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Kingston, 1837-1847**

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CHANGES TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, KINGSTON, 1837-1847¹

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> PAUL CHRISTIANSON

In 1792, Loyalist and British Anglicans built the first St. George's Church in Kingston, Upper Canada, a "weather-board church, 40 feet by 32 feet and 12 feet high," and in 1803 expanded it with an addition. As the town grew and the members of St. George's became more prosperous, the vestry made plans for a more lasting sanctuary and in 1825 hired Thomas Rogers, an architect trained in England who settled in Kingston, to design and supervise the construction of a large stone church in the classical style.² When the second St. George's opened for worship in November 1827, a local newspaper described it as an "elegant and commodious Church" (fig. 1).³ However, it soon became apparent that the new building had serious problems in the tower finished in 1827.

After several attempts to investigate the problem, a building committee appointed in 1837 ordered the demolition of the tower and hired a new architect, William Coverdale, to draw plans to replace it. He proposed an addition to the ritual west end of the second St. George's that would provide a strong base for a new tower and better access to the main floor and galleries. Although the vestry accepted this plan in 1839, the masons had built only portions of the addition—the exterior ritual north and south walls and structural portions of the tripartite vestibules—by April 1841 when lack of funding held up further work. After Kingston became the capital of the Province of Canada in February 1841, George Browne, the government architect, began to make a strong impact upon the architecture of the town. The growth



FIG. 1. JAMES PATTISON COCKBURN, *VIEW NORTH ALONG KING STREET NEAR ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH*, 1829, WATERCOLOUR AND INK ON PAPER. AGNES ETHERINGTON ART CENTRE, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, KINGSTON. GIFT OF CHANCELLOR AGNES BENIDICKSON, 1987 (30-091). | PHOTO: LARRY OSTROM.

of population increased the demand for seating at St. George's, which enlarged the scope of work on the interior. What started off as a relatively small project turned into a larger, more complex one that took more money and years to complete but produced a lasting legacy.

As early as 1830, British army engineers working on the Rideau Canal questioned the structural stability of the steeple (*i.e.*, the stone tower) of St. George's and an observer noted of the "English Church" in Kingston that: "Owing to some serious defect in its construction, the steeple which is carried to its intended height has given way; and is now so rent and twisted from the perpendicular, that it has been considered unadvisable to raise the spire upon it, and it still stands in an unfinished state."⁴ Despite these warnings, it would take almost a decade before the vestry of St. George's agreed to a viable solution to the problem of the unstable tower.

The vestry book containing the manuscript documents of St. George's from May 1826 to April 1835 does not reside in the Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives to provide direct evidence for the start of discussion of this problem in vestry meetings. However, a patchwork solution emerged on April 20, 1835, when "Mr. J.S. Cartwright and Mr. [Francis M.] Hill were requested to procure some scientific Engineer to examine the Church Tower, and to report if there is any danger of its falling, or if sufficient to support a Bell of seven or eight hundred weight."⁵ They must have received a discouraging answer because at the annual meeting of 1836: "The vestry directed that the Churchwardens & the Clergymen be a Committee to procure plans & estimates for taking down the present and putting up a New Steeple or supporting the present steeple & to report to a special Vestry to be called for that purpose."⁶ This

motion finally laid out a procedure for finding a solution to what had become a pressing problem. In September 1836, one of the local newspapers printed a letter by "A CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAN" who complained that "Our Church is without a bell and our town is without a clock . . . There is the Scots Kirk has its Bell—and the French Church has its Bell—and our Great St. George's Church (where the main body of our rich Kingstonians go) remains dumb-founded indeed!"⁷ Finally, the vestry decided on March 27, 1837: "That a special meeting be called to consider the best means of finishing the Tower or if it be deemed expedient to take it down & rebuild it, the meeting to be called at the discretion of the Ministers & Church Wardens."⁸ A more thorough examination must have taken place before May 9, 1837, when a special vestry meeting passed the following three motions:

Moved by Mr. Kirkpatrick, seconded by Mr. Cassady that it is the sense of this meeting, the steeple be taken down & rebuilt.

Moved by Rev. R.D. Cartwright, seconded by Mr. Oliver that the balance of the sum which the parishioners are authorized, under the deed of trust to borrow, be immediately obtained on the security of the property conveyed under the said deed of trust.

Moved by Mr. Forsyth, seconded by Hon. J. Kirby that the following Gentlemen be a Committee to obtain plans & specifications and to borrow the aforesaid balance, superintend the erection of the steeple & make such arrangements, concerning the premises as they may deem adviseable [*sic*].

J.S. Cartwright	D.J. Smith
T. Kirkpatrick	Jas. Sampson
Jas. Nickalls, Jr.	Hy. Cassady ⁹

Having established that the tower must "be taken down" a decade after its erection, the vestry made plans to raise the funding and appointed what became a building committee for major changes to the fabric of St. George's Church.

Apart from Dr. James Sampson, a surgeon, the committee members were lawyers. Two, James Nickalls, junior, and David John Smith had previously held the positions of secretary and treasurer of the building committee in 1825-1828.¹⁰ John Solomon Cartwright, Henry Cassady, and Thomas Kirkpatrick enjoyed substantial wealth and prestige, as did Sampson. As Tories with strong connections to the government of Upper Canada, the committee members had considerable standing in the Kingston community, with Kirkpatrick, Cassady, and Sampson serving as early mayors of Kingston. Cassady, Sampson, and Smith, born in 1797, 1789, and 1796, came from an older generation, but Cartwright and Kirkpatrick, born in 1804 and 1805, represented a slightly newer one.¹¹

This Committee arranged for the taking down of much of the original tower in 1837. In June 1838, First Lieutenant Charles Allen Parker, Royal Marines, wrote in his journal about Kingston: "The most remarkable building in town is the Court house which has a Copula [*sic*] and surmounted by a Weather Vane, alongside of this building is the protestant Church of St. George, spireless, but with the materials for the building of one rotund."¹² If Lieutenant Parker correctly reported the collection of stone to build a new round tower in 1838, it suggested that the building committee had already approached an architect. Further information was reported later in a letter sent in early 1839 to the editor of the *Chronicle & Gazette*, signed "DECENCY AND ORDER":

The recent destruction by fire of St. James' Church, Toronto, reminds us of the incomplete and very unsatisfactory state in which St. George's Church in this town now stands. When the tower was taken down in 1837, the inhabitants supposed that it was to be rebuilt immediately; but the Church, and I may say the Town, still remains disfigured, presenting an appearance which, if not disgraceful, is certainly unsightly in the extreme. The vestibule, also, is in a ruinous state, and I may safely say, even dangerous to such of the congregation as are obliged to ascend into the galleries.

I hope that while the vestry are taking the condition of the Church into consideration, they will also bear in mind that a new Organ, already required, will be much more so when the Church comes to be enlarged, and that a handsome iron paling (for the front at least) is necessary for the enclosing of the Church ground.¹³

Neither of these sources spelled out how much of the tower was "taken down," but the letter from 1839 provided some clues. The first three stages of the original tower stood thirty-five feet high by thirty feet wide above the stylobate and extended eight feet beyond the outer walls on the ritual west façade of the nave and probably another eight feet into the interior of the nave (see fig. 1).¹⁴ It had three doors in the exterior walls all leading into an interior vestibule: one each on the ritual south and north sides plus another in the centre of the ritual west side. The doors on the ritual south and north sides led to stairs to the galleries that extended along the ritual north, south, and west sides of the upper part of the nave. The larger door on the west side led to the main and side aisles of the main floor of the nave through openings in the interior part of the tower walls.

Later evidence shows that the interior walls of the tower remained in place until

1842, probably because they helped to support the roof and floor of the ritual west gallery. However, the space occupied by the base of the old tower was not large enough to contain the thick new walls needed to support a new stone tower and to provide better access to the large galleries. These goals called for more extensive changes to the structure of the ritual west end of the St. George's Church than earlier anticipated. In choosing an architect, the building committee passed over Rogers, who had designed and supervised the construction of the second St. George's, and commissioned the younger William Coverdale to draw up a systematic plan, with drawings, a model, and an estimate of costs.¹⁵ The building committee presented Coverdale's solution at the annual vestry meeting of April 1, 1839:

The Report of the Building committee was laid on the Table. By it the expense of taking down the steeple was stated to be £170.17.6. The Committee presented a plan & model for the enlarging the church & rebuilding the steeple which they respectfully recommended to the favourable consideration of the Congregation, accompanying these is a rough estimate of the probable expense as furnished by Mr. Coverdale from whom the plan and model have been procured.¹⁶

After discussion, "Mr. Grant, Mr. Kirby, and Mr. Forsyth" were added to the "Building Committee" and it was "Moved & seconded that the Committee do proceed according to the Resolution of May 1837. It appeared to be the sense of the meeting that the Church should be enlarged."¹⁷ This meant that the issue of taking down and rebuilding the tower now came to include the addition of a new bay to the length of the church.

Before analyzing the changes to St. George's Anglican Church that took place between 1839 and 1847, a discussion of the

available sources seems appropriate. Both contemporary manuscript and published sources exist, including the vestry book of St. George's for the years 1835-1849 and some surviving issues of Kingston newspapers from the period. However, neither a book of manuscript minutes from the building committee (such as that from 1825-1827) nor the vestry book from 1827 through 1834 resides in the Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.¹⁸ The only record of the work carried out from 1839 to 1848 appears in occasional expenses and a detailed report from the building committee of expenses incurred in 1842-1843; both kinds of expenses were recorded in the vestry book for 1835-1849. Notes made by Coverdale in a small notebook in pencil record his supervision of the carpentry carried out during the summer of 1842.¹⁹ Only one visual source dates from the 1840s, a drawing in "pen and ink and grey and red washes over pencil, inscribed (recto): *St. George's Church, Kingston, C.W.*" (fig. 24).²⁰ For many years, this drawing was dated to 1847 and attributed to Mrs. Harriet Dobbs Cartwright, the wife of the assistant Minister of St. George.²¹ In 1991, J. Douglas Stewart reattributed this drawing to the office of George Browne; this attribution has received further support in my recent article "Who made the Early Drawings of St. George's and the Kingston City Hall?"²² Since the drawing of St. George's most likely dated from late December 1841 or early January 1842, a more extensive discussion of how it probably originated will appear below. The rest of the visual sources for the changes made to St. George's in 1839-1847 date from decades later. They consist of three exterior photographs from c. 1862-1866 and two photographs of the interior, the earlier from c. 1862 and the later from between 1874 and 1891.²³ In addition, some of the existing stone fabric of St. George's provides another source. A

photograph from 1899 shows that large portions of the stone walls from 1825-1826 and those walls, tower, and pillars from 1842-1843 survived the fire that destroyed much of the wooden fabric, including the roof, the cupola of the tower, the pediment of the colonnade, and most of the interior of St. George's.²⁴

A native of England who grew up south of Montreal, William Coverdale became the master builder at the Provincial Penitentiary, just west of Kingston, in 1834. Soon after, he began to practice as an architect both at the Penitentiary and elsewhere.²⁵ During the period from June 1835 to March 1837, however, he worked in the Hamilton and Brantford area. The breadth of Coverdale's early practice emerged in three commissions designed in 1834-1835 and built by 1838, the north wing of the main building at the Provincial Penitentiary, the nearby lakeside home of Thomas Kirkpatrick (St. Helen's), and the Gothic Revival St. John's Anglican Church, Peterborough.²⁶ Of these, the exterior of the north wing most clearly showed Coverdale's familiarity with the British classical architectural tradition in a manner relevant to designing new work on St. George's.

Jennifer McKendry has shown how Coverdale's first architectural design for the Provincial Penitentiary, finished by the summer of 1835, marked a major shift in the architectural style of the main building, replacing the utilitarian designs built by his predecessors into one based upon "formal classicism" (fig. 2).

On the side walls of the north wing, plain round-arched windows (now altered) rested on string courses, while on the north or front wall the windows were more formally emphasized by the use of keystones and paired blocks under the sills . . . The front wall of the north wing was capped by a pediment,

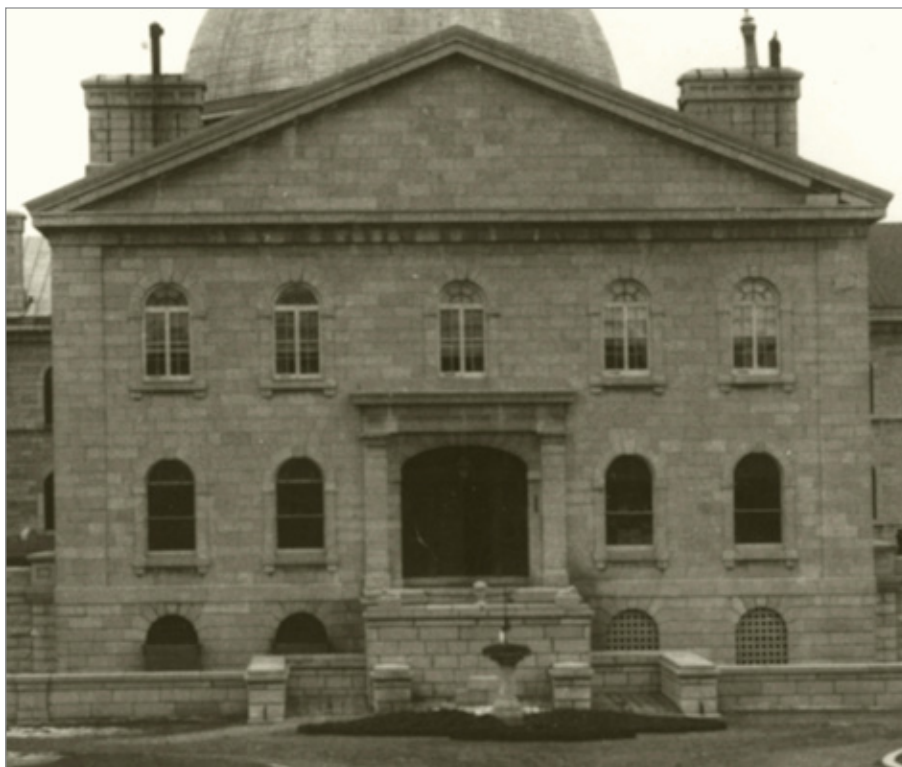


FIG. 2. WILLIAM COVERDALE, PROVINCIAL PENITENTIARY, DETAIL OF THE NORTH FAÇADE OF THE NORTH WING OF THE MAIN BUILDING, DESIGNED BY THE SUMMER OF 1835, BUILT 1836-1838; PHOTO LATE 1800S. | SOURCE: QUA, KPC A-ARCH V23 PUB KINGSTON PEN #32.

and defined at the corners by stripped down pilasters. The main doorway (now rebuilt) was arched and bordered by a severe Tuscan surround.²⁷

By 1835, Coverdale probably consulted at least two publications discussing and illustrating the Tuscan order, the article on "ARCHITECTURE" in Alexander Jamieson, *A Dictionary of Mechanical Science* (1830), and the relevant section in Asher Benjamin, *The Practical House* (1830).²⁸ This building immediately became one of the more interesting classical stone buildings in Kingston.

Until the late nineteenth century, the north façade of the north wing consisted of three storeys of five bays. The basement was rusticated, made of smooth stones with "v" shaped edges, and

included the foundation for stairs to the entry in the centre bay, arched openings with voussoirs in the side bays, and an ashlar line course at the top as a transition to the upper storeys. The first and second floors used ashlar to add refinement and were defined at the edges by tall ashlar lesenes (a vertical pilaster-like strip without a base or capital) that supported the lower entablature of the pediment that capped the façade. The first floor had arched windows with surrounds that had a sill consisting of a single block of ashlar supported by two blocks below, sides of slightly raised square blocks of ashlar (with further raised blocks just above the sill and before the arch), and voussoirs with a slightly raised and taller keystone at the top.²⁹ The centre bay of the first floor had a double door with half pilasters on each side supporting the voussoirs of a basket

handle arch and framed by a sturdy surround consisting of Tuscan pilasters at the sides and a plain entablature, consisting of a flat architrave topped by a modest cornice consisting of a small *astragal* and a large *ovolo* moulding. This understated design by a new architect drew carefully upon the British tradition of classical architecture (fig. 2). The north wing of the Provincial Penitentiary showed why the St. George's building committee had hired him to design a new addition with a tower to the ritual west façade of their classical church.

In May 1839, a manuscript record of a "List of Subscribers to the fund for enlarging St. George's Church and rebuilding the Steeple" noted of the projected cost for building Coverdale's plan: "The estimate being £2,400, of which £1,000 must be raised by donations from the members of the Congregation."³⁰ The first two pages of this section has columns neatly listing the names of contributors and the size of their pledges. The individual pledges add up to £1,012/15/0. Although the building committee had already received permission from the vestry in 1837 to borrow funds on the collateral of St. George's urban property, the vestry book first recorded a sum raised in this manner in 1843.³¹ The minutes of the earlier building committee had recorded payments to Rogers for supervising the construction of the building in 1825-1826.³² Had a volume survived for the work carried out from 1839-1847, it probably would have contained the same sort of information. Without a similar source, it becomes much more difficult to chart the design and supervision of this project. For example, after the vestry meeting of April 1, 1839, Coverdale's name did not appear in the "Vestry Book, / St. George's, / Kingston, 1835" (the only source for payments from this period surviving in the Archives of the Diocese of Ontario) until March 30,

1843, when it noted the modest sums that he received for supervising the major carpentry projects in 1842-1843.³³ Despite any firm evidence in the surviving manuscript material from St. George's from April 1, 1839, to March 20, 1843, the fact that Coverdale drew up the plans accepted by the vestry in 1839 most likely meant that he designed and supervised the work carried out from 1839-1841. The fact that his own notebook details his supervision of the interior carpentry in 1842 most likely indicates that he designed the interior woodwork, as well.

Although the vestry of St. George's accepted "a plan & model for the enlarging the church & rebuilding the steeple" on April 1, 1839, these have not survived either in the Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario or in the Coverdale family fonds in the Queen's University Archives. Despite these difficulties, other evidence from contemporary sources and the existing stonework provides a reasonable basis for understanding the construction of Coverdale's plan. It clearly included the extension of the ritual south and north walls of the nave by a new bay with windows, an entablature, and quoins on the ritual north and south façades of the nave with stone that matched that from 1825-1827. The fact that the existing stonework largely survived the fire of 1899 testifies to this. Prudence may have suggested continuing with a similar pattern for the entablature and surrounds of the windows and central door on the new ritual west façade. However, the destruction of the old tower allowed the new architect to include three doors on the ritual west façade to handle the flow of parishioners to the main floor and the galleries. It seems likely that Coverdale's plan for the ritual west façade included a large door with an arched surround in the centre bay, and smaller doors with

rectangular surrounds and arched clerestory windows above in the side bays. The extension needed to include new stairs to the galleries and much thicker walls to support a new stone tower. In other words, Coverdale's plan from 1839 probably included a ritual west façade with three entrances leading into an internal structure of three vestibules with thick walls, but not necessarily a portico or the stonework of the west façade built in 1842-1843. Coverdale's design would have provided better access for parishioners, more solid support for a stone tower, and a more coherent ritual west façade than that designed or built by Rogers.³⁴ The construction of this addition needed to proceed carefully on a step-by-step basis so that worship could continue in the nave of St. George's while the work took place.

On May 4, 1839, Robert Matthews, who with Andrew Lauder had laid the stonework of the second St. George's in 1825-1827, posted an advertisement to the *Chronicle & Gazette* that read:

TO MASONS & STONE CUTTERS

CONSTANT Employment and good wages will be given to six or eight Masons and Stone Cutters, who are required to be employed during the season in building the front of the English Church in this Town.

Application to be made to MR. MATTHEWS, Foreman of the Masons.

Kingston, 4th May, 1839.³⁵

The work in 1839 started with the extension of the ritual north and south walls of the nave by one bay as designed by Coverdale. The original fenestration on the ritual south, west, and north façades consisted of tall clerestory windows with a rounded arch and shorter



FIG. 3. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, KINGSTON, UPPER CANADA, C. 1833. | SOURCE: ALODI, CANADIAN WATERCOLOURS AND DRAWINGS IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, NO. 2271.



FIG. 4. ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, KINGSTON, ONTARIO, RITUAL SOUTH FAÇADE. DETAIL OF THREE BAYS FROM 1825-1826 AND ONE BAY FROM 1839-1841, ALL AS MODIFIED IN 1891. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, APRIL 2020.

rectangular windows of the same width below (fig. 3). The ritual north and south walls of the new bay continued this pattern, as revealed by nineteenth-century drawings and photographs from before 1891 and by portions of the walls, upper windows, and entablature of the present St. George's Cathedral. However, the bottom section of existing windows differs because the original lower windows were extended upward to join with the old arched clerestory windows during the additions of 1891. The stonework below was reworked to fill in the openings (fig. 4). Even with these modifications, the existing side walls clearly show how the addition of 1839-1843 continued the exterior design of the original fabric. However, the plan made considerable changes in the configuration of both the tower and the ritual west façade. The walls supporting the tower stand entirely inside of the new bay. A large central door and smaller flanking doors provide entry into "a tripartite narthex, the central portion of which" contains "a firm base for a new bell tower" by walls slightly less or more than four feet thick.³⁶ Four pierced arched openings in the round, central narthex lead into the

side vestibules, the central aisle of the nave, and the central door. The side vestibules would contain circular stairs to the galleries and entrances to the side aisles of the main floor.

While Coverdale may have consulted pattern books that contained examples of churches with three vestibules, he probably also examined two stone churches with this type of entrance in the western part of the Anglican diocese of Quebec: Christ Church, Montreal (1805-1821), and the Church of St. James, York (1831).³⁷ Before moving to Kingston, Coverdale already worked in the building trade and probably visited many interesting public and private buildings in Montreal, including such classical protestant churches as Christ Church Anglican, St. James Street Methodist (1821), and American Presbyterian (1825). While travelling to or from Hamilton and Brantford in 1835-1837, the new architect had even more reason to expand his knowledge by examining buildings in Hamilton and York. York boasted several recently built classical churches: St. Paul's Roman Catholic (1823), St. Andrew's Presbyterian (1831), and St. James' Anglican.³⁸ The floorplan

of St. James', drawn by Thomas Rogers in 1831, has three connecting vestibules inside the walls of the ritual west façade. The plan shows the main entrance for the ground floor in a central tower and additional entrances on the ritual north and south façades to service the galleries and the aisles of the ground floor. Each of the side vestibules is shown with a slightly different pattern for the stairs leading to the galleries and each of the entrances has six steps leading to an exterior platform (fig. 5). This configuration with its thick walls supporting the tower could have provided a model for Coverdale, but his solution more likely drew upon the pattern used at Christ Church, Montreal.³⁹

Construction at St. George's lagged behind expectations in 1839 and 1840 for more than one reason. A humorous tidbit in the newspaper in the summer of 1839 indicated that the work of demolition and new construction went slowly by referring to "St. George's Church . . . now with the front torn down" and noting that at "the rear of the organ loft" the inner wall of the old tower still stood.⁴⁰ The new addition would take more than another year to complete.

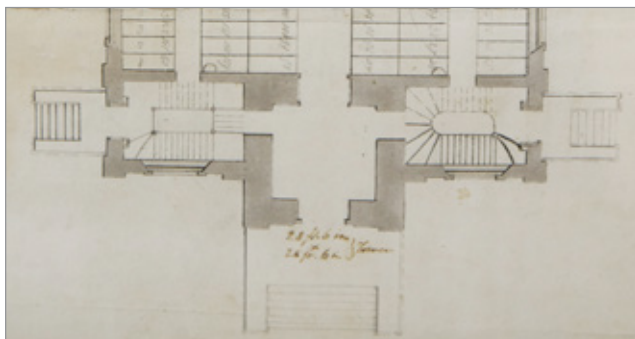


FIG. 5. THOMAS ROGERS, FLOORPLAN FOR MAIN FLOOR OF ST. JAMES, TORONTO, 1831. DETAIL OF ENTRANCE AND STAIRS TO GALLERIES. | SOURCE: ARCHIVES OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, TORONTO, DETAIL FROM PHOTOGRAPH 20200122_174.



