Colonial congregations were loathe to give them up, partly because of a lingering affection for the old interiors in which the "Word" was easily heard, but also from a need to realize the greatest capacity from scant funds. Economics probably dictated the simple lancet window of the Early English phase of Gothic as well, but the ecclesiologists would have considered the profusion of pinnacled accents as inconsistent with this phase.¹⁴ The delicate, somewhat fussy character of Carpenter's secondary detailing was rejected by Cumberland in favour of simple mouldings. Sturdy buttressing, angled at the tower, contributes more three-dimensionally to the composition than is the case with the Brighton church (Figs. 1,2).

Certain qualities that came to be characteristic of Cumberland's medieval designs are already apparent in this early work: the grouping together of highly varied and even boldly contrasting forms, the preference for vigorous detail, and the fondness for restless silhouette.

Through its introduction of a forceful asymmetry, the Church of the Ascension makes a particular, and apparently influential, contribution to the development of Canadian architecture, this type of picturesque composition coming into increasing use from the early fifties on. In 1854, for example, William Hay¹⁵ designed a simple parish church for Brampton (Fig. 4). With its steeply pitched roof and deep chancel it is closer in character to both the medieval ideal and the developing High Victorian Gothic style than the Hamilton church. Nevertheless, at Brampton, Hay followed Cumberland's lead in the development of this asymmetrically planned type.

Cumberland had altogether different problems to consider in the 1849 competition for the design of St. James' Cathedral in Toronto. Because of limited financial resources (an affliction common to colonial congregations) the design was expected to combine the functions of parish church and cathedral. The pew-rental system was employed and was to be the principle source of funds for the new building. The Building Committee therefore required the plan to provide for the same number of worshippers as the church which had been destroyed in the 1849 fire and to duplicate its seating-plan.¹⁶ All that is known of Cumberland's competition design is that it was in the Gothic style and was to be built of brick, as had been requested by the Committee, and that it included both a two-towered façade and shallow transepts.

Although he was awarded the first premium, this did not immediately secure him the commission. Various issues, relating to the shortage of funds, had arisen to divide the congregation. The earlier church had faced south, fronting on King Street. Now a return to orthodox orientation was argued with the church facing west, in order to release the church's King Street frontage for commercial development. It was also questioned whether the congregation should build a less expensive parish church leaving the Diocese to erect a cathedral. The situation was further complicated by the preference of some ambitious members of the Vestry and, it seems, the Bishop, for a more pretentious (and therefore costly) design that had been submitted extra-competitively by George Smith of Montreal. The drama of this many-sided debate is a complicated story. But compromises were painfully achieved and differences resolved resulting in the adoption of a revised plan by Cumberland for a "usable" church to be built at a cost of £11,465, which was to be a fusion of a parish church and cathedral. The unorthodox orientation was re-

tained but the site moved nearer to King Street, a tactic intended to prevent future leasing of the frontage.

Constructed from the "white brick" that came into general use in Toronto in the 1840s, with mouldings of buff Ohio stone, St. James' stands facing south within a green expanse rather like an English cathedral within its close. It is a clerestoried structure with a central tower and spire at the south, and with the principal entrance through the base of the tower. Two porches on the west side and two on the east (one of them now closed and converted to a Baptistery) provide for the secondary entrances into the vestibules and the transepts. The plan terminates in an apsidal sanctuary rather than the square form usual for Anglican churches (Figs. 5-7). Cumberland's son has mentioned that his father had wanted a long choir between the apse and nave but that it was omitted "for motives of economy".¹⁷

Cumberland's concept relates to two questions that were disturbing ecclesiologists: how best to combine the functions of a cathedral with a parish church for the colonial situation, and what was the appropriate form for an urban church? The wide disparity among the eleven designs submitted to St. James' Building Committee points to the confusion that existed with respect to both.¹⁸ The *Ecclesiologist* was sure that a discernible hierarchy between chapel, parish church and cathedral was desirable and that a cathedral plan ought to incorporate a long choir, transepts equal in height to the nave, a tower at the crossing, a clerestory and a "regular" or symmetrical front. A parish church, on the other hand, should rely on picturesque effects of asymmetry and rusticity.¹⁹

