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St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Montréal:
An Architectural Analysis
and
History of Its Early Years

Donna Eleanor McGee

A Thesis
in
the Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

July 1991,

c. Donna Eleanor McGee, 1990



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ABSTRACT

St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Montréal: An
Architectural Analysis and History of Its Early Years

Donna McGee

Architectural historians have stated that St. Patrick's Church marks the first step in the understanding of Gothic building principles in the Canadian Gothic Revival. The sometimes stated, sometimes implicit, qualification is that the church must be judged in relation to the British movement. While the statement can be considered to be true in a general sense, the history of the construction and the background of the architect reveal that the qualification is both incorrect and inapplicable. Stylistic analysis shows that St. Patrick's Church owes more to both French Gothic from Normandy and local building traditions than the British Gothic movement spearheaded by Pugin.

Secondary sources are unreliable for an accurate history of the church as they contain information which was taken from erroneous contemporary newspaper reports. Archival sources paint a clearer picture of the events, and disclose that the church is the result of one architect's training and aesthetic sense, and who perhaps complied with a Jesuit priest's suggestions for some details on the facade. This clarifies the double attributions given in most texts on St. Patrick's.

Finally, St. Patrick's is placed in its historical context, assessing criticisms of the church from its beginnings to the present.

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My thanks also extend to Jennifer Trant of the CCA, who agreed to flexible work hours so that I could consult archives during office hours. David Rose, a fellow student and colleague at the CCA, helped me organize this project into a river when it wanted to be a tree, and to him I owe a very grateful thank-you. Last, but not least, I wish to thank my family for their support throughout the years, and especially my husband, Bernard Courville, for editing suggestions, helping decipher particularly sticky 19th-century French prose, and his love, understanding and encouragement through this period.

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St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Montréal¹

Introduction

Built between 1843 and 1847, St. Patrick's Church (fig. 1) is one of Montréal's important architectural landmarks, yet it has never been studied in depth and its status as a landmark has never been explained. Superficial and erroneous statements have been made about its history and nothing significant has been published about the church to explain its architectural importance, although there are many articles written about the history of the congregation and successive interior redecoration. The most substantial -- but largely unsubstantiated -- claim by architectural historians the late Mathilde Brosseau, Alan Gowans, and Jean-Claude Marsan² is that the style of St. Patrick's marks an advance in the understanding of Gothic building principles in Canada, and that it goes beyond a classical box adorned with applied Gothic details.³

The most recent publication referring to St. Patrick's is a two-part newspaper article by Guy Pinard (1990)⁴ which

¹ The Church has recently been designated a basilica. It will be referred to as a church here as the subject is the origins of its existence, and not its present state.

² Mathilde Brosseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980), p. 15; Alan Gowans, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 97; Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal in Evolution (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), p. 200.

³ Gowans, p. 97; Marsan, p. 200.

⁴ Pinard, "La basilique Saint-Patrick (1)" La Presse, 18 mars 1990, p. A8; and "La basilique Saint-Patrick (2)" La

covers the history of the congregation, the choice of site, and an archaeological report of construction details and measurements. His main sources are reports prepared by members of the Ministère des Affaires culturelles, and these include some archival research. This research, however, is not extensive and has not proven who the architect was, nor does it provide a critical assessment of the church. Even though Pinard mentions the architectural importance of the church, it is merely a reference to its classification as an historic monument. Its importance in Canadian architectural history according to Pinard is:

La valeur architecturale de cette église a été reconnue tardivement puisque son classement à titre de monument historique remonte au 10 décembre 1985. De nombreux experts sont enclins à considérer cette église comme étant la plus originale de toutes les églises de style néo-gothique de Montréal, et comme un bel exemple du style gothique du XIII^e siècle.

A survey of information published about St. Patrick's reveals that three men are usually credited with the role of architect: a French surveyor-architect named Pierre-Louis Morin who arrived in Montréal in 1837; a French Jesuit named Félix Martin who came to Montréal in 1842; and, the English Gothic Revivalist Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin who may have sent plans to Canada.

The documents, however, point to Morin, one of the most active architects in Montréal during the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet he is largely ignored in texts on

architecture of this period (indeed, in the most recent articles his role is still questioned). Furthermore, although archival sources are available for consultation, there has been only haphazard reference to very few documents of questionable nature in relation to this church.

This, then, is an examination not only of the origins of the church, from the initial request for building to the completion of construction, but also of the beginnings of the second stage of the Gothic Revival in Canada, the historical context in which this church was built, and an initial look at a nineteenth-century architect who has all but disappeared from our view.

There are no extant drawings for St. Patrick's, and so there is much speculation as to the architect's name. According to the documents, mostly in the Sulpician archives in Montréal, a model of the church was made in addition to drawings. Luc Noppen states that very few scale models from the period have survived because they were both fragile and cumbersome. He adds that the lack of architectural drawings for certain projects results from either the destruction of the drawings at the same time as the models or the absence of drawings in the first place, the model having served as the "essential element in illustrating the project."⁵

St. Patrick's church is a stern greystone structure

⁵ Luc Noppen and Marc Grignon, L'art de l'architecte: Three Centuries of Architectural Drawing in Québec City (Québec: Université Laval & Musée du Québec, 1983), p. 86.

built on a hill, surrounded by an iron fence. It is a completely symmetrical building which resembles 12th-century monastic churches in France, but it also has features which bring to mind details of later French Gothic examples. At the time it was built, it was the second largest church in the city after Notre-Dame.⁶ Originally, the church faced the city, which was laid out along the St. Lawrence River below it and to the south. A walkway leading to the front doors from de la Gauchetière serpentined around large trees, making the steep climb up the hill easier (fig. 2).

The church was located just outside the northwest boundary of the area formerly enclosed by the city's fortifications, which were torn down during the 1820s. It was a largely residential area, dotted with buildings serving various religious purposes. The ground sloped upwards at a rather steep grade between rue de la Gauchetière and Dorchester (now Boul. René Lévesque), emphasizing the height of the church and enhancing its towering aspect (fig. 3).

Many churches dedicated to St. Patrick were built during the mid-nineteenth century in North America as a result of the waves of Irish immigration beginning around 1822, which formed large communities of Irish Catholics.

⁶ A city parking lot now occupies the lower part of the former grounds, bordering on rue de la Gauchetière on the south and Saint-Alexandre Street on the east, while the church parking lot takes up the rest of the space in front of the facade and wraps around the west side.

There are, of course, well-known examples such as Old St. Patrick's (1809-1815) in New York City, a combination of Gothic and classical styles, followed by the Gothic Revival St. Patrick's Cathedral (completed 1879). Construction for its namesake in Ottawa was begun in 1869. And in the 1925 publication entitled Paroisses, Missions, et Municipalités de la Province de Québec,⁷ there are eleven St. Patrick's listed, built between 1837 and 1887, all founded by the Irish.

⁷ Hormisdas Magnan, Paroisses, Missions et Municipalités de la Province de Québec (Arthabaska: L'Imprimerie d'Arthabaska, Inc., 1925), pp. 608-13.

I. Historical Background of the Irish in Montréal

Old texts date the history of the Irish in Montréal from 1807, when a Protestant minister, Richard Jackson, from Alexandria, Virginia, decided to convert the Sulpicians in Montréal, but ended up converting to Catholicism himself.⁸ In 1817, he gathered a handful of English-speaking Catholics to celebrate mass in the sacristy of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours (fig. 4). It was during the 1820s when the population began to increase, with 1,000 Irish Catholics in the city in 1825,⁹ and a particularly large number of Irish arriving in 1831.¹⁰ By this time, most of these attended mass in the old church of the Récollets on Notre-Dame near rue Sainte-Hélène (fig. 5), which had been made available to the congregation in 1830.¹¹ There are reports which attest to their fervour:

⁸ Known to the congregation as Father "Richards" and recorded as such in Le Diocèse de Montréal à la Fin du XIXe Siècle, (1900), p. 196. See also William Henry Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914: Under British Rule 1760-1914, Vol. II. (Montreal, Vancouver & Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), p. 263; Rodolphe Fournier, Lieux et Monuments Historiques de l'île de Montréal (Québec: Les Editions du Richelieu Ltée., 1974), p. 169; and the reprint of [J.J. Curran's ?] 1897 article entitled "The Following Article Was Published in 1897 on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Official Opening of St. Patrick's Church," possibly still available at the church itself.

⁹ John Loye, "Highlights in the Chronological History of the Irish Community of Montreal Founded 125 Years Ago," The Gazette, 23 May 1942.

¹⁰ The Encyclopedia of Canada, III, p. 245.

¹¹ Le Diocèse, p. 196. The Récollets were an order of the Franciscan friars who came to Canada as the first missionaries, in June 1615. The order became extinct in 1897.

La difficulté, l'impossibilité même de trouver place à l'église, ne sut pas détourner ces catholiques fervent de suivre, quand même, les offices du dimanche. Beau ou mauvais temps, on pouvait les voir agenouillés, en plein air, dans les rues contiguës à la chapelle, et jusqu'à mi-chemin de la rue Saint-Jacques, sur la ruelle Dollard, assistant de là au saint sacrifice de la messe, et donnant à tous l'édifiant exemple de la foi indomptable qui caractérise leur race.¹²

Soon the "Récollet" became inadequate. On Sundays it was so overcrowded with devout Irish that the overflow knelt in the rain or the sunshine on Notre Dame Street or Dollard Lane.¹³

Their numbers increased greatly as a result of political and social unrest in the home country.¹⁴ By 1841 the congregation numbered about 6,500 and no longer fit into that small building.¹⁵ They had to turn to the Sulpicians for help.

The Sulpicians were in charge of all Catholic church building on the island of Montréal and had held that responsibility since their arrival in the city in the summer of 1657.¹⁶ Unsure of their fate under British rule, the Sulpicians did not respond to the first request for a church by the Irish congregation in 1833. As a result of the conduct of the Sulpicians during the rebellions of 1837-38 and their cooperation with the British attempts to commute the seigneurial system into a capitalist freehold system,

¹² Le Diocèse, p. 196.

¹³ Atherton, p. 264.

¹⁴ The Encyclopedia of Canada, III, p. 279.

¹⁵ Lipscombe, Robert. The Story of Old St. Patrick's (Montreal: Heliogravure, 1967), pp. 6-7.

¹⁶ Kathleen Jenkins, Montreal: Island City of the St. Lawrence (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966), p. 40.

however, their future was assured and the congregation's requests for a church were finally met with action.¹⁷

Judging from the urgent tone in the letters from the congregation to the Sulpicians in 1833 and 1841,¹⁸ the Irish Catholics were very concerned about their lack of an adequate church.

The Irish were largely poor according to all accounts. Those that were wealthy were mostly Protestant, although there were exceptions like Thomas D'Arcy McGee.¹⁹ Yet they managed quickly to establish numerous orphan asylums, temperance societies, and Societies of St. Patrick in order to promote social aid to those who needed it. They were also a close-knit community in other ways, establishing the Vindicator in 1828, a newspaper advocating the political independence of Canada, and with which Papineau was associated. In 1834, the Irish Advocate began publishing.²⁰

In 1847, many Irish immigrants landed at Point St. Charles only to be given the last rites. More than fifty adults per day were buried for a period of six weeks or

¹⁷ See Brian Young's In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution 1816-1876 (Kingston & Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), chapter 1 and especially pp. 46-60.

¹⁸ ASSM, Section 27, Voute 2, Armoire 7, Tiroir 97, File 187, 23 January 1833; and StP, Committee Minute Book, 1841, 9 February 1841.

¹⁹ See Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada [(Toronto: n.p.), 1877?]. McGee came to Montréal in 1857, and began publishing the weekly The New Era, according to the chronology by Loyer.

²⁰ Loyer, ibid.

more.²¹ Suffering from the typhus or cholera that the Irish had contracted on the crowded ships, nine priests and thirteen of the sixty nuns who contracted the disease died fulfilling their duties tending to the sick and dying.²²

A. The Bishop, the Sulpicians, and the Irish

Because there were so many Irish immigrants that needed ministering to, the religious groups cooperated with each other officially. But the British did not consider each group to be part of a whole, and some fell in and out of favour with the British government, according to the success or failure of diplomatic relations. And there were rivalries, particularly between the Bishop and the Sulpicians, which affected, in indirect ways, the building of the church.

To the Sulpicians, the appointment of Bishop Jean-Jacques Lartigue as adjutant for Montréal in 1821 meant that Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis of Québec was trying to reduce the influence of the French Sulpicians in Montréal and to bring the institution under his control by promoting not only one of their order, but also the only Canadian-born Sulpician to date. They had no intention of losing their

²¹ Atherton, p. 264.

²² According to Bishop Ignace Bourget, from a letter reprinted in the Committee of the Congregation's The Case of St. Patrick's Congregation as to the Erection of the New Canonical Parish of St. Patrick's Montreal (Montreal: John Lovell, 1866), pp. 11-12.

autonomy over what they had considered their affairs for over one hundred and fifty years. Furthermore, in the realm of secular politics, their status under the British government was uncertain. This was to change, however, after the crushing of the rebellions of 1837-1838.

The causes of the rebellion were largely due to the British desire to wrest power from the majority French-Canadian Legislative Assembly in Lower Canada by joining the two Canadas into one centralized government, thereby reducing the French-speaking presence to an insignificant minority, in order to eventually assimilate the culture into their own. French outrage was often given Irish Catholic support because of the oppression they themselves had suffered under British rule in Ireland.

Another cause was the attempt to disallow seigneurial landholdings (based on a feudal system) in favour of a capitalist land use system. There was strong cultural bond to the land on the part of the French in Canada, and there were aristocratic associations attached to being a seigneur as a result of the religious institutions' continued teaching of the doctrine of the divine right of monarchs and the hierarchy of authority.

Louis-Joseph Papineau's role in the rebellions was to effectively halt the process of government in the Legislative Assembly, present the government with a list of grievances and resolutions, including the proposal of an American-style system of government. The resolutions were

radically liberal, demanding that the Church be denied the right to dictate what books were forbidden to read, who to vote for, and particularly, what to teach. Members of religious organizations were the educators of the French-speaking population.

The bishop, who was held under suspicion by the British government because he was a cousin of Papineau, maintained a policy of non-intervention with the authorities.²³ While this did not raise the ire of the government, it was not the outright support that the Sulpicians provided.

The Sulpicians played a large role in controlling the social climate of Montréal during the uprisings. Concerned about their survival and the survival of the Catholic faith in Canada (especially if there were no one to tend the communicants if they were ousted from Canada as the Jesuits had been some forty years earlier), the Sulpicians cooperated with the British by commuting their landholdings, forbidding the Irish to support the rebels, and acting as arbitrators between the exiled rebels and the government. They had also "solicited local enlistment and contributed funds to militia units."²⁴ The much-revered priest who tended to the Irish congregation was the Irish Sulpician, Patrick Phelan (later bishop at Kingston).²⁵

After the rebel movement was quashed, the Sulpicians

²³ Gilles Chausé, and Lucien Lemieux, "Lartigue, Jean-Jacques," DCB, VII, p. 489.

²⁴ Young, p. 56.

²⁵ Young, ibid.

were duly rewarded for their cooperation by the British government. Their insecure status was resolved with the Ordinance of 1840, whereby their corporate rights were affirmed, and, ironically and as a result of the general mistrust of the patriote leaders after 1838, their influence on education and social institutions such as orphanages, hospices, and hospitals greatly increased in direct opposition to what the patriotes were trying to do.²⁶

The uncertain status of the seminary from the time of the British conquest to 1840 and the anti-Catholic feelings in England were probably the causes of their inability or reluctance to build many churches during that period. Certainly a request in 1833 for a church for English-speaking Catholics went ignored until 1841 when a second documented request was submitted by the congregation.

²⁶ Young, pp. 18-19.

II. The "Client"

The Sulpicians were responsible for church-building in the Montréal area. The Superior at the time was Joseph-Vincent Quiblier (1796-1852), and it is to him that we must first look, for he hired the architect and was an involved "client."

Quiblier was born in Colombier, France and studied theology from 1816 to 1819 at the Séminaire Sainte-Irénée in Lyons. Ordained a priest in 1819, he was a curate for that year in Montbrison then for six years at Notre-Dame in Saint-Etienne. In 1825 he came to Montréal and was appointed professor of philosophy and natural sciences from 1825-1830.²⁷

There is nothing to indicate that he studied architecture, but, like many well-educated people of his time, an appreciation of the subject was probably on the curriculum and archaeological antiquarianism was a popular pastime. He wrote to Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin in 1842 for plans for the church although we do not know why. The likeliest reason is that by 1841, Pugin had begun to receive numerous commissions in Ireland -- enough that it had begun to affect his practice.²⁸ Some of the Irish immigrants may have requested that Quiblier contact the British architect.

²⁷ Louis Rousseau, 'Quiblier, Joseph-Vincent.' DCB. VIII, pp. 727-28.

²⁸ Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, (New York: Viking Press & London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 66.

Quiblier may have heard of Pugin anyway, as he did speak English and likely kept up with news from Europe through his business and personal ties there. By 1842, the Gothic Revival in England was probably more newsworthy than any architectural activities in France, as Viollet-le-Duc had yet to publish his Dictionnaire and, at any rate, the re-examination of Gothic in France tended towards restoration rather than revival.

Two of the prospects for designing architect had had something to do with Quiblier. Quiblier wrote to Pugin for plans in 1842, and Pierre-Louis Morin was employed by the Sulpicians as their architect-surveyor from 1837 to 1843 or so, when he was appointed deputy surveyor of the province of Lower Canada.²⁹

²⁹ Napoléon Legendre, 'Pierre-Louis Morin,' Le Journal de Québec, 16 septembre 1886, p. 2.

III. The Architect

Because the church has quite a different appearance than others of its time and geographic location, and because no plans have yet been found for the church, many authors have relied on impressions and secondary sources. Their opinions and speculations on who designed the church follow.

Mathilde Brosseau (1980) is the only author who published an archival document -- even if only a portion of one. She raised the possibility that Pugin was the architect by quoting a copy of a letter found in the Archives of St. Sulpice in Montréal (ASSM) for which no one has yet found a response if one indeed exists.³⁰ Quiblier's letter to Pugin gives some indication of what was required of the architect. It was written on 28 May 1842. As Brosseau stated, we do not know if Pugin actually received the original.³¹ The letter in full is as follows:

Nous sommes sur le point de commencer une église de style gothique. Nous desirons qu'elle eut 215 pieds de long, sur une largeur de 108 pieds, le tout à

³⁰ The copy of the letter is handwritten and was possibly done by Quiblier himself.

My one attempt to contact someone who might have access to the Pugin correspondence of 1842 met with failure. As Pugin's descendants now belong to many families, those in possession of the required material had not allowed researchers access at that time. Although it would be interesting to pursue this matter further, it would be most beneficial in the context of a study on requests for churches from foreign countries and how they came to know of Pugin, etc. It has not been pursued here because other documents identify the designing architect.

³¹ Brosseau, p. 15.

l'interieur, outre la sacristie; avec une seule tour, cheminées à une place pour l'orgue. Il seroit à propos qu'elle put contenir 8 ou 9000 personnes, desquelles près de la moitié dans les bancs. La sévérité du climat et l'abondance de la neige de nos longs hivers ne permettent pas d'ornements extérieurs à l'exception de quelques cordons peu saillants. Auriez-vous, Monsieur, le plan d'une telle église que vous pourriez nous soumettre sans délai?

Nous avons une grande entreprise avec Monsieur Ch. Mears, Whitechapel, London. Nous aurons en octobre prochain un envoi de fonds à lui faire. Nous vous enverrons par la même occasion le montant de l'honoraire qui vous jugerez raisonnable.

Votre réponse et votre plan serroit adressés, par les steamers d'Halifax, à Hubert Paré, Church Warden, Montréal.

(Signed) J.V. Quiblier.³²

Brosseau's version of the letter was not transposed without error: she changed "eight to nine thousand people" to "eight to ten thousand," and updated the grammar. Furthermore, she chose to omit the detailed account of what Quiblier was looking for. Quiblier seems to have had a good idea of what he wanted: approximate dimensions (not including the apse), a single tower with place to accommodate an organ, a plain exterior with, perhaps, stringcourses or hood moldings. ("Cordons" is usually translated as "stringcourses" but it is likelier that, as Quiblier used the plural, it is used here in a more general sense to mean anything which is cord-like, such as hood moldings.)

It is possible that Quiblier mentioned Charles Mears to give Pugin a reference to check, or he may have been someone

³² ASSM, Section 27, Voûte 2, Armoir 7, Tiroir 97, File 224. Superior Joseph Vincent Quiblier to Augustus Welby Pugin, 28 May 1842.

Pugin had already known and even dealt with. Mears was a bell-maker in Whitechapel, London.³³ The letter also states that Pugin would be paid what Pugin himself would judge reasonable by the coming October, giving the English architect about three months to send plans (depending on the time it took for mail to cross the ocean).

Unfortunately, there were no extant letters to Hubert Paré at either the Fabrique or Sulpician archives, and his personal correspondence does not seem to exist. Paré, in addition to being a churchwarden, was a grain merchant, businessman, and a large property owner.³⁴

There is also a receipt signed by Pierre-Louis Morin on 18 February 1843 for £70 for plans, specifications and costs, model (and [illegible]) for the future St. Patrick's church; another detailed estimate of costs dated 21 March 1843, with the statement: "...Nous soussignés somme d'avis qu'on pourra batir, d'après les Plans de P.L. Morin, architecte, l'église St. Patrice"; and Morin's letter to the new superior of the Sulpicians (M. Billaudèle, Quiblier's successor / replacement), asking for payment for outstanding bills resulting from his work for St. Patrick's church.