FIG. 6. WILLIAM COVERDALE, PROVINCIAL PENITENTIARY, DETAIL OF THE NORTH FAÇADE OF THE NORTH GATE, DESIGNED 1840 AND BUILT 1843-1844; PHOTO LATE 1800S. | SOURCE: QUA, KPC A-ARCH V23 PUB KINGSTON PEN #29. PHOTO: QUA.

Before a shortage of funds came to limit work, another problem arose, as reported by James Buckingham, an English visitor to Kingston before 1841:

The Episcopal church here being under repair, and having a new spire making for it, the persons to whom this work was entrusted, contracted with the Penitentiary, to quarry and dress the stone required for the purpose, which they furnished according to order; but the working-masons employed in the reparation of the church refused to use the stone, because it was quarried and dressed by the convicts, to the detriment of the free and honest labourer; and accordingly it was all rejected, to the loss of course of one or both of the contracting parties.⁴¹

Coverdale must have initiated this contract. Only he combined the positions of architect and master builder at the Provincial Penitentiary with those of the architect and probably the supervisor of the construction at St. George's at the time.⁴² The foreman of the masons at St. George's, Robert Matthews—a very active member of the Mechanics Institute in Kingston—probably took the lead in standing up for “the free and honest labourer” with words that echoed the petition of the Kingston mechanics who had protested against potential competition from convict labour in 1833-1836.⁴³ This action would

have slowed down construction not only during the dispute, but also for some time thereafter because the supervisor would have to contract for stone from another source, presumably at a higher price. When St. George's next sought tenders for stonework on January 15, 1842, the name of Matthews no longer appeared on the advertisement.

In early February 1840, Archdeacon George Okill Stuart and Assistant Minister Robert Cartwright printed a report on church statistics for 1839 in the *Chronicle & Gazette*. As well as listing the number of births, marriages, deaths, and communicants in the congregation, it mentioned the funds raised for construction on St. George's:

[T]he congregation during the past year have subscribed £1026, of which £959 have been paid, towards the enlargement of the Church and rebuilding of the front and steeple. This sum having been found insufficient, a second subscription has been opened, by which it is expected that £600 in addition will be obtained, so that by the end of the summer it is expected that the Church with the Portico and Steeple will be completely finished.⁴⁴

The sources from St. George's had discussed rebuilding the tower and, after April 1, 1839, the enlargement of the church. The newspaper article from 1840

mentioned that the funds raised in 1839 had proved insufficient for finishing the addition; it also projected raising an additional £600 to finish the “Steeple” and build a “Portico.”⁴⁵ This not only indicated that work on the extension had taken place, but also marked the first mention of a portico in documents from St. George's from after the 1820s.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the subscription proposed for 1840 would not raise any funds. The page after those listing the names and amounts of the pledges in 1839 has the following heading: “The former subscription having been insufficient to build the steeple of stone a second subscription was proposed in January 1840 to which the following sums were contributed.” The heading makes no reference to the portico mentioned by the clergy in the newspaper. Despite the preparations, neither names nor pledges appear on the page for the subscription of 1840.⁴⁷ The parishioners had tightened their purse strings.

The Archdeacon and at least the two members of both building committees knew about the Ionic portico on the architectural drawing of two versions of the west elevation that Rogers had prepared in c. 1825. The congregation probably still possessed this drawing in early 1840.⁴⁸ Since the building committee and vestry had already approved Coverdale's design for extending the walls and

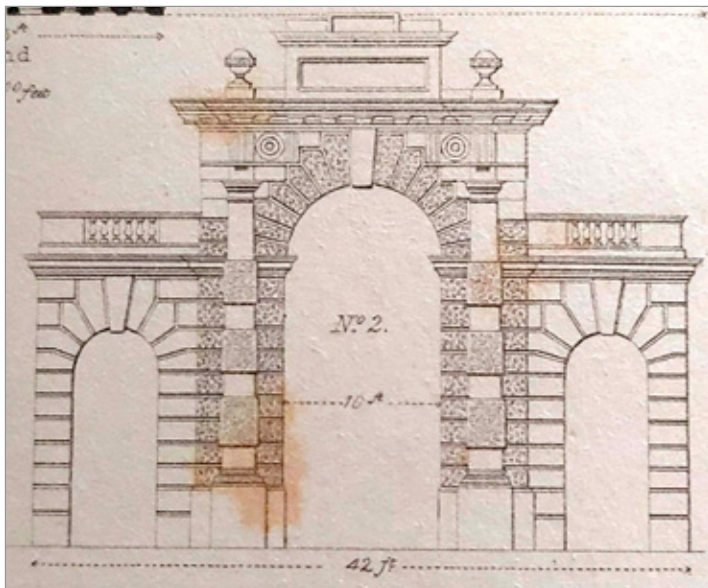


FIG. 7. SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS, "GATE" AT "SOMERSET PLACE," C. 1776-1796. | SOURCE: LEEDS, *PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF LONDON*, 1838, VOL. 2, PLATE 6, BETWEEN P. 136 AND 137; W.D. JORDAN RARE BOOKS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. SCAN: DANIELLA CRUZE, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS TECHNICIAN, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

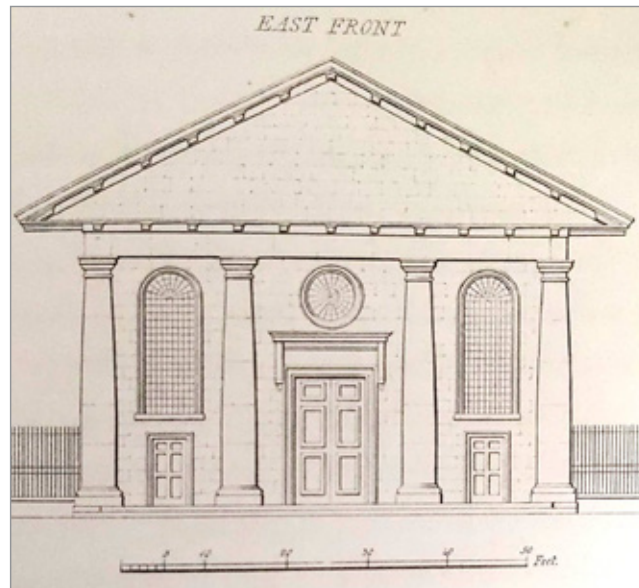


FIG. 8. INIGO JONES, "ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN," 1631-1633; DETAIL RITUAL EAST FAÇADE. | SOURCE: LEEDS, *PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF LONDON*, 1838, VOL. 1, BETWEEN P. 124 AND 125; W.D. JORDAN RARE BOOKS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. SCAN: DANIELLA CRUZE, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS TECHNICIAN, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

windows of the nave that Rogers had built, Archdeacon Stuart and Assistant Minister Cartwright may well have had the Rogers portico in mind when making their announcement. On the other hand, the building committee also could have asked Coverdale to add a portico to his existing plan and model.

In February 1840, Coverdale had no known experience in designing a classical portico, but he may have started to think about this because, starting on October 7, 1840, he would draw plans for a Tuscan portico as part of his design for enclosing the Provincial Penitentiary with a wall. As Jennifer McKendry has pointed out, the resulting plan probably included the walls, the west gate, the corner towers, and a north lodge with a Tuscan portico. A commission to design a portico for St. George's in early 1840 would have given him a head start on this later project. Coverdale's plans for the Penitentiary wall received approval on October 26, 1840, but the completion of the north lodge with its portico would not take place until 1844.⁴⁹ Still his design of the north wing of the main building

from 1835 and of the north lodge from 1840 provide insights into Coverdale's understanding of the British classical tradition before the arrival of George Browne in Kingston in early 1841.

The north lodge, with its portico, gate, doors, flanking bays, and attached walls, faces the main road that ran west from Kingston along the north shore of Lake Ontario. It still acts as the primary public entrance for visitors to Kingston Penitentiary. In 1840, Coverdale designed the exterior of this imposing structure with tall Tuscan piers, columns, and pilasters (fig. 6).⁵⁰ The portico reflected an ancient European tradition of triumphal arches—with a tall central opening and shorter, narrower side openings—that stretched back to the Romans. However, for his design, Coverdale most likely drew upon British examples illustrated in two volumes of a book in his working library: the plate containing the depiction of a gate for "Somerset Place" in the lower corner of plate 6 of the illustrations of Somerset House and the plate of "St. Paul's, Covent Garden," designed by Inigo Jones and completed in 1633 as part

of the Duke of Bedford's Covent Garden Piazza, the first classical square in London (figs. 7, 8, and 9).⁵¹ The latter structure still exists.

Sir William Chambers designed and supervised the construction of the new Somerset House from 1776 to 1796. The illustration of the gate shows a structure with a wide and high central arched opening flanked by two lower and narrower arched side openings. The side bays have smooth stone facings with wide joints, a substantial cornice topped by parapets having six balusters in the centre. The central bay features Doric columns, with three rusticated shafts separated by four smooth shafts per side standing on high, smooth stone pedestals, and supporting a broken Doric entablature. The walls of the central bay behind the columns have vermiculated surfaces with round indentations, interrupted by a plain set of mouldings that align with the cornices of the side bays. Above the cornice the walls have two vermiculated blocks on the sides of the bay and seven vermiculated stones per side of the voussoir carry on this surface, with a large, smooth keystone

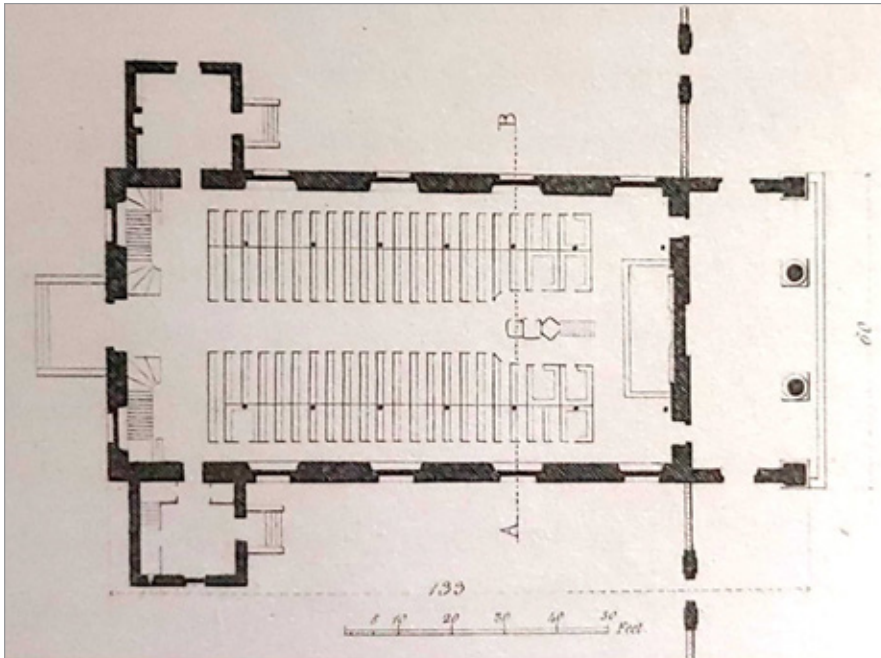


FIG. 9. JONES, "ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN"; FLOORPLAN SHOWING PIERS AND COLUMNS OF PORTICO ON EAST FAÇADE. | SOURCE: LEEDS, *PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF LONDON*, VOL. 1, BETWEEN P. 124 AND 125; W.H. JORDAN RARE BOOKS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. SCAN: DANIELLA CRUZE, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS TECHNICIAN, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

providing a strong contrast (fig. 7). The layout of the gates, along with the practical need for a large central passage, helped to inspire aspects of the back wall of the portico which included the doors for entering the Provincial Penitentiary. The vermiculated surfaces of the walls of the central bay, with their large round indentations in the rough stone, may well have encouraged Coverdale to use walls with a similar texture.

The portico of St. Paul's has widely spaced Tuscan columns between Tuscan piers (*in antis*) at the ecclesiastical east end (figs. 8 and 9). On the façade at the back of the portico, a large former door dominates the central bay, with two smaller doors and large arched windows in the side bays. An additional illustration, that of the west end of St. George in the East by Nicholas Hawksmoor (fig. 10), included door and window surrounds that may have inspired the design of those around

the gate and doors of the back wall of the portico at the Provincial Penitentiary. However, Coverdale added much larger keystones (fig. 11). The illustrations and descriptions of classical buildings in London in books that he owned gave Coverdale many of the tools that he needed to design a classical north gate in 1840, but they did not provide a detailed model of a Tuscan column with its entablature for the details of his columns, piers, and pilasters.

Fortunately, Coverdale had access to more detailed illustrations of Tuscan columns published in books by Asher Benjamin and Alexander Jamieson in 1830 (figs. 12 and 13).⁵² While Jamieson based his version on the Roman Emperor Trajan's column, Benjamin (like most contemporary writers about architecture) put his together from the models discussed and illustrated by the eighteenth-century British architects Isaac Ware and William Chambers.

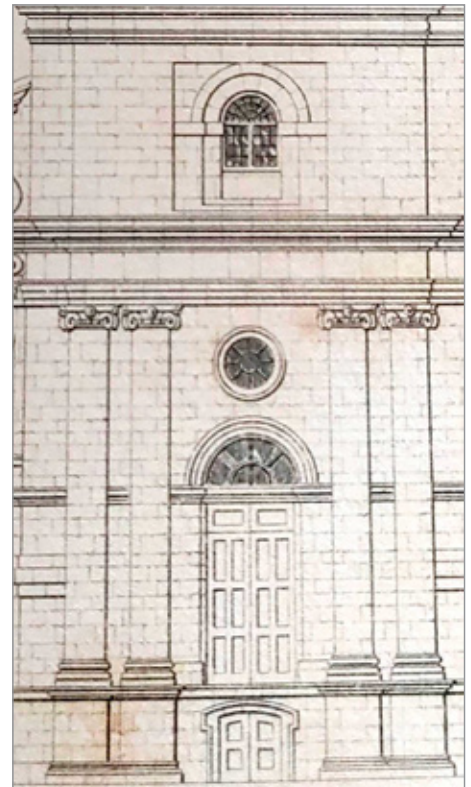


FIG. 10. NICHOLAS HAWKSMOOR, "ST. GEORGE IN THE EAST," 1714-1729; DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE. | SOURCE: LEEDS, *PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF LONDON*, 1838, VOL. 2, BETWEEN P. 100 AND 101; W.H. JORDAN RARE BOOKS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. 10 - SCAN: DANIELLA CRUZE, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS TECHNICIAN, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The plinth, foot, architrave, and frieze of Benjamin's version came from Chambers and the *abacus* (the piece between the capital of a column and the entablature) from Sebastiano Serlio's Tuscan column as illustrated by Ware.⁵³ Benjamin added some details of his own, while Coverdale modified Benjamin's version of the Tuscan entablature with details from Jamieson, using only a *fillet* moulding to separate the architrave from the frieze and substituting a narrower cornice (fig. 6 and fig. 14). In addition, Coverdale decreased the relative height of the pediment and the width of the eaves in comparison with those at St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Even with these changes, the design of the built portico most likely drew heavily upon books available to Coverdale well before 1840.

Viewed from across the road, the north gate, with its portico set between matching side bays, appears to present a



FIG. 11. COVERDALE, PROVINCIAL PENITENTIARY, 1844; DETAIL OF NORTH GATE. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, DECEMBER 2020.

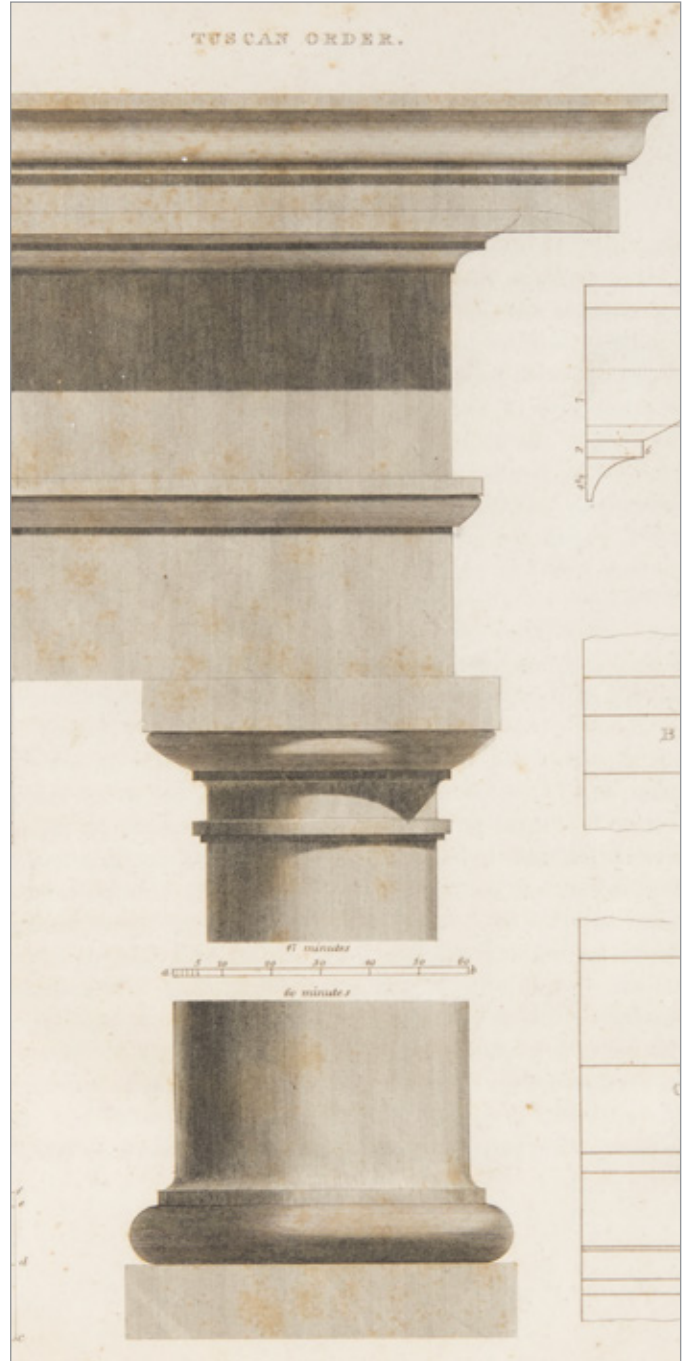


FIG. 12. "TUSCAN ORDER." | SOURCE: BENJAMIN, PRACTICAL HOUSE BUILDER, 1830, PLATE 3 BETWEEN P. 12 AND 13.

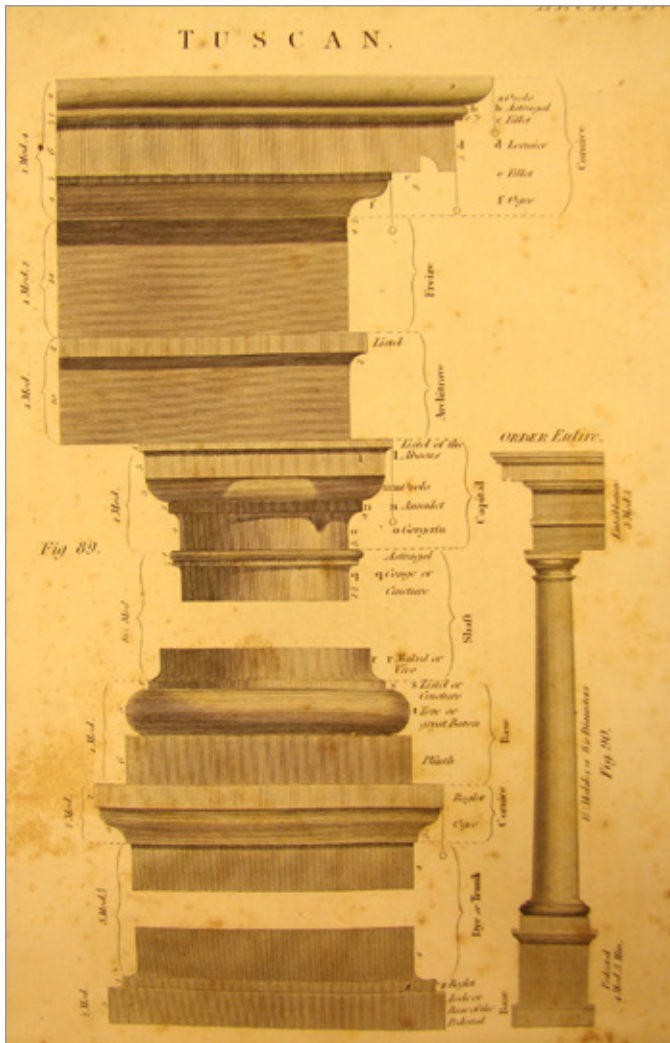


FIG. 13. "TUSCAN." | SOURCE: JAMIESON, DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE, 1830, VOL. 1, FIGS. 89 AND 90, BETWEEN P. 54 AND 55; W.H. JORDAN RARE BOOKS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MARCH 2022.

balanced design. However, when analyzed in detail, it seems less satisfactory. Coverdale's classical north wing of the main building has a symmetry in design and in the stonework. The north gate looks like an ambitious design by an architect not firmly schooled in the classical tradition. Most experienced classical architects used one texture of stone per horizontal section of a building, but Coverdale mixed stones with three different textures without a clear sense of gradation. The lowest two courses of all the sections and much of the rest of the flanking bays, including the first arched surrounds, have vermiculated rusticated surfaces with round indentations, "pock marked stone." These rough surfaces contrast with the smooth ashlar of the tall pilasters, the central section of the interior of the blind arches, and the two line courses—one running above the vermiculated courses at the bottom of all sections (incorporating the plinths of the piers, columns, and pilasters) with the other just below the arched section of the central surrounds (fig. 6 and 14). The grooved, rusticated smooth stone of the inner walls of the portico provides a third surface (fig. 15). These surfaces work together on the inner walls of the portico, but they clash as deployed on the side bays where Coverdale did not respect the "long tradition of classically designed buildings, which have the coarsest and 'heaviest' masonry at ground level supporting the more finely worked storeys."⁵⁴

In other places, important elements of the design need more space. The bay pilasters stand too close to the piers to be fully articulated, so one side of the shafts and portions of the capitals of the pilasters disappear. Full pilasters on the back wall of the portico respond to the columns at the front, but the design provides only enough space to have half pilasters attempt to respond to the piers



FIG. 14. COVERDALE, PROVINCIAL PENITENTIARY, NORTH GATE, BUILT 1843-1844; DETAIL OF PORTICO AND EAST BAY. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, JANUARY 2021.



FIG. 15. COVERDALE, PROVINCIAL PENITENTIARY, NORTH GATE, 1843-1844; DETAIL OF ASHLAR AND BOTH VERMICULATED AND GROOVED RUSTICATION ON WALLS, PIERS, AND HALF PILASTERS OF PORTICO. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MARCH 2021.



FIG. 16. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, OCTAGONAL BASE OF TOWER, 1841-1842. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2022.

(fig. 6 and fig. 15). Compared to other contemporary Tuscan façades from Kingston—the north wing of the main building of the Provincial Penitentiary (by Coverdale) of 1835-1838, the entrance façade of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of 1837-1838, the north façade of Rockwood Villa with its Tuscan portico of 1841 (by George Browne), the ritual west façade of St. George's Anglican Church of 1842, and the later entrance façade Kingston City Hall of 1843-1844 (by

Browne)—the outer façade of the north lodge of the Provincial Penitentiary looks less sophisticated.

