

Prairie Spirit:
Medieval Revival Ecclesiastical Architecture in
Saskatchewan, 1839-1913

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Architecture is an excellent indicator of the society that produced it. Saskatchewan's architecture, however, has not received sufficient analysis and there are some major gaps in its history. One of the greatest gaps concerns the medieval revival styles, the Gothic Revival and Romanesque Revival styles. These two styles became especially common in the province's early religious architecture. Therefore, this analysis focuses on the use of medieval revival styles in ecclesiastical architecture from 1839 to 1913. The Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches made use of these styles during Saskatchewan's most competitive, optimistic, and challenging period. In some instances, these conditions fostered the construction of innovative churches. The majority of these innovative churches were constructed in the harshest rural conditions and are true symbols of the prairie spirit. These early rural prairie churches provide glimpses of a potential Saskatchewan approach to the international styles through both their architectural components and the stories of their construction.

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Introduction

The architecture of a society is as diverse and complex as the society that produced it. Furthermore, architecture is a more accurate representation of its society than memoirs or scholarly reconstructions because it does not get distorted over time.¹ Architectural history is a discipline that seeks to make use of these features in order to obtain the true imprint of a society. Few areas of architectural history offer as many opportunities for acquiring new knowledge as Canadian architectural history. Canadian architectural history is well established in the eastern portions of the country but is underdeveloped in the west. Saskatchewan's ecclesiastical architectural history is one of the most understudied fields. The most prolific architectural styles in the province are the medieval revival styles (Gothic and Romanesque Revival styles). These styles were used in Saskatchewan from 1860 to the middle of the 20th century and were synonymous with church architecture for many denominations. However, there are few studies concerning these styles generally in the province and almost no studies concerning their ecclesiastical versions. Therefore, an analysis of Saskatchewan's medieval revival ecclesiastical architecture is required.

There are many different methods of approach to an architectural history of Saskatchewan. One of the more common approaches focuses on a specific architect. Megan Aldrich's *A. W. N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival*, for instance, studies one of the founding architects of the Ecclesiastical Gothic Revival style, Augustus Northmore Welby Pugin. Aldrich's analysis of Pugin highlights two of the main forces behind the adoption of medieval revival styles, Romanticism and Antiquarianism. During the early Victorian era (1837-1855) a widespread reaction against the perceived ills of industrial society developed. It first manifested itself in literature where "sentiment against reason,

¹Jan Morris, "In Quest of the Imperial Style," in Robert Fernor-Hesketh ed., *Architecture of the British Empire* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1986), 11.

nature against artificiality, simplicity against pompous display, and faith against skepticism” were championed. In a similar vein, romantic poetry venerated nature and past societies, and created idealized characters such as the “noble savage” and the “pious medieval knight.”² This romantic approach was often coupled with the Antiquarian movement, which held that the past could be re-experienced through antique objects and buildings.³ The combination of Antiquarianism and Romanticism in architecture first occurred in the use of artificial medieval revival ruins in landscape gardens, which were designed to enable the homeowner to experience the perceived purity of the past.⁴ Another manifestation of these movements was the use of medieval revival styles in residences. Castellated homes with modern interiors were constructed to enable the owner to “live like modern literary gentlemen with a taste for antiquity.”⁵ This widespread trend towards a romantic appreciation for antiquity was at the root of all revival architecture and is made apparent through a study of Pugin. Therefore, through the study of one influential architect, information about the training procedures and theoretical approaches in the architect’s society are made apparent. However, the weakness of this approach is that it cannot be applied to societies that do not have highly trained architects. As Saskatchewan was not able to attract and support highly trained architects until the early 20th century, the architect-centred approach is not relevant to most of my study.

Another approach focuses on cataloging all of the architectural styles used in one country. These discussions--such as Dixon and Muthesius’ *Victorian Architecture* and

² Nikolaus Pevsner, 7th Edition, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 350.

³ Megan Aldrich, “The Gothic Sensibility: The Early Years of the Gothic Revival” in Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, eds., *A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 13.

⁴ Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 20-21.

⁵ Andrew Saint, “Pugin’s Architecture in Context,” in Atterbury and Wainwright, 82-3.

Harold Kalman's *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture*--reveal the culturally specific variations that develop in architectural styles. Dixon and Muthesius' analysis is typical and gives a description of the economic, technological, intellectual, social, and population changes that spurred the changes in architectural styles in Victorian Britain.⁶ The industrial era had shifted the balance of power from the south and the upper classes to the middle class and the factories of the north. This shift resulted in improvements in transportation, a greater focus on the individual, and the near doubling of the population.⁷ The result was a society that had the means and desire to use architecture as a way to make a statement. While investigations like these reveal aspects of architecture and the society that produced them on a national scale, they have a few shortcomings. One of the most significant shortcomings is that they rely upon regional/provincial architectural histories. When these are lacking, the broader national treatment suffers from gaps. This is the case with Kalman's treatment on Canada as there are not many architectural histories of Saskatchewan.⁸ Joe Ralko's *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan* and the Saskatchewan Association of Architects' *Historic Architecture of Saskatchewan* are some of the most notable.⁹ However, both of these investigations are modest in their scope and only highlight a few ecclesiastical buildings. They are consequently insufficient for providing a full depiction of Saskatchewan architecture. Even more recent scholarly studies such as Richardson and Richardson's *Canadian Churches: An Architectural Background*, which only lists two Saskatchewan churches, have this shortcoming.¹⁰ Therefore, while broad treatments based on national

⁶ Dixon and Muthesius.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 8, 10.

⁸ Harold Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁹ Joe Ralko, *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan* (Calgary: Red Deer Press, 2005); *Historic Architecture of Saskatchewan* (Regina: Saskatchewan Association of Architects, c1986).

¹⁰ Peter Richardson and Douglas Richardson, *Canadian Churches: An Architectural History* (Canada: Firefly Books, 2007).

architecture are useful for background knowledge, they are inadequate for a study of Saskatchewan's ecclesiastical architecture.

Another approach to architectural history focuses upon a specific architectural style. Typical of these types of studies are Mathilde Brosseau's *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture* and Peter Coffman's *Newfoundland Gothic*, which trace the regional variations and temporal shifts in one style. Brosseau's treatment, however, suffers from the same shortcomings as national architectural histories, namely, gaps in scholarly work concerning regions like Saskatchewan.¹¹ Coffman's work, however, focuses on one architectural style in one region. This precise focus allows him to trace all of the factors that contributed to the Newfoundland variation of the Gothic Revival style. However, he chose to focus only on one denomination, the Anglicans. Perhaps this was due to the accessibility of Anglican Gothic Revival, as the Anglicans were the most organized and vocal when it came to architecture and even created diocesan architects and architecturally focused publications such as *The Ecclesiologist*.¹² However, this Anglican centred approach eliminates the possibility for comparisons between denominations and is ill suited to the intertwined regional experiences characteristic of Saskatchewan denominations. Therefore, while Coffman's regional approach seems to be best suited to the goals of my study, it will need to be adapted to include other denominations to better suit the Saskatchewan experience. In order to include these other denominations, adequate analyses of individual structures are necessary.

These structure-based analyses are found in a final approach to architectural history, which is more common in Saskatchewan. Some notable examples are Sarah Carter's article on "Material Culture and the W.R. Motherwell Home" and Don Kerr's article "Building the University of Saskatchewan, 1907-30" in *Prairie Forum*, which is

¹¹Mathilde Brosseau, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1980).

¹²Peter Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic* (Québec: Éditions MultiMondes, 2008).

part of a greater body of discussions on Gothic Revival domestic and public architecture. Typical of this approach, both of these articles analyze one structure as a case study for a larger social trend.¹³ While discussions like these concerning the architecture of domestic and public architecture are common in the province, studies concerning ecclesiastical buildings are not. Analyses of ecclesiastical architecture have a rich history in Ontario, Quebec, and more recently, Atlantic Canada. Malcolm Thurlby's article on "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario" and Peter Coffman's article on "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland" in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* are some of the premier examples of this plentiful field.¹⁴ Saskatchewan studies, by contrast, are much less common. Geoffrey Simmins' "Order and Light: The Architecture of Two Benedictine Abbey Churches in Western Canada: Westminster Abbey, Mission, British Columbia and St. Peter's Abbey, Muenster, Saskatchewan" in the *American Benedictine Review* is one notable exception.¹⁵ As a result of this gap in structure-based ecclesiastical architectural analysis, this discussion's focus will be constrained to a shorter time period than originally planned. This will allow for the space required to adequately create the case study analyses needed for the groundwork of a regional history by style. However, unlike many of the aforementioned analyses whose focus is the structure itself (typical of art history as a discipline), my focus will be more historically contextualized and

¹³Sarah Carter, "Material Culture and the W. R. Motherwell Home," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1983); Don Kerr, "Building the University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1930," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1980).

¹⁴Malcolm Thurlby, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2007); Peter Coffman, "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2006).

¹⁵Geoffrey Simmins, "Order and Light: The Architecture of Two Benedictine Abbey Churches in Western Canada: Westminster Abbey, Mission, British Columbia, and St. Peter's Abbey. Muenster, Saskatchewan," *American Benedictine Review*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (March 2009).

therefore more interdisciplinary. This approach is necessary to enable broader regional studies in the future.

Generally, a regional history by style, such as Coffman's, focuses on one particular style. However, my analysis focuses on two, the Gothic Revival style and the Romanesque Revival style (see Glossary). My justification for including both is that the styles were often used in conjunction with each other and they share many of the same associations. This is due to the common origin shared by all revival styles, namely, that the ills of the industrial era inspired a rejection of industrial things in favour of the past. The Romantic and Antiquarian movements that followed gave birth to the notion of revival architecture as a method to surmount the oppressive nature of industrial society.¹⁶ As the use of revival architecture became widespread, each style of revival architecture became further imbued with specific associations that expressed the aspirations of the users for the future. For ecclesiastical structures, medieval revival styles expressed the desire for social reform, Christian purity, national unity, architectural honesty, harmony with nature, and a "worshipful atmosphere."¹⁷ In essence, medieval revival styles were used with the intent to enable struggling religious denominations to assume the strength and unity of the medieval Church through its architecture.

The first attempt at adopting medieval styles was characterized by superficial medieval forms that were attached to otherwise Georgian or vernacular structures (the Early Gothic Revival). As time went on though, the desire to fully mimic medieval structures resulted in a style known as the Ecclesiastical Gothic Revival. The Anglican Church became the most important supporter and promoter of this style and took to carefully copying English models from the Decorated period.¹⁸ The close connection

¹⁶Hill, 35; Aldrich, 13.

¹⁷Dixon and Muthesius, 10, 21, 17-18; Kalman, 208; Nikolaus Pevsner, 366-67; James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 6-7.

¹⁸Kalman, 208, 222, 231.

between the Gothic Revival style and High Anglicanism that occurred as a result caused other denominations to distance themselves from the Gothic Revival style and adopt other historical architectural styles. The Roman Catholic Church, in particular, favored the Romanesque period, resulting in the creation of the sublime Early Romanesque and Richardsonian Romanesque styles.¹⁹ The Gothic Revival style meanwhile became infused with forms taken from French and Italian medieval structures and the eclectic High Victorian Gothic Revival style was born.²⁰ Throughout this period, components from the two medieval revival styles were also often used in conjunction with each other in order to better suit the aspirations of each congregation.²¹ The interconnected nature of the two styles results in the inclusion of both styles in my regional study.

Many of the Victorian Revival styles share similar associations and purposes though and the argument could be made to include all of these styles in this regional architectural history of Saskatchewan. However, from 1839 to 1900, Saskatchewan ecclesiastical architectural styles were not overly varied. Until the 20th century, the rate of development was too slow to be able to support professionally trained architects and building designs were generally vernacular. This trend changed when the number of immigrants and level of prosperity increased. This allowed the immigrants to import their native styles, resulting in modest style variety. The most commonly imported styles in the province were the Medieval Revival styles as they were synonymous with church architecture generally by this point (especially for the Anglicans).²² However, it should be noted that the uniquely Ukrainian mix of the Byzantine and Baroque Revival styles

¹⁹Carroll L. V. Meeks, "Romanesque Before Richardson in the United States," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (March 1953), 18; Dixon and Muthesius, 192; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, Vols 1 & 2 (New York: De Capo Press, 1972), 91.

²⁰Leslie Maitland et al., *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1992), 77.

²¹Kalman, 236.

²²*Ibid.*, vii-viii, 208.

was also widely used in the province's Ukrainian churches.²³ While it would be illuminating to include the Ukrainian churches in my study, the desire to keep the size of this analysis manageable results in my focus on the two interconnected Medieval Revival styles.

Another omission in this discussion occurs in the religious denominations canvassed. This is the result of the fact that not all religious denominations used medieval revival styles in Saskatchewan to the same degree. The Anglicans were by far the greatest users of the Gothic Revival style while the Roman Catholics preferred the Romanesque Revival style. These two denominations were also the first to establish missions in the province and maintained a strong presence for many years. As a result, the few studies concerning Saskatchewan ecclesiastical architecture have focused on the prominent Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. In Joe Ralko's *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan*, for instance, forty-four percent of the churches considered are either Anglican or Roman Catholic.²⁴ Part of the reason for this partiality could be that the Methodists and Presbyterians did not start constructing churches in the province until the end of the 19th century and were less strictly committed to particular styles. Other denominations, such as the Lutherans, did not start building churches in the province in distinct styles until around the First World War. This trend makes their churches less accessible for studies based on architects or architectural styles. Regardless of the reason, the result is that Methodist and Presbyterian churches have not received adequate attention. Consequently, part of the focus of my thesis will be to render Presbyterian and Methodist churches more accessible. However, there will still be a gap concerning many of the other denominations that did not gain a strong position in the province until after the period of my analysis, such as the Lutherans.

²³Robert Hunter, "Byzantium on the Prairies: The Eccentric Heritage of Father Philip Ruh." *Canadian Heritage*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1990), 16.

²⁴Ralko.

Through the creation of structure-based architectural histories of many of the major religious denominations in the province I will create the foundation for the history of medieval revival style use in Saskatchewan. However, as there are major gaps in the scholarly studies of this area, the analysis of a wide variety of primary sources will be necessary. The most important source for architectural historians is the building itself. In a study of this scope, it is impractical to try to canvass every ecclesiastical building constructed in a medieval revival style from 1839 to 1913. Furthermore, there is no adequate collection of architectural photographs in the province. Therefore, I propose to personally canvass one third of the approximately three hundred extant examples remaining in the province to create this photographic collection. Of these one hundred churches I will choose buildings that were either important for their role in the history of the province, their ability to represent many other buildings of the same type, or their embodiment of extraordinary circumstances (Appendix I). Furthermore, the number of examples in each chapter will increase proportionately to the number of churches built in each period. Through this innovative analysis of some one hundred churches, I intend to create a new primary source collection that will allow me to begin laying the groundwork for a history of ecclesiastical medieval revival architecture in Saskatchewan.

However, other primary sources are necessary in order to create the groundwork for this history. The background information concerning the situation of each congregation will need to be derived from urban and religious denominational histories. There are some valuable urban histories for the largest centres, such as J. William Brennan's *Regina: An Illustrated History* and John Larsen and Maurice Richard Libby's *Moose Jaw: People, Places, History*.²⁵ However, for most of the smaller communities there are only uneven amateur local histories produced as centennial projects, such as

²⁵J. William Brennan, *Regina: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1989); John Larsen and Maurice Richard Libby, *Moose Jaw: People, Places, History* (Regina: Coteau Books, 2001).

They Came from Many Lands: A History of Foam Lake and Area and *Qu'Appelle Footprints to Progress*.²⁶ Many of the communities no longer exist and as such, there are no histories for these towns save a short description in McLennan's *Our Towns: Saskatchewan Communities from Abbey Park to Zenon Park*.²⁷ Consequently, a large variety of primary sources including newspapers, government publications, the *Census of Canada*, journals, and memoirs will be canvassed in order to flesh out the urban history of the province that is required for my investigation.

The histories of the various religious denominations in the province are more complete. Scholarly studies such as Barry Ferguson's *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970*, George A. Rawlyk's *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, and Roberto Perin's *The Immigrant's Church: The Third Force in Canadian Catholicism, 1880-1920* have significantly contributed to the religious history of Canada.²⁸ However, they also fail to provide in depth detail concerning the Saskatchewan experience. In order to address this inadequacy, diocesan pamphlets, journals, memoirs, newspapers, architectural drawings, and local church histories will be canvassed in order to create a fuller picture of each congregation. The combination of all of these sources will allow me to determine the components that contributed to the construction of each of the churches.

In order to create a foundation for the use of medieval revival styles in Saskatchewan from 1839 to 1913, new architectural, urban, and religious histories need to be constructed. The most logical way to achieve this goal is through a timeline-based

²⁶Foam Lake Historical Society, *They Came from Many Lands: A History of Foam Lake and Area* (Foam lake: Foam Lake Review, 1985), RE2267, R8670, SAB.

²⁷David McLennan, *Our Towns: Saskatchewan Communities from Abbey Park to Zenon Park* (Regina: University of Regina Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008).

²⁸Barry Ferguson, ed., *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970* (Regina: University of Regina Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991); George A. Rawlyk, ed., *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Roberto Perin, *The Immigrant's Church: The Third Force in Canadian Catholicism, 1880-1920* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1998).

approach divided according to the three distinct eras of social change during the period. This approach is well suited to an architectural focus because the architecture is a product of these divergent societies and is consequently similarly distinct. In the first chapter I intend to focus upon the fur trade era and the role of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches within that society. I hope this chapter will yield information concerning early prairie medieval revival church construction, the nature of fur trade missions, and the aspirations of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches within Rupert's Land. In the second chapter the focus will shift to the pioneer period and the impact of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches upon its society. Information concerning the competitive nature of the denominations' actions in the prairie west and its effect upon the architecture will be revealed. In the third chapter, the focus will be on the optimistic boom period and the wide variety of churches it spawned. Knowledge will be gained concerning the optimistic and highly competitive nature of boom period denominations and their churches. In essence, my approach will allow me to create a thorough description of the elements unique to the province that contributed to the Saskatchewan version of the Gothic and Romanesque Revival styles, thereby creating a regional history of ecclesiastical medieval revival style use in Saskatchewan.

Chapter 1

Symbols of Might: Religious Missions in Saskatchewan's North, 1839-1905

During the period from 1839 to 1905, the first medieval revival structures were built in what is now Saskatchewan. These churches were byproducts of the fur trade, which then dominated the region's economy. The key players were the major fur trading companies and independent traders. However, the various religious denominations also early came to play a role in the region. They constructed buildings to take care of the sick, educate children, and preach the gospel. These buildings are the embodiment of the aspirations of these religious denominations. The three churches to be examined here are Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission (1860), St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church at Cumberland House (1870), and the Roman Catholic mission of Chateau Saint-Jean at Ile à la Crosse (1860). These three buildings highlight the interdependency of the fur trading companies and the religious denominations during this period, the connection between the success of a religious mission and its ability to provide essential services, and the fierce competition that existed between these two denominations.

Fur trading companies and independent traders established and sustained all of the early settlements in Rupert's Land. The largest of these trading companies was the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). It was established with the support of Prince Rupert and granted a monopoly over the fur trade in Rupert's Land in 1670 (Appendix A)¹ However, its rivals did not recognize the HBC's monopoly, and so from the start it faced competition from French traders and then, after the Conquest, from the North West Company (NWC), which was first formed in Montreal in 1779.² By 1821, the NWC and the HBC were forced to merge due to the financially ruinous nature of the fur trade. They

¹E. E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company: 1670-1870*, Vol. 1 (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 53.

²E. E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), 74; E. E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, Vol. 2, 117; E. E. Rich, *Montreal and the Fur Trade* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966), 133, 130, 74.

were facing strong competition, rising prices for trade goods, a drop in markets, and diminished returns.³ This intense level of competition became a significant component of Saskatchewan's fur trade society.

The relationship between a religious denomination and the dominant trading company in a particular settlement affected the success of the missions in that region. The first agricultural settlement in the western interior, the Selkirk settlement at Red River, was established in 1812.⁴ Seventeen years later, the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) arrived at Red River and set up a base for expansion into Rupert's Land (the parish of St. Andrew's). The goal of the CMS was to change the society and culture of the First Nations people via agriculture, education and religion. Through these efforts the CMS sought to transform First Nations society into the "civilized" culture of Victorian England.⁵ The HBC and the CMS, as major English institutions, commonly sought to triumph over their non-English rivals.⁶ However, in spite of the strong Anglican base at Red River, the Catholic Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was the first Christian religious body to become active in Rupert's Land.⁷ By the mid-19th century though, another order, the Oblates, had become the face of the Roman Catholic Church in the region.⁸ The Oblates were the product of the "movement of religious awakening" in Canadian Catholicism and

³E.E Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, 186, 188, 239-240; Gary Sealey, "History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1870-1900" (M. A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1969), vi.

⁴Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 71-2.

⁵Robert Coutts, "Anglican Missionaries as Agents of Acculturation: The Church Missionary Society at St. Andrew's, Red River, 1830-1870," in Ferguson, 52-5. The Church Missionary Society was an English organization that recruited, trained, appointed, remunerated, and supervised the majority of the Anglican missionaries that came to Canada's Northwest. It was also the most prominent missionary group within the Church of England. Furthermore, the CMS was the "primary Protestant regiment" in the Northwest. (Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995, 107)

⁶Coutts, 55.

⁷Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 163; "The Church of England in the Canadian Northwest," *The Telegram*, 2 January 1904, R 20 II 20, Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB).

⁸Choquette, 2.

its members were primarily French or French Canadian.⁹ The Oblates came to Rupert's Land in 1845, only four years after their initial arrival in Canada (at Montreal).¹⁰ The Anglicans, by contrast, did not really make forays into the region until after the HBC "realized its responsibility and made provision for some of the means of grace" at their trading posts.¹¹ The competition between Anglicans and Roman Catholics that followed could be traced back to their rivalry in England, but it also had local origins. The scarcity of potential converts and sources of support in Rupert's Land during this period served to put denominations in direct competition with each other, often with the result that only one would be successful in any given settlement. The traditional rivalry between the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, coupled with the difficult conditions the churches encountered in the region during this period, resulted in a strongly competitive relationship.

The competition between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics, and the complex relationships between these religious denominations and the HBC, shaped the development of many settlements in the region. Holy Trinity Anglican church at Stanley Mission is a perfect case study for understanding the impact of these relationships. However, in order to understand the effects of these two forces on Holy Trinity Anglican Church, one must examine two other key northern mission settlements: Cumberland House and Ile à la Crosse, both located along the Churchill River (Appendix B). The Churchill River stretching across Northern Saskatchewan was "one of the great trade routes across the continent to the northwest" and was therefore of interest to the various

⁹Ibid., 21-2. The Oblates were first organized in France and later transplanted to French Canada after the rebellions of 1837-8. They were aggressive, ultramontane, and determined to convert the First Nations peoples.

¹⁰Ibid., 18.

