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**The Stained Glass War Memorial Windows
of Charles William Kelsey**

Shirley May Baird

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

September 1995

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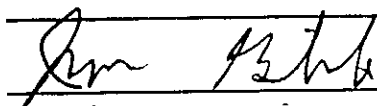
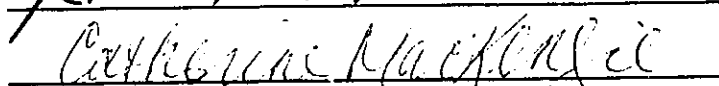

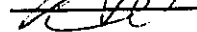
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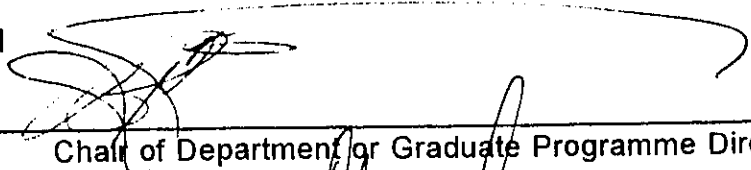
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ABSTRACT

The Stained Glass War Memorial Windows of Charles William Kelsey

Shirley May Baird

Charles William Kelsey (1877-1975) trained in England and emigrated to Montreal in 1922. His stained glass designs can be found in England, Australia, the United States and in over sixty-eight churches in Canada. This thesis focuses on his war memorial windows commissioned between 1921 and 1956. Forty-two windows were studied: ten memorials for World War I, twenty-two memorials for World War II and ten memorials for both World Wars. Research is divided into three main areas: how Kelsey developed his reputation as a stained glass artist in Canada, the influences of the English stained glass revival of the late nineteenth century that are found in his designs and the choice of themes incorporated into his war memorial windows. Since his main patrons were the Anglican and United Churches, these windows also provide examples of the prevailing taste in religious memorials and demonstrate the variety of accepted and recognized symbols and subjects for war memorial windows.

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my husband, Ritchie, for his unfailing support and who encouraged me to complete my degree. My thanks also to the members of my family for their understanding and confidence.

I wish to acknowledge the help I received from Phyllis Kelsey since she provided me with the much-needed details of her father's life and work. My gratitude is given to the archivists of the United Church and the Anglican Church in Montreal for their help in finding relevant church files. I also wish to recognize the help I received in researching the Kelsey archive at the McCord Museum. Finally, a special thanks to Dr. Brian Foss for his advice and patience in reading all my drafts for this thesis.

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Figure 1: Charles William Kelsey in his studio

INTRODUCTION

Canadian Protestant churches at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century had strong ties with Great Britain. Stained glass window designs for these churches were often chosen from pattern books, completed by unknown artists and rarely signed. These prefabricated, uninspired patterns did not take into account a specific need or site and as a result the same image often appeared in different churches. Artists who were trained in England and then emigrated to Canada brought the expertise to create original designs in the manner and methods of the English stained glass revival.

Charles William Kelsey (1877-1975) (Figure 1) trained in England and emigrated to Montreal; he was a stained glass artist who designed windows in Canada from the 1920s until the 1960s.¹ Although stained glass window design was his main source of income, he also painted in oil and watercolour and made illustrations for books and magazines. This thesis focuses on his war memorial windows commissioned between 1923 and 1958, a period of thirty years of his career. These selected windows include those designed for individuals, congregations, and war memorial halls. Since stained glass was still mainly an

¹All references to Kelsey's stained glass pertain to glass that was coloured chemically while in its liquid form (also known as pot-metal glass). This glass was then painted and stained according to his design.

ecclesiastic art, his main patrons were the Anglican and United Churches. Forty-two extant war memorial windows, designed by Kelsey for Canadians who fought or participated in World War I or World War II, were studied and researched for this thesis. Ten windows were commissioned as memorials for World War I, twenty-two for World War II and ten as memorials for both World Wars. While his war memorial designs represent only a small percentage of his total work (approximately 50 out of a possible 300 window designs), they do give an overview of his design capabilities and a cross section of the accepted subjects for memorial windows. Destroyed by fire, several war memorials exist only in Kelsey's albums of designs and as window cartoons. While in some cases the war memorial windows were made obsolete when congregations joined in one building, an effort was usually made to install the old windows in the new location. However, complete windows or sections were sometimes eliminated because of space restrictions or design incompatibilities.

Kelsey's war memorial windows can be analyzed according to the various influences of the English stained glass revival as seen in his work methods and designs, and according to the categories of subjects, each an individual and original work of art. His war memorial window designs are unique because they had to meet the requirements of the clients, be approved by the governing boards, and satisfy the war memorial committees of the churches. Through realistic, allegorical or symbolic figures in historical or religious narrative designs, these windows include references to World War I and/or World War II. They present an

opportunity to study the relationship of symbols and figures within these designs to Canadian nationalism, church liturgy and client specifications.

Kelsey's stained glass work has not been presented before nor has there been extensive published material on Canadian stained glass for this period. Both Contemporary Stained Glass, A Portfolio of Canadian Work (1985) by Joel Russ and Lou Lynn, and Verriers du Québec (1989) by Guy Simard, refer to the more modern work of glass artists in Canada after World War II. Although articles have been written on Canadian stained glass, they have not concentrated on war memorial windows and often have only focused on the windows within one building. While entire issues of Canada Crafts (Vol. 4:1, 1978) and Continuité (No. 46, Winter 1990) were devoted to stained glass in Canada, references to Kelsey's work were either not included or were incomplete and inaccurate.

Concerned that the history of this Montreal stained glass artist would be lost, Rosalind Pepall (who was then doing contract work for the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts) contacted Phyllis Kelsey, the daughter of Charles William Kelsey. She advised Phyllis Kelsey to donate her father's papers and books to the McCord Museum, Montreal.² As a result, in 1983, the McCord Museum received the extensive archival record of this stained glass artist who had worked in Montreal

²In the early 1970s, the National Gallery of Canada had asked for a list of the stained glass windows done by Charles William Kelsey. However, they were not interested in obtaining Kelsey's archival records. The department of the prints and drawings of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts was also considered. Since Phyllis Kelsey had worked for McGill University, she was pleased that her father's archive would be connected to this University through the McCord Museum.

from 1922 to 1967. Included are Kelsey's reference books,³ several work journals with entries of designs, records of disbursements and credits, and a box containing newspaper clippings and reference materials. (Appendix A is a list of some of Kelsey's books in his personal library.) Most helpful for research purposes was a scrapbook Phyllis Kelsey had organized containing a list of some of the windows Kelsey designed, newspaper clippings and articles written about his work, letters to and from clients, and photos of some of his windows. The bulk of archival material is now part of the McCord's database (1,072 entries). Over three hundred entries are for Kelsey's two window design albums; the remaining entries refer to his stained glass cartoons, drawings he made during his training, and examples of his stained glass work and oil paintings. Figures 2 and 3 are examples of drawings from his design albums.

Besides the archival material at the McCord Museum, information on Kelsey's work was found in the archives of the City of Montreal, Concordia University Archives, McGill University Archives, and the Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Art and Architecture, McGill University. As well, records from the United Church Archives in Montreal and Lennoxville, the Anglican Church Archives, Montreal, and files kept in individual churches were studied. The artist files on Kelsey at the Art Gallery of Ontario and the National

³Three of Kelsey's books were sold to the Library of the National Gallery of Canada in 1976. They are: George Somes Layard, Tennyson and His Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators (1894), Alexander Lenoir, Museum of French Monuments, Vol. 1 (1803), and John Flaxman, Compositions by John Flaxman, Sculptor (1807). A 1902 paper by Mrs. Eleanor F. Jourdain, "A Study in the Symbolism of the Divina Commedia" (South Devon: The Norland Press), was also given to the National Gallery.

Gallery of Canada provided additional data.

There has not been extensive research on war memorials in Canada except Robert Shipley's To Mark Our Place (1987). Although more than 1,200 monuments were part of his research, stained glass war memorials were not discussed. However, this book does provide details concerning the values and symbols portrayed, and the reasons why war memorials were commissioned. Also, its glossary includes the meanings of symbols most often found in war memorials. Although the origins of the most common symbolic forms of war memorials is presented in Alan Borg's book, War Memorials From Antiquity to the Present (1991), he too does not discuss in detail any stained glass war memorial windows.

Chapter 1 of this thesis presents information on Kelsey's education and early work experience. Included is how Kelsey interacted with the Montreal community, the contacts he made and how he developed his reputation as a stained glass artist. Relevant aspects of the changes in the stained glass industry in England and how it affected Kelsey's work method and window design are examined in Chapter 2. This chapter also includes a brief explanation of how the stained glass work in the United States and in Canada was affected. In Chapter 3, Kelsey's war memorial windows are analyzed according to theme, their placement in the churches, and reasons why they were commissioned.

CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT AS AN ARTIST

Charles William Kelsey was born on 19 April 1877 in London, England. He was the son of Charles James (a stone sculptor) and Ellen A. Woodward Kelsey. He married Louie Coulshaw (1883-1983) in 1907, and they had three children: Sylvia (1908-1990), Charles (1910-1993) and Phyllis (b. 1918). Kelsey was brought up in a religious family. However, his decision to join the Anglican church after his engagement was not met with favourable approval by his parents. Kelsey's daughter, Phyllis, believes he joined the Anglican church to increase his career opportunities and provide a sufficient income for his family. This was because the Church of England was in the process of reorganization and stained glass windows were part of the interior decoration of its individual churches. Also, preference was given to stained glass artists of the Anglican faith.

Kelsey's artistic ability was recognized at an early age. He started to draw at the age of five and received excellent marks for freehand drawing at Burghley Road Elementary School, London.⁴ At the age of fifteen, Kelsey entered an

⁴Documented information on Kelsey's education was obtained from his daughter, Phyllis. Kelsey received a certificate from the Department of Science and Art for excellent freehand drawing of the first grade, at the Annual Examination of Children in Elementary Day Schools, 1887.

apprenticeship program with the stained glass firm of Clayton and Bell and trained in this firm from 1892 until 1906. In addition to this stained glass training, he attended the Camden School of Art from 1896 to 1903. This art school was under the direction of the South Kensington School of Science and Art, and from 1903, the London County Council.⁵ The Camden School of Art was founded in 1881 and, while Kelsey attended, had a high standard of training under the direction of F. Black. Kelsey took the art courses on painting taught by J. Proctor and model-drawing courses given by J. Huskinson.⁶ The South Kensington School had been established for the purpose of training designers rather than easel painters, and so lectures on classical literature and art were combined with technical training in the crafts of book illumination, bookbinding, embroidery, wood-carving, gilding, general metalwork and cabinet-making. Kelsey also attended lectures at the Royal Academy on anatomy and perspective and studied the antique holdings at the British Museum.

Kelsey received a three-year Artisan Art Scholarship from the London City Council based on drawings he entered for the examinations held in March 1896. This scholarship allowed him to visit France to study stained glass. For his stained glass design entered in the 1897 National Art Competition, he won a National

⁵ He won book prizes from the Camden School of Art in 1891 and again in 1893.

⁶"Arts & Crafts, A Review of Work by Students in the leading Art Schools of Great Britain and Ireland," The Studio, (Autumn 1916), pp.6-7. Peter Cormack, of the William Morris Gallery, London, and who is also researching Kelsey's stained glass work, supplied this information to Phyllis Kelsey. Similar details were also given to Ross Hamilton for his book Prominent Men of Canada 1931-32 (Montreal: National Publishing Co. of Canada, 1932), pp. 393-4.

Book Prize and a bronze medal from the Department of Science and Art, Camden School of Art.⁷ After completing his apprenticeship with Clayton and Bell, Kelsey worked at the London stained glass firms of Turner and Lords (from 1906 to 1907) and at Burlison and Grylls (from 1907 to 1911).

In 1911 Kelsey and his family moved to the United States. From 1911 until 1919 he worked in the glass paint department of the Gorham Manufacturing Company of New York. While mainly a manufacturer of fine silver, this company had from the 1880s hired many craftsmen and designers from England. It was also the sole agent for the British firm of Heaton, Butler and Bayne, makers of stained glass windows, mosaic decorations and painted panels for churches.⁸ While working for this firm Kelsey designed stained glass windows for the Newark Roman Catholic Church in New Jersey, for Christ Cathedral in Salina, Kansas and for St. Mary Magdalene Church in Fayetteville, Tennessee.

In 1919, now aged 42, Kelsey returned to England to work as a freelance artist as well as for stained glass firms such as Burlison and Grylls, and John Underwood and Son. To promote his work he entered a stained glass design for the 1920 Royal Academy Annual Exhibition.⁹ In 1921, he designed his first war

⁷Other certificates dated from 1898 to 1903 extol his excellence in examinations on design, drawing from the antique, model-drawing, drawing in light and shade from a cast, perspective, geometrical drawing, memory drawing and still life.

⁸Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, "Dictionary of Architects, Artisans, Artists, and Manufacturers," *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Rizzoli International Publications, 1986), p. 433.

⁹*Royal Academy Exhibitions 1905-1970*, Vol. II (Wiltshire, England: Hilmarton Manor Press, 1985), p. 174.

memorial window for the firm of John Underwood and Son. This World War I four-light memorial window, for the Memorial Hall in Perth, Australia, depicts the cardinal virtues of Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude; it has the Arms of England, Canada and Australia as part of the design. Kelsey included a colour-code working drawing for the artists in Perth who completed the window. A letter dated 2 February 1923 from John Underwood and Son to Kelsey remarked, "The window you designed for Australia has given great satisfaction, our client writing that everyone considers it beautiful."¹⁰ Although his work journal lists cartoons, sketches and paintings for 1920-21, there are relatively few entries for stained glass designs. The devastation of World War I on London and the loss of contacts in the stained glass business made it difficult for Kelsey to acquire commissions.

Move to Canada

Unhappy with the quantity and type of work he could find in London as a freelance stained glass designer, Kelsey decided to move to Montreal in the spring of 1922. His thirty years of experience in working with stained glass for English and American firms provided a basis for his employment and artistic reputation. Until he found an apartment he stayed with his brother, Leonard E. Kelsey (1883-1975), who worked as a commercial artist and had moved to Montreal in 1909.¹¹ This was not Kelsey's first time in Montreal; he had visited Leonard on several

¹⁰McCord Museum, UAPT 1097 scrapbook.

¹¹C.S. MacDonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists Vol. 3 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks Publishing Ltd., 1971), p. 620.

previous occasions while he was living in New York. He brought letters of introduction to McGill professor of architecture Ramsay Traquair (1874-1952) from architects Sir Charles Nicholson (1867-1949) and Sir Aston Webb (1849-1930). Nicholson was known for his Victorian interpretation of the Gothic style and had been made a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1905.¹² Webb studied the medieval architecture of Great Britain; he was the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects from 1902 until 1904 and the President of the Royal Academy from 1919 until 1924.¹³ These letters of introduction from well-respected architects in England helped to provide a foundation for Kelsey's reputation as a talented and respected artist.

In 1922 a neighbour and friend, Peggy Prain, introduced Kelsey to Canon Allan Shatford of St. James the Apostle Anglican Church (1439 St. Catherine St. W.).¹⁴ Based on the approval of his drawings for war memorial windows for St. James Methodist (now United) Church (463 St. Catherine St. W.) and for St. George's Anglican Church (1101 Stanley St.),¹⁵ and with the support of Shatford,

¹²Kelsey made a painting for the Sir Charles Nicholson Lady Chapel, Kensington Church, London in 1890. McCord Museum, M984.219.484, 485.

¹³Walter H. Godfrey, "Sir Charles Archibald Nicholson," in L.G. Wickham Legg and E.T. Williams (editors), Dictionary of National Biography 1941-1950 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp.627-8; and H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, "Sir Aston Webb," in George Smith, Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 900-1. Nicholson's brother Archibald K. Nicholson (1871-1937) was also a stained glass artist.

¹⁴Phyllis Kelsey, interview, 30 September 1994. Peggy Prain moved to Ottawa and joined St. Barnabas Church. She was Kelsey's contact for the windows Father Browne ordered for that church in 1947.

¹⁵In 1922, Kelsey painted "The Last Supper" for the reredos in St. George's Church; he also worked with the Montreal branch of the Bromsgrove Guild for the woodwork in this church.

Kelsey decided to make Montreal his permanent home. Shafford even went to London to convince Louie Kelsey to move to Canada. As a result, in the fall of 1923 the family joined Kelsey in Montreal.

Contacts and Reputation

Kelsey was listed in the Lovell's Montreal Business Directory under "Artists" starting with the 1924-25 issue. Only one example of personal advertising could be found in other sources: The Montreal Churchman printed Kelsey's advertisement, "C.W. Kelsey, Artist, Expert in Stained Glass Memorial Windows, Studio 136 Clondeboye Ave., Westmount, P.Q., Phone WE. 4166" in November 1940.¹⁶ Instead of costly advertising, Kelsey relied on personal contacts and word-of-mouth recommendations for his commissions.

As was the practice in a family of stone masons (in Kelsey's family the occupation of statuary stone mason can be traced back for four consecutive generations),¹⁷ Kelsey visited the offices of architectural firms to introduce himself as a designer and stained glass artist and to become knowledgeable about their present and future projects. Architects were excellent connections; they were privy to future expansion plans of the various churches and often recommended artists

¹⁶The Montreal Churchman, Vol. 28, no. 11 (November 1940), p. 11. Anglican Archives, Montreal.

¹⁷In a letter dated 26 January 1995, Phyllis Kelsey provided details about Charles Samuel Kelsey (1820-1889), C.W. Kelsey's grandfather, who is listed in Rupert Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851 (London: The Abbey Library, 1951), p. 224.

whom they found to be competent and accommodating to specific needs. Also the architect's approval was needed when a new window was placed in a building. In an interview for a newspaper article about his work, Kelsey mentioned specific architects who promoted his work: Percy Erskine Nobbs (1875-1964), David MacFarlane (1875-1950), J. Rawson Gardiner (1866-1956), and Alfred D. Thacker (1879-1938). Examples of firms who helped and encouraged his work were Edward (1867-1923) and William S. (1875-1952) Maxwell and Gordon Pitts (1886-1954), A. Leslie Perry (1896-1982) and Morley C. Luke (b.1901), and Alexander C. Hutchison (1838-1922) and John W. Wood (b.1885).¹⁸ Special notation was also made in Kelsey's work journal of Robert Findlay (1859-1951) for the Westmount Town Hall windows (1923), the Maxwell brothers for mosaic panels at the Unitarian Church of the Messiah (1925) and Percy Nobbs for seven panels in gesso and for heraldry at for the Seigneurie of Boucherville (1925).¹⁹

Because the church was the main patron for stained glass memorial window commissions, Kelsey made himself known to the clergy in the neighbourhood. While Canon Shatford was one of his first contacts in the Anglican Church, Kelsey visited other denominations. As a result, his windows were also commissioned by Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist Churches.²⁰ Whenever the Kelsey

¹⁸Undated newspaper article titled "Charles W. Kelsey," McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook. Phyllis Kelsey affirmed these names of architects she remembered as giving her father work.

¹⁹ McCord Museum, Box 33 UAPT 5048, work journal.

²⁰On 10 June 1925, the United Church of Canada was formed by a union of these Churches. A few Congregational churches and about one-third of the Presbyterian Churches voted to stay out of this union.

family moved to a different Montreal neighbourhood, they became members of the nearest Anglican church. They were members of St. John the Evangelist (137 President Kennedy), the Church of the Advent (4119 de Maisonneuve W.), the Church of St. Columba (4020 Hingston), St. Stephen's Church (4006 Dorchester St. W.), and St. Matthias Church (131 Côte Saint Antoine).²¹ Phyllis Kelsey remembers that clergymen often visited their home;²² they were usually Anglican and visited the Kelsey family because they shared common interests and friends in England. These contacts proved beneficial for Kelsey's business; he was chosen as the artist to design memorial windows for Archdeacon John Ker (1935, Montreal Diocesan Theological College, 3473 University), Rev. Ephraim Scott (1949, Ephraim Scott Memorial Presbyterian Church, 5545 Snowdon), Rev. T.W. Jones (1952, Calvary United Church; window moved to Westmount Park - Emmanuel United, 4695 de Maisonneuve), and Archdeacon A.P. Gower Rees (1955, St. George's Anglican). In addition, Bishop James Carmichael of Montreal commissioned Kelsey to design a memorial window for his son (January 1949, St.

²¹Kelsey's first apartment was on Staynor Avenue; in 1925 they moved to West Hill Avenue; in 1928 to Dorchester St. W.; in 1934 to Western (now de Maisonneuve); in 1937 to Clandeboye and finally in 1948 to Metcalfe Street. The Western address was the former home of the Rev. Gilbert Oliver (of St. Matthias Church). When they lived on Dorchester, they were close neighbours of the Rev. T.W. Jones of Calvary United Church. Jones later became the Interim Moderator of the United Church of Canada, from 1946 to 1947. The Kelsey residences indicate a general upward mobility, an increase in size and the desire to remain close to the Westmount area.

²²Visitors to the Kelsey home included Canon W.H. Davison (Church of St. John the Evangelist, then at Ontario and St. Urbain Streets), Canon Gilbert Oliver (St. Matthias' Church, 131 Côte Saint Antoine), Mr. Combe (St. Jude's, 2390 Coursol), the Rev. H.M. Little and later the Rev. Canon Sydenham Lindsay (Church of the Advent), and Mr. Elton Scott (Church of St. Columba). Information provided in a letter from Phyllis Kelsey, 28 October 1994. Another good friend of Kelsey's was the Right Reverend Ernest S. Reed, Bishop of Ottawa. In a letter dated 18 December 1957, Reed wrote: "Writing to you brings back pleasant memories of our associations together in Montreal." McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

Alban's Anglican Church, also known as Bishop Carmichael Memorial Church, 760 Saint Zotique; now burnt), five windows were commissioned by Father Herbert W. Browne (April 1947, St. Barnabas, Kent and James St., Ottawa), and one window was ordered by Rev. Dunn (December 1946, Bergerville, Placiencio, British Honduras, now Belize).

Not all of Kelsey's valuable contacts were architects or clergymen. The Secretary for the Montreal Masons, W.W. Williamson, was a friend and neighbour of Kelsey when his family lived on Dorchester Street. Kelsey became a first-degree mason of the Mount Royal Lodge on 3 February 1928, a second-degree mason on 3 March 1928, a third-degree or master mason on 4 May 1928 and a life member on 19 November 1948.²³ Membership in the Arch Masons of Canada provided a constructive introduction into the Montreal community because of the prominent community leaders, architects and artists who were members. For example, architect A. Leslie Perry and Rev. T.W. Jones were masons. Rev. Jones was also the minister at Calvary United Church where the Montreal Masons held their services. Also, Canon A.P. Shatford, who encouraged Kelsey to settle in Montreal, was a mason.²⁴ Kelsey designed a World War I bronze tablet for the

²³Information provided by Ken Aldridge, the Grand Secretary of the Masonic Temple, Montreal in a telephone conversation, 22 November 1994. Mr. Aldridge stated that between 1928 and 1948 the membership records read like a "who's-who of Montreal."

²⁴Canon Shatford served in World War I and was a member of the Royal Albert Lodge. See A Short History: Centenary Celebration 1864-1964 (Montreal: Royal Albert Lodge A.F. & A.M., No. 25 G.R.G., 1964), p. 25.

Grand Lodge in October 1922²⁵ and from February 1951 to February 1952, with Scottish muralist Adam Sherriff Scott (1877-1980), painted murals for the Masonic Memorial Temple (1850 Sherbrooke St. W.).²⁶

Kelsey continued working in Montreal during the harsh economic times of the Depression and the Second World War. During the tough economic times in Montreal, his early technical training proved to be beneficial in supplementing his income from window commissions. He gave drawing lessons in his home, made book illustrations, illuminated address books (such as the one for Governor-General Baron Byng in 1923), and designed certificates for the Royal Arch Masons of Quebec.²⁷ In 1925-26 and in late 1939-40, lack of commissions forced him to move back to New York to work for the Gorham Company while his family remained in Montreal.

Because of his reputation, Kelsey was asked to give lectures to the

²⁵The dedication on the tablet reads: "As a tribute of gratitude and honour to those brethren within the Grand Lodge of Quebec A.F. and A.M. who in the Great War of 1914-1918 endured hardships and faced dangers and death that they might serve their King and country in the fight for right and liberty. To hold in loving and perpetual memory those brethren who died on the field of honour that others might live in freedom and peace. All they had hoped for, all they had they gave to save mankind. Themselves they scorned to save. Their name liveth forevermore." McCord Museum, photo of tablet, Box B 302.

²⁶The new Masonic Temple, by architects Charles J. Saxe (1870-1943) and John S. Archibald (1872-1934), was completed for a special ceremony on 10 March 1930. On 2 June 1951, Saxe and Archibald visited the Kelsey studio to approve one of these mural paintings for the Masonic Temple. The murals were titled: "John, Duke of Montagu, Grand Master 1721, Places the Constitutions in the Hands of His Successor, Philip, Duke of Wharton," "The laying of the Foundation Stone of the Wolfe and Montcalm Monument," and "The Lodges in Wolfe's Army Elect A Provincial Grand Master, Quebec, November 28th 1759." McCord Museum UAPT 1097 scrapbook. For more information on freemasonry, see J. Ross Robertson, The History of freemasonry in Canada from its introduction in 1749 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1899).

²⁷Various examples of drawings for these certificates for the Royal Arch Masons are at the McCord Museum, Box B302.

Women's Art Society on the history and art of stained glass on 22 February 1927 and 26 November 1940.²⁸ For the 4 December 1951 meeting of the Women's Art Society, Kelsey was again scheduled to give an illustrated talk:

On the 4th, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Charles W. Kelsey, who has recently completed three large murals for the Masonic Temple of Montreal, will give an illustrated talk on The Art and Craft of Stained Glass....Before coming to Canada, he designed many memorial windows for churches and cathedrals, notably one in Windsor Chapel. In Canada he has designed several war memorials. Among his Montreal windows are numbered the Legion Memorial Hall and McGill Memorial window. He is also well known as a painter of historical subjects and murals.²⁹

In January 1941 he gave a talk on art and music to the Mechanics Institute. Several talks on stained glass were also given in local churches (such as Westmount Park United Church on 14 May, 1954 and St. Matthew's Church on 22 November, 1961).³⁰

In 1940, The Montreal Churchman, the Anglican Church periodical, published Kelsey's three-part article on the history of stained glass.³¹ With the installation and dedication of a memorial window, Kelsey's name as artist and designer was mentioned in the relevant church bulletins and in newspapers and periodicals. For example, The Montreal Churchman featured Kelsey's memorial

²⁸The minutes of the meeting of 22 February 1927 read: "At the morning meeting on February 22nd a most interesting lecture was given on the 'History and Art of Stained Glass' by Charles W. Kelsey. Mr. Kelsey had many illustrations to show the members and also samples of glass used in the construction of windows." He gave a talk again at the November 26, 1940 meeting. Minute Book, General Meetings of Women's Art Society, 1927, p. 158; 1940, p. 227. Minute Books are at the McCord Museum.

²⁹"Art Society Plans Program," The Herald, December 4, 1951. Artist file, Art Gallery of Ontario.

³⁰Note from Phyllis Kelsey, November 1994.

³¹Charles W. Kelsey, "Stained Glass Windows: Their Origin and Purpose," The Montreal Churchman, Vol. 27, Nos. 1-3 (January, February and March, 1940).

windows for Lewis Brown McFarlane (St. Stephen's Church, Westmount) and Mrs. Taylor (St. Paul's, Knowlton) as cover illustrations.³² Since Kelsey was well-known in the Montreal area as a stained glass artist, when an article appeared in Saturday Night in 1952 describing the work of local glass artists but not including his name, a letter was sent to the editor listing Kelsey's qualifications.³³

Although known for his stained glass windows, Kelsey also became a respected member of the art community with his portraits, landscapes and historic-religious scenes and stained glass drawings. These were exhibited at the Jacoby Studio (1500 Bishop Street), the Arts Club (2027 Victoria Street) and the Art Association of Montreal (679 Sherbrooke St. W.). He entered selected stained glass designs and paintings in the annual exhibitions of the Royal Canadian Academy from 1922 to 1947.³⁴ His stained glass designs were also exhibited through the Canadian Society of Graphic Arts in Toronto from 1924 to 1927.³⁵ He received favourable reviews of his oil and watercolour work, as is evident in press reaction to his 1954 exhibition held at the Arts Club and featuring almost 100 of his works done in oil and watercolour:

³²The Montreal Churchman, Vol. 33, No. 10 (October 1945); Vol. 34, No. 10 (October 1946).

³³Paul Duval, "Mediaeval Craft Canadians Revive Stained-Glass Art," Saturday Night Vol. 67, No. 27 (12 April 1952), p. 13; and W.R. Vogan, "Montreal Glass Artist," Saturday Night Vol. 67, No. 37 (21 June 1952), p. 1.

³⁴Evelyn de R. McMann, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts / Académie royale des arts du Canada Exhibitions and Members 1880-1979 (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 218-9.

³⁵Kelsey is listed in the catalogues for four exhibitions: January 1924, February 7 - March 2, 1925, April 1926, and April 2 - 24, 1927. Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario.