Pugin had already provided a potential model for urban forms (Fig. 8) but it remained for George Edmund Street, soon to become a figure of great influence, to deal with the second question with his article. "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church", published in the *Ecclesiologist* in December, 1850. He deplored "copies of country work" for the city, and recommended smooth surfaces in place of rough stone. He also desired high clerestories, regular fronts, and a tower at the crossing or one centrally located at the west. He encouraged English architects to consider the unbroken roof-line and apsidal east ends of continental churches.²⁰ Cumberland could not have known of Street's theories in time for them to have influenced his design for St. James'. Street, himself, did not put them into practice until the mid-fifties.²¹ However, the extent to which Cumberland's composition accords with Street's

views demonstrates that he was close to the forefront of church design at this early stage in his career.

Cumberland's advanced position is reflected not only in plan and form but also in the vigorous and substantial details. Although the cathedral may well represent his first composition in brick, he succeeds in exploiting its possibilities with aplomb (Fig. 9). Exterior walls are elaborated with distinguished detailing that makes telling use of the material: corbel tables, pilaster strips and recessed panels enclosing triple lancets. But with the massive buttresses accented by pinnacles these diverse rhythms come fully into play. Square and octagonal buttresses taper abruptly with generous weatherings at the transitional points and terminate in pinnacles, some with slender colonettes abutting chamfered edges, with ribbed, stepped or gabled caps.

A lively rhythm, or more correctly, an emphatic cadence is engendered by both exterior and interior forms in Cumberland's work. The succession of protruding forms of the apse, transepts and porches creates a noble effect as sunlight plays over them. This would have been a more striking sequence of solids and voids had all porches been left open as Cumberland intended (Fig. 6). One feels the effect in the space carved out for the main door (Fig. 5) while observing the marked processional element in the design. Entrance into the porch is through a deeply-splayed, arched opening lined with colonettes. Within the porch the same motifs are repeated on a smaller scale but with the arch divided in two and filled with stone tracery at the top. Set back from this skeletal layer and contrasting with the pale stone, is a further level represented by dark panelled doors which open into the enclosed space of the tower. Thus one experiences a succession of spaces ever more confining, each more shadowed, before stepping into the sudden expanse of the nave (Fig. 10). This is a carefully calculated scheme, the moment of climax provided by the brilliance of the apse; a dramatic manipulation of architectural elements enjoyed by Victorians.

The interior of St. James' is broad and spacious with an original decorative but manly quality that must reflect Cumberland's English contacts at this period. The arcaded nave is divided into six bays of widely spaced compound piers of cluster columns (Fig. 10). Originally there were side-galleries and a gallery at the rear where the organ was first located. Before the removal of the side-galleries, the strongly horizontal quality of their panelled fronts would have been reinforced by the

broad tie-beams of the timbered ceiling and the deep decorative cornices, all combining to challenge the accepted notion of Gothic verticality expressed especially through the clustered columns. Cumberland's journey to England in 1851, as an official of the Canadian delegation to the Great Exhibition,²² would have put him in touch with the latest developments in English architecture, in particular, with the radical design by William Butterfield for All Saints', Margaret Street, London, then under construction.²³ There would have been opportunity for only minor revisions upon Cumberland's return. While changes made from the drawings, such as the more forceful design for the truss-work (Figs. 7,11) and the substitution of more robust forms for the interior doors, do not directly reflect the pungent individuality of Butterfield, it is still possible that the greater vigour displayed in these minor alterations owes much to the 1851 visit to England and specifically, to Butterfield.