Luc Noppen (1977) was vague about information on St. Patrick's. He stated only that Martin designed the facade

³³ According to Père Bruno Harel, archivist for the Sulpicians, October 1985; and Communauté urbaine de Montréal, Architecture Religieuse I: Les Eglises (Montréal: CUM, 1981), p. 96.

³⁴ Young, pp. 98, 99, 199; Cooper, John Irwin, "Paré, Hubert," DCB, IX, pp. 616-17.

and implied that the rest of the church was designed by Morin.³⁵ He also stated that the church was constructed in 1846³⁶ (it was constructed between September 1843 and March 1847) and played it safe by using a chronological stylistic designation, stating that it was part of Victorian architecture in the Gothic style.³⁷ He made a fuzzy association with another church designed by Père Martin a year later: St François-Xavier in Caughnawaga (now the Shrine to Kateri Tekakwitha in Kahnawake; fig. 6).

In Montréal in Evolution (1974), Jean-Claude Marsan stated:

It is not known which of the two men made the most significant contribution. Judging from Morin's comments on Notre-Dame, he certainly had a better grasp of the Gothic style than did O'Donnell. Yet, St. Patrick's does reflect the art of a conscientious amateur like Father Martin.³⁸

He implied that Martin was most probably the architect because he had been taught by his brother Arthur, a Jesuit who specialized in restoring Gothic cathedrals in France and who became famous as a result of his "monumental book on the windows of Bourges cathedral."³⁹

Martin's "conscientious amateur" tendencies in the design of his architecture as indicated in his Collège

³⁵ Noppen, Les églises du Québec (1600-1850) (Montréal: Fides, 1977), p. 56.

³⁶ Noppen, Les églises, p. 57.

³⁷ Noppen, Les églises, p. 64.

³⁸ Marsan, p. 200.

³⁹ Marsan, ibid.

Sainte-Marie (fig 7), and which appear in St. Patrick's church with its exterior structure of "remarkable simplicity" seem to be Marsan's main reason for attributing the design to Martin. Marsan did not analyse the buildings, nor did he cite the source of Morin's comments on the church of Notre-Dame.⁴⁰

In Building Canada (1966), Alan Gowans stated only that St. Patrick's was "designed by French architects [Pierre-Louis Morin with the collaboration of Félix Martin⁴¹] who clearly understood the formal principles of Gothic building as well as Gothic detail."⁴² He did not clarify what he meant by "formal principles of Gothic building." This is a departure from what he wrote in 1956, however, when he suggested that Père Martin designed the church in "purest thirteenth century Gothic design."⁴³ Gowans did not cite the sources from which he drew his conclusions. Returning to the 1966 work, however, Gowans introduced Morin as main architect (according to the caption to the illustration of the church), indicating either an update of his information or a rethinking of that information he already had.

Raymonde Gauthier (1984) stated that the church had to have been built according to plans drawn up by Pugin because Morin and Martin were too provincial and inexperienced, and

⁴⁰ Morin's comments are in Mélanges religieux, II (November 1841), 354-56.

⁴¹ Gowans, Building Canada, pl. 147.

⁴² Gowans, ibid., p. 112.

⁴³ Gowans, "Baroque Revival," p. 24.

"On imagine que c'est ce plan [Pugin's] qui fut réalisé, puisque l'église ne ressemble en fait, à aucune autre construite à la même époque par les architectes exerçant au Canada, et dans la région montréalaise en particulier."⁴⁴ Morin and Martin, she claimed, were the working team that carried out the construction. In St. Patrick's archives, however, there is information which clarifies the matter, telling us who acted as builder and supervising architect. It was neither. It seems of no importance to Gauthier that St. Patrick's does not much resemble Pugin churches, and that there are problems in making a close comparison with the one anomalous church of Pugin's that it most resembles - St. Chad's in Birmingham (1839) -- in the nave only. The disposition of elements of the facade of St. Marie's, Derby (opened 1840) somewhat recalls St. Patrick's, but it also resembles many other symmetrical, single-tower churches.

The author of the DCB article on Père Félix Martin, Georges-Emile Giguère, wrote (1982) that "with the help of architect Pierre-Louis Morin, he designed the front of St. Patrick's church in Montréal."⁴⁵ Yet in October 1985, Giguère stated that he did not see Martin's diaries, and he did not remember why he claimed that Martin designed the facade.⁴⁶

Giguère probably attributed the design of the facade to

⁴⁴ Raymonde Gauthier, Saint Patrice, église des irlandais, 'La Presse, 16 juin 1984, p. E1.

⁴⁵ Georges-Emile Giguère, 'Martin, Félix.' DCB. XI, p. 588.

⁴⁶ Telephone conversation with Giguère, October 1985.

Martin because of the old literature written about the Jesuit, which has at times been repeated almost verbatim from the same source -- Martin's near-contemporary biographer Vignon. There is also a drawing in the Jesuit archives of a Gothic-style facade with a central tower and door, a rose window, and a lancet window on either side of the door (fig. 8).

Rodolphe Fournier wrote in his guidebook Lieux et monuments (1974), that Morin was assisted by Martin. Hélène Bédard, in Maisons et Eglises du Québec: XVIIe, XVIIIe, XIXe siècles (1971), attempted to identify a medieval source in general terms. She claimed that the church was designed by Félix Martin in a Gothic of the 13th century, without specifying the country,⁴⁷ whereas the anonymous person who wrote Québec: Churches and Shrines (n.d. [1983?]) for the provincial government stated that Père Martin and Morin drew up the plans, that the church is modelled on 12th century Gothic and, most surprisingly, that the interior resembles that of St. Mark's in Venice!⁴⁸ The original source seems to be from the anonymous article published in 1897 (most likely by Curran), which stated that after 1892, the sanctuary was decorated so that the ground (as opposed to figure) was "a mass of gold, cut up,...to represent

⁴⁷ Hélène Bédard, Maisons et Eglises du Québec: XVIIe, XVIIIe, XIXe siècles (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, 1971), p. 44.

⁴⁸ Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Industrie, du Commerce et du Tourisme. Québec Churches and Shrines. [1983?], p. 13.

Venetian mosaic, such as is seen in the grand old cathedral of St. Mark at Venice." Three years later, in Le Diocèse, this description was translated so that the walls of the sanctuary were finished in imitation of Venetian mosaic, after the style of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. Neither of these means the same thing as the interior of the church resembling St. Mark's.⁴⁹

In Early Painters and Engravers (1970), J. Russell Harper had entries for both Morin and Père Martin, but credited neither with the design of the plans for St. Patrick's, although other buildings were attributed to each.

Prior to Gowans's work, Gérard Morisset's muddled information in L'Architecture en Nouvelle France (1949) about the protagonists of the church revealed two glaring contradictions -- the first is that, on the one hand, he stated that Victor Bourgeau was responsible for the design with the collaboration of Père Martin,⁵⁰ but on the other hand, he wrote Bourgeau only began his architectural practice in 1845.⁵¹ He dated the church at 1843, the year construction was begun. The other contradiction is under the illustration for St. Patrick's, where he stated that Morin was the architect and mentions neither Père Martin nor

⁴⁹ [Curran], "The Following Article...", p. 4.

⁵⁰ Gérard Morisset, L'Architecture en Nouvelle France (Québec: Collection Champlain, 1949, rpt., Montréal: Éditions du Pélican, 1980), p. 135.

⁵¹ Morisset, ibid., p. 129.

Bourgeau.⁵²

According to more recent information, Victor Bourgeau (1809-1888) was a contemporary of both Morin and Père Martin, but, as a native of Lower Canada, his architectural training was accomplished through an apprenticeship.⁵³ He began his practice as an architect after 1847.⁵⁴ As Bourgeau began practicing architecture after the beginning of construction, he can safely be removed from the list of those who may be considered for the role of architect.

Even in a pamphlet published by St. Patrick's Church in 1947, the anonymous author stated that the architect was just Martin⁵⁵ -- aside from the incomplete volume of minutes, there are no pre-1847 documents in the church archives.

Twenty years prior to Morisset, Olivier Maurault wrote about the church in Marges d'Histoire (1929). Maurault's scholarship has a curious twist. While he cited some sources, which is uncommon for a survey, he did so only partially. He claimed that the architect for St. Patrick's was the Jesuit Martin:

Le Père Vignon, son biographe, l'affirme, et deux lettres de cette époque en témoignent. Le 26 octobre 1844, le p. Mainguy, écrit que «le P. Martin a fait les plans et en dirige l'exécution»; et cinq ans plus tard, le 11 septembre 1849, le P. Beaudry parlant de Montréal

⁵² Morisset, ibid., pl. 93.

⁵³ Noppen, "Bourgeau (Bourgeault), Victor," DCB, XI, p. 92.

⁵⁴ Noppen, ibid.

⁵⁵ St. Patrick's Church 1847-1947: The Story of One Hundred Years (Montreal: Plow and Watters Ltd., [1947]), p. 8.

dit: «Il y a trois églises catholiques spacieuses; celle des Irlandais, construite par le P. Martin, dans le style du XIII, très pur».⁵⁶

The location of these letters is not given. He added, on the same page, that the Superior of the Sulpicians, M. Quiblier, was a student of Père Martin. Since Martin was eight years younger than Quiblier, this came as a surprise. Since the source he gave was once again the Vignon "biography" of Martin, it is evident that he did not question Vignon's authority. It also seems that we are to assume -- because Maurault was a Jesuit -- his references come from the Jesuit archives.

The Jesuit Père Vignon succeeded Martin's successor, Père Mainguy, as head of the Collège Sainte-Marie. Père Beaudry, another Jesuit, wrote a book on ethics for priests, churchwardens and parishioners in 1870.⁵⁷

Guy Pinard credited the design of the church to both Morin and Père Martin,⁵⁸ grounding the Martin attribution by publishing, for the first time, a photograph of the drawing of a Gothic facade said to be by Père Martin from the collection of the Jesuit Archives⁵⁹ in St. Jérôme.

The unsupported guesses found in published accounts

⁵⁶ Olivier Maurault, Marges d'Histoire, vol. 2 (Montréal: Librairie d'Action canadienne-française Ltée., 1929), p. 154.

⁵⁷ Joseph-Ubalde Baudry, Code des curés, marguilliers et paroissiens, accompagné de notes historiques et critiques. Montréal: des presses à vapeur de La Minerve, 1870. Maurault misspelled Baudry's name.

⁵⁸ Pinard, La Presse, 18 mars 1990, p. A8.

⁵⁹ Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus [hereafter ACJ].

about who designed this church betrays a remarkable disinterest in the origins of its existence, considering the importance accorded to this church on the basis of its style.

While there is an overlooked document stating that the [supervising] architect of St. Patrick's was L[ouis]-Pascal Comte,⁶⁰ there is no such clear-cut document affirming the designer of the church. Comte was a contractor and master mason who had gained experience working on Notre-Dame⁶¹ and who carried through the plans prepared by someone else. The likely candidates for architect are Augustus Welby Pugin, Père Martin, and Pierre-Louis Morin.

A. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852)

Pugin (1812-1852) had apprenticed to his father, Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832), who had worked as a draughtsman in the office of John Nash in London. Nash designed several Gothic-style buildings for some of his clients, yet his knowledge of Gothic detail was superficial; consequently, he encouraged the elder Pugin to produce books on Gothic architecture.⁶² The younger Pugin aided his father, and went on to complete and publish Examples of Gothic Architecture in 1838, the book his father was working

⁶⁰ StP, 8 June 1843.

⁶¹ Young, p. 26.

⁶² John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977, rpt. 1979), p. 511.

on before he died. All accounts mention the precocious nature of the younger Pugin.⁶³

Passing through the stages from copying Gothic details to studying with increasing understanding the system of thrust and counterthrust in English medieval churches, Augustus Welby Northmore became famous with the publication of his own book Contrasts in 1836, which was followed by The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture in 1841, and in 1843 by An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England in which he stated: "Indeed, till I discovered those laws of pointed design, which I set forth in my 'True Principles,' I had no fixed rules to work upon, and frequently fell into error and extravagance."⁶⁴ Amongst other things, Pugin's statement indicates the seriousness with which he approached his subject. He strongly believed that the archaeological research he had done revealed to him rules that were comparable to Vitruvius's.

B. Father Félix Martin (1804-1886)

Born in Auray, in Bretagne, near the Bay of Biscay (Golfe de Gascogne), Félix-François-Marie Martin was the second of ten children, and followed his elder brother

⁶³ Alexandria Wedgwood, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: The Pugin Family (London: Gregg International, 1977), p. 38.

⁶⁴ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (1843; rpt. Oxford: St. Barnabas Press, 1969), p. 15, n. 11.

Arthur into the Jesuit order. He studied and taught in many small French and Swiss towns and came to Canada on 31 May 1842. He immediately accompanied Bishop Bourget on visits to the various towns and settlements in his diocese, and filled his leisure time studying the history of the Jesuit order in Canada.⁶⁵

There are three main sources for information on Père Martin: A pamphlet and two-part newspaper article composed of the same text as the pamphlet are attributed to Père Firmin Vignon,⁶⁶ who succeeded Père Mainguy, Martin's successor as head of the Collège Sainte-Marie. The second source is Paul Desjardins's Le Collège Sainte-Marie de Montréal: Le Fondation, Le Fondateur, and the third is by Georges-Emile Giguère, who wrote the DCB article on Martin. All three are Jesuits. While there are records of some correspondence between Martin and Vignon, Vignon seems to add to, repeat, and maybe embellish what had been written in 1866 in the Journal de l'Instruction Publique.⁶⁷ According to the Journal,

On sait qu'on en doit le plan [de l'église St-Patrick] principalement aux conseils du Rév. Père Martin, ...et qui connaissait parfaitement l'architecture religieuse; suivant les ressources que l'on avait alors en mains, on peut dire qu'il a suggéré l'idée d'une belle et noble église, et qui répond bien jusqu'à présent au développement de la nombreuse congrégation irlandaise à laquelle elle est consacrée.

⁶⁵ ASJ, Père Fleck, biographer, 1842.

⁶⁶ [Vignon], "Le P. Martin," n.d.; and L'Etandard, "Le Père Martin" 13 déc. 1886

⁶⁷ Journal de l'Instruction Publique (1866), p. 38; and "L'Architecture en Canada," La Minerve, 28 avril 1866, p. 1.

The author (initials S.V.) states not that Père Martin made the plans for St. Patrick's, but that the plans are a result of the advice given by Martin as regards church architecture. As for having suggested "une belle et noble église," it might be assumed that since Quiblier had written to Pugin for plans, there was prior intention to make the church aesthetically pleasing before Martin reached the shores of Lower Canada.

There is no indication in any of the biographical material on his education in the Jesuit Archives that Père Martin had had any formal education in architecture. Marsan's and Giguère's explanation that he learned the principles of architecture from his brother Arthur has yet to be proven.⁶⁸ Père Martin's sketchbooks include scenes of towns in which he lived and studied, some church facades in both classical and Gothic styles, tombs, reliquaries, interlacing patterns, an illuminated "P", church towers, details of arches and capitals, medieval costumes, sculptures, a bouquet of flowers, etc. Many are finished in watercolour. These three extant sketchbooks are small, measuring about 18 x 12 x 1.5 cm. and the only notes are place names -- as if they performed the function of travel photographs, indicating the priest's interests, which included architecture.⁶⁹ They are undated except for the

⁶⁸ Giguère, DCB, XI, p. 588; Marsan, p. 200.

⁶⁹ ASJ, Bo-47-1.

first drawing in one of the sketchbooks dated 1831; the scenes at the end of the sketchbook are of landmarks near Québec City which he visited upon his arrival in 1842.

Vignon attributes the actual plans of St. Patrick's to Père Martin. He adds some biographical information, suggesting that Martin travelled in France, Switzerland, Spain and Belgium, took his sacred orders in Switzerland in 1831, and arrived in Montréal on 31 May 1842.⁷⁰ Vignon writes that Martin came at the repeated requests of Quiblier, who was a former student of Martin's, and at the request of Mgr. Lartigue, bishop of Montréal (until his death in 1840).⁷¹

Since Martin was eight years younger than Quiblier, Vignon's statement was a surprise. Further research revealed that the only time that Quiblier and Martin could have been in extended contact with each other was in 1824, when Quiblier was teaching at Saint-Etienne near Lyons and Martin was studying in Avignon 175 km. to the south. At no other time were they in the same part of France at the same time.

Desjardins writes with greater authority than Vignon; he makes copious use of Martin's letters and other archival material, and references his work. His account differs from Vignon's: It was Bishop Bourget who requested that the

⁷⁰ [Vignon], p. 3.

⁷¹ [Vignon], p. 4. The text reads: "Dès 1839 il fut appelé à Montréal par l'entremise de Messire Quiblier, son ancien élève, et selon le grand désir de Mgr. Lartigue, alors évêque de Montréal, pour donner la retraite au clergé au diocèse."

Jesuits return to Canada and the person placed in charge of the task was a Père Chazelle, a former teacher of Quiblier at Montbrison.⁷² The Jesuit priests in France were ready to establish a mission in Madagascar when Chazelle convinced them to come to Canada. Père Félix Martin was amongst them.⁷³

Vignon adds that Martin was the architect of Collège Sainte-Marie, the noviciate at Sault-au-Récollet and other less important buildings.⁷⁴ No mention is made of St-François-Xavier in Caughnawaga.

Desjardins tellingly repeats the same information that Vignon provides. The absence of any reference to archival material would indicate that there is none on Martin's architectural activities -- in striking contrast to the rest of his study.

In fact, there is no mention made in the Jesuit archives about Martin's role as architect for this church or any other architectural project in which he may have been involved.

Georges-Emile Giguère wrote that Martin taught drawing amongst other subjects from 1832 to 1839 in Jesuit institutions in Europe. He had also studied English from 1839 to 1842. He arrived here in May of 1842, staying at the

⁷² Paul Desjardins, S.J., Le Collège Sainte-Marie de Montréal: Le Fondation, Le Fondateur (Montréal: Collège Sainte-Marie, 1940), pp. 17-18.

⁷³ Desjardins, p. 19.

⁷⁴ [Vignon], p. 17.

bishop's palace briefly, and preaching in several Montréal area parishes and colleges⁷⁵ In 1844, he was appointed superior of the Jesuits in Canada East, and founded the Collège Sainte. Marie in 1848. Of his architectural talents, Giguère writes:

During the 1820s Martin had been introduced to draughting and the fundamentals of architecture by his brother Arthur, a Jesuit who specialized in restoring Gothic churches in France. Soon after his arrival in Lower Canada, Martin drew up the plans for a number of religious buildings. Thus in 1843, with the help of architect Pierre-Louis Morin, he designed the front of St. Patrick's Church in Montréal.⁷⁶

There is a presentation drawing in watercolour over graphite on poor quality wove paper of the facade for a Gothic-style church (fig. 8). The drawing measures 30.2 x 21.3 cm. It is neither signed nor dated, nor is it labelled or titled in any way. The style does, however, resemble the drawings in Martin's sketchbooks with their fine, nervous line. There is a modern inscription in ball-point pen which reads: "Dessin par le P. Félix Martin."⁷⁷ It is this drawing which seems to have convinced both Giguère and Pinard of Martin's authorship of the plans of St. Patrick's Church.

This drawing shows a church with such Gothic features as one main door with a gable over it, a central tower, a lancet window piercing the wall on either side of the door, a rose window over the door, and a corbel table under the

⁷⁵ Giguère, DCB, XI, p. 588.

⁷⁶ Giguère, ibid.

⁷⁷ ASJ, Bo-47-1, 16.

eave of the steeply-pitched roof. The details and arrangement are indeed similar to St. Patrick's.

Although it may be argued that the facade of the church derives from Père Martin, both the features themselves and their arrangement are very clumsy in their proportions. While the facade is higher than it is wide, the height of the buttresses and the width of the gable reduce the emphasis on height and make the church look squat. The alignment of parts is also awkward. For example, the quatrefoil windows align with the buttresses on a diagonal which departs from the angle of the roofline. The centre of these windows does not quite correspond to the top of the outer buttresses and the decorative circle under the rooflike watertable of the central buttresses. They look unstable in relation to the rose window, as the buttresses do not align with the larger window. The parts do not interrelate.

This drawing is on the same paper and uses similar colours as another watercolour attributed to Père Martin in the archives (fig. 9). It is a design of a longitudinal and cross section of a Gothic-style church with side doors placed according to a Latin cross plan, and resembling a transept except that there is no structural articulation of a transept in the cross section. The nave exterior, according to the longitudinal section, would show a rose window above the north and south doors. Above the arches of the aisles is a blind triforium surmounted by hexafoils.

None of the elements in this drawing appears at St. Patrick's.

The other contemporary church attributed to Martin, St. François-Xavier (1844-45), also shows a similar disregard for harmonious composition (fig. 6). Its plain, projecting tower is wide but not quite wide enough in comparison to the aisles. Neither the door, the aisle windows, nor the windows above the door lighting the stairs in the tower relate to anything else on the facade.

The drawing for the Collège Sainte-Marie (ca. 1847; fig. 7) has a more controlled composition than the drawing of the Gothic facade. Based on a grid, its classical detailing and proportions indicate that Martin was more comfortable with this style. However, his attempt at an ambitious design for the school lacks coherence and has a few odd details as well. The calotte dome is disproportionately broad and squat and does not sit well behind the cresting, the row of statues, and the vaulted rectangular projection behind them. The elements typical of Neo-classical architecture, such as the emphasis on the often projecting central door, the symmetry, and terminating the building in some sort of pavilion, combined with the cresting and large dome, recalls a combination of the Arts Building at McGill (1839-43) with St. Peter's, Rome. Even in a classical vein, Martin's buildings are awkward.