They are expertly painted. Mr. Kelsey is noted for his work in stained glass and he is at his best, I think, in his figures and groupings. The same careful workmanship...goes into his landscapes, into his tidy little group of Montreal water colors.³⁶

For his historic paintings, note was made of his detailed and accurate research; his work was compared to that of Sir John Millais (1829-96) and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-98):

Comme les maîtres anciens, M. Kelsey reconstitue volontiers des scènes historico-religieuses. Sa manière fait songer à John Millais....Comme Puvis de Chavannes qu'il évoque par moments dans l'aquarelle toute en colorations assourdies 'My heart is like a singing bird' d'après le poème de Rossetti, Kelsey recourt à des arrangements stylisés et scrupuleux.³⁷

Kelsey was described as an eclectic artist who was able to adapt his manner according to what was required, for either religious decoration or private ornamentation:

Il est principalement dessinateur de vitraux, mais en même temps peintre décorateur ayant démontré, par des compositions importantes sa science parfaite et son goût très sûr. Il puise volontiers la source de son inspiration dans l'oeuvre de nos maîtres verriers ou miniaturistes d'autrefois, mais, sans les imiter, il les interprète et adapte à notre esprit moderne la richesse étonnante de leurs harmonies coloristiques. Souvent, aussi, il fait oeuvre entièrement de notre siècle, construisant les vitraux sobres et harmonieux, de structure légère qui font chez nous, la célébrité d'un Gruber.³⁸

³⁶Undated newspaper article on Kelsey's show at the Arts Club, April 18-23, 1954. McCord Museum UAPT 1097 scrapbook. The Gazette, 10 April 1954, also reviewed this show.

³⁷Pierre Saucier, "Charles W. Kelsey au 'Arts Club'," La Patrie 15 April 1954. Kelsey's library includes a copy A.L. Baldry's Sir John Everett Millais: His Art and Influence (London: George Bell & Sons, 1899), McCord Museum, Box 3 UAPT 5046. As part of his reference materials, Kelsey kept illustrations of work done by Puvis de Chavannes. McCord Museum, Box B302.

³⁸C. de Cordis, "Le Vitrail," November, 1926. Clipping in artist file, Art Gallery of Ontario. Francis Gruber (1912-48) was a French painter who exhibited at the Salon d'Automne, Paris (1944).

For more than forty years Kelsey accepted commissions for stained glass work in public and private buildings in Montreal and the surrounding area. He also designed windows for several churches in Ontario and the Maritimes. In total, at least sixty-eight churches in Canada have examples of his stained glass designs. Many churches have a large number of his windows; they include St. Matthias Anglican (1910-12; George Ross [1878-1946] and D. McFarlane), Montreal West United (1925, 88 Ballantyne; Hutchison & Wood), and St. Matthew's Anglican (1930-31, 4940 MacDonald; Hutchison and Wood). Kelsey designed windows for private residences (for example, the Birk's estate in St. Bruno and the Bronfman house in Montreal) as well as for secular buildings (Canada Cement, Montreal, and Château Frontenac, Quebec City). The exact number of Kelsey's windows is not yet known, but Phyllis Kelsey is working on a more complete catalogue of her father's designs.

Kelsey's reputation as a talented stained glass artist was based on his expertise in creating window designs that satisfied both the client and the church patron. His choice of colour, mastery of glass painting and careful consideration of the architecture were directly influenced by the recent revival of stained glass that took place in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 2

INFLUENCES FOUND IN KELSEY'S WORK

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the medieval mosaic stained glass window design, with its painted details, was revived in England. The mosaic method of stained glass used pieces of coloured glass surrounded and connected together with lead comes. Painted details in a brown-black enamel or with silver stain completed the stained glass design. Fascination with the architecture and art of the Middle Ages and research into the quality and technique of medieval glass helped to renew the stained glass industry. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the William Morris firm, and the Arts and Crafts Movement further stimulated innovative stained glass designs. When Kelsey emigrated to Canada in 1922, his thirty years of training and stained glass experience were related to the English stained glass revival. This can be observed in his use of symbolism, choice of colour, manner of painting on stained glass, and the originality of his design work for his war memorial windows.

Fascination with the Middle Ages

A major catalyst of the renewed interest in stained glass was the Gothic

Revival. This extremely complex and multi-faceted phenomenon involved writers, artists and architects who all became involved in literary, historical, artistic and scientific ways in the revival of Gothic architecture with its medieval mosaic stained glass windows. Increased knowledge about Gothic architecture was a direct result of the publication of books, journals and articles.³⁹

Key advocates of the investigation of medieval art and architecture were A.W.N. Pugin (1815-52) and John Ruskin (1819-1900). Through their writings and lectures, they proposed a return to the old English parish church with appropriate and symbolic detailing and decoration, and a return to the guild craftsmanship of the Middle Ages.⁴⁰ Both Pugin and Ruskin countered the dehumanization that they saw as having resulted from the Industrial Revolution's separation of art and labour. As a result of the rekindled interest in medieval and Gothic architecture, by the late 1840s in England, the Gothic Revival with its mosaic stained glass windows had come to be regarded as an English national style.

During this early period of the Gothic Revival, the Oxford Tractarians (1833) and the Cambridge Camden Society (1839) were also influential. John Henry Newman (1801-90) and other Tractarians advocated the introduction of the

³⁹For more information on the Gothic Revival, see Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1928) , Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain Vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), and Paul Frankl, Gothic Architecture (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1962).

⁴⁰Examples of their books include: A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts: or a parallel between the Noble edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and similar buildings of the present day... (London: Pugin, 1836) and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture; set forth in Two Lectures Delivered at S. Marie's, Oscott (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853); and John Ruskin, The Stones of Venice (Sunnyside, Kent: George Allen, 1886).

Catholic, pre-Reformation tradition into the English Church to bring colour and emotion back into religion through architecture and symbolism. Starting in 1841, the Cambridge Camden Society (from 1846, the Ecclesiological Society)⁴¹ printed its monthly journal, The Ecclesiologist, as a guide for all aspects of Anglican worship and to promote church architecture based on the ritual basilican arrangement of nave, transept and chancel instead of the neo-classical temple church arrangement. The Oxford Movement was more occupied with religious theology while the Cambridge Camden Society, through The Ecclesiologist, was more significant in the revival of stained glass. In 1843 J.M. Neale and B. Webb published an English translation of a thirteenth-century treatise, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornament, by William Durandus (c.1230-96), Bishop of Mende, supporting the idea that correct symbolism was essential to Christian architecture.⁴² As part of church decoration, stained glass was seen as a means for emphasizing and articulating the divisions of the architectural layout through the use of specific religious subjects. George E. Street (1824-81), an active member of the Ecclesiological Society, believed that stained glass should be subordinate to, and in harmony with the architectural plan of the building. He admired the primary colours and mosaic method of Middle Gothic stained glass, and opposed the nineteenth century's use of both perspective and unnecessary shading.

⁴¹Founding members of the Cambridge Camden Society were J.M. Neale (1818-66), Benjamin Webb (1819-85), A.J. Beresford-Hope (1820-87) and the Reverend T. Thorp.

⁴²Also known as Guillaume Durand, he wrote a general treatise on symbolism of the liturgy: Rationale divinatorum officiorum (c. 1285-91).

Street's preference for stained, mosaic windows over enamel-painted windows was repeatedly echoed in The Ecclesiologist.⁴³

These two societies (the Oxford Tractarians and the Cambridge Camden Society) were powerful in their approval of architects' work and church decoration. Their influence on stained glass designs was still evident when Kelsey took his training in stained glass firms and later when he was designing windows. Kelsey's interest and research into symbolism, medieval stained glass, and Gothic architecture is apparent by the books in his library that he used for references. His books on symbolism include A Dictionary of The Bible (originally published in 1863) and A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1848).⁴⁴ His copies of W.R. Lethaby's Mediaeval Art From the Peace of the Church to the Eve of the Renaissance 312-1350 (1904) and Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France painted by Lawrence P. Saint (1925) further suggests his interest and research into medieval stained glass.⁴⁵ He referred to passages in Lethaby's book for his lectures and in his three-part article on the history of stained glass (1940, The Montreal Churchman). These books provided information on how medieval

⁴³See George E. Street, "On Glass Painting," The Ecclesiologist Vol. 13, no. 91 (August 1852), pp. 237-247.

⁴⁴Phyllis Kelsey provided the titles of these books, letter dated 26 January 1995. A Dictionary of The Bible refers to antiquities, biographies, geography, and natural history and has numerous illustrations and maps. The Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1848) contains many wood engravings.

⁴⁵W.R. Lethaby's (1857-1931) book was a general, but very personal view of medieval art and its role in church architecture. Lethaby admired the work of William Morris and Philip Webb and in 1894 was the first principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London, founded to train designers and craftsmen.

glass was painted, the symbolism within windows and how the colours of the glass were combined to create an overall atmosphere for a religious building. For details of biblical figures and their symbols, Kelsey could also refer to his copies of Legends of the Monastic Orders (1891), Historical Tales for Young Protestants (1893), and The Saints in Art (1924). His reference books on medieval architecture were French Cathedrals (195-) and Rambles Around London Town (19--). When given a commission, Kelsey was often asked to suggest suitable subjects and their relevant symbols. This was the case for memorial windows in the St. Lambert United Church (85 Desaulniers). In Kelsey's reply to a letter dated 8 November 1955 from the Rev. K.G. MacMillan, he provided a list of suitable subjects as well as where the related stories could be found in the Bible.⁴⁶

Kelsey also had to take into account which biblical figures would correspond to the work and personality traits of the person to whom the window was dedicated. This significance of symbols and figures is demonstrated in Kelsey's 1952 design for a memorial window to the Rev. T.W. Jones (1877-1951) (Figures 4, 5). Although not a memorial window for someone who died during the War, this three-light window does commemorate Padre Jones who served in both World Wars, and who was the minister in Calvary United Church for thirty years, the moderator of the General Council of the United Church of Canada and a chaplain of many organizations. His work in the community was well known and held in high esteem as evidenced by the large number of acquaintances who attended his

⁴⁶Letter dated November 15th, 1955 to Rev. K.G. MacMillan. Church records, St. Lambert United Church.

funeral on 12 October 1951.⁴⁷ This three-light memorial window was commissioned by the Gyro Club of Montreal, the Calvary Church Women's Association and the Calvary Church congregation. Because Jones was a charter member of the Gyro Club of Montreal and founder of the Padre Jones Cigarette Fund, Kelsey included a symbol of a gyroscope and the words "Fraternity of Friendship" in the light donated by the Gyro Club of Montreal. The central and right lights were donated by the Women's Association and members of the congregation. To illustrate specific aspects of Rev. Dr. Jones' life, Kelsey chose three figures. The figure of the sower was to "illustrate how Dr. Jones spent his life sowing the seed of goodwill and understanding among all with whom he came in contact."⁴⁸ The central figure of Christ with open arms and the words "Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden," represented the years Rev. Jones ministered comfort and hope to the bereaved of the congregation and community. In the right-hand light is the figure of Dorcas, a biblical figure symbolic for charitable works and deeds. This figure referred to the many charitable organizations and societies of which Jones was a member. Thus with the choice of these biblical figures, Kelsey incorporated symbolic references to the life and

⁴⁷"Hundreds Attend Funeral of Very Rev. T.W. Jones," The Montreal Star, October 12, 1951.

⁴⁸First established by the Gyro Club of Montreal at Rev. Jones' instigation, the fund distributed 21,800,000 cigarettes to servicemen overseas during the Second World War, under the auspices of Gyro International. "Stained-glass Church Panel To Commemorate War Padre," The Montreal Star, October 24, 1953 and "Memorial Window Unveiled, Window Panels Unveiled at Calvary Church," The Montreal Star, 2 November, 1953.

work of Rev. Jones.⁴⁹

Another aspect of the Gothic Revival that Kelsey took into consideration was the emphasis on the architecture of the building. The stained glass windows were not just decorative and didactic additions to the church interior, they were also meant to accentuate the window opening as well as allow sufficient light to display the unique interior architectural features. This can be seen in Kelsey's 1923 war memorial windows for St. James United Church (Figure 6). Here the window borders and canopy areas of the windows served several purposes: they repeated the architectural details of the carved wooden beams of this Gothic-inspired church, provided a background setting for the figures, united the eight-light window into a cohesive whole, and allowed sufficient light to filter into the balcony and central nave areas.

Border areas of Kelsey's windows also repeated the features of the architectural openings. One example is his war memorial window design for St. George's Anglican Church (1949). As seen in Figure 7, Kelsey designed symbols to fit the unique architectural openings at the top of these windows. This careful consideration for the architectural opening is again found in his designs for the war memorial windows for Emmanuel Church in Westmount Park United Church (1951, 4695 de Maisonneuve) (Figure 8). Designs in the tracery area of the windows were coordinated with the shape of the opening and contained symbols relevant

⁴⁹When these memorial windows were moved from Calvary United Church to Westmount Park-Emmanuel, the top sections as well as the bottom panels (as seen in Figure 5) had to be removed because of size restrictions. Kelsey worked with architect A. Leslie Perry to adjust these windows for their new setting.

to the window design. These examples are not unusual in Kelsey's work; no matter the shape of the window opening, he always emphasized the special architectural features of the structure.

Kelsey's ideas for memorial window designs were well-respected; in the early 1960s he was invited to attend the annual Anglican Synod meetings. He also attended meetings of the Anglican Church Art Committee held at the Anglican House (at that time behind Christ Church Cathedral).⁵⁰ Respected were his combinations of architectural features, his use of symbolism and his knowledge of church iconography, as well as his choice of coloured glass combinations with their painted details as influenced by early medieval glass work.

The Qualities of Medieval Stained Glass

As part of the Gothic Revival, research into medieval glass was necessary because the variety of coloured glass produced in the early to mid-nineteenth century was limited and its quality was thin and unsatisfactory. Instead enamel colours and silver stain were painted extensively onto clear glass to resemble medieval painted and stained glass. One of the first artists to reestablish the mosaic window method was Thomas Willemont (1786-1871). He studied medieval ornament and design and made his windows with small pieces of coloured glass; enamel paint was used only for necessary shading and details. Only two pigments were used: a stain for yellow tints and a brown-black enamel for shading and

⁵⁰Telephone conversation with Phyllis Kelsey, 5 January 1995.

outlining. While silver stain changed the colour of the glass, painting added the linear details and, through a smear or stipple application, modified or regulated the amount of light passing through the glass. Additional colour within a piece of glass was achieved through the abrasion of flashed glass (a thin layer of coloured over clear or another colour of glass).⁵¹

The special qualities of medieval glass with its irregularities in thickness and such imperfections as bubbles and streaks of colour were also studied. It was found that when light passed through the uneven and imperfect medieval glass it was refracted at many different angles, causing a sparkle or shimmering effect. Constant exposure to rain and pollution had etched and pitted the glass further; this intensified the refraction of light. Unhappy with the thin, watery-coloured glass of his time, Charles Winston (1814-65), beginning in 1830, devoted himself to the study of stained glass history - medieval, renaissance and modern.⁵² In 1849, in an attempt to promote the production of more authentically coloured and textured stained glass, Winston gave samples of medieval glass to James Powell & Sons of Whitefriars Glass Works, London for chemical analysis. By 1856 Edward Green, a chemist at Whitefriars, had succeeded in producing medieval colours and a better quality glass. Simultaneously John Richard Clayton (1827-1913) was working with William Edward Chance who, in 1863, produced glass alleged to be

⁵¹Lawrence Lee, George Seddon and Francis Stephens, Stained Glass (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 151.

⁵²Winston was responsible for several books on stained glass: An Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, 2 volumes (1847, 1867); Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting (1865).

equal in quality and colour to medieval glass.⁵³ This glass had a richer and more varied texture than the thin, flat glass being produced at the time; the colour had greater vitality and eliminated the necessity of coating the back of the window with enamel colour. Research into the special qualities of medieval glass was also being conducted by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) who, in his ten-volume Dictionnaire raisonné (1854-68), included a treatise on French stained glass of the Middle Ages.⁵⁴

With the research into medieval glass and the resulting development of jewel-like colours, stained glass designs could rely on the colour of the glass for impact. Although the correct combination of coloured glass was vital to a design, it was the paint on top of the glass that added the details and controlled the amount of light. Kelsey's windows can be recognized by his combinations of bright jewel-like colours and the skill of his painting technique. His choice of colour was admired by Father H.W. Browne of St. Barnabas Church (Kent and James Streets), Ottawa: "His boldness of design and glory of colour place him in the ranks of the best craftsmen of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, and his windows have captured something of the jewelled splendour of the thirteenth

⁵³E. Liddall Armitage, Stained Glass History, Technology and Practice (Newton, Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford Company, 1959), p. 60. Clayton formed his own stained glass design firm with partner Alfred Bell (1832-95) in 1855.

⁵⁴Francis Palmer Smith, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^{me} au XVI^{me} siècle / Medieval stained glass: a translation of the article Vitrail (Atlanta, Georgia: Francis P. Smith, 1942), Introduction.

century."⁵⁵ (Information on the technique and reasons for glass painting is found in Appendix B.) An example of Kelsey's use of colour and painted details is found in the war memorial window for Eric Rodger Church (1942, St. Barnabas Anglican Church, 95 Lorne, St. Lambert) (Figure 9). While the main areas of colour are in red, blue and yellow; colour balance is provided by the interspersed areas of green, violet and white and the bright colours of the figure are contrasted to the lighter coloured glass of the background areas. Paint applied to the glass provides the modelling for the facial features and hands, drapery folds and fabric pattern details. Overall the paint on the glass gives a continuity to the movement of colour, controls the amount of light filtered through the glass, and adds depth through the contrast with clearer highlights. The pose of the naturalistic figure with its delicately painted facial features substantiates the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and their followers in Kelsey's designs.

The Pre-Raphaelite Movement and the William Morris Firm

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood⁵⁶ believed that scientific observation of all facets of nature would reveal social and moral truths. This emphasis on art as

⁵⁵Dedication booklet, St. Barnabas Church, 24 April 1949. McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

⁵⁶Prominent members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were John Everett Millais (1829-1896), William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882). Other members included James Collinson (1825-1881), William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919), Frederic George Stephens (1828-1907), and Thomas Woolner (1825-1892). For more information on the Pre-Raphaelite painters see Percy H. Bate, The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1972) and William E. Fredeman, Pre-Raphaelitism: A Bibliocritical Study, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).

having religious and moral significance attracted, among others, John Ruskin. Although the Pre-Raphaelites were passionate medievalists, they avoided what many have described as the derivative style of the Gothic Revivalists in which medieval stained glass was copied exactly as found. It was the hard-edge quality of the Pre-Raphaelite painting that was congenial to the mosaic method of lead lines and stained glass. However, the lead comes were not just support for the glass but were regarded as an element of good design. While perspective was used to some degree, depth-making techniques such as dramatic chiaroscuro or vague backgrounds were absent and the palette itself was reminiscent of late medieval illuminated manuscripts.⁵⁷ Pre-Raphaelite-influenced windows show individuality, symbolic content, close observation of nature, translucency of the glass material and concern for good craftsmanship.

The value of good craftsmanship was part of Kelsey's training at the Camden School of Art, where his training included the recent influences of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, who favoured the work of Florentine artists. Kelsey's copies of George Somes Layard's Tennyson and His Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators (1894) and A.L. Baldry's Sir John Everett Millais: His Art and Influence (1899) further indicate his exposure to artists working in the Pre-Raphaelite manner during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Figure 10, a detail of the Ephraim Scott window (1949, Ephraim Scott Memorial Church, 5545 Snowdon), shows the Pre-Raphaelite influence in the delicately painted facial features and in the heads tilted

⁵⁷James L. Sturm, Stained Glass from Medieval Times to the Present: Treasures to Be Seen in New York (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), p. 29.

at an angle with their flowing locks of hair. Also, the winged figures form a self-enclosed group with the angels on either side faced inwards to the central figure. This same arrangement of three figures can be found in several other of his war memorial designs (Figures 7, 11, 33).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, reviews of Kelsey's paintings noted the strong resemblance to those of John Millais, one of the original members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. This was because of Kelsey's attention to detail and his research for historical accuracy of background details, as seen in his historic-religious paintings.⁵⁸ This same concern for accuracy of historical details is also found in his war memorial window designs. This is evident in the inclusion of instruments of war as part of the background details for his designs. In Figure 3, a proposed World War I window, Kelsey combined the figure of Christ against a background of an air and sea battle as would have been seen during the War. His concern for historical accuracy is especially evident in the 1949 Canadian Legion war memorial windows (now at 311 McLeod, Chateauguay). Figure 11 illustrates how Kelsey incorporated mythological figures of soldiers holding shields to represent the Navy, Army and Air Force. To strengthen the correlation of these figures with Canadian history, he added the Arms of Quebec, the Badge of the Canadian Legion and the Badge of the City of Montreal. The connection with the World Wars was further emphasized through the representation in the lower panels

⁵⁸Subjects of his historical-religious paintings include "Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh" and "David Outside the Camp of the Israelites." Newspaper clipping, "Charles W. Kelsey Shows Paintings," Kelsey artist file at the National Art Gallery, Ottawa.

of a battleship, an Air Force carrier, an armoured car, coastal defence guns, an airplane and descending parachutes.

To communicate the historical relationship between a biblical figure and a war memorial window, Kelsey included the badge of the armed forces or the regiment badge. For example, the war memorial window for H. Stanley Brydges (1945, Montreal West United Church) (Figure 12), has the badge of the First Hussars; the dedication panel of the war memorial window for Reginald Ernest Vokey (1945, St. Stephen's Anglican Church, 25, 12th Avenue, Lachine) (Figure 13) has the badge of the 415 Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force; and the lower panels of St. Matthew's Anglican Church Congregational war memorial (1951) (Figures 14, 15) have references to the Merchant Navy.⁵⁹

Another connection between Kelsey and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was through the firm of Clayton and Bell. As stated in Chapter 1, Kelsey apprenticed at this firm from 1892 to 1906. John Richard Clayton (1827-1913) was introduced to Dante Gabriel Rossetti in 1849, at the time when the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was most active.⁶⁰ Clayton took up stained glass in 1853 under the guidance of another of The Ecclesiologist's favourite architects, Richard Cromwell Carpenter (1812-55), and worked with William Edward Chance to improve the stained glass of the time. In 1855 Clayton formed a partnership with

⁵⁹More details will be given in Chapter 3 on the symbols found in Kelsey's war memorial windows.

⁶⁰Michael Archer, Sarah Crewe and Peter Cornack, English Heritage in Stained Glass Oxford Vol. 1 (New York: Trans Atlantic Investments Limited, 1988), p. 43.

Alfred Bell (1832-95). Bell had previously designed glass for the firm of Lavers and Barraud; as an architect he worked for Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78).⁶¹ While Clayton's contact with Rossetti resulted in a freer, less earnestly pious treatment of his subject matter than is the case in designs by William Wailes or Alexander Gibbs (1832-86), Bell's designs excelled in architectural canopy work.⁶²

The work of Clayton and Bell was known for its high standard of craftsmanship in its glass painting and the rich colours of the glass.⁶³ Not only did Kelsey apprentice at Clayton and Bell, but he also later worked with firms closely associated with them. Clayton and Bell trained other stained glass artists such as Charles Eamer Kempe (1834-1907), John Burlison (1843-91) and Thomas John Grylls (1845-1913). Burlison and Grylls later joined to form their own firm and, as noted in Chapter 1, employed Kelsey from 1907 to 1911. The stained glass work of Kempe and the firm of Burlison and Grylls was chosen by the Gothic Revival architects George Frederick Bodley (1827-1907) and Thomas Garner (1839-1906) and was approved by the Ecclesiological Society.

Innovative stained glass design at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth was largely the result of the work of Morris and Company, known internationally by 1875 for its high craftsmanship. Although

⁶¹Both Carpenter and Scott were architects whose designs were approved by the Cambridge Camden Society.

⁶²Martin Harrison, Victorian Stained Glass (London: Barrie & Jenkins Ltd., 1980), pp. 29-30.

⁶³Christopher Woodforde, English Stained and Painted Glass (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 59. The firm of Clayton and Bell was carried on by John Clement Bell (1860-1944), Reginald Otto Bell (1884-1950), and Michael Charles Farrar Bell (b. 1911).

Kelsey did not work for the Morris firm, the stained glass designs of William Morris (1834-96), D.G. Rossetti, and especially those of Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98) continued to influence the market for window memorials during his career.⁶⁴ Inspired by the Middle Ages, the Morris firm's designs were not like those of Pugin and others who copied medieval art, but rather they showed a new freedom and freshness of approach. The company relied more on the aesthetic appreciation of medieval art rather than on any detailed understanding of its rational basis or religious significance. The firm members took the flat clarity of the early Pre-Raphaelite paintings, simplified it and combined it with their ideas of decorative design as seen in the use of silver stain especially for the background, fabric patterns and the hair of the figures. Morris promoted appropriate designs for the romantic Victorian art of his time with the inclusion of mythological subjects, medieval ballads, legends and religious subjects.⁶⁵

The expanded repertoire of subjects is shown in Kelsey's variety of subjects in his war memorial designs (see Chapter 3).⁶⁶ An example of the new freedom

⁶⁴Sir Frederick Leighton (1830-96) appreciated the designs of Burne-Jones. Leighton taught at the Academy Schools and was President of the Royal Academy from 1878 to 1895. His work influenced the stained glass designs of arts and crafts artist Christopher Whall (1850-1924). Kelsey had a copy of Mrs. Russell Barrington two-volume The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Baron Leighton of Stretton (1906) in his library.

⁶⁵Pre-Raphaelite Drawings by Burne-Jones (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1981), p. 1.

⁶⁶ Other varieties of design include his 1941 design for St. Matthew's Church based on the book Pilgrim's Progress. The Montreal Churchman Vol. 29 no. 3 (March 1941), p. 3. Anglican Archives, Montreal. Not all his window designs contained figures, some had geometric motifs and others were made up of flower motifs. For example, the six-panel 1939 memorial for John Millen in Erskine and American Church incorporates flowers seen in an English country garden. Although occasionally asked by friends and clients to design more modern windows, Kelsey's work ledger has only one entry listing a modern design - a window for the Wilson family commissioned in September 1933.

of window design is apparent in Kelsey's war memorial for St. James United Church (1923-24) (Figure 6). For this memorial, the figures are not restricted to separate lights but sweep across the whole central area. Repetition of borders, canopy areas, and pedestal bases for the figures serve to unite the window into a cohesive whole. Another link between Kelsey's work and the influence of the Morris firm is through the Arts and Crafts Movement. Dissatisfied with the factory-like production lines of the large stained glass firms, artist Christopher Whall (1850-1924) led the Arts and Crafts Movement in stained glass in England. Founded in 1888, the Arts and Crafts Society asserted the worth of handmade individual designs. The Arts and Crafts Movement also advocated that the designer should be responsible for performing or supervising all stages in the execution of the window. An adherence to this ideal, together with the late Pre-Raphaelite-inspired figure, and a fondness for plant-form backgrounds became the chief elements for Arts and Crafts stained glass. These qualities can be found in Kelsey's window designs. Instead of the silver-stained quarry backgrounds that surrounded the figures in the early designs of the Morris firm, Kelsey painted plants, animals, and landscape backgrounds for his figures. His copies of History and Guide for Drawing the Acanthus and Other Description of Ornamental Foliage (c.1850), Art Foliage for Sculpture and Decoration with an Analysis of Geometric Form and Studies from Nature of Buds, Leaves, Flowers, and Fruit (1865), and The Book of Kells (1914) provided reference material for his foliage and border designs. For example, in his 1952 three-light design for T.W. Jones (Figures 4,

5, 16), various birds and landscape backgrounds are included. Background foliage and the inclusion of birds is also evident in Figure 17, the war memorial window for Gordon Stanley Kimber (1946, Montreal West United Church). The foliage designs are reminiscent of medieval tapestries while the border designs with stylized floral patterns, as in the 1933 Jesuit-Martyrs memorial window (Loyola Chapel, 7121 Sherbrooke St. W.) (Figures 18, 19), refer to reinterpretations of patterns found in medieval glass of the thirteenth century. In addition, Kelsey worked in the true manner of the Arts and Crafts Movement; he was responsible for each of his windows from the initial proposed design to its installation. While he did have help with the cutting, leading, soldering, cementing and the final installation, all the work was done under his supervision in a studio area of his home.⁶⁷

Kelsey's mastery of glass painting, choice of symbols, colour and variety of subjects reflected his personal interpretation of the mosaic stained glass window. The spread of the English Gothic Revival to North America created a market for his type of work and provided him with the opportunity to develop his career.

Stained Glass in the United States

The Gothic Revival started in the United States in the 1840s in churches

⁶⁷A 1922 work journal entry lists Mr. Wilson as a metal worker. McCord Museum, Box 33, UAPT 5042. According to Phyllis Kelsey, her father hired Mr. Wheeler, who worked for Hobbs Glass. From 1927 until around 1955, he hired Mr. Steele, a Scotsman. Mr. Mongeau helped Kelsey from 1955. Mr. Dietrich, from Germany, worked for Kelsey in the installation of windows in the 1960s. Interview with Phyllis Kelsey, September 30, 1994.

like Trinity Church, New York City (1834-46) by architect Richard Upjohn (1802-78) and Grace Church, New York City (1843-46) by James Renwick Jr. (1818-95). Coloured glass was not deemed essential for a Gothic Revival church and so early church windows were made of relatively small, diamond-shaped pieces of glass with a minimum of figurative representation.⁶⁸ Although some figural and painted work was being done in the United States, most of the stained glass windows were imported from studios in England, France and Germany based on designs in pattern books. The first major windows in the Gothic Revival in the United States to use fully leaded, coloured glass with painted details were commissioned by Minard Lafever (1798-1854) for Holy Trinity Church in Brooklyn (1844-47). Although these windows were Gothic in general conception, they included Biblical figural and decorative elements derived from Italian Renaissance models.⁶⁹

General renewal of interest in stained glass as an art did not commence in the United States until the 1870s when John LaFarge (1835-1910) and Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933) developed novel colour combinations and textures in opalescent glass.⁷⁰ But neither LaFarge nor Tiffany had been attracted to stained

⁶⁸For example, the 1842-44 Church of the Saviour in Brooklyn Heights by Minard Lafever (1798-1854) had clear glass in its leaded windows. Arthur Channing Downs, Jr., "Stained Glass in American Architecture," Nineteenth Century Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter, 1977), p. 56.