¹¹"The Church of England in the Canadian Northwest," *The Telegram*; Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 98-9.

religious denominations looking to expand their missionary work.¹² Ile à la Crosse was established in 1776 by two independent Montreal-based traders, Joseph Frobisher and Alexander Henry, who built a trading post there.¹³ In 1784, the post was taken over by the NWC. In the fall of 1785, the XY Company (XYC) also set up a post at Ile à la Crosse, and the two companies aggressively competed with each other until their unification in 1787. As these rival companies had already settled in the region, the HBC faced difficulties in trying to gain a strong foothold. The first post built by the HBC in the area (in 1809) was abandoned due to a lack of trade (the result of NWC interference) and was subsequently destroyed by NWC men.¹⁴ The NWC was by no means completely supportive of the efforts of the Roman Catholics in the region. NWC leader Alexander Mackenzie “eyed these ‘missionaries’ with distaste,” believing that “nothing but trouble and pain would result from their intrusion into this unspoiled country” and that “they’ll ruin my Indians.” However, “as a gentleman, he could not but be civil and even helpful to these ‘men of God.’”¹⁵ Despite the fact that the NWC viewed the Roman Catholics with the same mix of cordiality and hostility that they felt for any church representatives who might interfere with the fur trade, the Anglicans were not able to establish a stronger presence as a result of the relative weakness of the HBC in the region. The Anglicans relied on their close relationship with the HBC in order to establish themselves in a region; without that support, they were at a disadvantage. Thus at Ile à la Crosse, the Roman Catholics were able to prevail.

Another factor that contributed to the Anglicans’ disadvantageous position was the prior presence of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Roman Catholics (Father

¹²C. Headley Holmes, “The Anglican Mission at Stanley and Lac La Ronge,” Stanley Mission, SHS 208, SAB.

¹³Robert Longpré, *Ile-a-la-Crosse 1776-1976: Saskitawak Bi-Centennial* (Ile-a-la-Crosse: The Ile-a-la-Crosse Bi-Centennial Committee, 1977), 2, Ile a la Crosse, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB; McLennan, 175.

¹⁴Longpré, 6, 4, 9, 11-12.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 24.

Alexander-Antonin Taché and Father Louis-François Richer Laflèche from St. Boniface) arrived at Ile à la Crosse in 1846, and set up the Mission of Chateau Saint-Jean.¹⁶ By November 1860, the Mission comprised a church, a boarding school, and a convent that provided medical care.¹⁷ When John Alexander MacKay visited the settlement in February 1871, only nine Protestants were attached to the NWC; the rest were “Romanists.”¹⁸ While we have no other record of the exact size of the mission at this time, a later report reveals that the mission had grown quite large when compared to its Anglican counterpart. In a patrol report by Inspector D. M. Howard (North-West Mounted Police) on his trip from Prince Albert to Fort McMurray in 1898, he mentions that on 18 August he found a “large settlement of 25 or 30 houses clustered about the Roman Catholic Mission.” There were also “30 to 40 lodges of Crees camped near the mission, where they come for a short time every spring.” He further noted that Chateau Saint-Jean was “the largest mission in the Northwest district.”¹⁹ By comparison, the HBC post on the western shore of the lake only had twelve “dwelling houses where the servants of the company reside, also storehouses and other buildings belonging to the company.”²⁰ The situation described in 1898 shows that the Roman Catholics were well established because they had been the providers of many of the essential services, such as education and medical support, at Ile à la Crosse for some time. The Anglicans could not compete with the Roman Catholic mission once it had become integral to the settlement, especially without the support of their key partner, the HBC. The settlement at Ile à la Crosse demonstrates that having the support of a major trading company (in this case the

¹⁶Longpré, 24-25; McLennan, 175.

¹⁷Longpré, 24-25.

¹⁸John Alexander MacKay, 4 February 1871, Journal, Diary 1870-1884, 1, V. Mackay Papers, Innes Papers, SAB.

¹⁹Inspector D. M. Howard, Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1898, *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1899, Vol. 13, No. 12, 104.

²⁰Thomas Fawcett, D. T. S., “Exploratory Survey of Athabasca and Churchill Rivers,” Annual Report of Department of Interior, 1888, *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1889, Vol. 12, No. 15, 72.

NWC) and being the first to provide essential services was important to the success of a mission.

At Cumberland House, on the other hand, the HBC was the first to establish a fur trade post, and its dominant position was advantageous for the Anglicans. The post at Cumberland House was the HBC's first inland post.²¹ Hitherto it had located all of its posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay and encouraged the First Nations people to come there to trade, but competition from its rivals (especially the NWC) had forced a change in trading policy.²² Despite the strong presence of the NWC with its central distribution centre, the HBC had acquired primacy in the region.²³ Thus, the HBC was more established than the NWC and the Anglicans could accept the request of HBC Governor Simpson in 1839 to establish a mission at Cumberland House.²⁴ The Roman Catholics, by contrast, would not establish a mission in the settlement until 1870. The Anglicans had the advantage of both establishing themselves in this region first, and having the support of the HBC. All of the necessary requirements for the Anglican mission to gain supremacy over its Roman Catholic rival were in place, but the Anglican mission at Cumberland House in fact failed to become the dominant one in the settlement.

The reason for this lay in the social upheaval that resulted from the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870. After the Resistance, many Métis families headed west in order to avoid "the regions where agricultural colonization and the more confining concepts of permanent settlements had surrounded them." Some communities in the North-West Territories received an influx of Métis settlers as a result, and Cumberland House was

²¹Mary Helen Richards, "Cumberland House: Two Hundred Years of History," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Autumn 1974), 108.

²²Deanna Christensen, *Cumberland House Historic Park* (Regina: Department of Tourism and Renewable Resources, 1974), 5-6, Cumberland House, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB; E. E. Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, 69-81.

²³Richards, 109.

²⁴Virginia McKay et al., *A History of Cumberland House...as Told by its own Citizens 1774 to 1974* (Prince Albert: The Bi-Centennial Committee of Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, 1974), 8.

one of them. Many of the Métis settlers were Roman Catholic, and by 1870, their numbers had become large enough to warrant the establishment of the Roman Catholic Mission of St. Joseph.²⁵ By the time John Alexander MacKay visited the settlement in June 1875 there were only a few Anglicans, and he felt that the region would “very soon...be permanently occupied by the missionaries of the Church of Rome.”²⁶ The situation did not improve for the Anglicans. By 1890, there were 490 “Maskegons” (Roman Catholic First Nations people) in the Diocese of Vital Grandin around the settlement of Cumberland House, but still only a few Anglicans.²⁷ In 1881, the Anglican chapel was actually converted into a schoolhouse. In contrast, the original Roman Catholic log-house church was replaced in 1894 with a modest vernacular building with a centrally placed belfry and squat spire.²⁸ In the case of Cumberland House, despite the support of the HBC and the fact that the Anglicans were there first, they were not able to establish themselves firmly in this settlement. The reason for this failure was the influx of Roman Catholic Métis into the region in 1870 and afterwards. Therefore, outside events such as the Métis Resistance could often outweigh the advantages of having the support of a major fur trading company and being first in the field in determining the success of a mission.

The situation at Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland House is relevant in order to understand what happened at Stanley Mission for a number of reasons. First, all missions established during this period, including Holy Trinity, wanted to create a strong bond with a fur trading company and provide essential services (such as a school) in order to ensure success. Second, the success of rival Roman Catholic missions increased the competitive attitude of the designers and builders of Holy Trinity. Therefore, Holy

²⁵Ibid., 5, 10.

²⁶John Alexander MacKay, 3 June 1875, Journal, Diary 1870-1884, 1, V. Mackay Papers, Innes Papers, SAB.

²⁷Sir John Franklin, *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1891, Paper no. 9, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, 151.

²⁸McKay et al., 8,10.

Trinity church at Stanley Mission was shaped by conditions that were unique.

The CMS established Stanley Mission in 1845 with the permission of the HBC.²⁹ By 1850, the mission was successful enough to require an ordained priest, Reverend Robert Hunt (who came from England).³⁰ It was under his direction that Holy Trinity Anglican church was constructed (1854-60, Figure 1). One of the most interesting features of Holy Trinity Anglican church is its size. No other church of this period comes close to the size of Holy Trinity (Figure 2). The church was 25 meters in length, 10.5 meters in width, 15 meters high on the inside, and the steeple and spire were 27 meters high (the current steeple and spire are 5 meters shorter).³¹ All other churches and even secular buildings in the region at this time were only about half this size.³² The Catholic mission church at Ile à la Crosse, built around 1860, was a simple rectangular building, about the same size as the other vernacular buildings surrounding it, with a centrally placed front belfry and small spire (Figure 4).³³ Essentially, the only feature that identified the building as a church was its small belfry and spire. This church was later replaced with a larger structure in the late 1890s, but not until after Holy Trinity had already been constructed.³⁴ The mission church at Cumberland House was built in 1870, some 10 years after Holy Trinity; it was a “small log house” only 6.7 square meters in size (Figure 3).³⁵

Although Holy Trinity was built of wood, it was unlike other wooden churches of the period. Most were originally intended as temporary structures to accommodate a

²⁹Saskatchewan Parks and Renewable Resources, “Holy Trinity Stanley Mission,” 1985, Stanley Mission Church Restored, E2924, SAB.

³⁰Holmes; E. Frank Korvemaker, *Holy Trinity Anglican Church: Stanley Mission*, 1982, 3, R82-520, RE 1328, Holy Trinity Anglican Church Stanley Mission, SAB.

³¹Saskatchewan Parks and Renewable Resources, “Holy Trinity Stanley Mission.”

³²Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation, “Stanley Mission Church: An Example of Ongoing Preservation,” *Liason*, Spring 1984, 10, Stanley Mission Church Restored, E2924, SAB.

³³Longpré, 25. The only surviving evidence is a drawing of the church.

³⁴Howard, 104.

³⁵McKay et al., 10.

small congregation until larger numbers warranted construction of a more permanent structure of stone or brick.³⁶ Furthermore, most of the early wooden churches were simple in terms of their design due to their temporary nature, funding limitations, and the absence of architects in these smaller centres. The Roman Catholic church buildings at both Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland House were essentially vernacular buildings with a few Gothic or Romanesque elements (e.g., pointed arch windows, a crenellated tower, and an apse) attached to the exterior as superficial decoration (Figures 3 and 4). Holy Trinity's design, on the other hand, was not simple, nor was it intended to be a temporary structure. It was consciously modeled on High Victorian Gothic Revival church designs in England. The High Victorian phase of Gothic Revival style placed an emphasis upon a general massiveness, the borrowing of medieval elements from European countries and regions other than England, and constructional polychromy.³⁷ However, Anglicans tended to favour English examples and principles for their churches due to a perceived connection between the Gothic style and the "history of the English Church or nation."³⁸ According to the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS), there were very few English "ancient" (Gothic) wooden churches in England to serve as examples. Instead, Anglican church builders looked to the publications of the CCS for acceptable alternatives. An 1843 publication gave three Norwegian Stave churches as acceptable examples for structures in places like Newfoundland and New Zealand. Holy Trinity displays a possible Norwegian influence through its "loftiness," a trait found in the designs the CCS recommended (Figure 5).³⁹ Furthermore, despite its slender proportions, Holy Trinity

³⁶Kalman, 255.

³⁷Brosseau, 20-1, 126; Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 53.

³⁸Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic*, 7. The close connection between Gothic styles and the English religious identity was common except in the Early phase of the Gothic Revival style.

³⁹*The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture* (1843), 57, 61-2, <http://www.oahs.org.uk/publications/proc_os_1843.pdf> (27 July 2010). The Anglican Cambridge Camden Society/ The Ecclesiologists was formed in England in 1839 along antiquarian ideals in order to promote the study and restoration of Ecclesiastical architecture and antiques. Through their journal titled

does have a certain weighty presence due to its overall size. This characteristic could have been derived from a contemporary emphasis upon matching verticality with horizontality in order to achieve a “superior” church.⁴⁰

Another feature of the High Victorian Gothic style was constructional polychromy (through the natural colours of the building materials themselves), which was first used by William Butterfield in All Saints Margaret Street Anglican Church (1850-9) in London (Figure 6).⁴¹ In keeping with the most current trends of the period, Holy Trinity was polychromatic (painted red and yellow), although not truly constructionally polychromatic (Figure 7).⁴² There are of course other design elements that do not perfectly adhere to the High Victorian Gothic style such as the simple Early English geometric stained glass and Y-shaped tracery, which was more in line with the earlier Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style, but on the whole the design is High Victorian Gothic (Figure 8). When compared to the essentially vernacular church buildings at Cumberland House and Ile à la Crosse, Holy Trinity is on a completely different level in terms of its design. Here was a church building that incorporated a simplified version of the dominant architectural style of the time and was far larger than its counterparts. The design of the church was clearly intended to make the mission stand above its counterparts in the region.

The intensification of the rivalry between the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans in the region also influenced the design of Holy Trinity. As W.C. McVean notes, “the

The Ecclesiologist they successfully promoted the use of English Gothic architecture for Anglican churches (Candace Iron, “Why such an Odd Plan?: Milton Earl Beebe’s St. Thomas Anglican Church, St. Catherine’s Ontario,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (2006), 12).

⁴⁰George Edmund Street, “On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church,” *The Ecclesiologist* (1850), 233.

⁴¹Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 205-6.

⁴²Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation, “Stanley Mission Church: An Example of Ongoing Preservation,” 10; Korvemaker, 31. The paint was applied in 1861 and remained until 1920, when a new layer of wooden siding was added and the church repainted a bluish-grey.

growth of the Anglican Church in Canada was at first painfully slow.”⁴³ As the situation in Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland House made apparent, the Anglicans were falling behind the Roman Catholics in establishing themselves in the region. Consequently, the Anglicans became more aggressive. Anti-Catholicism was well established in England during this period and in the eyes of many Canadian Anglicans the Roman Catholic culture was a “hand of the past and a threat to the growth, freedom, and light of Canada.”⁴⁴ These attitudes, when coupled with the losses to the Roman Catholics at both Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland House, resulted in an intensified rivalry which manifested itself in the decision to create a large and well-designed church, something that would tower over the competition in the region and prove Anglican and English supremacy through both its size and its design.

Those responsible for the design of Holy Trinity also possessed an optimistic hope for the future success of the mission. If they had not believed that Stanley Mission would be more successful than their previous attempts, the church would not have been built to that scale. After the HBC granted permission in 1845 to build an Anglican mission in the English River district, it was another five years before the size of the congregation was deemed “of sufficient importance to warrant the sending out of an ordained clergyman by the Church Missionary Society, England.”⁴⁵ Previously the work of ministering to the First Nations people and fur traders in the region had been carried out by two First Nations catechists (non-ordained religious teachers): James Settee and Henry Budd.⁴⁶ The success of Settee’s and Budd’s missionary work in the region led the CMS to believe that a permanent mission in the region would be “fruitful.”⁴⁷

⁴³W. C. MacVean, “The Anglican Church in History,” in Michael Qu’Appelle, ed. *An Anglican Handbook for use in the Diocese of Qu’Appelle* (Regina: Bishop’s Court, 1954), 7, R20 IV 18, SAB.

⁴⁴Fay, 140.

⁴⁵Holmes.

⁴⁶Ruth Matheson Buck, “Stanley Mission,” 1973, 25, Stanley Mission, Local Histories, SAB.

⁴⁷Korvemaker, 3.

Unfortunately, the early records concerning the construction and design of Holy Trinity were destroyed in a fire, and so we must speculate about the Society's true intentions.⁴⁸ However, given the obvious lack of progress in predominantly Catholic settlements such as Cumberland House and Ile à la Crosse, one can assume that the Anglicans' desire to create a mission that would rival the nearby Roman Catholic settlements was great. Also, given the Anglicans' early success, the lack of competition, and the support of the HBC, they had good reason to hope that Stanley Mission would play a key role in the conversion of the surrounding First Nations people. Furthermore, during this period it was not yet common to build churches much larger than was warranted by current congregational needs (although this practice did become quite common later on, as will be seen). Holy Trinity was constructed on a scale that proved the CMS was unusually optimistic about the future success of this mission.

Another theory explaining the unusual size and grandeur of Holy Trinity concerns Reverend Robert Hunt (who remained at Holy Trinity until 1862). However, before examining this subject, it is important to understand the tradition behind attributing design elements to a single person. In analyses of many medieval revival churches constructed in Eastern Canada and designed by well-known architects, it is a common and justified practice to attribute the defining features of the building to the architect who designed it.⁴⁹ The key features are then traced back to the architect's training and sources of inspiration in Europe.⁵⁰ In the case of most Saskatchewan churches (in the 19th century certainly) there was no architect to whom the design can be attributed. The design was derived from a pattern book or from an existing church (or churches), or was simply

⁴⁸Doras C. Kirk, "Church of the Pioneers," *The Beaver* (Dec. 1950), 52, Stanley Mission, Local Histories, SAB.

⁴⁹This approach has been used by architectural historians such as Malcolm Thurlby, Paul Atterbury, Clive Wainwright, Chris Brooks, Angela Carr, Harold Kalman, and many others.

⁵⁰For example, see Malcolm Thurlby, "St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, School, and Convent in St. John's: J. J. McCarthy and the Irish Gothic Revival in Newfoundland," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, 28, No. 3 (2003), 14; Coffman, "St. John's," 13, 16, 18.

invented by the local carpenter in charge of its construction.⁵¹ In the case of Holy Trinity, its design has long been attributed to Rev. Hunt. The first to do so, perhaps, was F. H. Kitto who, in a 1918 report of a survey he had undertaken for the federal government in what is now northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, stated that the church was built by “a devoted English missionary at his own expense.”⁵² The basis for Kitto’s statement (made some fifty years after Holy Trinity’s construction) is unknown and cannot be corroborated by records from the church, as they no longer exist. Nevertheless, the belief that Rev. Hunt (and his wife) were responsible for the construction of Holy Trinity became so entrenched that *The Beaver* later reported that the Hunts were “chiefly responsible for the building of the church and invested their personal savings in its erection.”⁵³ Based on the sheer volume of the materials (hinges, locks, window glass, and latches) that Hunt brought with him from England, it is logical to assume that he “had a fairly good knowledge of the proposed church’s overall design and dimensions before he left England.”⁵⁴ Therefore, the size and design of Holy Trinity was predetermined in England. Based on this evidence, Hunt does seem to have been properly credited with the design of Holy Trinity. Whether or not he invested his personal funds in the church is unknown; however, given the expense, it is logical to assume that the Church Missionary Society contributed at least some of the funds. Therefore, it is also logical to assume that

⁵¹Barry Magrill, “An Architecture of the Printed Page: “Canada’s Consumption of Pattern Books and Journals in Late Nineteenth-century Church-building,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2008), 33, 37; Coffman, “St. John’s,” 7. Between 1847 and 1850, the Cambridge Society published a series of articles on “Colonial Church Architecture.” The series began in response to a request from the bishop of Colombo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) for a Gothic cathedral design for a tropical climate. It was from these articles that some of the Anglican church designs in the region were derived.

The various Protestant denominations in Canada also derived patterns for new churches in the mid-19th century via architectural competitions in Ontario (William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989),127).

⁵²F. H. Kitto, “Athabaska to the Bay,” Report of a reconnaissance expedition, 1918 Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1919, 21, reproduced in a Letter from Allan R. Turner, acting assistant archivist at the Saskatoon branch of the Saskatchewan archives, to Mr. J. D. Herbert, director of historic sites, on March 22, 1954, Stanley Mission, January 28th, 1955, R190.2, 1.134, SAB.

⁵³Kirk, 52.

⁵⁴Korvemaker, 28.

the CMS was responsible for the design of Holy Trinity to a certain degree.

Another source of influence with regard to the design of the church was the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, David Anderson. In a journal entry from 25 July 1853, Hunt notes, "the Bishop settled the site, size and principal details of the intended church, wishing it to be executed nicely and to have a tower and spire that it may be an object of attraction to the Indians who are awed by such things."⁵⁵ However, there are no other surviving records to confirm the Bishop's justification for the style of the church. Nonetheless, it can still be surmised that Bishop Anderson was concerned with creating a design that would overshadow the smaller Roman Catholic churches in the region.

Hunt may have been responsible for the design of Holy Trinity in much the same way as well-known architects were elsewhere in British North America or in Canada after 1867. However, he was not solely responsible for the design. Others, such as the Bishop of the Diocese and the members of the Church Missionary Society who were driven by the desire to outdo the Roman Catholics in the region and thus prove Anglican supremacy, also influenced the design of this unique church. Therefore, the theory that Reverend Hunt was the sole driving force behind the design of Holy Trinity is debatable. A study of Holy Trinity illustrates all the myriad forces that shaped the religious culture of Saskatchewan settlements during this period, as well as the complex nature of the role religious denominations have played in their history.

Thus many factors influenced the design of medieval revival churches in what is now Saskatchewan during this period. Medieval revival churches generally reflected the aims of the architects, the strength of a particular denomination's ties to Great Britain and the rivalry between denominations. But Holy Trinity Anglican Church, St. Joseph's

⁵⁵Rev. Robert Hunt, 25 July 1853, Journal, obtained through his great granddaughter Margaret Wynne, personal collection, courtesy of Dr. Malcolm Thurlby.

Roman Catholic Church, and the Roman Catholic mission of Chateau Saint-Jean were also products of a society characterized by fragility. These churches reveal that one factor could make the difference in terms of the success or failure of a settlement, or a mission. The strength of the relationship with the dominant fur trading company, being able to provide other essential services, the strong desire to gain supremacy over rival denominations, and the support of motivated individuals all could determine the fate of a particular mission. The settlements of this period were consequently divided, competitive, burgeoning, and easily influenced by external social and economic developments.

The situation in the central and northernmost part of what became Saskatchewan remained mostly unchanged up to 1905. In the north, the settlements of Cumberland House, Ile à la Crosse, and Stanley Mission were created as fur trading posts and religious missions, and they retained these roles despite the creation of agricultural and entrepreneurial settlements in the southern portion of what became Saskatchewan after 1870. During the period from 1870 to 1905, the government's policies and entrepreneurs slowly shifted away from the north in favour of the south. There are a number of reasons for this shift. The first is that the geography of the north was not well suited to agriculture, and therefore, was unsuitable for homesteading.⁵⁶ Another reason was the continued opposition of the HBC. The HBC relinquished its monopoly over the fur trade in 1870 but maintained a significant position of influence in the north.⁵⁷ In the interests of maintaining its fur trade business, the HBC opposed any influx of settlers into the north, as it would disrupt the First Nations people and the animals they trapped.⁵⁸ The central

⁵⁶Norman L. Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canadian Confederation* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979), 116.

⁵⁷The Dominion Government was not concerned with colonization in the northern and western portions of the Northwest Territories during this period. As a result, transportation and welfare services were still the prerogative of the HBC, thus allowing the HBC to remain in a position of prominence in the northwest despite the loss of the monopoly (Sealey, ix-x).

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 210, 219.

region, however, lost its prominence as a result of the railway companies. Their decision to switch the main line to the south in order to capitalize on the unpopulated, cheap southern land caused major damage to the central trade routes and caused speculators to abandon the central region.⁵⁹ As a result of the CPR's decision to switch to a southern route, the Territorial capital was also moved. Lieutenant governor, Edgar Dewdney shifted the Territorial capital from Battleford to Regina in 1882. While legitimate accusations abounded that Dewdney had chosen the site in order to capitalize on the land he owned in Regina, the fact that a southern capital better suited the settlement goals of the government is also true.⁶⁰ As a result of these decisions and factors, the north remained locked in the fur trade society of the past and the central region's prosperity was hampered. The south, by contrast, became the future and the main focus of the settlement minded government. As a result, the primary story of what became Saskatchewan from 1870 to 1913 lies in the south. For this reason, the remainder of my thesis focuses mainly on the southern settlements of the region.

⁵⁹John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West: The Illustrated History of Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 54; Brian Titley, *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 83.

⁶⁰Titley, 83-4.