After the subscription of 1840 failed, Archdeacon Stuart made a generous Easter gift of £500 "to assist in the completion of the Steeple of St. George's Church."⁵⁵ These new funds probably allowed Coverdale to supervise work on the walls of the extension to the ritual west end of the nave, but they could



FIG. 17. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, 1839-1841; DETAIL OF INTERIOR OF TAPERED CIRCULAR WALL FROM TOP OF NARTHEX TO FLOOR OF THE BELFRY. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, NOVEMBER 2020.



FIG. 18. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, 1839-1841; DETAIL OF THE INTERIOR OF THE TAPERED CIRCULAR WALL WHERE IT MEETS THE FLOOR OF THE BELFRY. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, NOVEMBER 2020.

finance only the start of a new tower. As John Macaulay reported in a letter to his wife on May 24, 1841, "the church steeple here remains half-finished and is a most unsightly object."⁵⁶ The stonework of the "half-finished" steeple probably consisted of the thick supporting walls of the central narthex plus the first stage of the tower, round on the inside, and probably without what would become its elegant octagonal exterior of grey limestone ashlar (fig. 16), which was why Macaulay found it "most unsightly." Above the thick walls of the central narthex bolstered by the adjoining thick walls of the side vestibules, a tall, slightly narrowing cylinder of thick stones runs in the interior from the ceiling of the central narthex to the floor of the belfry (figs. 17 and 18). In 1842-1843, this wall formed the interior of the first stage of the stone tower and would support those of the belfry and clock stages. Despite unanticipated labour and financial difficulties, the masons had erected the outer walls of the

ritual north and south façades, many of the structural portions of the walls of the three vestibules, and the structure of the first stage of the tower by late May 1841.

Other evidence from a slightly later date provides further insights into Coverdale's work at St. George's. As early as the annual meeting of vestry in April 1840, the need for additional seating at St. George's led to a resolution: "that all Pews, belonging to the Church, on which the rent due up to Easter 1840, shall be in arrear[s] on the first day of May next, shall be considered vacant & liable to be leased and that a copy of this Resolution, be sent to the lessers [*sic*] of such Pews."⁵⁷ Even during the construction, therefore, it remained vital to keep access to the pews and benches in the galleries built in 1825-1827. A newspaper report of the funeral of Lord Sydenham in September 1841 showed that the galleries remained accessible during construction: "The Gallery of St. George's Church having

been reserved for the Ladies was filled at an early hour, the Body of the Church was left for those forming the Procession."⁵⁸ This meant either that the old stairs to the galleries had remained in place or that the carpenters had built temporary new ones until the new spiral stairways were constructed in the summer of 1842, as noted in Coverdale's notebook. As the population of Kingston increased during the capital period, so did the demand for seating at St. George's. The generous gift of Archdeacon Stuart had funded structural work on the addition including the start of a new tower, but it would take much more money to complete the tower and build a portico.

As well as funding, important events in the community shaped the decisions of the building committee. After many rumours, the *Upper Canadian Herald* printed on February 2, 1841: "We are happy to be able to inform our readers that the secret is at last out. Kingston

is to be the Seat of Government.” On February 5, a proclamation announced that the Province of Canada would “come into legal existence” on February 10.⁵⁹ A flurry of building and renovation activity took place shortly thereafter:

On 15 February 1841 the formal announcement was made; Parliament was called to meet at Kingston in June. Kingstonians were already involved in a frantic rush to enlarge hotels, divide houses, to build new inns, boarding houses, and homes for government officials. The workmen who might have finished the renovation of St. George’s were employed on other more urgent and lucrative jobs. On 16 February, H.H. Killaly, in charge of public works, reported to Lord Sydenham that men were at work on the addition to Alwington House, on alterations to the Hospital, and finishing the Marine Railway Offices.⁶⁰

At St. George’s, the influx of people created an ardent demand for pews. By the vestry meeting of April 12, 1841, this pressure had become so strong that the members of vestry voted in favour of several new policies. First: “That the arrears of pew rent beyond one year due this day up to Easter 1841 be Collected immediately by the Church Wardens—who shall give due notice to the occupants that unless the rent be paid the pews—will be considered vacant & relet.” This tried to ensure that paying parishioners could replace those who had not paid their rents. Second: “That all Pews—belonging to the Church which may hereafter be sold—be sold by Public Auction after due notice.” Earlier motions had required the sale of pews by public auction, but this one took a more systematic approach. Third: “That a Book of Pews registered with the names of propriety and that the Ministers with the Churchwardens be a committee to ascertain what Pews belong to the Church and also the different propriety with the

names.” This provided a plan for gathering accurate information on the ownership of pews. And fourth, that the church wardens inform those who leased pews belonging to the church that these: “Pews can only be leased for three months.”⁶¹ By leasing its pews on a shorter basis, the church could profit from the increased demand. These motions initiated a systematic long-term reorganization of the ownership, rental, and number of pews. They also helped to set a new agenda for construction at St. George’s in the following year if additional funds became available.

Along with the government came the official government architect, George Browne, who probably received training as an architect and builder from his father in Belfast, Ireland, before practicing as a young man in Quebec City “from 1830-35, judging from advertisements for contracts and contracts themselves.”⁶² According to John Borthwick, he moved to Montreal in 1840.⁶³ Appointed government architect in 1841 at the age of thirty, he came to Kingston early in the year, as reported by the *Chronicle & Gazette*:

The Government Buildings are fast approaching towards completion, under the able management of Mr. Browne, Architect. A full compliment [*sic*] of mechanics are busily engaged in preparing the new Parliament House, and also the Government Offices.

The new wings of Alwington House, the future residence of His Excellency Lord Sydenham, are also in rapid progress.⁶⁴

The talented new architect in town had already started to attract the attention of the local press. Browne’s position allowed him to solicit private commissions, as well, as noted in the advertisement that he ran twice weekly from February 17 to June 10, 1841:

MR. GEORGE BROWNE, Architect, Measurer, and Landscape Gardener, late of Quebec and Montreal. Having made arrangements to practice his profession in all its branches in this place, Gentlemen desirous of availing themselves of his professional services will find him at the Lambton House.⁶⁵

Gentlemen began to take notice. By April 1841, he advertised for: “A Student to the Architectural profession,” from whom “A fee will be required” and also for tenders to build four stone houses on the corner of Brock and Quarry (soon to be Wellington) streets for William Henry Wilson and “**FOUR COTTAGES** in the vicinity of this town” for Charles Hales.⁶⁶ In May, he advertised for tenders to build two large stone “houses” on Store Street (now Princess Street) for John Mowat.⁶⁷ The Hales Cottages arose west of Kingston, between Alwington House and the legislative building. The Wilson and Mowat commissions produced two of Browne’s fine round-cornered ashlar commercial buildings that would have earned praise in many cities in Britain and marked a new level of sophistication for downtown Kingston. The plan for Wilson’s tall, handsome ashlar structure received a glowing notice in the *Chronicle & Gazette* in May 1841:

New Buildings.—We learn that that scientific architect and draftsman, Mr. Browne, is now busily engaged in making plans of various buildings about to be erected in Town forthwith, by some of our wealthy and enterprising inhabitants. Some of these plans we have seen, and they are exceedingly beautiful. We allude especially to the draft of a block of cut stone buildings to be put up by William Wilson, Esq., on the corner of Brock and Quarry Street. This edifice, when completed, will tend greatly to ornament that part of the Town. The professional acquirements of Mr. Browne require only to be known to be properly appreciated.⁶⁸ (fig. 19)



FIG. 19. GEORGE BROWNE, WILLIAM WILSON BUILDING, KINGSTON, 1841-1843. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, AUGUST 2005.



FIG. 20. JOHN SOLOMON CARTWRIGHT'S TOWN HOUSE, 1834. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, AUGUST 2005.



FIG. 21. J.S. CARTWRIGHT'S TOWN HOUSE (1834) AND ATTACHED LAW OFFICE, 1840. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2021.

In late June and early July, Browne also advertised for tenders to build the new Presbyterian manse that he had designed, a striking building finished in 1841 and still standing.⁶⁹ All of this activity attracted other interested clients.

Another of the "wealthy and enterprising inhabitants" of Kingston came to appreciate the "professional acquirements of

Mr. Browne" in the summer of 1841, the prominent Kingston lawyer, businessman, member of the Legislative Assembly, and active Anglican, John Solomon Cartwright. His twin brother, Reverend Robert David Cartwright, served as the Assistant Minister at St. George's Church.⁷⁰ Cartwright had more than a passing interest in architecture. In 1834, he had expended some £3,500 for building his

Kingston home on King Street, most likely designed by Rogers (fig. 20). In 1840, he would hire a contractor to transform his sketch into plans for an extension to "house his law office and library, and also to provide living quarters or the law apprentices whom he had (as was the custom of the time) staying with him"⁷¹ (fig. 21).

In 1841, Cartwright hired Browne, the leading new architect in Kingston, to design a country villa for his property west of Kingston overlooking Lake Ontario. By July 23, 1841, Browne had drawn the plans and placed an advertisement for tenders:

To Carpenters and Builders.

Tenders will be received from experienced Contractors and Builders, for erecting an Italian Villa, near Hatters Bay, for John S. Cartwright, Esq., according to the Plans and Specifications drawn for the same. Tenders to be opened on the 10th of August next.

G. Browne,
*Architect.*⁷²



FIG. 22. GEORGE BROWNE, ROCKWOOD VILLA, HATTERS BAY (NOW KINGSTON), 1841; DETAIL OF TUSCAN PORTICO. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 23. GEORGE BROWNE, ROCKWOOD VILLA, NORTH AND WEST FAÇADES, 1841. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.

This would become Rockwood Villa, a neo-classical version of a Palladian villa, the most imaginative house built in the Kingston area in the mid-nineteenth century.

Built of “rubble stone covered with stucco ruled in squares to resemble ashlar” and “wooden trim,” Browne “created one of his boldest compositions,” a still standing “two-storey, five bay structure.” The entrance has “a pedimented porch of giant wooden Tuscan columns between piers, i.e. *in antis* . . . The space between the columns contains steps which lead up to a shallow elliptically-shaped porch.”⁷³ Flanking the door stand giant Tuscan pilasters that respond to the round Tuscan columns on the portico. This striking portico—with “heavy wooden blocks under” the pediment and “cornice, a Tuscan feature”—became the first grand Tuscan portico built in the Kingston area

(fig. 22).⁷⁴ Other aspects of the exterior must have caught the eyes of discerning observers, including the way in which the ends of the entrance façade project forward, the first bay of the west wall, “punctuated above by a large, recessed panel and below by a niche,” the raised string course of wood that divided the ground floor from the upper, and “the massive severity of the balconies on the front (fig. 23).”⁷⁵ In this country house made of relatively inexpensive materials, Browne demonstrated a mastery of the British classical architectural tradition in a highly creative and individual manner. The skills of this new architect in Kingston, with many striking buildings to his credit during his first year in the city, clearly captivated numerous important people, including J.S. Cartwright, a leading member of the building committee at St. George’s and the twin brother of its chairman, the Reverend R.D. Cartwright.

On December 21, 1841, the building committee at St. George’s Church received unexpected news that allowed them to draw up plans for the remarkable programme of construction that would take place in 1842. A rumour about this gift had appeared in the *Chronicle & Gazette* in December 1841, but an unusually full account, including the motives of the giver, followed in the new year:

ST. GEORGE’S CHURCH, KINGSTON

At a Meeting of the Building Committee, on Tuesday, the 21st December, the Rev. R.D. CARTWRIGHT, Assistant Minister, informed the Committee that he had been authorized by the Rev. W.M. HERCHMER to signify his intention of placing at their disposal the sum of £1,000, towards finishing the Church:

Whereupon it was unanimously *Resolved*— That the Committee, on behalf of the

Congregation, tender to the Reverend Gentleman their sincere thanks for his very munificent donation. Although the Committee are sensible that Mr. Herchmer's highest gratification will be the pleasure of seeing the Parish Church of his native Town finished and embellished by his liberality, and witnessing the additional accommodation which will then be afforded, they nevertheless cannot forbear expressing to him the high sense they entertain of his generous conduct.⁷⁶

At the time Reverend Herchmer served as chaplain at the Provincial Penitentiary, but he and his ancestors had very strong ties to St. George's.⁷⁷ Seven years younger than Reverend Cartwright, many ties linked them: both came from substantial Loyalist merchant families, both had grown up in Kingston, and both had taken degrees at Queen's College, Oxford. Reverend Cartwright forwarded the thanks of the Committee to "My Dear Herchmer" and added his "personal thanks for your handsome contribution towards an object with which I feel so deep an interest." Replying to "My Dear Cartwright," Reverend Herchmer noted: "no action of my life has ever afforded me greater satisfaction than that which has called forth from the Building Committee the pleasing expression of feeling which you, as Chairman, have conveyed to me." He expressed his "warmest thanks for the kind reception they have given to [his] proposed donation."⁷⁸

Reverend Herchmer then continued by eloquently expressing his strong feelings about his family's legacy in helping to found both Kingston and St. George's, a narrative that must have touched many contemporary readers, especially other descendants of Loyalists, many of whom intermarried with the Herchmers.

The primitive settlers of this Town, the faithful subjects of the British Government, through good report and evil report, —(very few of whom now remain to tell the delight they experienced as when they were wont to repair on the Sabbath to the sanctuary which their own exertions reared in the honour of God)—they and their descendants can alone fully enter into the feelings which have actuated me in the step which I have taken, as regards the Church of my Fathers.

I say the Church of my Fathers, because it is the congregation in which my Father, and Father's Father worshipped, and of which both of my parents were communicants, and into which I was myself received by Baptism; it is the Church at whose font I presented my first-born child, now at rest, and my youngest son for initiation into covenant with Christ.

These circumstances have influenced me in forming the decision to which I have come, and have confirmed me in the opinion, that as a kind Providence has blessed me far beyond my expectation, it was incumbent on me to contribute liberally towards the completion of the Church to which I have so strong an attachment. For these reasons, I have set apart the sum already specified to be expended in rendering the Mother Church a fit temple for God to dwell in: and I fervently pray that, since the want of church accommodation begins now to be severely felt in this Town, through the great increase of population, others who have also received good at the hand of the Lord, will go and do likewise.

Believe me,
Dear Cartwright,
Ever yours faithfully,
W.M. Herchmer.⁷⁹

This unexpected gift made it possible for the building committee of St. George's to accomplish both of its important goals, the finishing of the addition started in 1839—the tower, interior, and the ritual west façade—plus the substantial increase of the number of pews mandated by the vestry in 1841. It would also fund the portico announced in early 1840.

A local precedent for using the Tuscan order on a classical protestant church existed in the impressive entrance façade of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, that embellished the addition built in 1837-1838: "The church having been found insufficient to contain the continually increasing congregation; a large addition, having a cut stone Tuscan front, was made to it in 1838."⁸⁰ The restrained St. Andrew's façade had smooth rusticated walls with four giant Tuscan ashlar pilasters subdividing it into three bays that contained arched doors on the main floor and rectangular windows on the gallery level. The two central pilasters framed a central bay that terminated with a classical pediment, while the exterior ones marked the outer edges of the façade.⁸¹ The desire to outshine their most important protestant rival may have helped to inspire the even more striking portico of St. George's.

Scholars have proposed both Coverdale and Browne as the architect of the changes made to St. George's between 1839 and 1847.⁸² Architects in the mid-nineteenth century worked in a variety of styles, as did both Browne and Coverdale. In this case, both architects knew the entrance façade of St. Andrew's and both had designed a Tuscan portico, Browne for Rockwood Villa (designed and built in 1841) and Coverdale for the Provincial Penitentiary (designed in 1840 and built in 1843-1844). Coverdale may well have



FIG. 24. "ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, KINGSTON, C.W.," C. 1842. | SOURCE: FORT HENRY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE OF CANADA, ST. LAWRENCE PARKS COMMISSION, ON DEPOSIT TO QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. QUA, KINGSTON PICTURE COLLECTION ARTISTS, HARRIET CARTWRIGHT, V23-AR-11.4. PHOTO: QUA.

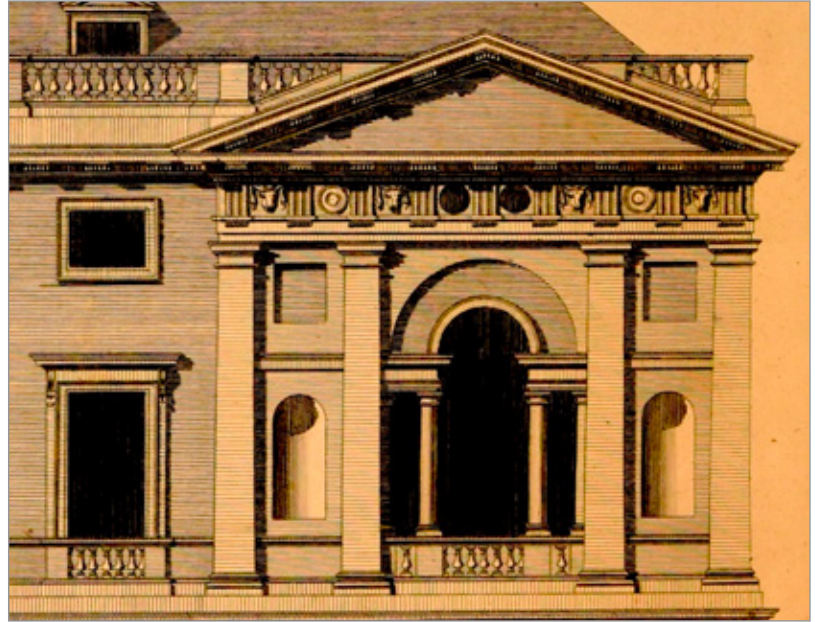


FIG. 25. THE EARL OF SPENCER'S LONDON HOUSE; DETAIL OF STREET FAÇADE, RIGHT END OF THE PIANO NOBILE. | SOURCE: WOOLFE AND GANDON, *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*, 1767, VOL. 4, PLATE 38. SCAN: BRENDAN EDWARDS, JORDAN LIBRARY, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, MARCH 2022.

designed a portico for St. George's in early 1840 or late 1841, but the plans do not survive. His built classical works display neither the decorative elements of Rockwood Villa nor the use of dentils on Tuscan entablatures. All of these appeared on the work on the exterior of St. George's carried out in 1842-1843. Browne's buildings in Kingston, including the downtown commercial buildings, Rockwood Villa, and the Kingston City Hall, all showed a very sophisticated understanding of the European classical tradition.

Coverdale probably began his knowledge of the classical tradition by observing buildings, starting with the rebuilding of Fort Lennox in 1819-1829, continuing with classical buildings in Montreal such as Christ Church Anglican, expanding during his work in Kingston, Hamilton, and Brantford, and probably during his travels in 1835-1837. He also learned by consulting some basic books from his own library and those of others.⁸³ Browne's introduction to

classical architecture began under his architect father, probably grew with his study of such classical churches as St. Anne's Anglican (1774-1776), First Presbyterian (1781), and St. George's Anglican (1816) in Belfast, plus such classical churches as Holy Trinity Cathedral (1800-1804) in Quebec, and Christ Church in Montreal (1805-1820), when he lived and worked in these cities as a builder and architect.⁸⁴ This knowledge deepened with his immersion in important eighteenth-century illustrated works by British classical architects, two of which he owned: James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, and volume four of the continuation of *Vitruvius Britannica* by John Woolfe and James Gandon. He also owned the more affordable *A New and Compleat System of Architecture* by the architect and builder William Halfpenny.⁸⁵ His deeper study of the classical tradition shone in a whole range of exciting new buildings that quickly made him the most prestigious architect in the capital of the Canadas.

As a result, it may well have seemed prudent for the building committee at St. George's to ask him to submit a competing plan for the portico, tower, and exterior face of the ritual west façade. Evidence that this happened is the relatively small drawing of St. George's Church from a three-quarters perspective that Browne's office probably prepared to show the committee members how the whole building would look with his design for the exterior of the ritual west façade and the upper stages of the tower (fig. 24).⁸⁶ Browne would have presented the drawing to Reverend Cartwright as chair of the St. George's Building Committee in late 1841 or early 1842. If successful, Browne also would have included detailed plans from which the contractors would work like those drawn for the competition launched for the design of Kingston City Hall and Market in 1842.⁸⁷ Since it was not needed for the construction, Reverend Cartwright must have kept the drawing

of St. George's until his early death in May 1843. It then passed to his wife Mrs. Cartwright, who gave it to Captain John Harvey as a memorial of his years as an active member of St. George's when he left Kingston in 1847. Designing the exterior of the west façade and the upper levels of the tower for St. George's represented a relatively small contract for Browne compared to other projects that he worked on in 1842. However, it would have seemed attractive because it provided an excellent opportunity to make a lasting impact upon the streetscape of the capital of Canada with considerably less effort than his two sets of plans for the Kingston City Hall competition that his office prepared.⁸⁸

Both this drawing and the built structure testify to a deep understanding of the British classical architectural tradition. Drawing upon aspects of the front façade of the Earl of Spencer's London town house as illustrated in the volume four of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Browne transformed the pattern of the right bay of the *piano nobile*, with its Doric pilasters, niches below plus indented squares above on the sides, and a complex arched window in the centre, into a creative façade of three bays. Some of the details in the drawing attributed by Browne's office had appeared in Rockwood Villa and also carried over to both of Browne's versions of Kingston City Hall.⁸⁹ For the central bay of the ritual west façade of St. George's, Brown transformed the Doric pilasters into a Tuscan portico of four columns (modified to fit the proportions of a building designed with Ionic details), kept the niches, transformed the indented squares above into rectangular stone frames, and transformed the complex window into a wide double door with an arched window (figs. 24, 25, and 37). In the portico, Tuscan columns support

a plain wooden entablature and pediment with dentils that continue the entablature of the ritual south and north sides of the nave and the stone ones on the outer bays of the ritual west façade. Pilaster responds link the portico to this wall and define its central bay. The stone wall of the ritual west façade has a raised string course dividing it into lower and upper stages. The outer bays feature rectangular doors with a straight entablature on the lower level and arched clerestory windows on the upper level. The composition in the drawing attributed to Browne's office created a much more balanced ritual west end for St. George's than either the earlier elevation by Rogers or the north gate of the Penitentiary designed by Coverdale.⁹⁰ It also incorporated the portions of the addition already designed and built by Coverdale to express how the proposed new designs would work together with the existing building to form a coherent whole.

At this stage of their careers, Browne showed a deeper grasp of classical architecture than Coverdale. In addition, Browne had demonstrated that he could build an exemplary classical structure on a tight budget. At Rockwood Villa, he constructed an innovative country house using quite inexpensive materials; on the walls, rubble stone quarried on the site covered with stucco scored to look like ashlar, with a line course, balconies, a portico, and cornices made of wood, as well. The "use of wood on the entablature and pediment at St. George's" also "meant a substantial savings."⁹¹ Both the "grand tetrastyle Ionic portico" designed by Rogers in 1825 and the Tuscan portico designed by Coverdale for the Provincial Penitentiary used upper parts of stone. Any fully stone portico would have had a much higher price tag than one with a wooden entablature and pediment

that used less expensive materials and labour. Frugality, as well as design, may well have given the building committee decisive reasons to accept the plan illustrated in the drawing attributed to Browne's office for the exterior work. However, they still needed and retained Coverdale as supervisor of the carpentry and other tasks, as indicated by both his notebooks and the payments for his continuing work entered in the records of St. George's. Between December 21, 1841, and January 14, 1842, the building committee decided on how to spend the £1,000 offered by Reverend Herchmer.

After several months in which very little work was done on the project, the momentous changes that would follow were foreshadowed by a modest newspaper advertisement that appeared in the *Chronicle & Gazette* on January 15, 1842:

TENDERS. Will be received at the Office of J.R. FORSYTH, Esq. till Thursday the 27th January, for Mason Work, Stone Cutting, &c. &c. necessary to the COMPLETION OF St. GEORGE'S CHURCH.