⁶⁹The stained glass windows were created by William Jay Bolton (1816-84) and John Bolton (1818-98). See "Stained Glass in American Architecture," Arthur Channing Downs, Jr., Nineteenth Century Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter, 1977), p. 56. See also Willene B. Clark, "America's First Stained Glass: William Jay Bolton's Windows at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York," American Art Journal Vol. 11, no. 4 (October 1979), pp. 36-39.

⁷⁰LaFarge's opalescent glass gained international exposure in the Exposition Universelle in Paris (1889). Tiffany's work was seen at the World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago (1893) and through Samuel Bing's (1838-1905) exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in London in 1899.

glass because of the Gothic Revival; they believed medieval glass principles, materials and techniques limited the possibilities of glass. As a result, American opalescent glass was not readily accepted in England; it was criticized for relying too much on chance in the glass itself, rather than on the abilities and experience of the glass artist and on medieval principles of good design. Thus, although the glass was admired for the glow and splendour of its colour, it was believed to be based on a mistaken theory of art.⁷¹

By the turn of the century, however, the highly decorative opalescent glass had fallen out of favour in the United States largely due to the impact of the Arts and Crafts Movement. In 1903, Gustav Stickley (1857-1942), editor of The Craftsman,⁷² had organized and presented the first major Arts and Crafts exhibition, in Syracuse, New York. Also influential were architects such as Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) and Bertram G. Goodhue (1869-1924) who promoted the Gothic Revival and the use of English mosaic stained glass windows. Cram emerged as a central figure in the Gothic Revival in America and his ideas influenced many church committees. In particular, his adamant opinions about the function of the window were against any use of opalescent glass:

A stained glass window is simply a piece of colored and translucent decoration, absolutely subordinate to its architectural environment, and

⁷¹Henry Holiday, "Stained Glass," Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects Vol. 8, no. 9 (25 February 1892), p. 186.

⁷²The Craftsman (1901-1916) was one of the most influential arts and crafts magazines and gave a survey of the latest work in studios across the United States. After the Chicago Exhibition, dozens of arts and crafts societies were founded in the United States. The Boston Society of Arts and Crafts was founded in June 1897; the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was founded in October 1897.

simply a small component of a great artistic whole. It must continue the structural wall surface perfectly: therefore, it must be flat, without perspective or modelling. It must be decorative and conventional in design and color and in no respect naturalistic. It must never be a hole in a masonry wall, but a portion of that wall made transparent. It must not assert itself; that is, it must hold its place without insolence or insistence.⁷³

Cram also believed that a policy should be produced by the architect and ecclesiastical authorities to guide the manner of design and iconography of the interior decoration of the church. In this manner the decoration could be incorporated into the general architectural design and memorial windows would be restricted to designs in a similar manner and colouring and serve the liturgy of the church. Cram wished to revive medieval glass designs and in so doing encouraged the work of artists William Willet (1869-1921) and Charles J. Connick (1875-1945).⁷⁴

When Kelsey moved to the United States in 1911, there still was competition between artists who worked in the medieval painted glass method, as he did, and artists who worked with American opalescent glass. His work in the glass paint department of the Gorham Manufacturing Company of New York (as previously mentioned, an agent for the British firm of Heaton, Butler and Bayne) reflected his training and work experience in the English mosaic method of glass painting. As late as 1914, many Americans still believed legitimate stained glass

⁷³Ralph Adams Cram, Church Building: A Study of the Principles of Architecture in their Relation to the Church (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1901), p. 139.

⁷⁴From 1903, publication of a magazine, The Ornamental Glass Bulletin (The Stained Glass Bulletin in 1905), by the Stained Glass Association of America, provided a forum for sharing opinions and ideas about good glass design.

windows could only be made and designed in England,⁷⁵ and so Kelsey's background was of value to the Gorham firm. However, the trade embargo on imported stained glass and the restriction on solder during World War I affected the amount of work Kelsey was able to produce.

Because of Canada's close proximity to the United States, there were many similarities in the stained glass industry and the spread of the Gothic Revival. Kelsey was aware that his training and experience in the English mosaic method of glass painting would be recognized and valued in Canada and felt that his experience in working in an American firm would strengthen his reputation as an artist.

Stained Glass in Canada

Before the mid-nineteenth century, stained glass windows had been imported into Canada from England and France and reflected the current styles of European enamelled glass. As in the United States, mosaic stained glass window design came to Canada with the Gothic Revival. The Early Gothic Revival in Montreal started with the Roman Catholic Church of Notre-Dame (1823-29, 116 Notre-Dame St. W.) by James O'Donnell (1774-1830). Initially accepted by Anglican churches, other Protestant denominations began to use the Gothic

⁷⁵Cleota Reed (editor), Henry Keck Stained Glass Studio, 1913-1974 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), p. 4.

Revival for their churches by the 1830s.⁷⁶ The ecclesiological and rationalistic architecture proposed by the Cambridge Camden Society appeared first in the Atlantic Provinces in the mid-nineteenth century and spread through other parts of Canada.⁷⁷ Since many British ministers familiar with the new Anglican liturgy came to Canada, the interior arrangement and decoration of the Victorian Gothic Revival was spread through the new churches built in their own dioceses. For example, the first Bishop of New Brunswick, the Right Reverend John Medley (1804-92), chose British architect Frank Wills (1822-57) to build Christ Church Cathedral (1845-53) and the smaller St. Anne's Chapel (1846-7) in Fredericton. Bishop Medley desired that everything in the ornament and design be related to English churches; even the stained glass windows were modelled on those in England.⁷⁸ These two buildings were the first churches built in the new Victorian phase of the Gothic Revival. The Ecclesiological Society as well as architect William Butterfield (1814-1900) made design suggestions.⁷⁹ Frank Wills was also responsible for the Victorian Gothic Revival plans for the 1852-53 Chalmers-

⁷⁶Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture Volume 1 (Toronto, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 269.

⁷⁷The Right Reverend John Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia became a patron of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1839; the Right Reverend Edward Field, Bishop of Newfoundland became a patron in 1845. Both of these men looked to England for models of the best period of the Gothic style (1290-1350 as recommended by the Cambridge Camden Society). Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture Volume 1 (Toronto, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 280.

⁷⁸Harold Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture Volume 1 (Toronto, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 285.

⁷⁹Mathilde Brosseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites #25, 1980), pp. 9, 13.

Wesley United Church (78 Ste-Ursule, Québec)⁸⁰ and the 1857-59 Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal (1440 Union).⁸¹ Other small stone churches in Montreal show the preferences of the Cambridge Camden Society for the simplicity and sturdiness of the small country church, as seen in the thirteenth century in England. For instance, Saint George's Anglican (1869-70) by William Tutin Thomas (1828-1892) and the Montreal Diocesan Theological College (3473 University, 1895-96) by Sir Andrew Taylor (1850-1937) both reflect these ideals.

Although many Protestant church windows originally contained plain glass in contrast to the elaborately decorated windows of Catholic churches, by 1875 commemorative windows were also part of their interior decoration. In addition to the proposals and ideas presented in The Ecclesiologist, the Montreal Anglican Diocesan Committee on Church Art published a book, Church Furnishing and Arrangement (1944). Listed in the bibliography is Ralph Adams Cram's 1901 book, Church Building. Similar suggestions to Cram's were made concerning the development of a church policy on interior decoration and the employment of a single artist to design all the windows so that there would be a cohesive decorative scheme. Suggestions were also made with regard to colour, design, placement

⁸⁰Originally named Chalmers Free Church, in 1925 its congregation joined the United Church of Canada. In 1931 the congregation merged with that of Wesley Church and the church became known as Chalmers-Wesley Church. Since 1987 the English-speaking congregation has shared the building with the French-speaking Protestant congregation, Église Unie St-Pierre.

⁸¹Although Wills was responsible for the design, completion of the work was entrusted to Thomas Seaton Scott (1836-95). "Montreal Cathedral," a review of the architectural plan and suggestions for improvement, appeared in The Ecclesiologist Vol. 18, no. 113 (December 1857), pp. 357-60.

and subject matter of memorial windows.⁸² After the union of Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in 1925, the Montreal Presbytery formed a Committee on Architecture. It produced two memoranda on church design and decoration with suggestions for stained glass windows and a list of themes and symbols.⁸³

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the artists responsible for original Canadian glass designs were usually either immigrants from Europe or Canadian-born artists who had trained in Europe. Because the history of Canada's stained glass firms and artists is only starting to be researched, there is only limited information on some of the more notable firms and artists. What is known is that these Canadian firms and artists had to compete with European and, to a lesser extent, American work. While Canada has many examples of windows ordered from English firms such as Clayton and Bell,⁸⁴ the William Morris firm,⁸⁵ the Bromsgrove Guild,⁸⁶ and the Edinburgh firm

⁸²The Montreal Diocesan Committee on Church Art, Church Furnishing and Arrangement (Montreal: The Book Room, 1944), pp. 12-14.

⁸³Rev. Richard Roberts, Rev. S.P. Rose and Percy E. Nobbs, "United Church of Canada, Presbytery of Montreal, Committee on Architecture," RAIC Vol. 3, no. 4 (July-August 1926), pp. 157-64.

⁸⁴The firm of Clayton and Bell designed the stained glass windows for Redpath Library (Now Redpath Hall) of McGill University, Montreal. Dale Hrabí, "Sacred Colours," McGill News (Spring 1990), p. 14.

⁸⁵Examples in Canada of stained glass made by the Morris firm are described in K. Corey Keeble, "Stained Glass," in The Earthly Paradise Arts and Crafts by William Morris and His Circle from Canadian Collections edited by Katharine A. Lochman, Douglas E. Schoenherr and Carole Silver (Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 1993), pp. 112-123.

⁸⁶The Church of the Messiah, Montreal, contained thirteen stained glass windows designed by the Bromsgrove Guild of Applied Arts. Rosalind M. Pepall, "Craftsmen and Decorative Artists," The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), p. 48.

of Ballantine and Allan,⁸⁷ the United States opalescent art glass of LaFarge and Tiffany had little impact on Canadian institutions and stained glass artists, except for a few in Quebec. However, examples of Tiffany windows can be found in the Erskine and American Presbyterian Church (3407 avenue du Musée, Montreal) and in St. Paul's Cathedral, (472 Richmond, London, Ontario). The larger stained glass firms in Europe and the United States promoted their work through printed catalogues of popular window patterns while offering one-of-a-kind designs.⁸⁸ Because English stained glass firms continued to receive commissions for memorial windows, even though there were competent designers working in Canada, this caused resentment in Canadian firms. For example, in 1893, the firm of Messrs. Wails & Strong designed and shipped three large stained glass windows destined for St. Paul's Church, Halifax.⁸⁹ The strong competition between foreign and Canadian firms can also be found in the advertisements in architectural journals like Canadian Architect and Builder⁹⁰ and in church journals

⁸⁷Examples of this firm's work are found in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul (3415 Redpath). Sandra M. Coley, "The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal: An Architectural History 1805-1932 and Catalogue of Memorials," Master of Arts thesis, Concordia University, 1993, pp. 93-97.

⁸⁸For example, St. Lambert United Church has a catalogue printed for Celtic Studios, Swansea, Wales (represented by Eason Humphreys in Toronto) and a copy of Eason Humphreys' "Stained Glass Windows Notes and Comments" presented before the Annual meeting in Toronto of The Church Worship Association (n.d.). Saint Matthew's Church, Montreal, has windows by the Celtic Studios.

⁸⁹"English Stained Glass for Canada," Canadian Architect and Builder Vol. 6, no. 9 (September 1893), p. 93.

⁹⁰Examples of advertisements for glass firms can be found in Canadian Architect and Builder Vol. 6, no. 7 (July 1893) and Vol. 13, no. 1 (January 1900).

like The Montreal Churchman (Anglican Church) and The United Church Observer.⁹¹

One of Canada's earliest stained glass firms was John C. Spence, founded in Montreal in 1854 (known as J.C. Spence and Son Canada Stained Glass Works after 1872). It was the only Canadian firm to enter designs at the Exposition Universelle in 1855.⁹² After the death of J.C. Spence in 1891, his sons William and Frank carried on the business and specialized in church furnishings, decorations and stained glass until 1914.⁹³ Another early Montreal firm founded in the 1870s was Castle and Son. This firm was known for its ecclesiastical and domestic glass staining by 1884 and for the canopy motif over a single figure. Hobbs Manufacturing Company Limited, with factories in London and Winnipeg, published their first catalogue in 1909 and became a member of the National Ornamental Glass Manufacturer's Association, an association of glass makers in Canada and the United States. In 1939 it established an outlet in Montreal; however, it was absorbed by the Canadian Pittsburgh Industries in 1952. During this same period, there were glass firms in other Canadian cities. In Toronto, Joseph McCausland (1828-1905) founded his firm in the 1840s as an interior

⁹¹For example, "Stained Glass Windows Pictures, Mural Paintings on Ceilings, Walls etc. of every description. Ecclesiastical work a specialty. Many local churches can be seen for examples. Prof. Guido Nincheri Diploma Grand Prix Academy of Fine Arts of France Studio 1832 Blvd. Pie IX, Montreal," The Montreal Churchman Vol. 35 no. 4 (April 1937), p. 12.

⁹²"The first official recognition of Mr. Spence's work is found in Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855 (Toronto: John Lovell, 1856)"; see Gerald Stevens, Early Canadian Glass (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 111.

⁹³Rosalind Pepall, "Stained Glass Windows in Montreal at the Turn of the Century," APT Vol. 13, no. 3 (1981), p. 49.

decorating company; by the 1850s it included stained glass work. His son Robert McCausland (1857-1924), who studied stained glass in England and was influenced by the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and William Morris, took over the firm in 1856.⁹⁴ This firm practised the medieval art of painting on stained glass and won a top award at the World's Columbian Exhibition in 1893.⁹⁵ It became the largest firm in Canada and was able to break the monopoly held by European glass companies. While there was a building boom in the 1920s, effects of the Depression caused many studios to disappear.⁹⁶

Research is ongoing into the work of individual stained glass artists in Canada. There is, however, limited information on several glass artists. Some of the other glass artists who worked in Montreal during the same time as Kelsey were Bernard Léonard (Quebec City craftsman established in 1897), John Patrick O'Shea (1896-1950; firm founded in 1900 but bought by Hobbs in 1950), Henri Perdriau (1877-1950; firm founded in 1912, associated with O'Shea until 1923), Guido Nincheri (firm founded in 1918), Marius Plamondon (1914-1976; worked mainly in Quebec City from 1939 onwards), Theo Lubbers and Lawrence Lee. Peter Haworth (b.1889) was an artist who immigrated to Canada in the same time period as Kelsey and had similar training. Haworth trained at the Royal College of Art, London and his early work was influenced by Robert Anning Bell (1863-

⁹⁴Jack Jamieson, "The Stained Glass Window of the old Toronto City Hall," Canadian Antiques Collector Vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1969), p. 14.

⁹⁵Angus McStay, "Windows to Glory," Maclean's Magazine December 1, 1947, p. 50.

⁹⁶Ginette Laroche, "L'Art Du Vitrail au Québec," Continuité No. 46 (Hiver 1990), pp. 23-28.

1933). Bell introduced Haworth to the influences of Burne-Jones and William Morris. Like Kesley, Haworth's first war memorial window was commissioned while he was in England (1923 for Swindon and North Wilts Secondary School and Technical Institution). Haworth felt that stained glass as an art was not taken seriously in Canada until the 1920s.⁹⁷ Prominent women artists who worked in small stained glass studios include Yvonne Williams, Esther Johnson and Gladys W. Allen.⁹⁸

This is not a complete list of glass artists; it includes only some of the better-known designers who worked in the Montreal area. Because there is insufficient data available to discern whether or not they were successful as freelance stained glass designers, more research into this subject is needed. Nevertheless, it is probably safe to assume that the level of competition between commercial firms and private artist studios for window orders meant that Kelsey did not always receive the commissions he sought. For example, Kelsey's proposed World War I memorial designs for Trinity Memorial Church (5220 Sherbrooke St. W.) were not accepted. Instead the McCausland firm received the

⁹⁷Art Gallery of Windsor, Peter Haworth Glorious Visions (Art Gallery of Windsor, 1985), pp. 12, 15, 17.

⁹⁸Williams emigrated to Canada from Trinidad and attended the Ontario College of Art in Toronto. Because there was no training for stained glass artists there, she apprenticed in the Boston studio of Charles Connick before returning to Toronto in 1930. Esther Johnson was born in Belgium, educated in England, Canada and the United States and worked with Williams. Allen was born in England, trained in the Canadian glass studio of Frank S.J. Hollister in Toronto until 1930 and then worked in Peter Haworth's studio. Robert Fulford, "She Puts New Life into Stained Glass," Mayfair Vol. 28, no. 12 (December 1954), p. 87; Esther Johnson, "Stained Glass as Decorative Art," RAIC Vol. 21, no. 3 serial no. 233 (March 1944), p. 50 and "Canadian Women in Stained Glass," Stained Glass Vol. 36 no. 2 (Summer 1941), p. 50.

commission for the church's large war memorial window. As suggested by church art committees, one firm or artist was often recommended to design all the windows in a church in order to create an agreeable decorative scheme through a harmony of colour, figural work, painted details and border and canopy features. For instance, in the Dominion-Douglas United Church (1927; Hugh G. Jones, architect, now St. Andrew's-Dominion Douglas) a committee imposed on each donor the condition that memorial windows had to conform with a colour plan of the interior and be approved by the architect.⁹⁹ Therefore a firm or individual artist was more likely to receive more commissions for memorial windows if the church already had examples of their work or wished to complete their decorative scheme with similar painted windows. This was the case for Kelsey's commissions for churches in which he had already installed his work. For example, he was responsible for the decorative ceiling painting and all of the memorial windows in Westmount Park-Emmanuel United Church (built in 1929) and as mentioned had many commissions for windows in St. Matthias, Montreal West and St. Matthew's.

Kelsey's contacts and his reputation as a glass artist helped him to carve out a niche for his stained glass work in the competitive market in the Montreal area. In order to provide an original design with appropriate details for each client, he made numbered cards of symbols and their meanings and collected ideas from photos in magazines, journals and newspapers.¹⁰⁰ The Studio provided him with

⁹⁹Hugh G. Jones, "Dominion-Douglas Church, Westmount, Quebec," RAIC, Vol. 4, no. 10, serial no. 26 (October, 1927), p. 367.

¹⁰⁰These reference clippings are in the McCord Museum, Box B302.

the most up-to-date reference material. This magazine was the best-known medium for disseminating the work of artists, especially those working in the manner of Arts and Crafts Movement. Kelsey also kept a record of his designs in two albums as a catalogue of work to present to new clients. These albums provided examples of his artistic talent, the variety of subject matter and his manner of painting glass. To show to prospective clients, Kelsey brought a small figurative window panel containing the types and colours of glass he preferred and showing the method and detail of his painted work.

When commissioned to design a window, he first took a template and measurements of the window opening to make a scale design. He took into account the style of architecture of the building and the windows already in place; he tried to harmonize his colour scheme with the decorative scheme of the building. Kelsey then produced one or more detailed watercolour drawings as possible designs for the window. In the case of war memorial windows for churches, every design had to be approved by the family who wanted the memorial, the clergy, war memorial committees and the church governing boards. In the Anglican Church, the Bishop of the diocese held the final approval. Also in certain cases, as for the Emmanuel war memorial windows (1951, Westmount Park-Emmanuel United Church), designs were presented to the congregation for its approval. The architect of the building also had to agree on the suitability of the design according to the architecture and the general interior decoration. This official endorsement had to be received before Kelsey could start work on the

window. Once the design was approved, he made two full-scale cartoons: one cartoon was for the painted details as seen in the background of Figure 1, while the other showed the lead lines and window sections for glass cutting. Occasionally he made a colour study for the window to help decide the best colour combinations. His personal records show how he set up his studio, and his three-part article on stained glass (1940), provides details on his method of glass work.

Kelsey's Method of Glass Work

Kelsey worked out of a room in his home, or in a studio set apart from the house. He ordered his artist's and glass supplies from the Art Emporium, Limited (23 McGill College), Montreal Art Glass Works (2614 St. Lawrence)¹⁰¹ and Morris Glass (London, England). Because he worked on his own and did not employ someone to run a kiln, his painted work was fired at Acme Glass (1311 Bonaventure). Since Canada did not have a firm that manufactured sheet stained glass until April 1976, when Gerald MacKenzie founded Canadian Art Glass Limited in Calgary,¹⁰² all the stained glass during Kelsey's career was imported. English antique stained glass entered Canada duty-free while stained glass made in the United States had a thirty percent duty added. Since Kelsey's glass training

¹⁰¹In the lower right panel of the St. James United Church war memorial window is written "Designed and Painted by C.W. Kelsey 1924, The Montreal Art Glass Works." This company is also mentioned in the 1955 windows he designed for St. Stephens Anglican Church (25, 12th Avenue, Lachine).

¹⁰²Robert Held, "Canadian Art Glass Limited," Canada Crafts Vol. 4, no. 1 (October/November 1978), p. 22.

had been in England, he believed English or Belgium glass to be the best available. As in the mosaic stained glass method of the Gothic Revival, he worked with three types of glass: antique glass (because of its beauty, colour, transparency and uneven surface), flashed glass (for abrading), and various tints of semi-transparent cathedral glass or rolled glass.¹⁰³ Figures 20 and 21 show the various shades of antique glass used in the 1923 St. James United war memorial window. To lower the cost of a window, Kelsey used the less expensive cathedral or rolled glass for background areas, borders and dedication panels. The cost of a window also varied according to the proportions of coloured to white glass. In the 1940s, the cost of antique glass was between \$1.00 and \$3.00 per square foot while rolled or cathedral glass was less expensive at approximately \$0.30 per square foot.¹⁰⁴ Generally Kelsey charged \$40.00 per square foot, but after 1957, with the increase in the cost of materials and labour, he had to raise the price of his finished windows.¹⁰⁵ As noted above, English glass was duty-free. Although not a deciding factor for Kelsey's work, it did provide extra commissions for other firms.¹⁰⁶ Kelsey's working method was typical for artists who trained in the mosaic

¹⁰³Undated French newspaper article titled "Charles W. Kelsey," McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

¹⁰⁴Yvonne Williams, "Processes and Craftsmanship in Stained Glass," RAIC Vol. 23, no. 8 serial no. 252 (August 1946), p. 200.

¹⁰⁵Letter dated 27 February 1957 to Kelsey from Rev. K.G. MacMillan of St. Lambert United Church regarding the increase in cost of a memorial window from \$385.00 to \$475.00. File on Kelsey, St. Lambert Church records.

¹⁰⁶For example, the McCausland firm was commissioned for windows in the United States. Because they were completed in Canada, they entered the United States duty-free and were therefore less expensive than those from American firms that had to order their antique glass from England. Angus

method of stained glass.¹⁰⁷ In the catalogues published for the McCausland firm and for Celtic Studios, similar steps in making a window were listed.¹⁰⁸ The one important difference was that Kelsey was responsible for all steps in the window design and painting, while in large firms this work was broken down into departments.

Silver stain (oxide or chloride of silver) was applied to areas where gold effects were needed on white glass; Kelsey manipulated this stain to produce colours ranging from a pale lemon to a deep orange.¹⁰⁹ In Figures 22 and 23, the various colour effects of silver stain can be seen in the maple leaves and border areas of the 1951 Regiment windows for McGill University (McGill War Memorial Hall, Sir Arthur Currie Gymnasium, 475 Pine). Intricate designs on flashed glass were etched with hydrofluoric acid. The red flashed glass used for the McGill crest and the British Union Jack, Figure 24, as part of the George Patterson Christie war memorial (1943, Erskine and American United Church) is an example of a window incorporating abraded flashed glass.

For the painted details Kelsey used a powdered pigment composed of oxide

McStay, "Windows to Glory," McLean's Magazine (December 1, 1947), p. 52.

¹⁰⁷The working method for a stained glass artist, as approved by the Ecclesiological Society, was outlined by George Edmund Street in his paper of June 9, 1852. George Edmund Street, "On Glass Painting," The Ecclesiologist Vol. 13,(August 1852), pp. 237-247.

¹⁰⁸Catalogue of the Robert McCausland firm and Celtic Studios, "Stained Glass" file, St. Lambert United Church.

¹⁰⁹Charles William Kelsey, "Stained Glass Windows, Their Origin and Purpose," The Montreal Churchman Vol. 28, no. 3 (March 1940), p. 11.

of iron and other metals ground up with powdered glass.¹¹⁰ Packets of this reddish-brown powder were mixed on a thick piece of glass; when his son's telescope was accidentally knocked over in 1934, he reused the glass lens as his mixing palette. The pigment mixture for painting had to be of the right consistency for his trace lines or stipple work. He stated that he liked "treating the glass as the old people did, using a tracing colour mixed with oil, then stippling it with watercolour, using molasses." He held the piece of glass in his left hand and, using camel-hair brushes, painted with "long, firm, steady strokes."¹¹¹ A flat matt was lightly stippled over these trace lines and areas of highlight brushed away. He strengthened the shadowed areas with line hatching to decrease the problems of light halation and radiation. These various treatments for the application of paint to stained glass can be seen in Figure 25, a detail of the Christie war memorial. This window design shows his application of linear details that were then covered with a flat stipple and areas of highlight brushed away.

When Kelsey was under pressure to finish a project, family members were coopted into doing stippling work but had to be very careful to do it to his satisfaction. According to Phyllis Kelsey, her father rarely left any glass unpainted; a light stipple was applied to the glass to tone the colours and limit the amount of

¹¹⁰Other articles on the work of stained glass artists refer to this type of paint. See Yvonne Williams, "Processes and Craftsmanship in Stained Glass," *RAiC* Vol. 23, no. 8 (Serial no. 252, August 1946), pp. 199-201. See also Angus McStay's article on McCausland windows, "Windows to Glory," *Maclean's Magazine* December 1, 1947, pp. 16-17, 50-52.

¹¹¹Kelsey tried to work as closely as possible to the original medieval mosaic method of stained glass painting. Details on his method of painting were provided by Phyllis Kelsey from notes her father had made for a lecture on his stained glass work. Letter from Phyllis Kelsey dated 28 October 1994.

light that could filter through the painted areas. This was the painting method taught in the revival of mosaic stained glass work.

Kelsey was not concerned that all lead lines should follow the folds of the drapery as were the American firms of Tiffany and LaFarge and their followers. Instead he followed the traditional manner of design in which the lead lines were part of the window design and also provided support for large pieces of glass.¹¹² It is important to note that Kelsey did not imitate medieval designs to the extent that the lead lines interfered with the depiction of the figures. This can be seen in Figure 20, the left sidelight in the war memorial in St. James United Church. The lead lines go across and divide the drapery into separate areas, but the painted drapery lines and modelling on top of the glass unites the colours and the garment design. Kelsey's method of painting stained glass was very time-consuming; on average he worked three to six months to complete a window while large congregational windows took up to a year.

Once the painted details and the silver staining were completed, the glass was fired. Kelsey judged the number of times that the glass needed to be fired on the strength of the pigment. After the firing was completed, the glass pieces were arranged on top of the window cartoon, leaded up with comes and soldered together. After putty was applied around each lead came to make the window waterproof and more stable, the window sections were installed in their permanent

¹¹²Because the lead lines did not follow the drapery but often cut across it (in the mosaic window designs), Tiffany, Lafarge and their followers believed that they could improve upon these designs. This made for a more complicated window design with many small pieces of glass. This work method has also created a weight problem resulting in several of Tiffany's windows buckling.

positions. Galvanized iron support bars, for strength and to prevent sagging, connected the glass panels to the window frame. Kelsey found that clients often objected to these support bars because they considered them too obstructive when they cut across the figures within the window design.

During and after the Second World War, glass supplies, solder and support bars were scarce.¹¹³ This affected Kelsey, as well as other stained glass artists.¹¹⁴ When his 1943 window panels in Montreal West United Church started to bend, Kelsey attributed the problem to the inferior grade of solder available owing to the War and the necessity of substituting round three-quarter or one-inch bars instead of the iron angle bars:

The bars used are galvanized iron bars and I have had my man go over the Brace window . I can only attribute the bending of the lower part of the two last windows installed to the fact that the solder is very much inferior owing to the war. It is impossible to get the same grade of solder and solder is very much restricted owing to the shortness of supply....Iron bars of the angle type especially are impossible to obtain....I am not to blame for these thin bars being used as most of the clients wish not to have heavy bars.¹¹⁵

This problem of panels bending has required the restoration of some of Kelsey's windows. For instance, Jacques Déry of Verrières du Québec Inc. (149, boul. St-Vincent, Anc.-Lorette) restored Kelsey's windows designed in 1949-50 for Saint

¹¹³Letter dated 18 May 1946 from Kelsey to D.M. Farnham of Montreal West United Church: "I might also mention that it is very difficult to get good glass just now and the Church is really very fortunate to posses the glass it does." McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

¹¹⁴For example, Duncan W. Dearle, who represented the Morris Company in Canada, was unable to acquire glass from the Powells company in London until 1950. Alice B. Hamilton and K. Corey Keeble, "Vancouver Stained Glass Windows by John Henry Dearle and Duncan W. Dearle," Canadian Collector Vol. 14, no. 3 (May/June 1979), p. 49.

¹¹⁵Undated letter from Kelsey to Montreal West United Church, McCord Museum, UAPT 1097.