Chapter 2

Homesteaders and Entrepreneurs: Pioneer Churches in Saskatchewan, 1870-1905

After the creation of the North-West Territories in 1870, the region later known as Saskatchewan entered its pioneer period. During this period, the major focus of the Dominion government towards the region was the attraction and retention of settlers.¹ The new Dominion was led by “western expansionists” who, under the overall development strategy underlying Confederation (1867), felt that the land “had to be ‘opened’ to commercial agriculture and ‘filled’ with white settlers--as if it had been ‘closed’ and ‘empty’ before.”² The government’s efforts included the construction of railway lines, the enactment of the *Dominion Lands Act*, and the encouragement of immigration from Great Britain, Europe, and the United States. These efforts created the ethnically diverse and competitive settlements of Qu’Appelle, Ellisboro, and Wolseley. The churches constructed in these settlements reveal the extent of the influence of the railways, entrepreneurs, and social upheaval on the religious denominations.

The policies of the Dominion government over this period shifted the focus of western Canadian society. Commercial and territorial threats from the United States dictated that settlement was necessary for the survival of the region as a Canadian territory. In response, the Dominion government focused on creating an agricultural society.³ In 1870, the HBC sold Rupert’s Land to the Dominion government and part of this region became Manitoba and the North-West Territories.⁴ In order to prepare the Territories for settlement the government negotiated seven treaties with the First Nations between 1871 and 1877.⁵ At the same time, the government “threw open” the North-West Territories for settlement. The government also enacted the *Dominion Lands Act* (1872)

¹E. E. Rich, *Hudson’s Bay Company*, Vol. 2, 890.

²Thompson, 51.

³Vernon C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 25-6.

⁴Friesen, 163.

⁵Thompson, 48.

to promote settlement by allowing men to acquire a quarter section of land for only ten dollars.⁶ Despite these efforts to attract settlers, the lack of easy transportation and lags in land surveying kept settlement rates low.⁷ By 1881, the region's only urban settlements were the territorial capital of Battleford, Prince Albert, and the various HBC mission posts in the north (Ile à la Crosse, Cumberland House, and Stanley Mission).⁸

The creation of faster transportation and more aggressive immigration policies after the 1880s attracted new settlers. Railways were essential if settlers were to profitably undertake farming or establish businesses in the North-West Territories.⁹ The only railway active in what would become Saskatchewan during this period was the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR).¹⁰ In 1881 the CPR chose a southern route in place of the initial (1880) northern route in order to fulfill the Dominion government's desire to stave off threats from the United States, ensure less interference in the HBC's northern fur trade, and ensure greater profitability for the CPR.¹¹ The construction of the southern CPR railway line resulted in an increase in immigration.¹² The Dominion government was concerned with filling the Territories with settlers as quickly as possible. As a result of this desire, the Department of Interior facilitated the immigration of groups of non-English-speaking peoples, such as French Catholics, Mennonites, and Doukhobors who settled in groups with others of the same ethnicity.¹³

⁶Fowke, 60.

⁷Bennett and Kohl, 16.

⁸*Henderson's Manitoba Directory*, 1881, 168-9, R 2.867, R 80-19, SAB.

⁹T.D. Regehr, *The Canadian Northern Railway: Pioneer Road of the Northern Prairies, 1895-1918* (Macmillan of Canada: Toronto, 1976), 1.

¹⁰W. Kaye Lamb, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1977), 1, 79.

¹¹Lamb, 80. The government rewarded the CPR for its efforts by giving it the rights to every odd-numbered section of land within twenty-four miles on either side of the large route it would construct. It was also able to reject land it deemed unfavourable for settlement and profit purposes (Max Foran, "The CPR and the Urban West, 1881-1930," in Hugh A. Dempsey, ed., *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 89, 91-2).

¹²Fowke, 71, 73.

¹³Fowke, 61-2.

The increase in ethnic diversity during this period had an effect on the religious composition of what would become Saskatchewan. Until 1870, the Roman Catholics and Anglicans were the largest denominations in the region, but thereafter Methodists and Presbyterians became more numerous there. The first Presbyterian initiative in the region was at Prince Albert, where Rev. John Nisbet and a few settlers from Kildonan, Manitoba established a mission in 1866.¹⁴ The fairly separate Methodist denominations (Wesleyan, Episcopal, New Connection, Bible Christian, and Primitive) were itinerant at this time. As a result, they only started to build their own missions in the 1870s, once they had become more unified.¹⁵ By 1891, the previously dominant Roman Catholics had been overtaken by the Anglicans (Appendix E).¹⁶ However, the Anglican presence in the southern and ultimately most populated region, a region that the Anglicans demarcated as the Diocese of Qu'Appelle (Appendix D), was weaker. There, the Presbyterians outnumbered the Anglicans, and thus became the second largest denomination.¹⁷ This shift in prominence was the result of the increase in religious diversity. This occurred as a result of the ethnic diversity of the immigrants, who imported their different religious affiliations.

The first church to be considered here was built south of the Qu'Appelle Valley at the settlement of Qu'Appelle. It provides a good example of the potential of newly formed railways settlements. The first settlers in the region were fur traders occupying a

¹⁴Rev. Canon E. K. Matheson, "The Work of the Church of England Among English Speaking Settlers in the Diocese of Saskatchewan in the Earlier Years of the Diocese," presented at the meeting of the Rural Deanery on 29 August 1917, 3, R20 II 12, SAB.

¹⁵George Emery, *The Methodist Church on the Prairies, 1986-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 5. The Wesleyan and the New Connection Churches were united in 1874 and formed the Methodist Church of Canada. The other denominations joined the Methodist Church in 1884.

¹⁶*Fourth Census of Canada, 1901* (Ottawa, 1902). By 1901, the Roman Catholics had regained the position of most popular denomination in the province followed by the Presbyterians, then the Anglicans, and finally the Methodists.

¹⁷1901 Census.

minor HBC post (1854-1864) that was soon abandoned.¹⁸ More permanent settlement in the area did not occur until the CPR reached the region in 1881-2.¹⁹ However, the circumstances of Qu'Appelle's founding differed from that of most other railway settlements. Qu'Appelle was founded as a joint venture on the part of the CPR, the Canada North-West Land Company, and the Dominion Government.²⁰ This consortium created four settlements jointly--Regina, Moose Jaw, Virden, and Qu'Appelle--before its dissolution in 1900.²¹ As one of the four settlements founded by this consortium, Qu'Appelle received more support than most of its rivals did. The consortium supported Qu'Appelle by arranging a private tour for influential men such as John Robinson (Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario), Nicholas Flood Davin, and Sir William Vernon (nephew of Bishop Anson), who it was hoped would encourage settlement there. The consortium also promoted Qu'Appelle and its shining possibilities in territorial newspapers.²² Trustee William B. Scarth supported the South Qu'Appelle Building Society in its construction of a profitable terrace of four houses. The consortium also sought to make Qu'Appelle more attractive, by grading and brushing its streets, for example.²³ As a result of these actions, Qu'Appelle attained a position of economic prominence. The settlement was described in its time as being the "transfer place for all

¹⁸McLennan, 325; Frank Amas, "The History of Qu'Appelle, N.W.T.," Qu'Appelle, c. 1927, 3, R80-559, R-E698, SAB; Bruce Farrer et al., *Qu'Appelle Footprints to Progress: A History of Qu'Appelle and District* (Qu'Appelle: Qu'Appelle Historical Society, 1980), 2.

¹⁹McLennan, 325.

²⁰J. William Brennan, "Business-Government Co-operation in Townsite Promotion in Regina and Moose Jaw, 1882-1903," in Alan F. J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), 102, 104. In June 1882, the CPR sold a substantial portion of its land grant to a group of British and Canadian capitalists (the Canada North-West Land Company) in order to obtain more working capital. This agreement allowed the Dominion Government to participate as well and soon after, the towns of Virden, Regina, Moose Jaw, and Qu'Appelle were created as joint ventures by these three parties.

²¹*Order-in-Council No. 2278, of Dec. 29th, 1900 Approving Report, Evidence and Cash Statements Submitted by the Townsite Commissioners Appointed by Order-in-Council No. 1527 of June 19th, 1900*, no. 66, 1, 3, R-962, Townsite, SAB.

²²Bruce Farrer et al., 9. In a 1 March 1883 *Moose Jaw Times* article Jarvis and Jackson, of the Canada North-West Land Company said that the "land cannot fail to make [Qu'Appelle] an important spot."

²³*Order-in-Council No. 2278, 7, 11.*

freight” with a “steady stream of wagons and Red River carts” hauling goods to the north.²⁴

The CPR also sought to promote the new towns it founded by donating land for churches, hospitals, and post offices.²⁵ Qu’Appelle was also able to obtain the telegraph line running north through Humboldt to Fort Battleford and Edmonton. The Qu’Appelle telegraph line connected to both the CPR’s telegraph system and the Government Telegraph Line that ran to Prince Albert and Fort Pitt.²⁶ All of these advantages allowed the settlement to become a distribution centre for freight that was shipped by cart and wagon to Saskatoon, Duck Lake, and Prince Albert. Due to its position as a transportation centre, Qu’Appelle also became a major jumping off point for settlers looking to locate homesteads nearby.

The North-West Resistance (1885) also contributed to Qu’Appelle’s prosperity. General Frederick Middleton and his troops used the Queen’s Hotel in Qu’Appelle as a headquarters until they moved north. Qu’Appelle’s citizens were also able to profit by providing the troops with food; serving as teamsters, guides and messengers; or joining the militia for the sum of ten dollars a day.²⁷ Some individuals prospered greatly: S.H. Caswell made around \$500 selling general supplies. Others were not so successful: Dr. Hall, made only \$33 by selling a case of medicine.²⁸

During this same period, Regina surged ahead of Qu’Appelle in population and economic importance. The selection of Regina as the territorial capital in 1882 and the movement of the North-West Mounted Police headquarters from Fort Walsh to Regina

²⁴Frank Amas, “Pioneer Days in Qu’Appelle,” Qu’Appelle, c. 1919, 1, R80-559, R-E698, SAB.

²⁵Foran, 94, 96, 99, 103.

²⁶Amas, “Pioneer Days,” 1; W. L. Wait, Qu’Appelle station agent at the end of the 19th century, memoirs, n.d. in Bruce Farrer et al., 233.

²⁷McLennan, 325; Amas, “Pioneer Days,” 2; André Lalonde, “The North-West Rebellion and its Effects on Settlers and Settlement in the Canadian West,” *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Autumn 1974), 100.

²⁸Canada Sessional Papers, 1886, no. 50, 18, 50; Amas, “Pioneer Days,” 2; Lalonde, 100.

gave a boost to Regina's fortunes and diminished the prospects of rival towns such as Qu'Appelle.²⁹ Qu'Appelle residents still hoped to maintain their town's position of prominence with the construction of the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle railroad. It was not built, as it turned out, but the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway was completed from Regina to Saskatoon and Prince Albert in 1890.³⁰ This sealed Qu'Appelle's fate and made Regina the most important distribution and disembarkation point in the eastern part of the North-West Territories.³¹ As a result of its decline in importance, many residents of Qu'Appelle chose to relocate to more progressive communities.³² By 1901, Qu'Appelle had a population of only 434 compared to Regina's 2,249 (Appendix F).

Whereas previously a settlement could only support one successful church, settlements along the rail lines were able to support more churches due to the influx of settlers. This proved to be the case in Qu'Appelle during the 1880s. The Methodists were the first denomination to construct a church there, in 1884. As their church was the first to appear, it served as a temporary location for other denominations' church services and as a meeting centre for the newly formed Rural Municipality of South Qu'Appelle.³³ The Presbyterians constructed their own church later that same year.³⁴ The Anglicans, however, were not able to build their church until the fall of 1885, after the formation of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle (Appendix D), and the outbreak of the North-West Resistance.³⁵ Despite the boom, the Anglicans faced greater challenges than the Methodists and Presbyterians. Just as had been the case with Cumberland House, the

²⁹Brennan, *Regina*, 21-2.

³⁰Bruce Farrer et al., 11.

³¹Bruce Farrer et al., 11; James M. Pitsula, "Introduction," Bruce Farrer et al., viii.

³²Bruce Farrer et al., 12.

³³Amas, "Pioneer Days," 1; "The History of Qu' Appelle, N. W. T.," 5-6.

³⁴McLennan, 325.

³⁵McLennan, 325; Jean T. Embury, ed., *History of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle*, 1959, 64, S 84-219, S-F 375.1, SAB.

North-West Resistance affected the growth and prosperity of the Anglican denomination in Qu'Appelle. The wild rumors that were circulated in territorial and other newspapers during the Resistance caused a considerable amount of distress amongst settlers.³⁶ Furthermore, the military presence in the settlement during the Resistance caused some settlers to leave to avoid the conflict.³⁷ The unrest also caused prospective new settlers to shy away from the region.³⁸ However, the Anglicans at Qu'Appelle were able to overcome this adversity and build a church there in 1885.

St. Peter's Anglican church (1885, Figure 9) represents a shift towards more permanent and elaborate church structures in the larger railway settlements: it was constructed of brick. The majority of buildings in this period were constructed of wood due to the lack of architects and easily accessible materials. Even the newly constructed Government House and the Commanding Officer's Residence (1876-8) in the capital of Battleford were constructed of wood.³⁹ This trend held true for religious buildings as well and in smaller settlements churches continued to be built of perishable wood. Christ Church Anglican Church in Abernethy (1886) and All Saints Anglican Church in Katepwa (1887) are examples of this (Figures 10 and 11).

However, St. Peter's is also decidedly different from these two contemporary churches in its design and function. All three churches are built in the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style to almost the same design. All three are comprised of an undivided nave (no side aisles), a delineated separate smaller chancel, and lancet or equilateral pointed arch windows with 13th century Y-shaped tracery (Figures 12 and 13). The separation of the nave and chancel in a manner that was visible from the exterior as well

³⁶Lalonde, 97-8. One of the more prevalent rumour articles concerned an imaginary attack on Saskatoon. This story was re-published in the *Regina Leader*, the *Saskatchewan Herald*, and the *Manitoba Daily Free Press*.

³⁷Embury, 64; Amas, "Pioneer Days," 2.

³⁸Lalonde, 98-9.

³⁹Walter Hildebrandt, "Public Buildings in Battleford, 1876-1878," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 1982), 17.

as the interior was advocated by the Anglican Ecclesiological Society and was thus part of the Ecclesiological Gothic style favoured by Anglican churches. The exact level of separation was suggested at 1.2 to 1.5 meters and the size ratio was to be between one third and half the size of the nave. The Society also advocated a vestry such as the one on All Saints in Katepwa on the north or south end of the nave (Figure 11).⁴⁰ All three of these churches adhere to the Ecclesiological principles of the style; however there are some important differences. All Saints in Katepwa and Christ Church in Abernethy were less costly to build than St. Peter's in Qu'Appelle. For example, All Saints in Katepwa lacks a tower and Christ Church in Abernethy is much smaller. St. Peter's, by contrast, has a large broach spire, a large west window with geometric tracery, and is constructed of yellow brick (Figures 9 and 14). These decorative and constructional features separate Qu'Appelle's Anglican church from the other two, and indicate a trend towards more costly and permanent church construction.

The more elaborate design of St. Peter's in Qu'Appelle was the result of a number of factors. Qu'Appelle was the centre of the new Diocese of Qu'Appelle and was therefore to be the location of the cathedral church of the diocese.⁴¹ Furthermore, Bishop Adelbert Anson planned to construct St. John's Theological College in Qu'Appelle and an episcopal residence at nearby Indian Head.⁴² As a result of the town's status, a special organization known as "The Qu'Appelle Association in England" supported the Diocese of Qu'Appelle and donated funds specifically for the construction of this important church.⁴³ The chancel, for instance, was paid for almost entirely by Bishop Anson's family in memory of his brother Canon Anson. As for the design of the church, it was

⁴⁰Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1841), 4, 22.

⁴¹Bruce Farrer et al., 146.

⁴²Bruce Farrer et al., 146.

⁴³"Saint Peter's Anglican Church: Qu'Appelle Saskatchewan," Church Pamphlet Summer 2007; Amas, "The History of Qu' Appelle, N. W. T."

entrusted to William Henderson, a local architect who later became the architect of the British Columbia government.⁴⁴ St. Peter's was therefore uniquely important and the beneficiary of exclusive support. In that manner, the church was not unlike Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission. However, the builders of Holy Trinity did not face the same competition from rival denominations, and would not have been able to build their church if they had. The fact that St. Peter's was built in this comparatively impressive manner illustrates that, among other things, railway settlements were more prosperous and more secure than earlier fur trade settlements had been. This general increase in prosperity was heightened, in the case of St. Peter's, by the unique position of importance that Qu'Appelle's Anglican community held.

Not all settlements during this period were creatures of the CPR or other railways. Some were established by entrepreneurs. These settlements were different from the railway settlements of the period. Generally, they were smaller and less prosperous than railway settlements. Often, groups of a similar bent established these settlements as summer resorts. Katepwa was one such settlement. It was established by settlers from England, Ontario, and Manitoba.⁴⁵ Other settlements were established by individuals who wanted to set up businesses. The settlement at Ellisboro was established by two individuals, Joseph H. Ellis and Levi Thompson, with business success in mind. The two men arrived in 1882 and established a homestead together at a site that was a stopping point for the First Nations people of the region. In the spring of 1883, Ellis set up a store and post office to serve the surrounding farmers and the First Nations people during their visits.⁴⁶ At first the Anglicans and Presbyterians there held religious services in Ellis'

⁴⁴Bruce Farrer et al., 147, 146.

⁴⁵J. W. Bawden, "A Joint Commemoration of The Heritage of All Saint's Anglican Church Katepwa and of The Career of Archbishop C. F. C. Jackson," (Fort Qu'Appelle: The Lake Katepwa Historical Society, 18 August 1985), 5; Rev. Cyril Chase, excerpt from his journal, n.d., rector from 1913-1919, in "History of All Saints Anglican Church Katepwa," 18, R20 IV, SAB.

⁴⁶Robert W. Campbell, "Ellisboro," in Virna Tompson et al., eds. *Bridging the Past: Wolseley and District 1880-1980* (Manitoba: Wolseley and District History Book Committee, 1981), 93, 95, 102.

store.⁴⁷ Eventually (1884) a log hall was built as a general meeting place and these congregations thereafter made use of it for their services.

Ellisboro became prosperous without having access to a rail line due to the efforts of businessman Joseph H. Ellis. The settlement grew after its inception (1882) because of the importance of Ellis's store and post office to neighboring farmers as well as to visiting First Nations peoples. Ellis subsequently became an Issuer of Marriage Licenses (1888) and a Commissioner of Oaths, Affidavits, Declarations, and Affirmations (1894).⁴⁸ As a result of Ellis' concerted efforts, Ellisboro was able to become a relatively important and therefore prosperous settlement.

By the 1890s Ellisboro and the territory it served had a large enough population to warrant the construction of churches. Local Presbyterians built their church in 1894, while the Anglicans took until 1897 (Figures 15 and 17).⁴⁹ The two churches were of similar size (Figure 18) and so were their congregations. However, the Presbyterians were able to build their church three years earlier due to the support of Ellis, who was an elder of the Presbyterian Church (although he attended the services of both denominations).⁵⁰ Ellis further supported the Presbyterians by donating the land for the church, just as the CPR had done in villages and towns such as Qu'Appelle.⁵¹ Given the small size of Ellisboro though, in some respects it resembled a fur trade settlement more than a pioneer settlement. However, the general increase in prosperity during this period allowed multiple denominations to flourish in small entrepreneurial settlements such as Ellisboro, where this had not been possible in the fur trade communities of an earlier period.

⁴⁷Robert W. Campbell, "History of J. H. Ellis," in Virna Tompson et al., 242.

⁴⁸Campbell, "Ellisboro," 95.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Campbell, "History of J. H. Ellis," 242; W. H. Olive, "St. John the Baptist Church, Ellisboro," in Virna Tompson, et al., 474.

⁵¹Robert W. Campbell, "History of Ellisboro United Church," (July 1979), 1, Church Pamphlet.

An examination of the Anglican and Presbyterian churches at Ellisboro yields information about the differences in the two denominations' values and approaches to architecture. The two churches illustrate the growing variety of stylistic choices in ecclesiastical architecture during this period. Despite similarities in size and construction materials, the architectural styles of the two churches were markedly different. The Presbyterian church is essentially a rectangular vernacular styled building with little to identify it as a religious structure: it does not have a tower or a chancel, and possesses simple rectangular windows (Figures 15 and 16). St. John the Baptist Anglican church, conversely, is in the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style complete with belfry, pointed arch lancet windows, a delineated separate chancel, and a vestry (Figure 17). The reason for the difference in style choice lies in their different approaches to architectural theory. Whereas Anglicans tended to use the Gothic Revival Style for their churches due to its perceived symbolic qualities, the Presbyterians built their churches in a variety of different styles.⁵² In the case of Ellisboro Presbyterian Church, local farmers were responsible for the design and construction of the church (George P. and Robert J. Campbell did the masonry work on the foundation and T. W. Sells constructed the church building itself). The Anglicans, on the other hand, employed a contractor (A. Duprau from Grenfell) to build their church and ended up with a more complex design.⁵³ Anglicans generally placed a great deal of importance on ensuring that their churches were designed in a manner to fit the locale, adhered to the "correct" (nave and delineated chancel) style of an Anglican church, and copied English medieval churches.⁵⁴ Therefore, in order maintain their standard of design, the Anglicans used a contractor instead of

⁵²Coffman, "St. John's," 7, 13, 14.

⁵³Olive, 474, 495.

⁵⁴James Barr, *Anglican Church Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1846), 13-14, <http://books.google.ca/books?id=RaQZAAAAYAAJ&pg=PP1&dq=james+barr,+anglican&hl=en&ei=B3pJTIHUDsP68AaT3PCoDg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false> (7 February 2011).

local volunteers, even for modest churches like the one at Ellisboro. Conversely, the Presbyterians used a variety of architectural styles for their churches. A competition for Canadian Presbyterian church templates held the previous year (1893) produced designs from a variety of architectural styles with most having a rectangular plan similar to Ellisboro Church.⁵⁵ Consequently, Ellisboro's Presbyterians were not bound by the same rigors of design and were thus more comfortable with using local volunteers to construct their church. The two churches at Ellisboro therefore highlight the increasingly apparent stylistic differences among the various denominations active in the region.

Increasing ethnic diversity as a result of the Dominion government's immigration policies resulted in well-established settlements, such as Wolseley having a large variety of different ethnic groups that co-existed within the same community.⁵⁶ A few homesteaders arrived in the area in 1880 but the settlement of Wolseley did not truly begin until a CPR work camp was established there in 1882-3.⁵⁷ By 1890, the town's population had grown to around 240 and by 1901 had nearly doubled (Appendix F). The majority of the settlers were of English or Scottish descent (via Nova Scotia). The next largest group was of German descent, followed by those of French descent (from Quebec) who originally lived mostly in a nearby settlement.⁵⁸ The land north of the railway was settled first as it was more "open" than was the case further south; however, by the time of Wolseley's incorporation in 1898, both settlements were part of the town.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Magrill, 40. The competition was created for the purpose of producing a pattern book for Presbyterian churches. The book entitled "Designs for Village, Town, and City Churches" contained church designs in styles that ranged from the Romanesque Revival to Scottish Baronial. However, all of the styles advocated were still derived from historical models.