Plans and Specifications to be seen at Mr. COVERDALE'S.⁹²

Since the plans of the structural stonework and the woodwork already resided at Coverdale's office, it most likely seemed appropriate to have Browne's plans available there, as well. The building committee hired two firms to finish the stonework on the ritual west façade, build the walls of belfry and clock stages of the tower, and create the modified Tuscan columns for the portico and the Corinthian columns for the tower.⁹³ Work began again on the stonework as soon as the weather permitted in the spring of 1842 and continued until finished. People who lived in Kingston at the time could

have observed the pace of construction, but neither the surviving newspapers nor the records of St. George’s provide much information on this work. Once the stone structure was built, the woodwork and plasterwork on the interior, the woodwork for a new tin roof over the nave, and the woodwork for a cupola for the top of the tower could be completed.

To raise additional funds, the building committee advertised the sale of seven pews on February 9, 1842:

Notice is hereby given that the undermentioned PEWS IN ST. GEORGE’S CHURCH will be offered for SALE, at Public Auction at the *Annual Vestry Meeting*, on Easter Monday,—viz: No. 41, and 44, East Aisle, 69, 72 and 75, West Gallery, and 79 and 82 East Gallery.

By order of the Building Committee,
THOMAS W. ROBISON, *Secretary*,
and Church Warden.

Kingston, Feb. 8, 1842

The Building Committee and Church Wardens reserve to themselves the right of selling any new pew rented to individuals, at the expiration of any quarter after Easter next, without further notice.⁹⁴

This changed, however, at the annual meeting of the vestry on March 28, 1842, where a motion carried “not to sell any Pews until the repairs and alterations to the Church now in progress, are completed, when a special vestry meeting will be convened to decide upon the number of Pews to be sold & the number that will be retained to be leased.”⁹⁵ This postponed the sale of pews advertised in the previous month. At the same meeting, “Charles Willard &... the Hon[ourable] John Macaulay” were appointed church wardens for the year and the vestry passed “a vote of thanks” to “the

Venerable Archdeacon Stuart, for the very liberal Donation of Five Hundred Pounds given by him at Easter 1840, to assist in the completion of the Steeple of St. George’s Church.”⁹⁶

At a special meeting held on April 18, 1842, the passage of a new law on “the management of the temporalities of the United Church of England and Ireland” caused the vestry to “renew the appointment of a Committee for superintending the completion of the Church.” They reappointed the earlier members of the building committee and added some new ones:

That the undermentioned gentlemen, in conjunction with the Church Wardens for the time being, do compose the aforesaid Committee, viz.:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| J.S. Cartwright | Esquire |
| Thomas Kirkpatrick | Esquire |
| James Nickalls | “ |
| James Sampson | “ |
| D.J. Smith. | “ |
| John Forsyth | “ |
| and Henry Gildersleeve | Esquire. ⁹⁷ |

Cartwright, Kirkpatrick, Nickalls, Sampson, Smith, and Forsyth continued as members. The seventy-year-old John Kirby and “Baron Grant,” as he was called in the St. George’s pew lists from 1842, did not continue. The new members were Henry Gildersleeve and the new church wardens. Following this action, the newly elected warden, John Macaulay, announced:

that in concurrence with the Rector and Assistant Minister, the Churchwardens in order to meet as far as possible under present circumstances, the urgent demand for sittings, had made arrangements for erecting four new pews on the ground floor, in the vacant spaces, near the chancel, and

ranges of pews in the galleries in lieu of the present open seats against the wall, which was approved of.⁹⁸

Macaulay had returned to Kingston in 1842 after several years as inspector general in Toronto. His service to St. George’s confirmed his biographer’s judgement that Macaulay possessed “a genius for organization and administration, a conscientious temperament, and a capacity for hard work.”⁹⁹ The vestry book for this period contains many pages written in his clear hand that show how he took charge of the complete reorganization of the pews, an important contribution both to the finances of St. George’s and to the fabric of the church.

The major initiative to finish the exterior and especially the interior of St. George’s necessitated the closing of the worship space for a portion of the summer. No doubt, members heard about this from the pulpit, but it also appeared as an announcement in the *Chronicle & Gazette* on June 8, 1842:

We are requested to state that St. George’s Church will be closed for a few Sundays, in order to complete the interior.

The Congregation will be accommodated, in the meanwhile, in the Court House.

We would also draw the attention of our Church of England subscribers to the notice given elsewhere, of the meeting to be held on Wednesday Evening next, 15th inst.¹⁰⁰

For more than a month, Coverdale supervised the extensive interior work. It must have gone well because on July 20 an advertisement appeared in the same *Chronicle & Gazette* seeking tenders for painting all aspects of the interior and putting a tin roof on St. George’s:

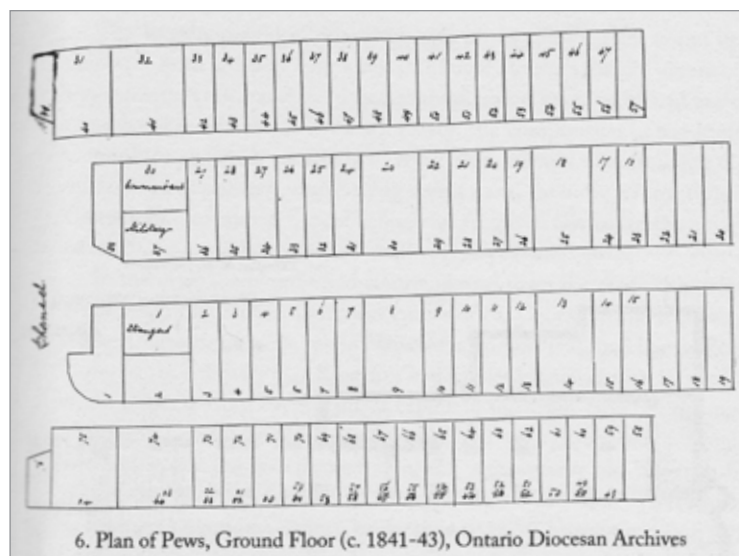


FIG. 26. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, PEW MAP FOR MAIN FLOOR, 1843. | SOURCE: ADOA AS PRINTED IN STEWART, 1991, "GEORGE BROWNE'S INFLUENCE," P. 35, FIG. 6.

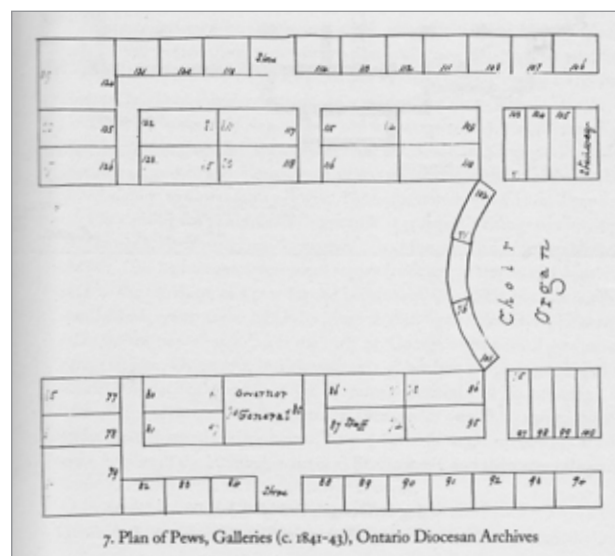


FIG. 27. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, PEW MAP FOR GALLERIES, 1843. | SOURCE: ADOA AS PRINTED IN STEWART, 1991, "GEORGE BROWNE'S INFLUENCE," P. 35, FIG. 7.

TENDERS.

WILL be received at the Office of J.R. Forsyth, Esq. until Monday the 25th inst., from such persons as will be willing to Contract for the Painting and Coloring of ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH. The new work to be painted three times, and the old twice. The walls to be colored light buff, and the ceilings white. The walnut work to be varnished. The windows to be painted in imitation of ground glass. Also for the tinning of the roof at—per box. The tin and nails to be furnished by the Building Committee.

T.W. ROBISON,
*Secretary to the B. Committee.*¹⁰¹

The "black walnut work" included the "Pulpit," "Reading-desk," and the "copings of the pews" from the second St. George's built from 1825-1827.¹⁰² Since the advertisement called for painting the "old" work twice and the new "three times," it seems likely that the new pews followed the pattern of those built earlier: "painted white in the panels with interstices of a light gray" with "varnished walnut copings," as an observer noted in 1830.¹⁰³ Twelve new pews were built on the ground floor,

four in front and eight in back (the latter made possible by the removal of the interior portion of the old tower and the changed entry to the side aisles from the new outer vestibules). On the pew map of the main floor, each of the central rows had one new pew at the chancel end and three new pews at the entrance end, while each side aisles had one new pew both at the chancel and entrance end (fig. 26). On the main floor, a large new pew at the front of the ritual south side of the central aisle belonged to John Macaulay, while the large old pew behind it, "Reserved for strangers," remained in the ownership of the Church. Across the aisle stood another large Church pew set aside on one side at the "Commandant" of the forces and the other for "Military families." Additional extra-large pews assessed at larger rates in the central section of the main floor belonged to J.S. Cartwright and across the aisle to D.J. Smith, while those near the chancel end of the ritual north aisle belonged to Dr. Sampson and John Kirby.¹⁰⁴ No wonder three of these gentlemen held positions on the building committee of 1825-1827 and three on that of 1839-1847.

The galleries held twenty-five new pews, ten on each side at the back near the side walls (replacing the open benches built in 1827 for those who could not afford pews). These had half the space of the original pews located at the chancel end and overlooking the central aisle. Five new pews stood beside the newly enlarged area for the choir and organ, standing on new floors built in the space earlier occupied by the old tower (fig. 27). The largest pew in the ritual south gallery served the Governor General and one of the large pews next to it was reserved for his staff; this gave added prestige to the galleries now made more accessible by the new circular stairs.

According to Coverdale's notes, the carpenters also spent a great deal of time conserving the old pews. This involved many tasks: repairing doors, locks, backs, seats, and the walnut "copping" that provided an elegant, rounded surface at the top of the doors and seat backs. In addition, the carpenters carried out considerable work in the chancel area. They took down the sounding board above the pulpit, made repairs to the pulpit, the reading desk in the chancel, a desk in one of the rooms

beside the chancel, and the doors to the vestry. A payment made to Waddingham showed that he installed a new “walnut base,” probably a raised floor, in the chancel. Coverdale supervised this work, including the renewal of the chancel area.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, no interior photograph clearly shows the changes made at the chancel end of the church in 1842.

A good deal of structural work took place in the gallery before removing the interior walls of the old tower. Both the beams supported by the tall Ionic columns in the nave and the floor joists of the gallery needed strong nine-foot extensions to receive support from the new wall at the ritual west end. Above the extended beams the carpenters built new braces that helped to support extensions of the nave ceilings and the roof. New joists in thirty-foot by eight-foot gap left by the demolition of the internal walls of the old tower supported new floors for new pews on both sides of the organ and new seats in the choir area. The carpenters also repaired the floors in other parts of the gallery, including the Governor General’s pew on the ritual south side gallery. Once the carpenters finished the gallery, Coverdale supervised decorative details such as adding a new entablature that matched the old on the beam supported by the tall Ionic columns and moving the old Ionic pilasters with their bases back to the new wall.¹⁰⁶

Except for some later additions, a photograph from c. 1866 (fig. 28) provides a good view of many of the changes in the nave, showing at the front the new pew added to the ritual north side of the central aisle (probably with front panels from 1827). The paint on the front panels and doors on the pews on the ground floor, along with the outward facing panels and mouldings on the galleries above, appears to match the colour scheme described for the pews of 1827. Moving back, this photo



FIG. 28. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, PHOTOGRAPH OF NAVE INTERIOR TOWARD THE RITUAL WEST, C. 1866. | SOURCE: QUA, DSC00894-024. PHOTO: JENNIFER MCKENDRY, 2019.

clearly displays the fluted Ionic columns and pilasters, the latter moved back to the new wall, all supporting an extended entablature that continued the old. At the back, it also shows the smaller fluted Ionic columns with angular capitals supporting the old, curved gallery and the towering organ purchased by the choir in 1842. Originally this portion of the gallery had two pews plus seats for a small choir. But the choir had expanded considerably under the leadership of Richard Gornall, an English musician appointed as organist and choir master in 1828, who also gave music lessons and tuned pianos.¹⁰⁷ Although this photograph shows the expanded back portion of the galleries after the removal of the inner wall of the old tower, the higher galleries seen looping to the sides of the organ came

into existence well after 1839-1847 and the gas lighting fixtures visible at various locations arrived in 1851 (fig. 28).

Three additional carpentry projects remained to complete the renovations and additions that Coverdale supervised in 1842: the construction of the woodwork in the belfry and clock stages, the building of a cupola roof on the clock stage, and the completion of ceilings and roof supports in the interior of all three vestibules. This work perished in the fire of 1899, but the stonework remains. However, Coverdale's notes show that he supervised “fixing circular stair to Gallery,” “Plastering ceiling,” “putting in two windows,” and many other tasks that this involved.¹⁰⁸ Floorplans drawn up by the Kingston architectural firm, Power and Son, that provided at least two

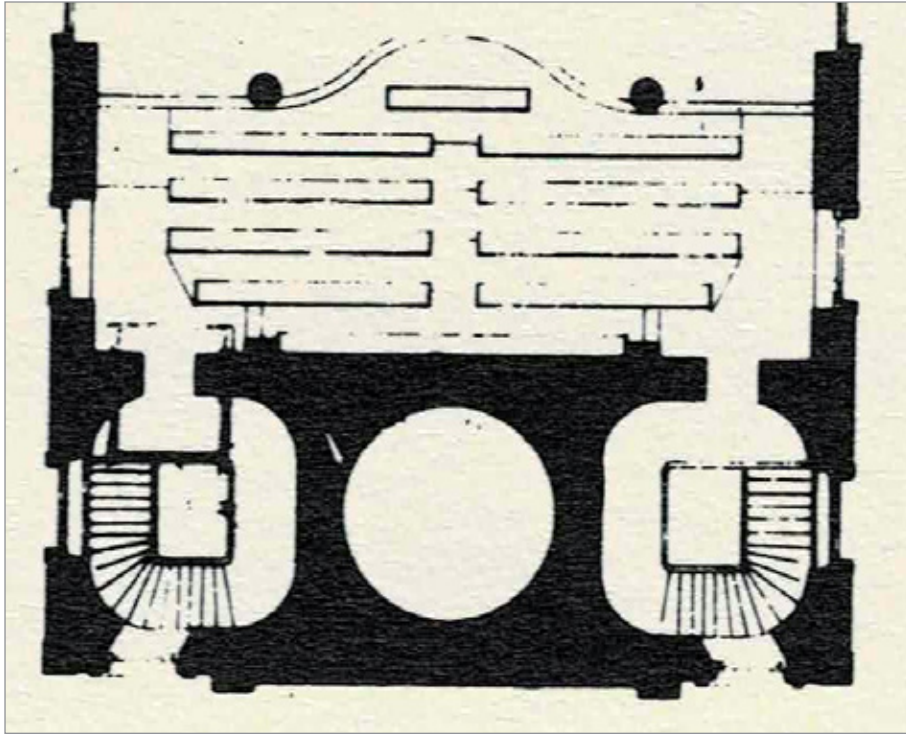


FIG. 29. POWER AND SON, "PLAN FOR EXTENSIONS & IMPROVEMENTS FOR ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, KINGSTON," 1890; DETAIL OF GALLERY LEVEL. | SOURCE: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA AS PRINTED IN STEWART, 1991, "GEORGE BROWNE'S INFLUENCE," P. 36, FIG. 8.

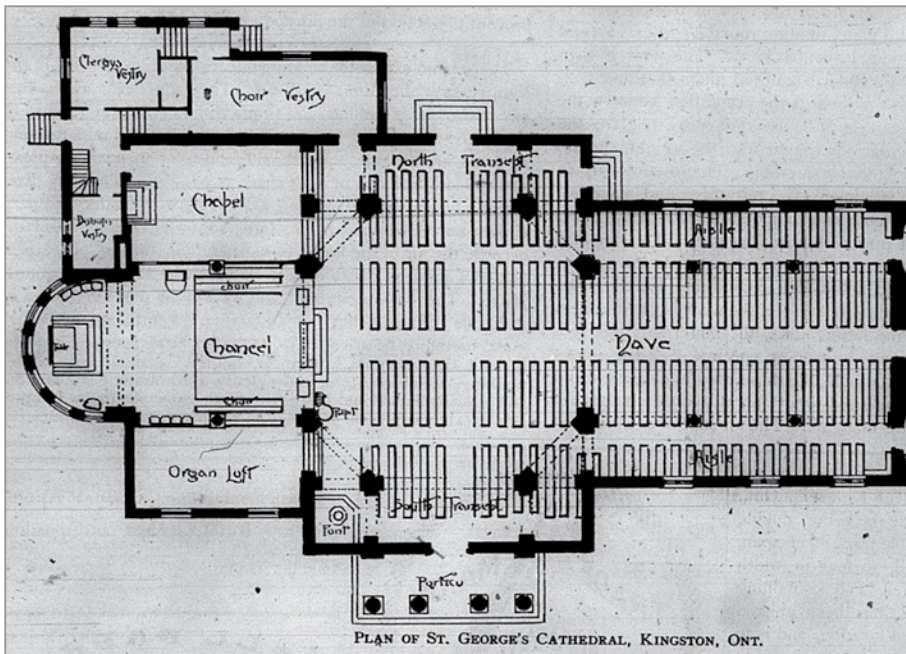


FIG. 30. POWER AND SON, FLOORPLAN OF ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, KINGSTON, 1891; DETAIL OF MAIN FLOOR VESTIBULES. | SOURCE: CANADIAN ARCHITECT AND BUILDER, VOL. 4, NO. 4, 1891, P. 51.

designs for extending the cathedral, give us a reasonable idea of how this portion of the vestibules looked. The best of these, the "Plan for Extensions & Improvements for St. George's Cathedral, Kingston," from 1890 provides an accurate depiction of the gallery level, showing the sloping sides of the window embrasures on the ritual west façade (fig. 29). However the corresponding ground plan of the main floor west façade does not include the passages from the central vestibule into the side vestibules and it inaccurately shows the passages leading to the exterior doors in the side vestibules as straight rather than slanted (fig. 30). Both plans portray the massive, curving walls of the side and central vestibules that still support the tower and roof. Coverdale's notes indicate that he supervised the interior construction. Since Coverdale replicated the exterior window surrounds of Rogers on the ritual north and south façades from 1825-1826, he may very well have followed those of Rogers for the new interior window and door frames. The openings for the new windows above the outside doors on the ritual west façade had a similar shape to those on the sides but would have different exterior surrounds built in 1842.

The woodwork from 1825-1827 and 1842 perished in the fire of 1899, including the galleries, pews, Ionic columns, and Ionic pilasters in the nave, along with the interior door frames, window frames, and circular stairs to the galleries in the vestibules. As a result, any attempt to describe the interior of the side vestibules must remain limited. Only the central "circular vestibule" mentioned by Coverdale, with its "masonry dome, with ribbed vaulting," survives and it looks like a modest forerunner of the ceiling of the octagonal antechamber at City Hall designed by Browne (fig. 31). In short, the spring and summer of 1842 saw a major push to finish the addition started in 1839 and



FIG. 31. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, 1842; DETAIL OF MASONRY DOME IN THE CIRCULAR VESTIBULE. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, NOVEMBER 2020.

complete the renovation of the interior of St. George's. This work marked the end of most of the construction needed to complete the plans of Coverdale and of the exterior stonework seen in the drawing of St. George's attributed to Browne's office. Only the purchase and installation of a clock and a raised *globus cruciger* (globe and cross) on top of the cupola remained.

A special meeting of the vestry took place on August 1, 1842, "in the Sunday School-House" following the public notice given "that the meeting would be held for the purpose of determining upon the sale of the new Pews, and the expediency of laying an extra rate upon each Pew, in order to provide means for painting the Church, and other incidental expences." The congregation continued to worship in the Midland Court House, as work on the church carried on. This sparsely attended meeting opened with a welcome announcement by Reverend Cartwright that "the claims of William Wilson, Esquire, and Mr. Matthews, the Carpenter, for putting the Church in mourning, upon the occasion of Lord Sydenham's funeral . . . had been fully settled, upon application to Major Campbell, acting on behalf of His Lordship's Heirs."¹⁰⁹ This took care of expenses that had remained unpaid for nearly a year. A series of motions carried out the systematic reorganization of pews envisaged earlier. The first

required "that the whole of the pews in the Church be renumbered anew in regular succession, and that, when requisite certificates be given to the several holders thereof, designating as well the old as the new numbers of the original pews." This renumbering appears on the pew plans illustrated above (figs. 26 and 27). The second provided that "the Churchwardens be authorized to sell, at public auction, after due notice to the highest bidder, so many of the new Pews, as it may be found necessary to . . . make up any deficiency . . . for paying the joiner . . . and defraying the expence of painting the church and other charges." This motion divided the new pews into six categories and specified an "upset" or reserve price for the pews listed in each category. The highest reserve prices were £25 and £20, but most were between £12/10/0 and £10/0/0.

The third motion employed the same pew categories to set rental rates for the current year which lasted until Easter 1843. These ranged from 30 to 75 shillings per annum per pew. The fourth motion on pews levied "for the purpose of meeting the expence of painting and colouring &c. an extra rent charge be laid upon each pew for the current year, payable immediately," and, using the same classification as earlier, laid out a scale of payment of 5, 10, or 15 shillings per pew. In addition, it

was moved by "Mr. Willard"—one of the church wardens—and carried: that because the "new organ contracted by the Choir will be ready for the Church in the course of next month, the Choir be authorized to dispose of the old organ and apply the proceeds to the payment of the account in the new one."¹¹⁰ All of these decisions incorporated the new pews into a new, systematic system of rates and rentals, with much of the accompanying manuscript evidence for this reorganization written in the hand of John Macaulay.

A special vestry meeting called for January 30, 1843, revealed that the cost of the interior and exterior work was exceeding the funds raised. The initiative for a solution came from two members of the building committee:

Upon the motion of T. Kirkpatrick Esquire, seconded by Mr. Nickalls it was unanimously resolved that the Church be authorised to effect a loan of five hundred (£500) pounds, secured upon the pew rents in order to enable the Building Committee to pay off the tradesmen employed to complete the Church, and also to enclose the grounds with a suitable fence.¹¹¹

The payment of the "tradesmen employed to complete the Church" would pave the way for the building committee to prepare to present its accounts to the vestry.

On March 20, 1843, a special meeting of vestry was held "for the purpose of receiving and finally auditing the accounts of the Building Committee." The meeting did not last long. After Archdeacon Stuart took the Chair: "Mr. Forsyth as Treasurer of the Building Committee laid before the Vestry the accounts in his hands, which were referred to a Committee composed of Messrs. Askew and Baker to examine and report upon Tomorrow."¹¹² On the following day, the committee made its report as follows:

The undersigned, being appointed to audit the accounts of the Building Committee of Saint George's Church for recent disbursements in enlarging, adding a new Porch, Pews and covering the said Church, **Report** that the sum of one thousand four hundred and ninety two pounds, sixteen shillings and ten pence had been paid to the following persons.