Andrew's United Church in Trois-Rivières (now in Collège Moderne, 3730, rue Nérée-Beauchemin). While Déry admired Kelsey's choice of colour and his painting ability, he had to add extra support bars for the window panels.¹¹⁶ Cliff Oswald of Studio Lubbers (5674 Monkland) has also repaired and restored several of Kelsey's windows in Westmount Park-Emmanuel United Church, St. Barnabas Anglican (St. Lambert) and the Canadian Legion windows. Although he too admires Kelsey's choice of glass and colour as well as his design and painting, he has found problems with their leading. While all windows were fully leaded on the inside, he discovered that the soldering of lead joints for the back of certain windows was incomplete or used small scraps of lead comes. These weak panel problems were compounded by the use of round brace bars tied to the window panel with copper wires. Oswald states that the force of gravity and the weight of the window panels have caused the wire ties to turn slightly around the bar and have allowed the panels to slide downwards. While this relieved the stress, it forced the panel to buckle. Oswald also detected that in some windows the modelling paint stippled onto the back of the glass was not properly fired and has been mistakenly removed by other restorers.¹¹⁷ This problem of bent window panels can be found in the war memorial window for St. George's Anglican Church (1949). The problem of the silver stain flaking off is seen in the lack of details in the squadron badges in the border areas of the Christie memorial window (1943)

¹¹⁶Visit by the author in July 1994 to the home of Dr. & Mrs. Felix DeForest, Trois-Rivières, former members of Saint Andrew's United Church.

¹¹⁷Telephone conversation with Cliff Oswald, 23 September 1994.

(Figure 25). These problems are not just found in Kelsey's work. As in many Montreal churches, the age of the window, the stress of temperature changes and the lack of window maintenance has contributed to the deterioration of the strength of the window panels.

When Kelsey emigrated to Montreal in 1922, there were few churches in the city that had not already chosen a design commemorating those who had taken part in World War I. Because Kelsey did not become a prominent and well-known Canadian stained glass artist until after the 1920s, his commissions for World War I windows were therefore not as numerous as those for World War II. Commissions for war memorials depended upon available funds and on the number and size of windows not yet filled with memorials. In some cases, plaques instead of congregational windows were the most common form of memorial as in St. Andrew's-Dominion Douglas United Church. However, churches that were built in the 1920s and 1930s usually had not yet filled all their window openings. This was the case for the 1925 Montreal West United Church in which there are three war memorial windows designed by Kelsey and a congregational World War II memorial window by another firm. In other cases, windows were commissioned when renovations were planned. For example, Kelsey was commissioned to design ten windows for the Church of St. Columba when the chancel was extended towards Hingston Avenue in 1953. When congregations amalgamated, as in Westmount Park-Emmanuel United Church, there were more funds available for decoration. This church, built in 1929,

according to plans by architect A. Leslie Perry, was designed for the combined congregations of Westmount Methodist and Melville Presbyterian. Two other congregations subsequently joined this church: Emmanuel Congregational in 1948 and Calvary United in 1961. This church contains Kelsey's war memorial windows for the congregations of Calvary, Westmount Park and Emmanuel churches.

The influences of the resurgence of the medieval mosaic stained glass window design are found in Kelsey's memorial windows. His manner of window painting and design for war memorials satisfied the desires of family members who commissioned individual windows, fulfilled the criteria of the church patrons for congregational memorials and met the requirements for war memorial halls. The content of his war memorial windows can be further analyzed according to the variety of subjects, from specific symbolic figures to narrative stories, that relate to patriotic duty and the sacrifice of life.

CHAPTER 3

KELSEY'S WAR MEMORIAL WINDOWS

Kelsey's war memorial windows reflect the significant part Canadians played in both World War I and World War II. They represent prevailing taste in religious memorials and the accepted and recognized symbols for war memorials. The memorials are not about victory or glory but are peace memorials that were an attempt to make some sense on the emotional and spiritual level of the loss of friends, family and comrades. Also since most of these memorials were for young soldiers, most often in their late teens and early twenties, the designs were not concerned with social status but instead with the values, principles, personality traits, religious beliefs of the individuals and the part they played in the war effort. As each church was like a small community, the shock of losing so many of their young people had a solemn impact on the congregations and created a definite need to remember their sacrifice for Canada.

When Great Britain declared war in 1914, Canada, as a colony of the British Empire, was also at war. During World War I Canada's most significant

contribution to the war was manpower for the Allied strategy. The Canadian Expeditionary Force assisted the British Army, pilots trained with the Royal Air Force, and sailors served with the Royal Navy. A total of 628,462 Canadians enlisted. Of these, 3,141 were women who served as nurses of the Canadian Army Medical Corps.¹¹⁸ The Book of Remembrance in the Peace Tower, Ottawa lists 66,655 who were members either of Canadian or of Allied units.

Because of the high number of men and women who participated in World War I, Canada emerged at last as an equal of other fighting nations. As a result, Canada was one of the signing countries for the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919 and took a seat in the new League of Nations. The bravery and sacrifice of the men and women who were responsible for the accomplishments of the armed forces also helped to nurture a sense of national pride. This can be found in the repeated use of the maple leaf as an identification symbol for Canadians. Although the maple leaf had been used since 1834 in Canadian imagery (it had first been used by the first St.-Jean-Baptiste Society in 1834), it was incorporated into the badge of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in World War I. While the corps included only a third of the Canadians overseas, its maple leaf badge and divisional insignia instilled a common national pride.¹¹⁹ When the national armorial bearings were assigned on 21 November 1921 by King George V, a sprig of maple

¹¹⁸G.W.L. Nicholson, Canada's Nursing Sisters (Toronto: Hakkert & Company, 1975), p. 98.

¹¹⁹Desmond Morton, A Military History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., Third Edition, 1992), p. 149.

leaves was an important feature.¹²⁰

With the Statute of Westminster of 1931, Canada became autonomous in foreign policy and an independent nation within the British Commonwealth. This sense of nationhood was shown in Canada's declaration of war on 10 September 1939; Great Britain had declared war on 3 September. The delay in declaring war was highly symbolic but it also reflected Canada's reluctance to join in the war immediately. Memories of the horrors of trench warfare and the high casualties were still fresh. Many Canadians decided to enlist because of patriotic duty to England or to their home lands; for others it was a means of employment, an adventure, and a chance to see other parts of the world. Of the 1,086,343 Canadian men and women who were part of the armed service during World War II, 44,893 died.¹²¹ At the end of World War II Canada was third among nations in the number of fighting ships, fourth in airpower and high in the list of armies.¹²²

National pride was manifested in the prominent position and the number of war memorials to Canadians who fought in the World Wars. In Canada, the Peace Tower and Memorial Chamber, Ottawa (1928) symbolize Canada's part in the

¹²⁰Bruce Peel, "Emblems, Maple Leaf," James H. Marsh (editor), The Canadian Encyclopedia Vol. I (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), pp. 566-67.

¹²¹Rounded figures of 66,000 and 45,000 are generally accepted as the Canadian casualties in the two World Wars. Herbert Fairlie Wood and John Swettenham, Silent Witnesses Canadian War Museum Historical Publication No. 10, Department of Veterans Affairs Publication No. 6 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), p. 7. Actual enlistment figures for World War II are: Navy - 106,522 male, 7,126 female; Army - 730,159 male, 21,624 female, Air Force - 249,662 male, 17,467 female and 4,439 female nurses. J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary (editors), The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd, 1995), p. 451.

¹²²Desmond Morton, A Military History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992), p. 225.

Great War. As part of the Parliament buildings, the memorial has a prominent location. Within this memorial chamber are carved badges of every arm of the services that served overseas, the arms of the towns and cities in which battles took place and the arms of France, Belgium, Russia, Plymouth and Normandy. In addition, all the battalion badges are represented and the medals and decorations that were awarded.¹²³ Also in Ottawa is the National Memorial in Confederation Square (by English artists Vernon Sydney and Elsie March) dedicated by King George VI in May during the royal tour of 1939. Monuments were not the only type of memorial; entire churches were dedicated to those who participated in the Great War. For example, Trinity Memorial Church, Montreal (1923) was built in memory of Canadians who served and died in the First World War¹²⁴ and the Canadian Memorial Chapel, Vancouver was completed in November 1928 in memory of those who died on Flanders' Fields.¹²⁵

According to Shipley's study of Canadian war monuments, approximately sixty-six percent of the 1,200 memorials studied were to commemorate the First World War but only twenty-six percent were erected for World War II.¹²⁶ There

¹²³R.E. Gosnell, "Canada's Memorial Hall," Saturday Night December 1, 1928, p. 26

¹²⁴The cornerstone for Trinity Memorial Church was placed by Sir Arthur Currie in 1923 and the church was listed as the only one in Canada dedicated to the members of the armed forces who gave their lives in World War I. Edgar Andrew Collard, "All Our Yesterdays," The Gazette 5 June 1965.

¹²⁵Edmund E. Pugsley, "We Shall Remember Them," The Canadian Magazine Vol. 71, No. 4 (April 1929), p. 12. The Robert McCausland firm was responsible for all the stained glass memorial windows in this Chapel.

¹²⁶Robert Shipley, To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987), endnote 2, Introduction. Alan Borg also states that the greatest number of war memorials in the United Kingdom was commissioned after World War I, during the period 1920 to 1930. Alan Borg,

was a good reason for this difference. Most cities and towns commemorated those who took part in World War I, but did not have the funds for another commission. Existing memorials were merely adapted with the addition of a plaque to include the more recent conflict. For example, plaques were added to the National Memorial in Confederation Square, Ottawa and in many churches an additional plaque served as the World War II memorial.

Even before the end of World War I, stained glass designs were promoted as a unique means of remembrance:

A stained glass window is one of the most permanent and perhaps one of the most beautiful ways to perpetuate the self-sacrifice and gallantry of the men and women who have given all....¹²⁷

In England, Church authorities, fearing a flood of poorly designed war memorial windows, formed Diocesan Advisory Committees to oversee production and eliminate inappropriate designs.¹²⁸ In addition, an exhibition of war memorials, ancient and modern, was held in the summer of 1919 by the Science and Art Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its aim was to set a standard of quality throughout the United Kingdom and guide donors and committees in their choice of designs and artists.¹²⁹ For stained glass memorial windows, the

War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. x.

¹²⁷In a review of artwork of Manchester, England, this served as an introductory paragraph on war art. "Manchester," The Studio Vol. 67 (1916), p. 129.

¹²⁸E. Liddall Armitage, Stained Glass: History, Technology and Practice (Massachusetts: Charles T. Branford Company, 1959), p. 66.

¹²⁹Maurice Drake, "War Memorial Windows," Architectural Review Vol. 52 no. 312 (November 1922), p. 117.

medieval mosaic characteristics of translucency of glass, harmony in the choice of colours, dignity of composition and thoughtful design were regarded as appropriate qualities. Details such as school crests, heraldic or regimental badges, and information on the part played in the war by the deceased, were thought to make the window more personal and add interest to the design.

When Kelsey emigrated to Canada in 1922, similar concerns about the calibre and merit of war memorials were being discussed by art committees and architects here. The Art Association of Montreal expressed concern about the unguided enthusiasm for erecting suitable monuments to commemorate soldiers of the Great War. The Royal Canadian Academy felt that commissions should be entrusted only to the most eminent artists and architects available and suggested that provincial committees be organized throughout Canada.¹³⁰ But instead of providing parameters for memorials, the federal government felt it advisable to leave the matter to the discretion and good judgement of the individual or corporation.¹³¹ Concern for proper memorials was also expressed by Percy Nobbs, architect and supporter of the Canadian Arts and Crafts Movement. He reiterated the need for architects to participate in advising and educating the public in their choice of memorial designs and suggested a type of public education in the form

¹³⁰ Minutes of meetings held 22 November 1918 and 17 May 1919. Minute Book Art Association of Montreal, National Archives, Ottawa, MG 28 I 126 Vol. 17.

¹³¹ Robert Shipley, To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987), p. 61.

of articles, each dealing with the merits and costs of different types of memorials.¹³² In the end, it was up to individual congregations to form war memorial committees to choose a preeminent artist who could design a memorial that would provide lasting quality and be within the available budget. Before selecting an artist, these committees studied examples of war memorial windows in journals, magazines, pattern books from the largest firms, and windows already in place in other churches.

Stained glass windows were important as memorials to the two wars because even though there were community war memorials in the form of stone or bronze monuments, individual families and congregations felt that this was not personal enough to express their sorrow, sacrifice and loss. The personal war memorial was not necessarily expressed as a window; often it was part of the church furnishings: plaque, pew, panelling, or a baptismal font. For example, in St. Matthew's Anglican Church, a Roll of Honour was donated for World War I and another for World War II; the communion rail, the sacristy curtain and chapel panelling on the west wall were given in memory of all those who died during World War II at home or abroad. This was in addition to a congregational World War II memorial window and two individual memorial windows. In comparison to other types of memorial inside the church, stained glass windows were expensive for both the individual or the congregation. Since they represented an investment in the permanent decoration of the church interior, great care was taken in the

¹³²Percy E. Nobbs, "War Memorials," *Construction* Vol. 12, no. 11 (November 1919), pp. 340-343, 349.

selection of the artist's design and the subject represented.

As noted in Chapter 2, Kelsey's training and experience provided the technical background for combining glass and paint for memorial windows in the manner of the revived mosaic stained glass. His ability to incorporate readily understood symbols and figures for war memorials proves his versatility as a stained glass designer.

Soldiers in Uniform

Both Borg and Shipley suggest that figures in uniform were quite common for war monuments.¹³³ In Borg's research into the origin of war monuments, he noted that up until World War I, these memorials were concerned with commemorating war itself and especially victory.¹³⁴ The memorials commissioned after World War I, however, were more concerned with the sacrifices of war, notably the mental and physical suffering and the tremendous loss of life. The combination of humanism and current democratic ideas prompted citizens and artists to commemorate the common soldier as well as the regiment leaders. For example, the theme of the common soldier is evident in the National Memorial war monument in Ottawa and in the mural painting done by Frank Brangwyn for the

¹³³ Robert Shipley categorized the 1200 Canadian war monuments studied as follows: 32 percent Stelia and cut-stone constructions; 27 percent Statues, 19 percent Cairns, 8 percent Crosses, 8 percent Obelisks and 6 percent Architectural Monuments. Robert Shipley, To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987), endnote no. 5, "The World-Old Custom."

¹³⁴ Alan Borg, War Memorials From Antiquity to the Present (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. x.

Legislative Building, Winnipeg.¹³⁵ Also, war artists like A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974), F.H. Varley (1881-1969), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969) and Lawren Harris (1885-1970) and British artists Richard Jack and Alfred Bastien recorded the life of the common soldier; books and journals provided additional information.¹³⁶ The figure in uniform was not meant to be a portrait in most cases, but an anonymous soldier who represented all members of the armed forces.

The importance of the part played by each soldier, regardless of rank, is apparent in memorials commissioned for the World Wars. Instead of just the leader of the country or a general being commemorated, the sacrifice of all individuals was recognized. This theme of the concern for the common soldier is obvious both in the number of Kelsey's war memorial windows commissioned for family members and in his congregational memorials. Of the forty-two war memorial windows studied, nineteen were for individuals of varying ranks. In the fifteen congregational memorials, the Canadian Legion window and the seven McGill University windows designed by Kelsey, reference was made to all the men and women who had enlisted and served during the wars. The size, design and

¹³⁵The painting, "Canada's War Record" is an example of romantic realism and depicts the hardships faced by Canada's soldiers in World War I. Crossley Davies, "Mr. Brangwyn's New Panel," Architectural Review Vol. 49, no. 292 (March 1921), pp. 55-56.

¹³⁶In November 1916, the Canadian War Memorials Fund was created. It commissioned over one hundred of Canada's and Great Britain's most notable artists to record Canada's involvement in World War I. Maria Tippett, Art At The Services Of War: Canada, Art and the Great War (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 3. (During World War II, thirty-three Canadians were official war artists.) Photographs were not allowed to be taken in the trenches south of Armentières during World War I until the summer of 1916. See Max Aitken Beaverbrook, Canada in Flanders (London and Toronto: Hodder and Stroughton, 1916-1981) and the journal of the Canadian Armed Forces, Canada in Khaki.

choice of glass did not depend on the importance or rank of the individual but on the funds available and the window openings not yet filled. Because the main concern was for the remembrance of the sacrifice of life, it is only in the dedication panel or accompanying plaque that the individual rank is listed.

It is in Kelsey's window designs depicting members of the armed forces that the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites is shown by the individual treatment of each figure, the inclusion of proper uniform details and in the clear reference to the purpose of the memorial. Kelsey's largest design dealing with the common soldier in uniform was also his first Canadian war memorial and was commissioned by the congregation of St. James United Church (Figure 11). His five proposed designs of April 1923 were presented to the memorial window committee and were approved by the Board of Trustees on 1 December 1923, after which a contract was signed.¹³⁷ These windows are memorials to the 298 men and women of the congregation who served overseas in World War I and to the 31 who died in battle:

This memorial window is erected to the Glory of God, and in proud and everloving memory of the soldiers of this congregation whose lives were given for freedom in the Great War, and also in honor of the other members of the congregation who volunteered in the same cause, willing to make the same sacrifice but in the providence of God, permitted to return. They added lustre to their country's honor, they brought glory to their homeland, they bought for us the right to live in peace and freedom.¹³⁸

In the main four-light window, Kelsey depicted a common feature of World War I,

¹³⁷The five designs refer to the central window of four lights and the four individual figures in the side lights. Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1 December 1923, United Church Archives, Montreal, St. James United Church, 7/STJ/4/4.

¹³⁸Speech given by Sir Arthur Currie at unveiling of window. "Hon. A. Meighen at Window Unveiling," The Montreal Daily Star 13 October, 1924.

a trench warfare scene in which he represented a hint of the battle environment (Figure 26). A soldier leading others over the top of a trench is reminiscent of Robert Tait McKenzie's (1867-1938) World War I monument "Over the Top"¹³⁹ and Alfred Bastien's (of Great Britain) painting "Over the Top" (1918).¹⁴⁰ Although the battle-readiness of the soldiers in uniform is part of the design, the horrors of battle and resulting deaths are not depicted. Only in the background (Figure 27), with its wisps of smoke and the flares of fire that streak upwards, is battle suggested. This is typical of other war memorials in which the action takes place in the background while the foreground is taken up by heroic figures. In addition, the similarity with stone and bronze war monuments is shown in the arrangement of the figures on a pedestal or platform base while the architectural canopy that provides the background for the group of figures reveals Kelsey's training at Clayton and Bell. For this St. James memorial, Kelsey contrasted the serene and delicately modelled face of the graceful angel with the harshly sculpted faces of the soldiers. National pride is suggested with the Union Jack prominently featured above the standing soldier and in the shields with the Union Jack and the maple leaf in the dedication panels (Figure 28). As in Kelsey's first war memorial design (1921 for Perth, Australia), allegorical figures representing the four cardinal virtues

¹³⁹Percy Nobbs considered the depiction of a bayonet charge was seen as an appropriate subject for a war memorial: "A very good subject, which my friend Tait McKenzie has put into plastic form in a group of men getting out of a trench, and he called it 'Over the Top.' Now, that is one quite distinct war spirit which can be immortalized or made permanent in art if it is wanted." Percy Nobbs, "War Memorials," Construction Vol. 12, No. 11 (November 1919), p. 341.

¹⁴⁰The Canadian war art of World War I and World II is now held in the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.

of Justice, Prudence (Figure 20), Temperance, and Fortitude (Figure 21) were included in the design, this time as side lights.¹⁴¹

The St. James commission was an important one for Kelsey. His window designs were placed on exhibition and a description of the windows appeared in the press:

The middle four light window stands over twenty-five feet high and is made of the finest English antique glass and the best grades of mill lead. The small side windows stand fifteen feet high, and represent the four cardinal virtues. The color tones of the glass are harmonious and rich, and blend beautifully with one another.¹⁴²

A special dedication service was held on 12 October 1924; the flag-draped window was unveiled by General Sir Arthur W. Currie during the morning service and an address was given by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, ex-Prime Minister of Canada, at the evening service.

Soldiers in uniform were also part of the repertoire of other stained glass artists. For example, in 1932 Stanley Worden, of the Keck Studio in New York, designed a window in which men in uniform were depicted in prayer during a mass held in a battlefield. Another window by Worden, the World War II "Liberty" memorial, includes figures of both the men and women of the armed services.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹The inclusion of allegorical figures in war memorials is not unusual. In Peter Haworth's design for his first Canadian war memorial window (1914, Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph), he included the allegorical figures of War and Peace. Art Gallery of Windsor, Peter Haworth Glorious Visions (Art Gallery of Windsor, 1985), p. 17.

¹⁴²"St. James Methodist Church," Montreal Daily Star, 11 October 1924.

¹⁴³The World War I window was commissioned by St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Middletown, New York and the World War II window was commissioned by St. Mary's Catholic Church, Amsterdam, New York. Cleota Reed (editor), Henry Keck Stained Glass Studio, 1913-1974 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), pp. 75-80.

In Montreal, memorial windows by other artists featured soldiers in uniform can be found. For example, a figure in the uniform of the Royal Highlanders of Canada is part of the McLennan Black Watch Window (1921) in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.¹⁴⁴

The wounded soldier subject, as proposed by Kelsey in Figure 2, and in his proposed designs for Trinity Memorial Church was not a popular design. Men and women of the armed forces were usually shown as strong and alive. One of Kelsey's designs that contained a wounded soldier being cared for by a nurse was commissioned as the 1948 Cook memorial window in St. Alban's Church. The wounded soldier subject is found occasionally in the work of other artists. For example, the World War I memorial window for Everett Fitzgerald by the Hobbs Manufacturing Company in London, Ontario features a wounded soldier being helped to his feet; the figure of Christ appears in the background. (Originally installed in Bethesda Church, Thorndale, it is now in the chapel area of the Canadian Regiment Museum, London.) Stone or bronze war memorials with a dying hero as the subject can only be found in several instances. For example, the St. Boniface, Manitoba World War I monument portrays a dead soldier and three identical statues for the Canadian Pacific Railway stations in Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver depict the Angel of Victory raising the body of a fallen

¹⁴⁴Sandra M. Coley, "The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal: An Architectural History 1805-1932 and Catalogue of Memorials," Master of Arts thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1993, p. 114.

soldier from the battlefield (by artist Coeur de Lion MacCarthy).¹⁴⁵

Windows dedicated to members of the Air Force are prominently featured in Kelsey's war memorial designs. Of the nineteen windows dedicated to individuals, ten are to members of the Air Force. The theme of the heroic deeds of pilots can be found in the work of other stained glass artists. For example, the stained glass window designed by Hugh Easton in 1947 for Westminster Abbey, commemorates those who took part in the Battle of Britain; it includes figures of the Royal Air Force and the badges of sixty-eight squadrons.¹⁴⁶ Even though Canada did not have an Air Force of its own during World War I, the pilot was seen as brave, daring and more heroic than soldiers in the other armed forces and joining the Air Force was one means of escaping the miserable trench warfare. Those who wanted to fly joined the Royal Flying Corps or the Royal Navy Air Service. By 1918, at least forty percent of all Royal Air Force pilots were Canadians and at least ten Canadians were among the top twenty-seven British aces.¹⁴⁷ During World War II the tradition of Canadian excellence in combat flying was continued. Many Canadians went to Britain before and just after the beginning of the Second World War to join the Royal Air Force. For example, the entire 242 Squadron was created from Canadian pilots under Squadron Leader

¹⁴⁵These monuments commemorate the 1,115 employees who were killed in action during the World War I.

¹⁴⁶Lawrence Lee, George Seddon and Francis Stephens, Stained Glass (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1976), pp. 55, 58-9.

¹⁴⁷Charles J. Humber (editor), Canada: From Sea Unto Sea (Mississauga: Heirloom Publishing Inc., 1988), p. 245.

Douglas Bader¹⁴⁸ and over four hundred Canadian airmen participated in the Battle of Britain.¹⁴⁹ Also, starting in 1940, Canada became a base for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan; it was responsible for training 131,553 air crews, including 50,000 pilots. Of the total number of graduates, Canadians accounted for fifty-five percent.¹⁵⁰

To commemorate one of Canada's air aces, a memorial window for George Patterson Christie was commissioned in March and dedicated on 27 June 1943 (Figures 24, 25, 29). Christie had received the Distinguished Flying Cross in August 1940 and added the bar to his decoration in January 1941. This memorial window was placed in the stairwell area of Erskine and American United Church, considered to be a prominent place in the front tower. For this memorial, Kelsey included specific references to Christie's life and military accomplishments. Historical references to the Battle of Britain include anti-aircraft searchlight beams while the wrecked buildings and burning hangars refer to scenes Christie would have seen during his career. The dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, rising above the smoke and remains of destroyed buildings, had become a symbol of Great Britain's resistance and was included as part of the background for this window. This window does not refer to the incident in which Christie died (during a training

¹⁴⁸J.L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, A Nation Forged in Fire: Canadians and the Second World War 1939-1945 (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Publishers, 1989), p. 101.

¹⁴⁹Edmund Cosgrove, Canada's Fighting Pilots (Toronto & Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1965), p. 10.

¹⁵⁰Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950) declared the BCATP as Canada's most effective contribution to the war effort.

flight accident over Lake St. Louis, Quebec), but commemorates his participation in the London Blitz battle.¹⁵¹ The excerpt from Prime Minister Winston Churchill's speech, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few," refers to Christie's duties as a night fighter pilot during the Battle of Britain.¹⁵² In the window borders Kelsey incorporated personal details of Christie's life and career: the badge of the Royal Air Force over the Star of the Empire, squadron badges (the 242nd, 66th, and 43rd), the RAF wings and ribbon, the Distinguished Flying Cross and the badge of the RAF Transport Command. In the dedication panel are references to Christie's education (Westmount High School and McGill University), the flag of the Air Force, and the Union Jack (Figure 24). Because it included a modern figure dressed in a military uniform and did not have any connection to a biblical story or church liturgy, this memorial design was described as modern when compared to traditional biblical windows found in Christ Church Cathedral.¹⁵³

Another subject found in war monuments, especially those related to World War II, is the relationship between man and machine. This fascination of man and war machine can be found in the World War II paintings done by Canadian war

¹⁵¹"Hero's Memory Enshrined, Window in Erskine Church Recalls Feats of 'Pat' Christie," Montreal Daily Star June 28, 1943.

¹⁵²A personal account of the part Christie played in the Battle of Britain, taken from excerpts in his journal, was written up by family members as a history of his life. A copy of the "George Patterson Christie" book is in the records of the Erskine and American Church.

¹⁵³Fergus Cronin, "Storied Windows Richly Dight," Montreal Daily Star November 20, 1948. This article refers to the work of Guido Nincheri. Nincheri was responsible for a World War II memorial window in St. Andrew's United Church (75, 15th Avenue, Lachine). His design is the more standard memorial with simply painted details and refers to a biblical subject.

artists. For example, the paintings "RCD Armoured Cars Under Air Attack" by E.J. Hughes, "D-Day" by Tom Wood and "Tank Destroyers of the 5th Anti-Tank Regiment, RCA" by Bruno Bobak all contain references to soldiers and machines of war. One possible reason for this subject is that in World War II there was not the hand-to-hand combat as in World War I and there was greater distance between the battle lines because of the efficiency of these war machines. The figure in uniform against the war machine is also found in Kelsey's war memorial windows. For example, the Ross Eveleigh Johnson (Figure 30) and Jack Laffoley (Figure 31) war memorial windows installed in the narthex area of St. Andrew's - Dominion Douglas United Church (687 Roslyn Avenue) both depict the pilot in front of his airplane. Designs for these windows were approved by the special war memorial committee of the Board of Trustees,¹⁵⁴ commissioned in July 1945, and dedicated on 14 October 1945.¹⁵⁵ Again it is the single figure of the pilot that is featured in the foreground, but the background contains a landscape setting representing England and an image of the planes used in battle. As in the Christie window, Kelsey included references to family name, education and regiment in the border and dedication panel areas of the windows. A similar design with the figure of a pilot and his plane was also made for St. Alban's Church in 1948 (Cook

¹⁵⁴Letter dated 12 December 1944 from the Secretary, Board of Trustees to A.D. Emory. United Church Archives, Montreal, Dominion Douglas Church, Historical Pamphlets, Box 7 d.

¹⁵⁵Minutes of Session, 3 October 1945. United Church Archives, Montreal, Dominion Douglas Church, Box 5. Kelsey included family crests for these windows. He received a diploma from the American Heraldry Society, New York. McCord Museum, design M984.219.738. For the family heraldic shields, Kelsey referred to his copy of Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers (1913).

window, Squadron 407, RCAF).

Figures in uniform with their respective war machines are also found in the congregational World War II memorial window for St. Paul's Anglican Church (377, 44th Avenue, Lachine) (Figure 32). Discussion at the 1948 annual Vestry meeting suggested four alternatives for a memorial and the third suggestion of an east window over the altar was approved. Of the two designs presented by Kelsey in March 1949, the final decision was in favour of his modern three-light window with figures in uniform representing the Army, Navy and Air Force.¹⁵⁶ Here too, various machines of war are part of the background (the sailors stand on a war ship, a tank is depicted with the Army figure and a plane is included with the Air Force figure). National pride is expressed in the line written across the top of the window: "O Canada we stand on guard for thee." The window, in memory of five members of the congregation, is now in the narthex area of the new St. Paul's Church.¹⁵⁷

Not all stained glass artists showed Kelsey's interest in soldiers as subjects. The firm of Robert McCausland, for example, did not recommend the use of figures in uniform for war memorial windows:

¹⁵⁶ Architect Morley C. Luke was associated with the windows in St. Paul's. Vestry Minutes, 4 November 1948 regarding elevation plants of St. Paul's Church showing the proposed new chancel windows. Anglican Archives, Montreal, St. Paul's Church, Lachine, Box 3.

¹⁵⁷ A fire destroyed the first St. Paul's Church on 26 December 1941; the second St. Paul's Church was dedicated on 12 November 1942. The third church was designed by Kenneth I. Robb and dedicated 15 December 1964. Memorials from the earlier church were transferred to the narthex. St. Paul's Rich Heritage A Centennial Project - history of St. Paul's, December 1974, Anglican Archives, Montreal. The architect responsible for approving the memorial windows was Morley C. Luke.