⁵⁶Emery, 10-11. From 1901-1911 the non-Anglo-Saxon European population in what would become Saskatchewan rose from 34 to 42 percent. In 1901, the ethnic division of the province went as follows: British 44%, Aboriginal 19%, Slav (Austro-Hungarian, Polish, and Russian) 18%, German 13%, French 3%, and Scandinavian 2%.

⁵⁷McLennan, 452; Harold J. Whyte, "Wolseley: Then and Now," in Virna Tompson et al., 3.

⁵⁸Netta Bompas, "Wolseley," *The News*, 17 August 1905, Wolseley, Local Histories, Wolseley, SAB; McLennan, 452.

⁵⁹Levi L. Thomson, memoirs, c. 1926 and Mrs. E. Lemcke, scrap book, n.d., "Pioneer Days and Pioneer Homesteaders, 1880-1883" in Virna Tompson et al., 111.

In 1898, the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists were the largest congregations, followed by the German Lutherans and the Anglicans (with a congregation numbering between 12 and 33).⁶⁰ The Roman Catholics comprised 100 families by 1900.⁶¹ This religious division of the population was the result of the differing ethnic backgrounds of the settlers. Scottish and English settlers were usually Methodist or Presbyterian.⁶² Those of German descent usually supported the Lutheran Church and those of French descent, the Roman Catholic Church. Such ethnic diversity was common amongst settlements in this period and settlements that were more ethnically diverse were more religiously diverse as well.

By 1898, Wolseley had six active denominations and by 1905 it boasted five churches.⁶³ When compared to the similarly sized settlement of Qu'Appelle (Appendix F), which boasted only four congregations and churches from 1887 to 1906, Wolseley was quite vibrant in its religious diversity.⁶⁴ Two churches in particular, St. George's Anglican and St. Anne's Roman Catholic, highlight the increasing pressures on denominations in ethnically diverse settlements. These two churches were not the first churches built in Wolseley, but they were built in the same year (1900). The Anglican church of St. George's (Figure 19) is typical of many of the small wooden Ecclesiological styled Gothic Revival Anglican churches built at this time. The church has an undivided nave with a delineated hexagonal chancel (Figure 20), pointed arch lancet windows, and a slightly square tower protruding from the south end of the nave. In the simplicity of its design, St. George's is similar to the Anglican Christ Church (1886)

⁶⁰Rev. G. N. Dobie, "Extracts from Letters," *Occasional Paper*, No. 54, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Assiniboia, N. W. Territory, November 1898, 4, R-705, SAB.

⁶¹Simone Tourigny, "St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church," in Virna Tompson et al., 496.

⁶²*Occasional Paper*, no. 69, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Assiniboia, N. W. Territory, August 1902, 3, R-705, SAB; Bishop Adlebert J. R. Anson, "The Diocesan Synod," *Occasional Paper*, no. 30, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Assiniboia, N. W. Territory, October 1892, 8, R-705, SAB.

⁶³Bompas, 17 August 1905.

⁶⁴Amas, "Pioneer Days," 1.

in the small settlement of Abernethy (Figures 10 and 12).⁶⁵ As was the case with Christ Church, St George's simple design is indicative of the weak position in which the Anglicans found themselves in Wolseley. The Anglican congregation consisted of only 30 members; in comparison the Roman Catholic congregation numbered 100 families.⁶⁶ The small size of the Anglican congregation was the result of competition from so many other denominations in the town. Such a small congregation did not have the means to build a large lavish church.⁶⁷

Wolseley's Roman Catholic congregation, by contrast, was large and prosperous. As a result of their strong position in the town, the Catholic congregation was able to construct St. Anne's, the first Roman Catholic brick church in what would later become Saskatchewan (Figure 21). The choice of brick indicates that the Roman Catholic congregation was prosperous enough to afford this more permanent construction material. However, this conclusion must be tempered with the caveat that the presence of a brick plant (c. 1884) in the town also meant that it was readily available.⁶⁸ Therefore, the use of brick is not a good indicator of the congregation's importance. Instead, one should consider the congregation's wide area of influence. The congregation belonged to the large diocese of St. Boniface, which included the parishes of Qu'Appelle, Balgonie, Grenfell, Broadview, and Montmartre. By 1896, the parish of St. Anne's was important enough to warrant the visit of the Minister of Public Works, Joseph Israël Tarte, and the Indian Commissioner for Manitoba, Keewatin, and the North-West Territories, Amédée Emmanuel Forget. Tarte even donated a bell to the church during his visit.⁶⁹ It is evident then that St Anne's was a uniquely important church for the Roman Catholics in what

⁶⁵McLennan, 2. Abernethy was founded as a British farming settlement in 1882 but remained very small until the CPR railway arrived in 1903.

⁶⁶Dobie, 4; Tourigny, 496-7.

⁶⁷Dobie, 4.

⁶⁸Whyte, "Wolseley: Then and Now," in Virna Tompson et al., 8.

⁶⁹Tourigny, 496-7.

would become Saskatchewan.

The design of St. Anne's is indicative of general Roman Catholic attitudes towards church architecture in Saskatchewan. The resident priest, J. A. Roy, commissioned the construction of the first church after his arrival in 1890. However, after only ten years, a growing congregation warranted the construction of a larger and more suitable church. Under the direction of Fr. Emmanuel Garon, St. Anne's was built in the Romanesque Revival style, which was a common choice for Roman Catholics.⁷⁰ Roman Catholics generally tended to build in either a more continental version of the Gothic Revival style (usually from French medieval archetypes, compared to the English medieval archetypes used by the Anglicans), or the Romanesque Revival style (because of its symbolic significance as an earlier and "purer" style than the Anglicans' Gothic Revival style). For French-speaking Roman Catholics like those at St. Anne's, the choice of the Romanesque Revival style also provided another method of disassociating themselves from the English-speaking Anglicans who adhered to the Gothic Revival style.⁷¹ However, St. Anne's design is rather simple and exhibits only a few distinguishing Romanesque features. The church is comprised of an undivided nave with superficial interior side aisles, a delineated hexagonal chancel, a front tower complete with belfry, front façade spirelets (originally), and simple rounded arch windows (Figures 21, 22, and 23). It does not possess the heavy buttresses, arched corbels, or general sense of massiveness that many other Early Romanesque Revival churches do.⁷² However, despite this simplicity of design when compared to other Romanesque churches, St. Anne's was still a much more lavish church than St. George's. Wolseley was a prosperous enough community to support a church of the stature of St. Anne's, but the extent of the religious competition there meant that the Anglican community could only

⁷⁰Ibid., 496-7.

⁷¹Kalman, 233, 487.

⁷²Ibid., 250.

construct the modest St. George's.

From 1870 to 1905, the area that would later become Saskatchewan shifted away from a fur trade society towards an agricultural society. This shift was guided by the various policies of the Dominion government, and was accompanied by a general increase in prosperity which allowed settlements to grow in ways previously unseen. Railway settlements like Qu'Appelle were able to capitalize on this prosperity to attain positions of some importance, as is demonstrated by St. Peter's Anglican Church (1885, Figure 9). Conversely, Ellisboro's Presbyterian and Anglican Churches (1894, Figure 18) show that entrepreneurial settlements depended solely on the founding entrepreneurial member(s) for their fragile prosperity. The drastically different churches of St. George's Anglican Church (1900, Figure 19) and St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church (1900, Figure 21) reveal that ethnically diverse settlements, such as Wolseley, faced greater economic competition and pressure than their less diverse counterparts. In all three types of settlements, the churches were constructed during a period of prosperity that was tenuous and easily altered on a whim. However, the society created in these conditions laid the foundations for the unbridled optimism of the next era.

Chapter 3

Purveyors of the Canadian Dream:

Boom Time Churches of Saskatchewan, 1905-1913

The early history of the province of Saskatchewan was characterized by a boundless optimism, which indeed could be found across the prairie region. It was commonly thought that the west would have “a population of 100 million; it would be the bread-basket of the world; it would become the centre of gravity of all Canada; and...would lead the world.”¹ This optimism was the result of an unprecedented immigration boom. Saskatchewan grew rapidly, as newcomers arrived to take up land or find work in the province’s bustling towns and cities. And in this golden age of “boosterism” those towns and cities competed with each other to become the dominant ones in the province. The various religious denominations also focused on expansion in this period, and the churches they built are important symbols of their efforts to achieve the “prairie dream.” In particular, these churches are symbols of the optimism and competitive spirit of the boom period, the desire for cultural homogeneity in a shifting social landscape, and the yearning to have a place of prominence in the glorious prairie west.

There were many causes for this immigration boom but the most important was the policies of the federal government.² Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior (1897 to 1905) in Wilfrid Laurier’s Liberal government, was chiefly responsible for the creation of successful immigration policies. His contemporaries felt that his efforts were producing “vastly better results” than had been obtained under his predecessors (Appendix E).³ Sifton launched an aggressive propaganda campaign to attract settlers to

¹Friesen, 381, 342.

²Friesen 245, 250, 249; Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 2005), 169-70, 167.

³W.D. Scott, “Immigration: Vastly Better Results of Mr. Sifton’s Administration,” *The Morning Leader*, 13 August 1903, 1.

the prairie west just as good, cheap land was becoming difficult to find in the long-favoured American West.⁴ Sifton increased the number of permanent immigration agents, distributed advertising pamphlets abroad, organized displays at regional exhibitions in the United States and Great Britain, and organized numerous tours for visiting journalists. While all these efforts served to increase immigration to Canada, Sifton's attitude towards Eastern European immigrants was perhaps the most important component. Unlike his predecessors, Sifton did not discriminate against Eastern Europeans.⁵ Perhaps the best example of this is an immigration pamphlet, which contains cartoons published by the Department of Interior in 1903. It indicated that there was "room for all;" one illustration showed men of many nationalities singing Canada's national song together (Figure 24).⁶ Publications like this appealed to prospective Eastern European immigrants who were seeking better opportunities abroad.⁷ Sifton's immigration policies were so effective that the number of newcomers to Canada tripled between 1895 and 1901 and then tripled again between 1901 and 1905.⁸ The number of cities in the prairies also grew from three in 1901 to six by 1911 (Appendix F).

An important byproduct of the boom was the creation of an idealized image of the west. The federal government's immigration pamphlets sought to attract new immigrants by portraying the prairie west in the most idyllic manner possible. Typical of these pamphlets was *Western Canada: Delegate's Reports and Settlers' Experiences*. It consisted of one hundred and forty-four pages of reports and settlers' descriptions of the

⁴Klaus Peter Stich, "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (April 1976), 27; Thompson, 72.

⁵Stich, 27.

⁶*Canada: Granary of the World* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1903), 11, 21, Immigration and Emigration, 44, R. 1109, SAB. The nationalities represented included German, Icelandic, Scottish, Belgian, English, Russian, American, Austrian, Irish, French, and Scandinavian.

⁷D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton: A Lonely Eminence*, Vol. 2 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 66-7.

⁸Hall, 63. In 1901, 55,747 immigrants came and by 1905 the number rose to 141,465.

prosperous and inviting nature of the prairie west.⁹ Travelers' accounts and novels published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also conjured up an image of a "wonderland [where] a new start, success, equal social status, and a comfortable environment" were possible.¹⁰ "Booster" literature, however, differed from travelers' accounts and government pamphlets, which focused on the entire prairie west. "Booster" literature instead made boastful, idealized statements about an individual city in order to attract investors who could help it realize its destiny. These pamphlets contained inflated figures concerning population size, agricultural and natural resource potential, land prices, and economic growth. Booster pamphlets were driven by an optimistic belief in the unlimited growth potential of the west, which needed only an influx of capital to be realized.¹¹ While boosterism was divisive on a regional level, it also served to unite the businessmen in a particular town or city behind the common goal of civic expansion.¹² The utopian image of the prairie west portrayed through government pamphlets, travelers' accounts, and booster pamphlets was a byproduct of the boom but also served to perpetuate it by appealing to settlers who were seeking better prospects.¹³

The members of the various religious denominations responded to the boom by trying to strengthen their respective positions within a changing Canadian society. Roman Catholic priests generally focused on absorbing the many Eastern European settlers who came to the west during this period. In the early twentieth century, a great number of Eastern European Catholic immigrants such as Russian Greek Catholics (Catholics of the Eastern/Byzantine rite), Galician (Ukrainian) Catholics, Hungarian Catholics (Latin rite),

⁹Stich, 19-21.

¹⁰Friesen, 302, 304.

¹¹R. Rees, "The 'Magic City on the Banks of the Saskatchewan': The Saskatoon Real Estate Boom 1910-1913," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Spring 1974), 52-3.

¹²Alan F. J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in Alan F. J. Artibise, ed. *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), 211, 213-214.

¹³See R. Douglas Francis and Chris Kitzen, eds., *The Prairie West as Promised Land* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007).

and German Catholics (Black Sea Catholics) began to arrive in the prairie region.¹⁴ These Russian and Ukrainian Catholic immigrants were at first left without priests due to an 1894 edict from Rome that forbade married Eastern rite priests from immigrating to Canada.¹⁵ In 1902 the Vatican finally allowed unmarried Eastern rite priests to emigrate from Galicia, but there were not enough of them to meet the religious needs of these immigrants.¹⁶ And so Protestant and Catholic denominations alike attempted to absorb these Eastern and Latin Rite Catholics.¹⁷

Of these various denominations, the French-speaking Canadian Catholics were most closely associated with the Eastern European Catholics. By 1912, fifty percent of the Roman Catholics in St. Boniface (in southern Manitoba), sixty percent in Regina, and eighty percent in Prince Albert were multiethnic.¹⁸ Under the guidance of Archbishop Adélard Langevin of St. Boniface, Saskatchewan parishes worked to absorb these immigrants.¹⁹ Given the close relationship between the Eastern European Catholics and Langevin's French-speaking Catholics, his attempts to guide the leaderless Eastern European immigrants is not surprising. However, Langevin's Catholic Church was not the only religious denomination to focus upon these newcomers.

The Presbyterians were becoming one of the dominant religious denominations in Canada in this period. In 1875, four groups of Presbyterians merged to form a national Presbyterian Church in Canada.²⁰ By 1901, they comprised fifteen percent of the total

¹⁴Fay, 177. From 1901 to 1911, the total number of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Saskatchewan rose from 34% to 42% of the total population (Emery, 10-11).

¹⁵Fay, 177.

¹⁶Perin, 6.

¹⁷Emery, 133. The denominations that attempted to absorb the leaderless Eastern Rite Catholics were the Russian Orthodox Church, an Old Country branch of the Canadian Baptist Church, the Roman Catholic Church (both the French and English branches), the Canadian-Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Independent Greek Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Church.

¹⁸Perin, 6.

¹⁹Fay, 177.

²⁰Phyllis D. Airhart, "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867-1914," in Rawlyk, 99.

population of Canada and were second only to the Roman Catholics in what would become the province of Saskatchewan (Appendix E).²¹ Presbyterians were interested in “win[ning] the west” for Presbyterianism.²² In the larger settlements, the business of Protestant evangelizing became linked with popular civic efforts to “save society”. For many Protestant denominations, these efforts often resulted in the establishment of schools and hospitals.²³ However, this combination of Canadianization and Presbyterian evangelization was not common among the smaller settlements of the rural west.²⁴ Instead, western Presbyterians focused solely on evangelization through a varied clergy comprised of German, Hungarian, Scandinavian, Ukrainian, and Eastern Canadian ministers.²⁵ In Saskatchewan in particular, they ministered to Presbyterian Hungarians, maintained a presence in the north, and constructed the greatest monument to boom-inspired optimism.

The Methodists were Canada’s largest Protestant denomination by 1896; however, in Saskatchewan, the Methodists lagged behind the other three main denominations (Appendix E). This trend continued and by 1901 the Methodist rate of expansion was not even keeping up with the general population increase.²⁶ In response, the Methodists initially attempted to challenge Anglican and Roman Catholic efforts by shifting their resources from First Nations missions to Eastern European missions. However, most of the latter were not self-supporting. This lack of success was due to cultural differences between the primarily British/Eastern Canadian ministers and the

²¹It must be noted though that 50% of Presbyterians resided in Ontario at this point (Paul Laverdure, *Sunday in Canada: The Rise and Fall of the Lord’s Day Act* (Yorkton: Gravelbooks, 2004), 5).

²²Airhart, 117.

²³Emery, 137.

²⁴Catherine Macdonald, “James Robertson and Presbyterian Church Extension in Manitoba and the North West, 1866-1902,” in Dennis Butcher et al, eds., *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West* (Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 85, 99.

²⁵Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission on the Prairies and the North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 2000), 124-5.

²⁶Neil Semple, *The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 390.

immigrants as well as the immigrants being unfamiliar with the Methodist tradition of voluntary church support.²⁷ Eastern European priests were often either subsidized or charged fees for their services. After the failure of these initial efforts, the Methodists decided to mostly “concentrate on their own people” in urban centres.²⁸ Thus Methodist efforts during this period focused upon both expansion and consolidation.

Compared to the Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Presbyterians, Anglicans were less equipped to respond to the influx of settlers due to a shortage of funds and clergy during this period.²⁹ The Anglican Church traditionally did not proselytize among other Protestants and as such, generally focused on ministering to their own people. By 1905 the national body, under Archbishop S.P. Matheson, felt strongly that the Church should not “enter the territory of another church.”³⁰ However, the arrival of so many Eastern European immigrants caused imperialists to fear that Canadian culture would be “ruined.”³¹ As a purveyor of British traditions, the Anglican Church felt obligated to focus its efforts upon keeping “Canada British ... Christian, [and] preferably Anglican.” To this end, the pro-proselytizing Saskatchewan Anglicans, under Archdeacon George Exton Lloyd, were focused on the multitudes of non-Anglican English-speaking new immigrants.³² Lloyd was an impassioned man whose motto was to “keep Canada British and Christian,” or in other words, Anglican.³³ Lloyd’s zeal was infectious and

²⁷ Semple, 285; Emery, 137.

²⁸ Emery, 15, 13.

²⁹ L. G. Thomas, “The Church of England and the Canadian West,” in Ferguson, 24, 25; David Smith, “Instilling British Values in the Prairie Provinces,” *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981), 132. The Anglicans were the last Protestant denomination to have a unified national purpose. Their efforts in the west were thus hampered by Eastern Canadian Anglicans who were less supportive of domestic mission work. (Trevor Powell, “The Church of England in the Dioceses of Qu’Appelle and Saskatchewan: Their Establishment, Expansion and Response to Immigration, 1874-1914” (M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, 1980), 233).

³⁰ Powell, 233, 208-9, 216.

³¹ Smith, 129, 131.

³² Powell, 216.

³³ Chris Kitzan, “Preaching Purity in the Promised Land: Bishop Lloyd and the Immigration Debate,” in Francis and Kitzan, 293-5.

Saskatchewan Anglicans soon came to believe that the Church should intervene and “play a great part in the development of Canada.”³⁴ In response, the Archbishops’ Western Canada Fund (1910) was created to provide an available minister in each of the new settlements along the many railway lines that were being constructed across the west. This goal was accomplished through its Railway Mission program, where each district along a railway line was placed under the supervision of a missionary.³⁵ The main advantage of the Railway Mission was to increase the number of priests and consequently allow the Anglicans to “overtake the arrears of the past and to systematically keep pace with the inevitable demands of the future.”³⁶

Roman Catholics responded to the influx of Eastern European immigrants by attempting to absorb the Eastern European Catholics among them. The Catholic Hungarian church of Kaposvar (1906-7), near Esterhazy, is a good example of the large immigrant churches that were constructed for this purpose (Figure 25). Slovak or Hungarian-Slovenians who had worked as miners in Pennsylvania had begun to arrive in the North-West Territories in 1885.³⁷ Many came thanks to a letter which immigration agent Count Paul Oscar Esterhazy had sent to their communities extolling the opportunities to be found in the prairie west.³⁸ The first Hungarian settlements, such as Kaposvar Colony (1886), were formed after Esterhazy obtained 125,000 acres of land for Hungarian immigrants. Kaposvar was established when Esterhazy brought thirty-five Hungarian families to the area just south of the Esterhazy settlement.³⁹ More arrived after

³⁴*Occasional Paper*, No. 99, Summer 1910, 8, 16, R. 2.180, SAB.

³⁵David J. Carter, “The Archbishops’ Western Canada Fund and the Railway Mission,” *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Winter 1969), 14; Smith, 131, 134.

³⁶Walter H. White, *Occasional Paper*, No. 101, Winter 1910-11, 23, 26, R. 2.180, SAB.

³⁷Jason F. Kovacs, “Con Artist or Noble Immigration Agent?: Count Esterhazy’s Hungarian Colonization Effort, 1885-1902,” *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Spring 2006), 40, 42, 44.

³⁸Paul O. Esterhazy, letter to J. Lowe (Secretary of the Department of Agriculture), 30 May 1885 cited in Jason F. Kovacs, 41-2.

³⁹Martin L. Kovacs, *Esterhazy and Early Hungarian Immigration to Canada* (Regina: Canadian Plains Studies, 1974), 3; Jean Pask, *Kaposvar: A Count’s Colony, 1886-1986*, 1986, 14, R 86-386, R-E2366, SAB; McLennan, 117.

Sifton arranged for the publication of a pamphlet to promote Kaposvar to Hungarians. In 1902, the Department of the Interior paid Count Esterhazy the sum of \$200 to produce a pamphlet of settlers' testimonials that would promote Hungarian settlement in the region.⁴⁰ It included stories of settlers being ill treated or unable to find work in the United States, moving to Kaposvar and doing well. Esterhazy's pamphlet also contained inflated and optimistic depictions of the prairie west.⁴¹ The pamphlet was a success and not long afterwards, Kaposvar and Esterhazy boasted 900 settlers, 200 homesteads, and 14,000 acres under cultivation.⁴²

French-speaking Roman Catholics had been involved with the Kaposvar settlement since its inception. Father Page of St. Boniface visited it only one year after its creation. In the 1890s, Page increased his efforts and solidified the Roman Catholic presence in the community by constructing the first Catholic church there (1894). It was a small log structure, measuring only seven meters by fifteen meters, with a free-standing bell tower.⁴³ After Esterhazy's pamphlet appeared, more Hungarians arrived and the congregation grew to 800 parishioners.⁴⁴ By 1906, the church committee decided to construct a new and larger church.⁴⁵

Kaposvar Catholic Church is rather grand for a rural church (Figure 25). Archbishop Adélar Langevin of St. Boniface felt there was no "finer rural church, belonging to any denomination," in all of Western Canada.⁴⁶ It is true that there had not

⁴⁰Pask, 14.

⁴¹Settlers Lengyel Jozsef and Babiják János, *The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-West Territories, Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1902) in Martin L. Kovacs, *Esterhazy*, 91, 103; Rev. Francis Woodcutter, *The Hungarian Colony of Esterhaz, Assiniboia, North-west Territories, Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1902) in Martin L. Kovacs, *Esterhazy*, 77-8; Jason F. Kovacs, 40.

⁴²Alan Anderson, "Hungarian Settlements," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*, <http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/hungarian_settlements.html> (2006).

⁴³Roy Hodsmann, ed., *Archdiocese of Regina: A History* (Regina: Archdiocese of Regina, 1988), 103.

⁴⁴"Our Lady of Assumption: Kaposvar Church Centennial, 1907-2007" (Kaposvar: Kaposvar Historic Society, 2007), 2-3.

⁴⁵McLennan, 119.