St. James' was opened on June 19, 1853; an almost embarrassingly unfinished church. When the tower was completed and the spire, porches and pinnacles added in 1874, the congregation had at last a structure "worthy of the mother church of the Diocese". Cumberland provided a remarkably workable fusion of the two ecclesiastical types as well as a local model for the design of large urban churches. Going well beyond the purely imitative approach to Gothic design of the mid-forties, he used medieval precedent with zest in his adaptation of brick to the Gothic style, offering a decorative richness new to Canadian church architecture.

When the cemetery chapel of St. James the Less was commissioned in 1857 Cumberland had achieved outstanding prominence in his field. In partnership with Thomas Ridout, who had joined him shortly after the cathedral was begun, he had built the Toronto Normal and Model Schools in 1851. With William Storm, he was responsible for the Magistrates' Court on Adelaide Street, 1852, the Seventh Post Office at 10 Toronto Street, 1853, the Court House in Whitby 1853, and the Mechanics Institute at Adelaide and Church Streets in 1854.²⁴ Three years later University College was well under construction, Cumberland having travelled abroad in order to acquaint himself with recent trends in preparation for its design. St. James the Less relates most particularly to that complex composition.

St. James' Cemetery, a sixty-five acre parcel of land laid out in 1844 by John Howard, came within the jurisdiction of St. James' Cathedral. The

Vestry requested plans from Cumberland in April of 1857 and immediately adopted the designs which he presented two weeks later. The chapel was probably always meant to serve as a cemetery chapel and chapel-of-ease since less than two years after its opening in 1861 it was being used for Sunday services; from this beginning the congregation of St. Peter's, Carleton Street, was formed.²⁵ (Its foundation stone was laid in 1865.) Thus, as with the cathedral, Cumberland was designing a dual-purpose structure. This went considerably beyond the ecclesiologists' ambitions for "church extension" when they advised (in 1845) that cemetery chapels, if located at some distance from a parish church, be used for daily public prayer. They had also recommended that the chapel be given a processional character, that the chancel be fitted for the celebration of Holy Communion and that the plan include a western porch and a bell-tower. Not much attention was paid to design, for a change; the Society feeling confident that Anglican architects would follow the "right road" and "produce buildings which posterity would not blush to imitate."²⁶

Cemetery chapels were, in fact, a recent architectural type coming into being with the establishment of large cemeteries at the outskirts of cities. Early examples tended to be wildly eclectic or, if Gothic in style, to exhibit the same architectural misdemeanors that ecclesiologists condemned in parish churches. The more modest chapels were frequently simple rectangular forms with undefined chancels. In 1847, however, Butterfield provided the Ecclesiological Society with a design for a cemetery chapel and lich-house that was published by the Society in a series of "working drawings" under the title, *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*.²⁷ With a small circular nave in "appropriate remembrance of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem" and with the seats arranged east to west so as to face the center aisle, the plan was scarcely adaptable for a parish church. The plan that Cumberland devised instead was capable of accommodating about two hundred and departed from that of a modest parish church only in the unusual width of the center aisle.

The rural character of the site, the meandering lay-out established by Howard in 1844, and the south-western approach from Parliament Street seemed to call for a return to the concept of "picturesque beauty" and the asymmetrical grouping that Cumberland had used at Hamilton. Standing on a slight rise, just beyond and to the left of the cemetery entrance, the chapel (Figs. 12-14) is built of gray sandstone with a patterned



Fig. 10. St. James' Cathedral,
Toronto, view of interior
looking north to sanctuary.
(Photo: D. S. Richardson).



Fig. 11. St. James' Cathedral,
Toronto, interior detail
showing roof of nave.
(Photo: D. S. Richardson).



Fig. 12. F. W. Cumberland and W. G. Storm, Chapel of St. James the Less (Ang.), Toronto, 1857-61, view from the south-west; watercolour rendering. (Photo: Archives of St. James' Cathedral).



Fig. 13. F. W. Cumberland and W. G. Storm, Chapel of St. James the Less (Ang.), Toronto, 1857-61, view from the south-east; watercolour rendering. (Photo: Archives of St. James' Cathedral).