Luc Noppen noted that the projecting bell tower of the facade for Martin's St. François-Xavier church (1844-45:

fig. 6) was the first of its kind and it influenced many other church facades in the Montréal area.⁷⁸ By this he concluded that Martin helped Morin design the facade of St. Patrick's. But in St. Patrick's only the octagonal buttresses project to any degree -- the wall just below the spire projects so little that it appears to be flush with the rest of the facade. And if Noppen were to have taken into account the drawing attributed to Martin, he would note that there is no central projection of the bell tower.

There is an unreferenced press clipping in the Jesuit archives, which the archivist has dated 1886, entitled "Father Felix Martin, S.J.: Sketch of the Life of the Architect of St. Patrick's Church." The unnamed author wrote: "The twenty-fifth of November, 1885 was the last day of the long and laborious life of Father Felix Martin, S.J., the architect of St. Patrick's Church and the founder of St. Mary's College, this city." According to the writer, Martin drew the plans for St. Patrick's, and, "as its architect, superintended the building of that stately edifice." Since the records state that the architect on site was Comte, the claim that Martin supervised the building seems like an embellishment of some previous lore. By Martin's death, much of what may have been hearsay had become fact.

Other writers do not add much to what Vignon or Giguere had to say. J. Russell Harper (1970) credited Martin with

⁷⁸ Noppen, Les églises, p. 56.

"plans for decoration of Joliette Cathedral (1844-45)", Caughnawaga Church (1844-45), Collège Sainte-Marie (1847-51), College of Sainte. Anne-de-la-Pocatière, and St-Cyprien Church, Montréal, completed 1846,⁷⁹ but made no mention of St. Patrick's. Hélène Bédard (1971) credited Martin with the design of St. Patrick's, which she labeled Gothic of the 13th century, and which, she claimed, influenced many other churches, but she did not say whether the influence was restricted to the city or extended to the entire province.⁸⁰ Gowans's 1956 assessment of Martin's architectural abilities was:

Father Martin's interest in architecture...was largely incidental. His basic turn of mind was antiquarian, showing a rather indiscriminate interest in old things simply because they were old. Associative and romantic qualities in architecture, rather than practical problems of form and structure, concerned him most.⁸¹

True or not, Martin does not seem to have been the expert that many would credit him with being. While he no doubt was knowledgeable about the subject in general, he lacked specific training in design.

C. Pierre-Louis Morin (1811-1886)

Relatively little is known about Morin. The Public Archives of Canada labelled him a surveyor and

⁷⁹ J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 216.

⁸⁰ Bédard, p. 44.

⁸¹ Gowans, "Baroque Revival", p. 24.

draughtsman.⁸² He signed himself architect, surveyor-architect, or architect-surveyor, depending on the purpose of the document. He was also known as a professor and a draughtsman, as well as surveyor and civil engineer.⁸³ The Canada Directory for 1857-1858 listed him as architect and draughtsman, and he also appeared under the professional headings "Architects" and "Civil Engineers, Architects &c.," but not "Surveyors."

There are three main documents which contain valuable information on his life: an obituary, his critique of Notre-Dame Church, and a letter that he wrote to the Sulpicians the day after St. Patrick's Church was opened (reprinted as Appendix 1). In addition to these documents, some of his buildings, dating from both before and after St. Patrick's was built, also reveal something about the man.

Born on 21 February 1811 in Nonancourt in Normandy, France, near both Chartres and Paris, Morin would have seen the cathedral at Chartres amongst other Gothic buildings. Had he gone to Evreux, about the same distance away as Chartres, he would have seen the 13th-century Eglise St-Martin. However, neither of these churches resembles St. Patrick's.

Morin completed a part of his studies at the Grand

⁸² Public Archives of Canada. Manuscript Division. General Inventory of Manuscripts, Vol. 3, MG17-MG21, (Ottawa 1974), p. 75.

⁸³ Journal de l'Instruction Publique, I, (1857), p. 14; ibid., (1866), p. 136; ibid., p. 9.

Séminaire de Chartres, according to his obituary.⁸⁴ J. Russell Harper states that he studied architecture at the Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts d'Arpenteur.⁸⁵ According to another source, he studied architecture and drawing in Paris and then devoted himself to an ecclesiastic life.⁸⁶

He left France in May 1836 at the request of Mgr. Provencher, supposedly to help him with his difficult missions in the north-west of Upper Canada. Passing through Greenland, Morin kept a journal of his voyage from Paris to Lake Winnipeg, arriving in Canada late in 1836, landing at York Factory on Hudson's Bay.⁸⁷ He then moved to Montréal, probably late in 1837, whereupon he was employed by the Sulpicians as surveyor and architect.⁸⁸ He married an Isabelle McDonnell on 23 January 1838⁸⁹ and he refers to his marriage in his letter to the Sulpicians. The couple may not have had any children, as none are referred to in the obituary.

He designed the College of Christian Brothers in

⁸⁴ Legendre. Legendre (1841-1907) was trained in law, worked in the Québec public service, and was the author of works of fiction, non-fiction, and poetry. He was also a charter member of the Royal Society of Canada. See Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 404.

⁸⁵ Harper, p. 229.

⁸⁶ "Les Disparus: Pierre-Louis Morin," in Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, 32, no. 9 (sept. 1926), p. 563.

⁸⁷ Legendre; and Public Archives Canada.

⁸⁸ Legendre. While his role is not specified in the obituary, he signed himself as such on various documents in the ASSM. Young also notes that the Sulpicians employed such professionals, pp. xviii, 36.

⁸⁹ ANQM, Research by M. Tremblay.

Montréal in 1839 (fig. 10), and in 1840 he worked on the bishop's throne at Notre-Dame Church, according to Guy Pinard, who refers to him as a sculptor;⁹⁰ he was responsible for the plans of St-Jean church at Laprairie (fig 11),⁹¹ and rented a two-storey stone house in the St Laurent suburb.⁹²

In 1843, La Minerve reported:

Nous voyons que M. P.L. Morin, vient de recevoir sa commission d'arpenteur, pour cette province, et de plus qu'il a été nommé député arpenteur provincial par l'hon. M. Parke. M. Morin était déjà avantageusement connu comme habile architecte, par les plans qu'il avait composés et dressés et par l'exécution de ces plans dans les constructions de plusieurs édifices publiques remarquables par le goût qui y règne et par l'observation des vraies principes de l'architecture; nous citerons entre autres le collège des vénérables frères de la doctrine chrétienne, à Montréal, et l'église paroissiale de La Prairie. C'est la juste appréciation de ses talents qui lui a mérité l'approbation et l'adoption des plans qu'il a aussi fait de la Cathédrale de Kingston, et de l'église de St. Patrice, à Montréal, l'une et l'autre actuellement en construction.⁹³

So by the time construction began on St. Patrick's in 1843, he had designed more than just the College of Christian Brothers, the church at Laprairie, and the cathedral at Kingston mentioned above, although there is no reliable record of what these other buildings were. Since

⁹⁰ Pinard, Montréal: Son histoire, son architecture, (Montréal: La Presse, 1988), II, p. 151.

⁹¹ Harper states that he registered the plans in 1839 (p. 229), and Robert Hill gave me an 1840 reference from his notes in my conversation with him in 1985.

⁹² ANQM, Inventory of Patrice Lacombe, notary. Cote de fonds: CN601-0224, Act #685, 11 March 1840.

⁹³ La Minerve, 17 août 1843.

the reporter is anonymous, it is impossible to tell whether "public buildings remarkable for their good taste" means anything qualitative -- there is nothing to which the buildings referred to are compared. Nor can it be determined if "the true principles of architecture" is a reference to Pugin, but, if it is, it is misplaced as St. Jean in Laprairie uses a classical vocabulary as did the College of Christian Brothers. Furthermore, with his appointment as deputy surveyor and other architectural projects, he was probably a busy man.

Morin's 1847 letter to the Sulpicians fills in a few more details (see Appendix 1).

Asking for just payment of services rendered, he recounts his story, mentioning a bill presented to Superior Quiblier in 1843 for the sum of £93 for the preparation of plans, specifications, the estimate of costs, and models for St. Patrick's Church, inaugurated yesterday, 17 March 1847. He explains that the sum included some small charges for supplies and assistance, adding that "without fear of being contradicted" an English architect or indeed, any other architect in Montréal, would have charged a third to a half more.

This is interesting for at least two reasons. First, one wonders why he was so generous with the wealthy order, for supposedly charging them so little. It would seem that his seminarian education had had a lasting effect on him in his dealings with the religious order. Second, the £93 for

about four months of work results in a larger salary than that awarded the supervising architect at £150 per annum.⁹⁴

It is also another instance of models being used as part of the building process of the church. The model could have been used in two ways: as a presentation piece, showing his client what the church would look like; or as a "working" model, to be used by the contractors and builders so that they could understand the structure of the building. Noppen writes that architectural drawing conventions during the first half of the 19th century "prevented Québec City architects from using perspective," so that models replaced perspective presentation drawings for clients who "were hardly accustomed to reading plans and, especially, hardly able to establish the necessary links between the numerous drawings which made up projects in the 1840s."⁹⁵ Perhaps Montréal architects knew no such restrictions. Being well educated, Quiblier cannot be assumed to be incapable of understanding a relatively simple set of plans such as those that would have made up St. Patrick's. The most plausible use for the model for St. Patrick's would have been to indicate to the builders what was structurally needed to complete the plans in this new Gothic style.

Morin also mentioned that Quiblier as representative of the Sulpicians, was bound to respect the formal agreement between them and pay what was agreed upon in the contract

⁹⁴ StP, 8 June 1843.

⁹⁵ Noppen and Grignon, p. 85.

and not arbitrarily reduce the rate. Unfortunately, the formal agreement is also lost -- its existence would add to our knowledge about the architectural profession in Montréal at this time, as well as potentially clarify the extent of Morin's responsibilities in this project.

Defending his work, Morin modestly stated that he felt that he could lay claim to some of the credit (honneur) that those who worked on the church in order to realize the seminary's conception of the final result were claiming for themselves. To whom was he referring? Louis-Pascal Comte or Père Martin, perhaps? One of the most curious things about the research on this church is the abundance of secondary sources which link the name of Père Martin to the design of the church, and not one irrefutable primary source such as a signature on a drawing, a journal entry, or a receipt. Had Père Martin laid claim for the design to the highly lauded church? Morin's insinuation raises that question. But more importantly, Morin claims a significant enough part of the design of the church as his own.

In the same paragraph Morin wrote that his "primitive plan" was subject to some modifications. The word "primitive" is best translated as "early" as opposed to "primitive."⁹⁶ What is significant here are the

⁹⁶ In French, the meaning of the word "primitif" has not changed much in the past 150 years. Its first meaning, according to the Robert, is "Qui est le premier, le plus ancien." Other texts of the time which use "primitif" also use it in this sense.

modifications he refers to. Returning to Père Martin's drawing, it is clear that the parts of the facade resemble those of St. Patrick's. The evidence suggests that, if anything, it had to have been the extent of the input for the design by Père Martin. Nothing worth documenting in writing; just a visual suggestion, a part of which Morin more or less adhered to and improved upon.

Nineteenth-century working method is indicated when Morin wrote about the books he understood were offered him by Quiblier. When he was working on the plans for the École des Frères chrétiennes in 1839, Morin was counselled by M. Comte (probably the procurator, Joseph, as he handled book orders for the seminary⁹⁷) to get "Blondel's work" and a book on Gothic cathedrals of France. The former would be either the four-volume Cours d'Architect, Architecture françoise, or L'Architect françoise des Batimens particuliers; the latter is possibly John Britton's and A.C. Pugin's book on the Antiquities of Normandy, although a few other books were available. He, like other architects of his time, consulted books for ideas and guidance.

Three of Morin's later projects are known from various sources. He built the Manoir Masson in Terrebonne for Joseph Masson in 1848 (Fig. 12), followed by a house in the city on René Lévesque Boulevard for Wilfrid Masson, completed in 1853 (fig. 13).⁹⁸ Both these houses have features which

⁹⁷ Young, p. 23.

⁹⁸ One of the Massons was also a pall-bearer at his funeral

recall the classicism of St. Jean Church in Laprairie. He also designed a house for the de Bleury family in St. Vincent de Paul, now no longer extant. He was credited with the plans for the old college of St-Hyacinthe in 1849.⁹⁹

In 1852-1853, and again at the beginning of December 1853¹⁰⁰ he travelled to France on behalf of the Government of Canada East to do historic research. While there, he made copies of many plans and maps which are presently in the National Archives of Canada.

When he returned to Canada, he lived in Québec City. In 1857, he was described as an architect and civil engineer, and appointed associate professor at the Ecole Normale Laval.¹⁰¹ It is in an anonymous article on "Architecture des Ecoles" that he contributed drawings for a school (fig. 14).

The drawings show a small structure with the entrance on the short end and tall, picturesque chimneys, dormer windows piercing the roof, and a cupola for the bell. The roof projects from the walls to shelter them from the rain, according to the article. The roof is supported by prominent brackets, a feature also found on Eglise St-Jean at Laprairie. The tall chimneys, cupola, and pitched roof

(see Legendre).

⁹⁹ Harper, p. 229.

¹⁰⁰ Journal de Québec, 29 nov. 1853, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Journal de l'Instruction Publique, I (1857), p. 9, under "Avis officiels...Nominations." It seems that he was also named head of the registry of Surveyor of Lands for Québec at about this time as a footnote in the Journal de l'Instruction Publique refers to him as "géometre du cadastre." (JIP, 1 [1857], p. 136.)

pierced by dormer windows also appear in the two Masson houses.

Harper wrote that Morin was named head of registry of Surveyor of Lands for Québec, and retired in 1880.¹⁰² In the obituary, Legendre wrote that Morin was a good friend of Etienne Parent (1801-1874), a well-known Québec-born journalist who was two-time editor of Le Canadien (Québec City), was elected member of the Legislative Assembly of united Canada, and held various appointments in the civil service. Legendre's tribute to Morin sounds most sincere. In it he avows that Morin was well-respected for his personality, talent, and learning by those who knew him. As for his architectural abilities, his buildings show a sophistication that those designed by Martin do not.

¹⁰² Harper, p. 229; and Legendre.

IV. Chronological Development of the Construction

The first official mention of the church appears on 23 January 1833, when the spokesman for the English-Catholic congregation wrote to both Bishop Lartigue (who was then the auxiliary bishop at Montréal to the bishop in Québec City) and Quiblier, requesting a new church as the Récollet church they were using was too small.¹⁰³ The request expressed concern for the spiritual well-being of the congregation as they were spilling out into the street and all could not, therefore, hear the edifying words of the sermons or the Mass itself. There is no record of a response, probably due to the uncertain future of both the Sulpicians and the Church in Québec under the British Regime.

According to John Loye, Father Patrick Phalen had attempted to begin the process of building a church for his congregation in 1836, but these plans were abandoned the next year as a result of the rebellions.¹⁰⁴

Eight years after the initial request the Irish Catholics numbered 6,500, and the congregation met with Quiblier on 9 February 1841 to restate their interest in a new church.¹⁰⁵ According to the minutes of this meeting, Quiblier agreed that a church was needed and drafted three conditions which were important to meet in order to proceed

¹⁰³ ASSM, Tir. 97, File 187.

¹⁰⁴ Loye. Unfortunately, Loye provides no source for this information.

¹⁰⁵ St.P, 9 February 1841.

on this matter:

(1) "that if the Congregation would raise three thousand pounds the Seminary would undertake to build the church"; (2) "[t]hat it was out of the question for the laity to entertain the idea of building and controlling the church themselves, as the Bishop had declared that he would not supply such an establishment with Pastors"; (3) "[t]hat if the proposed sum could be raised by the Congregation, Mr. Quiblier thought that the foundation and basement of the Church might be built this coming fall."

Although £3000 would not appear to be very much for a potential of 6,500 contributors, the salaries at the time for many of the often poor Irish immigrants would likely resemble those the Sulpicians paid to their domestics: a man could earn £1 5s. to £1 10s. a month, while a woman might earn 17s. 6p. to £1 7s.¹⁰⁶ Those working on the Lachine Canal or any of the railroads could expect to earn more, however. The second point is particularly interesting because it implies that the congregation had made attempts to initiate the process on their own, thereby pressuring the Sulpicians into taking the responsibility that was entrusted to them as seigneurs and pastors of the island of Montréal.

The third condition was really the first condition and a promise. It may have implied that plans for a church were already available, although it is likelier that no such implication may be inferred.

By 22 February, a building committee had been established¹⁰⁷ and they had formed a fundraising committee,

¹⁰⁶ Young, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ The building committee had been established on the 16th

dividing the city and suburbs into fifteen parts, assigning two to seven people to collect per section.¹⁰⁸ In the same minutes it was noted that the publisher of the Montréal Transcript, Donald McDonald, offered to publish any public notices in reference to the future church free of charge. Although members of the congregation were virtually penniless, larger contributions came from the Bank of Montréal (£125), Joseph Masson (£100), Peter McGill and John Molson (£25 each) as well as others, indicating that the community at large, French and Protestant included, aided in the fundraising.¹⁰⁹

By 6 July, they had collected over £1000, and seemingly forgetting that the goal was £3000, went to Quiblier asking that he take the necessary steps to begin the church. Quiblier reminded them of the agreement between the building committee and the Sulpicians, stating that "until such sum was raised, he did not consider himself justified in taking a contract for this great work."¹¹⁰ On 5 April 1842, the congregation reminded the Superior how crowded they were, especially with recent immigration, and requested that a second English Mass be held after high Mass until St. Patrick's was ready.¹¹¹ The collecting continued, albeit slowly (unless the records are incomplete, for they left

of February (StP).

¹⁰⁸ StP., 22 February 1841.

¹⁰⁹ StP., fundraising ledger, 1 March 1841 on.

¹¹⁰ StP., 6 July 1841.

¹¹¹ StP., 5 April 1842.

spaces for many more contributions than were actually filled in).

Various lots were bought and sold with the intention of building the projected church. A Bleury Street site was chosen which would be bought by selling land on Craig Street¹¹² and then the Bleury lot was marked for sale to buy the de Rocheblave estate, the present site of the church.¹¹³ This was accompanied by surveyed plats of both the Bleury site and the de Rocheblave estate drawn to scale and signed by P.L. Morin. On 16 October of the same year, an entry at the Fabrique states that the burned lots at Craig and Cote Streets were judged favourable as the site for St. Patrick's Church as opposed to the Bleury site.¹¹⁴ But by 12 March 1843, the committee of the Fabrique entered a notation stating that they were authorized to sell the Bleury site if a more suitable one made its appearance. The de Rocheblave estate was finally sold to the Sulpicians on 20 May 1843.¹¹⁵ These transactions will be discussed more fully in their

¹¹² ASSM, 10 April 1842, Boîte 51, Chemise 3; and FND, *Délibération*, Vol. C, 24 April 1842, pp. 36, 38.

¹¹³ ASSM, 27 June 1842, Tiroir 97, file 233. Pierre de Rastel de Rocheblave (1773-1840) was a fur trader, businessman, militia officer, and politician amongst other things, and was very active with various public responsibilities in Montréal. He was also one of the churchwardens of Notre-Dame. At the time of his death, only one daughter and his widow survived him, and they decided to sell the large house and estate in Montréal (they also had other property holdings in Coteau-Saint-Louis, Châteauguay and La Salle). See Pierre-Dufour and Marc Ouellet, "Rastel de Rocheblave," *DCB*, VII, pp. 735-38.

¹¹⁴ FND, *Délibération*, Vol. C, 16 October 1842, p. 39.

¹¹⁵ FND, Boîte 50, Chemise 1.

chronological places.

Meanwhile, Quiblier decided to begin preparations on 24 April 1842 despite the fact that he still had not received the £3000 from the congregation. In the St. Patrick's minutes, it says that he planned to have the foundation laid during the summer. Yet, on the same date in the Fabrique's records, the minutes state that the actual work would only begin once the money was collected.¹¹⁶ A committee was formed to begin preparations for the construction of the church. Churchwardens Olivier Berthelet, Louis Paschal Comte and Alexandre Maurice Delisle were appointed.¹¹⁷ Berthelet was a Catholic philanthropist and "very large" landowner in Montréal.¹¹⁸ Comte was a building contractor and master mason who had already worked on the building of Notre-Dame Church, and whose brother Joseph was the procurator of the seminary.¹¹⁹ Delisle was also a major landowner who seemed to have been trained in law and had banking interests.¹²⁰

The next archival entry occurs a month later, on 28 May, when Quiblier sent the letter to Pugin in England. How much he was aware of Pugin's work is unknown. As a Gallican, however, he could be expected to prefer the Gothic style to any other architectural style, and as a supporter of the

¹¹⁶ StP, 24 April 1842; FND, Délibération Vol. C, same date, p. 38.

¹¹⁷ FND, Délibération Vol. C, 24 April 1842, p. 38.

¹¹⁸ Young, pp. 98, 99; Toker, p. 18.

¹¹⁹ Young, pp. 26, 100.

¹²⁰ Young, p. 201.

British government (for reasons of institutional self-preservation), he was probably aware of the Gothic Revival movement in England. France's Gothic Revival was yet to reach the same level of popularity as that in England, for although Viollet-le-Duc was only two years younger than Pugin, he was still studying in Italy in 1837 and was working on the restoration of the church of Vézelay in 1840. It was only with the publication of his Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française in 1854-1868 that he achieved the same fame as Pugin had done almost twenty years earlier with the publication of Contrasts.