⁴⁶"Opening of Kaposvar Church," *Esterhazy Observer*, 10 November 1908, in Pask, 45.

been many rural churches of the same size (26 m by 10.7 m) in earlier periods (Holy Trinity Anglican church at Stanley Mission was about the same size) but the larger and more prosperous early twentieth century communities were able to support larger churches. Therefore, the size of Kaposvar church is not particularly unusual. However, fieldstone was not commonly used for large churches in this period and would thus have made the church unusual in this respect. St. Mary the Virgin Anglican Church in Whitewood is more typical of stone churches constructed in this period (Figure 27). Still, Langevin could have been referring to its architectural style as well when he commented on the “fine” qualities of Kaposvar.

The design and construction of the church was the responsibility of Kaposvar’s priest, Jules Pirot. In 1906, Pirot returned to his native Belgium to obtain plans for the church and convince his stonemason brothers (Alphonse, Camille, Lucien, and brother-in-law Octive Willaume) to construct it.⁴⁷ The design of the church is a blend of the High Victorian Gothic Revival and Romanesque Revival styles. Kaposvar church is generally in the High Victorian Gothic Revival style and boasts lancet tripartite windows, a delineated hexagonal chancel, disproportionately sized towers in the picturesque tradition, and a double tower facade (Figures 25 and 26). Lancet windows in multiples of two, three, five, and seven are derived from Early English examples and were thus more common in Anglican Ecclesiological Revival churches (Figure 28).⁴⁸ However, the Roman Catholics often chose design elements from a variety of sources. Indeed, the massive proportions of Kaposvar Catholic Church (which are part of the sublime tradition), and the small size of some of its square tower windows are more in line with the Norman/early Romanesque Revival style (Figure 29).

⁴⁷“Our Lady of Assumption: Kaposvar Church Centennial, 1907-2007,” 4.

⁴⁸Thomas Rickman, *Styles of Architecture in England*, 6th ed. (Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1862), 188,
 <<http://books.google.ca/books?id=QS4DAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=related:NYPL33433068993371&rview=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>> (7 February 2011)

For the Presbyterians, the Norman/early Romanesque style provided a link to Norman Scotland, the homeland of Presbyterianism.⁴⁹ However, for Roman Catholics the association was different. For Roman Catholics there was a tradition both in England and the United States of using the Romanesque Revival style because it was not as closely associated with High Anglicanism.⁵⁰ Therefore, for the Roman Catholics, the use of the Romanesque Revival style served to distinguish their churches from those of the Anglicans. The use of both the Romanesque Revival style and fieldstone heighten the sublime effect, which indicates that the church congregation was a powerful, prosperous, and non-Anglican community. The fact that this impressive church was built in a rural Hungarian district is indicative of the size and strength of Roman Catholic ethnic congregations.

The Roman Catholics built grand rural churches because of the larger congregations that resulted from the absorption of Eastern European settlers. The Roman Catholic congregations in Saskatchewan's cities were large too, but also different from their rural counterparts. Unlike the relatively cohesive rural congregations, the urban congregations were ethnically diverse. Regina is a good example: sixty percent of the Roman Catholic diocese in which Regina was situated was multiethnic by the early 20th century.⁵¹

Regina was founded in 1882 by a consortium which included the CPR, the Canada North-West Land Company, and the Dominion Government whose goal was to profit from the joint development of new towns along the transcontinental line that was

⁴⁹Malcolm Thurlby, "Two Late Nineteenth-century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly: St. Mary's, Bathurst Street and St. Paul's, Power Street," *Ecclesiology Today*, No. 33 (May 2004), 45.

⁵⁰Meeks, 18; Dixon and Muthesius, 192; Hitchcock, 91.

⁵¹Perin, 6.

being constructed along the southern plains.⁵² Regina became a settlement of prominence rather quickly as a result of the actions of this consortium.⁵³ Its support secured the growth of the city through actions such as free land grants to the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney had a vested interest in the settlement and he ensured that Regina became the new capital of the North-West Territories.⁵⁵ As a result of these two important sources of support, Regina was the first town to attain city status in Saskatchewan (1903) and in 1905 it was named the capital city of the new province of Saskatchewan.⁵⁶

However, Moose Jaw was also thriving during this period. By 1901, Regina and Moose Jaw were the two largest urban centres in the eastern half of the North-West Territories and were naturally in competition with each other.⁵⁷ Although both centres attained city status in the same year (1903), Regina was larger and according one of Regina's newspapers, *The Morning Leader*, the "best city" in the province.⁵⁸ Both cities undertook expansion and by 1906 Moose Jaw had become the largest city (Appendix F). The loss of its position of dominance in the province spurred expansion efforts in Regina, and by 1911 it was once again the largest city, a fact eagerly championed by the Regina Board of Trade in pamphlets published in 1912 and 1913.⁵⁹ The building and population boom that occurred in Regina during this period was a result of its status as the capital

⁵²Brennan, *Regina*, 11; Brennan, "Townsite Promotion in Regina and Moose Jaw," 102, 104. Four towns were founded as joint ventures between these three parties, namely Regina, Moose Jaw, Qu'Appelle, and Virden.

⁵³However, things were also a little difficult for the city at times as a result of tensions within the consortium (Brennan, *Regina*, 14).

⁵⁴*Order-in-Council No. 2278*, 4, 11, 109, 111.

⁵⁵Brennan, *Regina*, 12,17.

⁵⁶*Order-in-Council No. 2278*,1, 3; Waiser, 85-6; McLennan, 334.

⁵⁷Donald Richan, "Boosterism and Urban Rivalry in Regina and Moose Jaw, 1902-1913" (M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, 1981), 4.

⁵⁸Richan, 96; "The New Regina," *The Morning Leader*, 13 August 1903, 4; 1901 Census.

⁵⁹Brennan, *Regina*, 55; *Fifth Census of Canada 1911* (Ottawa, 1912); V. W. Stevens, *100 Facts about Regina, Saskatchewan: Canada's City of Certainties* (Regina: Regina Board of Trade, 1912), 26; *100 Facts about Regina* (Regina: Regina Board of Trade, 1913) 15-16, Board of Trade/Chamber of Commerce Publications, City of Regina Pamphlets and Clippings, 2d, R 962, SAB.

city, a major shipping and distribution point, and an agricultural hub. The efforts of the city's booster organizations (the Board of Trade and the Greater Regina Club) to attract industry, though largely unsuccessful, also helped spur the development of the city.⁶⁰

The Roman Catholics built two churches in Regina during this period; St. Mary's Church (currently Blessed Sacrament, 1905-13, Figures 30 and 31) and Holy Rosary Cathedral (1912-13, Figure 32). St. Mary's Church was constructed by a predominantly German congregation. Catholics in 1903 comprised 300 out of Regina's total population of 3,500. Most of Regina's Catholics were of German origin, and were part of a larger German community in the region (Balgonie, Josephstal, and Kronau were also predominantly German). Many of the settlers from these settlements came to Regina after they became disenchanted with farming.⁶¹ They formed a community that was strong enough to support a number of churches, a German Catholic men's club (1906), and a German newspaper, *Saskatchewan Courier* (1907).⁶² The Oblate fathers, who were in charge of the parish by 1903, oversaw a well organized, German-speaking congregation.⁶³

In 1905, head priest August Suffa began the construction of St. Mary's Church (Figure 30), which replaced the original vernacular style 260-seat church dating from 1883. The new church was constructed in two phases. An Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style nave was constructed in 1905 following the design of Samuel Hooper of Winnipeg (1851-1911).⁶⁴ Hooper was a well-established architect who designed a wide range of

⁶⁰Brennan, *Regina*, 58, 61.

⁶¹Brennan, *Regina*, 58, 61; Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians, 1750-1937: Immigration, Settlement and Culture*, Gerhard P. Bassler, trans. (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986), 237.

⁶²Brennan, *Regina*, 65.

⁶³Hodsman, 310.

⁶⁴St. Mary's Centennial Committee, "St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church," 1983, 3, R 88-394, R-E2955, SAB; Rita Kennedy and Murray Grant, "The Parish and People of the Parish Community Blessed Sacrament" (Calgary: Institutional Promotions of Canada, 2000), 5, 12.

ecclesiastical and secular buildings.⁶⁵ His design features pointed arch windows with Y-tracery, buttresses, small pinnacles, and a central tower with an octagonal spire and four spirelets (Figure 30). By 1913 the parish boasted 650 families, and two transepts and a chancel were added to the rear of the structure, changing its form into a cruciform design (Figure 31).⁶⁶ This church is in the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style and was thus more expensive to design and construct than the superficial Early Gothic Revival styled churches. Just as the scale, material, and mixed design of Kaposvar (Figure 25) are evidence of the strength of congregations that were able to absorb the Eastern European immigrants, the choice of the moderately expensive Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style design for St. Mary's is evidence of the strength of the German-speaking Catholic community in Regina.

Roman Catholic priests also focused on providing for the spiritual needs of English and French-speaking immigrants. The second church built in Regina during this period, Holy Rosary (1912-13, Figure 32), is the best example of this commitment. Regina experienced a population explosion during this period from 3,500 in 1903 to 30,213 by 1911.⁶⁷ By 1910, the increase in population caused Pope Pius X to create the diocese of Regina.⁶⁸ The French, Irish, and German-speaking Catholic communities in the archdiocese all lobbied for one of their own to take the position of bishop of the diocese of Regina.⁶⁹ The Irish were even said to have unsuccessfully appealed to Lieutenant-Governor George W. Brown.⁷⁰ However, Archbishop Langevin felt that the

⁶⁵“Hooper, Samuel,” *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950*, <<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1523>> (31 March 2011).

⁶⁶Hodsman, 311.

⁶⁷Dorothy Hayden, *Let the Bells Ring: Knox-Metropolitan United Church, Regina, 1882-1982* (Regina: Centax of Canada, 1981), 38; 1911 Census.

⁶⁸Hodsman, 271.

⁶⁹Fay, 187.

⁷⁰Olivier E. Mathieu, *Journal*, Vol. 1, 1913, 2, R 2.476, SAB. The Irish community lobbied Brown as a result of his prominent position as director of several investment companies, president of the board of governors of Regina Methodist College, lieutenant governor from 1910 to 1915, and as a close friend and advisor of Premier Walter Scott (“Advance Press Service of Hon. George W. Brown” (Winnipeg: British

French were “still the dominant ethnic group” in the diocese, and a French-speaking bishop, Olivier E. Mathieu, was chosen instead (1911-1929).⁷¹ While the French were the dominant ethnic group in the diocese, Mathieu noted that the Catholic community in Regina was predominantly German during this period.⁷² Langevin chose Mathieu to encourage the expansion of French-speaking Roman Catholics in settlements like Regina where they were in a minority.⁷³

No less controversial was the question of whether to elevate St. Mary’s to cathedral status or to build a new cathedral for the diocese. Initially, there was talk that St. Mary’s would be elevated to cathedral status and the congregation would be divided. The Oblates and their German-speaking parishioners would be moved to a new church while Mathieu and the English and French-speaking parishioners would use St. Mary’s. However, Langevin was against this plan because he felt that it would be an injustice to the Oblates. Furthermore, Mathieu felt that St. Mary’s was too small and in too much debt (\$50,000) for a would-be cathedral parish. Instead, Mathieu appealed to Cardinal de Lai in Rome to allow him to leave St. Mary’s to the Oblates and build a new cathedral church instead. Right from the start of the project, however, the divisions within the Regina Catholic community caused problems. The English-speaking parishioners did not appreciate being forced to leave St. Mary’s and demanded that a temporary church be constructed until the cathedral was completed. Mathieu refused on the grounds that this would be too costly and would create a scandal by revealing the tensions that existed

and Colonial Press Limited, c. 1919), Brown, George William, R-E 3935, SAB; Julia E. Adamson, “Brown, Late Hon. George William,” *Pioneers and Prominent People of Saskatchewan* (Saskatchewan Gen. Web Project: Rootsweb, 2005), 68-69, <<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~cansk/P-PP-SK/68.html>> (30 June 2011).

⁷¹Fay, 187. Mathieu was elevated to the position of Archbishop when the new Metropolitan See of Regina was created in 1915 (Hodsman, 38).

⁷²Mathieu, 15. The ethnic division of the Regina Catholic community in 1911 was: 1558 German-speaking, 385 English-speaking, and only 65 French-speaking members.

⁷³André Lalonde, “Archibishop O. E. Mathieu and Francophone Immigration to the Archdiocese of Regina,” in The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions*, No. 44, 1977, 48-9.

between the different ethnic groups in the Catholic community. Because of these tensions the construction of the church became an urgent priority.⁷⁴

Only seven months after Mathieu's arrival, the construction of Holy Rosary Cathedral (Figure 32) began and it was finished by 1913.⁷⁵ The \$135,000 cathedral was constructed during a period of great optimism in Regina.⁷⁶ The 1911 census had just revealed that it was the largest city in the province, and nearly double the size of its closest rival, Moose Jaw (Appendix F). The sense of victory that existed in Regina during this period was no doubt instrumental in the building committee's decision to design such a lavish church. As it was to be the cathedral church of the new diocese, the church committee wanted to find an appropriate architect, one who was Catholic, French, honest, and talented. The relatively unknown Montreal architect Joseph E. Fortin (1875-1945) was chosen and given cost and design guidelines.⁷⁷ He designed Holy Rosary in the First Romanesque Revival style after "churches in Northern France."⁷⁸ In terms of its structure, Holy Rosary is a cruciform-shaped building with structurally delineated side aisles, transepts, and a hexagonal chancel. Holy Rosary also has characteristic First Romanesque elements such as a general solidity, arched corbel tables, and paired and tripartite rounded arch windows (Figure 33). The general verticality of the church, which is evident in the slender octagonal spire towers with spirelets and narrow transepts, exemplifies its French influence. The firm of Smith Brothers and Wilson, which also constructed the Regina power plant and the first five buildings at the University of Saskatchewan, was responsible for the construction of Holy Rosary Cathedral.⁷⁹ The

⁷⁴Ibid., 11, 17, 20.

⁷⁵Mathieu, 2; Hodsman, 271-2.

⁷⁶Ralko, 128-9.

⁷⁷Mathieu, 20; "Fortin, Joseph Ernest," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950*, <<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1571>> (31 March 2011). Fortin went on to design the Gravelbourg Roman Catholic Cathedral.

⁷⁸Ralko, 128.

⁷⁹Ralko, 128; Mabel A. Smith, *Some Building in the West: Smith Brothers and Wilson, Pioneers in Western Construction, 1897-1952*, 1952, 8-9, R-E4499, SAB.

completed structure was 61 m by 27 m, which is over double the size of Kaposvar church (26 m by 10.7 m, Figure 25). The expensive design and large scale of Holy Rosary speak to its importance as the cathedral church of the diocese and the buoyant optimism present in Regina at the time.

The Methodists were also primarily concerned with expanding and solidifying their position in the prairie west during this period. Methodists expected the population of the prairie west to expand at a great rate. In 1905, Reverend J.H. Riddell (the principal of Alberta College) predicted that the North Saskatchewan valley alone would soon have a population of 50 million people. Methodists reacted to the optimistic promise of the west by increasing funding in order to “win the west” for Methodism. However, due to the experience of their failed First Nations missions, the Methodists chose to mostly focus upon confirmed Methodists and English-speaking settlers. Also, they concentrated most of their efforts on already established congregations in the towns and cities.⁸⁰ Consequently, many of the Methodist churches built during this period were the second or third churches to be erected for a particular congregation.

Metropolitan Methodist Church (now Knox-Metropolitan United Church, 1906, 1913, Figure 35) in Regina is an archetypical grand urban Methodist church. It replaced two earlier, and more modest, churches. The first had been built in 1882. It was a simple building, 7 m by 11 m in size, and cost only \$863.75 to construct.⁸¹ Given the Methodists’ preference for plain and utilitarian churches at this time, the simple vernacular design of the first church is not surprising.⁸² In 1884, this church was moved

⁸⁰Emery, 7-8, 13, 15.

⁸¹Hayden, 7.

⁸²Allison D. Fizzard, “Methodist Medievalism: The Churches of the Primitive Methodists in Nineteenth-century Toronto,” *The Year’s Work in Medievalism*, Vol. IX (Holland, Michigan: Studies in Medievalism, 1994), 121-2. Early on, Methodists had a general aversion to expensively styled churches due to their focus upon the ethereal world instead of the material world and their fear of being reliant upon wealthy men.

to a more desirable location and a choir loft was added.⁸³ However, another change was made during this move that shows that the congregation's attitude towards architectural styles was changing. Jacob W. Smith (a local hardware merchant and subsequently mayor of Regina) later recalled that during the move "we fixed the windows to look like Gothic."⁸⁴ When the church was moved to a more prominent location, the congregation added superficial Gothic elements to give it a more imposing appearance. The shift in style preference can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century when some Methodists began to advocate the use of Medieval Revival styles. These "pro-ornamentation Methodists" were concerned about having a structure that was recognizable as a church, would glorify god, would attract the more sophisticated urban parishioners, and be in line with new trends.⁸⁵ However, the choice of the Gothic Revival style was not a natural choice for Methodist congregations. In Toronto's contemporary Sherborne Street Methodist church (1886/7), a Richardsonian Romanesque style structure was chosen in order to avoid the possible association with Roman Catholicism or Anglicanism that could be implied with a Gothic Church (Figure 34).⁸⁶ However, in the Regina Methodist congregation, these associations apparently were not a matter of concern, and so its second church, built in 1889, was also built in the vernacular Gothic Revival style. It was built for \$6,273.16 and had a capacity of 355.⁸⁷ The design of the congregation's first two churches suggests that the congregation was probably concerned with popular styles but not hampered by their possible negative associations.

The third structure, Metropolitan Methodist church (1906, 1913, Figure 35), differed from its two predecessors in its size, design, and function. Metropolitan

⁸³Hayden, 12.

⁸⁴Jacob W. Smith, Reminiscence from November 25th 1926, in Hayden, 10.

⁸⁵Fizzard, 122-3.

⁸⁶Thurlby, "Two Late Nineteenth-Century Roman Catholic Churches in Toronto by Joseph Connolly," 45.

⁸⁷Hayden, 14, 16.

Methodist is a reflection of a shift in style preferences. A three-fold increase in the population of Regina between 1901 and 1906 (Appendix F) caused the Methodists to feel that a larger church would be warranted.⁸⁸ The Toronto and Winnipeg firm of Darling and Pearson was chosen to design the structure and the supervising architect was a recently arrived Englishman, Francis H. Portnall.⁸⁹ Darling and Pearson were best known for their bank designs and had only designed three Toronto churches prior to Metropolitan Methodist, while Portnall was untested.⁹⁰ Perhaps this lack of familiarity with ecclesiastical design explains why Darling and Pearson's design is a mixture of the domestic and the ecclesiastical version of the Romanesque Revival style. Its small rectangular windows, rectangular form, and crenellated smaller tower are components of the domestic version of the First Romanesque Revival style that was based on the architecture of Romanesque castles (Figure 36). However, the general solidity of Metropolitan Methodist church and its massive front colonnade are more in line with ecclesiastical examples of the First Romanesque Revival and Richardsonian Romanesque Revival styles (Figure 37). The only feature that diverges from these styles is the segmental arches in the front colonnade, which were derived from late English Gothic domestic architecture (Figure 38). This fundamentally Romanesque Revival style church was in line with other Methodist churches, such as the Sherborne church (Figure 34), and avoided the Gothic Revival associations with the Anglicans that the second church had exhibited.

Metropolitan Methodist church was also a reflection of the impact of the boom. The final cost for this church was \$80,000, which was nearly ten times the cost of the

⁸⁸Ralko, 130; Hayden 138.

⁸⁹Hayden, 19, 20.

⁹⁰“Darling, Frank,” *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950*, <<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1638>> (31 March 2011); “Portnall, Francis Henry,” *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950*, <<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1394>> (31 March 2011).

Roman Catholic Kaposvar church (Appendix G). However the church was badly damaged in the 1912 tornado, which destroyed five hundred structures and caused \$1.2 million in property damage.⁹¹ In the aftermath of the tornado, the damaged city set about to rebuild but was hampered by carpenters', painters', and bricklayers' strikes over the summer months.⁹² Due to the level of damage to the church and the challenges facing the city it would not have been surprising for this large and expensive church to be abandoned in favour of a completely new design. However, the optimism that resulted from Regina's emergence from the 1911 census (Appendix F) as the largest city in the province allowed the church committee to have hope for the future. The decision was made to rebuild the structure with few changes and Francis Portnall (along with Holy Rosary's designer, Joseph E. Fortin) redesigned the church. The only major change was the addition of large Gothic Revival style pointed arch windows with 16th century English Perpendicular tracery placed along three of its four sides (Figure 37).⁹³ The redesign of the windows in the Gothic Revival style is reminiscent of changes made to the first church during its move. The shift towards the Gothic Revival style is indicative of the congregation's attitude towards architectural styles. The church members' guidelines for the design were that the structure should be "about 70 by 100 feet [21 m by 30 m], with a seating capacity of about 1,200, with an auditorium similar to Zion church Winnipeg... exterior to be of stone and red brick if cost be not too great."⁹⁴ However, no specifications were given concerning the architectural style to be adopted. The church committee instead focused its attention on the interior design of the auditorium.

Another Methodist church congregation, Third Avenue Methodist/United

⁹¹Emery, 16.

⁹²Patrick H. Brennan, "It's an Ill Wind that Blows Nobody Good: Regina's 1912 'Cyclone,'" in Maxwell Foran and Anthony W. Rasporich, eds., *Harms' Way: Disasters in Western Canada* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 129, 132-3.

⁹³Ralko, 131.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 19.

Church's in Saskatoon (1911-13, Figure 39), also focused upon the design of the interior auditorium. The church was designed by M. J. Semmens of Winnipeg and constructed by the firm of Smith Brothers and Wilson, the same firm that had constructed Holy Rosary Cathedral (Figure 32). Third Avenue Methodist Church was completed at a final cost of \$200,000 and boasted an auditorium that lacked pillars, "an engineering feat" at the time (Appendix G, Figure 40).⁹⁵ The construction of such an ingenious church is not surprising when the growth of Saskatoon during this period is taken into account. Saskatoon was founded by the Toronto-based Temperance Colonization Society in 1883. It went through the ups and downs that were common to most settlements in the late 1800s but was less prosperous and resilient than many of its neighbours, as is made evident by its paltry population of 113 in 1901 (Appendix F). During the next decade, however, Saskatoon became an "instant city" of importance as a result of becoming the distribution centre for the central region, the arrival of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (1906), and an active booster community.⁹⁶ From 1906 to 1911, the population of the city had quadrupled to 12,004 (Appendix F), a feat which caused considerable optimism for the city's future. The September 1909 edition of *Canada* contained a speech by the Minister of Agriculture, Sydney Fisher, on the "great city" of Saskatoon that was advantageously situated, prosperous, and thus better suited for greatness than the "whole North-West."⁹⁷ Added to the general western optimism, though, was an intense rivalry with Regina. *Canada* reported that although Saskatoon was not the capital city, it "is the university city of the province and equals Regina in commercial importance."⁹⁸ This rivalry led Saskatoon's Mayor William Hopkins to outrageously declare that the

⁹⁵Ibid, 135.

⁹⁶Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half Century* (Edmonton: NeWest, 1982), xxiii, 15-16, 28, 31, 36, 40-41, 52-55.

⁹⁷Sydney Fisher, "Saskatoon: A Splendid Site for a Great City," *Canada*, 18 September 1909, 9, Canada, Newscuttings, Saskatchewan, Pamphlet File, SAB.