In many proposed war windows there is an insistence upon showing the khaki figure. Unless great care be taken with the design, however, there is danger of a window of this nature looking out of place in the church and suggestive of the public hall or other secular purpose.¹⁵⁸

Robert McCausland (who served in both World Wars) believed that the service uniform would date the window and would make the design look outmoded when the uniform changed.¹⁵⁹ For the McCausland firm, the khaki figure would be acceptable in a design if the dominant thought was religious and the figure only illustrated the application of the text. However, Kelsey's designs with armed forces figures do not appear in the chancel or aisle windows; in all cases these windows were installed (or now appear) in the transept, narthex or stair areas of the churches. This was because these war memorials had direct symbolic connections to contemporary events and not to biblical or church liturgy, and so were not consistent with the usual didactic windows that were part of the decorative scheme of the church.

Other war memorial windows by Kelsey did not include figures in uniform, but they still had scenes relating to war. This is apparent in the World War I memorial windows designed for Calvary United Church (4206 Dorchester St. W., now demolished).¹⁶⁰ Although both the Bromsgrove Guild (London) and the

¹⁵⁸ Brochure published by Robert McCausland Limited, 1922, "McCausland Stained Glass Windows and Bronze Tablets." File at St. Lambert United Church.

¹⁵⁹ Angus McStay, "Windows to Glory," Maclean's Magazine 1 December, 1947, p. 50.

¹⁶⁰ When Calvary United joined Westmount Park-Emmanuel Church in 1961, the donors or family members were contacted. Twenty-seven of its windows were removed. One window remained in the church when it was demolished; another window went to the family members; two of the windows were

McCausland firm (Toronto) were considered for these memorials,¹⁶¹ Kelsey was chosen as the artist because of his friendship with the minister (Rev. T.W. Jones) and his reputation as an artist living in the community.¹⁶² Kelsey's five-light window (March 1929) includes Christ and two other figures in the main light while in two of the side lights were lilies and poppies arranged in the rough form of crosses. The design for the other two side lights includes poppies and crosses with airplanes over Flanders Fields and the coastal cliffs of southern England, and battleships in the water. In the foreground were represented the hastily-marked graves of World War I - helmets placed on top of the butts of the rifles that were inserted muzzle-first into the ground.¹⁶³ As recorded in the Minutes of the Annual Report of Calvary Church, the symbolic content of these windows was appreciated by the Church:

We record the unveiling of the War Memorial windows in memory of those who gave their lives in the service of their country during the Great War. The Church and its organizations lost nineteen. The beautiful windows with their deep symbolisms constantly remind us of the various arms of the service, the navy, the army and the air force, while the crosses speak to us

placed in the Protestant Chapel at the Verdun Hospital; the Dr. Wilkes memorial windows were installed in Erskine and American Church; the three-panel T.W.Jones window and the Dr. Hill window were installed in Webster Hall of Westmount Park Church and twelve windows were put in storage. Of these twelve windows, three were thought to be too damaged for any further use. It is unknown where the Calvary war memorial windows have gone. Report from Memorial Committee for year 1964. United Church Archives, Montreal, WES/49/6.

¹⁶¹The Bromsgrove firm was rejected because of the high cost. Letter dated 9 March, 1927 to T.B. Macaulay from W.D. Lighthall. United Church Archives, Montreal, WES/35/5.

¹⁶²Architect William Maxwell was also a member of Calvary's war memorial committee. He knew of Kelsey's work because of the 1925 mosaic Kelsey had designed for the Church of the Messiah.

¹⁶³Description of these windows was provided by Phyllis Kelsey in a letter dated 28 October, 1994. Four of these designs are listed in the database at McCord Museum, numbers M984.219.215-218.

of the supreme sacrifice paid by those who fell.¹⁶⁴

In these windows, dedicated on Easter Sunday, 1 April 1929, the poppy and lily were prominent because of their symbolic reference to Resurrection, as Christian symbols of Christ's Passion, and as symbols of remembrance and hope. These symbolic flower designs are also found in the dedication panels or border areas of other war memorial designs by Kelsey (Figures 6, 14, 15, 18, 19, and 54). The inclusion of imagery and symbols indicate Kelsey's training in the proper application of church iconography.

Another symbol prevalent in war memorials was the cross. Although the cross did not originally have a link with the military or war memorials, the cruciform shape of the medieval sword was accepted to symbolize Christian warfare. For example, the 1924 Baptistry poppy-cross window was commissioned in memory of Herbert James Rosevear of St. Matthias' Church; other cross-shaped memorial windows were designed for St. Jude's Church in 1933 and for St. Alban's Church in 1949. In a proposed war memorial design (Figure 3), Kelsey alluded to the support of the church for the war effort by combining the figure of Christ with a background battle scene between a plane and battleships. This link between church and the war effort was also suggested through figures of patron saints and angels in war memorial windows.

¹⁶⁴Letter from H.V. Driver, secretary Calvary Church, January 22nd, 1930 for annual report. United Church Archives, Montreal, WES/22/4. A bronze tablet listing 150 people who served from the various organizations of the Church and congregation was unveiled on Armistice Day 1929.

Saints and Angels

Saints had been favourite subjects for artists for centuries. Saints with their symbolic attributes also became preferred subjects for war memorials, especially in stained glass windows. For example, various soldier-saints, champions and angels are depicted in Wilhelmina Geddes' (d. 1956) World War I window for St. Bartholomew's Church (1919, Victoria and McKay streets, Ottawa).¹⁶⁵ In Montreal, the large World War I memorial window designed by the O'Shea company in 1920 for the Church of the Ascension (now the Mile End Public Library), allegorical figures representing martyrs and saints kneel on either side of the Prince of Peace.¹⁶⁶ Patron Saints and allegorical figures are also part of the World War I memorials designed in 1927 by the studio of F.J. Hollister for Canada's Peace Tower, Ottawa.¹⁶⁷ Other examples include the J.C. Spence & Sons' World War I memorial windows for St. Stephens Church (Westmount) and the World War I memorial window by Percy Nobbs (1930, originally designed for the D.U. Fraternity House, McGill University, and now at the top of the stairwell leading to the Blackader Library).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Shirley Ann Brown, "A Regal Landmark in Stained Glass," Rotunda Vol. 25, no. 3 (Winter 1992), pp. 30-35.

¹⁶⁶ Dedication Service, Sunday February 15, 1920. Anglican Church Archives, Montreal, Church of the Ascension, file "articles from Gazette," Box 2A.

¹⁶⁷ R.E. Cosnell, "Canada's Memorial Hall," Saturday Night December 1, 1928, pp 26, 29. See also Katherine Hale, Canada's Peace Tower and Memorial Chamber (Toronto: Mundy-Goodfellow Printing, 1935) pp. 18-21.

¹⁶⁸ Susan Wagg, Percy Erskine Nobbs: Architect, Artist, Craftsman (Kingston, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982), p. 67 and Plate IV. Nobbs also designed a stained glass window for the Strathcona Anatomy and Dentistry Building commemorating members who died in World War I. This

Figures of various martyr saints, chosen to represent the self-sacrifice of men and women during the World Wars, were subjects for a number of Kelsey's war memorial windows. For the 1929 war memorial design commissioned by St. Andrew's United Church, Chateauguay (Figure 33), Kelsey incorporated the patron saint of Scotland, Saint Andrew, in the central light. The X-shaped cross refers to Andrew's martyrdom and serves as a link to the sacrifice of soldiers during the War. The dedication indicates that the three-light window is in memory of William Dunlop Julius Richardson and "in honour of the boys from this church who served overseas in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces." Another martyr saint used for a memorial window is in the Chapel of Saint Luke at the Montreal Diocesan Theological College. Here, Saint Stephen the Martyr (the first Christian martyr) was represented in a World War I memorial window (1935) commissioned in memory of Albert Withey, who had received the Distinguished Cross.¹⁶⁹

Two of the most popular saints represented in war memorial windows were St. Michael and St. George. A main reason for the popularity of these saints for

window was in memory of three members, including John McCrae, author of "In Flanders Fields" who died in World War I. Carol Martin (editor), McGill A Celebration (Montreal, Kingston, London, Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), pp. 170-71.

¹⁶⁹In the Chapel of Saint Luke the main window was added shortly after 1896. The remaining windows were in ordinary stained glass until Kelsey was commissioned to design the 1935 memorial window for Archdeacon Ker. The Apostles were the subjects for Kelsey's other windows. Kelsey's work was appreciated: "These well designed windows, in soft, pleasing colours and graceful lines, give to the Chapel an interior beauty and suggestiveness that are conducive to the spirit of worship. 'Storied windows richly dight, Casting a dim, religious light' (John Milton)." There are other war memorials in the chapel: the panelling at the rear of the Chapel is in memory of George Wakely Abbott-Smith, M.D., M.M., Canadian Artillery, 1915-18, and the altar cross is in memory of Alberti Loscinii Withey. Oswald Howard, The Montreal Diocesan Theological College: A History from 1873 to 1963 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1963), pp. 86-87.

war memorial windows was that after World War I, the figure of the Archangel Michael was selected as the patron saint of the Air Force while St. George became the patron saint of the Army. Since these symbolic figures were not connected with any specific war or battle, they acted as timeless statements about victory. Saint Michael was the protector of the Church Militant and he defeated Satan. Saint George represents the triumph of right over oppression and wickedness, and is the patron saint of all soldiers and armourers.¹⁷⁰ The use of the figures of St. George and St. Michael was a means of linking the dead soldiers with martyrdom as well as creating a mental distance from the reality of warfare.¹⁷¹ These saints with their armour instead of uniforms, and a sword and shield instead of a rifle, symbolize the timeless Christian image of virtue and power triumphant over the forces of evil. Although these figures were repeated in several of Kelsey's war memorial windows, in each case he varied the stance, drapery, background or symbols to produce a unique window. The changes Kelsey incorporated into windows with these figures for subjects indicate Kelsey's desire to create a unique design for each client as in the Arts and Crafts manner. The figure of St. George was particularly popular for Kelsey's window designs. A St. George design was entered as a drawing in the February/March 1925 Annual Exhibition of the Canadian Society of Graphic Art and another was featured in his 1940 three-part

¹⁷⁰George Ferguson, Signs & Symbols in Christian Art (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 98, 121, 122.

¹⁷¹Robert Shipley, To Mark our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1987), p. 146 and George L. Mosse, Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 101.

article on stained glass. War memorial windows with the figure of St. George were made for the Church of the Advent in 1942 and St. Jude's Anglican Church in 1947.¹⁷² Trinity Anglican Church (12 Prefontaine, Ste. Agathe) commissioned Kelsey in 1948 for two window designs, one of Saint Michael (Figure 34) and the other of Saint George (Figure 35) in memory of the eleven members of the congregation who died in World War II. Another representation of Saint Michael was commissioned (July 1945) by the family of Reginald Ernest Vokey (Figures 36, 37) for St. Stephen's Anglican Church, Lachine. For this window Kelsey portrayed the Saint flying above a village; below he included the badge of the 415 Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. St. Michael was also chosen as the subject for the main window of the McGill War Memorial Hall (1950) (Figure 38).

Another subject similar to that of the patron saints is Kelsey's young crusader design. Although not dressed in armour, the figure holds a sword and shield and wears a helmet. Examples of this design include the window commissioned in April 1942 for Joseph H.C. Roberts (Figure 39) in Montreal West United Church and the A. Irving Cooke window (Figure 40) designed for St. Matthew's Anglican Church (1947, 4940 MacDonald).

Angels were other popular figures for war memorial windows. As God's messengers, angels are considered the guardians of the innocent and the just.¹⁷³

¹⁷²St. Michael was the subject for the Percival window in Montreal West United Church. However, this 1942 commission was not a war memorial window.

¹⁷³George Ferguson, Signs & Symbols in Christian Art (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 97.

The angel figures in Kelsey's war memorials particularly show the Pre-Raphaelite influence when compared to window designs of Burne-Jones (for example the 1895 "Angels of Creation" window for Manchester College, Oxford). To connect the figures of angels to war memorials, Kelsey included symbolic references to the divisions of the Canadian Armed Forces. This is found in the winged figure in the right light of the Ephraim Scott Memorial window (Figures 10, 41); it has symbolic references to the Air Force. A description of the window explains its symbols:

The right panel was erected to the memory of Frederick A. Scott, R.C.A.F., grandson of the late Dr. Ephraim Scott. The Angel in this light holds a flaming disc representing a propeller, while on the feet is the winged wheel turning in all directions. This window is representative of the Air Force with the initials R.C. and A.F. in the border and the badge of the Royal Canadian Air Force at the bottom. The two circles on either side of the Royal Crown at the top of the light contain the moon and the maple leaf.¹⁷⁴

A similar figure can be found in the window commissioned as a World War II memorial for Eric Rodger Church (Figure 9) in St. Barnabas Anglican Church (St. Lambert).

Angels were also part of the three-light World War II memorial window for St. George's Anglican Church (Figure 7). Commissioned in November 1949, the windows with its tracery area were dedicated on 20 November 1949 to the men and women of the congregation who served during the Second World War and to the 18 who died. Archdeacon Gower-Rees (of St. George's Anglican Church)

¹⁷⁴This is Kelsey's explanation of the symbols in the window. McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

considered it one of the best works done by Kelsey.¹⁷⁵ In this design, each figure holds a shield with the arms of the individual military services: Navy, Army and Air Force (Figures 42-44). Symbolic references to the divisions are below the angels - a battleship in the Navy light, the defeated dragon in the Army light, and the winged wheel in the Air Force light. National symbols include the draped flags in the top of the window lights. These windows are a part of the congregational memorial. Other elements include a Book of Remembrance containing the names of the 258 members of the parish who served in the Second World War, and a memorial tablet. When the three-light window was installed there was not a narthex area in the church. To ensure that the war memorials would occupy a separate position, a narthex screen was erected and dedicated on January 8, 1950.¹⁷⁶

Another example of an angel figure used for a war memorial is the "Adoring Angel" that appears in St. Barnabas Church, Ottawa (Figure 45).¹⁷⁷ This window for the High Anglican Church is one of five angel windows commissioned by Father H.W. Browne, who had been ordained both deacon and priest on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels. Before coming to Canada Father Browne was a

¹⁷⁵"St. George's Memorial Dedication Service Scheduled For Tomorrow," The Gazette, 19 November 1949.

¹⁷⁶"Memorial Completed," The Gazette, 9 January 1950.

¹⁷⁷Other angel figures were Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and the Guardian Angel. Rev. Browne's devotion to the Holy Angels led to his order for the stained glass angel windows installed in the apse of the St. Barnabas Church. Canon James A. Winters, Merrily on High in Ottawa: The Story of the Church of St. Barnabas, Apostle and Martyr 1889-1989 (Abacus Print Services Ltd., 1989), p. 57.

priest at St. Paul's Cathedral, London and recognized good craftsmanship in stained glass windows. Father Browne's appreciation of Kelsey's painted work and choice of colours was supported by a glass authority visiting St. Barnabas: "These are not mere stained-glass windows - they are works of art! The splendour of colour and contrast (is) most gloriously balanced!"¹⁷⁸

Biblical Figures and Stories

Although windows with figures of saints or angels could be incorporated into the decorative scheme of the church interior, windows with biblical figures and narrative scenes were more readily accepted as part of the total church decoration. This was because these windows could be referred to in sermons or used as didactic references for the Church liturgy. Hence, the use of biblical figures and narrative scenes was more popular in church war memorials than in public monuments and war paintings. There are many examples of stained glass war memorial windows with biblical subjects done by other stained glass artists. For example, the 1920 Victory window for Salisbury Cathedral by Reginald Bell (1886-1950) contains figures and scenes referring to events in the life of Christ.¹⁷⁹ In Montreal, the subject for the World War I memorial window for Trinity Memorial Church by the McCausland firm is the Crucified Christ. Also, the figure of Christ

¹⁷⁸These remarks were written on the back of the dedication booklet 24 April 1949 for three stained glass windows designed by Kelsey. McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

¹⁷⁹"Reginald Bell 1886-1950, Artist in Stained Glass," The Studio Vol. 141, no. 698 (May 1951), p. 148.

surrounded by angels is the subject for the World War II window in St. Matthias Church in memory of the Honourable Gordon Wallace Scott.¹⁸⁰

Kelsey's training and knowledge of the iconography of the Protestant Church, as revised during the Gothic revival, is shown in his proper use of New Testament subjects for war memorial windows and, in particular, stories in the Bible dealing with the life of Christ. For example, the story of Christ calming the water for his disciples is found in Kelsey's design for the congregational World War II memorial window for St. Matthew's Church (Figures 46, 47). The dedication panels with the badges of the Merchant Navy (Figures 14, 15) are the only indication that this is a war memorial window. Commissioned in 1951, this window is in memory of all the congregational members who died during World War II at home or abroad. Other examples of Christ as the main subject include the windows featuring Christ as the Good Shepherd; this was used for two war memorial commissions. One was requested for the Church of the Ascension (1945, now the Mile End Public Library) by the families of F.J. Dynes and G.W. Manels.¹⁸¹ Another window (Figure 48) of a similar design was commissioned as a war memorial by the Williams family of St. Barnabas Anglican Church (Ottawa). However, in this case, the 1949 window was for the safe return of three sons and

¹⁸⁰"Memorial Window Will Be Dedicated," The Gazette, 13 December 1941. The artist/firm responsible for the window is not indicated.

¹⁸¹When this church was sold to the City of Montreal in 1991, the stained glass windows in memory of those who served in the two World Wars were allowed to remain in the building.

brothers from the Second World War.¹⁸² This is unusual because it commemorates those who lived through the war. As such it is not a war memorial but more of a thank offering window.

As a link between Christ's martyrdom and war memorial windows, Kelsey chose subjects depicting events leading up to Christ's Crucifixion. This is found in the Donald Emil Elliot window in St. Lambert United Church. When the Elliot family decided in 1957 to donate a window in memory of their son, they chose the subject of Christ's Passion: Christ washing the feet of his Disciples (Figure 49).¹⁸³ In this case it was Rev. K.G. MacMillan who acted as a negotiator between the client and Kelsey. The inclusion of the Air Force badge in the dedication panel for this window (Figure 50) (a last-minute decision by the family), indicates that this is a war memorial window. Specific events in the life of Christ were used as subjects in the war memorial windows in Westmount Park-Emmanuel United Church. Kelsey was responsible for the war memorial window in the transept area and four war memorial windows in the east wall; the east transept and wall was rededicated as a Transept of Remembrance on 7 November 1965. The transept window (Figure 51), called a Peace Memorial, was commissioned by the congregation of Westmount Park in January 1948. Pledge drives started in 1946

¹⁸²Father H.W. Browne of St. Barnabas greatly admired the work of Kelsey and included a brief biography of Kelsey on the back of the dedication service - April 24, 1949. McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

¹⁸³For commissions in this church, Kelsey was in competition with Toronto firms such as the Smits & Ramsdale Studios, Celtic Studios, Luxfer Studios and the Robert McCausland Ltd. firm. See also letter dated 8 January 1957 to Kelsey from Rev. K.G. MacMillan. File on Kelsey at St. Lambert United Church, St. Lambert.

and continued until 1948¹⁸⁴ and a war memorial committee was formed and reported to the Official Board and the Board of Trustees. In the main five-light section Kelsey depicted the Last Supper. This narrative scene relates to Christ's sacrifice; above, Kelsey included symbols of the Passion foretelling the Crucifixion. In the five-light window area below this biblical narrative are five figures referring to the war memorial aspect of the window (Figure 52). Flanked by the Red Cross Knight of Canada with a maple leaf on his shield and an angel figure holding a laurel wreath, are three panels inscribed with the names of those who died in World War II. Above these dedication panels are three female figures holding shields. The badges on these shields represent the Navy, Army, Air Force and the Canadian Women's Army Corp. The inclusion of the badge of the Canadian Women's Army Corp is unusual because it is the only one of Kelsey's designs that makes direct reference to the 50,656 women who enlisted in the Army, Air Force and Navy during World War II.¹⁸⁵

The four other windows completing the east wall of the Transept of Remembrance in Westmount Park-Emmanuel Church were commissioned by the members of Emmanuel Church. The Emmanuel War Memorial Committee,

¹⁸⁴ Official Board Minutes, 13 November 1945, 16 April 1946, 1 October 1947, 5 February 1947 and 18 March 1948, United Church Archives, Montreal, WES/49/3, WES/49/5.

¹⁸⁵ Beginning in 1941, women were enlisted in the Army and Air Force and in 1942 in the Navy. However, no woman performed combat duty although some did come under active fire. Out of the thirty-three official war artists, only Molly Lamb Bobak represented the CWAC and only one monument has been dedicated to the involvement of women of the armed forces. This memorial was commissioned for Winnipeg in 1976. J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary (editors), The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995), p. 393.

headed by R.W. Bartram, allocated \$3,000 for the erection of memorial windows to members of the former Emmanuel Church who served in World War II. This committee was responsible for choosing the subjects but final approval had to be received from the Board of Trustees. In December 1951, Kelsey was asked to submit designs relating to four great scriptural events - Peter's Confession, the Crucifixion, the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Kelsey's tentative designs were presented to the Official Board on 11 December 1951. These sketches were then placed on exhibition for the congregation's approval. They were accepted by the Trustees, by the Official Board and finally by the architect (A. Leslie Perry). The minister, Dr. Harvey Campbell, reported: "The architect had not only approved the new windows but also had expressed his pleasure at their appearance."¹⁸⁶ Panels in each of the four windows list the names of those of Emmanuel Church who served in World War II. As for the Westmount Park memorial window, Kelsey provided the Church with a detailed explanation of the symbols. For example, in the Crucifixion window (Figure 8), with the figure of Christ suspended on the cross of the Tree of Life, the leaves represent the healing of the Nations.

Another popular subject for war memorials was the representation of Christ's defeat over death, depicted as the Resurrected Christ. In 1949 Kelsey was commissioned to design a congregational war memorial window dedicated to those of St. Andrew's United Church in Trois Rivières who had died in World War

¹⁸⁶Report by Dr. Campbell to the Official Board, 29 April 1952. United Church Archives, Montreal, WES/49/5.

I and World War II. Kelsey chose the figure of the Resurrected Christ for this war memorial (Figure 53). Badges of the three armed forces appear in the top panel (Figure 54) and names of those who died appear in the bottom panel (Figure 55).¹⁸⁷ The idea of a war memorial window had first been presented at the annual congregational meeting in February 1947 and in April 1948 the Board had agreed on a price submitted by the J.P. O'Shea company. Rev. W.G. Jones visited Montreal at the end of April in that year to view other windows that had been recently installed by that company and compare them with those already in St. Andrew's Church. Since Rev. T.W. Jones of Calvary United Church had recently visited St. Andrew's Church (in January 1948, as moderator of the United Church of Canada) it is likely that St. Andrew's minister also visited Calvary Church while he was in Montreal. Kelsey's war memorial window had been completed for this church and examples of his work could be found in other churches. Church records do not indicate how Kelsey received the commission (O'Shea's design was declined),¹⁸⁸ but do show that a commission for the Alexander Houliston window in St. Andrew's Church was given in October 1949 before the war memorial

¹⁸⁷St. Andrew's Church was originally at the corner of Hart and Radisson. In 1965 this property was sold and a new church was built on Nérée Beauchemin. Four stained glass windows (three by Kelsey) were reinstalled in the Memorial Tower area. This church is now the Collège Moderne de Trois-Rivières.

¹⁸⁸See Official Board Minutes 13 June 1946, 23 April 1947, and 26 April 1948. Minutes of the Annual Congregational Meeting 10 February 1947, the Report of the Board of Stewards for 1949, and the Report of the Board of Stewards for 1950 were also studied. Official Board Minutes 1935-1953, Church of St. Andrew, Trois-Rivières. United Church Archives, Lennoxville.

window.¹⁸⁹ Mention of Kelsey's windows in the minutes of the Board meetings suggest that they were greatly appreciated: "...the enrichment of the whole interior is beautifully set off by the Memorial Windows...."¹⁹⁰ A similar figure of the Resurrected Christ was also part of a proposed World War I memorial (Figure 3) and part of the memorial window for Rev. T.W. Jones (1953, Calvary United Church) (Figure 4).

The biblical subject of Christ after His Resurrection was chosen for other war memorial windows. For example, in the 1945 memorial window to Derrick Ridge (St. Matthew's Anglican) (Figure 56), Kelsey linked the story of the Glorified Christ walking upon the water with the memorial to Ridge who died when the H.M.C.S. St. Croix was torpedoed in the Battle of the Atlantic. Above the figure of Christ, Kelsey incorporated the Christian symbol of hope - the anchor. In the bottom panel he placed the coat-of-arms of the St. Croix ship.¹⁹¹ This subject is similar to Kelsey's earlier proposed design as shown in Figure 3. For another memorial design, the enthroned Christ in Majesty was chosen as the subject for the window to Gordon Hamilton Fowler commissioned for St. Matthias Anglican

¹⁸⁹The design for the Houlston window was Kelsey's version of William Holman Hunt's 1853 "The Light of the World." But in Kelsey's version the light does not come only from the lantern as in other stained glass interpretations. Notes in the margin of the Houlston design in Kelsey design album indicate the changes in colour for the border areas and the inclusion of the badges of the armed forces. McCord Museum, M984.211 design 16d. Kelsey was given a third commission for this church: in 1950, he designed a memorial to Walter E. Roy.

¹⁹⁰See Report of Board of Stewards, 1951, in the Official Board Minutes 1935-1953, Church of St. Andrew, Trois Rivières. United Church Archives, Lennoxville,

¹⁹¹A description of this window appeared in The Montreal Churchman Vol. 33, no. 5 (May 1945), p. 13.

Church in 1923 (Figure 57). Although Kelsey did not always have a choice in the subject matter for these war memorials, it is evident that he did select and include symbols of self-sacrifice appropriate for a war memorial.

Windows Relating to Church Liturgy

Other windows that Kelsey designed were commissioned as war memorials but also served particular liturgical purposes. The choice of subject was related to the revised liturgy of the Gothic revival as well as to the decorative scheme of the church. As in the war memorial windows with biblical figures and stories, the only indication of its memorial purpose is found in the dedication panel. For example, the subject chosen for the 1926 three-light World War I window for St. Aidan's Church was Christ ascending with angels on both sides. This window, in memory of six members of the congregation, was placed in the chancel area behind the reredos (Figure 58).¹⁹² The placement of this particular subject was recommended by the Diocesan Committee on Church Art.¹⁹³

For a number of war memorials, Kelsey was requested to design a specific figure or subject theme as part of a decorative scheme for the church. This is

¹⁹²Jean E. Smith and Rev. Sidney Wood, The Story of St. Aidan's Church in Ville Emard Montreal 1910-1951, (Montreal, 1951), p. 9. The reredos screens the dedication panel from view: "In commemoration of those who gave their lives and of all who served in the Great War 1918. Erected by the Parish." McCord Museum, Design M984.219.433, 434.

¹⁹³"For the East window, a representation of the glorified Christ...is probably as appropriate as any. The Ascension, or the Cross with our Lord in royal robes, is also a fitting subject for so important a position." Montreal Diocesan Committee on Church Art, Church Furnishing and Arrangement (Montreal: The Book Room, the Montreal Diocesan Committee, 1944), p. 14.

found in the ten windows he designed describing the life of Jesus Christ for the Church of St. Columba. The subject of Christ's Crucifixion was selected to represent a memorial to Richard Shaw-Wood who died in World War I (Figure 59).¹⁹⁴ Certain figures as subjects for memorials were requested for the clerestory windows in Montreal West United Church. In November 1943, the Session approved a plan for ten clerestory windows to be filled with figures of saintly or heroic Christian stalwarts.¹⁹⁵ Kelsey was given commissions for four of these windows, two of which are war memorials. The window with the figure representing John Calvin, holding his book of ideas on Reformed Protestantism (Figure 60), is in memory of H. Stanley Brydges and was commissioned in 1945. (A detail of the dedication panel is shown in Figure 12.) The subject of the other war memorial window is St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order, and is in memory of Gordon Stanley Kimber (1946, Figure 17). Kelsey depicted the towers of Assisi in the background while in the foreground he included birds of various sizes and colours with the figure of St. Francis.¹⁹⁶ These were not the

¹⁹⁴ Father J.A. Osborne, of the church of St. Columba, was strongly influenced by the Oxford Movement. His regard for the exact accordance with the Canon Law of the Church of England was carried on in later years when these windows were installed and dedicated in 1953 during the time of Canon Norman Peterson. G.F.H. Hunter, H.A. Medford, L.J. Wrong and E.E. Bourinot, As It Happened: A History of the Parish of St. Columba (Montreal, 1982), pp.11, 25.

¹⁹⁵ On the south side - Saint Paul, Saint Columba of Iona, Saint Francis of Assisi, John Calvin and John Wesley. On the North side - Saint Augustine, King Alfred the Great, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, David Livingstone and Dr. George C. Pidgeon, first Moderator of the United Church of Canada. Session Minutes, 29 November 1943. Church Records at Montreal West United Church.

¹⁹⁶ A full description of the window was printed in the dedication service pamphlet. As part of the border, Kelsey included the various objects invoked by Francis in his famous "Canticle of the Sun" Hymnary 29. A photo of the St. Francis window was sent to the McCausland firm so that other proposed windows would match the colour scheme and painted details of the other windows in the series. Letter

only instances in which a specific subject was requested for a war memorial window. For the Loyola Chapel, Kelsey was requested to combine events in the history of the Jesuit Order with badges of a Canadian regiment.