As mentioned earlier, the site had not yet been chosen. The Sulpicians wanted to sell a property slightly to the southeast of the present site at La Gauchetière on the north, St. Georges on the east, des Turés on the south, and Bleury on the west, to buy the De Rocheblave estate on 27 June 1842.¹²¹ However, on 16 October, after a fire on the lot, the minutes state that the burned lots on Craig and Côté streets were preferable to the Bleury site for that of the church for the English-speaking population, and that the building committee were hereby authorized to acquire the land by purchase or exchange.¹²² It would seem that the building committee were unsuccessful in that task, for in both the Fabrique's archives and that of St. Patrick's there is an entry for 12 March 1843 authorizing the building

¹²¹ ASSM, Tirolir 97, File 233, 27 June 1842.

¹²² FND, Délibération C, p. 39.

committee to sell the Bleury site if a more favourable site became available.

The only other archival document found related to this subject is an unsigned and undated site plan of the de Rocheblave estate. While the Seminary's archivist dates it ca. 1841, it is likelier that it was made between June 1842 and April 1843. (The early date refers to the date of Morin's first plan, and the late date refers to receipts signed by Morin for drawings made for the church.) Evidently the other two sites -- both on lower ground -- were dismissed.

From February to April of 1843 there are two slips of paper with various dates which are receipts signed by Pierre-Louis Morin. The 9 February entry states: "Reçu de Monsieur Quiblier, Supérieur du Séminaire, la somme de treize livres un chelin trois pences en acompte des ouvrages que je fais pour l'Eglise de la future St. Patrice." Morin signed himself as architect. On the same slip of paper dated 18 February is: "un Louis dix chelins plus deux Louis". On the other slip of paper, signed P.L. Morin and dated 8 April: "Reçu de Monsieur J.V. Quiblier, Supérieur du Séminaire de Montréal, la somme de soixante dix livres lourd actuel pour solde de tout compte pour les Plans, Devis, (illegible), et modèles faits d'une Eglise projetée, St. Patrice de Montréal." On the verso, Morin has signed for

other amounts (in both livres and piastres).¹²³

During this period, the seminary was converting its accounts from livres tournois to Halifax pounds and then to dollars. The rates of exchange used in the seminary account books of the time tell us that six livres tournois equals one dollar and one Halifax pound equals four dollars.¹²⁴ Because of the presence of shillings (chelins), the reference to livres is probably to the Halifax pound; the reference to Louis is likely to mean livres tournois; and piastres is probably dollars.

The receipt for £70 dated 8 April 1843 was presumably in payment for the estimate of costs and specifications (devis) in the ASSM and dated 21 March.¹²⁵ The list is extensive and prices are given for each item to be used, including: scaffoldings, coursed ashlar, excavation, the metal roof, Gothic features such as the rose window, crockets, and woodworking. The total comes to £15,206.17.0. Towards the end of the document is written:

avec Quinze mille deux cents six Louis de la Province,
Nous soussignés sommes d'avis qu'on pourra bâtir,
d'après les Plans de P.L. Morin, architecte, l'église
St. Patrice.

Montréal 21 mars 1843

Louis Comte [churchwarden? and master
carpenter?]¹²⁶

¹²³ ASSM, Tiroir 97, File 228.

¹²⁴ Young, pp. xvii-xviii.

¹²⁵ ASSM, Tiroir 97, file 288.

¹²⁶ Young, p. 26. A few documents refer to two Louis Comtes,

Louis Comte, Ma, Con. [Louis-Paschal;
mason, contractor]
P.L. Morin

There is an addendum that seems to have been prompted by a request to cut expenses. It states:

Si le derrière de l'église avait été caré avec pinion en pointe, la pointe du pinion au dessus du caré équivaldrait à la difference du contour du sanctuaire pour ceux qui regarde la maçonne. -- le comble et la couverture pouront couter environ £150- de plus --

Le cout total de la batyse de l'Eglise tel que commencer avec la tour et portail [?] sera environ £15000 si, on laissoit, la partie du portail en dessus du caré de l'Eglise à achevée par la suite, ainsi que la tour, cela donnerait un déduction d'environ £3500.

C'est la Notre opiniant. Louis Comte

Louis Comte

The implied question is "how can we cut expenses; would squaring off the apse reduce costs?" A squared apse (chancel) derives from the British Gothic tradition; the semi-circular belongs to Québécois and continental European tradition. Economy favoured the original design which, with its semi-circular apse, respected not only the vernacular forms, but also the European Gothic sources as opposed to the British.

In the second paragraph it is noted that the cost would be reduced by £3,500 if the tower and the area above the main door (the gable?) were left until later. However, the

who have different signatures. Since the master mason / contractor was Louis-Paschal (who was also a churchwarden, according to the 24 April entry at the FND archives) and the procurator of the Sulpicians was L-P's brother Joseph, a possibility for the other Louis Comte is their father, who was a master carpenter and might have the same first name as one of his sons. As to the elder Comte's participation in the project and first signature, it would make most sense if he were also one of the churchwardens.

difference between the first quote and the second at £15,000 is £206.17 and not £3,500. What occasioned this difference in price? The addendum could not have been written much later than the first estimate of costs because the building of the church began not quite three months later, on 15 June 1843.

A discussion on the tower is appropriate here. Quiblier had made a request for a tower in his letter to Pugin, and this proves to be important because current oral tradition still holds that towers were not permitted in any Montréal Catholic churches other than Notre-Dame Church and St. Jacques Cathedral because the Sulpicians would not allow competition with their parish church (St. Jacques was built by Bishop Lartigue and, being a cathedral, had to have a tower).¹²⁷ For St. Patrick's to get a tower, it had to have been done by subterfuge: by building the tower inside the church.

This story seems to have evolved from a combination of old stories and unexplained facts. The earliest published reference specifically to the tower is in 1900, from Le Diocèse:¹²⁸ As Quiblier indicated in his letter to Pugin, he wanted a tower, and as the writer relates here, it was

¹²⁷ Monseigneur Breen of St. Patrick's church told me this story as did Mm. Guy and Pellicer, the architects currently restoring and renovating the church.

Notre-Dame had, incidentally, briefly been a cathedral, or the seat of the Bishop in Montréal (Toker, p. 11; Rousseau, DCB, VIII, p. 729).

¹²⁸ Le Diocèse, p. 197.

despite the opposition of some of those involved in the project, whose reason was economic. The excerpt from the estimate of costs above would indicate that this was indeed the case. However, in 1902, Curran wrote that the Fabrique of Notre-Dame had immediate charge of the construction of St. Patrick's Church. The Superior of the Sulpicians, M. Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, intervened...."In order to quickly defeat the opposition of certain members of the Fabrique, who did not wish to allow a tower, so as to curtail expenses, the Superior caused the tower to be built inside the church, instead of outside as is usual. In this way it did not appear outwardly until the walls were complete, and the necessity of carrying the tower to completion became evident if the appearance of the building were not to be spoiled."¹²⁹

The Curran version has two glaring problems: the tower was supposedly built "inside" the church instead of outside; and the appearance of the church when the walls were complete called for a tower. By 1902, towers projected from the facades of most Gothic-style Catholic churches (as well as a number of other styles) in the Montréal area. Examples include Eglise de la Presentation-de-la-Très-Sainte-Vierge

¹²⁹ Curran, Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum. (Montreal: Catholic Institution for Deaf Mutes, 1902), p. 107. According to, most probably, Monseigneur Breen of St. Patrick's, the Curran article derives from an article previously cited (by Curran?) "published in 1897 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the official opening of St. Patrick's Church," now a ten-page typescript which the church was handing out in 1987.

(1900-1901), Eglise de l'Immaculée Conception (1895-1898), Eglise du Sacré-Coeur-de-Jésus (1886-1887), and so on back to 1845. The first example of a church with a prominently projecting tower is Saint-François-Xavier in Caughnawaga (now the shrine to Kateri Tekakwitha in Kahnawake), built in 1844-1845 (fig. 6). St. Patrick's was designed and being built just before and while St. François-Xavier was being completed, and so belongs to an earlier tradition of a flat facade. St. Patrick's tower does not exactly follow this tradition either. With the octagonal buttresses flanking the main door, and the recession of the jambs allowed by the construction of a gable which projects to the buttresses, the tower at eye level does project. Above the gable it also projects, but so little that it appears flat. Perhaps these features and subsequent architectural practice caused the eyes of Curran's generation to perceive the tower as having been built inside.

The size of the church alone demands a tower. According to nineteenth-century British standards, for example, it is the size of a cathedral. In addition, the composition of the facade with the steeply-pitched roofline and the buttresses flanking the main door, rising above the roofline call for a tower. Add the documentary evidence of the estimate of costs, which proposes postponing the completion of the tower until more money becomes available, and the existence of a tower does not indicate subterfuge on anyone's part. Perhaps the building committee agreed that the tower should be built

as soon as possible once they saw what the church would look like in its temporary state, but it is equally possible that the congregation was able to raise the needed money to bring the project to completion on the outside, including the tower. (Interior decoration had to wait a few years.)

It would seem that the tower story became embellished over the years, with each contributor adding some piece of an explanation which made sense at the time. Officially, however, it is the words which are attributed to Curran which are reprinted.

Interestingly, Jean-Claude Marsan wrote that an early plan did not indicate a spire, then a later plan showed a tall spire, which was later reduced to the existing height. He later admitted that he used secondary sources and had not, in fact, seen the plans in question.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, the extant plans are really surveyor's plans or plats, and do not show any architectural definition such as the placement of the doors or tower.

In the Curran text it is implied that the events surrounding the tower intrigue were at least a contributing reason for Quiblier's resignation from his appointment as head of the Sulpicians. He left the country in 1846, prior to the opening of the church. But according to Louis Rousseau, Quiblier resigned due to pressure from the Bishop--as Superior, Quiblier was responsible for the fact that the

¹³⁰ Telephone conversation with Marsan in October 1985.

Sulpicians had become inactive in their duties toward the community.¹³¹

The dimensions of the church kept changing. This was most probably the result of the lack of sufficient funds versus the need for a large enough space to house the rapidly-growing English-speaking Catholic population. In his letter to Pugin (May 1842), Quiblier asked for a 215 by 108 foot church. In Morin's estimate (March 1843), the dimensions were 180 by 90 feet (inside), but one undated plan showed 190 by 89 feet¹³² and another approximately 203 feet by an undeterminable width.¹³³ Finally, in a newspaper report of the consecration ceremony on 25 September 1843, the reporter stated that the church was to be 215 by 96 feet within the walls.¹³⁴ The actual size is approximately that.

On 25 May 1843, five days after Mme. de Rocheblave sold her late husband's estate to the building committee of St. Patrick's church,¹³⁵ and just over a month after Morin's estimate, Quiblier called a meeting in the seminary. He stated that the project to build a church for English-speaking Catholics had been planned since 1836. A lot had been purchased on Craig Street for this purpose, but when it was considered too inconvenient, a lot on Bleury was bought

¹³¹ Rousseau, DCB, VIII, p. 731.

¹³² ASSM, Carte 216.

¹³³ This is without measuring tools, and assuming that the plan is to scale. ASSM, Carte 829.

¹³⁴ Unreferenced newspaper clipping in the Archives de la Ville de Montréal, Dossier R3165.2

¹³⁵ FND, Boite 50, Chemise 1.

instead:

with a view to commence the undertaking [of building the church] last year[,] but other difficulties having arisen as to the locality[,] the Committee appointed in April 1842 had not acted by calling others to their assistance but that having during the present month purchased another lot of Ground on St. Alexander & Lagauchetière St.[,] it was resolved immediately to commence the building prior to which[,] however[,] it was necessary, according to the Canonical Laws, to petition the Right Revd the Lord Bishop of the Diocese and that such petition should be prepared without loss of time.¹³⁶

By criticizing the committee, who "had not acted by calling others," the minute-taker records Quiblier's discontent with the delay occasioned by the building committee's lack of communication with himself at least.

Quiblier continued by stating that the method of obtaining the funds for the project were, in order of priority: (1) voluntary contributions and subscriptions, (2) deposits on loans without interest, and (3) the "ways and means of the Fabrique." Young wrote that the total cost of the church for building and land was £29,211.¹³⁷ It is unknown whether this sum includes the amount raised by the fundraising committee. Since one Halifax pound equalled four dollars,¹³⁸ the total cost of the church in dollars was \$116,844. This must have been amortized over more than seven years from 1841 to after 1847 because, according to church construction figures which include maintenance (no church

¹³⁶ StP, 25 May 1843.

¹³⁷ Young, p. 160.

¹³⁸ As seen earlier, Young, p. xviii.

specified), the total amount of money spent between 1840 to 1847 was \$23,060.¹³⁹ Most of that probably went to fund the building of St. Patrick's Church and finishing the towers of Notre-Dame, indicating that St. Patrick's was the only church the seminary built during those years.

The petition to the bishop on 31 May 1843 contains the request that the church measure 180 by 90 feet or so, "which should suffice for a number of years."¹⁴⁰ The bishop's response was dated 3 June 1843 and he agreed with the dimensions, specified that a proportionate height be used, and appointed Quiblier as commissary for the project.¹⁴¹ Another meeting was held the day after the bishop's response. The participants were the members of the building committee "called together for the purpose of adopting measures to fulfil the object for which the Members enrolled themselves of raising at least Three thousand pounds towards the building of the intended Church." They "moved to charge a penny subscription so that the funds may be increased."¹⁴² Evidently the £3,000 had not yet been raised.

Four days later, they held a meeting in the office of the Fabrique de Notre-Dame and repeated the decision of the previous meeting that Hubert Paré had been named treasurer so that all money for the church was to go through him. This

¹³⁹ Young, pp. 217-19.

¹⁴⁰ StP, 31 May 1843.

¹⁴¹ StP, 3 June 1843.

¹⁴² StP, 4 June 1843.

was followed by the carried motions:

That Mr. L. Pascal Comte shall act as Architect to carry out the plan adopted by the committee and that he shall give his attention to every part of the Work in its progression & completion for which Service he shall be allowed during the time the work is going on at the rate of One hundred + fifty pounds per annum. That Mr. Louis Comte shall act as Builder to superintend the Mason Work procuring the stone &c -- for which Service he shall be allowed during the time that part of the building is going forward which requires his attention at the rate of One hundred pounds per annum."¹⁴³

Morin, then, did not oversee the completion of his plans, but those who did were the same two Comtes who approved his plans on 21 March.

The document continues:

That / As the church is raised principally for the use of the Parishioners speaking the English Tongue This committee recommend that the Messieurs Comte employ so far as they are able in the execution of this Great Work, as Foremen, Mechanics or Labourers that part of the population for whose use the Church is intended with which recommendation they leave the sole management within hands of the Messieurs Comte in whose judgment & integrity they place full confidence.

It took almost two years longer to build the church than was originally estimated. On Monday, 12 June 1843, Quiblier stated that every "exertion" would be used to complete the church as soon as possible, hoping that it would be ready by 1 July 1845. Well-seasoned timber had already been bought. He proposed that the Cross be planted on that Thursday, the feast of Corpus Christi.¹⁴⁴ On

¹⁴³ StP, 8 June 1843; underlining in original.

¹⁴⁴ StP, 12 June 1843.

Thursday the 15th, the Cross was planted, the ground was blessed, and the site was marked by pickets.¹⁴⁵ On Monday following, the rates of pay were established: foremen would get five shillings a day; labourers two shillings, sixpence; "& that for the use of a cart, horse & man the sum of four shillings & six pence a day shall be allowed."¹⁴⁶ A week later, the Comtes ordered their employees to begin digging for the basement.¹⁴⁷ A day earlier, the records in the Fabrique record the authorization to sell both the Bleury Street land (for the sum offered) and the Craig Street land.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps this was to help fund the church.

Reports from the treasurer about finding credit and progress reports on the building make up the bulk of the following entries in St. Patrick's archives. By 18 September 1843, the building committee reported that the foundations were sufficiently advanced to lay the cornerstones.¹⁴⁹ They decided on the 25th, and sent letters of invitation to the ceremony to Bishop Bourget, Mayor Joseph Bourret, and various prominent people in politics and charitable organizations. Four days later, all invited had accepted except for the chief justice, who was sick, and on the 25th, the ledger records the donations received from the guests. Reporters estimated that about 10,000 people witnessed the

¹⁴⁵ StP, 15 June 1843.

¹⁴⁶ StP, 19 June 1843; underlining in original.

¹⁴⁷ StP, 26 June 1843.

¹⁴⁸ F^o, Délibération, Volume C, p. 45.

¹⁴⁹ StP, 18 September 1843.

laying of the seven cornerstones.

The records are mysteriously blank for awhile, then Morin appears. On a receipt dated 7 April 1845, he wrote: "Par ordre de Alb. Furniss Ecr [Esquire, churchwarden] j'ai fait le toisé de toute la maçonnerie et de la Pierre de taille, fait et posée pour l'érection de la nouvelle Église St. Patrice de plus l'estimation des travaux faits jusqu'à ce jour à la sus dite Église pour la somme de £7.10.0." On the same page with the same handwriting, but a different pen, is: "Le compte du toitage seulement, est entre les mains du dit Alb. Furniss Ecr la balance qui completera les £7.10.0. portés ci dessus, est pour le temps qui j'ai mis à faire l'estimation qui j'ai aussi donnée au dit M. Furniss." And in a different pen and hand dated the next day: "Mons. Dubois voudra payé à Mons. P.L. Morin cinq livres courant Balance de comte jusqu'à cette date (signed) Aug. Perrault" (Perrault was a churchwarden. Monsieur Dubois has not appeared before or since in this research. He is possibly also a churchwarden). Then an unsigned note follows, in a cramped hand, stating that the amount of £5 for the balance of the account was received.¹⁵⁰ Morin was paid £3 later that month for surveying the property and once again he signed his name with "arptr Architecte."¹⁵¹

Finally, two years later Morin wrote a letter on 18 March 1847 to the seminary, asking to be paid for the work

¹⁵⁰ FND, Boîte 49, Chemise 1, 7 April 1845.

¹⁵¹ FND, Boîte 49, Chemise 1, 21 April 1845.

he had done on the church (Appendix 1).

V. The Choice of Style

Sources have thus far indicated that the Gothic style was chosen by Quiblier (or the Irish congregation) rather than the architect. We shall see that the architect also felt that Gothic was the best style for church architecture. Was it fashion that called for the Gothic style, or was there another reason for its adoption?

The rivalries between the bishop and the Sulpicians on political grounds have already been discussed. On religious grounds, however, there were also divisions in each party's philosophical bias. And during this time, architectural styles were intimately associated with symbolic and philosophic meaning.

Both France and French Canada were sites of clashes between the supporters of ultramontanism and supporters of Gallicanism.¹⁵² The ultramontanist bishops believed in the infallibility of Papal authority as a confirmation of the line of power from Christ's apostle Peter. Their pious submission to the Pope was reflected in the adoption of the Vatican way of celebrating the mass, which emphasized ceremony, gesture, and the public image of Catholicism manifested in processions, for example.¹⁵³ Architecturally, Neo-Baroque churches in imitation of the style of St. Peter's in Rome was the preferred style by Bishop Bourget

¹⁵² Chaussé & Lemieux, p. 487.

¹⁵³ Philippe Sylvain, "Bourget, Ignace," DCB, XI, pp. 97-98.

and other supporters of ultramontaniam.

The Gallicans were less willing to bow to Papal authority because of the excesses of the Reformation popes, and often contested the decisions made by the Holy See. Formed as a result of the Counter-Reformation, the Sulpician order was Gallican. Masses celebrated by the Sulpicians were sedate and formal.¹⁵⁴ They preferred the relatively ascetic church services and the Gothic style born of medieval faith over the grandeur of the ceremonies newly recommended by Rome and the architecture many 19th-century northern Europeans associated with both pre-Christian times and the decadent Church of the Renaissance period.

This spiritualism which took the form of Gallicanism grew out of the same theoretical basis as that which produced the Gothic Revival and Pugin's intense faith -- the opinion based on then recent archaeological study of Gothic buildings and which seemed to reveal a better, more moral life led during the medieval era.

Even if Quiblier's letter to Pugin was a result of a recommendation on the part of some of the Irish immigrants to Montréal, Quiblier as a Sulpician would have preferred the Gothic style to any other.

But the style of the church departs from that of its Gothic-style predecessor, Notre-Dame. Gowans stated that there is a "studied correctness" to the building, and that

¹⁵⁴ Sylvain, ibid., p. 97.

the French architects knew the formal building principles as well as the details of the Gothic style.¹⁵⁵

A. The Gothic Revival

A review of the evolution of the Gothic Revival is requisite to the understanding of the importance of this church in Canada.

The chief impetus for the revival of the Gothic style was to be found in Britain. Although contemporaneous movements existed in France and Germany, their beginnings date somewhat later than the British, and were not as influential in North America.

The British Gothic Revival itself took a few generations to evolve, alongside remnants of the Gothic Survival which persisted outside the major centres.¹⁵⁶ Few architects restricted their designs to one style only, hence the Gothic Revival was practiced in tandem with a classical Revival as well as a mixture of other styles often lumped together under the heading "The Picturesque." The Gothic Revival was but one manifestation of the Romantic turn of mind, which began as a literary movement inspired in part by Horace Walpole's "Gothic novel" The Castle of Otranto (1764) in which the action takes place in a gloomy and sublime

¹⁵⁵ Gowans, Building Canada, pp. 97, 112.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, (1872; rpt. New York: Humanities Press, 1970).