Carpenter work	paid	Waddingham		£535.19.8
Stone mason's	do	Carter & Oig, Columns for porch &c.	556.14.3	
Do	"	Do pointing the church	26.0.0	582.14.3
Do	"	John Craig for trimming Columns &c.		19.18.7
Plastering	"	Filey as per account		148.9.7
	"	Provincial Penitentiary for lime Rope &c		25.8.0
	"	J. Watkins etc. £8.7.3, C. Willard	£41.13.8	50.0.11
	"	Kingston Marine Railway		4.1.9
Blacksmith work	"	George Oliver		9.5.9
Painting	"	John Adams as per account		50.9.7
Do	"	Milo & Rogers		1.19.9
Tin	"	John Fraser		53.10.4
Rope	"	John Murray	£1.11.6	
Advertising	"	Chronicle & Gazette	1.17.11	3.9.5
Coverdale	"	for superintendence		7.17.0
				£1492.17.7

(signed),

Thomas Askew
George Baker

It also appears from Mr. Forsyth's general statement that the funds by means of which these accounts were paid were the following:

July 1, 1842	Donation by Rev. Mr. Herchmer	£1000 - -
February 14, 1843	Note of Churchwarden's endorsed by the Reverend	} 500 - -
	Mr. Cartwright @ 3 mfd, discounted at the office	
	of the Bank of British North America	
	Mr. Cartwright @ 3 mfd, discounted at the office	£1500- ¹¹³

Several firms from Kingston participated. Robert Waddingham, senior, carried out the large contract for carpentry, which must have included the pews, the extended joists, the extended beams, the floors in the gallery, the doors and interior surrounds of the new entrances, and the repair of the pulpit, reading desk, and new walnut floor of the chancel. It also included woodwork in the tower and probably the entablature and pediment of the Tuscan portico. Waddingham received three listings in the Kingston section of the *Canada Directory* of 1851: under Builders and Carpenters, as the owner of a "steam plan[n]ing mill with upright and circular saws, and lumber yard," and as a city councillor for Sydenham Ward.¹¹⁴ The plasterer, William Filey, who would also do the elegant and elaborate plastering of Kingston City Hall, received a listing under "MASONS, PLASTERERS, &c." in the same book.¹¹⁵ The hardware merchant John Fraser sold the tin used to cover the roof.¹¹⁶ One of the current wardens of St. George's, Charles Willard, received payment for the hinges, locks, and other hardware for the new pews.¹¹⁷

The stonework made up the largest cost. It included the special Tuscan columns for the portico, the Corinthian columns, capitals, and entablature for the belfry, plus the exterior stonework of the ritual west façade and tower. Carter and Oig did most of the work and some additional pointing for a total of £582/14/3, and John Craig received £9/18/7 for "trimming Columns, &c." presumably on the belfry stage, which brought the cost of the stonework up to £602/12/10, nearly £67 more than Waddingham received for the complex extensive interior carpentry carried out by his firm. Unlike the stone mason used by Coverdale in 1839 (the local Robert Matthews), those in 1843-1843 came from outside, like many people during the Capital period.¹¹⁸ So did the



FIG. 32. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE WITH PORTICO AND TOWER 1842-1847. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 33. KINGSTON CITY HALL; DETAIL OF TUSCAN PORTICO COLUMN, 1843-1844. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, JANUARY 2021.

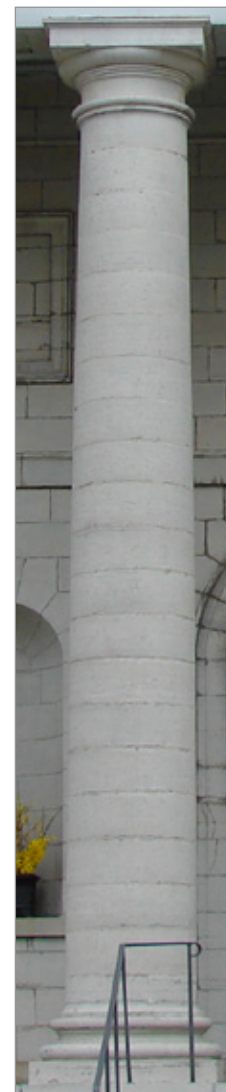


FIG. 34. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH; DETAIL OF MODIFIED TUSCAN COLUMN, 1842. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, JANUARY 2021.

Montreal cabinet makers J. & W. Hilton and the upholsterer Edmund Baird who received payments of £29/18/2½ for “fitting up Maj. General’s Pew, the Chancel, altering book boards of desk &c.” on March 7, and £15/17/6 for “fitting up choir seats &c.” on April 5, 1843.¹¹⁹ This probably referred to the carpeting and upholstery done for the Major General’s pew and new seating for the choir in the gallery and cabinetry work on the reading desk and pulpit in the chancel on the main floor.¹²⁰ Coverdale received a payment of £7/17/0 “for superintendence” in the building committee account audited in March 1843, and on April 17, 1843, the “balance due him by Building Committee paid him in full £17/10/0.”¹²¹

As in the drawing attributed to Browne’s office and in the built work, the new Tuscan ritual west façade with its portico as built incorporates Ionic features from the earlier building into what looks like a unified design (fig. 32). Stewart elegantly described this design in the following words:

The integration of the Tuscan and the Ionic on the new façade of St. George’s is sophisticated. The Ionic dentils of the side elevation carry over to the new front, including the entablature of the portico and its pediment. But the architrave of the portico has a single face, in the Tuscan fashion, not two or three as in the Ionic. The capitals are Tuscan, but the proportions of the columns are rather

too slender for Tuscan, inevitably because Rogers had set up this space for Ionic columns. But this impression of height is partly masked by the base mouldings, which are twin rings, not the single torus moulding of Tuscan.¹²²

Unlike the Tuscan porticos at Rockwood Villa, Kingston City Hall, and the Provincial Penitentiary, the Tuscan portico at St. George’s had to integrate with an existing Ionic building. Browne accomplished this by using Tuscan columns one half a diameter taller than normal (figs. 33 and 34), an Ionic base (fig. 35), and a capital based upon that Scamozzi as illustrated by Ware, with an additional *filet* below the *echinus* (fig. 36).¹²³ The

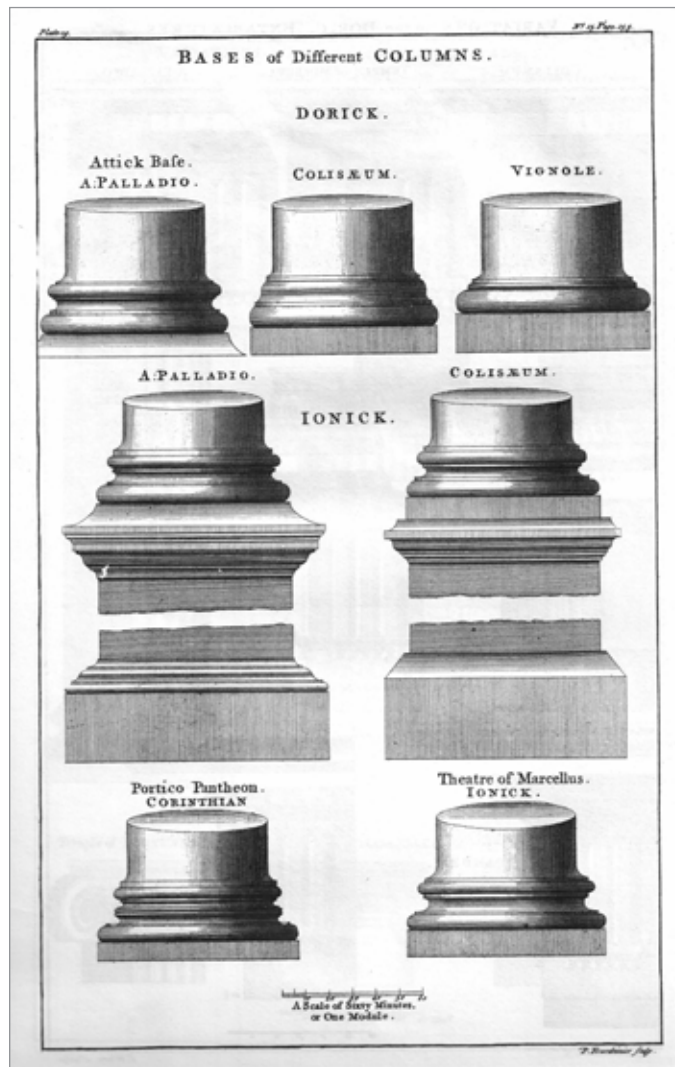


FIG. 35. "BASES OF DIFFERENT COLUMNS/ IONICK/ A. PALLADIO." | SOURCE: WARE, *BODY OF ARCHITECTURE*, 1756; DETAIL OF PLATE 19, BETWEEN P. 154 AND 155, AS REPRINTED BY GREG INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS ENGLAND, 1971..

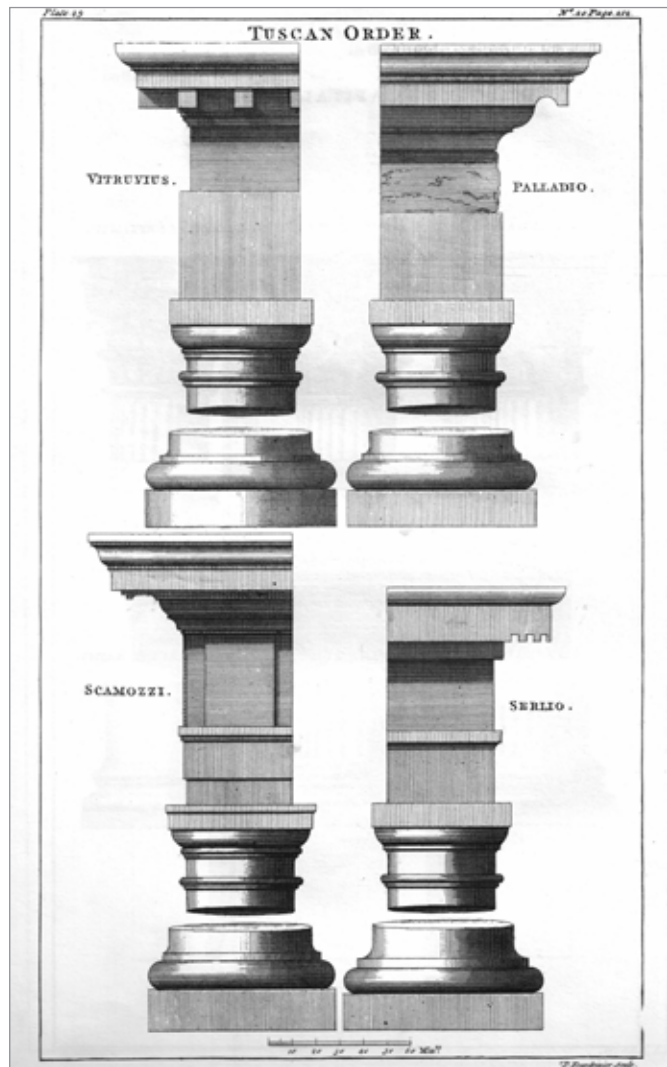


FIG. 36. "TUSCAN ORDER/ SCAMOZZI." | SOURCE: WARE, *BODY OF ARCHITECTURE*, 1756; DETAIL OF PLATE 25, BETWEEN P. 212 AND 213, AS REPRINTED BY GREG INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS ENGLAND, 1971..

wooden entablature with its plain architrave and frieze makes this portico Tuscan, even with its Ionic dentils. According to Palladio and his English followers, only the Tuscan order could properly support a wooden entablature on stone columns.¹²⁴

The columns at St. George's rest firmly "on the stylobate of stone steps" built originally by Rogers for his Ionian portico, but now rebuilt, moved forward, and widened to fit the new addition. The new stylobate included "projecting bases at the corner columns" that, "together

with the powerfully modelled pilaster responds of the portico," act to "clearly mark off the boundaries of the nave from the aisles (fig. 37)."¹²⁵ It helped to create a much more dramatic opening for the ritual west façade. Most of the ashlar limestone laid in 1842-1843 still exists, even though marred by some repairs on the tower that match neither the size nor finish of the originals. Judging from its texture and even grey colour, the stones in pillars of the portico, the parapets, and the tower appear to derive from the same quarry. The stone used in 1842

varies noticeably from both the large rectangular blocks laid in the ritual south and north façades of 1825-1827 and the side walls of the addition started in 1839. Many of the grey stones of the outside of the nave and its continuation have tan or beige tones that contrast noticeably with the uniform light grey of the newer stonework (fig. 16 above and fig. 38).

It took skilled masons to create and trim the columns with their capitals, shape the many stones for the door and window surrounds, form the niches on the first level



FIG. 37. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF STONEMWORK ON FAÇADE, PORTICO, AND STYLOBATE. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, APRIL 2021.

of ritual west façade, and the rectangular frames on the second level (fig. 37). Neither Coverdale nor Browne left any record of supervising the stonework on the ritual west façade or the tower. This means that attribution of responsibility for supervising these portions of the work carried out in 1842-1843 remains more tenuous than for the interior, where both the vestry records and especially Coverdale's notebooks confirm his meticulous guidance. The skilled masons probably worked from the architect's elevations, but these have not survived. This means that the drawing of St. George's, attributed to the office of Browne, probably provides the earliest source for the design of the built structure for this portion of the addition.

With the structural walls already in place, the exterior of the ritual west façade consists of a decorative layer of ashlar limestone. The masons laid the beautiful stonework of the walls in unified courses,

including the pilaster responds to the Tuscan columns, but with the exception of the narrower raised string course that divided the lower from the upper stage of the central section and the voussoirs above the arched central door, the windows, and the niches (figs. 37, 43 and 44). The door and window surrounds have raised mouldings of two levels around the outer edges—a *fillet* on the outside followed by an *ogee*—as well as a wider smooth inner surface, all carved into individual blocks of stone (figs. 39, 40, and 41). Seamlessly forming the plain surrounds of the doors and windows took considerable skill because the masons cut matching mouldings into twenty-seven stones—including eleven voussoirs—for each window and nineteen stones for each side door. Not only the top faces, but also the inner sides of these stones needed to match the others perfectly to create a feeling of flow. The side doors have plain friezes cut from a single block



FIG. 38. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH; DETAIL OF STONEMWORK ON RITUAL SOUTH (1839-1841) AND WEST (1842) FAÇADES. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.

of stone that support wider, raised cornices also from a single block of stone (fig. 42).¹²⁶ The centre door has a wider surround similar in shape to those of the windows. It contains thirty-one stones, including sixteen voussoirs and a large, elevated keystone at the top (fig. 44). Each side of the door surrounds has a wider stone at the bottom to act as a base (figs. 39 and 44). Except for the Corinthian columns on the belfry, the uniform colour and working of the stone in the Tuscan columns, the ritual west façade, the belfry, and the clock stage provides evidence that the same masons finished these structures in 1842.

Above the face of this façade, a series of three stone parapets with cornices mark a transition between the peak of the portico and the octagonal base of the new tower. The central parapet is both taller and wider than those on the sides, but the "outside parapets have been



FIG. 39. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF SIDE DOOR AND SURROUND. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 40. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF OUTER FACE OF DOOR SURROUND ON SIDE DOOR. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 41. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF WINDOW SURROUND AND WALL STONEMWORK. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 42. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF INNER FACR OF SURROUND ON SIDE DOOR. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 43. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF DOOR SURROUND AND ENTABLATURE OF SIDE DOOR. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 44. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF CENTRE DOOR AND SURROUND. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MAY 2020.



FIG. 45. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, PORTICO AND RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842; DETAIL OF ENTABLATURE AND PARAPETS. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, JANUARY 2020.

sculpted with half balusters, increasing the feeling of depth and play of light and shade (fig. 45).¹²⁷ Berczy used a parapet at Christ Church, Montreal, but it was the same height across the whole façade and had recessed panels to break up the surface instead of recessed half balusters. That at St. George's provides a more dynamic and interesting solution.

Coverdale probably had supervised the erection of the structure of the base stage of the tower by May 1841 and he had also designed a tower that probably had base, belfry, and clock stages. He may have placed the clock stage lower on the tower, as had Rogers in 1825, and as had Gibbs in most of his church plans. However, the drawing attributed to the office of Browne provides a reasonably clear overall image of the upper stages of the tower as built and contains details that mirror some of those of the façade below (compare fig. 24 with fig. 46). The pattern of the upper stages of the tower in the drawing and the building

bears a strong resemblance to that of a Doric "Chapel" that appeared in Peter Nicholson, *The Practical Builder* (1823), in subsequent editions with a modified title, and in a simplified version in Hills, *The Builders Guide* (1836). Above an octagonal base, these show a tall, cylindrical belfry divided by eight Doric pilasters, pierced by four arched openings with louvers, a substantial Doric entablature, and an octagonal clock stage "with a cornice and continued ornament above similar to that on the top of the cornice of the Monument of Lysicrates" (fig. 47).¹²⁸ Browne changed the Doric pilasters of the belfry into Corinthian columns, made the stonework of the belfry more distinctive, and placed an impressive Corinthian entablature at the top of the belfry. Most of the features of the drawing made by Browne's office ended up in the built structure, but some had minor modifications. The belfry, clock, and cupola crowned by a *globus cruciger* all rested on a substantial octagonal tower as the base, finished at the same time.

The octagonal first stage of the tower has walls of ashlar with raised quoins at its corners, a string course as a plain architrave and a narrow, but widely overhanging cornice that consists of a thin *cymatium* bed mould that supports a taller and wider corona that flares at the top (fig. 46). The next three courses of stone—the first octagonal, the next two circular steps—act as a transition to the belfry which now has a covering of copper on the base, the plinths, and part of the first torus of the eight Corinthian columns. Each column has a double torus, a smooth shaft, and a capital modelled on that of Palladio, all of honey coloured stone (figs. 46 and 48). Browne probably drew upon the engraving of Mansion House London in his copy of volume four of *Vitruvius Britannicus* for the Corinthian capitals and entablature of the belfry, except for the sturdier corbels that support a substantial, stone cornice (figs. 48, 49, 50, and 52).¹²⁹



FIG. 46. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, TOWER, 1841-1847. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MARCH 2022.

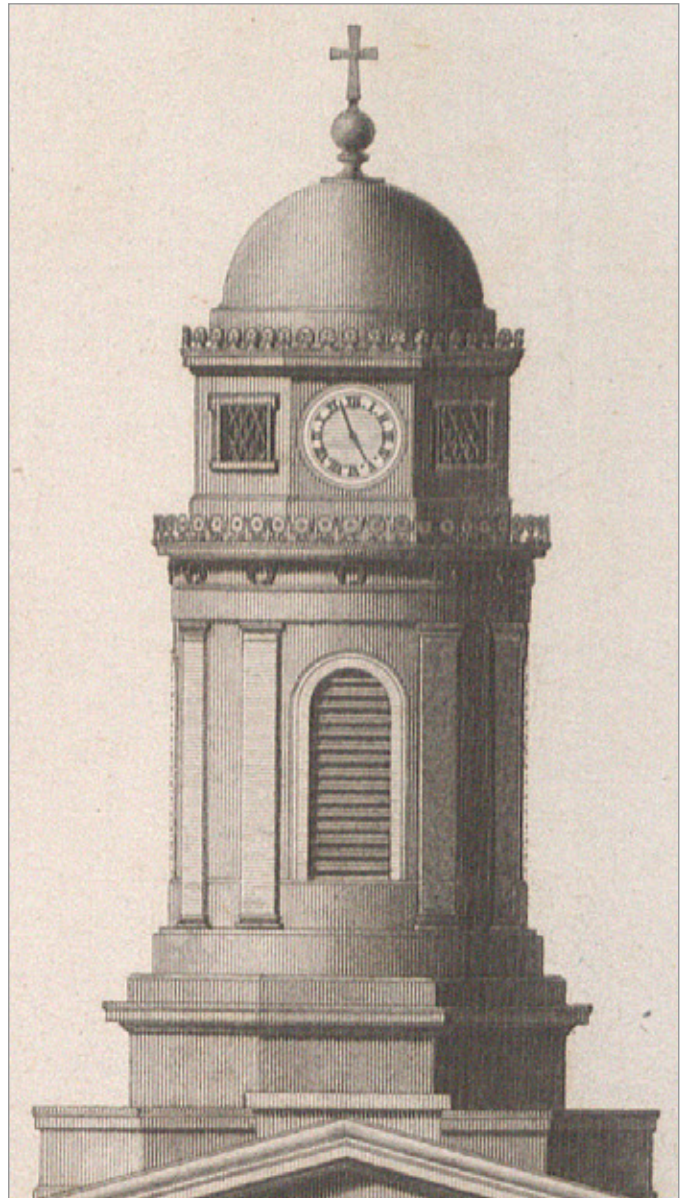


FIG. 47. "PRINCIPAL ELEVATION OF" A "CHAPEL"; DETAIL OF TOWER. | SOURCE: NICHOLSON, *THE NEW PRACTICAL BUILDER*, 1823, VOL. 2, BUILDING SECTION, PLATE 23; INSCRIBED: "DESIGNED & DRAWN BY M.A. NICHOLSON," "ENGRAVED IN STEEL BY A. DICK," AND "LONDON, PUBLISHED BY THOS KELLY, 17 PATERNOSTER ROW, MARCH 1824."



FIG. 48. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, BELFRY, 1842; DETAIL OF CORINTHIAN COLUMNS AND ENTABLATURE. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, JULY 2022.



FIG. 49. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, BELFRY, 1842; DETAIL OF CORINTHIAN CAPITALS AND ENTABLATURE. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, JULY 2022.

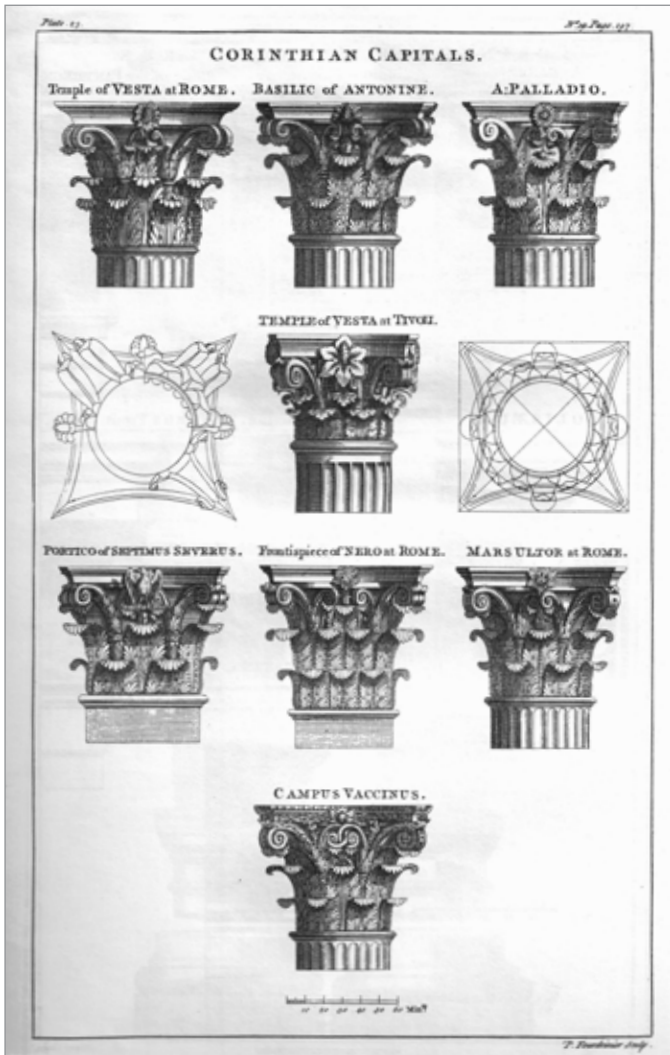


FIG. 50. CORINTHIAN CAPITALS / A. PALLADIO. | WARE, *BODY OF ARCHITECTURE*; DETAIL OF PLATE 23, BETWEEN P. 196 AND 197, AS REPRINTED BY GREG INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS ENGLAND, 1971.