⁹⁸"Busy Saskatoon," *Canada*, 6 November 1909, 22.

population would easily grow to 100,000 in “a few years.”⁹⁹ However, in the 1911 census, the official population of Regina had reached 30,213, a figure that was twice that of Saskatoon (Appendix F). The mayor and other Saskatoon boosters were incensed by the census results; the Board of Trade proceeded to conduct its own census, which put the population at 18,096. A real estate boom followed and the various denominations responded by constructing larger and nobler edifices.¹⁰⁰ By May 1911, 14 churches had been constructed and Third Avenue was said to boast three of the “wealthy” churches in the city.¹⁰¹ Given the climate of optimism in Saskatoon during this period, the fact that Third Avenue Methodist church is innovative and impressive is not surprising.

Third Avenue Methodist church is much grander than Metropolitan Methodist in terms of its construction materials, size, design, and decorative elements. However, in both churches the chief focus is still the interior auditorium.¹⁰² Methodists preferred seating that allowed for the maximum number of people to hear the preacher at all times due to the importance they placed on preaching. The Gothic Revival style, with its chancel, side aisles and transepts, was not well suited for this purpose and so Methodists often opted for another style such as Romanesque Revival. Nonconformist Protestant denominations in the United States commonly had been using the Romanesque Revival style for their churches since the middle of the 19th century, setting an important precedent for Saskatchewan’s Methodists.¹⁰³ The congregation of Metropolitan Methodist, however, had a preference for Gothic Revival elements despite this precedent. Part of the reason behind their choice could be derived from Eastern Canadian and British Protestants’ preference for Gothic Revival styles during the 19th century.¹⁰⁴ Unlike early

⁹⁹B. Peel and E. Knowles, *The Saskatoon Story, 1882-1952* (Saskatoon: Melville A. East, 1952, 70.

¹⁰⁰Kerr and Hanson, 114, 105, 109.

¹⁰¹“Round Saskatoon in a Motor,” *Canada*, 27 May 1911, 92.

¹⁰²Ralko., 135.

¹⁰³Fizzard, 123-4.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

Methodists, though, Saskatchewan Methodists in this period were freer in their use of different architectural styles. They also had a great deal of optimism for the future of the Methodist congregations in Saskatchewan cities. This was especially so in Regina and Saskatoon, where they built large churches in opulent architectural styles, as an expression of their shared optimism for the future prosperity of their cities.

The Presbyterians constructed a wide variety of church types for rural, urban, and ethnic congregations during this period. While each of these churches reflected the tastes of individual congregations, they shared a common goal of trying to solidify a position of prominence in the prairie west. Many Presbyterians of this period were influenced by ordained Presbyterian minister and fiction writer Charles W. Gordon's (a.k.a. Ralph Connor, 1860-1937) image of the prairie west. In response to the Presbyterian Church's inability to sustain western missions "adequately," Gordon wrote novels that would inspire people to give more support for the missions.¹⁰⁵ He depicted the west as a "cultivated utopia" that was close to nature and allowed "good hearted and manly men" to start afresh and win "victories for the temperance movement and the church."¹⁰⁶ Three Presbyterian churches--Bekevar Presbyterian Church near Kipling, 1911-2 (Figure 41), St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in Prince Albert, 1906 (Figure 42), and St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Moose Jaw, 1912 (Figure 44)--illustrate the manner in which Presbyterians responded to the proselytizing call of the prairie west during the boom period. Unlike the Methodists, who chose to mostly ignore Eastern European immigrants, Presbyterians attempted to assimilate them. Ukrainian immigrants received the most attention.¹⁰⁷ However, the churches constructed for Ukrainian immigrants were designed in a distinct mix of the Byzantine and Baroque Revival architectural styles and are

¹⁰⁵John Lennox, *Charles W. Gordon ("Ralph Connor") and His Works* (Toronto: ECW Press, c. 1989), 1-2.

¹⁰⁶Friesen, 303-4; Airhart, 128-9.

¹⁰⁷Kalman, 349.

outside of the bounds of this analysis of Medieval Revival architecture in Saskatchewan.¹⁰⁸

Saskatchewan Presbyterians also concerned themselves with Hungarian immigrants, but so did the Roman Catholics, and tensions erupted. The Hungarian Bekevar colony near what is now Kipling began to develop in 1900.¹⁰⁹ Janos Szabo started a Hungarian Reformed (Calvinist) Church colony after hearing about the success of a similar colony at Otthon (situated between the towns of Melville and Yorkton).¹¹⁰ Hungarian settlers from Szabo's hometown of Botragy, from other Hungarian towns, and from Whitewood moved into the colony.¹¹¹ The natural affinity between Saskatchewan Calvinist Presbyterians and the Calvinist Reformed immigrants resulted in the settlement receiving Presbyterian assistance from its inception. James Robertson, the Superintendent of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, sent Hungarian Presbyterian minister Kálmán Kovácsi to Bekevar (1901-1910) as part of an initiative to assist Hungarian Reformed settlers in Saskatchewan.¹¹² By October 1910, the congregation was large enough and Szabo proposed that a permanent stone church be constructed in honour of the congregation's tenth anniversary. The impressive Hungarian Catholic Kaposvar church (Figure 25) was located nearby and it is likely that it served as a model for the Bekevar church committee. However the estimated cost of "several thousand dollars" (Appendix G) proved to be too much for the congregation and it approved a new proposal in June 1911 requiring only "a beautiful and large church that will be worthy of the congregation."¹¹³ When finally completed in July 1912 Bekevar Presbyterian Church

¹⁰⁸Hunter, "Byzantium on the Prairies," 16.

¹⁰⁹Martin L. Kovacs, *Esterhazy*, 45.

¹¹⁰Anderson, "Hungarian Settlements."

¹¹¹Martin L. Kovacs, "The Saskatchewan Era, 1885-1914," in N. F. Dreisziger et al., *Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), 64.

¹¹²Martin L. Kovacs, *Esterhazy*, 43.

¹¹³Canadian Magyar Farmer, Proposal, 26 June 1911, and Martin L. Kovacs in Martin L. Kovacs, *Peace and Strife: Some Facets of the History of an Early Prairie Community* (Kipling: Kipling District Historical Society, 1980), 27, RE973, R81-31, SAB.

(Figure 41) was a wooden structure with a capacity of 250-300 people that cost some \$2,000. However, the Hungarian Presbyterians had not forgotten their desire to compete with the Roman Catholic Kaposvar colony. They used an opulent three-day consecration event (most consecrations lasted only one day) to “make a tacit claim for superiority” against the Esterhazy-Kaposvar colony and its impressive church (Figure 25). The Hungarian Presbyterians at Bekevar believed that the presence of Kaposvar’s French Catholic priests threatened their religion, heritage, and language. In response, the congregation at Bekevar constructed a “beautiful” church to indicate that their community and not the rival one at Kaposvar was the bearer of “western Canadian Hungarian identity.”¹¹⁴ The rivalry between the Kaposvar and Bekevar colonies reflected the regional and denominational rivalries brought on by the boom.

The architectural style of Bekevar church is a reflection of its congregation’s desire to gain a place of prominence in Saskatchewan’s Hungarian community. It is also a response to the threat posed by the impressive stone church at Kaposvar and its congregation. Bekevar church is a fairly large wooden Early Gothic Revival style church laid out in an irregular cruciform plan (Figure 41). The Gothic Revival elements are the pointed arch lancet windows, delineated chancel, double tower facade, and the transepts. However, the oversized transepts, small decorative red gablets on the facade, and the colouring also reveal Hungarian and vernacular influences. The unusual shape of the church reflects a number of potential influences. It was less common for Presbyterian and Methodist congregations to follow the traditional porch, nave, and chancel associated with Gothic Revival churches because this did not meet their liturgical needs. For this church in particular, the shape of the elongated transepts was no doubt due to the desire to have an arc-shaped seating arrangement that surrounded and focused upon the raised

¹¹⁴Rev. K.C. Doka, n.d., and Martin L. Kovacs, in Martin L. Kovacs, *Peace and Strife*, 20, 31, 35, 44, 43.

pulpit occupied by the pastor.¹¹⁵ The elongated transepts also served to create a much more imposing facade for a wooden church. Despite their inability to construct a stone structure that would rival Kaposvar church, Bekevar's congregation still created a church that could "dominate and control" its environment.¹¹⁶

In contrast, the Presbyterians' urban churches, built for English-speaking settlers, were rather more modest. Such a church is St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in Prince Albert (1906, Figure 42). Prince Albert was established in 1866 by Scottish-born Presbyterian missionary James Nisbet (1823-74) along with John McKay, and George Flett.¹¹⁷ The mission settlement grew rapidly and had 300 English-speaking settlers by 1874, nearly 900 by 1879, 1,009 by 1891, and 1,785 by 1901.¹¹⁸ Prince Albert became a city in 1904, but by this time it was losing ground to its rivals farther south, especially Saskatoon.¹¹⁹ By 1911, Prince Albert's population was only 6,254, well behind Saskatoon's population of 12,004 (Appendix F). Nevertheless, expectations for the city's future remained high.¹²⁰ Federal government pamphlets continued to promote it to settlers and in doing so contributed to this optimism. In 1909, Department of Interior Inspector Ernest W. Hubbell described Prince Albert as having experienced "vast improvement," and being "picturesque" and possessing "many beautiful buildings."¹²¹ The 1907 Department of Interior pamphlet "The Last, Best West" published only one image of a

¹¹⁵William Westfall and Malcolm Thurlby, "Church Architecture and Urban Space: The Development of Ecclesiastical Forms in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J. M. S. Careless* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 124, 128.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 125.

¹¹⁷James Nisbet, Letter from Nisbet to Rev. R. F. Burns, 30 July 1866, in Manon Lamontagne et al., ed., *The Voice of the People: Reminiscences of Prince Albert's Settlement's Early Citizens, 1866-1895* (Prince Albert: Prince Albert Historical Society, 1985), 19-20; Lamontagne et al., 9.

¹¹⁸McLennan, 321, 322; 1901 Census, 1911 Census.

¹¹⁹Gary W. D. Abrams, *Prince Albert: The First Century, 1866-1966* (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1966), 128, 125.

¹²⁰Abrams, 177.

¹²¹Ernest W. Hubbell, Report, Inspection of Survey Contracts in the Provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 20 February 1909, 2, Department of Interior, 237, R. 183, SAB.

town in their section on Saskatchewan, a river front view of Prince Albert.¹²² The city's boosters were encouraged to such an extent that they claimed that Prince Albert was on its way to becoming one of the three "big cities" on the American continent along with Winnipeg and Edmonton.¹²³ In the hopes of achieving this goal, the city began construction of a \$815,000 hydroelectric dam at La Colle Falls on the North Saskatchewan River, which was intended to make the city a major manufacturing centre. The project proved to be too costly and was never completed, but it is indicative of the degree of optimism that existed in Prince Albert during this boom period.¹²⁴

It was "in this era of optimism" that Prince Albert's Presbyterians decided to build a fourth church, St. Paul's (1906, Figure 42). It was designed by William J. Wright of Prince Albert, could seat 750 people, and cost \$45,000 to build.¹²⁵ St. Paul's is constructed of red brick, has European Gothic Revival ogee arch vesica tracery windows, buttresses, a Picturesque double tower facade, and a large pinnacle atop the main tower (Figure 43). However, its rectangular structure, rectangular tower windows, and balustrade are vernacular in style. St. Paul's is therefore in the eclectic Late Gothic Revival style.

Given the fact that Prince Albert was founded by Presbyterians, one would expect that the congregation would be prosperous enough to afford a large and ornately designed structure like St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Moose Jaw (Figure 44). Even from its inception, a picturesque and prominent place for the Presbyterian church and mission had been stipulated by the city's founder, James Nisbet.¹²⁶ Instead, the church constructed

¹²²*The Last Best West* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, c.1907), 5, Immigration and Emigration, No. 41, R. 1009, SAB.

¹²³*Prince Albert: Europe's Easiest Way* (Prince Albert: Prince Albert Board of Trade, 1910), 1, R-E 4127, SAB.

¹²⁴Abrams, 140, 184, 188.

¹²⁵Doris Barentsen, ed., *St Paul's Presbyterian Church 1866-2006: A History* (Canada: Campbell Printing Ltd., 2006), 64.

¹²⁶Nisbet, 20.

was merely a “fine church” in the words of the Prince Albert Board of Trade. The most logical explanation for this would be that Prince Albert’s modest growth did not inspire the congregation to build beyond its means. Another factor was that the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics had situated the headquarters of their northern dioceses--the Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Prince Albert--in the city and were well represented in Prince Albert (Appendix E).¹²⁷ Due to both Prince Albert’s modest growth and the high level of denominational competition there, the Presbyterian congregation in that city was not prosperous enough to respond to the optimism and idealistic view of the potential of the west as strongly as other denominations did.

Saskatchewan Presbyterians’ optimism manifested itself instead in the cathedral-styled churches constructed in the province’s largest cities. The most imposing was St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church in Moose Jaw (1912, Figure 44), it is one of the best examples of the unbridled optimism this period. Moose Jaw was founded as the Canadian Pacific Railway was being constructed across the south in 1882.¹²⁸ Moose Jaw’s early growth was accelerated by the CPR consortium’s infrastructure improvements.¹²⁹ In 1883 the CPR divisional point was moved from Regina to Moose Jaw and the town became a major centre. With its prominent position, Moose Jaw was able to attain town status only two years after its creation (1884) and city status by 1903.¹³⁰ Moose Jaw grew rapidly during this period; indeed its population momentarily surpassed Regina’s in 1906, but Regina surged ahead of Moose Jaw again by 1911 census (Appendix F). Moose Jaw boosters tried to keep their position of prominence by contending that the population had

¹²⁷*Prince Albert: Europe’s Easiest Way*, 9, 28, 11.

¹²⁸Larsen and Libby, 7.

¹²⁹*Order-in-Council No. 2278, of Dec. 29th, 1900 Approving Report, Evidence and Cash Statements Submitted by the Townsite Commissioners Appointed by Order-in-Council No. 1527 of June 19th, 1900*, 3, 110.

¹³⁰Larsen and Libby, 18, 22, 13, 32.

risen to 30,000 in 1913, from only 20,623 in 1911 (its actual population in 1911 was 13,823, Appendix F). While the boosters' population claims were inflated, Moose Jaw did remain Saskatchewan's second largest city during this period. This, coupled with the intense rivalry with Regina and booster optimism, inspired the Presbyterian congregation in Moose Jaw to construct a very imposing church.

The Presbyterians were well established in Moose Jaw: theirs was the largest congregation in the city by 1901 (Appendix E).¹³¹ By 1912, they had established a Presbyterian College for Boys that was known for its scholarly excellence and "strong moral training."¹³² The same year, their third church, St. Andrew's (Figure 44) was constructed.¹³³ The congregation chose architect John H.G. Russell, well known for his design of Presbyterian and Methodist churches, to design it.¹³⁴ St. Andrew's was to have a total capacity of 1,400, and cost \$188,835 to build.¹³⁵ When compared with the other churches constructed in this period (Appendix G), St. Andrew's surpasses even Holy Rosary Cathedral (Figure 32) as the most expensive church in Saskatchewan. Moose Jaw boosters were proud of the cost of the church and its size. However, the only church whose architecture they boasted about was Zion Methodist Church, which they described as "one of the finest churches in western Canada."¹³⁶ While the boosters were proud of Zion Methodist Church, it was not the only impressive church in the city. The Anglicans had constructed the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival styled St. John's (currently St. Aidan's, 1909, Figure 49) and the Roman Catholics had constructed the

¹³¹1901 Census, 1911 Census.

¹³²Larsen and Libby, 33-4.

¹³³McLennan, 271.

¹³⁴"Russell, John Hamilton Gordon," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950*, <<http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1421>> (2 April 2011); *St. Andrew's United Church*, Church Pamphlet n.d.; *75th Anniversary: St. Andrew's Church*, 1958, 2, 4, SA676 XIX, SAB.

¹³⁵*St. Andrew's United Church*, Church Pamphlet; *75th Anniversary: St. Andrew's Church*.

¹³⁶*Moose Jaw: The Buckle of the Greatest Wheat Belt in the World*, 14, and *Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan* (Moose Jaw: Moose Jaw Board of Trade, 1911), 16, Moose Jaw, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB.

Classical/Romanesque Revival styled St. Joseph's (1913, Figure 50). The competition with other prosperous denominations in the city spurred the Presbyterian congregation to choose a popular and lavish design. St. Andrew's is a vernacular rectangular structure with a facade that was similar to the facades of French Gothic churches from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Figure 45). The Late Gothic Revival design features angle buttresses, crenellations, windows with Gothic trefoil geometric tracery, gables, and pinnacles with crockets carved from Tyndall limestone (Figures 46-48). While still not matching up to Zion Methodist, this beautifully decorated and ornate structure was still described at the time as "one of the most handsome buildings in the city."¹³⁷

However, this structure is also a testament to the buoyant optimism of the period. The expense of constructing this ornate structure would not be discharged until 1944. Furthermore, the congregation had only 909 members at the time, indicating that a 1,400-seat church was well beyond the means of the congregation.¹³⁸ Less than 2 years after its construction, the Synod recommended that all further expenditures on churches needed to be brought under "strict supervision" in order to avoid the kind of debt that churches like St. Andrew's had incurred.¹³⁹ St. Andrew's is by far the finest example of prewar "boosterism" in Saskatchewan, but the Presbyterians also built comparatively more modest structures like Bekevar church and St. Paul's church.

Many Anglican churches constructed during this period were also modest. In Saskatchewan, emphasis was placed on ensuring that the multitudes of English-speaking immigrants flocking to the province received Anglican religious guidance. In order to accomplish this, Anglicans focused on establishing a presence in each of the new

¹³⁷"St. Andrew's Church Crowded to Capacity at Opening Services," *The Moose Jaw Evening Times*, 30 March 1914, 5, SA676 XIX, SAB.

¹³⁸*75th Anniversary: St. Andrew's Church, 7; Dedication Services, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Moose Jaw, Sask., March 29th-April 12th, 1914*, Church Pamphlet, 1914, 2, Moose Jaw, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB.

¹³⁹*Acts and Proceedings of the Ninth Synod of Saskatchewan of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 3-5, November 1914, 12, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Pamphlet File, SAB.

settlements that were springing up along the western railway lines during this period. In contrast to the Methodists, who were building their third or fourth ecclesiastical structures in established communities, the Anglicans established the Railway Mission in 1910 to encourage the construction of an Anglican church in every railway settlement in the province.¹⁴⁰ These churches were small (accommodating between 75 and 100 parishioners), were constructed of wood in a standard design, and were erected by local carpenters at low cost (\$1,500 to \$2,000).¹⁴¹ By 1910, this program had resulted in the construction of some 100 churches in Saskatchewan.¹⁴² When contrasted with its limited range of influence in 1894 (Appendix D), it is evident that the Railway Mission greatly changed the scope of Anglican influence in the province (Appendix H).

These Railway Mission churches mark a departure for the Anglicans in terms of architectural style. St. John the Evangelist Church in Foam Lake, 1910-11 (Figure 51), is one of the earliest Saskatchewan examples of these Railway Mission churches. During the first tour of potential Railway Mission sites, Foam Lake was one of only three settlements chosen.¹⁴³ A few settlers had come to the region prior to 1900 but it was not until Ukrainian and British immigrants started farming in the region in the early twentieth century that the settlement of Foam Lake was established. The railway arrived at nearby Sheho in 1904, and the flow of immigrants increased. The settlement became a village in 1908 but it was still a small rural community.¹⁴⁴ In 1910, Walter H. White and D. Ellison came to Foam Lake under the Railway Mission and promised free services for a year if the congregation would build a church. As the village was so small, it took until December 1911 for St. John the Evangelist to be constructed. True to the pattern of

¹⁴⁰Kalman, 360. The Railway Mission was initially successful in Saskatchewan with numerous churches built and several self-supporting missions. However, by late 1912, “financial stringency” began to reduce the effectiveness of the Mission (Powell, 188, 200).

¹⁴¹White, *Occasional Paper*, No. 101, Winter 1910-11, 23-6.

¹⁴²Bishop Malcolm T.M. Harding, *Occasional Paper*, No. 98, Spring 1910, 2, R 2.180, SAB.

¹⁴³White, *Occasional Paper*, No. 101, Winter 1910-11, 24.

¹⁴⁴McLennan, 128-9.

Railway Mission churches, St. John's was simple enough in design that it could be built by a local carpenter (in this case Barney Gudmundson). It was also small (with seating for only 50 people), and inexpensive (it cost \$1150 to build).¹⁴⁵ St. John's is an L-shaped wooden structure designed in the vernacular Gothic Revival style. However, the only Gothic Revival elements are the lancet Y-tracery windows. When compared to the sample design recommended for Railway Mission churches (Figure 52) the source for the design is evident. However, for an Anglican church, the lack of adherence to at minimum a Gothic Revival basic rectangular plan with a separate chancel is unusual as compared, for instance, to St Margaret's Anglican church in Duff, 1910 (Figure 53). The Anglican Cambridge Camden Society generally advocated more complex designs for churches constructed in the British colonies.¹⁴⁶

Of all the denominations, the Anglicans were the closest adherents to the Gothic Revival style. However, Saskatchewan Anglicans also built a series of unusual vernacular Gothic Revival churches during this period (such as St. Lucy's Anglican church in Dilke, 1913-14, Figure 54). There are three possible explanations for this phenomenon. It may reflect a general relaxation of the adherence to earlier forms of the Gothic Revival style during this period, as the freer Late Gothic Revival style became more popular. Or it might have been part of the general trend of erecting prefabricated wooden structures in new prairie settlements during this period. One example of this trend was the prefabricated wooden temple banks that were designed by Metropolitan Methodist's Toronto architects, Darling and Pearson, and constructed for the Canadian Bank of Commerce between 1906 and 1912. These economical and uniquely styled wooden prairie banks allowed the Canadian Bank of Commerce to quickly establish itself as the sole financial institution in many small towns, while still maintaining the image of an

¹⁴⁵*They Came from Many Lands: A History of Foam Lake and Area*, 226.

¹⁴⁶Westfall and Thurlby, 124.

imposing and safe bank.¹⁴⁷ Still another example of this trend was the standardized railway depots that were built between 1906 and 1914. In order to minimize costs and yet still provide stations that met the needs of the small agricultural settlements in Saskatchewan, the railways constructed wooden stations in one of several standardized designs. The stations were functional but were still attractive enough to be a source of local civic pride, thus establishing the prominence of the railway.¹⁴⁸ Lastly, it might have been the result of the chronic under-funding and lack of clergy that the Anglican Church experienced in Saskatchewan during this period. Having decided to focus on expanding into new settlements, it is likely that the Anglicans were stretching themselves too far and could not afford to construct every church in an elaborate and expensive version of the Gothic Revival style. The latter reason is the most probable as the instructions accompanying the sample design indicated that Railway Mission churches needed to “take the form of parish halls” and be “suitable for general purposes.” However, the intention was still that once funds allowed, the churches could be “enlarged by the addition of a chancel and ... converted some day into churches proper.”¹⁴⁹ The fact that Saskatchewan Anglicans broke their adherence to the Gothic Revival style highlights the pressure they faced in trying to respond to calls to maintain an Anglican presence in each community during this boom period.

However, the Railway Mission was not the only project that stretched the resources of the Anglican Church in Saskatchewan. The Anglicans were also building more imposing churches in some of Saskatchewan’s larger towns and cities. In 1910, Qu’Appelle Diocese Bishop Malcolm T.M. Harding lamented that Anglican efforts were

¹⁴⁷Derek W. Holdsworth and John C. Everitt, “Bank Branches and Elevators: Expressions of Big Corporations in Small Prairie Towns,” *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1988), 177-8.