Gothic setting.¹⁵⁷ Sir Walter Scott was later (1805-1832) to transform the setting from the past into a setting of the present, which engendered a more popular appreciation of the middle ages.

Walpole's own residence Strawberry Hill (1748-1777) is usually cited as the generating architectural model. The development of the style proceeded from romantic notions of an exotic past (roughly 1740s-1820s), to an archaeological interest in structure, details and materials (1830s), to an emotional claim to its moral and spiritual superiority over omnipresent classicism (1830s-1840s), and finally to a reinterpretation of the architectural vocabulary into a nineteenth-century idiom (1850s-). It is the "archaeological" stage of the early nineteenth century that is of interest here. The protagonists are Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society.

Pugin's enthusiasm and conscientious approach to the study of medieval buildings have been discussed earlier. His prominent role in the Gothic Revival was rivalled by a group of students at Cambridge who called themselves the Cambridge Camden Society, and who published a journal entitled The Ecclesiologist beginning in 1841. The Ecclesiologist was largely an organ for the Anglican Church -- dealing with subjects ranging from recommendations of building style to ritual. Like Pugin, a converted Catholic, the Society argued

¹⁵⁷ Peter Quennell, p. 14, but see also p. 9ff.

largely for the superiority of the Gothic style over the classical style, claiming that it derived from a time when religious belief was purer, and that the craft of building was more spiritually rewarding as a result. Strongly anti-papist, the members of the Society were loathe to admit their agreement with the Catholic Pugin, although they often adopted his recommendations under Anglican disguise.¹⁵⁸ Both Pugin and the Society felt that there was a strong moral imperative to their activities. Phoebe Stanton puts it aptly:

In this hothouse atmosphere the study of medieval art and understanding of its details grew astonishingly; the constructive social effects which it was hoped the revival might produce were believed to reside, at least in part, in the capacity to reproduce Gothic exactly. Knowledge was more than a necessity: it was an obligation. The theoreticians and critics of the revival equated inadequate information with social irresponsibility.¹⁵⁹

1. Predecessors in Great Britain

The British predecessors of concern here are churches by Pugin: St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham (1839) and St. Mary's, Derby (1840), because of their superficial resemblance to St. Patrick's, and St. Mary's, Brewood (1842), because of its chronological affiliation to St.

¹⁵⁸ See Cambridge Camden Society, The Ecclesiologist, (Cambridge: Metcalfe and Palmer, 1842), and Stanton's The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), pp. 19-20 especially for a discussion about the threat Pugin posed to the Cambridge Camden Society.

¹⁵⁹ Stanton, Gothic Revival, p. 6.

Patrick's.

Like St. Patrick's, St. Chad's (fig. 15) has one sloping roof, with high side aisles and the polygonal apse included under it. St. Chad's, however, has a transept. The plain brick exterior is not common for English Gothic churches, but was necessary in this case because of a lack of funds. According to Stanton, when Pugin discovered that the building had to be made of brick, he searched for examples on which he could base his plans. He found such models in Germany.¹⁶⁰ St. Patrick's is made of coursed ashlar stone. The similarity to St. Patrick's inside is a gallery at the west end¹⁶¹ for the organ and choir. Pugin was usually opposed to galleries in churches, and completely opposed to galleries on the sides; this one at the end he called a "loft for choristers."

The facade of St. Chad's bears no resemblance to that of St. Patrick's. It has twin towers and one central door under a wide, six-light bar tracery window, typical of the 13th-century English Gothic style. The proportions of the openings and of the facade in general are wider than those of St. Patrick's with its narrow lancet windows and openings, and single tower. Inside, there is an open timber roof and a screen dropped from the roof to the level of the

¹⁶⁰ Stanton, Pugin, p. 60.

¹⁶¹ Directions given refer to the old liturgical orientation of churches and not to actual placement. Therefore, the apse is always in the east and the main entrance is usually in the west.

arches on either side of the transept crossing, whereas in St. Patrick's there is a clear view of the lathe and plaster vault through to the apse. Clearly, the superficial features St. Patrick's and St. Chad's share are outnumbered by the great differences in the details, especially in the treatment of the roof. Morin did not use St. Chad's as the model for St. Patrick's.

St. Mary's, Derby was opened in 1840 (fig. 16). The two-storey structure consisted of a symmetrical facade and plan, with a central projecting tower (the planned spire was never built) and lower side aisles beneath a clerestory. The exterior is unadorned, with only tall thin buttresses and large windows.¹⁶² There is only one main door on the facade, surrounded by squared hood-molding, surmounted with a large ten-light window in a late 14th-century tracery design. The walls flanking the door remain blank, and there is a window of reduced proportions above this area, flanking the large central window.

The comparison here with St. Patrick's is only in the symmetry, the central tower and spire, and the three bays of the facade. The details of the facade differ, as do the vertical division, and the proportions. The nave bears no resemblance at all.

The drawings for St. Chad's Cathedral were done between March and June of 1839.¹⁶³ Stanton wrote that the design for

¹⁶² Stanton, Pugin, p. 44.

¹⁶³ Stanton, ibid, p. 57.

this church (along with two others) "marked the end of the first phase of Pugin's career" and marked the end of his acceptance of and experimentation with the different forms of Gothic.¹⁶⁴ What is important is that St. Chad's does not concur with Pugin's own requirements for a proper Gothic church as he stipulated in 1841. In True Principles he wrote:

The construction itself should vary with the material employed, and the designs should be adapted to the material in which they are executed....A pointed church...is essentially a stone building...and could not be consistently executed in any other material.¹⁶⁵

And in reference to the wooden vaulting used in St.

Patrick's, Pugin said:

Wooden groining is decidedly bad because it is employing a material in the place and after the manner of stone, which requires an entirely different mode of construction.¹⁶⁶

Pugin also recommended that the stone employed be jointed unevenly so that it would not put a horizontal emphasis on any features,¹⁶⁷ a proscription which would include the use of coursed ashlar as found in St. Patrick's. In 1843 in An Apology, he declared:

In my own case I can truly state, that in buildings which I erected but a short time since, I can perceive numerous defects and errors, which I should not now commit; and, but a few years ago, I perpetrated abominations. Indeed, till I discovered those laws of

¹⁶⁴ Stanton, ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Pugin, True Principles, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Pugin, ibid, p. 31.

¹⁶⁷ Pugin, ibid, p. 17.

pointed design, which I set forth in my 'True Principles,' I had no fixed rules to work upon, and frequently fell into error and extravagance.

St. Mary's, Brewood, 1842, is a typical Pugin church (fig. 17). It has a south porch, a square-ended chancel narrower than the width of the church and under a separate and lower roof, low aisles under separate roofs, and a very steeply-pitched roof over the nave. Inside, the nave has an open-timber roof. It conforms quite well to Pugin's illustration of an ideal church which he published in True Principles (fig. 18).

Had Pugin supplied plans for St. Patrick's, the product would have been closer in design to his ideal church than the existing building in Montréal. If Pugin did indeed send plans to Quiblier for a church, they were not used, nor were any of his churches used as models for St. Patrick's Church.

B. Predecessors in the United States

While it is well documented that the building committee of Notre-Dame Church looked for an architect in Europe or the United States,¹⁶⁸ there is no such documentation other than the letter to Pugin for St. Patrick's Church. Since there are a few references to cutting expenses, it is logical to conclude that bringing someone in from outside the country was out of the question. Although there are no accounts telling of either Quiblier or Morin travelling

¹⁶⁸ Toker, p. 19.

specifically to see other churches in the United States, the likeliest cities they would have visited would have been New York, because it was the largest city in North America with a large Catholic population and O'Donnell came from there, or Baltimore, because it was the home of another Sulpician seminary.

Baltimore, however, is easily dismissed as a source for St. Patrick's. The Cathedral of the Assumption by Benjamin Latrobe was begun in 1804 and is Neoclassical in style. The Sulpician St. Mary's Chapel by Maximilian Godefroy, begun in 1806, is a curious blend of classical triumphal arch and Gothic detailing (fig. 19). There were no other Catholic churches in Baltimore at the time.

The Gothic Revival made its way to the United States first in the late eighteenth century, as seen in such churches as the second Trinity Church, New York (1788-1790; fig. 20). While the second Trinity Church remained a classically-composed structure with Gothic-style details added, the third Trinity (1841-1846) by Richard Upjohn (1802-1878) is recognized as pivotal for the introduction of the next stage of the style in the United States (fig. 21). Here, the rhythm of thrusts and counterthrusts is explored, marking this church's departure from the classical system based on the post and lintel and arch. The beginning of construction for this third Trinity Church predates that of St. Patrick's Church by only two years. However, as Pearson has so adequately indicated, Upjohn's Trinity Church has

many affinities with Pugin's ideal church, which indicates that it had no effect on the design of St. Patrick's. There are no other Catholic churches in New York which could have served as models for St. Patrick's.

C. Predecessors in Canada and Québec

Mathilde Brosseau wrote that the history of the Gothic Revival in Canada began in 1811 with Jeffry Wyatt's design for the House of Parliament in Québec City.¹⁶⁹ In it, he adorned a symmetrical, classically composed building with Gothic details. He also submitted an alternate design of the same dimensions and arrangement using a classical vocabulary, essentially indicating that a style was just a fashionable covering on a structure built according to eighteenth-century building techniques. Brosseau also pointed out the significance of Wyatt's nationality -- he was a British architect, and the Gothic style was quite popular in Britain, and totally alien in Canada.

The only other known example of the Gothic style and the only built example to predate Notre-Dame Church in Montréal is the National School Building in Québec City, built in 1822. It features details such as hood-moulds and labels over the doors and windows, crockets along the slopes of the roof, and tracery in the windows.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Brosseau, p. 8. Wyatt (1766-1840) later changed his name to Wyatville. He was knighted in 1828.

¹⁷⁰ Brosseau, illustration on p. 64.

Neither design had an influence on either Notre-Dame or St. Patrick's -- they serve only to illustrate that the style took time to catch hold in Canada. Ironically, it was in Québec, with its longstanding local building tradition where the style first made headway.

1. The state of architectural knowledge in Montréal

During the 1820s, the elite of Montréal aspired to cosmopolitanism and cultural sophistication and so they did not generally consider local architects capable of designing buildings to suit their desires.¹⁷¹ The situation did not improve appreciably for major commissions for over sixty years.¹⁷² The exception was John Ostell (1813-1892), an architect-surveyor-engineer who arrived in Montréal in 1834,¹⁷³ and received such major commissions as the Custom House (1836), the Arts Building of McGill University (1839-1843), the Grand Séminaire (1854) and the Court House (1850-1856) amongst others. But Ostell had been born and probably educated in London.¹⁷⁴ By marrying into a prominent French Catholic family shortly after he arrived, he was also able to move freely in both English Protestant and French Catholic circles, opening up his possibilities for

¹⁷¹ Toker, p. 19.

¹⁷² Kelly Crossman, Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906 (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), p. 10.

¹⁷³ Ellen James, John Ostell (Montréal: McCord Museum, McGill University, 1985), p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ James, ibid.

commissions beyond the scope of other architects working in the city at the time.¹⁷⁵

There were not many architects working in Montréal in the first half of the nineteenth century. The most active ones were, aside from Ostell, John Wells (active 1830-55), who built St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in 1832, Pierre-Louis Morin, who arrived in the city in 1837, and Victor Bourgeau, who began his architectural practice after 1847.¹⁷⁶ Thomas Baillargé (1791-1859) built Eglise Sainte-Geneviève in 1843-45, but he practiced largely in Québec City.

At the time, the only other Gothic-style church in the city was Notre-Dame, built between 1823 and 1829. It was built during the first phase of the Gothic Revival, when the style manifested itself as decoration adorning a structure built according to classical building techniques. O'Donnell's Gothic has such classically-inspired features as a portico, stringcourses, and a box-like form. The Gothic detailing includes the pointed windows, decorative buttresses, towers, and a crenellated roofline. Unlike Gothic-style churches, the nave, aisles and chancel is housed under one large span, with no exterior demarcation for any component parts.

Toker maintained that O'Donnell, the architect of Notre-Dame Church, had had such an influence on Montréalers

¹⁷⁵ James, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Noppen, "Bourgeau," *DCB*, XI, p. 92.

that these architects (except for Baillargé, whom he does not mention) "showed in their works definitive traces of the influence of O'Donnell, despite the fact that he died four or five years before any of them came to practise in Montréal."¹⁷⁷ It is unfortunate that Toker did not pursue this provocative statement further to provide some proof of what he meant. It is some twenty odd pages later that he takes up a similar issue: "The three most elaborate of the Catholic churches in the Gothic style -- St. Patrick's, the third church of Saint-Jacques in Montréal, and the Cathedral of Trois-Rivières -- all showed direct reference to Notre-Dame in the arrangement of their interiors."¹⁷⁸ This is a vague statement for such an important claim. It is likely that all that is meant here is the use of lath and plaster vaulting, for Notre-Dame and St. Patrick's do not share the same layout to accommodate the altar -- St. Patrick's has an apse, and St. Patrick's does not have balconies along the sides.

Toker stated that "there was no recorded discussion between architect and patrons on matters of style" for the church of Notre-Dame.¹⁷⁹ For many years, the style chosen was not even questioned. The first critical assessment was by Pierre-Louis Morin in 1841, who nonetheless praised the style of the church and the architect. His criticism is most

¹⁷⁷ Toker, p. 55.

¹⁷⁸ Toker, p. 79.

¹⁷⁹ Toker, p. 29; and a paraphrase on p. 76.

enlightening considering the final form of St. Patrick's.

He compared it to the appearance of the exterior of European Gothic churches, which, he said, it does not resemble because of its lack of sculptural detail and its straightforward external form. Morin stated that the merit of Notre-Dame's style lies in the severity of its lines, the "majestic simplicity of its forms," and the unity of the ensemble -- all classically-based criteria. He goes on to record the reaction of an observer, which is "not one of surprise nor immediate emotional reaction -- the imagination is never seduced -- but one of calm contemplation of the correctness of its proportions and the wise combination of its masses, which the spirit approves and soon admires."¹⁸⁰

While this introduction to his critique on the church sounds as if it were based in complete rationality via the Enlightenment, his later comments add some depth of understanding to the style. At the time Notre-Dame was built, the Gothic style was not considered to hold any symbolic meaning, according to Toker.¹⁸¹ This was certainly not true by 1842. Quiblier had specifically asked Pugin for a church in the Gothic style, although the reasons are unclear. It is possible to speculate on these reasons: First

¹⁸⁰ "Le premier sentiment, qu'éprouve l'observateur, n'est pas celui de la surprise ni d'une émotion irréfléchie; ici l'imagination n'est point séduite, l'oeil contemple avec calme et peut juger avec justesse du grandiose des proportions et de la sage combinaison des masses, l'esprit approuve et bientôt il admire." Morin, Mélanges Religieux, p. 354.

¹⁸¹ Toker, pp. 77-78.

of all, Notre-Dame was accepted with enthusiasm. Toker wrote that it was second only to Niagara Falls as the leading tourist attraction in Canada" and the "audacity of having erected such a monument appealed to the pride of Canadians even much later in the century."¹⁸² It was also considered to be a most appropriate style for a church because of the response the style elicits from observers. Morin wrote in his critique of Notre-Dame:

Il suffit d'observer sans prévention l'aspect magnifique que présentent les églises en style gothique, pour se convaincre qu'il convient plus particulièrement à nos temples auxquels il imprime un caractère solennel et religieux, que n'offre point en ce genre d'architecture grecque, qui malgré la grandeur et la somptuosité de ses ornemens est loin d'exciter en nous ce sentiment de vénération et de grandeur qui l'on aime à trouver dans un temple.¹⁸³

Morin is not denigrating the classical style (more specifically, the Greek Revival), but he does indicate that he finds the Gothic style more suitable for churches. By associating a style with a particular building type, Morin implies that styles have symbolic value.

Comparing this statement to those which began his commentary, it is evident that he did not advocate an architecture which promotes a detached, purely intellectual response, nor one which encourages a visceral reaction, but one which calmly and profoundly moves the observer to recognize the same spirit of veneration which inspired the

¹⁸² Toker, pp. 58-59

¹⁸³ Morin, Mélanges Religieux, p. 356.

Gothic style.

But Neo-classical buildings were the most popular in the city. In addition to Ostell's Custom House (1836) and Baillargé's Eglise Sainte-Geneviève (1837-44), other buildings that went up around the time St. Patrick's was built were John Wells's Notman House (1844) and the Bank of Montréal on St-Jacques Street (1845-46), William Footner's Bonsecours Market (1844-47), and the First Post Office (ca. 1845).

VI. Physical Description of the Church -- Stylistic Analysis

Situated on a hill, the church's single central tower topped with a spire was easily seen from the river on the approach to the city up until the early twentieth century. The tall, single-storey rectangle with a polygonal apse at the opposite end to the main doors recalled the form of many other Québec churches as did the three-door facade. What differed radically to contemporaries was the Gothic detailing and the sculptural qualities of the style.

A plain exterior without much ornament was clearly stipulated by the "client," Joseph-Vincent Quiblier. The result is a church which appears stately in the summer, and severe in the winter. Yet despite the lack of exterior ornamentation, that which exists is designed with variety and a great attention to detail.

Unlike many earlier churches in Québec where fieldstone was used, especially for the nave, the stone used here was Montréal greystone with a coursed ashlar finish throughout. The rectangular basilican plan with a projecting polygonal apse, however, recalls the Québécois tradition of churchbuilding. Characterized by a single-storey elevation, a high rounded apse, a high pitched gable roof and a spire over the west end, Noppen referred to such churches as adhering to the Récollet plan,¹⁸⁴ although they are usually

¹⁸⁴ Noppen, Les églises, fig. 59. See also Madeleine Cobeil Trudeau, Bâtir une église au Québec: Saint-Augustin-Desmaures: de la chapelle primitive à l'église actuelle

on a smaller scale and often have no side aisles. Other examples include the church of Sainte-Foy, Sainte-Foy (1698), Saint-François-de-Sales, Ile d'Orléans (1734; fig. 22), and innumerable others throughout Québec. Both Morin and Père Martin would have seen these churches during their travels in Québec and to Québec City. In Montréal, Notre-Dame de Bonsecours and the Récollet church also have the same plan.

Curiously, modern writers attribute European Gothic Revival sources to this very traditionally-designed church. Writers have stated that the church was designed in accordance with the principles of the Cambridge Camden Society except for the semi-circular chancel, which is more French in design;¹⁸⁵ and that the church belongs to the Victorian style and the facade and body of the church were designed separately.¹⁸⁶ There is neither documentation nor obvious stylistic disparity to support the idea of separate design.

The apse rises to the same roof level as the nave (fig. 23). It has seven facets, each separated by a stepped buttress. Near the roofline, seven oculi six feet in diameter provide light to the inside, and on the five central bays are lancet windows with splayed reveals. There

(Montréal: Libre Expression, 1981), pp. 33, 36.

¹⁸⁵ Brosseau, p. 80. Although she used "chancel," the term "apse" is more specific and appropriate to the architectural structure at St. Patrick's.

¹⁸⁶ Noppen, *Les églises*, pp. 56, 64.

are also seven bays along the sides with buttresses that ascend to the roofline (fig. 23). The three water tables of the buttresses are set at different angles, but all can be seen from eye level straight on. The windows are forty feet high. Under the eave, the corbel table is decorated with flowers, faces, and other designs which may have been inspired by the "ornaments for stringcourses," plate 52 in Pugin's Gothic Ornaments (fig. 24).¹⁸⁷ There is a side door on the middle bay of each side, although these doors have undergone alterations. The walls are four feet thick.

The facade is appropriately the most decorated exterior side of the church (fig. 1). Divided into three both horizontally and vertically, the arrangement of its parts recalls many other churches of Gothic and classical styles. A double central door is set under a projecting gable ornamented by a quatrefoil, three trefoils, and crockets (fig. 25). The gable itself is surmounted by a statue of St. Patrick. The jamb is three columns deep, each capital and base having a different foliate design -- one capital has shamrocks between the leaves. Pinnacled buttresses flank the sides of the door, their shafts tapering by watertables and ending in a carved spherical finial. Unfortunately, the finial on the right side of the door is missing.

A horizontal double band at the level of the water

¹⁸⁷ Augustus Charles Pugin, Pugin's Gothic Ornaments: selected from various ancient buildings, both in England and France, during the years 1828, 1829, and 1830 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1840), plate 52.

tables of the buttresses separates the middle section from the top of the facade. A large rose window is set within the articulated shafts below the springing for an arch which echoes the shape of the door below. Centred within the arch above the rose window is a trefoil window, placed proportionately so as to suggest another arch within the arch. The buttresses have turned into engaged octagonal shafts, the front pierced by a blind lancet.

At the roof, the cornice is horizontal between the buttresses, which are surmounted by octagonal turrets. Each side of the belltower consists of a group of four articulated arches, the outer two blind, and the centre two open for the sound of the bells. These centre arches have receding jambs, similar to the main door below.

Besides the buttresses, the other feature which makes the bell tower and spire look as if they continue from the projecting gabled door below is the horizontal band above the upmost arch on the facade, instead of continuing the raking roofline. The proportion of the spire to the bell tower and to the whole is similar to that of the south spire of Chartres Cathedral, one which Morin must have known well, considering its proximity to his place of birth (fig. 26).