Historic-Religious Design

The subject of the Loyola Chapel memorial window is related to the history and founding of the Jesuit Order in Canada. In 1924, in preparation for the canonization of eight Jesuit priests, the rector of Loyola College asked Mother Mary Nealis R.S.C.J. to paint an altar tableau. This painting, with scenes of the massacre and torture of these priests, is now in the Martyrs' Shrine in Midland, Ontario.¹⁹⁷ After these martyred priests were elevated to sainthood by Pope Pius XI on 29 June 1930, more attention was paid to this subject for memorial windows. For example, Saint Isaac Jogues was the subject for a window designed in 1944 by Stanley Worden of Keck Studios, New York for St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Mexico, New York.¹⁹⁸ Saint Jogues was also the subject for a window

dated 7 March 1953 to the McCausland firm from Rev. G. Campbell Wadsworth in reference to the David Livingstone window. Folder, "War Memorial Windows," Montreal West United Church.

¹⁹⁷ Father Stan Drummond of the Jesuit Residence, Loyola campus of Concordia University provided information about this painting. For more details see Apollonia Elizabeth Schofield, "The Soul Pictures of Margaret Mary Nealis R.S.C.J. 1876 to 1957," (Montreal: Concordia University, Department of Art History, Master of Arts thesis, 1993), p. 69 and Bas Mason, "Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons," Canadian Antiques Collector Vol. 6, no. 5 (May 1971), pp. 8-11.

¹⁹⁸ Cleota Reed (editor), Henry Keck Stained Glass Studio, 1913-1974 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), p. 72.

designed by Paul Woodroffe in St. Parick's Cathedral, New York.¹⁹⁹ Also, a monument in front of the church in Sillery, Quebec includes figures of the eight Jesuit priests.

In 1933, Loyola Chapel (1932-34 by architect Henri S. Labelle [1896-1989]; 7121 Sherbrooke St. W.) commissioned a World War I memorial window from Kelsey. The twelve-light window (Figure 61) was dedicated to the eight Jesuit Martyrs of North America and erected in memory of the officers and men of the 55th Irish Canadian Rangers and their overseas unit, the 199th Duchess of Connaught's Own Irish Canadian Rangers.²⁰⁰ Incorporated into the window are figures of the eight Jesuits priests.²⁰¹ Similar details of figures and torture of the priests as in the painting by Nealis, can be found in the four central lights of Kelsey's window design. For example, the torture of Jean de Brébeuf is shown in left central light (Figure 62). For this commission Kelsey combined historical and religious references with regimental badges and heraldic arms. In the top two corner lights, Kelsey included the seal of the Jesuit Order (Figure 18) and the Irish

¹⁹⁹ Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, Francis Stephens, Stained Glass (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 58.

²⁰⁰ See T.P. Slattery, Loyola and Montreal: A History (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962), pp. 64, 248. See also Robert Gaudet S.J., "Loyola Chapel meets varied needs," The Thursday Report 28 February 1985, pp. 6-8. Concordia University Archives.

²⁰¹ The figures in the top windows represent Isaac Jogues (1607-1646) and Noël Chabanel (1613-1649); in the central panels are figures of Jean de Brébeuf (1593-1649), Antoine Daniel (1601-1648), Gabriel Lalemant (1610-1649) and Charles Garnier (1606-1649); in the lower area are figures of Jean de La Lande (d. 1649) and René Goupil (1608-1642). References to the torture of these Jesuit priests can be found in the 73-volume Jesuit Relations (1610-1714). Information is also found in "Heroes of Huronia," Loyola College Review No. 34 (1949), pp. 67-69, 97-98. Jesuit Residence, Archives, Loyola campus of Concordia University, Montreal.

Rangers Regimental badge (Figure 19); in the lower two corner lights are the Arms of the Loyola family (Figures 63, 64) that were joined to form the crest of Loyola College. Because of the inclusion of so many figures, this design by Kelsey is the most difficult to read and the scenes of torture are only decipherable on close observation. Although the window has a historical and religious subject, it is not a biblical scene but an interpretation of events in the history of the Jesuit Order. This was a large commission for Kelsey; his reputation as a glass artist and designer was enhanced by the entry of his watercolour sketch of the resulting Canadian Martyrs window in the 1933 Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition.

Kelsey was not the only artist who included historical figures in memorial windows. For example, eleven memorial windows in the Church of Notre-Dame by artist J.B. Lagacé and executed by Francis Chigot of the Atelier Chigot in Limoges, France, represent historical-religious subjects of the founding of New France.²⁰² The combination of history and religion is also found in the memorial windows for the War Memorial Chapel, Vancouver (1928). The firm of Robert McCausland was responsible for window designs combining religious symbols, scenes from the history of the Provinces of Canada and heraldic provincial arms.²⁰³ Biblical figures, church history and symbols were appropriate for the religious atmosphere of a church. The more secular atmosphere of a war memorial hall

²⁰²See Olivier Maurault, Les Vitraux Historiques de Notre-Dame de Montréal (Montreal, 1933).

²⁰³Edmund E. Pugsley, "We Shall Remember Them," The Canadian Magazine Vol. 71, no. 4 (April, 1929), pp. 12-13. See also Robert D. Watt, "Heraldic Stained Glass in Vancouver," Canadian Collector Vol. 11, no. 3 (May-June, 1976), pp. 94-5.

demanded a different kind of subject matter.

War Memorial Halls

By the end of World War II, Kelsey had developed a reputation as a good draughtsman and artist and had already completed several important war memorials. Although churches were the main patrons for Kelsey's war memorial windows, he did design windows for two Montreal memorial halls. Since the war memorial hall was a public building, the window design had to be more secular, with less religious symbolism. Memorial halls usually had no particular use other than providing a protective environment for reflection; they were therefore less in demand especially since public monuments were less expensive. If a building was desired, hospitals, schools, churches or other public buildings were considered a better choice. These reasons, however, did not prevent memorial halls from being built. In his research on the history of war memorials, Alan Borg found that the nonfunctional war memorial hall was popular in the United States and in Commonwealth countries. Kelsey designed his first war memorial window in 1921 for a memorial hall in Perth, Australia. One of the best-known memorial halls, and after which others were patterned, is the Scottish National War Memorial in Edinburgh Castle by architect Sir Robert Lorimer (1864-1929).²⁰⁴ Opened on 14 July 1927, this memorial hall combined a Hall of Honour with a Shrine; sections are dedicated to women's war efforts, and to the Air Services, Army and Navy. The stained glass windows by Douglas Strachan (1875-1950) complete the

²⁰⁴ Alexander N. Paterson, "The Architecture of the Scottish National War Memorial," Architectural Review Vol. 62 (September 1927), pp. 101-107.

decoration.

Canada's Memorial Hall (1928) by architect John Pearson (1867-1940) is part of the Peace Tower in Ottawa. As mentioned earlier, sculpture and stained glass windows refer to regiments and aspects of war. The Royal Canadian Legion was also responsible for memorial buildings. Completed in 1947, the Saskatchewan No. 1 Branch in Regina includes a Peace Tower, Chapel and Trophy Room. Five stained glass windows (unveiled 14 May 1955) enhance the decoration of the Memorial Tower. Main figures in the large window are St. Michael and figures of the armed forces (Navy, Air Force, Army and Nursing Sisters). Crests of the three services and the Canadian Coat of arms complete the design. Saskatchewan was the first province to create a memorial to those who lost their lives in World War I and World War II.²⁰⁵

In the Province of Quebec, the Canadian Legion, Quebec Command (1191 Mountain St.) was the only branch to have a memorial room with stained glass windows. Major-General C. Basil Price headed the Quebec fund-raising campaign launched in April 1946 and a Board of Trustees was formed to oversee plans for the building.²⁰⁶ The building was designed by Harold Lea Fetherstonhaugh (1887-1971) in 1946 and in January 1949 Kelsey was commissioned to design a three-

²⁰⁵Information provided in brochure "Royal Canadian Legion Branch No. 1 Regina: Saskatchewan For Freedom," printed by the Ex Service Women of Regina Branch No. 1, 1992.

²⁰⁶"Legion Memorial in Montreal," The Legionary (March 1946), p. 22.

light war memorial window (Figure 11).²⁰⁷ The War Memorial Room was set aside as a Shrine of Remembrance to those who died in World War I and World War II.²⁰⁸ He presented two designs to the Legion, one of angels holding shields and the other of historic figures holding shields.²⁰⁹ The latter design was chosen since it included more secular figures related to the history of war. Kelsey's descriptions of his windows in the Legion brochure describe the relationship between the figures and the symbols:

The windows in the Memorial Room are symbolical of the Navy, Army and Air Force. The border around each light represents the Maple Leaf and the Laurel and one sees the Rose and Fleurs-de-Lis in the narrow upright bands.

The Royal Canadian Navy

One sees the Naval Crown and white and blue ensign at the top of the light, below is a figure of a Greek Sailor "winged" and standing in Trireme - holding a shield with the badge of the Royal Canadian Navy. The Arms of Quebec are represented below, under which there are two small panels representing a battleship and an Air Force carrier.

The Canadian Army

The Royal Crown with the Union Jack and Red Ensign is at the top of the

²⁰⁷ Kelsey's son, Charles, a member of the Canadian Armoured Corps, was wounded at Falaise, France and was a patient at St. Anne's Veteran Hospital in St. Anne de Bellevue. This is likely how the Kelsey family came into contact with General Price. "Paraplegic Who Fought Back Wins MacInnis Memorial Award," Halifax Chronicle-Herald, 16 March 1966.

²⁰⁸ A brochure "Canadian Legion, Quebec Command: War Memorial Room," included a description of the interior of the building by H.L. Fetherstonhaugh. "On the exterior wall are three stained glass windows with symbolic figures presenting the forces on land, sea and in the air. Pinions of wings surround them. The panels are further enriched with medallions showing many of the weapons of modern warfare - guns, tanks, destroyers, planes, bombs, etc. An examination of these windows reveals a wealth of detail appropriate to this room - insignia of the services, the crest of the Legion, the Coat of Arms of the City of Montreal. They are designed to form a multicoloured mosaic of glass and lead." Captain C.C.J. Bond wrote about the action of the Canadian Armed Forces in both world wars and Kelsey added a section about the figures in his windows and their related symbolism. McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

²⁰⁹ McCord Museum, Design M984.211 67a.

light, below is a figure of a Roman Legionary "winged" with a red cross on the breastplate holding a shield with the badge of the Canadian Army and standing in a Chariot surrounded with flames "Symbol of the Armoured Car and the Flame Thrower." The Badge of the Legion is shown below. There are then two small panels representing the Armoured Car and Coastal Defence Guns.

The Canadian Air Force

The Royal Crown and the Air Force Flag of Canada with searchlights are at the top of the light. Below is a figure of Mercury "winged" and holding the Badge of the Air Force. The feet are winged and he stands on a revolving propeller with cloud streamers representing the air currents. The Badge of the City of Montreal is shown below and then there are two panels - one of an aeroplane, the other showing parachutes descending.²¹⁰

(Figure 65 is a detail of the Army light.)

When the building was sold, the windows were removed and stored in Kelsey's studio. On 1 November 1957, General Price took these windows to Chateauguay where they were reinstalled by the firm of Theo Lubbers in an apartment building in Verville. Kelsey's attention to symbols, especially the eyes on the Greek ship, was not appreciated by the wives of some of the veterans. Cliff Oswald, of the Theo Lubbers firm, was asked to remove this section of stained glass.²¹¹ When the community hall was renovated in 1977, the windows were placed in the meeting room. Unfortunately size restrictions did not allow room for the lower panels. Also because the sections of the windows were not correctly identified, they were not assembled in the correct order; the lower panels of the Army and Air Force were switched and are out of order as seen when comparing

²¹⁰Description of Legion windows provided by Kelsey to the Legion and included in their brochure.

²¹¹Oswald has since heard that these eyes were symbolic of those who had lost their lives in Hong Kong. Telephone conversation with Cliff Oswald on 23 September 1994.

Figures 11 and 66. As in his congregational memorial windows, Kelsey organized the badges of the armed forces in the order of Navy, Army and then Air Force. (See Figures 7, 32, 52 and 54.) This commission was an significant one for Kelsey. Based on it and other war memorial windows, he received the commission to design windows for McGill's War Memorial Hall.

The McGill War Memorial Hall was by architect A.J.C. Paine (1886-1965), a McGill graduate, who also won the design competition for the McGill University Athletic Buildings.²¹² From 1946 to 1948, the Graduates' Society raised funds for a swimming pool to commemorate all the graduates of McGill who had served in World War I and World War II. The original plan of 1941 did not include a War Memorial Hall; this was added in 1946.²¹³ Also, these original plans were changed when T.S. Allan, President of the Missisquoi Stone & Marble Company, Philipsburg, was contacted. Because of problems in finding proper building materials, Allan agreed to provide a supply of marble for the War Memorial Hall. However, he wanted the hall based on the 1927 Scottish National War Memorial in Edinburgh Castle.²¹⁴ Instead of bronze grilles in front of the windows as in Paine's plan, Allan decided to donate a stained glass window and suggested

²¹² Philip J. Turner, "Report on the Competition for McGill University Athletic Buildings," *RAIC* Vol. 12 (May 1935), pp. 80-84.

²¹³ Letter dated 8 August 1945 from E.A. Leslie, Chairman, Executive Committee, McGill War Memorial to F. Cyril James included a copy of Paine's sketch of the memorial hall. McGill University Archives, RG2 C80 file 1552, University Buildings: Swimming Pool, rink and auditorium.

²¹⁴ Letter dated 1 April 1950 to A.J.C. Paine from T.S. Allan regarding supply of marble and change of plans. McGill University Archives, RG2 C149 File 5148, Graduates Swimming Pool.

Kelsey as the artist. Perhaps Allan had seen Kelsey's 1948 stained glass memorial window designed for the Philipsburg church. But it was left up to Paine to investigate Kelsey's reputation before he was recommended as the artist for these windows to McGill Principal F. Cyril James.²¹⁵ Although James had suggested a stained glass window containing a geometric arrangement of five coats of arms, Allan wanted a subject of a more universal nature. In June 1950 Kelsey provided Allan with a preliminary drawing of St. Michael for the memorial window (a sculpture of St. Michael was over the doorway of the shrine in the Scottish National War Memorial). His design (Figures 38, 67) was given final approval on 19 June²¹⁶ and the window was installed in time for the special opening service held on 26 November 1950.²¹⁷ At this time, the Governor-General of Canada, Viscount Alexander of Tunis and Rev. John Dixon, Lord Bishop of Montreal, dedicated the building to the 661 McGill men and women who gave their lives in the two World Wars and to the rest of the 8,627 men and women who served in

²¹⁵Letter dated 14 June 1950 from Paine to James: "In regard to Mr. Kelsey's work, recent examples are found in many Montreal churches, St. George's, Westmount Park United, Montreal West United, to mention three of them. There is also a window or windows made by him in the Diocesan College and also in the Memorial Room of the Veterans' building....He was trained in London and he really does know his subject." McGill University Archives, RG2 C149 File 5148, Graduates Swimming Pool.

²¹⁶T.S. Allan met Kelsey in the memorial hall after the St. Michael window had been installed. In a letter dated 14 November 1950 to R.G. Dufries (superintendent of Buildings), Allan noted that Kelsey seemed anxious that someone from McGill appreciate his handy work. He remarked: "This is understandable - artists are queer folk." McGill University Archives, RG2 C149 File 5148, Graduates Swimming Pool.

²¹⁷Report of dedication, McGill Daily Vol. 40 no. 38 (November 24, 1950), p. 1. The Memorial Hall was described in a letter dated 17 November 1950 from F.C. James to J.F. Delaute (Assistant Secretary to the Governor-General). McGill University Archives, RG2 C149 File 5148, Graduate Swimming Pool.

the armed services during these wars. A description of the hall appeared in the press:

The Memorial Hall will have one of the most beautiful interiors in all Canada. It is lined with different types of marble, imported from countries where Canadian forces fought during two great wars....Above the table is a stained glass window with a figure of the youthful St. Michael, captain of the Angelic Host against the forces of evil. He is represented with a flaming sword in his right hand, trampling on the dragon. In his left hand is the spear-pointed banner with the Cross of Christ the Conqueror."²¹⁸

Kelsey was also responsible for the six windows with badges of the various regiments in which McGill students served (Figures 22, 23), and the case for the Book of Remembrance.²¹⁹ When all the stained glass windows were installed, James wrote a letter of appreciation to Kelsey:

I do want to tell you that the windows in the War Memorial Hall now look really excellent and that everybody in the University is quite satisfied with them, including myself. We have received many compliments on the beauty of the Hall, and this is owing in large measure to the stained glass windows designed by yourself.²²⁰

As in Kelsey's other war memorial designs, these windows for McGill University combine the symbolic figure of St. Michael with references to the three branches of the Canadian Armed Forces and badges of other Canadian regiments.

For all his war memorial windows, Kelsey chose designs that would be

²¹⁸Montreal Star, 21 November 1940. McGill University Archives, Vol. 12 McGill Scrapbook, p. 262.

²¹⁹Letter dated 22 January 1952 to G.A. Grimson from R.G. Dufries. McGill University Archives, RG10 C11 File 858, Swimming Pool, Memorial Hall and Rink Auditorium 1951-1952.

²²⁰Letter dated 15 November 1952 from Frank Cyril James of McGill University to Kelsey. McCord Museum, UAPT 1097, scrapbook.

readily understood. Window subjects with Christ affirmed the Church's belief in His victory over death, saints and angels were linked with martyrdom, while figures of soldiers alluded to the heroic self-sacrifice of the members of the armed forces who represented Canada in both World Wars.

CONCLUSION

In the analysis of Kelsey's window designs, several areas were studied: his work was analyzed according to his training and glass experience, the market for memorial windows, and the various subjects chosen to represent war memorials. Kelsey's stained glass training and early work experience was in England during the time when the glass artist was still influenced by the English stained glass revival of the late nineteenth century. Qualities of this stained glass revival in Kelsey's work are apparent in his knowledge and manipulation of religious iconography, choice of colour combinations, understanding of Gothic Revival architecture, and his technique as a glass painter. From the time of his stained glass apprenticeship starting in 1892, he worked for the next 55 years creating unique designs to meet the demands of the individual or church patron.

Because of the great loss of life in World War I and World War II, there was a great demand for war memorial windows, especially for designs that would express the attributes of patriotic duty, religious beliefs and the act of self-sacrifice. Kelsey met these criteria with a variety of designs containing meaningful messages through the themes of the common soldier, saints and angels, biblical figures and events in the life of Christ, and Canadian historic references. His

window designs remain as examples of the prevailing taste in memorials during the first half of the twentieth century and reflect the accepted and recognized subjects and symbols for war memorials. His philosophy was simple and straightforward. He wished to create a window design to the best of his ability with the most brilliant colours and high quality of glass that the client could afford. His designs were not copies of other works but ideas filtered through his personal beliefs and training as a stained glass artist.

Kelsey's war memorial windows, as part of the decoration and atmosphere of a building, are a link between the secular and the religious life. These war memorials serve three purposes: they reflect the experiences and beliefs of the soldiers and their families, they indicate the heightened sense of pride and accomplishment of the Canadian Armed Forces, and they commemorate events in history. As part of Canada's history, the stained glass war memorial windows of Charles William Kelsey demonstrate the labour of a glass artist working in Montreal during the first half of the twentieth century and are expressions of the sorrow, pride and hope felt during and after the World Wars.

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APPENDIX A

Selected Books in the Library of Charles William Kelsey

The following list of books were part of Charles William Kelsey's reference library. Some of the books were kept by his daughter Phyllis Kelsey, others were sold to the National Gallery Library, Ottawa and the remaining books were donated to the McCord Museum. Phyllis Kelsey provided the titles of the books she has of her father's. A number of his books he used for reference belonged to his father or grandfather. Because of the age and fragility of some of these books and the ones at the McCord Museum, there are pages missing or the book does not have its original cover.

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APPENDIX B

The Purpose of Paint on Stained Glass

There are three main purposes for painted areas on stained glass. First it qualifies and subdues the amount of light entering a building to create a religious atmosphere; second it controls the effects of halation and radiation of coloured glass; and third it creates harmony through relative values of the colours in the window design. There are two types of paint that Kelsey used in his designs: silver nitrate stain and a brown-black pigment.

The use of silver stain (silver nitrate) was discovered in the early fourteenth century. Because it coloured the glass through the penetration of the glass molecules and caused a change in the ionization of the glass, it filtered yellow light instead of white light as before. Staining was always done on the back side of the piece of coloured glass or on the clear side of flashed glass. Various colours were produced when silver stain was added to flashed glass. For example, blue glass with silver stain produced green, gray glass plus silver stain produced khaki and orange glass with silver stain produced brown. The colour of the stain also varied according to the thickness of its application.

The application of paint to the glass was an illusionary device that Kelsey

used to qualify and subdue the amount of light entering a building through his window designs. Harsh effects of natural sunlight were guarded against by the disposition and quantity of the lead lines as well as by the paint applied to the glass. This helped to create the subdued lit atmosphere of a religious building. Kelsey applied paint in a matt, stipple or smear on top of the glass pieces. He then removed paint in particular areas to allow the penetration of light. This was done using needles, brush handles or stiff brushes. The pigment used for linear detail was opaque while that for overall shadowing was more transparent and only deepened the hue of the glass. Stain and paint were used to add the linear details of drapery, textural patterns and facial features.

Both halation, the spreading of light beyond its proper boundaries, and radiation, the strength of light through different colours, were also controlled by this paint. Kelsey knew how halation affected clear glass the most, then blue glass and the least on red glass. While wider lead comes and stronger painted lines partially counteracted the halation, a narrow strip of matt paint near the lead lines better protected them against this phenomenon. With regard to light radiation, he knew that with clear or white glass the light was piercing and the strongest, with blue glass light was expansive, with red it contracted, while with yellow glass it remained constant. He realized that light radiated through lighter coloured glass out of proportion to its actual area and caused other colours to appear darker; it altered the contours of the piece of glass unless controlled by paint or modified with a contrasting colour. Therefore Kelsey worked with these effects of halation

and radiation of light and colours by controlling the areas left unpainted and breaking up areas of a single colour. Lines that he scratched in the matt paint and spaces between the stipple paint always appeared broader with distance, while small areas of unpainted glass, surrounded by a matt paint, appeared to be larger.

In Kelsey's window designs, large areas of a single colour were broken up with drapery lines, textile patterns, plant forms, or symbols relating to the principal figure or narrative subject. The paint also served the purpose of visually joining areas of different colours and suppressed the radiance of one colour while it heightened another; this brought harmony through relative values of the colours used in the window design. Therefore, Kelsey chose the colours for the window design according to the amount of light it would receive during the daytime and adjusted the thickness of the layers of paint applied to the glass to create this harmony of value and colour.

Harmony of colour was also achieved through the use of small pieces of glass in the border areas that repeated the colours in the main panel. These border areas also emphasized the verticality of the window and stressed the architectural features of the opening. The lightly painted canopy areas that Kelsey included in some of his windows served the purpose of letting in more light, unifying the window panels as well as repeating architectural features of the church.

In most churches, Kelsey's stained glass windows are not at eye level but above the pews of the church. In some cases his large window designs extend

up to the ceiling with tracery areas or are part of the clerestory area. Since the human eye cannot discern thin lead lines or delicate modelling from any great distance, these areas of the window had to be boldly painted. Accurate details were not necessary since they could not be seen from the seating area. Since complicated designs with multiple figures grouped in front of each other were hard to decipher from a distance, emphasis was placed on the symbolic value of the window design; the simpler the design, the easier it was to read.

The purpose of the painted window was that it should be easy to comprehend, signify the purpose of the window through symbolism and contribute to the overall decoration and enrichment of the building. Because the paint was applied to the surface of the glass, it counteracted the transparency of the material and made it seem more like the continuation of the wall surface. But since the function of a stained glass window was the illumination of the interior, these painted areas always had to allow sufficient light to pass through the glass to illuminate the architectural features of the building.

APPENDIX C

Selective List of Kelsey's War Memorial Windows

This list refers only to the windows or designs studied for this thesis and does not list all the war memorial windows designed by Charles William Kelsey. Descriptions for some of the windows were written by Kelsey while others came from newspaper or journal articles. Dates and prices charged for the windows come from Kelsey's work ledger.

Anglican Churches

Church of St. Columba, 4020 Hingston.

The clerestory windows of the chancel depict the life of Christ; the window showing the crucifixion is a World War I memorial. Under the figure of Christ crucified on the Tree of Life is written: "To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of Flight Lieutenant Richard Shaw-Wood, Killed March 17th, 1918." Five windows were commissioned for the clerestory area in June 1954 for \$1,925, three more in June 1954 for \$1,155. and two in November 1958 for \$800.

Church of the Ascension, (now Mile End Library) 5253 du Parc.

The World War II memorial window depicting The Good Shepherd is in memory of two men. Written in the dedication panel is: "Greater love hath no man than this, That a Man Lay Down his Life for his Friends. To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of Lieut. F.J. Dynes, Age 23, Killed in France August 1st 1944. Also L/Cpl. G.W. Manels, Age 21, Killed in France July 25th, 1944. Both of the Black Watch." This window was commissioned in November 1945 for \$200. When the church building was made into a public library, this memorial window made by Kelsey was separated into panels and now hang in the windows of the

reading areas.

Montreal Diocesan Theological College, 3473 University.

As part of the decoration of this chapel, a window depicting St. Stephen the Martyr was placed behind the organ. This World War I memorial window was dedicated to Albert Withey, D.C.M. of the 24th Canadian Battalion who was killed in Amiens on the 8th of August, 1918. The window was commissioned in September 1935 for \$150.

St. Aidan's Anglican Church, 6232 Hamilton.

The three-light Ascension window in the chancel area behind the reredos was commissioned in memory of those who were killed in World War I. The central panel show Christ ascending into the heaven; the side lights show angel figures. The dedication panel reads: "In Commemoration of those who gave their lives and all who served in the Great War 1914-1918. Erected by the Parish." The windows were commissioned in 1926.

St. Barnabas Anglican Church, Kent and James Steets, Ottawa.

Father Herbert W. Browne commissioned Kelsey to design the apse windows depicting St. Michael, St. Gabriel, St. Raphael, Adoring Angel and Guardian Angel. The "Adoring Angel" window was dedicated "For Victory 1945." The Honour Roll lists twelve men who died in defence of faith and country. These windows were ordered in April 1947 for \$700.

Originally the central panel of a three-light window, the World War II memorial window has been moved to the baptistry area. Depicted is the Good Shepherd with the sheep upon His shoulders, an early symbol of the Saviour. Written above the window is: "I Am The Good Shepherd." Below in the dedication panel is written: "For the safe return of their three sons and brothers from the Second World War. The Family of Herbert and Eva Williams, with united gratitude dedicate this window." This window was part of a three-light window commissioned in January 1949 for \$700.

St. Barnabas Anglican Church, 95 Lorne, St. Lambert.

The window in the nave depicting St. Michael was dedicated "To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of Eric Rodger Church 1924-1944." The Royal Canadian Air Force badge is included at the top of the window while in the dedication panel the red maple leaf is contained within a circle.

St. George's Anglican Church, 1101 Stanley St.

The congregational war memorial window was separated from the church by a screen and is now located in the narthex. The Book of Remembrance below the memorial window contains the names of the 258 members of the parish who served in the Second World War. This three-light window depicts angels holding shields representing the three divisions of the armed forces - Navy, Army and Air Force. Written in the Navy panel is: "They that go down to the sea in ships, these see the works of the Lord and His wonders of the deep, Psalms 107:23." Below the Army panel is written: "He will swallow up death in victory and the Lord God will wipe away all tears from all faces, Isaiah 25:8." Under the Air Force Panel are the words: "Out of weakness made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens, Hebrews 11:34." In the tracery area of this window is written: "The Redeemed shall walk there." The commission for this window was given in March 1949 for \$1,500.

St. Matthew's Anglican Church, 4940 MacDonald.

The World War II memorial window in the north wall of the nave is in memory of Lieutenant E. Derrick Ridge, Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Service and depicts the Glorified Christ walking on the water. Derrick was chief engineer of H.M.C.S. St. Croix and lost his life when his ship was torpedoed in the Battle of the Atlantic on September 23rd, 1943. In the dedication panel is written: "Jesus said, no man taketh it from me but I lay it down myself. St. John 10:18. To the Glory of God and in loving memory of Lieut. Derrick Ridge, R.C.N.V.R., Sept. 19, 1915 - Sept. 23, 1943." The window was commissioned in 1945 for \$200.

The chapel window on the north wall is another World War II memorial. It depicts an angel above a soldier praying in a chapel; his shield and helmet are on the floor and his sword at the altar. Written in the dedication panel is "To the Glory of God and in Proud Remembrance of Tpr. A. Irving Cooke, 28th C.A.R. Killed in Action at Falaise, France, August 9th, 1944, aged 23 years." This window was commissioned in December 1947 for \$200.

The two-light World War II congregational memorial window on the south wall in the choir area depicts the biblical story of Christ calming the storm. Written in the dedication panel is: "Wherefore Sirs, Be of Good Cheer for I believe God That it Shall Be - Even as it was told me." The window was given in memory of all those members who died during World War II, at home or abroad. The Roll of Honour of World War II lists 320 names, seventeen of which died. This window was commissioned in 1951 for \$1,500.

St. Matthias Anglican Church, 131 Côte Saint Antoine.

The World War I Baptistry poppy cross window is dedicated to Gunner Herbert James Rosevear of the Canadian Garrison Artillery. The plaque below contains the dedication: "To the Glory of God and in memory of Herbert James Rosevear, 3rd Canadian Siege Battery, Killed in Action at Vimy, France, 16th day of June, 1918. Buried in Cabaret Rouge Cemetery on the Arras-Bethune Road. This window is given by his comrades-in-arms Wildred Gray, Harold John Inns, Eric Stanley Bushell. If any man would come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." The window was commissioned in 1924 for \$45.