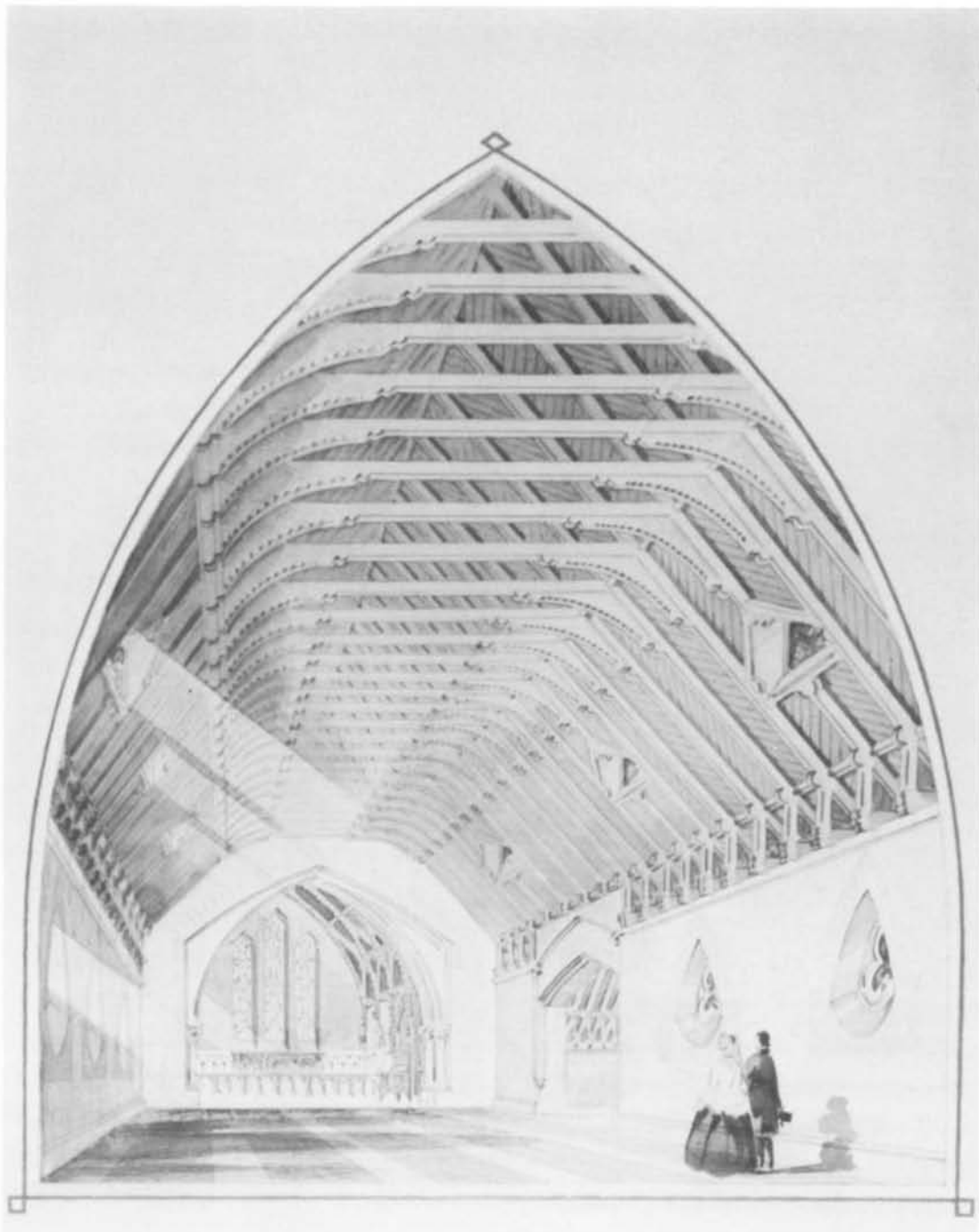


Fig. 14. F. W. Cumberland and W. G. Storm, Chapel of St. James the Less (Ang.), Toronto, 1857-61, interior looking east; watercolour rendering. (Photo: Archives of St. James' Cathedral).