The Church of St. Jean on rue Saint-Jean, Laprairie, merits a closer look in order to compare it to St. Patrick's (fig. 27). It is a one-storey church of the basilica plan, with the side aisles and semi-circular apse under the same roof as the nave. The facade is finished with coursed

ashlar, and is symmetrical with a single, very slightly projecting tower capped with a cupola. There are three doors, each surmounted by circular windows under the round-headed arch instead of the more usual demi-lune. These windows resemble daisies, with twelve "petal" lights, surrounding a circular centre, highly appropriate symbolically for a Christian church. Interestingly, the windows above the doors at St. Patrick's have a flower design, modified to fit into the triangular area formed by the pointed arch. Here there are only six "petal" lights with a central circle. This feature does not seem to appear in any other Montréal area churches of the time.

Apart from its size, the main door is given added prominence by the rustication on the lower level of the projection and the radiating voussoirs (fig. 28). The second storey above the door is articulated by four pilasters, two on each side of a tall window. Not including the window molding, there are three shallow levels here, with the pilasters projecting most. Above the aisle doors the second storey is lower, and volutes link it and the central section. Smaller round-headed windows are placed over the aisle doors, above a stringcourse.

The nave is composed of field stone and is five bays long (fig. 29). The apse is lit by two windows and is joined by a sacristy.

Common to both churches is the plan, the three-door facade, the emphasis on the symmetrically-placed main door,

the coherent composition, and perhaps most of all, the treatment of multiple shallow layers on the smooth-finished stone facades.

These two churches illustrate Morin's aesthetic sense quite well. In his praise of Notre-Dame, he wrote that its merits include the severity of its lines, the simplicity of its forms, and the unity of the whole composition. The same may be said of his own churches.

This becomes clearer when his houses are examined. Typical of his houses, the Maison Wilfred Masson on Dorchester (now boul. René Lévesque) uses a classical vocabulary (fig. 13). Again, it is a clear composition, symmetrically arranged with a projecting portico flanked by three bays on either side, and terminated by projecting quoins. A belvedere with three arched openings on the facade tops the hipped roof which is animated by three dormer windows on the facade and at the rear, and a tall chimney on either short end of the roof.

What is common to the house and the churches is the use of shallow layers on the smooth ashlar facades, the symmetry and balance of the composition as well as its overall stately simplicity. Seen in this light, it becomes clear that, although St. Patrick's Church shows a greater understanding of Gothic building principles, the generating force is still 19th-century modes of building with classically-derived criteria. That these criteria have been attached to a traditional Québec structure only shows the

versatility of the architect. Rather than being an anonymous Gothic-style church composed of a combination of features from pattern-books, the architect designed a building which, although probably partially inspired for the details by such books, was truly part and parcel of his own aesthetic sense.

A. Contemporary Critical Appraisal

Being a source of pride to the congregation, which numbered 10,000 by 1847, there was no recorded criticism of the style of the church on their part; and as it was the second largest church in Montréal, St. Patrick's was imposing enough to impress others who would have had a more dispassionate opinion.

Most comments on the church when it opened referred to the procession from the old church of the Récollets, past the Bishop's palace, and on to the new church. Details such as the dimensions, how many people the church could accommodate, and the absence of interior decoration make up the body of writing on the church at that time.¹⁸⁸ The accounts are so similar that they sound as if they were taken from a press release, although one report stated "The day was fine, and the number of persons who attended the church was almost incredible."¹⁸⁹

In The New Guide to Montréal published in 1851 and

¹⁸⁸ The Gazette, 17 March, 1847; The Montreal Transcript, 16 March 1847, p. 2; and 18 March, 1847, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ The Montreal Transcript, 18 March 1847, p. 2.

Mackay's The Stranger's Guide to the Cities of Montréal and Quebec published in 1852 amongst others, the church was labelled a cathedral (a common error, due to its size), and described as Gothic style of the 15th century. Aside from the seating capacity and the opening date, the only other comment was "[t]he spire is two hundred and twenty-five feet high, the is one of the most striking objects to one approaching the City."¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, considering the tower controversy, no comment was made on the tower being too short.

Towards the end of the century, the emphasis is still on the history of the priests who ministered to the congregation and the redecoration of the interior.¹⁹¹ Of the comments on the architecture, Le Diocèse stated that the style is Gothic, it is built in stone, and the roof is shale.¹⁹² Curran records the statistics of heights, widths, and thicknesses, the strength of the masonry and the flawlessness of the pine pillars and that the tin roof lasted fifty years. The only judgmental observation is that "St. Patrick's is one of the purest and grandest specimens of the Gothic style in Canada."¹⁹³

This was the type of commentary concerning the church

¹⁹⁰ The New Guide to Montreal (1851), Pl. 121; and Robert W. Stuart Mackay, The Stranger's Guide to the Cities of Montreal and Quebec (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1852), p. 11.

¹⁹¹ Montreal Herald, 21 December 1891; Le Diocèse, pp. 196-99; and Curran, Golden Jubilee pp. 112-18.

¹⁹² Le Diocèse, p. 197.

¹⁹³ [Curran], "The Following Article...", p. 3.

until Olivier Maurault wrote that Martin designed it,
beginning a debate about the architect and the style which
has continued to the present.

VII. Conclusion: Architectural Importance

St. Patrick's Church reputedly marks the beginning of the second phase of the Gothic Revival in Canada -- an understanding of Gothic building principles. Yet, the plan of the church is a traditional basilican plan which is found all over the province of Québec. The interior vaulting is lathe and plaster, and is suspended from and does not support the roof -- quite contrary to Gothic building principles. Furthermore, there is not a profusion of sculptural ornament as is found in most European Gothic models. If the principles were understood, they are not particularly apparent. Why, then, do architectural historians make this claim for this church?

In certain ways it is an historicist building. The walls, true to medieval building techniques, are very thick and pierced by large lancet windows between buttresses. The Gothic details and sculptural aspects are more consistent and true to the Gothic spirit than those at Notre-Dame, and show a variety, in imitation of Gothic details in Europe. The plainness and shallow articulation of depth as well as the proportion of the spire recall Chartres Cathedral, near the architect's birthplace. It is also important to understand that, in reference to the lath and plaster vaulting, the look was more important than the archaeological truth.

While the British Gothic Revival movement and Richard

Upjohn in New York were striving for archaeological exactitude (in Britain through first-hand observation, and by Upjohn through books), there was no attempt made here to achieve such a goal. Nor can a lack of understanding or sophistication on the part of the architect be claimed as it is evident that he quickly absorbed the local architectural tradition and gave it a new face while adhering to the basic forms which are well adapted to the climate.

There are features which we can attribute directly to the architect, Pierre-Louis Morin. The restraint in the handling of the decorative masses is similar to that of his other buildings, particularly Eglise St. Jean in Laprairie and the Masson House on René Lévesque Boulevard. The "petal" lights above the doors echoes those at St. Jean, although he may have derived them from the rose window at Chartres. And the beautiful proportions and arrangement of the architectural elements is certainly due to him even if the loose arrangement and some of the main details of the facade were suggested by Martin.

There is no doubt that this is a nineteenth century church, and it would seem that the architect did not intend it to be otherwise. It is, however, a tribute to the Gothic style that the architect, client, and most likely the congregation, felt was most appropriate to the spiritual nature of the building type.

St. Patrick's also marks a transition in the way symmetrical, single-tower facades were built. When new

churches were built or when church facades were replaced, they were often built with a projecting central section. It is possible that it was indeed St. François-Xavier that influenced the other Montréal-area churches, but Caughnawaga was not in the best location to be seen by that many people. Although St. Patrick's does not have a projecting bell tower, the appearance of the facade strongly suggests one. It would seem likelier that if any church were to influence the building of others in the city, it would be

St. Patrick's Church -- This large and commanding edifice is built in the Gothic Style of the 15th century. It stands upon an elevated site, and is one of the most striking objects visible on approaching the City.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Mackay, p. 11.

Bibliography

A Note on the Sources

In the course of the early history of the church, various religious factions came into play, making record retrieval a quixotic exercise. Since the Sulpicians were in charge of church building on the island of Montréal, their archives had to be consulted, as well as the archdiocesan archives of the bishop, the archives of the Fabrique de Notre-Dame for the building committee, and the Jesuit archives for the records of Père Félix Martin. The archives of St. Patrick's church itself contain much repeated information existing in the Fabrique or Sulpician archives. For notarial and cadastral records, the municipal and provincial archives were the source, and the special collections of the Bibliothèque de Montréal (especially the Album Viger in the Salle Gagnon) and the Bibliothèque Nationale, proved invaluable. The Lande Canadiana Collection at McGill University houses some fine contemporary or near-contemporary prints indicating the prominent physical presence of the church in 19th-century Montréal, as does the Notman Collection with photographs.

Largely unpublished archival material was crucial to the clarification (yet, at times, it provided obfuscation) of the issues at hand. Published material, including contemporary accounts of the building of the church, memoirs

and obituaries often contain valuable, but not always reliable, information.

Abbreviations

ACJ	Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus (Jesuit Archives)
AFND	Archives de la Fabrique de Notre-Dame
AMM	Archives municipales de Montréal. Dossier R3165.2 / 460 Dorchester O.
ANQM	Archives national de Québec à Montréal
ASSM	Archives de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal
CUM	Communauté urbaine de Montréal
DCB	<u>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</u> . Toronto & Québec: University of Toronto Press & Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1985-1990.
MAC	Ministère des Affaires culturelles (Montréal)
StP	St. Patrick's Basilica Archives

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Appendix 1

Archives de vieux Séminaire

Tiroir 98, File 22: P.L. Morin to Seminary (Superior: M. Billaudèle). [18 March 1847].

"A Messieurs les Ecclésiastiques du Séminaire de St. Sulpice de Montréal:

Messieurs,

Je viens avec regret vous entretenir d'une difficulté qui s'est élevée entre le dernier supérieur du Séminaire et moi au sujet d'un règlement de compte. Votre impartiale justice m'offre un recours assuré et c'est avec une entière confiance que j'en appelle d'une décision sans examen à un arbitrage consciencieux.

Voici les faits dans toute leur simplicité: En 1843, j'ai eu l'honneur de mettre sous les yeux de Mr le Supérieur Quiblier la note des sommes qui m'étaient dues par l'administration du Séminaire; cette note s'élevait à £93, pour environ 4 mois, à raison de 18 francs par jours consacrés à dresser les Plans, Devis modèles Estimations relatifs au projet de construction de l'Eglise de St. Patrice inaugurée hier. Cette somme comprenait quelques menus frais de fourniture et d'assistance, et j'affirme sans crainte d'être contredit qu'un architecte anglais ou même tout autre architecte de la ville l'aurait élevée d'un tiers ou peut-être de moitié en sus. J'ai la certitude d'avoir

procuré à la caisse du séminaire une économie notable; mais quelque'opinion que Mr le Supérieur aurait pu se former sur ce point s'il avait eu le temps d'entrer dans le Détail de mon compte ou d'en faire apprécier les divers articles par un homme de l'art, il aurait du considerer avant tout qu'on s'était lié envers moi par un engagement formel, que le prix des journées de travail avait été réglé d'un commun accord et ne pouvait être réduit arbitrairement. Me reproche-t-on de n'avoir pas fait tout ce que je devais faire? Non. Mes modèles mes devis, mes estimations ont ils été l'objet de quelque censure? Non. J'ai reçu au contraire des félicitations de toutes parts et malgré les modifications que le plan primitif a subies, je crois pouvoir revendiquer aujourd'hui quelque part de l'honneur que se disputent avec raison ceux qui ont cherché à mettre en oeuvre la belle pensée du seminaire.

Mr. Quiblier, cependant, au lieu de la recompense que je croyais mériter, m'a imposé une réduction de 68 Louis 10 chelins, partie comme retranchement de mes journées de travail, partie comme remboursement de sommes qui m'auraient été avancées. Je me suis expliqué sur le premier point; un mot d'explication sur le second.

Il m'est pénible Messieurs de descendre à des détails si tristes et qui touchent d'ailleurs à ce qu'il y a de plus intime dans ma position privée; mais enfin cette position n'est une mystère pour aucun de vous, votre bienveillance s'est associée aux épreuves de ma vie et je puis du moins

déclarée hautement qu'en obtenant votre protection, je n'ai rien négligé pour m'en rendre digne, comme je ne négligerai rien pour la conserver.

Eh bien, Messieurs, à l'époque de mon mariage Mr Quiblier me remit au nom du Séminaire une somme de 25 louis; j'ai accepté cette somme, comme je supposais qu'elle m'était donnée et j'en ai vivement remercié Mr. le Supérieur, (je l'embrassai!) car cette gratification généreuse m'a permis de faire face aux dépenses extraordinaires qui nécessitent l'établissement d'un ménage.

Plus tard, lorsque je fis les plans de la grande Ecole des Frères, Mr le Supérieur après avoir pris connaissances de ces plans m'a offert de me donner les instruments de mathématiques et livres d'architecture qui pouvaient me manquer. J'ai remis une note à Mr Comte qui loin de la trouver exagérée m'a donné l'excellent conseil d'y porter l'ouvrage de Blondel et les cathédrales gothiques de France. Evidemment, Mr Comte partageait la conviction où j'étais que ces instruments et ouvrages ne seraient pas à ma charge. Autrement, il ne m'aurait pas engagé à augmenter une dépense qu'il savait être très lourde pour moi bien qu'elle ne fut que de 10 à 12 Louis.

Il est malheureux que cette affaire n'ait pu être réglée quand Mr Quiblier était à Montréal; mais puis-je être victime des événements qui ont changé sa position. La veille même de son départ, (car je savais qu'il s'en allait en Europe) je lui ai présenté une demande verbale et il m'a

promis d'y faire droit à son retour. Il est vraisemblable qu'il ne croyait pas alors faire une si longue absence. Veuillez donc je vous prie Messieurs faire cesser un dévi (?) de justice qui m'est si préjudiciable et réparer par l'abandon d'une retenue irréfléchie, le tort si non de votre ex Supérieur, du moins des circonstances qui ont arrêté le retour de ses bonnes intentions. Si quelque doute s'élève dans vos Esprits relativement à des assertions que je depose ici sous le sceau de l'honneur, il ne me restera après en avoir appelé de l'ancien Supérieur au Nouveau qu'à vous supplice de m'accorder un arbitrage de famille ou purement Ecclésiastique. Daignez choisir un arbitre dans votre sein, j'espère qu'un de vous Messieurs, ne me refusera pas la grâce d'être mon avocat, et en cas de paitage (?), je me soumettrai à la décision de Monsieur le Supérieur.

(Signé) P.L. Morin

Montréal 1847."

Figure 1. St. Patrick's Church, Montréal, View of facade from de La Gauchetière and St. Alexandre Streets, 1990.



Figure 2. St. Patrick's Church, Montréal, ca. 1852. (CCA, Postcard Collection, Library.)

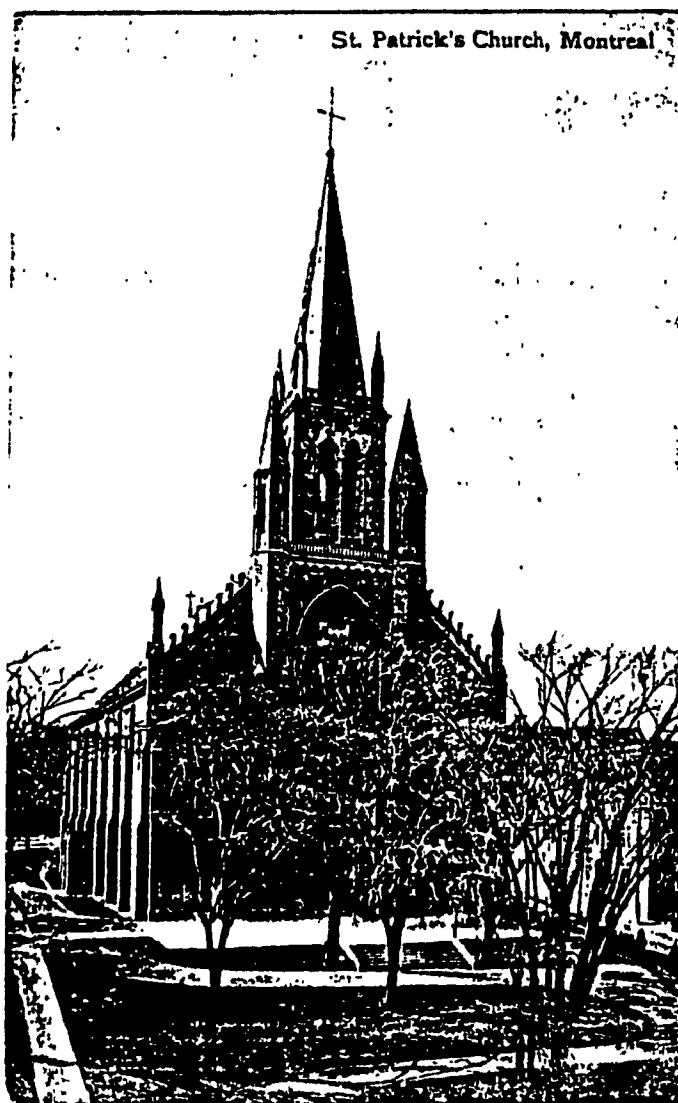


Figure 3. St. Patrick's Church as seen from the tower of Notre-Dame Church, 1872. (From Brian Demchinsky, Montreal Then and Now, p. 58.).

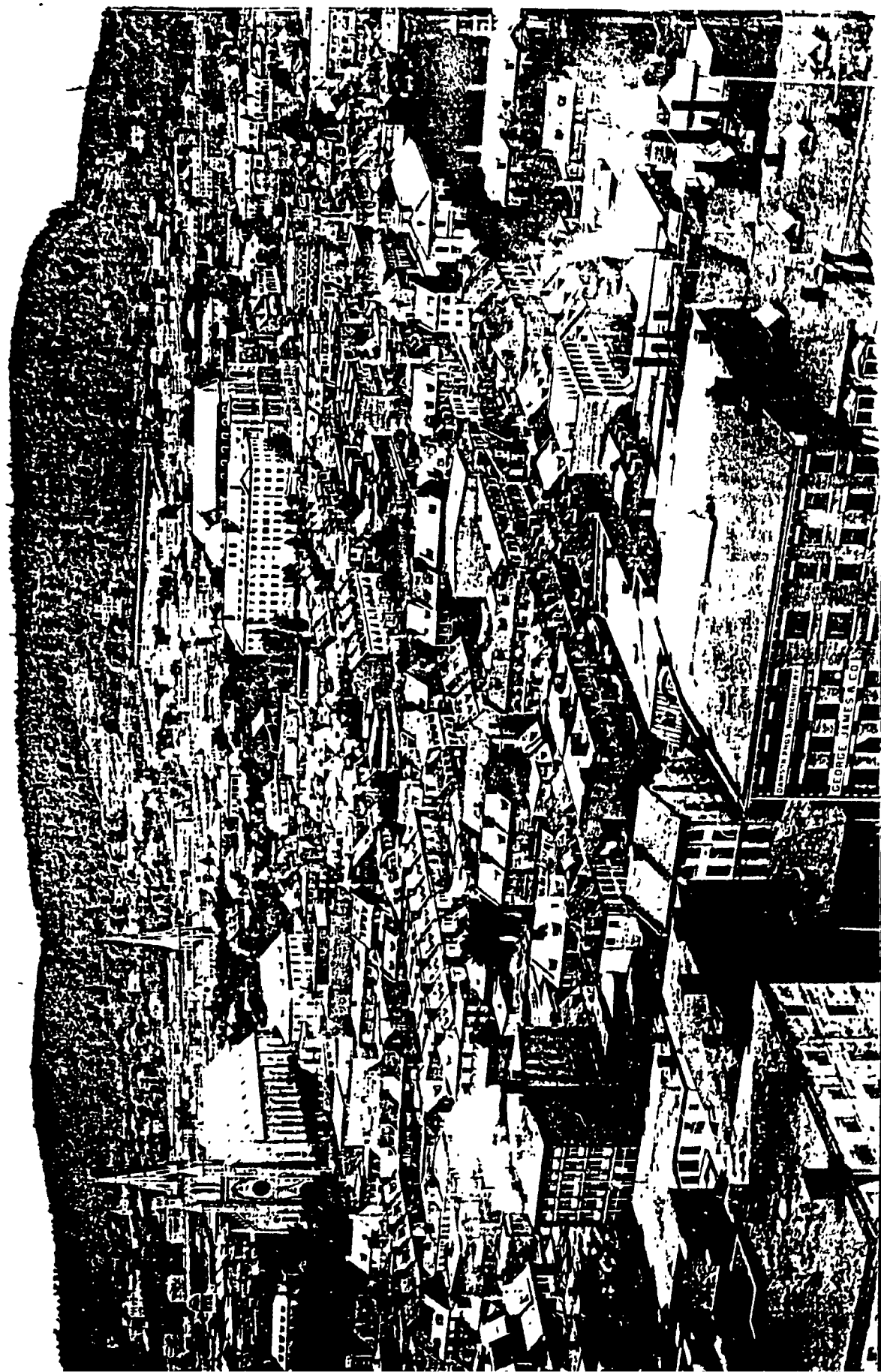


Figure 4. Notre-Dame de Bonsecours, Montréal, 1880, prior to the renovation of the facade in 1885. (From Les Vieilles Eglises de la Province de Québec 1647-1800, p. 30.)