¹⁴⁸Charles W. Bohi and H. Roger Grant, “The Standardized Railroad Station in Saskatchewan: The Case of the Canadian Pacific,” *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Autumn 1978), 84-5, 90-1; Charles W. Bohi and H. Roger Grant, “The Standardized Railroad Station in Saskatchewan: The Case of the Canadian National System,” *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Autumn 1976), 82-3, 93.

¹⁴⁹White, *Occasional Paper*, No. 101, Winter 1910-11, 25-6.

not “keeping pace with the rapid development of the country.”¹⁵⁰ Other Anglicans too felt that as the state church of the British Empire, their church had specific obligations to uphold.¹⁵¹ In its efforts to fulfill its perceived obligations, the Anglican Church ended up stretching itself far beyond its means. In addition to the Railway Mission churches, the Anglican Church constructed a number of “permanent” and expensive brick churches. In 1910 alone, the Anglicans constructed a \$35,000 church at Moose Jaw as well as two smaller brick churches in Maple Creek (\$7,500) and Pense (\$5,000).¹⁵²

However, the greatest example of overstretched Anglican efforts was in the province’s capital city. Regina was believed to have unlimited potential during this period. English town planning expert Thomas Mawson described Regina as being “a great city of the centuries in one of the greatest countries the world is destined to know.”¹⁵³ Not surprisingly, the buildings constructed in Regina during this optimistic period were designed to place Regina at the forefront of Canadian cities. As early as 1910, Bishop Harding indicated that an Anglican Cathedral in the capital city was an “urgent need.”¹⁵⁴ By 1911, a complex of “splendid monumental structures” within a six hundred acre “magnificent” was being planned for the city.¹⁵⁵ Part of this proposed complex was to include a fifteen-acre “stately” Anglican cathedral and college in the Collegiate Gothic style.¹⁵⁶ One of the possible spurs for the construction of this “stately”

¹⁵⁰Harding, 2.

¹⁵¹Smith, 139, 134-5.

¹⁵²Harding, 2.

¹⁵³Thomas. H. Mawson, *Regina: A Preliminary Report on the Development of the City*, ca. 1912-13, 5, City of Regina Pamphlets and Clippings, 24 n, R-962, SAB.

¹⁵⁴*Occasional Paper*, No. 100, Autumn 1910, 8-9, R. 2.180, SAB.

¹⁵⁵The other monumental structures planned as part of this park were the parliament buildings, the Methodist College, Normal School, Government House, and “in all probability” the Supreme Court buildings (“Beautiful Parks are Planned by Provincial Government,” *The Morning Leader*, 24 June 1911, vol. 8, no. 149, 1).

¹⁵⁶J. William Brennan, “Visions of a ‘City Beautiful’: The Origin and Impact of the Mawson Plans for Regina,” *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Fall 1994), 23-4; “Beautiful Parks are Planned by Provincial Government,” *The Morning Leader*; Ian Doull, “Wascana Park and Legislative Precinct, Regina, Saskatchewan,” *Submission Report*, Historic Sites and Monuments Board, September 1999, Records of the Heritage Branch of Tourism, Parks, Culture and Sport, 16, 20.

cathedral was the realization that the Anglicans were lagging behind the other denominations in the capital city (Appendix E).¹⁵⁷ A 1906 Regina Board of Trade pamphlet reported that the Metropolitan Methodist Church was “one of the finest in Canada” and that Knox Presbyterian Church boasted the city’s largest congregation in its \$50,000 church. However, the only reference to Anglican efforts was a brief mention of the expansion of St. Paul’s. To Regina’s boosters, the Anglicans’ efforts were clearly not as praise-worthy as those of the other denominations.¹⁵⁸ In response, the Anglicans planned to construct a “necessary...[and] overwhelmingly large” cathedral in order to be able to “exercise the influence [they] expect[ed] over the life of the people gathering in their tens of thousands in the capital.”¹⁵⁹ Their lofty cathedral plans did not go unnoticed and by 1912 a Board of Trade pamphlet could draw attention to both the proposed Anglican College and Cathedral as some of the “big” buildings being planned for Regina.¹⁶⁰

However, by 1914 there were still no architectural drawings for the Anglican cathedral and the plan was eventually abandoned. The other elements of the Thomas Mawson’s “City Beautiful” plan, such as the high-class residential district and a new Lieutenant-Governor’s residence, were also abandoned.¹⁶¹ Most “City Beautiful” plans of the period were not implemented due to their high cost and the financial pressures of the First World War.¹⁶² As for Regina’s Anglican community, the construction of the college

¹⁵⁷*Occasional Paper*, No. 103, Summer 1911, 9, R. 2.180, SAB.

¹⁵⁸*Regina: The Capital of Saskatchewan, Its Advantages as a Commercial and Residential Centre* (Regina: The Leader Press, 1906), 6, Board of Trade/Chamber of Commerce Publications, City of Regina Pamphlets and Clippings, 2d, R 962, SAB.

¹⁵⁹*Occasional Paper*, No. 106, Spring 1912, 8, R. 2.180, SAB.

¹⁶⁰Stevens, *100 Facts about Regina*, 1912, 3.

¹⁶¹Brennan, “Visions of a ‘City Beautiful,’ 27.

¹⁶²Doull, 9. The City Beautiful movement gained popularity in Canada in the 1890s but reached the height of its popularity from 1910-13. Plans created for major centres like Ottawa, Toronto, and Montréal but few were ever implemented to any significant degree (Margaret Anne Meek, “History of the City Beautiful Movement in Canada, 1890-1930,” M. A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979, 55, 74-83.

portion of the cathedral complex had left the diocese heavily in debt. By summer 1914, the cathedral plans had been put on hold and Bishop Harding vowed that the diocese would that not be “diverted by any other scheme.”¹⁶³ The ill-fated Anglican cathedral was the product of denominational competition, the “City Beautiful” mentality, the Anglican Church’s notion of itself as Canada’s national church, and boom time optimism. All of these factors combined resulted in a cathedral plan that is the best example of the unrealistic expectations this boom period created.

This period in the history of the province of Saskatchewan was characterized by an unprecedented influx of settlers. The arrival of large numbers of Eastern European immigrants caused the British-Canadian population to feel threatened. The various religious denominations responded to the immigration boom by either strengthening their prominence in a community or attempting to assimilate the Eastern European immigrants by making them over into Protestants or Catholics. The Roman Catholics expended much of their resources on ethnic rural (Kaposvar) and urban (St. Mary’s) churches in their attempt to absorb the Eastern European Catholics. However, booster optimism and urban rivalries inspired them to spend the greatest amount of their resources on key churches for the English and French-speaking urban immigrants (Holy Rosary). Saskatchewan Methodists were likewise focused on strengthening their presence in towns and cities to meet the competition of other denominations. These urban Methodist congregations (Metropolitan and Third Avenue) had substantial financial resources and were therefore able to build large churches. The Presbyterians, however, were so greatly inspired by the boom and its competitive spirit that they built churches that were far beyond the means of some of their congregations (Bekevar and St. Andrew’s). Farther north (in Prince Albert, for example) where the boom was not felt to the same degree, their efforts were more modest (St. Paul’s). Saskatchewan Anglicans extended themselves too far during this

¹⁶³*Occasional Paper*, No. 115, Summer 1914, 8, R. 2.180, SAB.

period due to their perceived obligations as Canada's "national church." Their construction of Railway Mission churches (Foam Lake) and large urban churches (the never completed Regina cathedral) reveal that the boom and its optimism inspired the Anglicans more than it did other denominations. Despite the differences between the experiences and goals of the various denominations, they shared a common fervor for the perceived magnificence of the future. The churches that the various religious denominations built during this period are evidence that the optimism and pressures of the period resulted in grand attempts to solidify each denomination's position in the province. These churches are in some respects the most striking manifestations of the optimism and competitive spirit of the prairie west in this boom period.

Conclusion

Medieval Revival styles were used in Saskatchewan's ecclesiastical architecture during a period of great social change. In only seventy-four years (1839-1913) Saskatchewan evolved from a fur trade-based society to a booming agricultural society. This evolving society made different use of Medieval Revival styles than the older societies in eastern Canada had. Part of this difference is due to the tumultuous conditions that existed in Saskatchewan during this period, which sometimes resulted in competitive and inventive approaches to religious architecture. There have been a few discussions concerning Medieval Revival styles in domestic or public architecture, such as Don Kerr's article "Building the University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1930," but no studies concerning ecclesiastical architecture.¹ Consequently, my study has focused on creating a new regional history of Medieval Revival ecclesiastical architecture. The subsequent findings provided evidence that conditions in Saskatchewan resulted in unique interpretations of the Medieval Revival styles in a few churches, but these are not enough to constitute a Saskatchewan variation of the Medieval Revival styles.

Architecture is a reflection of the society that produced it. Saskatchewan society went through three major phases during this period, the fur trade era, the pioneer period, and the boom period. During the fur trade era building materials were limited and the majority of buildings were constructed of wood in simple vernacular styles.² St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (1870) at Cumberland House (Figure 3) is a good example of this type of building. There have been a number of studies concerning these structures such as Harold Kalman's chapter "Early Building on the Prairies" in *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture*.³ However, there have been no discussions of the Early Gothic Revival phase, which simply added Gothic decorative elements onto otherwise

¹Kerr, "Building the University of Saskatchewan."

²Kalman, 255.

³Ibid., 255-287.

vernacular structures such as St. Joseph's. In eastern Canada this phase of the style was used as early as the 1790s in churches like St. Paul's/Christ Church in Karsdale, Nova Scotia after being imported from England (Figure 55).⁴ However, by the time Saskatchewan churches were being constructed, English and eastern Canadian denominations had already passed through two more phases of the Gothic Revival style. The fashionable style by the time Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission (Figure 2) was being constructed (1854-60) was the expensive High Victorian Gothic Revival style. This style generally required expensive materials and well trained architects and was therefore not well suited to a region based on the fur trade. Brosseau felt that that 19th century prairie architecture "reflected the limitations of pioneering settlement."⁵ If this were true, Saskatchewan churches would be limited to mimicking the eastern pioneer churches of the late 18th and early 19th centuries and their inexpensive Early Gothic Revival or vernacular styles.

However, my study reveals that unique conditions in this particular region of Saskatchewan inspired a different approach. At Stanley Mission the competitive ethos that characterized the fur trade was heightened by the failure of the Anglican missions at Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland House. This heightened sense of competition was coupled with the ambitious agendas of Rev. Robert Hunt and Bishop David Andersen. The result was a large wooden church in a simplified version of the High Victorian Gothic Revival style. When compared to the British church that made this style fashionable, All Saints Margaret Street (Figure 6), it is easy to see how different Holy Trinity's approach was. Most churches built in the High Victorian Gothic Revival style were constructed from brick or stone and were generally undertaken by well-established congregations possessing substantial funds.⁶ Consequently, fur trade missions, which

⁴Ibid., 208. The tower, vestry, and chancel were added at a later date.

⁵Brosseau, 33.

⁶Maitland et al., 77.

were short on both materials and money, should not have been able to construct buildings in this style. In Saskatchewan, however, the unique components of its mid-19th century fur trade society allowed for this rare instance of an ambitious and unique wooden interpretation of the Gothic Revival style.

During the pioneer period (1870-1905) however, church building in Saskatchewan became much simpler and less progressive in style. Most Anglican churches were constructed in the simplest interpretation of the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style, a wooden structure with a delineated chancel, belfry, and vestry (Figure 17).⁷ The Ecclesiological Gothic Revival churches that were popular in eastern Canada in the 1840s required substantial knowledge and training but there was no access to professionally trained architects in Saskatchewan.⁸ Furthermore, the increase in the number of religious denominations in the province resulted in very small congregations with correspondingly small churches such as the Katepwa resort's All Saints Anglican Church (Figure 11) and Wolseley's St. George's Anglican Church (Figure 19). As a result of these limitations, churches were designed from simple interpretations of the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival style, which were drawn from eastern Canadian examples such as All Saints in McKeen's Corner, New Brunswick (1861, Figure 56). Even when the funds and congregation size were slightly larger, and an architect could be hired, as was the case with St. Peter's Anglican Church in Qu'Appelle (Figures 9 and 13), the designs were still very simple. This trend was common amongst all the denominations. St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church in Wolseley (Figures 21 and 23) for instance, is a large church constructed of brick but still only uses a minimalist version of the Early Romanesque Revival style. These simple structures with borrowed designs and no unique features were the result of small congregation sizes, a lack of trained architects, fleeting

⁷Thurlby, "Two Churches by Frank Wills," 54-55.

⁸Ibid., 50, 57-8; Kalman, 225.

prosperity, and the absence of the uniquely competitive conditions present at Stanley Mission. These limitations resulted in there being no unique pioneer Medieval Revival churches in Saskatchewan.

By the boom period at the beginning of the 20th century, an increase in ethnic diversity resulted in some distinctive approaches to Medieval Revival architecture. Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church (Figures 25 and 26) and Bekevar Presbyterian Church (Figure 41) illustrate this trend. Both congregations were comprised of ethnic immigrants who had come to Saskatchewan in droves thanks to Clifford Sifton's immigration policies. These two Hungarian congregations were affected by the optimism of the boom period and by the intense competition it fostered. At Kaposvar the Roman Catholic congregation was large but access to skilled architects and materials was limited in this remote rural location. The Kaposvar congregation instead turned to skilled Belgian stonemasons and the rather unique, but nonetheless imposing, structure resulted. Kaposvar church (1906-7) is unusual for its size, as all other fieldstone churches are much smaller, and for its blend of the High Victorian Gothic Revival and Romanesque Revival styles. There is no precedent for this structure as fieldstone was not a common building material, except on the southern prairies where farmers used the stones removed from the fields for their homes.⁹ This unique church is the result of Saskatchewan's ethnic diversity, boom period optimism, lack of skilled architects, and a scarcity of materials.

Another feature common to Saskatchewan churches in this period was the intense rivalry associated with this boom period, which stimulated unusual stylistic choices. Bekevar Presbyterian Church (Figure 41) was designed to challenge its Roman Catholic neighbour, Kaposvar Church. The two congregations shared a similar ethnic composition but differed in their levels of prosperity. Bekevar Presbyterian congregation's wanted to

⁹Ralko, 209.

compete with their prosperous Roman Catholic neighbours to become the premier Hungarian community.¹⁰ This strong competitive desire was mitigated somewhat by a lack of adequate funds. Instead of creating an equally imposing stone church, Bekevar congregation focused on creating the most arresting facade possible for a small wooden church. This was done by expanding the transepts and constructing two projecting towers. The end result was a completely unique church that was emblematic of the high level of competition present in Saskatchewan's rural congregations during this boom period.

The Anglican response to boom period competition created another type of unusual church. The Anglican Railway Mission churches, such as St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church (Figure 51) in Foam Lake, were constructed in order to maintain the Anglican Church's position as one of the major religious denominations in the province. These unusual pre-fabricated churches were constructed quickly and inexpensively in as many new railway communities as possible. They were designed with a multipurpose use in mind, and have only a few distinguishing features to demarcate them as churches. For the Anglicans, who had been so particular about their adherence to Gothic Revival forms and principles, the fact that they were willing to nearly bankrupt themselves to construct these vernacular structures is remarkable.¹¹ These unusual Railway churches are therefore evidence of the strength of the competitive drive among the various religious denominations in Saskatchewan.

However, not all Saskatchewan churches built during the boom period were particularly distinctive. Many of the urban churches were closer in design to their eastern counterparts. This was the result of the greater prevalence of skilled architects, larger congregations, and increased access to a wider variety of building materials in urban

¹⁰Rev. K.C. Doka, n.d., and Martin L. Kovacks, in Martin L. Kovacs, *Peace and Strife*, 20, 31, 35, 44, 43.

¹¹Kalman, 360; Powell, 188, 200.

centres. When Toronto's Sherborne Street Methodist Church (Figure 34) is compared to Regina's Metropolitan Methodist Church (Figure 35) and Saskatoon's Third Avenue Methodist Church (Figure 39), it is easy to see the similarities in building materials and design. In many cases, these similarities were the result of the churches being designed by the same architectural firm or the desire to mimic eastern churches of prominence. The only divergent component would be that the size of some churches in Saskatchewan was disproportionate to the size of their congregations. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Moose Jaw (Figure 44), for instance, was the most expensive church of the period and had almost twice the capacity necessary for the congregation.¹² The proposed Anglican Cathedral was also intended to be an "overwhelmingly large" structure whose size would complement the provincial Legislative Building.¹³ This trend towards large churches was the result of the impressive population boom and the optimistic projections for the future it stimulated. This same trend did not occur in the eastern churches.¹⁴ Therefore, while Saskatchewan's urban churches are not unique in their design during the early 20th century, some are unusual for their scale.

Saskatchewan's religious denominations continued to use Medieval Revival styles for a wide variety of churches well into the interwar period. However, the design of these later churches was more closely based on contemporary Canadian Medieval Revival buildings. Saskatchewan's early churches were more indicative of the society that produced them than later ones were. The early churches were built by immigrants who

¹²*St. Andrew's United Church*, Church Pamphlet; *75th Anniversary: St. Andrew's Church*, 7; *Dedication Services, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Moose Jaw, Sask., March 29th-April 12th, 1914*, Church Pamphlet, 1914, 2, Moose Jaw, Local Histories, Pamphlet File, SAB.

¹³*Occasional Paper*, No. 106, Spring 1912, 8; "Beautiful Parks are Planned by Provincial Government," *The Morning Leader*, 24 June 1911, 1.

¹⁴Westfall and Thurlby, 126, 128. Eastern Canadian congregations still responded to the expanding needs of the congregation through the construction of galleries but they avoided making extensions to the structures of their churches. The galleries increased the capacity only by modest amounts, and thus their construction was a reactionary measure rather than an indication of unrealistic hopes for the future of the congregation.

had no access to professional architects, and had limited funds and building materials. Consequently, they were forced to become creative in their church designs. Because of the immigrants' intimate involvement with church design, these churches reveal the struggles and aspirations of their builders better than later churches, which reveal mostly the architect's training and popular trends. Furthermore, a few of these immigrant churches make a unique contribution to the Medieval Revival styles. A comparative analysis between Canada's regions is necessary to determine if these examples constitute a Saskatchewan variation of the Medieval Revival Styles. However, this analysis proves that Saskatchewan's early period has contributed at least a few distinctive ecclesiastical Medieval Revival structures.

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Illustrations



Fig. 1. Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Stanley Mission



Fig. 2. Holy Trinity, Stanley Mission



Fig. 3. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Cumberland House



Fig. 4. Chateau Saint-Jean Roman Catholic Mission, Ile à la Crosse



Fig. 5. Norwegian inspired verticality
Holy Trinity, Stanley Mission



Fig. 6. All Saints Margaret Street, London



Fig. 7. Red and Yellow Paint Remnants,
Holy Trinity, Stanley Mission



Fig. 8. Y-Tracey and geometric stained glass,
Holy Trinity, Stanley Mission



Fig. 9. St. Peter's Anglican Church,
Qu'Appelle



Fig. 10. Christ Church Anglican,
Abernethy



Fig. 11. All Saints Anglican Church, Katepwa



Fig. 12. Clearly delineated chancel, Christ Church, Abernethy



Fig. 13. Slightly delineated chancel, St. Peter's, Qu'Appelle



Fig. 14. West window, St. Peter's, Qu'Appelle



Fig. 15. Ellisboro Presbyterian Church, Ellisboro



Fig. 16. Square window, Ellisboro Presbyterian Church



Fig. 17. St. John the Baptist Anglican Church, Ellisboro



Fig. 18. Scale of Ellisboro churches



Fig. 19. St. George's Anglican Church, Wolseley

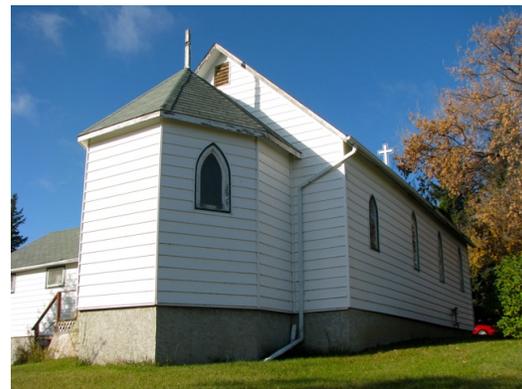


Fig. 20. Hexagonal delineated chancel, St. George's, Wolseley



Fig. 21. St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church, Wolseley



Fig. 22. Original facade spirelets, St. Anne's, Wolseley



Fig. 23. Undivided nave and hexagonal chancel, St. Anne's, Wolseley



Fig. 24. Cartoon in *Canada: Granary of the World*, 1903



Fig. 25. Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church, Kaposvar



Fig. 26. Hexagonal delineated chancel and tripartite windows, Kaposvar Church, Kaposvar



Fig. 27. St. Mary the Virgin Anglican Church, Whitewood



Fig. 28. Lancet tripartite window, Kaposvar Church, Kaposvar



Fig. 29. Small square tower windows, Kaposvar Church, Kaposvar



Fig. 30. St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Regina



Fig. 31. Cruciform design, St. Mary's, Regina



Fig. 32. Holy Rosary Roman Catholic Cathedral, Regina



Fig. 33. Paired and tripartite rounded arch windows, hexagonal chancel, Holy Rosary, Regina

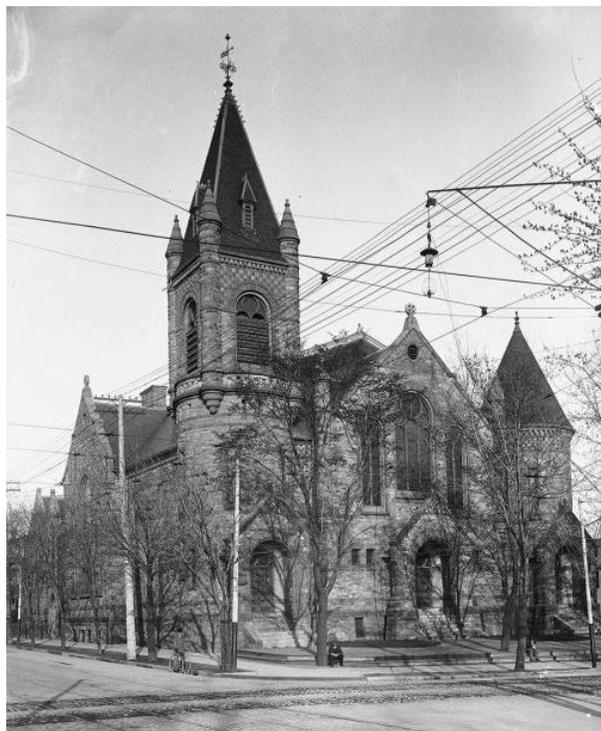


Fig. 34. Sherborne Street Methodist Church, Toronto



Fig. 35. Metropolitan Methodist Church, Regina



Fig. 36. Crenellated smaller tower, Metropolitan, Regina



Fig. 37. Front colonnade, Metropolitan, Regina

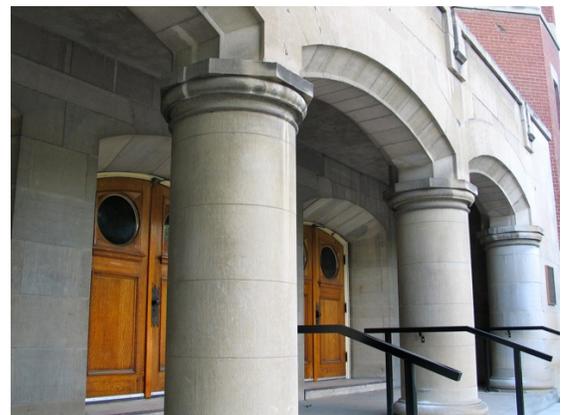


Fig. 38. Segmental arches, Metropolitan, Regina



Fig. 39. Third Avenue Methodist Church, Saskatoon



Fig. 40. Pillarless auditorium, Third Avenue, Saskatoon



Fig. 41. Bekevar Presbyterian Church, Bekevar



Fig. 42. St. Paul's Presbyterian Church,
Prince Albert



Fig. 43. Main tower with pinnacle, St.
Paul's, Prince Albert



Fig. 44. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Moose Jaw



Fig. 45. French inspired facade, St. Andrew's, Moose Jaw



Figs. 46, 47, 48. Carved gables, trefoil geometric tracery, pinnacles with crockets. St. Andrew's, Moose Jaw