The World War I memorial window in the nave area depicting Christ enthroned in Majesty is dedicated "To the Glory of God and in Loving memory of Gordon Hamilton Fowler, September 4th, 1916." The window includes the Black Watch badge in the dedication panel. The window was commissioned in May 1923 for \$200.

St. Paul's Anglican Church, 377, 44th avenue, Lachine.

A three-panel World War II congregational window depicts figures of the three branches of the armed forces, Navy, Army and Air Force. The window is now located in the narthex area. Above the window is printed: "O Canada, We Stand on Guard For Thee." Below in the dedication panel is written: "To the Glory and in grateful memory of those members of St. Paul's Church, Lachine Who Gave Their Lives 1939-1945. John Baker, John Gustafson, Robert Wooley, George Chalmers, Roland Parkinson." These windows were commissioned in March 1949 for \$600.

St. Stephen's Anglican Church, 25, 12th Avenue, Lachine.

The World War II memorial window in the nave depicts St. Michael. He holds a flaming sword and a shield. Written in the dedication panel is: "Who maketh the clouds his chariot: and walketh upon the wings of the wind. Psalms 104, v. 3. To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of W/O Reginald Ernest Vokey, age 21 years, Born June 12th, 1921, Killed in action Feb. 18th, 1943." Included is the badge for the 415 Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. This window was commissioned in July 1945, for \$500.

Trinity Anglican Church, 12 Préfontaine, Ste. Agathe.

Two memorial windows in the apse of the church depict St. Michael and St. George, in memory of the eleven men of the congregation who died in World War II. Written in the dedication area is: "To the Glory of God and In Grateful Memory of Those Who Gave Their Lives 1939 to 1943." These windows were commissioned in June 1948 for \$450.

Concordia University Chapel

Loyola Chapel, 7121 Sherbrooke St. W.

The twelve-light memorial window is located in the balcony choir area of the church. The eight Jesuit-Martyrs are the subjects depicted in the window. In the top row are the figures of Isaac Jogues and Noël Chabanel; in the central four panels are the figures of Jean de Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel, Gabriel Lalemant and Charles Garnier and in the lower area are the figures of Jean de La Lande and René Goupil. Badges of the Jesuit Order and the Irish Rangers Regiment are in the top corner areas; in the lower two corners are the Arms of the Loyola family. The windows depict the torture of the priests by North American Indians. In the dedication panel is written: "To the Greater Glory of God and In Memory of the Officers and Men of the 55th Irish Canadian Rangers and their Overseas Unit the 199th Duchess of Connaught's Own Irish Canadian Rangers." This window was commissioned in July 1933 for \$800.

Presbyterian Church

Ephraim Scott Memorial Presbyterian Church, 5545 Snowdon.

There is only one painted stained glass window in the church. The war memorial in the transept area is part of a three-light window and is dedicated to the memory of Pilot Officer Frederick A. Scott. The figure of an angel holds a flaming disc. The window is representative of the Air Force with the initials R.C. and A.F. in the border and the badge of the Royal Canadian Air Force at the bottom. The two circles on either side of the Royal Crown at the top of the light contain the symbols of the Moon and the Maple Leaf. Written in the dedication panel is: "In Memory of Frederick A. Scott, R.C.A.F. by Dorothy Anne Philips, his sister." The other two lights of the window show a figure of the angel representing the Medical Profession; in the hands are the mortar and pestle, symbolic of medicine. The initials in the border are abbreviations for Scott and medicine. In the two circles at the top of the window are the symbols of the Star and the Sun while over the Angel is the Royal Crown. At the bottom of the feet is a Healing Plant. Above the inscription is the crest of the Canadian Medical Association. Written in the dedication panel is: "Erected to William J. Scott, M.D. by Alfreda Lee Jowsey, his wife." In the central light an angel holds the Open Book and the Palm frond, symbolic of the Ministry. In the centre of the top is the Dove representing the Holy Spirit. In the circles at either side of the Dove are the Cross of Redemption and the Triangle of the Trinity. Initials appear in the border for Ephraim Scott and for Divinity. At the bottom is the crest of the Presbyterian Church. Written in the dedication panel is: "God's Glory Ephraim Scott, D.D., daughter-in-law and grand

daughter." This window was commissioned in September 1949 for \$1,450. The description of the panels was provided by Kelsey.

United Churches

Erskine and American United Church, 3407 avenue du Musée.

The World War II memorial window to Squadron Leader George Patterson Christie is located in the second level stairwell landing. The figure in this window represents a pilot for the Royal Air Force. The background depicts the London Blitz and scenes night-fighter squadrons would have seen. Along with the badge of the Royal Air Force is written in the top panel: "Royal Air Force." The dedication panel contains the quote: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." Below is written: "In loving memory of S/L George Patterson Christie D.F.C. - R.A.F. October 1, 1917 - July 5, 1942." The window was commissioned in March 1943 for \$275.

Montreal West United Church, 88 Ballantyne.

Most of the memorial windows on the ground floor level of the sanctuary were done by Kelsey. The window depicting the Young Crusader is a World War II memorial window dedicated to Sergeant Observer Joseph H.C. Roberts. In the dedication panel is written: "To the Glory of God and in honoured memory Sgt. Obs. Joseph H.C. Roberts, killed in action July 16, 1941. Go out into the darkness and put your hand into the hand of God. That shall be to you better than light and safer than the known way." Included in the lower area is the badge of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The window was commissioned in 1941 and dedicated on April 19, 1942.

Two of the clerestory windows are World War II memorials. The window dedicated to Flying Officer Gordon Stanley Kimber depicts the figure of Saint Francis of Assisi. Francis, in his brown robe, occupies the centre of the light while birds of various sizes and colours surround him. In the borders are the various objects invoked by Francis in his famous "Canticle of the Sun," Hymn 29. In the dedication panel is written: "To the Glory of God and in Loving Tribute to F/O Gordon Stanley Kimber, born Jan. 9, 1922 who gave his life for his country at San Marino, Italy, July 8th, 1944." Below the dedication is the crest of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The window was commissioned in January 1946 for \$225.

The other clerestory window is dedicated to Captain H. Stanley Brydges. It depicts the figure of John Calvin. Written in the dedication panel is: "In loving and honoured memory of Capt. H. Stanley Brydges, First Hussars, 1914-1944, Killed

in action at Caen. Thy Will Be Done." This window was commissioned in 1945 for \$200.

St. Andrew's - Dominion Douglas United Church, 687 Roslyn Avenue.

Two windows in the narthex area of this church are World War II memorials. Both depict airmen in front of their planes; they include the McGill crest as well as family coat-of-arms. In the dedication panel of one of the windows is written: "In Loving Memory of Our Only Son Flt. Lieut. Jack Laffoley, R.C.A.F. Killed in flying battle, March 4th, 1945." Included is the badge of The Fighting Tenth Bomber Squadron of the Royal Air Force. This window was commissioned in July 1945 for \$200.

In the dedication panel for the other window is written: "To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of F/O Ross Eveleigh Johnson, age 21 years, erected by his parents and sister, only son of Mr. and Mrs. F.R. Johnson." Included is the badge of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The window was commissioned in July 1945 for \$200.

St. Andrew's United Church, 46 Dupont, Chateauguay.

The three-light World War I memorial window is located at the back of the church nave. The central panel depicts the figure of Saint Andrew; side panels have angel figures. Written above the left panel are the words: "Cast care aside, lean on thy Guide." Above the central panel is written: "Fight the good fight with all they might." Over the right panel is the phrase: "Christ is the path and Christ the prize." Below in the dedication panel is written: "Erected to the glory of God and in memory of William Dunlop Julius Richardson killed in the Great War 1914-18 and in honour of the boys from this church who served overseas in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces." The window was commissioned in April 1929 for \$850.

St. Andrew's United Church, (Collège Moderne) 3730 rue Nérée-Beauchemin, Trois-Rivières.

The window was removed from the old church St. Andrew's Church on Hart Street and placed in the stairwell tower in the new building. The war memorial window for this church was in memory of those who were killed in both World Wars. Depicted in the window is the figure of Christ with arms outstretched. In the top of the window are the badges of the Navy, Army and Air Force. Below are the words: "I am the Resurrection and the Life." Written in the dedication panel is: "1914 - 1918 John B. Adams, J. Fotheringham, S. McGugan. 1939 - 1945 John Finlay, Ernest G. Graham, John McKenzie, Richard H. Parker, J.A. (Sandy) Smith, Stuart McL. Thomson, Matthew Watson, George W. Yeo. In Grateful and Loving Memory of the Fallen in Two World Wars." This window was commissioned in 1949 for \$1,450.

St. James United Church, 463 St. Catherine St. W.

The World War I Memorial window in the transept was dedicated to thirty-one members who were killed overseas and 267 others belonging to the congregation who served in the Great War. The central four-light window depicts a trench scene. The side lights represent allegorical figures of the four cardinal virtues - Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude. Written below the central figures is: "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." The dedication at the bottom on the central window is: "To the memory of those who gave their lives in the cause of Freedom 1914-1918." The window is signed in the lower left corner of the right panel: "Designed and Painted by C.W. Kelsey 1924, The Montreal Art Glass Works." The order for this window was given in December 1923 for \$4,000.

St. Lambert United Church, 85 Desaulniers.

The World War II memorial window is dedicated to Donald Emil Elliot; it is one of the aisle windows. Depicted in this window is Christ washing the feet of his disciples. Written in the dedication panel is: "To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of W/O2 Donald Emil Elliot, Killed in Action, May 12, 1943." The badge of the Royal Canadian Air Force is part of the dedication panel. This window was commissioned in 1956 for \$475.

Westmount Park-Emmanuel United Church, 4695 de Maisonneuve.

Calvary United Church The war memorial windows from Calvary United Church were moved to Westmount Park-Emmanuel when the congregations joined in 1961. Two tablets listed the names of 153 adherents who served in the Great War of which sixteen soldiers were killed. The description of this memorial was given by Phyllis Kelsey from her notes and from the records of the Church. The central light of the five-light World War I memorial window depicted Christ and two other figures. Two of the four side lights had designs of lilies and poppies arranged in the form of crosses, one surmounted by an oil lamp and the other by a crown. The other two side lights included poppies in the form of crosses against a background of early planes flying over Flanders Fields and the cliffs of the English Channel with a battleship in the water. In both of these two side lights were depicted the hastily-marked graves of World War I with helmets placed on top of the butt of the rifles. This memorial was commissioned March 30, 1929 for \$750. and dedicated April 1, 1929.

Also from Calvary United Church is the three-light memorial window to Rev. T.W. Jones. Jones served as Transport Officer in World War I and he was appointed Chaplain of the 11th Hussars Regiment of the Eastern Townships in 1923. During World War II he served with the 1st Division overseas. The panel representing

The Sower commemorates his work with the Montreal Gyro Club and Gyro International; they provided cigarettes to servicemen overseas under the auspices of Gyro International. At the base of this panel appears the Gyroscope and the words "Fraternity of Friendship." The central panel of the figure of Christ includes the quote: "Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden." At the base is a crown and halo and the inscription: "I will give thee a crown of life." The third panel represents Dorcas. In this panel is the quote: "This woman was full of good works and alms deeds which she did." At the base is a lamp and the inscription: "Thy work is a lamp unto my feet." The central and third panels were given by members of the congregation and the women's organizations of the church. When these windows were moved to the Webster Hall of Westmount Park-Emmanuel Church, the top areas and the dedication panels were removed because of space restrictions. The window was commissioned in August 1952 for \$4,000.

Emmanuel Congregational Church Emmanuel Congregational Church joined Westmount Park United in 1948. Four three-light World War II memorial windows were added to the east wall of this church. The first window depicts Christ in a boat with his disciples. Peter answers Christ: "Thou art the Christ." In the top of the lights are the symbols of the Crown, Rose, Cross, Sun and Stars. The inscription for the dedication panel is: "To the Glory of God and in memory of those of Emmanuel Church who served in World War II."

The second window depicts the Crucifixion. The figure of Christ is suspended on a Cross of the Tree of Life, the leaves of which are for the healing of the Nations. He is surrounded by rays of glory with a Crown of Thorns on His head. The three Marys and a Roman Centurion are also represented. In the circles at the top are the symbols of Star, Sun, Moon and Double Triangle, the latter being the symbol of the descent of the Virgin Mary from the House of David. Written above the figure of Christ is: "Our Lord was Crucified." Below in the dedication panel is a continuation of the names: "At the Summit of their glory these departed from us."

The third window has the subject of the Ascension of our Lord. Christ is shown ascending into Glory with rays of Glory and stars. On either side are groups of followers. The circles at the top show the symbols of Crowns, Lily, Rose, and Passion Flower. The inscription is: "And He was Lifted Up." The panel continues the list of names of those who served: "These also risked their lives on our behalf."

The fourth window depicts the Pentecost or the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Rays of glory and tongues of flame come down onto the heads of those assembled. The inscription reads: "The Holy Spirit Came On Them." In the circles at the top are the trefoil of Primrose, Lily, Rose and Passion flower. The panel below continues the names of those who served. In total fifty-two names are listed. These windows were commissioned in April 1951 for \$3,000. The description of

these windows was provided by Kelsey to Westmount Park Church.

Westmount Park United A World War II congregational memorial window was commissioned by Westmount Park United Church and is in the east transept of the church. The subject of the window is The Last Supper of Our Lord. Above the main subject are angels holding up Dossal; each holds one emblem of the Passion foretelling the crucifixion - sponge, nails, cross and crown of thorns. Tracery at the top depicts the Lamb of God with a Chalice and the open Book with the words "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts." Angel spirits of the Redeemed in white robes are included in the tracery areas. In the circles at the tops of the lights are the religious symbols of crowns, rose, fleur-de-lys, stars and triangle. Three inscribed panels list the names of those who made the supreme sacrifice and those who served in the war of 1939 - 1945: "In honour of those who offered their lives for and Made Supreme Sacrifice." Between two figures, the central three panels show symbolic figures holding shields with the insignia of the Navy, Army, Air Force and the Canadian Woman's Army Corp. Written below these figures is: "My peace I give unto you that ye all may be one. St. John's Gospel Chapters 14, 15 and 16." This window was commissioned in January 1948 for \$2,000.

War Memorial Halls

McGill War Memorial Hall, Sir Arthur Currey Gymnasium, 475 Pine.

The war memorial window in the south end of the memorial hall depicts the figure of St. Michael. Within the window are the badges of the Navy, Army and the Air Force. A Book of Remembrance on a marble table below the window lists the names of all the McGill men who fell in the First and Second World wars. This window was commissioned in 1950 for \$1,200.

Six other windows include the coats-of-arms of the regiments in which the McGill students were members. They were commissioned for the west wall of the memorial hall in September 1951 for \$2,000.

War Memorial Room, Canadian Legion, Quebec Command, 1191 Mountain St.

The three-light memorial window was dedicated to those who fought in both World Wars. Three winged figures symbolize the Navy, Army and Air Force. A figure of a Greek sailor standing in a trireme holds the shield with the badge of the Royal Canadian Navy; a figure of a Roman Legionary standing in a flaming chariot holds the shield with the badge of the Canadian Army; and a figure of the god Mercury standing on a revolving propeller holds a shield with the badge of the Air Force. Panels below the figures included representations of a battleship and an Air Force

carrier, an armoured car and coastal defence guns, and an airplane and parachutes. The window was commissioned in January 1949 for \$3,300.

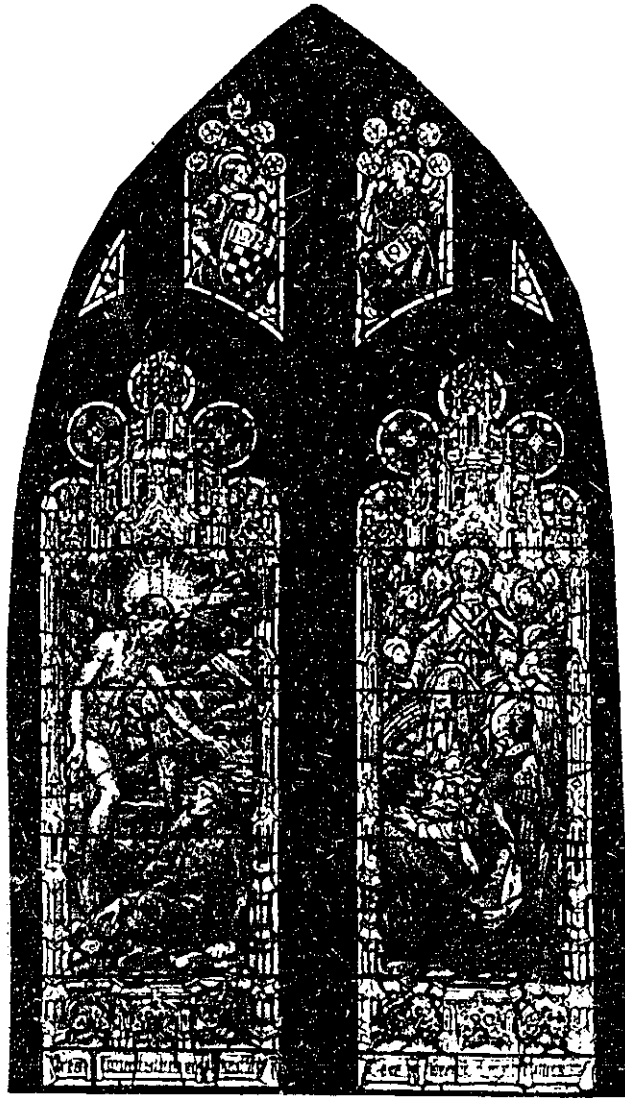


Figure 2: Proposed memorial design number M984.211 (50F).



Figure 3: Proposed memorial design number M984.211 (12B).



Figure 4: Rev. T.W. Jones memorial,
Calvary United Church.



Figure 5: Rev. T.W. Jones memorial, Calvary United Church.



Figure 6: Congregational memorial, St. James United Church.



Figure 7: Congregational memorial,
St. George's Anglican Church.

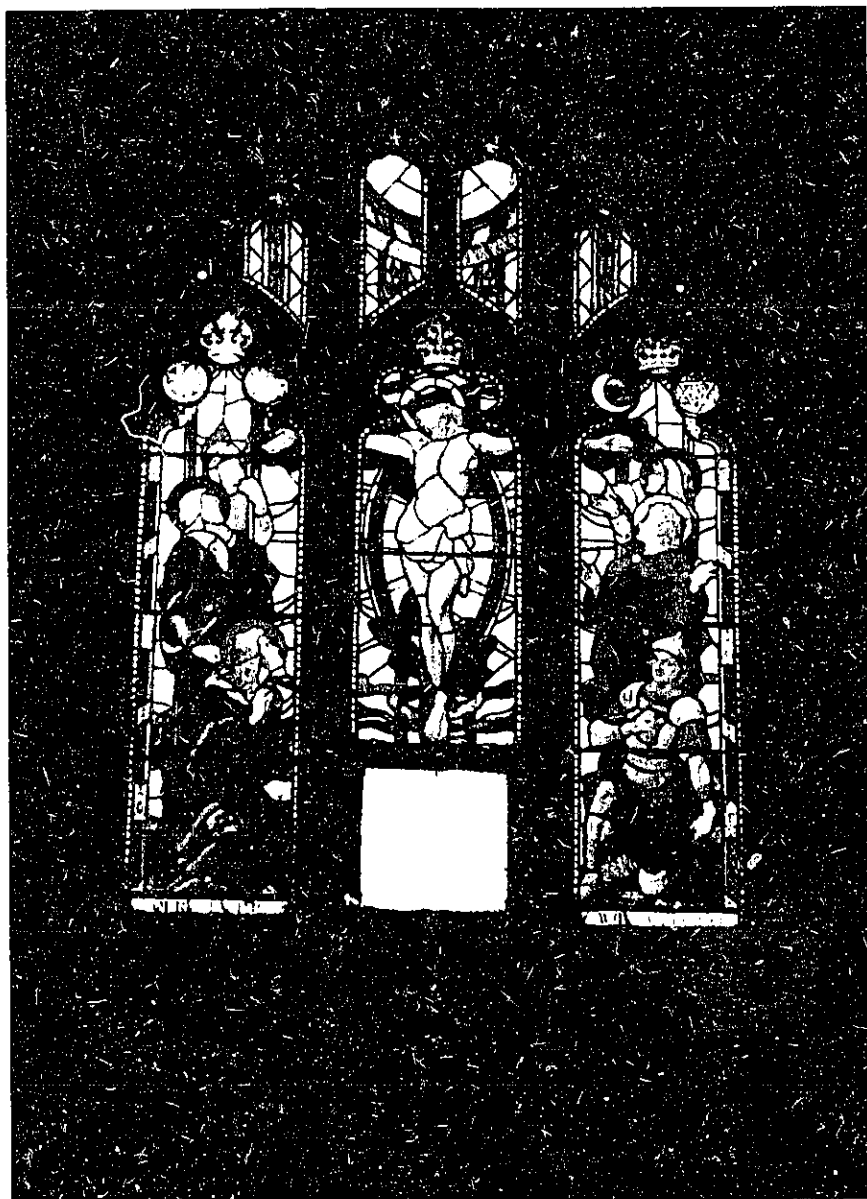


Figure 8: Congregational memorial,
Emmanuel Church.



Figure 9: Detail, Eric Rodger Church memorial,
St. Barnabas Anglican Church.



Figure 10: Detail, Frederick A. Scott memorial,
Ephraim Scott Memorial Presbyterian Church.

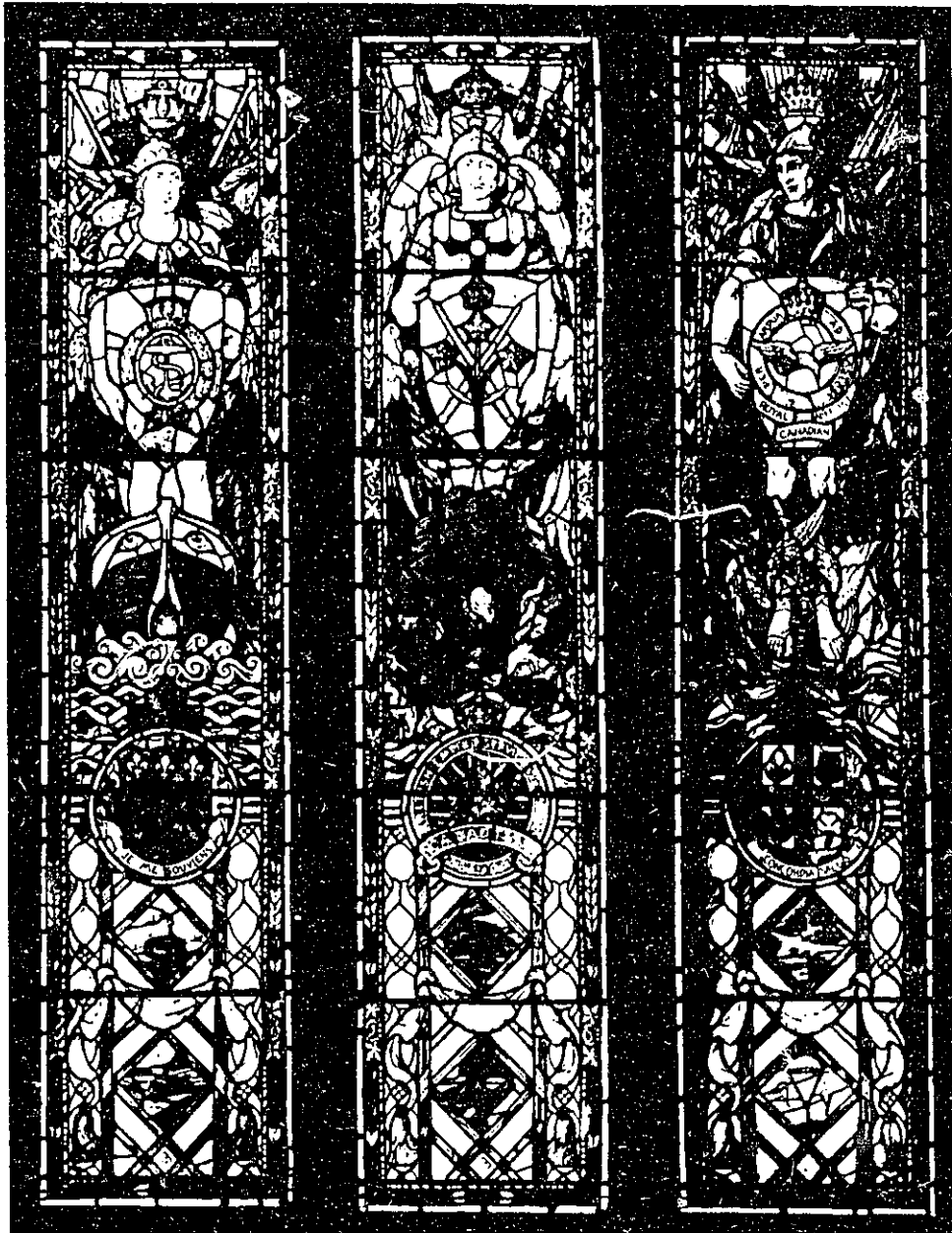


Figure 11: Canadian Legion, Quebec Command memorial.



Figure 12: Detail, H. Stanley Brydges memorial,
Montreal West United Church.

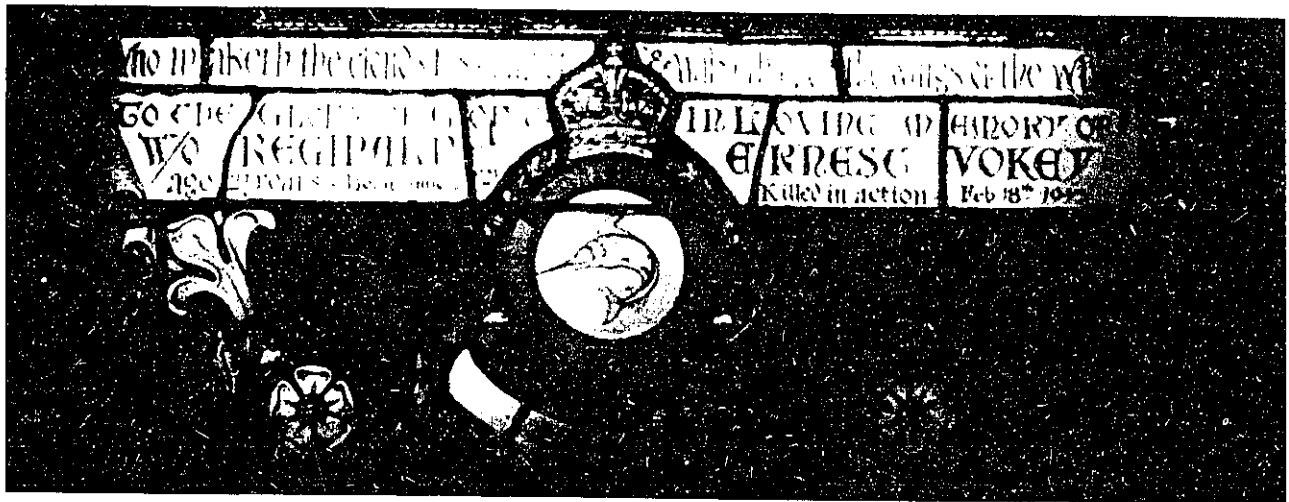


Figure 13: Detail, Reginald Ernest Vokey memorial,
St. Stephen's Anglican Church.



Figure 14: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. Matthew's Anglican Church.

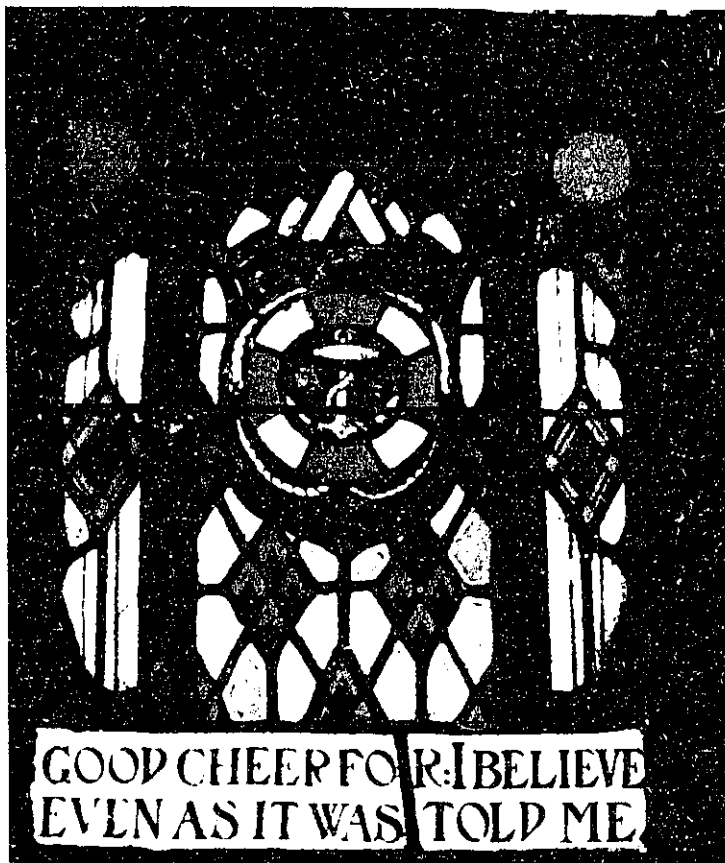


Figure 15: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. Matthew's Anglican Church.



Figure 16: Detail, Rev. T.W. Jones memorial,
Calvary United Church.



Figure 17: Detail, Gordon Stanley Kimber memorial, Montreal West United Church.



Figure 18: Detail, Irish Rangers Regiment memorial,
Loyola Chapel.