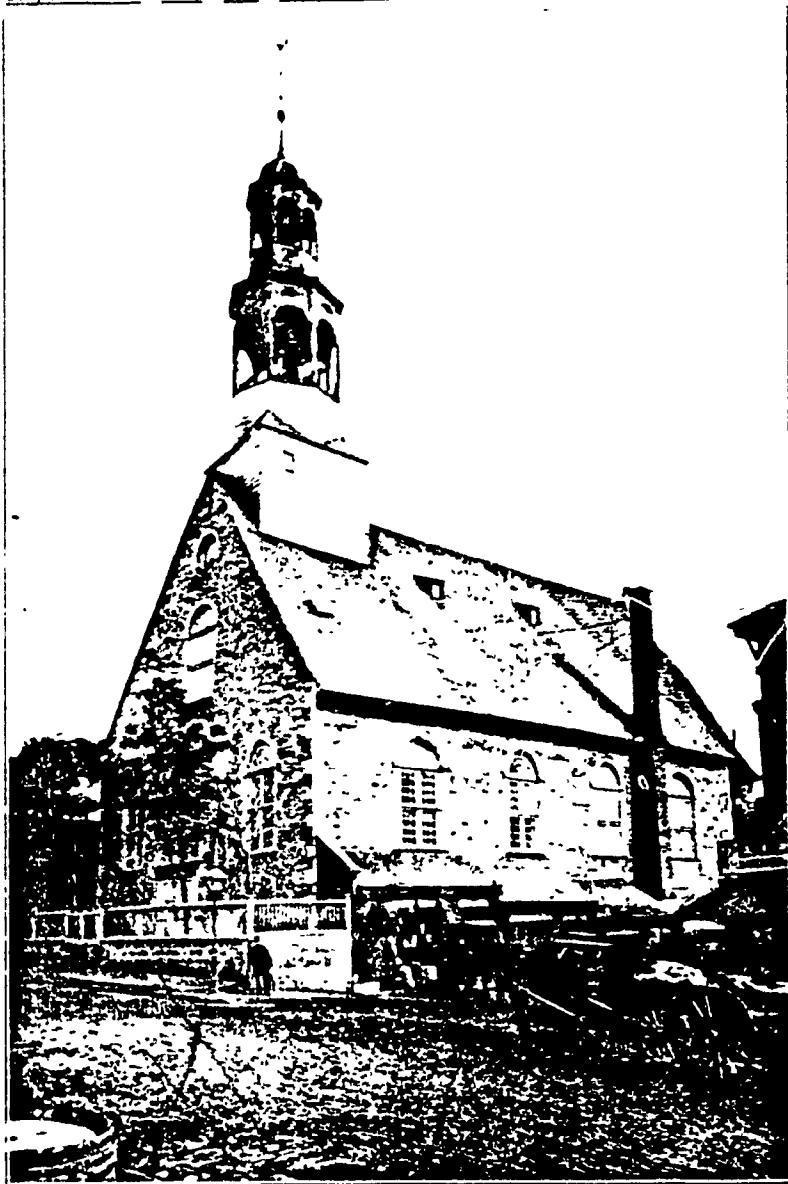


Figure 5. Church of the Récollets, Montréal, before 1839. (From Newton Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, opposite p. 122.)

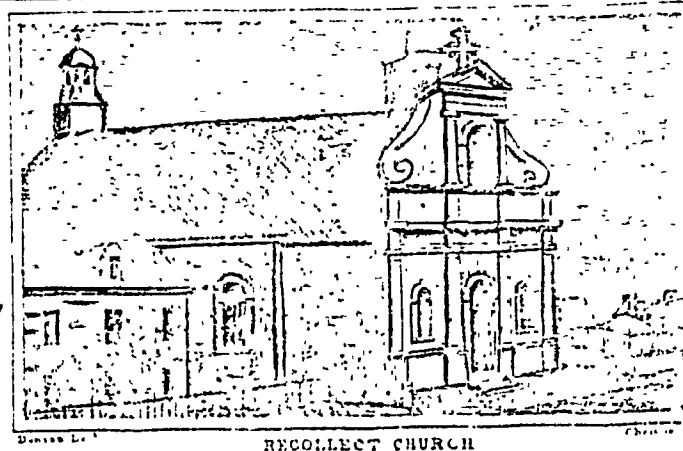


Figure 6. Père Félix Martin, S.J., St. François-Xavier, Caughnawaga (Shrine to Kateri Tekakwitha, Khanawake). (From Alan Gowans, "The Baroque Revival in Québec," Vie des Arts, 3 (1956), p. 25.)

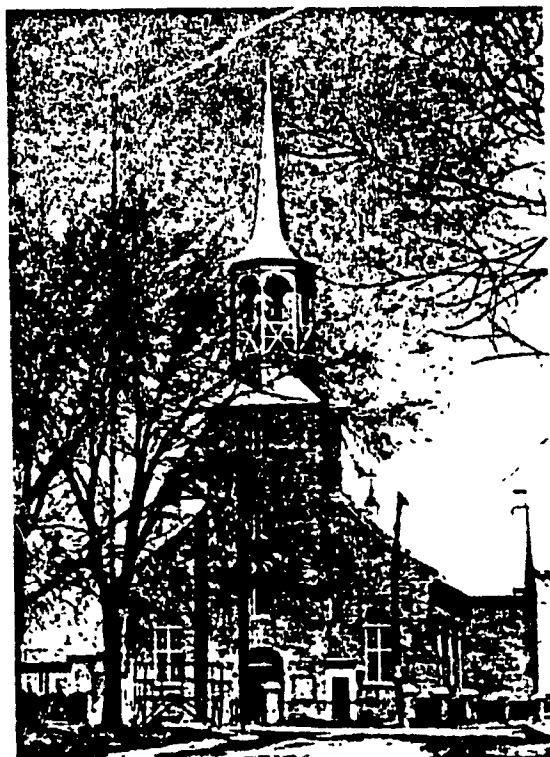


Figure 7. Collège Sainte-Marie, Montréal, ca. 1856, and bottom, as proposed by Félix Martin. (From Paul Desjardins, Le Collège Sainte-Marie.)

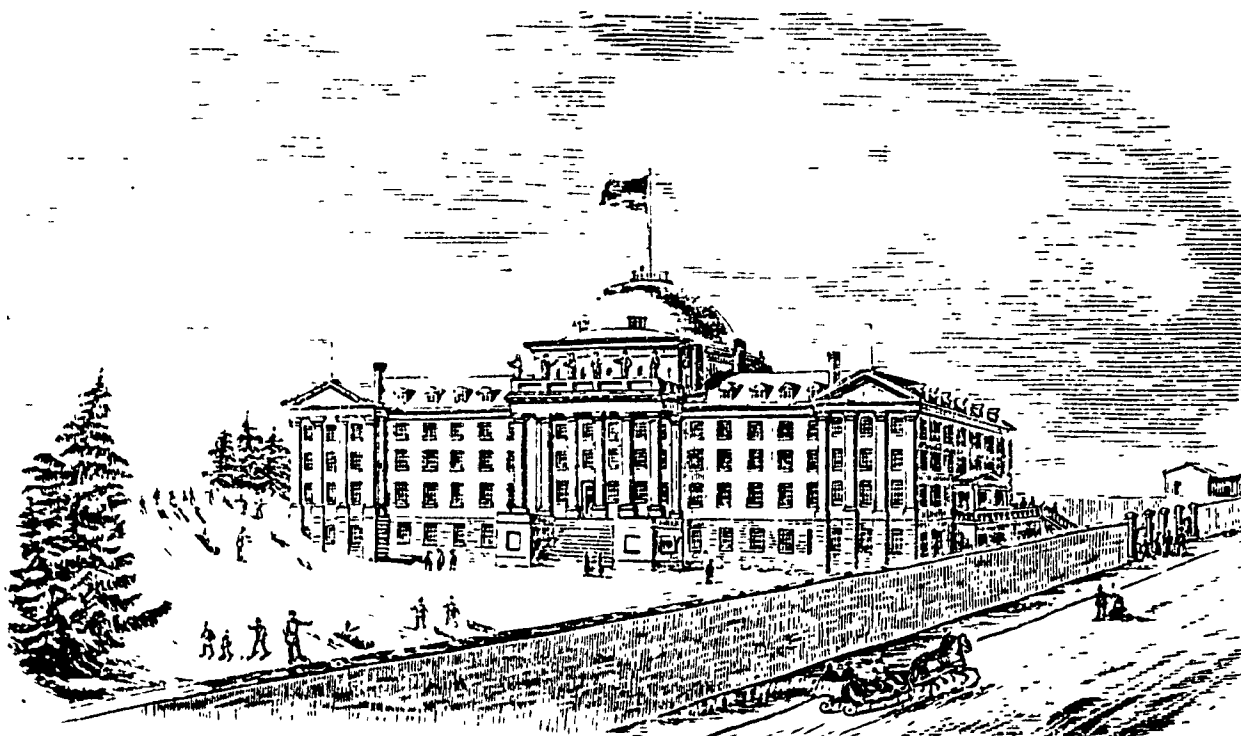


Figure 8. Drawing of Gothic facade attributed to Père Félix Martin.



Figure 9. Longitudinal and Cross Sections of a Gothic church, attributed to Père Félix Martin.



Figure 10. Pierre-Louis Morin, College of Christian Brothers, Montréal. (From Notman, microfilm MP 878.)

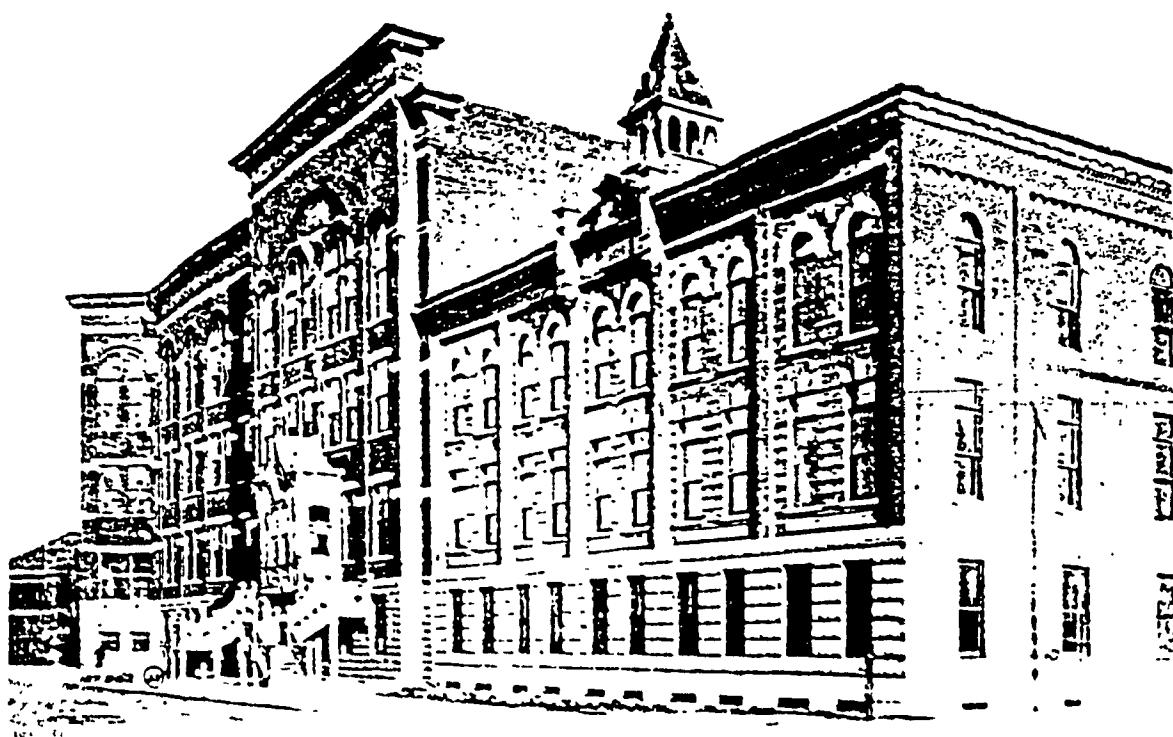


Figure 11. Pierre-Louis Morin, Facade of St-Jean Church,
Laprairie.

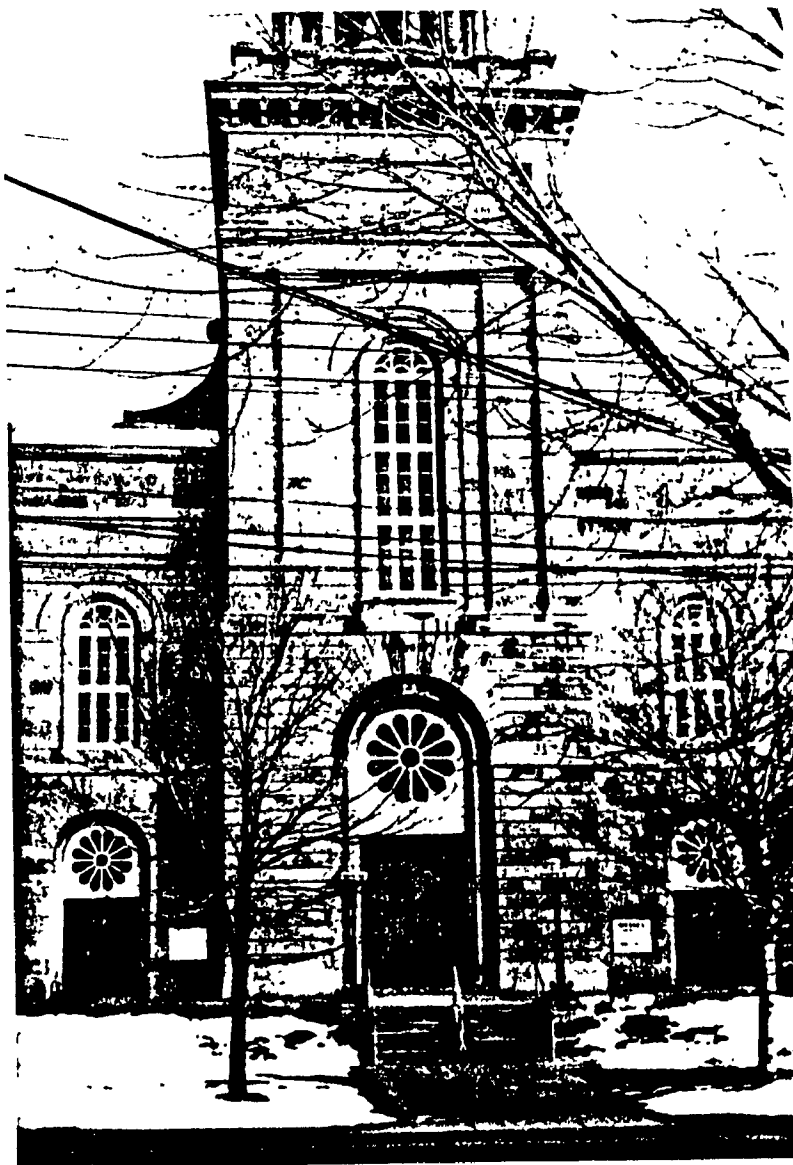


Figure 12. Pierre-Louis Morin, Manoir Masson, Terrebonne.



Source Archives photographiques Notman

photo 1866

Figure 13. Pierre-Louis Morin, Maison Wilfrid Masson, rue René Lévesque, Montréal. (From CUM, Architecture domestiques 1, Les Résidences, p. 465 [Notman Collection].)

Figure 14. Pierre-Louis Morin, Perspective, and Front and Side Elevations for a School. (From "Architecture des Ecoles" Journal de l'Instruction Publique, 1 [1857], pp. 136-37.)

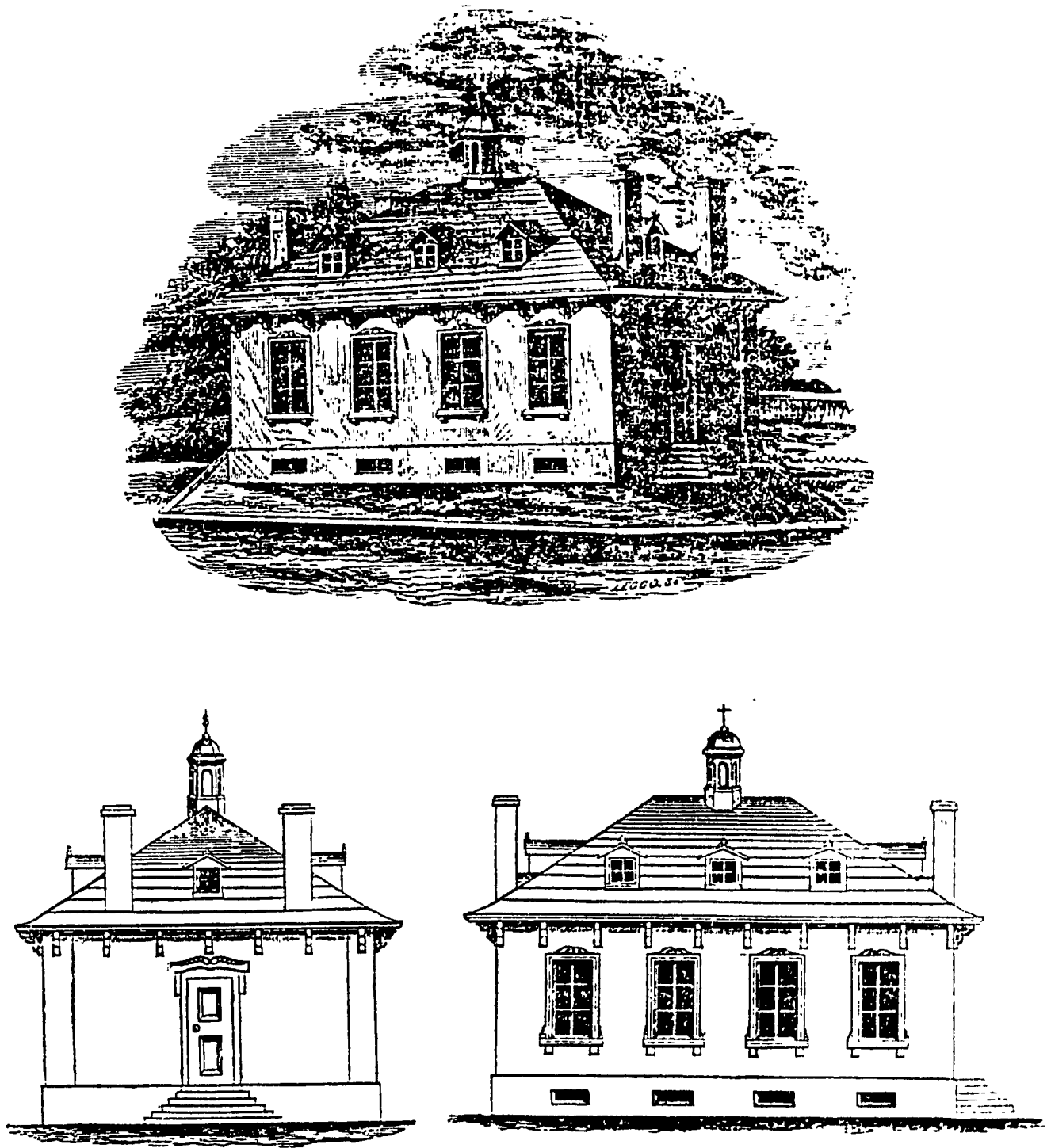


Figure 15. A.W.N. Pugin, St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, England. (From Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, p. 60.)