Fig. 49. St. John's Anglican Church, Moose Jaw



Fig. 50. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Moose Jaw



Fig. 51. St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church,
Foam Lake



Fig. 52. Sample Design for Railway Mission Churches



Fig. 53. St. Margaret's Anglican Church, Duff



Fig. 54. St. Lucy's Anglican Church, Dilke



Fig. 55. St. Paul's/Christ Anglican Church, Karsdale, Nova Scotia



Fig. 56. All Saints Anglican Church, McKeen's Corner, New Brunswick

Appendices

Appendix A

Map of Rupert's Land



As it was in 1791



As it was in 1862

Source: Canadian Geographic, "Historical Maps of Canada," <http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/mapping/mappingcanada/> (26 March 2008)

Appendix B

Saskatchewan Map 2006



Source: Canada Maps, "Canada Maps, Saskatchewan," <<http://www.canada-maps.org/saskatchewan/images/saskatchewan-map.gif>> (27 March 2008)

Appendix C

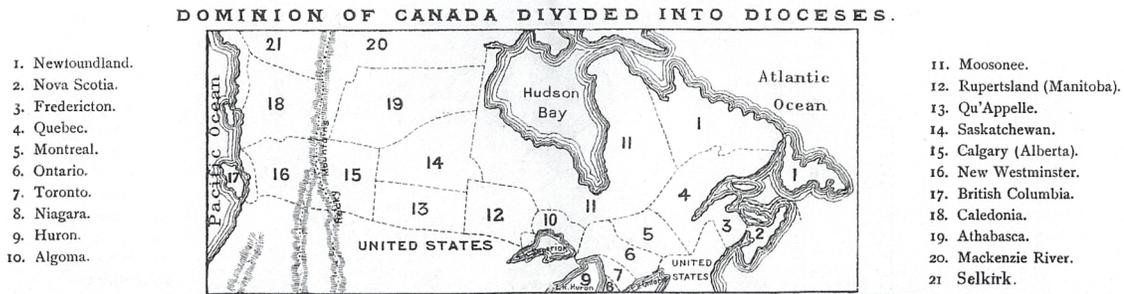
Division of the Population of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle According to Religion in 1892

	Presbyterian	Anglican	Methodist	Roman Catholic
East Assinibioa	4,966	4,774	3,465	2,195
West Assinibioa	2,489	2,109	1,578	1,567
Total	7,455	6,883	5,043	3,762

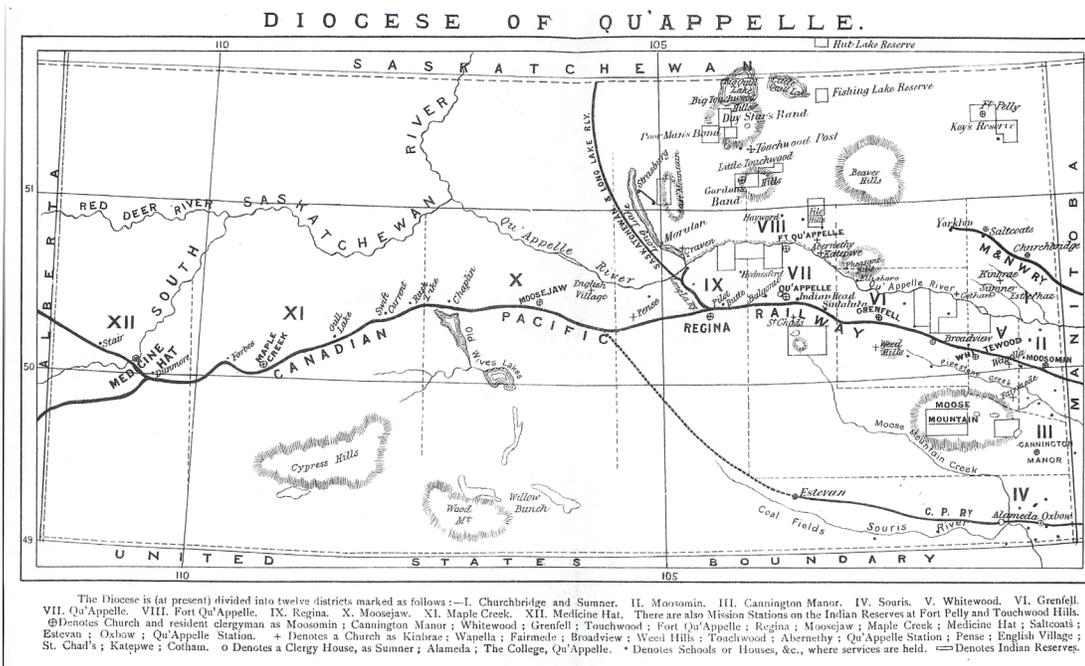
Source: Bishop Adlebert J. R. Anson, "The Diocesan Synod," *Occasional Paper*, No. 30, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Assinibioa, N. W. Territory, October 1892, 7, R-705, SAB.

Appendix D

Map of the Anglican Dioceses of Canada in 1894



Map of the Anglican Diocese of Qu'Appelle in 1894



Source: *Occasional Paper, No. 35, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Assiniboia, N. W. Territory, January 1894, 16.5, R 705, SAB.*

Appendix E

Division of the Population of Saskatchewan According to Religious Affiliation

Religious Denomination	1891	1901	1911
Anglican (A)	9,349	15,996	75,342
Methodist (M)	5,225	12,028	78,325
Presbyterian (P)	8,399	16,232	96,564
Roman Catholic (RC)	6,974	17,651	90,092

Division of the Population of Saskatchewan Settlements According to Religious Affiliation

Settlement	1901				1911			
	A	M	P	RC	A	M	P	RC
Ellisboro	80	34	130	13				
Foam Lake	-	15	-	-	25	22	63	4
Moose Jaw	189	180	267	20	12,269	17,453	18,927	11,249
Prince Albert	289	185	547	174	9,177	3,189	5,397	9,751
Qu'Appelle	55	69	118	75	223	134	193	282
Regina	131	164	197	54	12,768	13,649	16,153	10,252
Saskatoon	5	69	50	45	6,769	7,173	8,897	6,196
Whitewood	253	124	407	90	140	21	214	63
Wolseley	84	161	254	160	148	235	216	217

Division of Immigrants to Saskatchewan According to Ethnic Origin

Ethnic Origin	1901	1911
England	608	52,987
Austria-Hungary	1,578	35,482
Russia	554	23,084
Scotland	212	17,249
Norway/Sweden	159	13,834
Germany	136	8,300
Ireland	71	5,309
France	52	2,940
Bulgaria/Rumania	73	1,905
Belgium	26	1,271

Sources: *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901 (Ottawa, 1902); Fifth Census of Canada 1911 (Ottawa, 1912).*

Appendix F

Settlement and City Population Growth in Saskatchewan from 1901 to 1911

Settlement/City	1901	1906	1911
Abernethy	-	292	273
Duck Lake	301	439	379
Esterhazy	-	231	258
Foam Lake	-	-	185
Moose Jaw	1,558	6,249	13,823
Prince Albert	1,785	3,005	6,254
Qu'Appelle	434	778	851
Regina	2,249	6,149	30,213
Saskatoon	113	3,011	12,004
Weyburn	113	966	2,210
Whitewood	359	501	447
Wolseley	409	935	961
Yorkton	700	1,363	2,309

Sources: *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901 (Ottawa, 1902); Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, 1906 (Ottawa 1907); Fifth Census of Canada 1911 (Ottawa, 1912).*

Appendix G

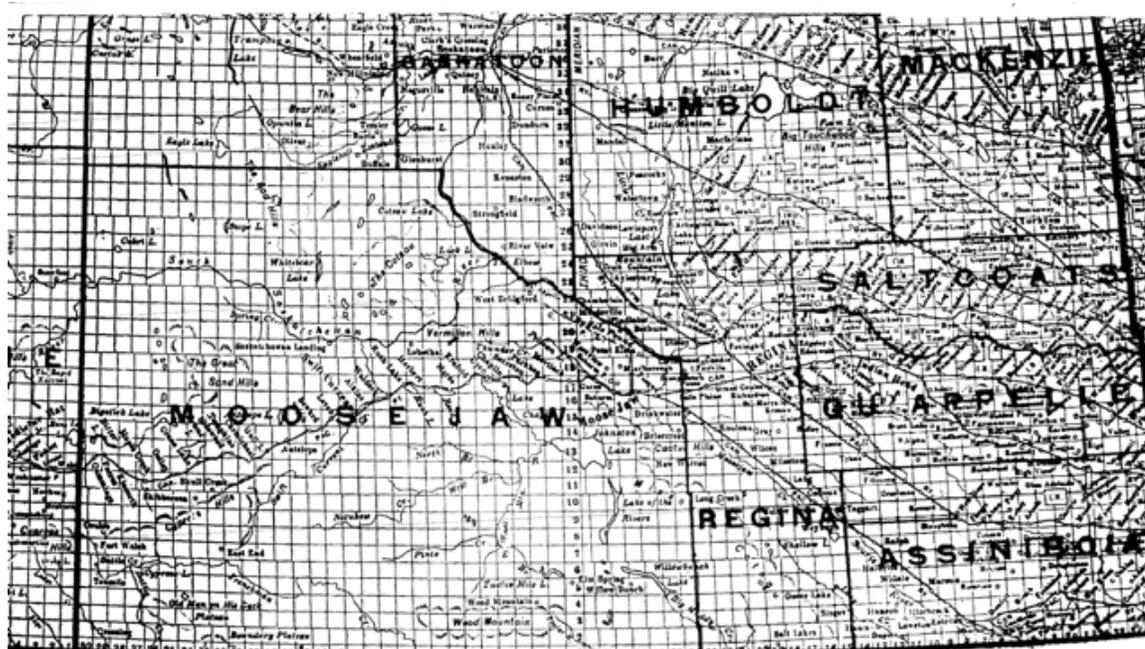
Comparison of Cost and Scale of Saskatchewan Churches, 1904-1913

Church (Denomination)	Date of Construction	Total Capacity	Dimensions (Meters)	Total Cost (\$, Unadjusted)
Bekevar (P)	1912	250-300	-	2,000
Kaposvar (C)	1907	-	26 by 11	7,000
Holy Rosary (C)	1913	-	61 by 27	135,000
Metropolitan (M)	1906	1,200	21 by 31	80,000
St. Paul's (P)	1906	750	-	45,000
St. Andrew's (P)	1912	1,400	-	188,835
St. John's (A)	1911	50	-	1,150
Third Ave. (M)	1913	1,600	30	200,000

Sources: "Our Lady of Assumption: Kaposvar Church Centennial, 1907-2007," Kaposvar: Kaposvar Historic Society, 2007, 6; Joe Ralko, *Building Our Future: A People's Architectural History of Saskatchewan*, Calgary: Red Deer Press, 2005, 128-9; Dorothy Hayden, *Let the Bells Ring: Knox-Metropolitan United Church*, Regina, 1882-1982, Regina: Centax of Canada, 1981, 19; George Emery, *The Methodist Church on the Prairies, 1896-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, 16; Doris Barentsen, ed., *St Paul's Presbyterian Church 1866-2006: A History*, Canada: Campbell Printing Ltd., 2006, 64; *75th Anniversary: St. Andrew's Church*, 1958, 4, SA676 XIX, SAB; "St. Andrew's Church Crowded to Capacity at Opening Services," *The Moose Jaw Evening Times*, 30 March 1914, 5, SA676 XIX, SAB.

Appendix H

Map of the Anglican Diocese of Qu'Appelle in 1910



THE DIOCESE OF QU'APPELLE, -BEING THE SOUTHERN PORTION OF THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA.

Source: *Occasional Paper*, No. 98, Spring 1910, 17, R. 2.180, SAB.

Appendix I

List of Medieval Revival Churches that Were Researched

Construction Date	Denomination	Settlement/Region	Name (s)	Style
1885	Anglican	Fort Qu'Appelle	St. John the Evangelist	Gothic
1854-1860	Anglican	Stanley Mission	Holy Trinity	Gothic
1885	Anglican	Qu'Appelle	St. Peter's	Gothic
1886	Anglican	Abernethy	Christ Church	Gothic
1887	Anglican	Katepwa Beach	All Saints	Gothic
1890	Anglican	Ceylon	St. Andrew's	Gothic
1891	Anglican	Saltcoats	St. Augustine's	Gothic
1894-1896	Anglican	Regina	St. Paul's	Gothic
1896	Anglican	Duck Lake	All Saints	Gothic
1897	Anglican	Wolseley RM 155/Ellisboro	St. John the Baptist	Gothic
1899, 1903	Anglican	South Qu'Appelle RM 157	St. Thomas/Vernon	Gothic
1900	Anglican	Wolseley	St. George's	Gothic
1902	Anglican	Whitewood	St. Mary the Virgin	Gothic
1903	Anglican	Rosthern	St. Augustine's	Gothic
1905	Anglican	Birch Hills RM 460	Holy Trinity	Gothic
1905	Anglican	LaRonge	All Saints	Gothic
1905	Anglican	Prince Albert	St. Alban's	Gothic
1905, 1912	Anglican	Birch Hills RM 460	St. Saviours	Gothic
1907	Anglican	Bangor	St. David's	Gothic
1909	Anglican	Moose Jaw	St. John's/ St. Aidan's	Gothic
1909	Anglican	Pense	All Saints	Gothic
1910	Anglican	Duff	St. Margaret's	Gothic
1910	Anglican	Regina	St. Matthew's	Gothic
1910-1911	Anglican	Foam Lake	St. John the Evangelist	Gothic
1910-1911	Anglican	Lumsden RM 189	St. Nicholas Kennell	Gothic
1911	Anglican	Saskatoon	Rugby Chapel	Gothic
1912	Anglican	Saskatoon	St. James'	Gothic
1912-1917	Anglican	Saskatoon	St. John's	Gothic
1914	Anglican	Dilke	St. Lucy's	Gothic
1914	Anglican	Shellbrook RM	Holy Trinity	Gothic

		493		
1918-1921	Anglican	Heward	St. Andrew's	Gothic
1924, 1984	Anglican	Melville	All Saints	Gothic
1901-1902	Evangelical	Rosthern	St. Paul's	Gothic
1907	Lutheran	Melville	St. Paul's	Gothic
1907	Lutheran	St. Louis RM 431	Old Saron	Vernacular
1909-1910	Lutheran	Kinistino RM 459	Norden	Gothic
1912	Lutheran	Caledonia RM 99	Bethesda	Gothic
1914	Lutheran	Neudorf	Christ Church	Gothic
1916	Lutheran	Lumsden RM 189	Emmanuel	Gothic
1916	Lutheran	St. Louis RM 431	Saron	Gothic
1917	Lutheran	Loreburn RM 254	Green Valley	Gothic
1917-1921	Lutheran	Fertile Belt RM 183	New Stockholm	Gothic
1919	Lutheran	Riverside RM 168	St. John's Norwegian	Gothic
1929	Lutheran	Benson RM 35	St. Luke's	Gothic
1929, 1957	Lutheran	Moose Jaw	Central	Gothic
1929, 1940	Lutheran	Excelsior RM 166	Peace	Gothic
1933	Lutheran	Ponass Lake RM 367	Ponass Lake Free Church/Scrip United	Gothic
1901, 1970	Methodist	Yorkton	St. Paul's	Romanesque
1905	Methodist	Weyburn	Grace United	Gothic
1906	Methodist	Regina	Metropolitan/ Knox	Gothic
1906-1908	Methodist	Lumsden	St. Andrew's	Gothic
1912	Methodist	Saskatoon	3 rd Avenue	Gothic
1910	Moravian	Dundurn	Dundurn Moravian Brethren/United	Gothic
1883	Presbyterian	Moose Jaw	First Presbyterian/Little White/ Chinese United	Gothic
1892	Presbyterian	Abernethy RM 186	Old Stone/Little Stone	Gothic
1894	Presbyterian	Wolseley RM 155/ Ellisboro	Ellisboro	Romanesque/ Vernacular
1895-1896	Presbyterian	Whitewood	Knox	Gothic
1901	Presbyterian	Balgonie	Balgonie Presbyterian	Gothic
1902	Presbyterian	Kingsley RM 124	Poplar Grove	Gothic
1905	Presbyterian	Welwyn	Trinity	Gothic
1906	Presbyterian	Prince Albert	St. Paul's	Gothic

1906	Presbyterian	Weyburn	Knox	Gothic
1906	Presbyterian	Wolseley	St. James'	Gothic
1911	Presbyterian	Hazelwood RM 94/ Bekevar	Bekevar	Gothic
1912	Presbyterian	Moose Jaw	St. Andrew's	Gothic
1912-1914	Presbyterian	Saskatoon	Knox	Gothic
1913	Presbyterian	Swift Current	First	Gothic
1919-1926	Presbyterian	Gravelbourg RM 104	Bateman	Gothic
1928	Presbyterian	Loreburn RM 254	Bonnie View	Gothic
1900	Roman Catholic	Wolseley	St. Anne's	Romanesque
1901	Roman Catholic	Lemberg	St. Michael's	Gothic
1905, 1913	Roman Catholic	Regina	St. Mary's/ Blessed Sacrament	Romanesque
1906-1907	Roman Catholic	Fertile Belt RM 183/ Kaposvar	Kaposvar/ Our Lady of Assumption	Gothic
1907	Roman Catholic	Qu' Appelle	Immaculate Conception	Romanesque
1907	Roman Catholic	St. Gregor	St. Gregory	Gothic
1907, 1922	Roman Catholic	Prud'homme	Saints Donatien and Rogatien	Romanesque
1909-1910	Roman Catholic	St. Peter RM 369/ Muenster	St. Peter's	Romanesque/ Classical
1910	Roman Catholic	Saskatoon	St. Paul's	Romanesque
1912	Roman Catholic	Herbert	St. Patrick's	Gothic
1913	Roman Catholic	Moose Jaw	St. Joseph's	Romanesque
1913	Roman Catholic	Regina	Holy Rosary	Romanesque
1914	Roman Catholic	Blaine Lake	St. Andrew's	Gothic
1914-1915	Roman Catholic	Prince Albert	Sacred Heart	Romanesque
1917	Roman Catholic	Stonehenge RM 73	St. Mary's Mission of Maxtone	Gothic
1918	Roman Catholic	Montmartre	Sacred Heart	Gothic

1918-1919	Roman Catholic	Gravelbourg	Our Lady of the Assumption/ La Cathédrale	Romanesque
1920	Roman Catholic	Humbolt RM 370/ Marysburg	Assumption	Romanesque
1921-1922	Roman Catholic	Albertville	St. James'	Gothic
1922	Roman Catholic	Laflèche	St. Radaegonde	Gothic
1925	Roman Catholic	Dilke	St. Boniface	Gothic
1925	Roman Catholic	Lebret	Sacred Heart	Romanesque/ Classical
1928	Roman Catholic	Saskatoon	St. Joseph's	Romanesque
1929	Roman Catholic	Ponteix	Notre Dame D'auvergne	Romanesque
1921	Unitarian/ Federated	Wynyard	Wynyard	Gothic
1905	United	Abernethy	Knox	Romanesque
1909	United	Yorkton	St. Andrew's	Romanesque
1913-1926	United	Aneroid	Aneroid	Gothic
1927, 1949	United	Saskatoon	Grace	Gothic
-	United	Aylesbury	Aylesbury	Gothic
-	-	Alvena	-	Gothic

Glossary of Architectural Terms

Angle Buttress: two buttresses meeting at right angles at the corner of a building.

Apse: semicircular or polygonal termination of a church, usually of the chancel.

Belfry: the part of a tower or turret in which the bells are hung.

Bell-Cote: a turret expressly designed to hold bells, usually placed at the west end of a towerless church.

Broach Spire: an octagonal spire on a square tower. Each of the four vacant spaces at the joining of the octagon and square is filled by a half-pyramid, the apex of which is in the centre of one of the sides of the spire.

Buttress: a mass of masonry or brickwork built against a wall to give it stability or to counteract the outward thrust of an arch or vault.

Castellated: decorated like a castle with battlements, turrets, etc.

Chancel: the eastern part of a parish church, in which the altar is placed.

Corbel: a supporting projection on the face of a wall, often carved or moulded.

Corbel Table: a projecting course of masonry resting on a range of corbels usually connected by small arches.

Crocket: carved projections, usually of stylized leaf form, decorating the edges of pinnacles, gables, etc., in Gothic architecture.

Decorated: a stylistic phase of English Gothic architecture characterized by a change in tracery, first geometrical and then flowing (c.1290-c.1360).

Finial: an ornament crowning a pinnacle, spire, gable, pediment, or roof.

Foil: each of the small arc openings in Gothic tracery separated by cusps. Trefoil (3), quatrefoil (4), cinquefoil (5), express the number of foils.

Gable: the triangular portion of wall at the end of a ridge roof.

Gablet: a small gable used ornamentally on a buttress, over a niche, in woodwork, etc.

Gallery: an upper story above the aisle, arched to the nave.

Geometric Tracery: consisting of simple symmetrical shapes, such as circles, trefoils, etc.

Georgian: the style of the Neo-Palladians and their successors before the Regency (1714-1830).

Gothic Revival: a widespread architectural style of the 19th and early 20th centuries that borrowed and was inspired by elements from the Gothic period (1250-1450).

Lancet: a tall narrow pointed window, characteristic of Early English architecture. Often grouped in threes, fives or sevens at the east end of a church.

Nave: the main body or central aisle of a church.

Perpendicular: the period of English Gothic architecture succeeding the Decorated (c. 1360-c.1530). Characterized by the strong vertical lines of its tracery.

Picturesque: a category of aesthetics characterized by a general preference for irregularity.

Pinnacle: a pyramidal or conical ornament used to terminate a gable, buttress, etc. Often decorated with crockets.

Pointed Arch: composed of two arcs drawn from centres on the springing line.

Romanesque Revival: a common style of the 19th and early 20th centuries that borrowed and was inspired by elements from the Romanesque period (1000-1250).

Spire: a tall tapering structure in the form of an elongated pyramid or cone, erected on the top of a tower, turret, roof, etc.

Tracery: the ornamental work formed by the branching of mullions in the upper part of a Gothic window.

Vernacular Architecture: a functional form of construction that derives its forms from local materials and conventions.

Y-Tracery: where a mullion splits to form a Y shape.

Source: John Harris and Jill Lever, *Illustrated Glossary of Architecture, 850-1830*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1966.