FIG. 51. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH; DETAIL OF NICHE ON RITUAL WEST FAÇADE, 1842. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, AUGUST 2022

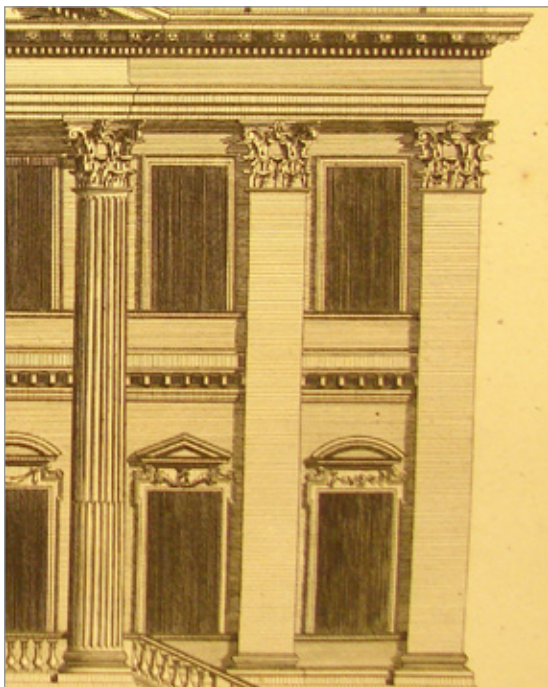


FIG. 52. MANSION HOUSE LONDON, DETAIL OF ENTRANCE FAÇADE. | SOURCE: WOOLFE AND GANDON, *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*, 1767, VOL. 4, PLATE 42; W.D. JORDAN RARE BOOKS, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, MARCH 2022.



FIG. 53. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, DETAIL OF CLOCK STAGE AND CUPOLA (C. 1842-1847) OF TOWER. | PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, NOVEMBER 2020.

The body of the belfry consists of a cylinder constructed of three courses of large smooth jointed curved grey ashlar and eleven courses of wider jointed, grooved, smaller ashlar stones. Four arched, louvered openings stand at intervals between the columns. The stonework of their extended voussoirs mirrors those above the windows and niches on the ritual west façade (figs. 43, 48, 49, and 51). The pillars are slightly set into the three bottom courses and support a circular, Corinthian entablature. It consists of a short course of large, curved ashlar stones that bend from the centre of the top of one capital to the centre of the next as the *abacus*, a taller course of ashlar of the same configuration with a small *ogee* moulding on top as the architrave, followed by a wider course of ashlar as the frieze, and a larger *ogee* moulding supporting corbels that provide actual support for the substantial cornice at the top. These corbels differ from those illustrated by Ware as they have a long side along the wider cylinder of the belfry above the architrave that probably forms part of the fabric of the wall and a long side under the cornice that also curves down to create double outward faces that catch the sun. The cornice extends beyond the width of the supporting courses and consists of a plain bed mould divided by a fillet supporting a *cymatium* at the top (figs. 48 and 49). It should not be surprising that the architect of Kingston City Hall, who employed “great bold cornice blocks” of stone “weighing some 400 pounds apiece” that first glance from the front look like dentils, but reach back into the fabric of the walls for support, should design unusual corbels to support an overhanging Corinthian cornice high on a tower.¹³⁰ Inside the belfry, carpenters under the supervision of Coverdale built the oak frame for a bell and the louvers in the arched openings.¹³¹ The belfry in

the drawing differs slightly from the built one by showing a circular rather than octagonal course at the bottom, fourteen courses of grooved ashlar stones above, and a more modest cornice.

Above the belfry stands the clock stage of the tower. As built, two circular stepped courses of ashlar provide a transition from the wider circular cornice of the belfry to the octagonal smooth grey ashlar body of the clock stage. Four sides have round clock openings that have round stone surrounds that alternate on the other four sides with square openings. The mouldings on the square openings have prominent stone sills at the bottom and solid stone surrounds on the sides and top that mirror, on a smaller scale, those on the surrounds of side doors on the ritual west façade below. At the top, the clock stage has a plain frieze finished by an octagonal cornice that supports a curved octagonal cupola made of wood and originally covered with a tin roof (fig. 53). The drawing from Browne’s office shows the clock stage as having one round and two octagonal stepped courses at the bottom, higher walls below the openings, more reticent surrounds around the square openings, and a “square moulding around the circular one around the clock” (see fig. 24).¹³² Carpenters supervised by Coverdale installed shutters in the square openings and probably placed temporary wooden fillers in the clock openings. They also constructed the wooden frame of the cupola and its tin covering.¹³³ This completed the carpentry and stonework of the tower. The built stages of the tower did not fully follow the details portrayed in the drawing, probably because of changes that took place during its construction.

The annual meeting of vestry held on April 17, 1843, dealt with a good number of issues related to the work carried out on pews in the previous year and on the

financial affairs of the church that derived from the cost of construction. The vestry passed a series of motions to deal with the rental of the new pews, adjusting the price downward for pews 19 and 20 on the ground floor because they had “Pilasters in them” and the same for pew 100 in the gallery because it was “also rendered less commodious by a Pilaster,” pews 97 and 103 (next to the choir in the gallery) were reduced to a rent of 30 shillings per year, and pews 97 and 103, “being situated in the corners near the Gallery Doors are not so desirable as others near them, & therefore shall be hereafter, subject to the reduced rent of 20/[shillings] only.” Another motion provided more seating for the expanded choir in the central gallery: “That the accommodation for the choir be enlarged by reducing the size of pews No. 76 & 77 [101 and 102 in the new numbering], the rents of which shall be reduced by the Church Wardens correspondingly.” After the “Hon. John McAulay [*sic*] laid before the Meeting a memorandum on the finances of the church,” a motion was passed “that the extra rent” on pews “shall be continued during current year.”¹³⁴

Another motion expressed warm thanks for the generous financial contributions recently made by Archdeacon Stuart and Reverend Herchmer and “impowered” the church wardens to commission a stone plaque to commemorate their “pious munificence”:

Whereas by means of Donations of £500 from the Venerable Doctor Stuart, Rector of this Parish, & of £1000 from the Rev. Wm Herchemer M.A. the Vestry have been materially aided in completing the Portico & finishing the interior of the Church; whereas it is fit & proper that the Congregation, by some permanent memorial, should mark their sense of these acts of pious munificence; Resolved:

That the Church Wardens be hereby impowered & requested to obtain estimates & plans for a Tablet of Kingston stone, or marble, with a suitable inscription commemorative of the above mentioned Donations, to be placed in some conspicuous place, at the entrance of the Church, & to submit the same at a special meeting for the inspection & approval of the vestry.¹³⁵

This would take some time to carry out, as testified by a second motion passed on the same topic two years later, but eventually it appeared.

In addition, the wardens brought to the attention of the members of vestry the precarious health of their Assistant Minister, Reverend Cartwright, who had chaired the building committee, as well as doing so much more at St. George's, and it was resolved:

That the members of the Vestry here assembled cannot allow the present occasion to pass, without expressing their profound regret for the delicate health of their zealous & devoted assistant minister, the Revd. Mr. Cartwright firmly hoping, at the same time, that under the Blessings of God's good Providence, his contemplated sojourn in another climate, may have the auspicious effect of restoring him, after a season, with renewed vigour, to his valued Parochial ministrations, & to the society of his Relations & Friends. And that this Resolution be communicated to the Revd. Mr. Cartwright by the Church Wardens.¹³⁶

The trip to "another climate" to repair his health never took place, for slightly over a month later, on May 24, 1843, Reverend Cartwright would die at the age of 38 years and 7 months. His wife, Harriet Dobbs Cartwright, one daughter, and three sons survived him.¹³⁷



FIG. 54. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, INTERIOR PHOTOGRAPH TOWARD THE CHANCEL, C. 1874-1891. | SOURCE: SWAINSON (ED.), *ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL*, P. 32, FIG. 1.

At the vestry meeting of April 8, 1844, several developments took place both to further improve worship at St. George's and to provide a proper memorial for the late Reverend Cartwright. The vestry extended "the thanks of the Pew Holders & Congregation" to "Rob[er]t Jackson Esq for his having liberally provided two tablets for the Chancel of the Church." These tall "tablets," placed on the interior of the apse on each side of the large central window, contained the words of three key texts expounded in the Anglican Catechism, with that on the ritual south displaying the words of the Ten Commandments and that on the ritual north the words of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed (fig. 54).¹³⁸ The vestry created a new position to employ a man "to ring the Church Bell & attend the Choir" at an annual salary of £7/10/0.¹³⁹

After a rousing speech, the Honourable "Mr. DeBlaquiere" moved that St. George's take the initiative to raise funds to build an additional Anglican church on the location of the Lower Burial Ground as a "permanent testimonial" to "our lamented & most respected Assistant Minister the Late Rev. Rob[er]t Cartwright," and for this purpose appointed Reverend Herchmer to solicit subscriptions in England, "Mrs. Robert Cartwright" in Ireland, and a large committee in British North America:

That the Venerable the Archdeacon of Kingston, the Rev[eren]d Mr Herchimer [*sic*], the Rev[eren]d Mr Bartlett & the Rev[eren]d R.V. Rogers with the Churchwardens do form a Committee, with power to add to their numbers such Lay Members as they may appoint, for the purpose of forthwith Soliciting Subscriptions & performing what may be necessary in order to carry this Resolution into effect.¹⁴⁰

This initiative would lead to the building of St. Paul's Anglican church in 1845-1846. However, these expenses, along with the difficulty repaying the £500 borrowed in 1843, postponed finishing the new tower at St. George's.

The loan taken out by the vestry to finish paying off the work done in 1842-1843 continued until 1845 when Archdeacon Stewart made another gift of £500 to pay off this burden. At the annual meeting held on March 24, 1845, the "Hon. Mr. Macaulay moved, seconded by Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick, That, adverting to that part of the Church Warden's Report on the subject, the thanks of this meeting be given to the Archdeacon for his liberality in appropriating a part of the proceeds of the Church Glebe towards paying off the Church Debt."¹⁴¹ Another motion also passed: "That the thanks of the Vestry be given to Noble Palmer, Esq., for the liberal present of the very handsome font now placed in the Chancel."¹⁴² On June 14, 1845, a payment of £5 was made to "Wm. Coverdale, Architect," for unspecified services.¹⁴³ In the next annual vestry meeting held on April 15, 1846, it was "Moved by J.R. Forsyth, Esq., seconded by Tho[ma]s Askew, Esq.: That the thanks of the Congregation be tendered to the Venerable Archdeacon Stuart for his extreme liberality in liquidating for the second time a Debt of £500 incurred for the alteration and improvements of St. George's Church and without whose assistance the funds of the Church would now have been greatly embarrassed."¹⁴⁴

In the annual vestry meeting of April 5, 1847, it was "Ordered That the Clock presented by Mr. Justice Hagerman for the use of the Inhabitants of the City be put up in the steeple immediately under the direction of the Church Officers."¹⁴⁵ And at a special vestry meeting held a week later, it was "Moved by Mr. Forsyth, seconded



FIG. 55. ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, C. 1862. | SOURCE: ADOA. PHOTO: PAUL CHRISTIANSON, NOVEMBER 2008.

by Mr. H. Gildersleeve: That it is expedient to complete the steeple of St. George's Church forthwith—Carried." Following, a motion passed: "That a subscription list be opened to defray the expenses of completing the spire" and "the Rector, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Forsythe, Major Sadlier, [and] Mr. Glassup [one of the church wardens] be a sub-committee to report at a subsequent meeting upon the model and expense of the spire." In addition, "Major Sadlier, Askew, and Muckleston be a committee to solicit subscriptions."¹⁴⁶

If the committee had met to discuss a spire, it would have found that the existing plan topped the cupola with a considerably less expensive alternative than a spire, a *globus cruciger*, a symbol of the triumph of Christianity over the world and of imperial power since the Middle Ages. Although the vestry book of St. George's contains no record of payments for this work, it seems likely that it proceeded, for the globe and cross crown the cupola in a photograph of St. George's from c. 1862 (fig. 55).¹⁴⁷

It took slightly over ten years to carry out the changes to St. George's Anglican Church that still grace its ritual west façade and tower. At the meeting of May 9, 1837, the vestry took the decision to take down and rebuild the tower. On May 12, 1847, the vestry made plans to finish the tower. Between those two meetings, the nature of the project changed more than once. In 1839, vestry approved plans drawn up by William Coverdale (rather than Thomas Rogers) for extending the existing walls by a bay and building a new tower. The design contained two side vestibules and a central narthex with thick walls to support a stone tower. Coverdale probably supervised the work on this project starting in 1839, building the sides and the structure of the vestibules, narthex, and first stage of the tower by late May 1841. In early 1840, Archdeacon Stuart and Assistant Minister Cartwright announced plans to raise funds by subscription to build a portico, something that Rogers had designed in 1825, but the subscription failed and even a gift of £500 by Archdeacon Stuart was spent on portions of the plan approved in 1839. Coverdale's sophisticated plan included better access for worshippers and a properly supported stone tower. The work that he designed and supervised at St. George's marked a major step in his career as an architect.

Even though it represented only one of many architectural projects in the Kingston area carried out by George Browne in 1841-1844, the exterior work that he probably designed for St. George's in late 1841 to early 1842 represented an important project for him, as well. It marked a transition from the innovative residential and commercial buildings of 1841 to the modification of the design of a substantial piece of classical public architecture. His design for the portico and exterior of the ritual west façade—surviving in the existing drawing of how

St. George's would look attributed to Browne's office—may well have helped him win the competition held for the best design of Kingston City Hall. His original and revised architectural drawings from 1842 placed first in the competitions held by the city for this building. The existing drawing of 1842 attributed to Browne's office provided an overall view of several façades of the building for which "*The Right Hon[ourable] Sir CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE, Bart. &c. GOVERNOR [sic] GENERAL OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA Laid the first stone*" on June 24, 1843, the City Hall and Market Buildings of Kingston.¹⁴⁸ Ironically, Browne would not supervise the latter stages of the construction of his masterpiece. As government architect, he moved to Montreal in 1844. After his initial denigration of Coverdale's abilities in a letter of 1841, Browne came to appreciate Coverdale's skills in the succeeding years and appointed him as the supervising architect in the construction of the City Hall and Market, a responsibility that greatly further enhanced the latter's reputation as an architect and builder.¹⁴⁹ At St. George's Anglican Church, despite the difficulties along the way, the demolition and construction carried out from 1837 to 1847 produced a very well-designed, workable, and prestigious classical entrance for the parishioners and visitors that continues to serve that purpose to this day.

NOTES

1. This article is dedicated to the memory of Mary Fraser, a descendent of William Coverdale and a wonderful person who worked in Queen's Art Department of for many years. She published an early article on Coverdale and donated the Coverdale Family fonds to the Queen's University Archives and Coverdale's architectural books to the W.H. Jordan Rare Books and Special Collections, Queen's University Library. I would also like to thank several people who

generously helped in the creation of this article. Jennifer McKendry shared and helped me interpret several crucial sources. Marjorie and Arthur Keats of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives made possible much of the research. Both Pierre du Prey and Jennifer McKendry read and commented upon earlier drafts, and my wife, Jane Baldwin, read over the final draft. Their generous help considerably improved the text.

2. Varty, Carmen Nielson, 1998, "Building Identities: St. George's Anglican Churches, Kingston, Upper Canada 1792-1826," *Canadian Society of Church History: Historical Papers*, p. 112-128, at p. 116; and Christianson, Paul, 2020, "The Second St. George's Anglican Church, Kingston, Upper Canada, 1822-1828," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (JSSAC/JSÉAC)*, vol. 45, no. 1, p. 42-62, at p. 47. For Rogers, see Stewart, J. Douglas, 2000, "Rogers, Thomas," *Online Dictionary of Canadian Biography (ODCB)*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rogers_thomas_8E.html], accessed February 2007; and McKendry, Jennifer, 2019, *Architects Working in the Kingston Region 1820-1920*, Kingston, Jennifer McKendry, p. 100.
3. *Upper Canada Herald*, November 27, 1827, p. 129, col. 3.
4. For the quotation, see the *Kingston Chronicle*, May 1, 1830, p. 2, col. 6 and p. 3, col. 1. For the criticism of the engineers, see the letter from "AN ARCHITECT" in the *Kingston Chronicle*, June 12, 1830, where the author notes that: "The royal engineers I have understood have frequently declared that the Tower of St. George's Church in this town must fall on account of its *bad* construction, and bad architecture" and contrasts its structure to that of a segment of the Rideau Canal: "Whilst St. George's Tower stands firm, denying both storms and tempests," the "mighty Hogs-back is tumbled down, hardly having one stone upon another." The second St. George's had a rectangular stone tower of several stages topped by a cupola, while the other large stone places of worship in the Anglican Diocese of Quebec built earlier, Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec, and Christ Church, Montreal, also had central towers, but theirs were topped by tall, pointed, wooden steeples. See Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 50-54 and figs. 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.
5. Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives (ADOA), 2-KM-5, St. George's Vestry Book 1835-1849, April 20, 1835. Hill was appointed one of the church wardens, as well, at this meeting.

6. *Id.*, April 3, 1836.
7. *Chronicle & Gazette*, September 3, 1836, p. 2, col. 6. To which, the editor replied: "St. Georges Church bell will soon be up—."
8. ADOA, 2-KM-5 March 27, 1837.
9. *Id.*, May 9, 1837.
10. A practicing lawyer, Smith was also active in real estate, banking, insurance, and the ownership of steamboats; he served as a major in the Militia, participated in the Midland Agricultural Society, and, in 1840, became treasurer of the Midland District. See Reid, Colin and Ronald J. Stagg (eds.), 1985, *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada*, Toronto, Champlain Society in cooperation with the Ontario Heritage Foundation, p. 276, note 61. For other positions held by Smith, see Palmer, Bryan D., 1980, "Kingston Mechanics and the Rise of the Penitentiary, 1833-36," *Histoire sociale / Social History*, vol. 13, no. 28, p. 31, #38. Smith died on December 5, 1848, at the age of 52, "one of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of Kingston." *Chronicle & Gazette*, December 6, 1848, p. 3, col. 3.
- Even before his call to the bar in 1824, Nickalls had obtained valuable administrative experience as clerk of the Land Board for the Midland District; promoted to lieutenant in the Frontenac Militia in 1821, he became clerk of the peace in the Midland District in 1826 and held this position until his death in April 1851. Nickalls also edited and revised the substantial collection: *The Statutes of the Province of Upper Canada*, Kingston, Upper Canada, Hugh C. Thomson and Macfarlane, 1831. A Tory who supported the candidacy of Christopher Hagerman and the young John Alexander Macdonald, Nickalls held many positions in Kingston from vice-president, then president of the Kingston Mechanics Institute to a commissioner of the Provincial Penitentiary to a director of the Commercial Bank of Upper Canada. See Palmer, "Kingston Mechanics, 1833-36," p. 32, #54; Angus, Margaret, 1966, *The Old Stones of Kingston: Its Buildings Before 1867*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 42; the *Kingston Chronicle*, June 20, 1820, p. 1, col. 1; December 8, 1820, p. 1, col. 3; October 5, 1821, p. 2, col. 5; May 18, 1827, p. 1, cols. 2 and 3; *Chronicle & Gazette*, April 12, 1834, p. 3, col. 1; April 9, 1842, p. 3, col. 1; the *British Whig*, June 14, 1847, p. 2, col. 7; December 2, 1848, p. 3, col. 5; and the *Daily British Whig*, April 22, 1851, p. 2, col. 2.
11. Cartwright and his twin brother, Robert David, who became the Assistant Minister of St. George's, were born September 17, 1804. They came from a Loyalist family, studied at the Midland Grammar School, and both had received a higher education in England, John at Lincoln's Inn, London, and Robert at Queen's College, Oxford. John held office as a Tory. See Stewart, J. Douglas and Mary Stewart, 2000, "Cartwright, John Solomon," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cartwright_john_solomon_7E.html], accessed February 2007; and Ruggle, Richard E., 2017, "Cartwright, Robert David," in *Anglican Clergy of Upper Canada / Canada West / Ontario Ordained Before 1932*, n.p., [<http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/on/>], accessed December 2019; Ruggle's valuable work lists the clergy alphabetically by last name.
- Kirkpatrick, the fourth son of the high sheriff of the City and County of Dublin, was born in 1805 and came to Canada in 1823, "read law in the office of Christopher Hagerman" (a prominent Tory), became the collector of customs in Kingston, and was elected as the first mayor of Kingston in 1838, but was "disqualified as a non-resident" because his large home, St. Helen's, stood outside of the town limits. See Magill, M.L., 2000, "Kirkpatrick, Thomas," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kirkpatrick_thomas_9E.html], accessed February 2007; and Angus, *Old Stones of Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
- Henry Cassady, junior, was the son of a Kingston merchant who became an established lawyer and died in office in 1839 as second mayor of Kingston, with Alexander Campbell as his young law student at the time. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_mayors_of_Kingston,_Ontario], accessed April 2020; and Swainson, Donald, 2000, "Campbell, Sir Alexander," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/campbell_alexander_12E.html], accessed April 2020.
- Dr. Sampson was born in Northern Ireland in 1789, educated at "Middlesex Hospital and at York Hospital in Chelsea," served as a surgeon in the British Forces during the War of 1812, and settled in Kingston in 1820, where he held many positions, including mayor in 1839-1840 and 1844. See Angus, Margaret S., 2000, "Sampson, James," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/sampson_james_9E.html], accessed April 2020. Having brought charges against Thomas Rogers in the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1835, Dr. Sampson probably would have opposed hiring him again as an architect for St. George's in the late 1830s. See Stewart, "Rogers, Thomas," *op. cit.*
12. Andrews, Robert J. and Rosalyn Parker Art (ed.), 2009, "A Troublesome Berth": *The Journal of First Lieutenant Charles Allen Parker, Royal Marines: The Canada Years 1838-1840*, Kingston, Kingston Historical Society, p. 56.
13. *Chronicle & Gazette*, February 2, 1839, p. 2, cols. 5 and 6.
14. Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 50-54 and p. 61, notes 67 and 69. The old ritual west walls of the nave (each 12½ feet wide) probably remained in place, but with openings for the original windows filled in and new openings for access to the main floor side aisles created. Portions of the walls were enhanced to accommodate the new plans. The removal of the inner walls of the old tower created space for new pews on both the main floor and that of the gallery.
15. Rogers was born in 1778 or 1782 in England, while Coverdale was born in 1800 or 1801 in York, England, but immigrated with his father and siblings to the region just south of Montreal in 1810 and moved to Kingston around 1832. See Stewart, "Rogers, Thomas," *op. cit.*; and McKendry, Jennifer, 1991, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston from 1835 to 1865," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 14-17. Since Rogers was a member of St. George's and the less experienced Coverdale was a Methodist, this decision must have come after careful consideration. At least one member of the building committee, Thomas Kirkpatrick, had both direct and indirect experience with Coverdale as an architect. See note 11 above and note 26 below.
16. ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 1, 1839.
17. *Ibid.* For John Kirby, a prominent Loyalist merchant, see: Errington, Jane, 2000, "Kirby, John," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kirby_john_7E.html], accessed December 2019. For Charles William Grant, fifth Baron of Longueuil, see: Angus, *Old Stones of Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 92-94; and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baron_de_Longueuil], accessed June 2022.
18. ADOA, 2-KM-5. There are many gaps in the surviving copies of Kingston newspapers from this period. Church documents were not always returned promptly to the institution when the person in charge of them either ceased to hold office or died. For example, when James Nickalls died in 1851, manuscripts dealing with pews at St. George's remained in the possession of his heirs for about a year before a motion