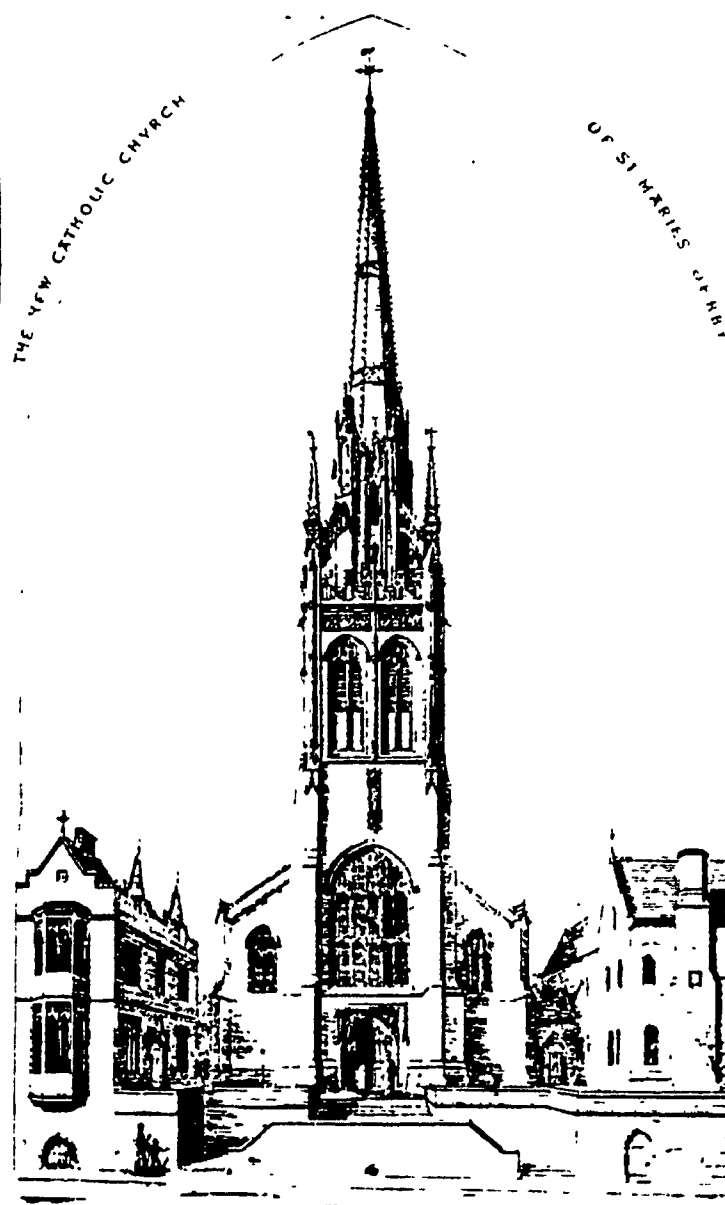
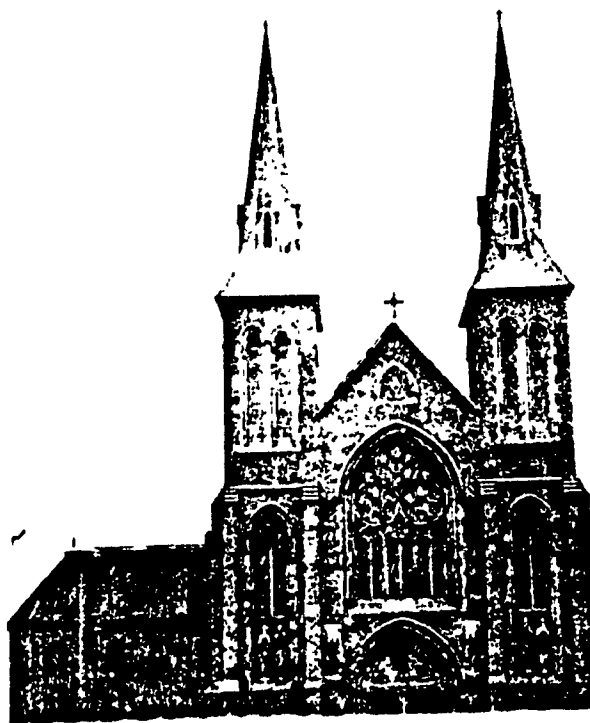


Figure 16. A.W.N. Pugin, St. Mary's Church, Derby, England. (From Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, p. 45.)

Figure 17. A.W.N. Pugin, St. Mary's, Brewood, England. (From Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, fig. 86.)



Figure 18. A.W.N. Pugin, Design for an Ideal Church. (From A.W.N. Pugin, True Principles.)

Figure 19. Maximilian Godefroy, St. Mary's Chapel, Baltimore, MD. (From Pearson, figure 79.)

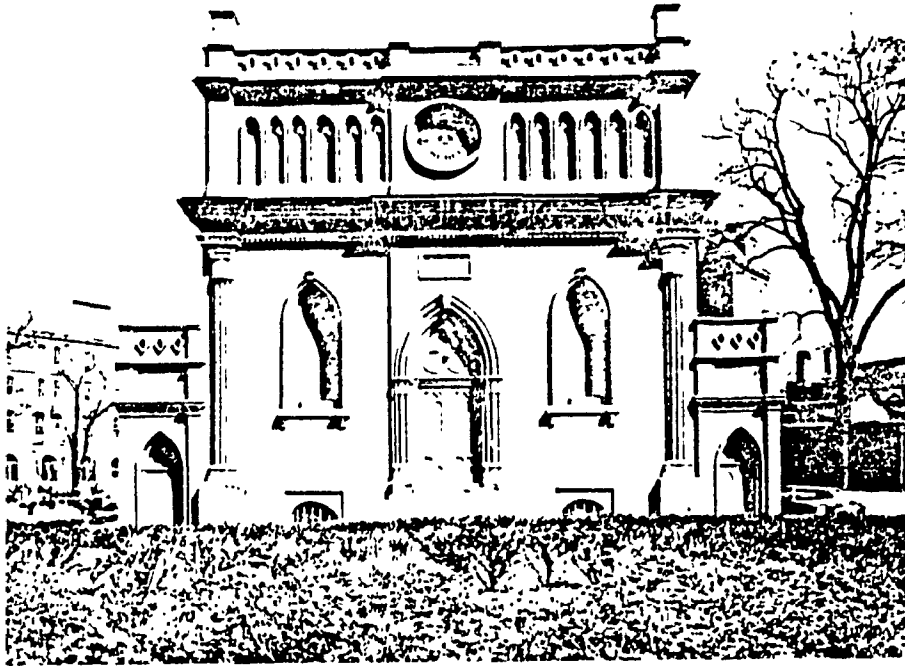


Figure 20. Second Trinity Church, New York. (From Pearson, figure 75.)

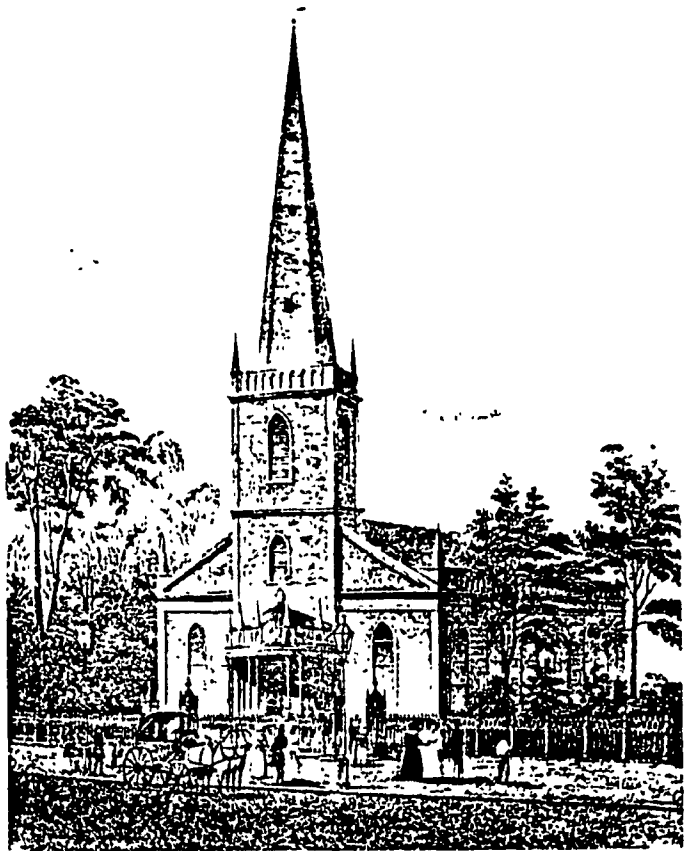


Figure 21. Richard Upjohn, Trinity Church, New York. (From Pearson, figure 111.)

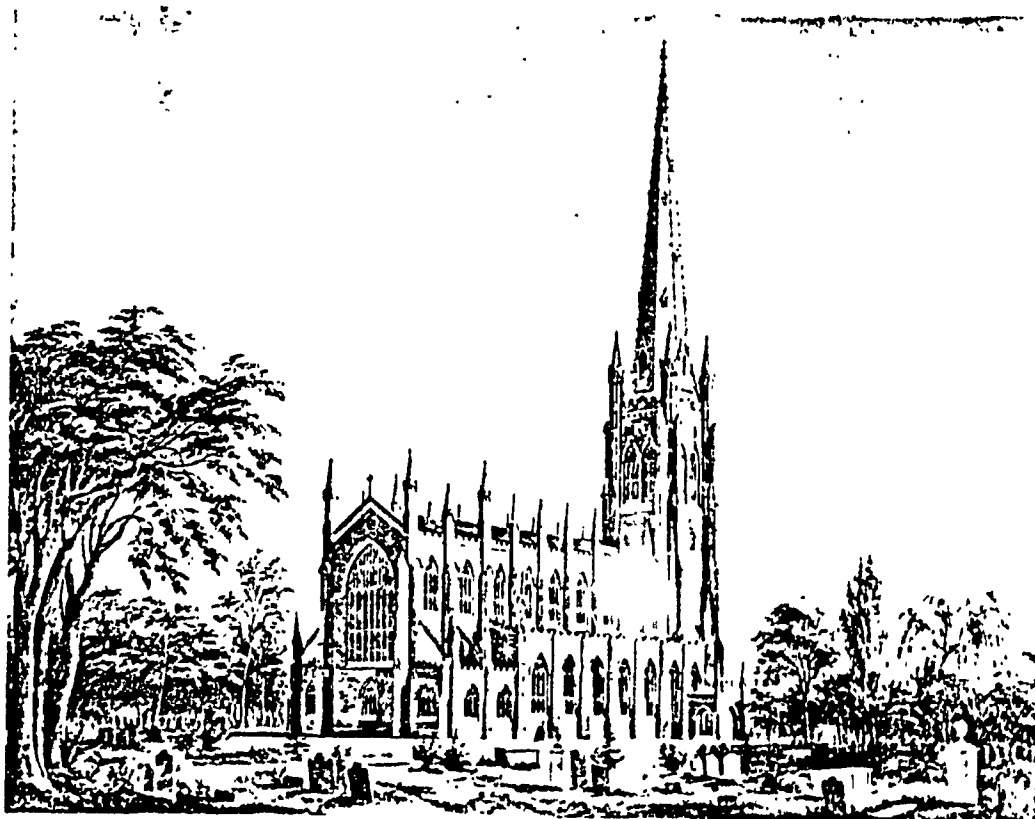


Figure 22. Eglise Saint-François-de-Sales, Saint-François,
Ile d'Orléans, Québec. (From Luc Noppen, Les Eglises, p.
227.)



Figure 23. St. Patrick's Church, bird's-eye view. (From Brosseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture, p. 81.)

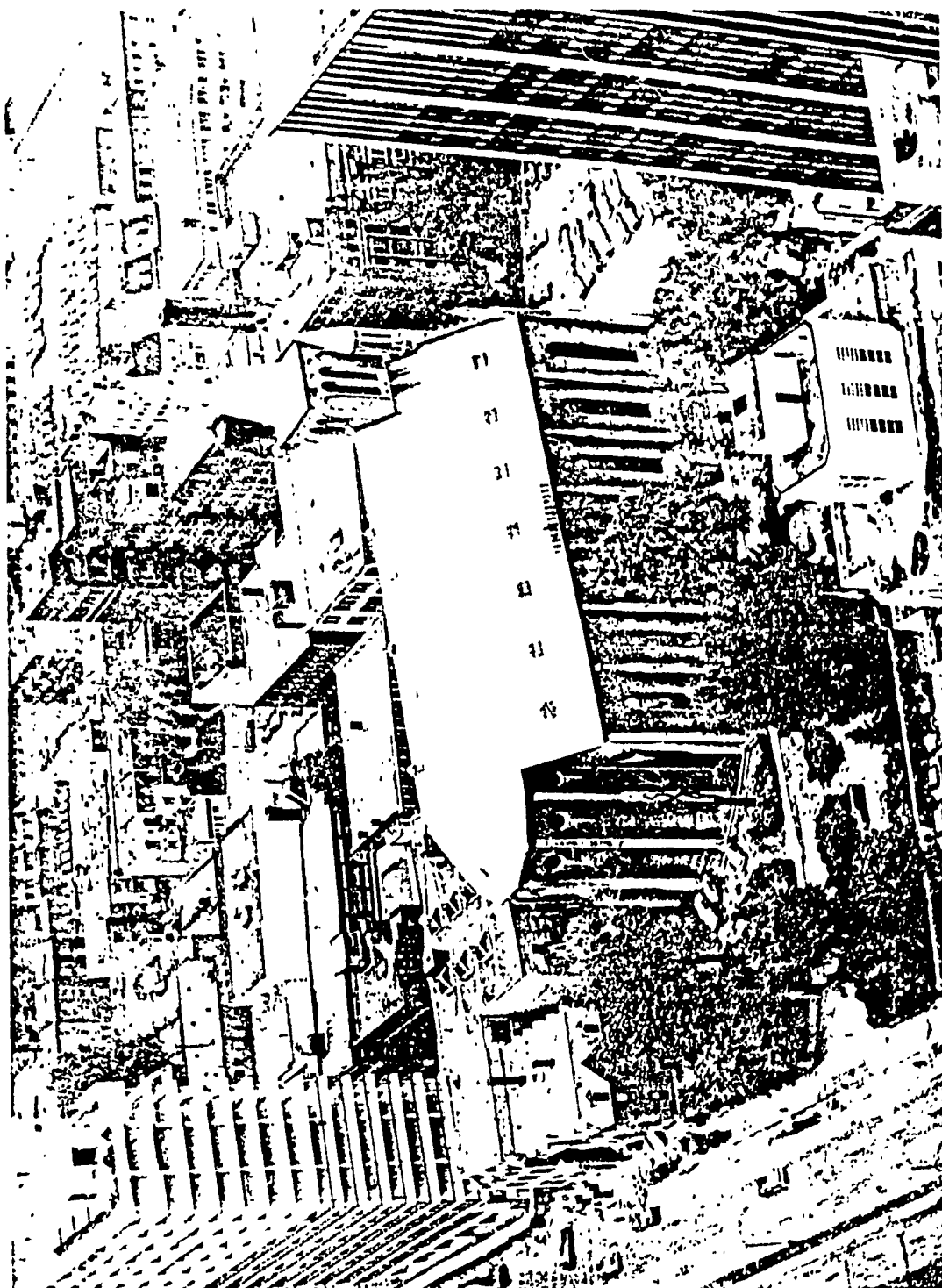


Figure 24. Top: St. Patrick's Church, detail of eave;
Bottom: Examples from Plate 52 of Pugin's Gothic Ornaments.

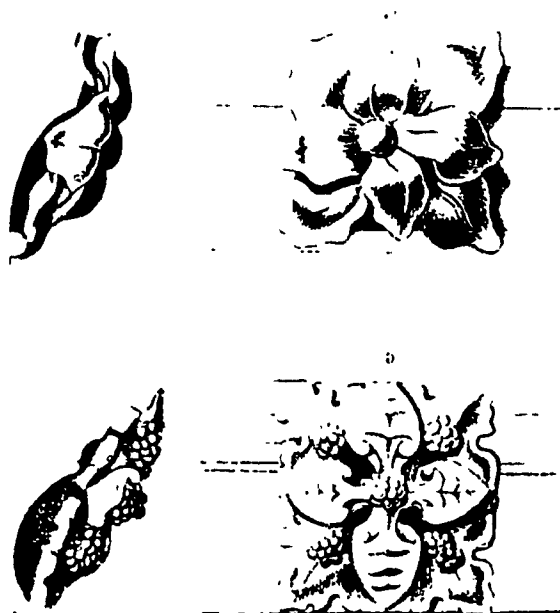
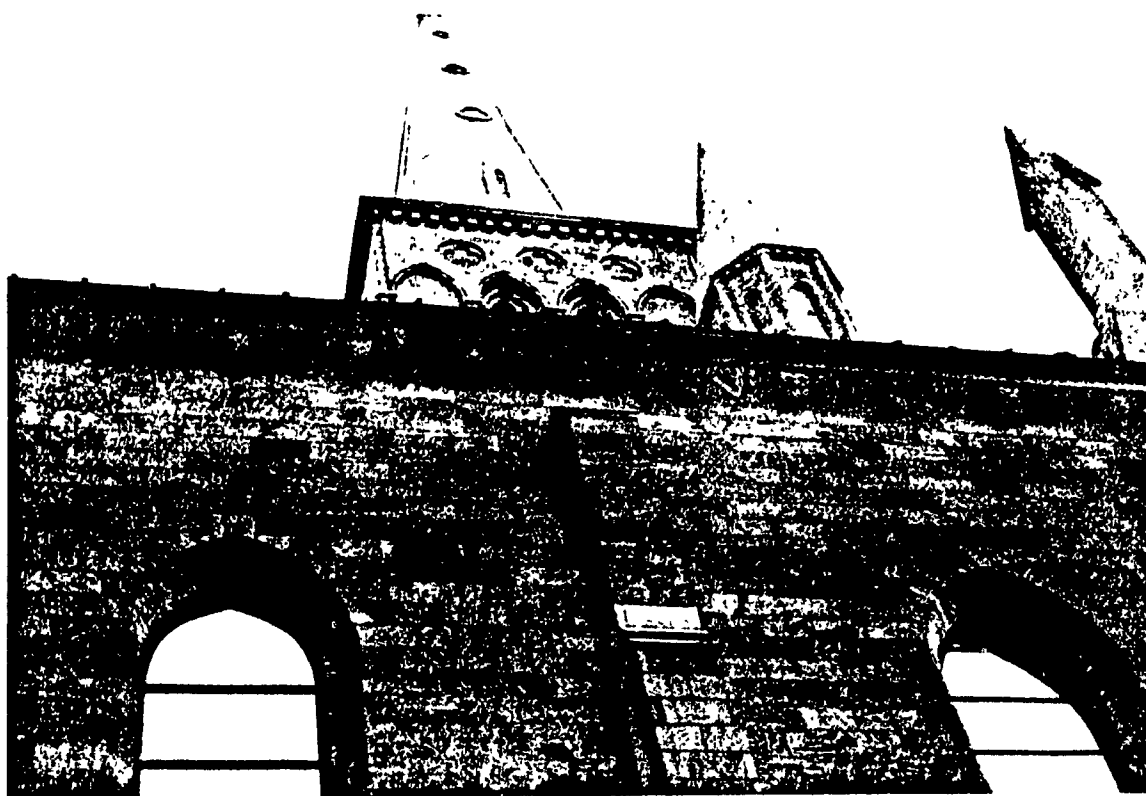


Figure 25. St. Patrick's Church, detail of main door.



Figure 26. Chartres Cathedral.

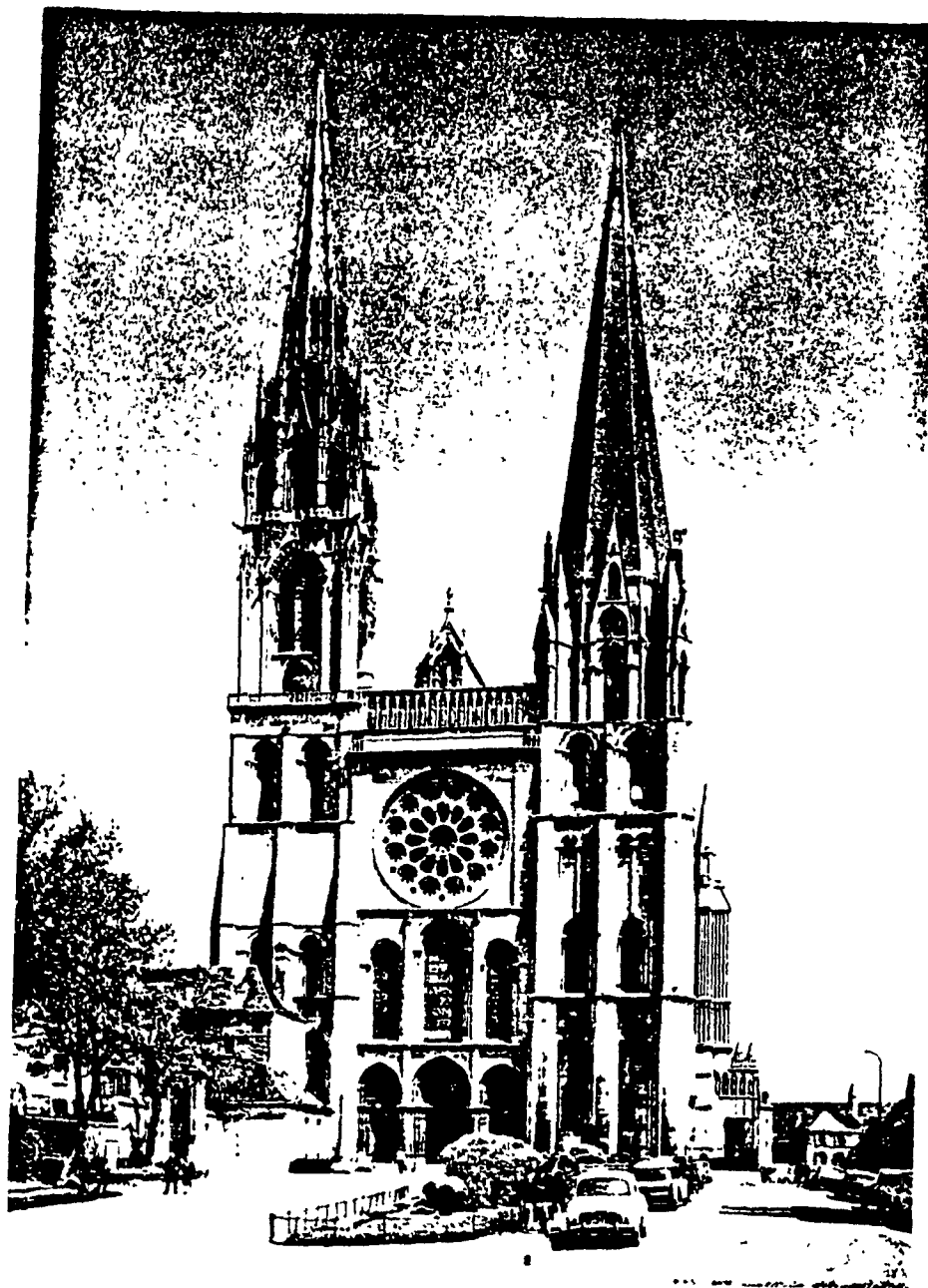


Figure 27. Eglise Saint-Jean, Laprairie, view of nave and apse.



Figure 28. Eglise Saint-Jean, Laprairie, detail of main door.