DESIGN NO. IX

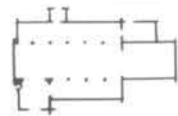


Fig. 15. George Truefitt, Design No. IX, c. 1850. (Truefitt, *Designs for Country Churches*, 1850).

slate roof and a wooden entrance porch at the west. The bell-tower is asymmetrically positioned at the south-west angle of the building. The solitary transept projects from the south side. Its south wall is continuous with that of an adjoining sacristy and rear entrance hall. As it turns in toward the chancel, it terminates in a quarter-octagon, an arrangement that had been used at University College to unite the entrance to the Senate Hall with the Bedel's room. The chancel, differentiated in scale from the nave extends over the basement entrance to the crypt below. The overall development of these forms and the way in which they are related produces a sequence of great subtlety.

The deep porch and the steep roof sheltering low walls may reflect the style of George Truefitt as exhibited in his *Designs for Country Churches* published in England in 1850 (Fig. 15).²⁸ That Canadians were now fully responsive to the associational power of this type of form is demonstrated by the article of 1854 that had accompanied William Hay's design for Brampton (Fig. 4) in the *Anglo-American Magazine*. Hay's low walls and high-pitched roof were described as "giving a bold and fearless outline, expressive at once of dignity and humility." It was also suggested that such designs were peculiarly appropriate to Canada: "In this country where woodwork is comparatively cheap and masonry dear, we should have better and cheaper fabrics by letting the wooden element enter more largely into the composition."²⁹ The contrast of massive weight and open volume of Truefitt's designs and the quality of roofy, low-walled, wood-and-stone architecture in the Anglo-American mode are present in Cumberland's chapel. As the church was built, the contrast was increased when the squat pyramidal base of the spire was opposed to its sharp needle and the short square tower clasped by a massive corner buttress contrasted to the open woodwork of the porch.³⁰

The same engaging contrast of elements prevails within. Plain thick walls of a warm tan brick are pierced for the deep-set windows while the dark truss-work overhead, its design very like that planned for the Senate Hall at University College, is limited to delicately detailed tie-beams (Fig. 14). The ribbed woodwork of the ceiling is drawn down the upper portion of the walls in a protective, tent-like covering, a device frequently used by Butterfield. This is further developed in the chancel where the north and south walls are entirely of wood of a warm russet tone. Here the framing members are exposed, their edges decoratively

chamfered or bevelled, repeating the method of construction used for the wooden porch. This detail, with which Cumberland had first experimented at University College, also suggests the influence of Butterfield, as does the direct approach to form shown in the blunt faceting used for the chimney cap at the rear, and elsewhere.

The themes and the aesthetic developed by Cumberland at University College are distilled in the composition for St. James the Less. Here, the exuberance exhibited in the design of the two earlier churches is disciplined and refined. Cumberland undoubtedly benefitted from his second return to England in the mid-fifties, when he would have gained a fresh contact with English church architecture. Nevertheless, the cemetery chapel is a thoroughly individual work, a superb design of High Victorian character displaying that particular combination of grace and vigour that marks Cumberland's mature work. It stands out among the finest examples in Canadian architecture and ranks with the best of High Victorian design in contemporary England.

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Notes:

¹ Eric Arthur, *Toronto, No Mean City* (Toronto: 1974), for illustrations of St. James' Cathedral, see figs. 206-9; for University College, figs. 213-25; and for Osgoode Hall, figs. 135-57.

² (F.) Barlow Cumberland, "The Story of a University Building," *The Canadian Magazine*, 17 (July 1901), p. 236.

³ The most extensive account of Cumberland's life is that in G. M. Rose, *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: 1886), pp. 705-7.

⁴ For an account of the holocaust, see F. H. Armstrong, "The First Great Fire of Toronto, 1849," *Ontario History*, 53 (Sept. 1961), pp. 201-21.