- passed by the vestry requested their return: "That the Churchwardens be and are hereby authorized to obtain from Mr. Charles Oliver the executer of the late James Nickalls Esquire the registry Book of the Pews of St George's Church and those Deeds of the Pews in his possession, the Churchwardens paying Mr. Oliver the amount of the claim the estate may have on the Books, and that hereafter such book to be and remain the property of the Churchwardens for the time being and to be by them handed over to their successors in office." ADOA, St. George's Vestry Book, 1849-1889, 2-KM-6, April 12, 1852. Charles Oliver was the brother of Nickalls' wife, the former Ann Louisa Oliver. Angus, *Old Stones of Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
19. Queen's University Archives [QUA], Coverdale Family fonds, #2504.11, box 2, file 8, "Notebook-Clients-Domestic [18??]-[18??]", the section of the notebook starting with the notation: "Carpenters Work of St. George's" and extending for eleven pages; subsequently cited as: QUA, Coverdale, 2504.11, "Notebook, St. George's." I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for drawing this source to my attention and for helping me to make sense of some of the notes.
 20. Stewart, J. Douglas and Ian E. Wilson, 1973, *Heritage Kingston*, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre at Queen's University, p. 114, text to fig. 118 "St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, 1847." This drawing resided for many years in the Fort Henry National Historic Site of the St. Lawrence Parks Commission.
 21. Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, p. 114, fig. 138, and commentary; and McKendry, Jennifer, 1995, *With Our Past Before Us: Nineteenth-century Architecture in the Kingston Area*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 61, fig. 31 and p. 63.
 22. Stewart, J. Douglas, 1991, "George Browne's Influence: The Architectural Heritage of St. George's," in Donald Swainson (ed.), *St. George's Cathedral: Two Hundred Years of Continuity*, Kingston, Quarry Press, p. 29-63 and 278-280, at p. 56 and 60; and Christianson, Paul, 2020, "Who Made the Early Drawings of St. George's and the Kingston City Hall in the Collection of the Fort Henry National Historic Site?," *Historic Kingston*, vol. 70, p. 30-41.
 23. QUA, DSC00894, 027, and 024 (courtesy of Jennifer McKendry); and ADOA, photograph of interior of St. George's before 1891, as printed in Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," p. 32, fig. 1. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for drawing the first three of these photographs to my attention and for providing me with digital copies of her photographs of them.
 24. For an illustration of this photograph (QUA, Kingston Picture Collection, V23-RelB-St. George's-24), see Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 50, fig. 7.
 25. William Coverdale became one of the leading architects in Kingston and the surrounding towns until his death in 1865. For Coverdale's career, see Fraser, Mary, 1978, "William Coverdale, Kingston Architect, 1801?-1865," *Historic Kingston*, vol. 26, p. 71-80; Angus, Margaret S., 2000, "Coverdale, William," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/coverdale_william_9E.html], accessed May 2010; "Coverdale, William," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [www.dictionaryofarchitectsin-canada.org/node/1625], accessed November 2009, and the extensive publications of Jennifer McKendry: 1988, "The Architects of St. George's Cathedral, Kingston," *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 95, p. 699-713; 1989, "The Early History of the Provincial Penitentiary, Kingston, Ontario," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 14, 93-105; 1991, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, 2 vols.; 1993, "'An Ideal Hospital for the Insane?' Rockwood Lunatic Asylum, Kingston, Ontario," *BSSAC*, vol. 18, p. 4-17; 1995, *With Our Past Before Us*, *op. cit.* (see the many listings under "Coverdale, William" in the index); *Architects Working in the Kingston Region 1820-1920*, *op. cit.*, p. 24-33; and 2021, *Kingston, the Limestone City: Stone Buildings in the Kingston Region 1790-1930*, Kingston, Jennifer McKendry (see the pages listed in the index under "Coverdale, William," p. 300). For Coverdale's work on St. George's, also see Gorman, Julia T., 1979, "St. George's Cathedral: An Architectural History and Analysis," Paper for Art History 500, QUA, J. Douglas Stewart fonds, folder 5079.12, box 6, file 22, p. 12-23.
 26. For St. John's, Peterborough, and St. Helen's, see Jones, Elwood H., 1976, *Saint John's, Peterborough: The Sesquicentennial History of an Anglican Parish, 1825-1976*, Peterborough (ON), Maxwell Review, p. 19-23; McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," vol. 1, p. 66-77 and 78; and McKendry, *With our Past Before Us*, p. 41 fig. 16, p. 45, 47, 70, 75, and 215 note 11. Stafford Kirkpatrick, a lawyer and judge in Peterborough, chaired the building committee at St. John's that hired Coverdale to design St. John's, but the builder, Joseph Scobell from Kingston, "presented the specifications and estimates" at "a congregational meeting in March 1835." Jones, *id.*, p. 19. Stafford's brother, Thomas Kirkpatrick, a member of the building committee at St. George's, hired Coverdale to design his suburban home, St. Helen's, which was built from 1836-1838. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *id.*, vol. 1, p. 67. For the Kirkpatrick family, see note 11 above; and Chadwick, Edward Marion, 1895, *Genealogies of United-Empire-Loyalist and other Pioneer Families of Upper Canada*, 2 vols., Toronto, Rolf, Smith and Co., vol. 1, p. 150, 151, and 153.
 27. McKendry, "Early History of the Provincial Penitentiary," *op. cit.*, p. 95-97, at p. 96. McKendry noted: "The north wing . . . was designed by Coverdale by the summer of 1835, the foundations were laid a year later, and the stone walls began to rise in the autumn of 1836. Since Coverdale was absent at this time, Richard Logan supervised the work of the convict labourers but, due to their inexperience, progress was so slow that outside stonemasons had to be hired in 1837 in order to have the roof built before winter" (p. 95-96).
 28. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 8 and 17-18, shows from a drawing in the Coverdale fonds that he had accessed Asher Benjamin's 1830 book, *The Practical House Carpenter*, Boston, the Author, R.P. & C. Williams, and Annin & Smith, plate 3 and p. 12-14 and 54-56. He owned Jamieson, Alexander, 1830, *A Dictionary of Mechanical Science, Arts, Manufactures, and Miscellaneous Knowledge*, 2 vols., London, H. Fisher, Son & Company, vol. 1, under "ARCHITECTURE," figs. 89 and 90, between p. 54 and 55. See figs. 12 and 13 in this article. For Coverdale's library, see McKendry, "William Coverdale," vol. 1, p. 342-345: "Appendix: The Fraser Collection of Books belonging to William Coverdale." Of Coverdale's books that now reside in W.D. Jordan Rare Books and Special Collections, Queen's University Library, Jamieson, *A Dictionary of Mechanical Science*, *op. cit.*; and Leeds, W.H. (ed.), 1838 [2nd ed.], *The Public Buildings of London... by Britton and Pugin*, 2 vols., London, John Weal, Architectural Library, its plates are the most relevant for this article. Coverdale later came to own the collection: 1834-1838, *The Architectural Magazine*, London, Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman. The first volume contains several articles on

- classical architecture, but Coverdale's copy in W.D. Jordan Rare Books, has his signature followed by the date "14 Nov. 1842," presumably marking when it came into his possession. See note 52 below.
29. The window surrounds on the north wing of the Provincial Penitentiary represented a variation on the clerestory windows on the ritual north, south, and west façades of the second St. George's; see fig. 1 above, and figs. 3 and 4 below.
 30. ADOA, 2-KM-6, May 1839. Some additional pledges must have come in by February 1840; see the quotation cited to note 44 below. I would like to thank Arthur and Marjorie Keats of the Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives for bringing these manuscripts to my attention and providing me with scans of the relevant pages.
 31. ADOA, 2-KM-5, January 30, 1843.
 32. ADOA, 2-KM-4, St. George's, Minutes of the Building Committee 1825-1827, April 15, April 20, September 8, and December 24, 1825; July 15, September 16, October 6, and October 10, 1826. ADOA, 2-KM-3, St. George's Vestry Book 1817-1826, does not contain a single reference to Thomas Rogers by name.
 33. ADOA, 2-KM-5, vestry meetings April 1, 1839, and March 21, 1843, and payment April 17, 1843. However, his name was mentioned in an advertisement for tenders for stonework that appeared in the *Chronicle & Gazette*, starting on January 15, 1842. See the information cited to note 92 below.
 34. For the ritual west façade and tower designed by Rogers, see Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 50-54 and figs. 4, 11, 13, and 14.
 35. *Chronicle & Gazette*, May 8, 1839, p. 3, col. 4; it also appeared in the same newspaper on May 11, 1839, p. 4, col. 4 and May 18, 1839, p. 3, col. 5.
 36. McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us*, *op. cit.*, p. 62. My measurements of the exterior walls would indicate that the length of wall separating the old from the new windows is three inches longer on both façades and length of the wall from the opening of the new window to the wall of the ritual west façade is close to eight feet (over a foot longer than the equivalent space on the original), and the walls supporting the tower are about four feet thick.
 37. For the tripartite entry, Gorman (in "St. George's," p. 14 and 47) cites and illustrates "James Gibbs', Preliminary Draft for a Round Church,"; McKendry (in "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston", vol. 1, p. 166-167, vol. 2, p. 61, fig. IV-2) favours the ground plan and entrance façade of Nicholson's, "A Church in the Grecian Style," [see note 128 below for a full citation of the earliest publication of this floorplan]; and Stewart (in "George Browne's Influence", p. 52-53, figs. 23 and 24") favours St. George's Belfast (1816). Since Coverdale's plan for the extension of St. George's was accepted by the vestry in 1839 and much of the structural work was done before Browne arrived in Kingston, Coverdale almost certainly designed the structure of the tripartite entry. Gorman, McKendry, and Stewart discuss interesting possible sources, but they rarely show whether Coverdale or Browne had access to them. Coverdale's surviving library, which now resides in W.D. Jordan Rare Books and Special Collections, Queen's University Library, shows that he had wide-ranging interests in architecture and construction. The sources mentioned in this paper come from one of three probable places: three volumes in his library, one book that McKendry has shown that he accessed (see note 28 above), and earlier buildings in communities where he worked or which he probably visited. For example, during his early years, when he lived and worked south of Montreal (1810-1832), it seems probable that he visited buildings in that city; when he was away from Kingston from the middle of 1835 to the spring of 1837 working in Hamilton and Brantford, it seems unlikely that he would have passed up an opportunity to visit buildings in Toronto. As McKendry shows, he started making architectural drawings shortly after being appointed master builder at the Provincial Penitentiary. See McKendry, "Early History of the Provincial Penitentiary," *op. cit.*, p. 96 and 104, notes 13, 14, and 15; and McKendry, *With our Past Before Us*, *op. cit.*, p. 8-10. Unfortunately, very few books from Browne's library are known; see note 85 below.
 38. For the Montreal churches, see Epstein, Clarence, 2012, *Montreal City of Spires: Church Architecture during the British Colonial Period 1760-1960*, Montreal, Presses de l'Université du Québec, p. 43-49 and 67-79, and figs. 16, 17, 19, 29, 32, 34, and 37. For the Toronto churches, see MacRae, Marion and Anthony Adamson, 1975, *Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada*, Toronto and Vancouver, Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, p. 82-87 and 204-205, figs. VIII-6 and VIII-7; and Arthur, Eric, 1964, *Toronto: No Mean City*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 39, fig. 33, and p. 65, fig. 84.
 39. Christ Church Anglican in Montreal had three doors on the ritual west façade leading to "the three passages which run along the body of the Church from the entrance to the Altar at the opposite end." 1825, "An Account of Christ's Church in the City of Montreal, Province of Lower-Canada," *The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, vol. 4, no. 24, p. 217-224 and no. 6, p. 525-531, at p. 530. The outer vestibules of this plan most likely also contained stairs to the large galleries that extended along the sides and across the ritual west end of the nave. For a comparison of Christ Church with the second St. George's, see Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 54, fig. 17, and p. 57, fig. 21.
 40. *Chronicle & Gazette*, July 20, 1839, p. 2, col. 6 and p. 3, col. 1.
 41. Buckingham, James S., 1843, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Other British Provinces in North America*, London, Fisher, Son, & Co., p. 75-76. Buckingham's visit took place before 1841; see p. 58-82 and especially the note on p. 80: "Since this was written, the seat of Government has been fixed at Kingston, so that now the public officers are numerous there."
 42. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, p. 164; and *With Our Past Before Us*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
 43. *Chronicle & Gazette*, October 14, 1835, p. 3, col. 2 and May 2, 1838, p. 3, col. 1 (R. Matthews was elected to the Committee on the 10th to a term ended on May 1, 1838); February 16, 1842, p. 2, col. 6; and February 14, 1844, p. 2, col. 4 (he was elected to the Committee again in 1842 and to the position of vice-president in 1844). For the background to this event, see Palmer, "Kingston Mechanic, 1833-36," *op. cit.*, p. 7-32.
 44. *Chronicle & Gazette*, February 8, 1840, p. 2, col. 2.
 45. The cost of the stonework laid in 1842 totalled £602/12/10; ADOA, 2-KM-5, March 21, 1843.
 46. ADOA, 2-KM-4, May 31, 1825: "Copy of a Petition to Sir P. Maitland &c."
 47. ADOA, 2-KM-6, January 1840.
 48. A large fragment of this drawing still survives in the collection of the Queen's University Archives. See Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 51 and fig. 11.

49. McKendry, 1989, "Early History of the Provincial Penitentiary," *op. cit.*, p. 98-103 and figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.
50. Coverdale seems to have obtained his earliest understanding of British classical architecture from Fort Lennox on the Ile-aux-Noix where he may have worked as a carpenter. For his sources, see note 28 above plus notes 51, 52, and 53 below.
51. Leeds, *Public Buildings of London*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, "St. Paul's Covent Garden," between p. 125 and 126; vol. 2, "Somerset House," plate 6. between p. 136 and 137. The ground plan on plate 6 showed this gate located at each end of a passage between the Strand building and buildings of the rear court of the new Somerset house. McKendry aptly called the vermiculated stone used on portions of the walls of the central bay of the gates "pock marked stone."
52. Benjamin, *Practical House Carpenter*, *op. cit.*, plate 3, between p. 11 and 12; and Jamieson, *Dictionary of Mechanical Science*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, "Architecture," fig. 89 and 90, between p. 56 and 57. Jamieson claimed that his illustration of a Tuscan column drew upon "the Trajan column at Rome," p. 55, col. 1.
53. See Chambers, William, 1759, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture*, London, J. Haberkorn, plate "The Orders of the Ancients" between p. 8 and 9, and plate "The Tuscan Order" between p. 14 and 15; and Ware, Isaac, 1756, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, London, T. Osborne & J. Shipton, J. Hodges, L. Davis, J. Ward, and R. Baldwin, plate 25 between p. 212 and 213. Benjamin referred to these authors.
54. McKendry, *Kingston, the Limestone City*, *op. cit.*, p. 25; see p. 24-28 for a good introduction to "Stone textures." Of course, Coverdale followed the example of Chambers' gates for mixing stone textures on upper portions of a building.
55. ADOA, 2-KM-5, March 28, 1842; at this meeting of vestry, "a vote of thanks" was taken to "the Venerable Archdeacon Stuart, for the very liberal Donation of Five Hundred Pounds given by him at Easter 1840, to assist in the completion of the Steeple of St. George's Church . . ."
56. John to Helen Macaulay, 24 May 1841, Archives of Ontario, Macaulay Papers, as cited in McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 164, footnote 8. Macaulay had a hand in a wide variety of things, including owning a newspaper, Tory politics, and government service. See Fraser, Robert Lochiel, 2020, "Macaulay (McAulay), John," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macaulay_john_8E.html], accessed May 1, 2010. The extension of the floor joists and the entablature above the pillars was not built until 1842, as indicated in Coverdale's notebook. See the information cited to notes 105 and 106 below.
57. ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 20, 1840. In 1843, the Church owned nine old pews on the ground floor and sixteen in the galleries; see John Macaulay, "Statement Relating to Pews at Easter 1843," in ADOA, 2-KM-5, which follows one page after the minutes of the vestry meeting of March 21, 1843. This five-page report listed in separate columns the "Pews as now numbered" by number and with a "C" for those owned by the Church; the "Numbers of old Pews"; the "Names" of those who owned, rented, or leased pews; the "Ordinary yearly rent"; the "Extra rate"; and the "Total Amount." For the decisions of vestry that initiated the research that produced this report, see the section cited to notes 61, 99, and 104 below.
58. *Chronicle & Gazette*, September 25, 1841, p. 2, col. 6.
59. Osborne, Brian S. and Donald Swainson, 1995 [new ed.], *Kingston: Building on the Past for the Future*, Kingston, Quarry Heritage Books, p. 80-81.
60. Angus, Margaret, "The Capital Period: St. George's Role in the Province of Canada, 1841-44," in Swainson (ed.), 1991, *St. George's Cathedral*, p. 192.
61. ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 12, 1841, motions # 3, 5, 6, and 9. These motions mandated a very time consuming, difficult task that would finally get sorted out by one of the best administrators in the congregation, John Macaulay, in 1842-1843, when he served as one of the church wardens. See note 57 above and notes 99 and 104 below.
62. Stewart, J. Douglas, 2000, "Browne, George," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/browne_george_11E.html], accessed February 2007. Stewart notes that Browne was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1811; also see the *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950*, [<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1675>], accessed April 2021.
63. Borthwick, John Douglas, 1892, *History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal to the Year 1892*, Montreal, John Lovell, p. 259.
64. *Chronicle & Gazette*, February 27, 1841, p. 2, col. 5.
65. *Chronicle & Gazette*, February 17, 1841, p. 3, col. 2 and June 10, 1841, p. 3, col. 7. For the career of Browne in Kingston, see Angus, *Old Stones of Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 20-23, 30-33, 49, 56-57, 76, and 92-94; McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us*, *op. cit.*, p. 5-6, 19-20, 41, 44-46, 49-51, 62-65, 70, 106-107, 131-137, 145, and 206; Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 114-116, 127, 132, 134-145, and 153-154; Stewart, J. Douglas, 1976, "Architecture for a Boom Town: The Primitive and the Neo Baroque in George Browne's Kingston Buildings," in Gerald Tulchinsky (ed.), *To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century*, Montreal and London, McGill Queen's University Press, p. 37-61 and 346-345; Stewart, J. Douglas and Mary, 1979, "John Solomon Cartwright: Upper Canadian Gentleman and Regency 'Man of Taste,'" *Historic Kingston*, vol. 27, p. 61-77, at 66-68; Douglas, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*; Stewart, J. Douglas, 1998, "The 'Kingston Palladio': Civic and Imperial 'Virtue and Grandeur' at George Browne's Forum Regiopolis," *JSSAC/JSEAC*, vol. 23, no. 3, cover, p. 72-81; Stewart, "Browne, George," *ODCB*, *op. cit.*; and Stewart, J. Douglas, 2006, "The Shamrock and the Maple Leaf; The Irish Roots of George Browne's Canadian Architecture," *JSSAC/JSEAC*, vol. 31, no. 1, cover, p. 43-54.
66. *Chronicle & Gazette*, April 28 and May 1, p. 3, col. 4, twice weekly until May 29, 1841, and p. 3, col. 6, for the "student"; for the Wilson property April 28 and May 1, both p. 3, col. 2, and May 5, 1841, p. 5, col. 8; for the Hales cottages, May 5, p. 3, col. 2, May 8, col. 3, and May 12, col. 5. The first of these mentioned five cottages, but the next two specified only four.
67. *Id.*, May 26 and May 29, 1841, both p. 3, col. 2, for the Mowat buildings. Mowat would use one for his own business.
68. *Id.*, May 24, 1841, p. 3, col. 1.
69. *Id.*, June 30, p. 3 col. 5, July 3, p. 3, col. 7, July 7, p. 3, col. 5, and July 10, 1841, p. 3, col. 7, for the Presbyterian manse. For these buildings, see Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom Town," *op. cit.*, p. 40-46, and 347-348, notes 9-20. By late July, Browne had three advertisements for tenders going at once; *Chronicle & Gazette*, July 24, 1841, p. 3, col. 5. These included a house in Kingston, a villa in Gananoque, and a villa near Hatter's Bay. All were placed on July 23 and called for

- the tenders to be submitted by August 3, 5, and 10 respectively.
70. See note 11 above and Stewarts, "John Solomon Cartwright," *op. cit.*
 71. Stewarts, *id.*, p. 66; in the back of Cartwright's copy of Loudon, J.C., 1839 [new ed. 1846], *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture*, London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Green & Longmans, "are two sketch plans which appear to be for the new wing." Cartwright would have called in an architect "to provide the detailed drawings and specifications, and to oversee the workmen." He may well have hired Coverdale to design and supervise the building of this large new wing.
 72. *Chronicle & Gazette*, July 24, 1841, p. 3, col. 5; July 28, p. 3, col. 4; and July 31 and August 4, p. 3, col. 7.
 73. Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom Town," *op. cit.*, p. 46.
 74. *Id.*, p. 51. Rogers had designed an Ionic portico for St. George's Church in 1825, but it was never built. See Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 51 and fig. 11. Coverdale's design for the Tuscan portico for the entrance lodge of the north gate would not be built until 1844.
 75. *Ibid.* For a similar raised string course in stone and lighter balconies in a house designed by Browne earlier in 1841, see St. Andrew's Manse, Kingston, in Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom Town," *op. cit.*, p. 45, fig. 7.
 76. *Chronicle & Gazette*, January 12, 1842, p. 2, col. 4; also see: ADOA, 2-KB-6: "The Rev[erend] W.M. Herchmer gave the magnificent donation of £1,000 towards the completion of St. George's Church." The gift had been reported earlier by the paper: "We are happy to learn that the Rev'd William M. Herchmer, of this Town, has made the very liberal donation to St. George's Church of *One thousand pounds*, to be expended in completing the interior of the Church, the portico, and the erection of a stone wall around the churchyard." *Chronicle & Gazette*, December 22, 1841, p. 3, col. 1.
 77. "Herchmer, William Macauley," in Ruggle, *Anglican Clergy of Upper Canada*, *op. cit.* For the Herchmer family, see [http://db-archives.library.queensu.ca/index.php/herchmer-family-fonds], accessed December 2019. His father was Lawrence Herchmer, a successful Kingston merchant who served as the incumbent's warden at St. George's in 1810, 1811, and 1813, while his mother was Elizabeth Kirby Herchmer, sister of John Kirby (a prominent Kingston merchant), and of Ann Kirby Macaulay (John Macaulay's mother). Both John Macaulay and John Kirby served on the building committee of the second St. George's. See Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 44-45 and p. 59, notes 21 and 22. These Anglican, Loyalist, and Tory families became prominent in Kingston. See Errington, Jane, 2000, "Kirby, Ann (Macaulay)," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kirby_ann_7E.html], accessed January 2020.
 78. *Chronicle & Gazette*, January 12, 1842, p. 2, col. 4.
 79. *Ibid.* The blessing to which Herchmer referred was his sale of 180 acres of his family's farm lot 23 for £25,000 to the General of Ordnance in 1841; he kept 12½ acres near the lakeshore on which his home and the family cemetery were located. See City of Kingston website [https://www.cityofkingston.ca], in the search box, enter "Report HK-19-027-218 Albert Street" and download the pdf "City of Kingston – Heritage Kingston Committee Agenda – Meeting 04-2019 Report HK-19-027," and turn to Exhibit C, p. 181-183; site accessed February 2020.
 80. Wilson, Joseph M., 1861, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac, and Annual Remembrance of the Church*, vol. 3, Philadelphia, Joseph M. Wilson, p. 264. In 1837, the Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Kingston, the right reverend Alexander Macdonnell, "secured from the government of Upper Canada the incorporation of the College of Regiopolis. On June 11, 1839, he laid the cornerstone of the College" which "opened for classes" in 1842. For the history of Regiopolis-Notre Dame Catholic High School, see [https://www.alcddb.on.ca/School/regi/About/SchoolHistory/Pages/default.aspx#/], accessed June 2021. The original Regiopolis College had giant Tuscan pilasters on both major façades, with portions of the west one still visible on the Sydenham Street façade of the Hotel Dieu Hospital. I would like to thank Rodney Carter of the St. Joseph Region Archives of the Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph (RSHR) for sending me a high-density photograph of the west façade of that building in their collection from c. 1881-1891.
 81. For a photograph and engraving of the classical St. Andrew's, see Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 114-115, figs. 139 and 140, with the accompanying commentary.
 82. After examining the manuscript vestry minutes, newspapers, and the Coverdale notebooks and books, Gorman argued strongly that Coverdale designed and supervised the construction of the changes to the ritual west end of St. George's from 1839 through 1847. She also argued that Browne strongly influenced Coverdale's design; Gorman, "St. George's," p. 12-22. After examining newspapers, the Coverdale notebooks, and a considerable number of nineteenth-century books on architecture, McKendry attributes the changes to Coverdale and argues that his design for the portico at St. George's influenced George Browne's design for the portico at the Kingston City Hall. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," vol. 1, p. 159-174; and *With Our Past Before Us*, p. 61-66. Given the 1841 portico at Rockwood Villa designed by Browne, any influence of Coverdale on the designs of Browne seems unlikely. Drawing upon the research in Gorman's paper, newspapers, documents from the Archives of the Diocese of Ontario, a wide range of architectural comparisons, and his earlier writings, Stewart argued that almost all the changes at the ritual west end of St. George's from 1839-1847 were designed by Browne. See Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," p. 30-60, 278-280. Since some of these changes began before Browne moved to Kingston, this seems unlikely. For the Coverdale Notebook-Clients & Domestic, see note 105 below.
 83. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," vol. 1, p. 14-19, and 342-345: "Appendix: The Fraser Collection of Books belonging to William Coverdale." Also see notes 28, 50, 51, and 52 above.
 84. For these five churches, see [http://lord-belmontinnorthernireland.blogspot.com/2013/07/st-annes-parish-church-belfast.html], [https://discovernorthernireland.com/things-to-do/first-presbyterian-church-p690361], and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_George%27s_Church,_Belfast], accessed on February 20, 2021 and March 9, 2022; Noppen, Luc and Lucie K. Morisset, 1996, *La Présence anglicaine à Québec : Holy Trinity Cathedral (1796-1996)*, Quebec, Septentrion; and Epstein, *Montreal City of Spires*, *op. cit.*, p. 43-49.
 85. The W.D. Jordan Rare Books and Special Collections, Queen's University Library, holds a number of relevant books from Browne's library, including two eighteenth-century classics with excellent plates: Gibbs, James, 1739 [2nd ed.], *A Book of Architecture*, London,

W. Innys and R. Manby, J. and P. Knapton, and C. Hitch; and John Woolfe and James Gandon, 1767, *Vitruvius Britannica*, London, Woolfe & Gandon, vol. 4, which contained elevations and floorplans of classical buildings erected after 1725. Gibbs' book inspired many eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century church designs in Britain and the British colonies, including what became the United States of America. The first three volumes of Woolfe and Gandon reprinted Colen Campbell's three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannica* (1715-1725).