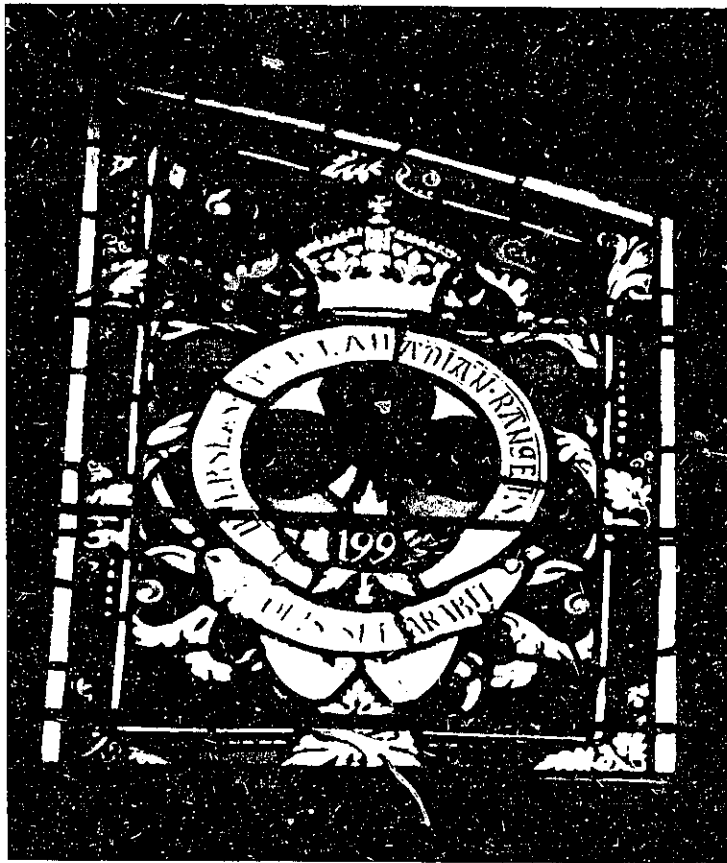


Figure 19: Detail, Irish Rangers Regiment memorial,
Loyola Chapel.



Figure 20: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. James United Church.



Figure 21: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. James United Church.

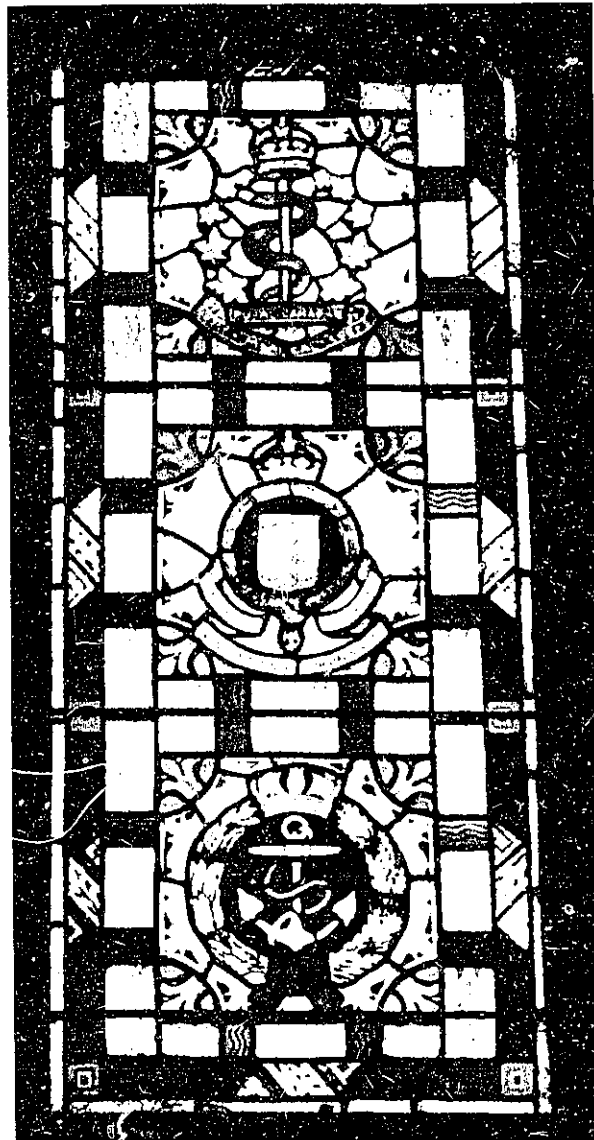


Figure 22: Regimental badge window,
War Memorial Hall, McGill University.

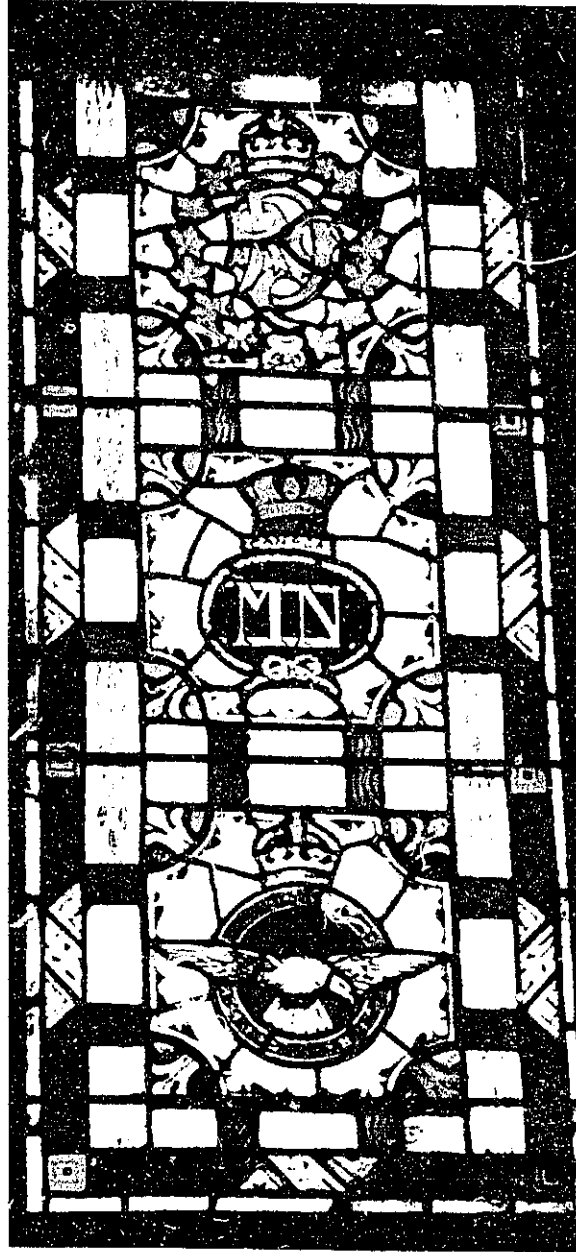


Figure 23: Regimental badge window,
War Memorial Hall, McGill University.



Figure 24: Detail, George Patterson Christie window, Erskine and American United Church.



Figure 25: Detail, George Patterson Christie window,
Erskine and American United Church.

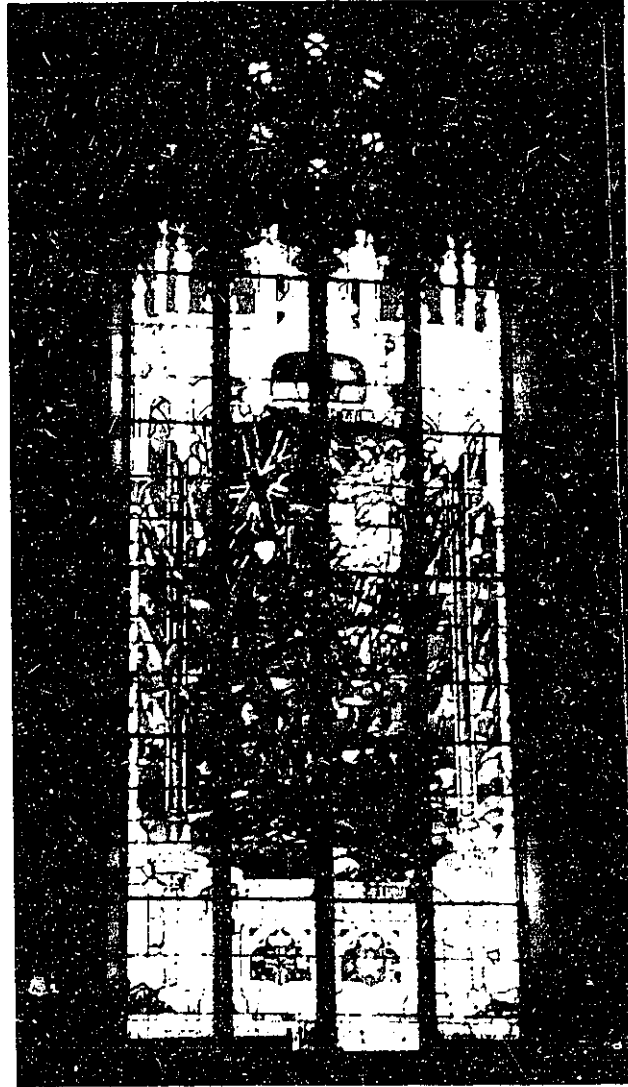


Figure 26: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. James United Church.

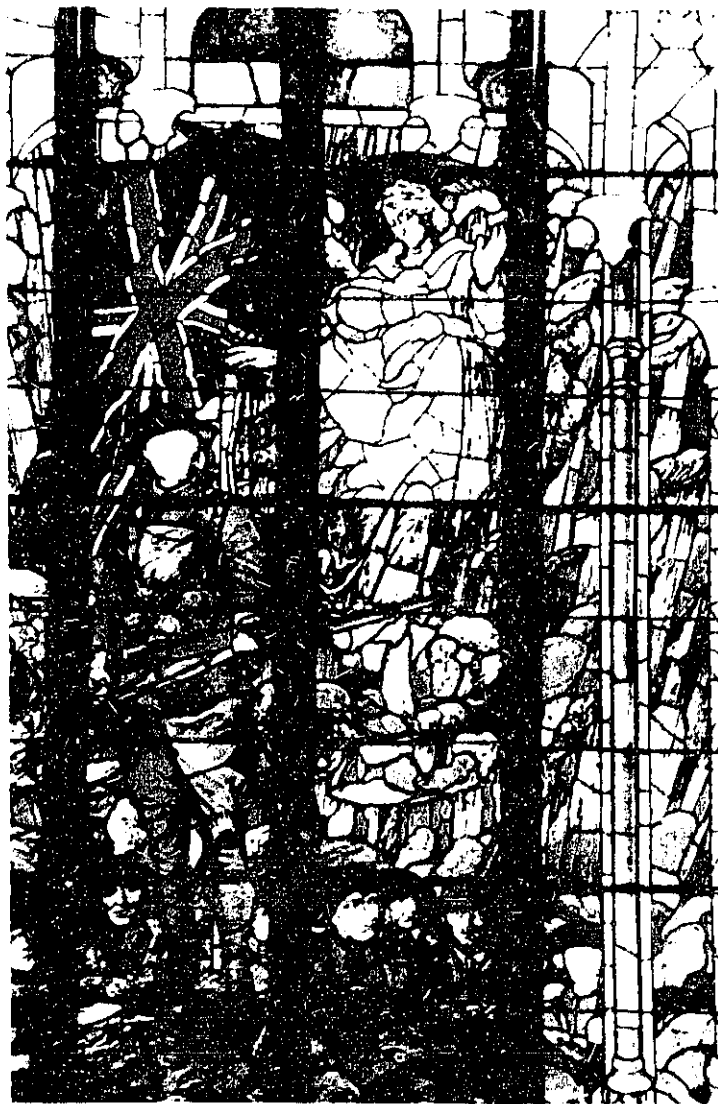


Figure 27: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. James United Church.



Figure 28: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. James United Church.



Figure 29: George Patterson Christie memorial,
Erskine and American Church.



Figure 30: Ross Eveleigh Johnson memorial,
St. Andrew's-Dominion Douglas Church.



Figure 31: Detail, Jack Lafolley memorial,
St. Andrew's-Dominion Douglas Church.



Figure 32: Congregational memorial,
St. Paul's Anglican Church.



Figure 33: William Dunlop Julius Richardson memorial,
St. Andrew's United Church.

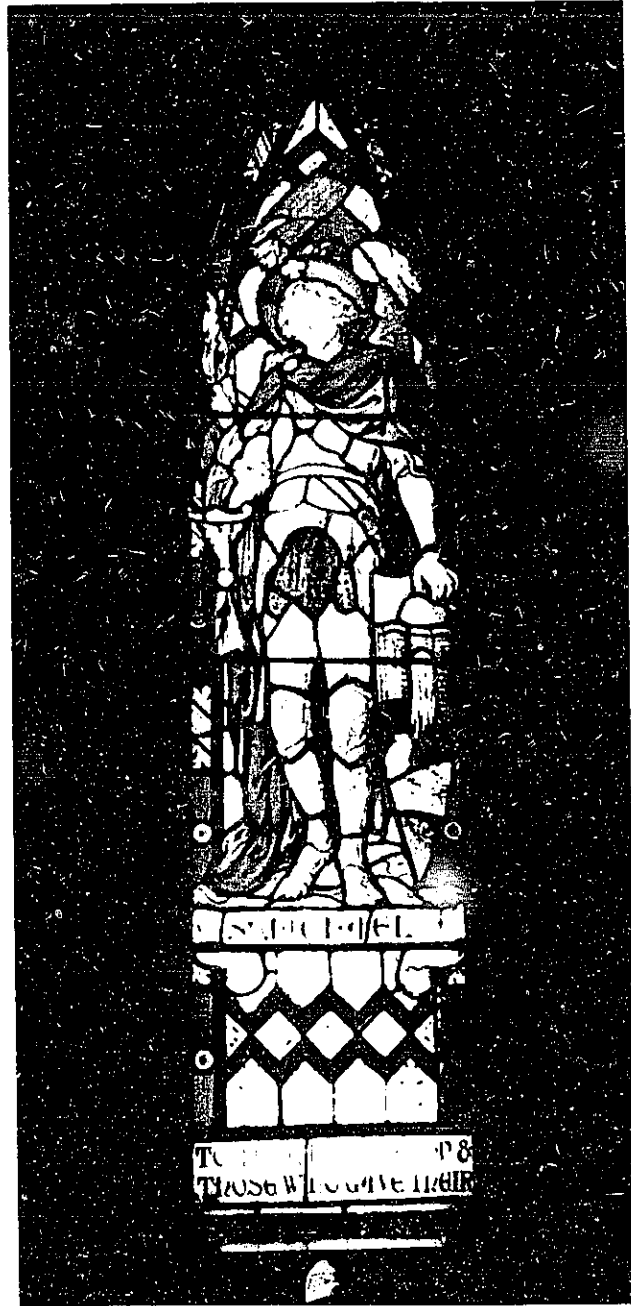


Figure 34: Congregational memorial,
Trinity Anglican Church.



Figure 35: Congregational memorial,
Trinity Anglican Church.



Figure 36: Reginald Ernest Vokey memorial,
St. Stephen's Anglican Church.

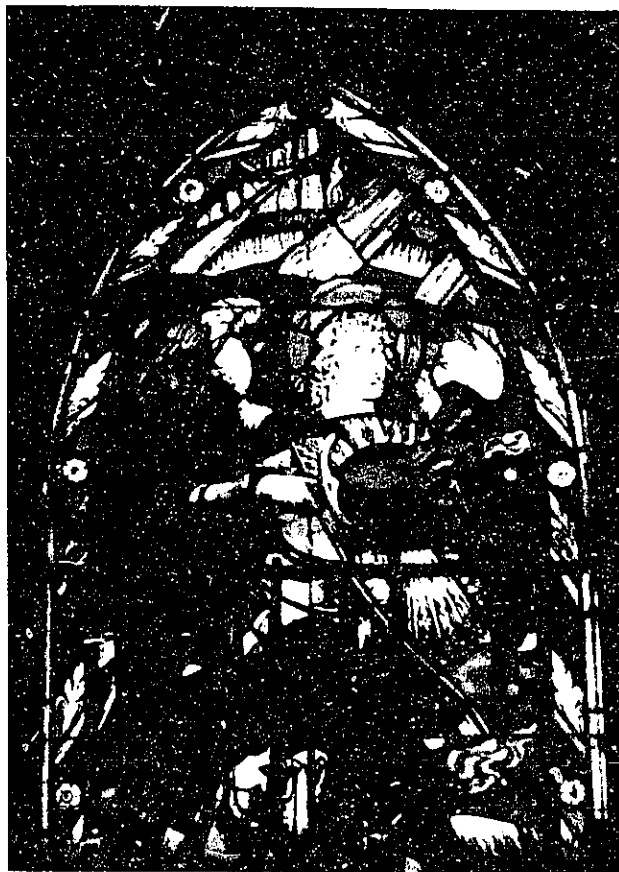


Figure 37: Detail, Reginald Ernest Vokey memorial,
St. Stephen's Anglican Church.



Figure 38: Detail, McGill University memorial,
McGill University.



Figure 39: Joseph H.C. Roberts memorial,
Montreal West United Church.



Figure 40: A. Irving Cooke memorial,
St. Matthew's Anglican Church.



Figure 41: Frederick A. Scott memorial,
Ephraim Scott Presbyterian Church.



Figure 42: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. George's Anglican Church.



Figure 43: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. George's Anglican Church.



Figure 44: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. George's Anglican Church.



Figure 45: Congregational memorial,
St. Barnabas Church, Ottawa.



Figure 46: Congregational memorial,
St. Matthew's Anglican Church.



Figure 47: Congregational memorial,
St. Matthew's Anglican Church.



Figure 48: Williams family memorial,
St. Barnabas Anglican Church, Ottawa.



Figure 49: Donald Emil Elliot memorial,
St. Lambert United Church.



Figure 50: Detail, Donald Emil Elliot memorial, St. Lambert United Church.



Figure 51: Detail, Congregational memorial,
Westmount Park United Church.



Figure 52: Detail, Congregational memorial,
Westmount Park United Church.



Figure 53: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. Andrew's United Church, Trois Rivières.



Figure 54: Detail, Congregational memorial,
St. Andrew's United Church, Trois Rivières.

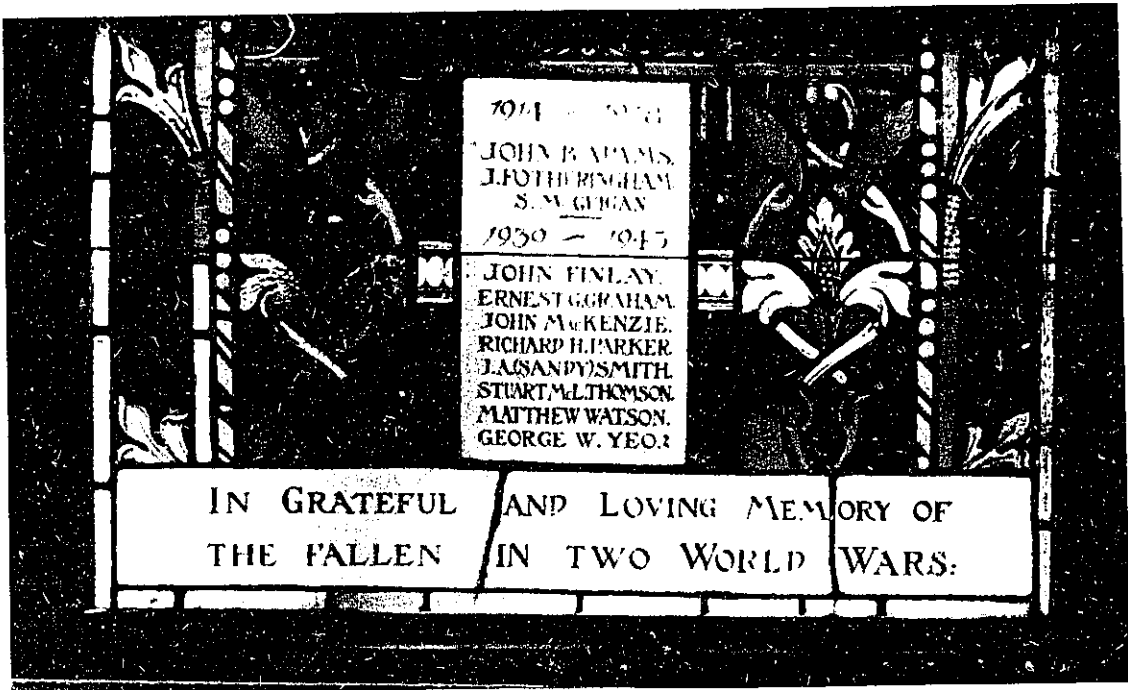


Figure 55: Detail, Congregational memorial, St. Andrew's United Church, Trois Rivières.



Figure 56: E. Derrick Ridge memorial,
St. Matthew's Anglican Church.

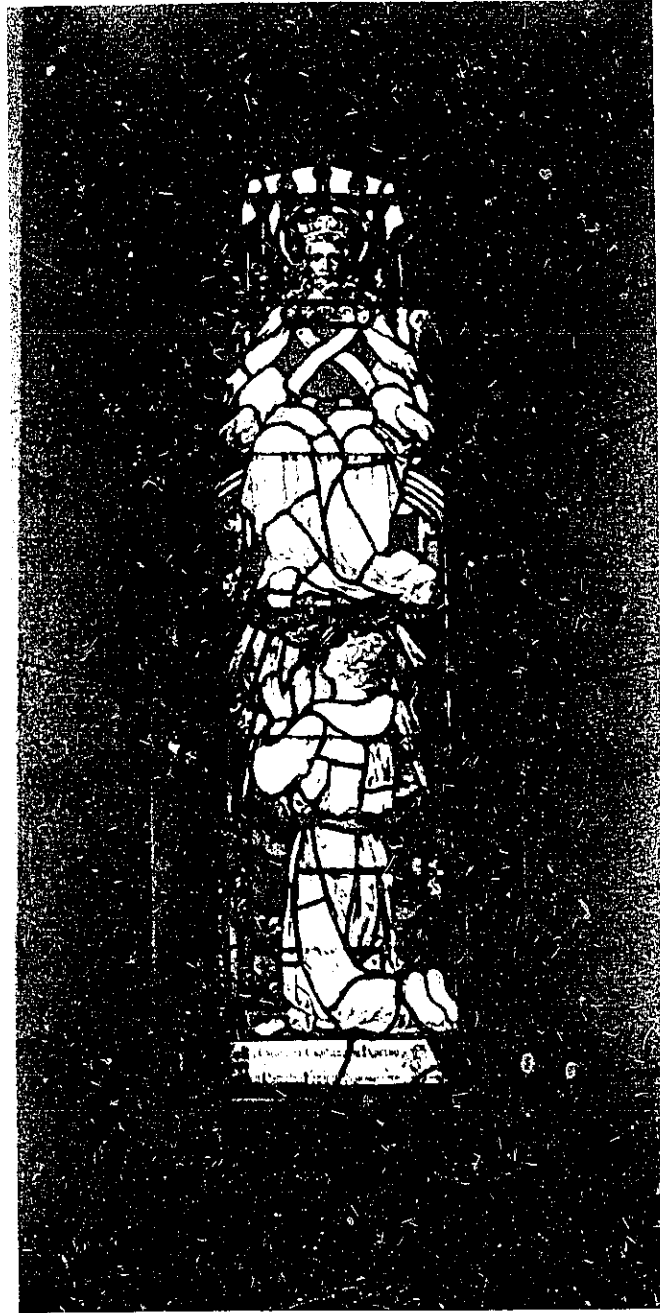


Figure 57: Gordon Hamilton Fowler memorial,
St. Matthias Anglican Church.



Figure 58: Congregational memorial,
St. Aidan's Anglican Church.



Figure 59: Richard Shaw-Wood memorial,
Church of St. Columba.



Figure 60: H. Stanley Brydes memorial,
Montreal West United Church.

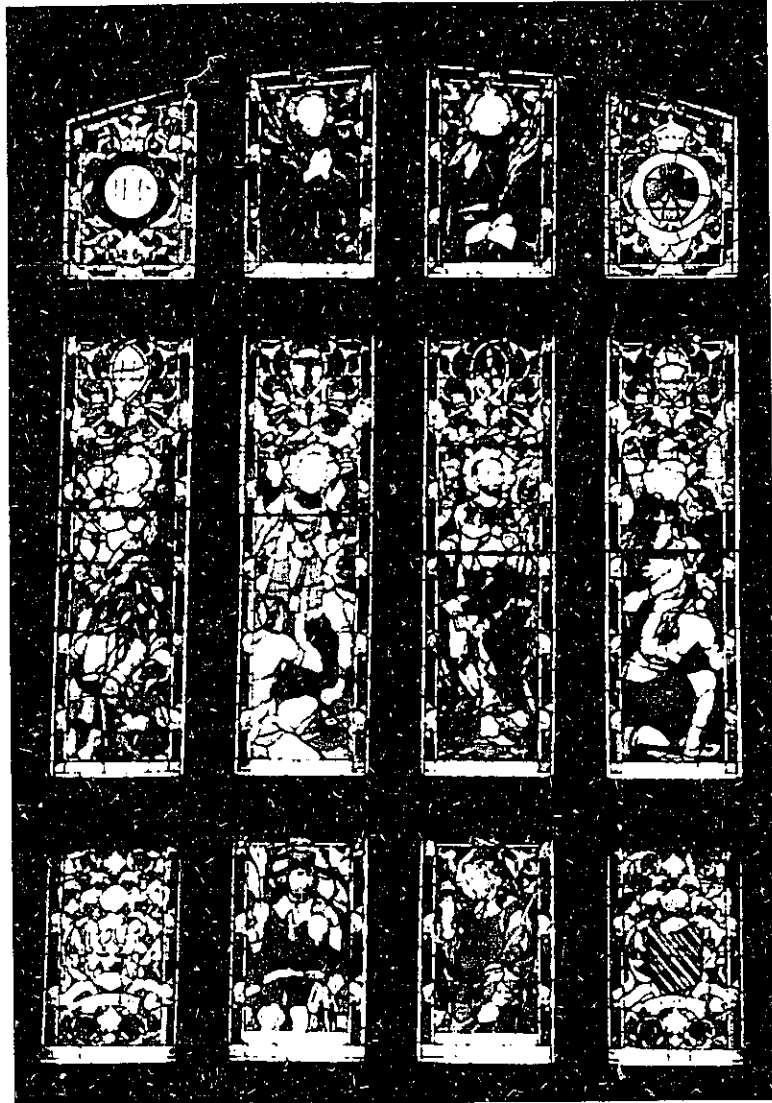


Figure 61: Irish Canadian Rangers Regiment memorial,
Loyola Chapel.



Figure 62: Detail, Irish Canadian Rangers Regiment memorial, Loyola Chapel.



Figure 63: Detail, Irish Canadian Rangers Regiment memorial, Loyola Chapel.



Figure 64: Detail, Irish Canadian Rangers Regiment memorial, Loyola Chapel.



Figure 65: Detail, Canadian Legion,
Quebec Command memorial.

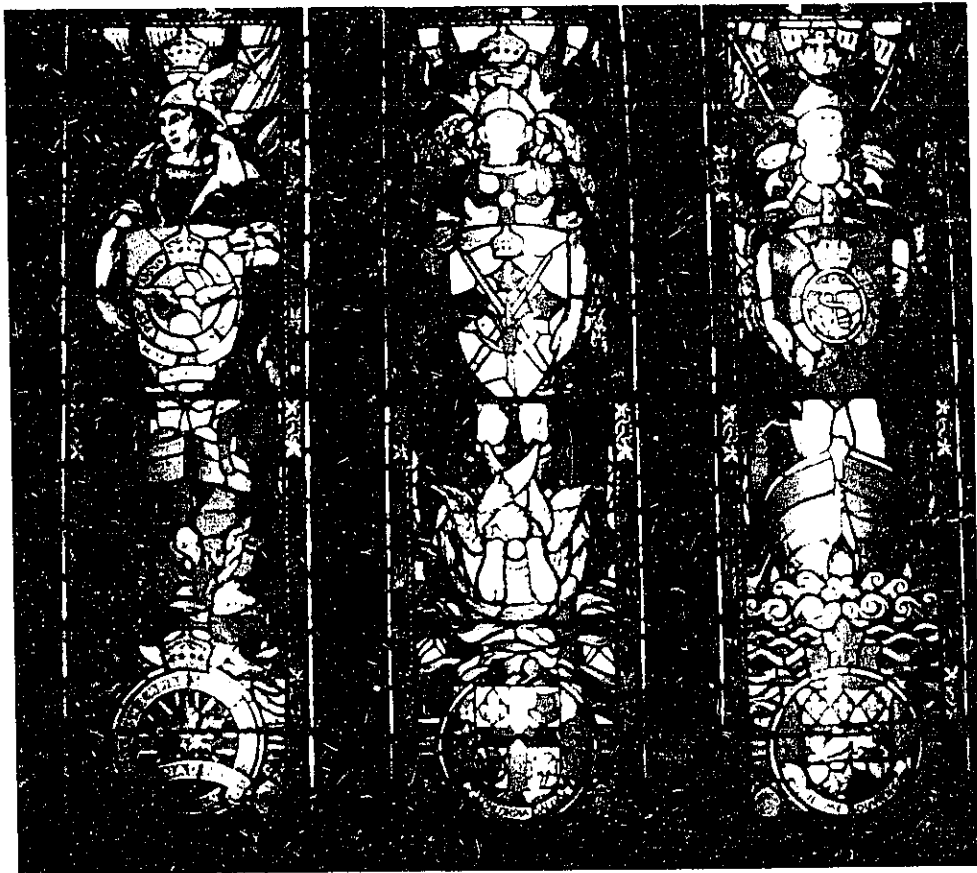


Figure 66: Canadian Legion,
Quebec Command memorial.



Figure 67: McGill University memorial,
War Memorial Hall.