⁵ M. H. Farmer, *One Hundred Years: The Church of the Ascension, Hamilton, 1850-1950* (Hamilton: 1950), pp. 5-11 and 26-7.

⁶ *Ecclesiologist*, 5 (April 1846), pp. 155-57.

⁷ The standard account of the movement is James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: 1962). For matters pertaining more specifically to the Society's influence on architecture see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, 2 vols. (New Haven: 1954), particularly chs. IV, V, and XVII.

⁸ *Ecclesiologist*, 2 (Oct. 1842), p. 5, and 3 (Aug. 1844), pp. 134-5.

⁹ A. W. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: 1841). Pugin's view was that picturesque design should have a rational basis deriving from the methods by which the architect overcame "local and constructive difficulties", see pp. 51-2. Such is the case with both Carpenter's and Cumberland's designs which related to problems of site.

¹⁰ *Ecclesiologist*, 9 (Aug. 1849), p. 80.

- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4 (Nov. 1845), pp. 263-70.
- ¹² A "View of the City of Hamilton" from *Canadian Illustrated News*, 1 April, 1871, is reproduced in Charles P. de Volpi, *The Niagara Peninsula: A Pictorial Record* (Montreal: 1966) showing a view of the Church of the Ascension from the south-east and illustrating this detail.
- ¹³ *Ecclesiologist*, 5 (Feb. 1846), p. 81.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 (April 1843), p. 119.
- ¹⁵ Hay, who was G. G. Scott's clerk of works for the cathedral of Newfoundland, arrived in Ontario in 1852. See Arthur, p. 247.
- ¹⁶ The rebuilding of St. James' Cathedral is discussed in a further article by F. H. Armstrong, "The Rebuilding of Toronto after the Great Fire of 1849," *Ontario History*, 53 (Dec. 1961), pp. 241-48. Armstrong includes the Building Committee's advertisement for competition designs, gives a detailed account of the competition and a blow by blow account of the complications that followed. In an address to the Vestry in 1853, Bishop Strachan reported that the wish that "all should be placed in the new church exactly as they were in the old" was "gratified to the very letter", see *Vestry Minutes, 1842-1907*, Archives of St. James' Cathedral, April 11, 1853.
- ¹⁷ Cumberland, p. 236.
- ¹⁸ For a brief description of the various designs, see the *Church*, Sept. 20, 1849.
- ¹⁹ *Ecclesiologist*, 5 (Feb. 1846), p. 81 and 12 (Feb. 1851), p. 27.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 11 (Dec. 1850), pp. 227-33.
- ²¹ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "G. E. Street in the 1850's, *J.S.A.H.*, 19 (Dec. 1960), pp. 163-68.
- ²² Rose, p. 705.
- ²³ The standard work on the subject is Paul Thompson, "All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, Reconsidered," *Architectural History*, 8 (1965), pp. 73-93.
- ²⁴ For illustrations of the Normal and Model Schools see Arthur, figs. 163-5; the Magistrates' Court on Adelaide Street, figs. 168-170; the Post Office, fig. 200; and the Mechanics' Institute, fig. 173. For the Court House in Whitby, see Brian Winter, *A Town Called Whitby* (Whitby: 1967), p. 26.
- ²⁵ *Vestry Minutes, 1842-1907*, April 27, May 11, 1857; July 24, 1862; and April 6, 1863.
- ²⁶ *Ecclesiologist*, 4 (Jan. 1845), pp. 9-13.
- ²⁷ William Butterfield ed., *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. Second Series (London: 1856), pls. I to IV.
- ²⁸ George Truefitt, *Designs for Country Churches* (London: 1850), see also Design No. XVI.
- ²⁹ "Village Churches," *The Anglo-American Magazine*, 4, No. 1 (Jan. 1854), pp. 21-2. For a discussion of the associational power that forms and materials had for Victorians, see George L. Hersey, *High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism* (Baltimore: 1972), particularly chs. II and III.
- ³⁰ Arthur, figs. 211-12.