The architect of St. Anne's, Belfast, Roger Mulholland (1740?-1818), presented a copy of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to the Belfast Reading Society (an early library in downtown Belfast). See *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*, [www.dia.ie/architects/view/3619/MULHOLLAND-ROGER], accessed on February 20, 2021. Browne may have had access to this and other eighteenth-century books on classical architecture in Belfast. He also owned at least three—and probably many more—of the numerous architectural pattern books published on both sides of the Atlantic in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Halfpenny, William, 1749, *A New and Compleat System of Architecture*, London, John Brindley; Robinson, Peter Frederick, 1836, *Designs for Ornamental Villas*, London, Henry G. Bohn; and Benjamin, Asher, 1845, *The Architect or Practical House Carpenter*, Boston, Benjamin B. Mussey (which was published after Browne left Kingston). He may have seen the 1830 edition of this work in Kingston. My discussion of Browne's architectural sources will refer to buildings that he probably had seen and to the books that he owned. Since he would have had little time to put together a plan for the portico, the exterior of the tower, and west façade of the addition, Browne probably consulted the books that we know that he owned and may well have consulted others.

86. Browne's office probably made a similar drawing to display his second plan for Kingston City Hall, as well; see Christianson, "Early Drawings," p. 31, figs. 1 and 2, and p. 34-36. As Stewart noted about the drawings of St. George's and Kingston City Hall from the 1840s: "They have all the earmarks of professional architectural, indeed engravers' drawings." Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 60. Browne's was the only "professional architectural" firm with a plausible interest in making these drawings. Certainly, they did not come from the pen and brush of Mrs. Cartwright, nor were they engraved and printed in the mid-nineteenth century.
87. Coverdale probably designed the interior changes that he would supervise in 1842.
88. Browne's office seemingly produced the drawing of St. George's between December 21, 1841, and January 15, 1842: see the text cited to note 77 above and note 92 below. The Kingston City Council decided to advertise for architects to submit plans for a city hall and market house on June 13, 1842. In 1842, Browne would have several projects underway, including finishing Wilson's building, designing the Commercial Mart, and drawing the prize-winning plans for the preliminary and final competitions for the Kingston City Hall and Market. Although Browne designed Wilson's building in 1841, it took another two years to complete; Wilson first advertised for tenants in 1843: *Chronicle & Gazette*, August 3, 1843, p. 3, col. 5. See Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston, op. cit.*, p. 134-176, figs. 159-175; and Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom Town," *op. cit.*, p. 42-44 and 348. This meant that Browne's office must have been very busy even before he was awarded the contract to build the Kingston City Hall and Market on October 17, 1842. See Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, p. 137, col. 1. No wonder that Browne advertised in the *Chronicle & Gazette*: "WANTED, TWO STUDENTS in the Architectural Profession" from October 12, 1842 (p. 3, col. 5) until January 7, 1843 (p. 4, col. 3). Coverdale was also busy on other projects during that period as well.
89. Gorman (in "St. George's," p. 20-22) compares the portico and ritual west façade of St. George's to those at the Kingston Penitentiary, Rockwood Villa, and Kingston City Hall. Noting the influence of Rockwood Villa upon the design of the ritual west façade of St. George's, she attributes these similarities to "Coverdale's willingness to imitate the forms introduced by George Browne" (p. 20).
90. The details of the ritual west façade and the tower of St. George's will be discussed in the text cited to notes 123-133 below. Browne's classical designs in Kingston—Rockwood Villa, the ritual western façade of St. George's, including the pediment, and Kingston City Hall, all showed both remarkable consistencies, combined with notable differences. All had Tuscan porticos, all used dentils below the entablatures, and all shared some decorative details. The rectangular frames on St. George's could not have included windows because they backed upon a thick wall; Brown would use them again above the side doors under the portico of Kingston City Hall. Niches like those on the Earl of Spencer's town house and that on Rockwood Villa and those on the west façade of St. George's appeared in the drawing of Kingston City Hall on the ground floor of the north façade and on both ends of the main building as constructed. Recessed panels like those on Rockwood Villa would appear over the doors at each end of the "Front or Principal Elevation of a Town Hall proposed to be erected in the Town of Kingston Designed and Drawn by George Browne Architect" in 1842. See Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston, op. cit.*, p. 135, fig. 159, and the commentary on the drawings of the elevations, p. 134-138. In European books on classical architecture, starting with Italian theoretical treatises of the sixteenth century and continuing in English and American books from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, niches provided a way of texturing walls, often in combination with porticos or pilasters. Architects did not have to be familiar with the full extent of this history of this tradition to follow aspects of it. For examples of how the ritual west façade of St. George's fit into this tradition, see Scamozzi, Vincenzo, 1615, *Dell'Idée della Architettura Universale*, Venetia, Presso Lavtore, p. 58, plate with the title: "Aspetto del Colonatto Toscano"; Woolfe and Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannica, op. cit.*, vol. 4, plate 38, the front façade of Spencer House, London (detail in fig. 24); and the design for a classical church by the Toronto architect John George Howard (c. 1840) in Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City, op. cit.*, p. 59, fig. 76. All have niches behind between pillars or pilasters. Browne owned the volume edited by Woolfe and Gandon.
91. Stuart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 46.
92. *Chronicle & Gazette*, January 15, 1842, p. 3, col. 2. In advertisements, Browne often asked contractors who wanted to submit tenders to examine the drawings and specifications at his own office, so this advertisement seems anomalous. However, the tenders would also include the woodwork and some of the interior stonework already designed by Coverdale, so the building committee may have decided to have all the "plans and specifications" centralized in one location, Coverdale's office.
93. See the passages cited to note 113 below.

94. *Chronicle and Gazette*, February 9, 1842, p. 3 col. 1.
95. ADOA, 2-KM-5, March 28, 1842.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Id.*, April 18, 1842. Four of the members of this new committee, Cartwright, Forsyth, Sampson, and Willard, petitioned the mayor to hold a public meeting "for the purpose of devising measures for the reception of His Excellency, Sir Charles Bagot, Governor General," three, Forsyth, Gildersleeve, and Kirkpatrick, were elected directors of the Provident and Savings Bank, and all, save Willard, attended the Levee held on January 12, 1842, by Sir Charles Bagot at Alwington House after the ceremony of his swearing in as Governor General of British North America; *Chronical & Gazette*, November 10, p. 3, col. 1; November 27, 1841, p. 2, col. 6; and January 15, 1842, p. 2, col. 6. Forsyth, Gildersleeve, and Willard were Kingston businessmen with a variety of interests. McKensie, Ruth, 2000, "Gildersleeve (Gilderslieve), Henry," *ODCB*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gildersleeve_henry_8E.html], accessed April 3, 2022. For references to Smith, Nickalls, Cartwright, and Sampson see notes 10 and 11 above; for Kirby and Grant, see note 17 above; and for Willard, see note 117 below.
98. ADOA, 2-KM-5, March 28, 1842.
99. Fraser, "John Macaulay," *OCDB*. For Macaulay's work on pews, see notes 57 and 61 above and 104 below.
100. *Chronicle & Gazette*, June 8, 1842, p. 2. col. 2 (near the bottom of the column).
101. *Id.*, July 20, 1842, p. 3. col. 1.
102. *Kingston Chronicle*, May 1, 1830, p. 3. col. 1. This anonymous article provides a good description of aspects of the second St. George's written only two years and a bit over two months after it officially opened for worship; *id.*, p. 2. col. 6.
103. *Id.*, p. 3. col. 1.
104. These are pews newly numbered 9, 30, 40, and 41 on the plan of the pews for the ground floor. See ADOA, 2-KM-5, "Statement Relating to Pews at Easter 1843" and the pew plans (figs. 26 and 27). The notes on these plans synchronize with the information in Macaulay's "Statement," so he probably drew up all of these at the same time.
105. ADOA, 2-KM-5, payment April 15, 1843. QUA, Coverdale Family fonds, Loc #2504.11, box 2, file 8, Notebook-Clients & Domestic, starting at page headed: "Carpenters Work of St. George's" and continuing for ten more pages, p. 3-4 of this section. This is a small manuscript notebook in which Coverdale scribbled laconic notes in pencil on the work and materials involved. My references will be to the unnumbered pages of the section: "Carpenters Work of St. George's," with the page with the heading counting as page one. I would like to thank Jennifer McKendry for bringing this notebook to my attention by citing some of its contents in "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 165, footnote 11, and even more for helping me to make sense of some of Coverdale's more difficult notes in the notebook itself.
106. QUA, Coverdale, 2504.11, "Notebook, St. George's," p. 2, 6, 9-10.
107. See Rogers, 1991, "A Joyful Noise," in Swainson (ed.), *St. George's Cathedral*, *op. cit.*, p. 71-73. Gornall built up the choir by advertising for pupils starting in 1829. See *Kingston Chronicle*, June 20, 1829, p. 3, col. 1. Rogers quotes this advertisement, which included the following statement: "The Congregation of St. George's Church is respectfully informed, that as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained, [Gornall] will teach a Choir for the use of the Church, when Psalmody, Anthems, Chanting, &c. will be taught after the manner of the English Cathedrals." These words seem to indicate that Gornall wanted to introduce a choral liturgy to St. George's, but I have not seen much supporting evidence from the period.
108. QUA, Coverdale, 2504.11, "Notebook, St. George's," p. 8, 9, 10.
109. ADOA, 2-KM-5, August 1, 1842.
110. *Ibid.*; also see the payment made to "F.H.G. Milligan's account for replacing organ £0/7/6" dated November 18, 1842. On February 22, 1842, Milligan had been paid £2/10/0 for unspecified work which may have had something to do with the organ, as well.
111. *Id.*, January 30, 1843.
112. *Id.*, March 20, 1843. The normal procedure followed each year, when the church wardens reported the income and expenses for the year, included the appointment of a committee of two members to examine and report back to the vestry on the reports before approval.
113. *Id.*, March 21, 1843.
114. Mackay, Robert W.S., 1851, *The Canada Directory: Containing the Names of the Professional and Business Men of Every Description, in the Cities, Towns, and Principal Villages of Canada*, Montreal, John Lovell, p. 123, 127, and 119 respectively. Also see McKendry, *Architects Working in the Kingston Region*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
115. Mackay, *id.*, p. 127. Filey's name also appeared on the plaque on the cornerstone of Kingston City Hall as one of the contractors. See *Chronicle & Gazette*, July 7, 1843, which contains a lengthy description of the ceremony.
116. Mackay, *id.*, p. 126, "Fraser, John, importer of British and American hardware, Princess St." See also *Chronicle & Gazette*, November 27, 1841, p. 3, col. 2, and May 4, 1842, p. 3, col. 3.
117. A member of the St. George's vestry from at least 1835, Willard was elected a church warden on March 28, 1842, and on April 8, 1844. He owned a hardware store and sold various small items to the church over the years. For earlier payments, see ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 20, 1835; April 24, 1841, for a "bell for church door"; and March 28, 1842.
118. For the listing of a "Carter, Edward, mason" in Thorald, Canada West, where the Welland Canal was being expanded, see Mackay, *Canada Directory*, *op. cit.*, p. 407.
119. ADOA, 2-KM-5, payments on March 7, and April 5, 1843. These were probably the firms of "Hilton, J. & W." and "Baird, Edmond" listed in the Montreal section on Cabinetmakers and Upholsterers in 1851; Mackay, *id.*, p. 189. Those names do not appear in 1855, *A Directory of the City of Kingston*. With his Montreal contacts, Browne may have suggested hiring them.
120. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 165, footnote 11.
121. ADOA, 2-KM-5, March 21 and April 17, 1843. These would add up to £25/7/0, slightly more than the "Moneys for Superintendence St. George's Church £25.0.0 in full" cited in Coverdale's account book as quoted in McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," vol. 1, p. 165, footnote 12.
122. Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 46.
123. None of Browne's surviving books in the Jordan Library of Queen's University indicate the sources for the Tuscan columns and entablature that he used at Rockwood,

- St. George's, or Kingston City Hall. For comments by English experts, see Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, *op. cit.*, plate 19, between p. 154 and 155: "Bases of Different Columns/ Ionic/ A. Palladio"; and plate 25, between p. 212 and 213: "Tuscan Order/ Scamozzi," as reprinted by Greg International Publishers England, 1971. The figures of these plates in this article come from Ware, Isaac, 1971, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, London 1768, PLATES, Westmead, Farnborough, Hants., Greg International Publishers Limited, plates 19, 23, and 25. Most architects in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries calculated the height of a Tuscan column as seven diameters, including the base and capital. See Ware, *id.*, p. 215; and Chambers, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Benjamin wrote: "I have, according to the doctrine of Vitruvius, made the Tuscan Column seven diameters in height, the Doric eight, and the Ionic nine (as Palladio and Vignola have done). See Benjamin, *Practical House Carpenter*, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The portico columns at St. George's are seven and one-half diameters including the base and capital, but Chambers allowed this added height for "Town buildings, intended for civil purposes." See Chambers, *id.*, p. 215.
124. Palladio, Andrea, 1738, *The Four Books of Architecture*, London, Isaac Ware, p. 14.
125. Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 46.
126. The surrounds of the side doors on the ritual west façade of St. George's, Kingston, mirror those on the same façade of St. George's, Belfast, which points to Browne as the architect who designed them. See the photograph of St. George's taken by William Murphy on April 28, 2011, at: [www.flickr.com/photos/infomatique/5688600074/in/photostream/], accessed May 2, 2021.
127. Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 45. St. George's, Belfast, has a parapet with open full balusters on the sides; see the photograph by Murphy cited in note 126 above.
128. Nicholson, Peter, 1823, *The New Practical Builder*, 2 vols., London, Thomas Kelly; for the description, see vol. 1, p. 570-572, at p. 571; for the illustrations, see vol. 2, the section on buildings, plates 22: "Ground Plan," 23: "Principal Elevation," 24: "Flank Elevation," 25: "Back Elevation," and 26: "Longitudinal Section." Subsequent editions were printed by the same publisher, starting in 1834, as *The New and Improved Practical Builder*, 3 vols., each with its own subtitle; these did not have Nicholson's name on the title page, but had a portrait of him before the title page of volume 1. The editions of 1834, 1837, and 1841 have the same text and plates as that of 1823. A simplified version of Nicholson's first three plates appeared on one plate in Hills, Chester, 1836, *The Builders Guide*, 2 vols., Hartford, D.W. Kellogg, vol. 2, p. 24-25 and plate 28. Hills also printed most of Nicholson's text describing these images. MacRae included a version of Nicholson's plate 50, which she titled: "Design for a chapel" as a source for the new tower at St. George's. See MacRae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls*, *op. cit.*, p. 206, fig. VIII-9, and p. 207. MacRae cited the source as Nicholson, Peter, *The Principles of Architecture* in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto (p. 298); the catalogue to that library identifies this book as the edition of 1841, London, H.G. Bohn. However, I have not found this image in earlier or later editions of this book and suspect that it came from the 1841 edition of Nicholson's, *New and Improved Practical Builder*, vol. 3, also available at the Fisher Library. Gorman points to "St. Anne's, Wandsworth by Sir Robert Smirke of 1820-24" and the octagonal clock tower at Dalhousie University (1818), but finally agrees with MacRae. See Gorman, "St. George's," p. 16-17. McKendry (in "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," p. 166-167) mentions the design favoured by MacRae, adding that it also appeared in pattern books published in North America, such as Chester, 1836, *Builders Guide*, but finally comes down in favour of a tower from "A Church in the Grecian Style" illustrated in Nicholson, *Practical Builder*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 568-570, for the description, and vol. 2, the section on buildings, plates 16-20; by Hills, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, plate 27; and in MacRae and Adamson, p. 59, fig. III-7. Stewart (in "George Browne's Influence," p. 43, figs. 35 and 36,) illustrates the "Design for a Chapel" favoured by MacRae and traces the origin of the belfry stage back to the "Monument of Lysicrates (c. 334 B.C.)" as pictured in "The Antiquities of Athens."
- The design for a Doric "Chapel" in Nicholson (*Practical Builder*, *op. cit.*) has the most in common with the tower at St. George's, including an octagonal base, a cylindrical belfry divided by eight pilasters (that Brown replaced by Corinthian columns), and four arched openings, a clock with four faces on an octagonal stage of the tower just below the cupola, a cupola, and a *globus cruciger* at the top. Although I have not discovered evidence linking any of the early editions of Nicholson or the 1836 edition of Hills to Browne, it seems probable that he would have modified an existing pattern, because he would have had limited time for designing the outer surface of the upper stages of the tower.
129. Browne would use platforms of different shapes on the upper reaches of other buildings; at Kingston City Hall, "the cupola rose from a series of platforms consisting of a square, octagon, and a circle." Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom Town," *op. cit.*, p. 53. Apart from the unique corbels, the Corinthian columns and entablature on the tower at St. George's resemble a smoothed and simplified version of those in the engraving of Mansion House London, as seen in Woolfe and Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, plate 42. For the style of the columns used, see Ware, *Body of Architecture*, *op. cit.*, plate 2 "The Five Orders of Architecture," between p. 12 and 13; plate 23 "Corinthian Capitals," between p. 196 and 197; and plate 24 "Corinthian Entablatures," between p. 202 and 203. In contrast, compare with Benjamin, *Practical House Carpenter*, *op. cit.*, plate 18 "Corinthian Order," between p. 40 and 41, which shows a base with a triple torus, a fluted shaft, a much more florid capital; and Jamieson, *A Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, fig. 95, which shows a similar column with a capital like that at St. George's, however, with an even more enriched entablature than that in Benjamin; but in fig. 96, Jamieson shows a column with a double torus on the base, a smooth shaft, and a similar capital.
130. Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom Town," *op. cit.*, p. 55 and 350, note 40. The entablature at St. George's uses a *cymatium* moulding, rather than dentils, to support the unique corbels, which differ considerably from those at Mansion House London and those illustrated by Ware. See Woolfe and Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, plate 42; and Ware, *Body of Architecture*, *op. cit.*, plate 24.
131. QUA, Coverdale, 2504.11, "Notebook, St. George's," p. 11: "9 steps to stairs to tower," "oak frame to Bell," and "shutters" for the belfry. Also see McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, p. 161, footnote 11.
132. Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 60; and Christianson, 2020, "Drawings," p. 34-35.

133. QUA, Coverdale, 2504.11, "Notebook, St. George's," p. 11; "shutters" in top floor and "fixing roof to Tower." There is no mention of placing an orb surmounted by a cross on top of the "roof" at this time.
134. ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 17, 1843, motions nos 3, 4, 5, 10, and 13.
135. *Id.*, motion no. 7. Also see *id.*, April 13, 1845.
136. *Id.*, motion no. 8.
137. *Chronicle & Gazette*, May 24, 1843, p. 3, col. 4 (death notice and funeral announcement), May 31, p. 2, col. 5 (funeral), and June 2, 1843, p. 2, cols. 5 and 6 (obituary reprinted from the *Church*, June 2, 1843).
138. ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 8, 1844, motion no. 9. All of these appeared in the Book of Common Prayer; canon 82 of 1604, required that congregations display them on the walls of chancels. See Christianson, Paul, 2010, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *JSSAC/JSÉAC*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 26 and 30, notes 57 and 58. Examples from Upper and Lower Canada include Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral in Quebec City, and the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Gloria Patri in Old St. Thomas' Church in St. Thomas, Ontario. See Christianson, "Second St. George's," *op. cit.*, p. 57, fig. 22; and MacRae and Adamson, 1975, *Hallowed Walls*, p. 117, fig. V-3.
139. ADOA, 2-KM-5, April 8, 1844, motion no. 11. This position involved "attendance at the organ bellows" as well, for which "Justus Schreiber" had received £2/10/0 on April 15, 1843, and "Justus Schriver" would receive £2/10/0 on April 14; £1/17/6 on August 3; and £1/17/6 on November 21, 1844, for "ringing bell &c." Starting in 1845, he was paid a semi-annual salary of £3/15/0 on September 13 for "½ year to Sept. as blower" and received the same in April 1846; ADOA, 2-KM-5, under payments for the dates listed. This indicates that he continued pumping the organ after he began to ring the bell again at an increased salary. The bell was probably installed during the construction of the belfry in 1842, and certainly by April 1844 at the latest.
140. *Id.*, motion no. 13, which had several parts.
141. *Id.*, March 24, 1845.
142. *Ibid.* This tall round white marble font can be seen standing on the floor of the central aisle behind the shaft of the lighting fixture in the foreground of the photograph from 1866. See fig. 28 above.
143. *Id.*, payment June 14, 1845.
144. *Id.*, April 15, 1846.
145. *Id.*, April 5, 1847. The wording of this motion indicated that the stonework of the clock stage of the tower already existed.
146. *Id.*, April 12, 1847.
147. McKendry, "William Coverdale and the Architecture of Kingston," *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 165, footnote 12. The drawing attributed to the office of Browne portrayed an orb and cross on top of a rectangular base surmounting the cupola.
148. Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, *op. cit.*, p. 139, fig. 167. For the elevations and floorplans of the first version of Kingston City Hall, see *id.*, p. 134-138, figs. 159-166 and commentary. For the drawing from 1843, with the traditional attribution to "Mrs. Harriet Cartwright," see *id.*, p. 40, fig. 169; and, with an attribution to the office of George Browne, Christianson, 2020, "Drawings," fig. 2.
149. For the cornerstone ceremony, see Stewart, 1998, "The Kingston Palladio," p. 80, note 23. For Browne's denigration of Coverdale in 1841, see Stewart, "George Browne's Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 38 and p. 179, note 23. For their later mutual respect, see McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us*, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and 135.