

Patrick Keely and the Protestants

by Ryan K. Smith
rksmith3@vcu.edu

In 1839, an immigrant from the British isles settled in the New York area.¹ He had been trained as a carpenter, but he had architectural aspirations. He was also devout in his Christian faith, attending worship weekly, if not more often.

This combination of talent and inclination spurred an architectural practice which soon boomed. He took up hundreds of commissions for churches, large and small, across the expanding nation. For source material, he turned to the English medieval parish church as his primary model. As a result, he became a leader in the Gothic Revival, adapting Gothic forms to the American scene through the clever use of wood and other materials.

By the time of his death several decades after the Civil War, this man was a recognized leader in the architectural profession. He had helped found the American Institute of Architects and served as its first president for twenty years. His office served as one of the primary training grounds for budding New York architects. His papers ended up in prominent academic libraries. And his published architectural pattern book remains a standard in the field to this day.

Of course by this time, you know that I am not talking about Patrick Keely, whose only biographer fretted over his nearly-forgotten legacy as early as the second generation after his death.

Rather, I am talking about Richard Upjohn, known for Trinity Episcopal Church (1841-1846) on Wall Street and his ubiquitous *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (1852).

But the parallels between the two architects are striking, not only in terms of their backgrounds (Keely arrived in New York City in 1842) but also in their work (Keely advanced the Gothic Revival and had a comparably extensive impact on American church designs).

How can we explain their different fates? And, more interestingly, how did Keely's position as a Catholic architect, building primarily Catholic churches, shape his approach, distinct from the experiences of Upjohn and other Protestant architects? What did he face that Upjohn did not?

The first point to make is that Keely stepped into an unparalleled building boom among American Catholics. Keely's biographer Francis Kervick noted this as well, declaring that Keely: "was presented with the greatest opportunity for building for The Church that has come to an architect."²

As late as 1820, the Catholic Church held just 124 churches east of the Mississippi River. This was less than half the number of humble Quaker meetinghouses! But over the next several

decades, fueled by immigration and westward expansion, America's Catholics began raising thousands of new churches throughout the country.

The material presence of Catholicism in the United States grew at over four times the rate of its nearest rival, the Methodist churches, to number over ten thousand sanctuaries by 1890. It grew nearly eleven times faster than the smaller Episcopal denomination.³

Denomination	Churches in 1820	Churches in 1850	Churches in 1860	Percent Increase 1820-1860	Churches in 1890	Percent Increase 1820-1890
Roman Catholic	124	1,221	2,550	1956	10259	8173
Baptist	2,700	9,375	12,150	350	42528	1475
Congregational	1,100	1,706	2,234	103	4856	341
Episcopal	600	1,459	2,145	258	5101	750
Lutheran	800	1,217	2,128	166		
Methodist	2,700	13,280	19,883	636	50638	1775
Presbyterian	1,700	4,824	6,406	277	26677	1469
Quaker	350	726	726	107	1046	199

This growth spread Catholicism far beyond traditional strongholds like Baltimore and New Orleans, with Catholic parishes entering many American communities for the very first time. In New Jersey, where three Catholic churches dotted the landscape in 1820, twenty more appeared by 1850. There were initially no Catholic church buildings in Ohio, but by 1850, there were 130. And New England's six Catholic churches increased to at least 82, with the Boston area accounting for only about nine of these.

When Patrick Keely's initial patron, Father Sylvester Malone began his pastorate at Sts. Peter and Paul in Brooklyn in 1844, he recalled that there was "only a little mission chapel on First street, near North Eighth" in the area. Forty years later, he observed that "there are at least a dozen of magnificent temples of the denomination, the smallest of which at a single service is filled with more worshipers" than there were Catholics in the area at his start.⁴

By the end of the century, the denomination had become the most populous in the country, and its buildings had recast the religious landscape, with an influence disproportionate even to these impressive numbers.

Still, Catholics remained a minority among the nation's Protestants overall. And these startled observers generally shared two reactions to the growth: hate and admiration.

The former, whipped up by widespread anti-Catholic polemics (associated with such activists as Lyman Beecher, Samuel F. B. Morse, Rebecca Reed, etc.), is easy to follow. For example, in 1831, St. Mary's Catholic Church in New York City was burned by an angry crowd. In 1834, rioters in Charlestown, Massachusetts burned down the impressive Ursuline Convent. Rebecca Reed and Maria Monk then made that building form synonymous with sexual immorality and hideous crimes. In May 1844, nativist rioters in Philadelphia burned St.

Michael's Catholic Church and St. Augustine's Catholic Church, in addition to local seminaries and immigrants' homes. In July, riots again broke out and soldiers were forced to guard the Church of Saint Philip de Neri in the face of cannon shots.

Violence erupted again in the early 1850s. In 1853, a mob of 600 with torches marched on Cincinnati's new cathedral [St. Peter in Chains] intending to set it afire, but they were rebuffed by the police after shots had been fired and several persons wounded. In 1854, a mob in Boston attacked a chapel and dispersed only after the group had wrenched the cross from the top of the steeple and publicly burned it. In 1854, St. Mary's church at Newark, N. J., was invaded by a mob and had its windows and furnishings broken, with one bystander shot and killed. In 1855, mobs in Louisville, Kentucky stormed Catholic neighborhoods and attempted to sack and burn St. Martin of Tours Church and the Cathedral of the Assumption when the mayor finally calmed them by allowing them to search the latter for gunpowder, which they did not find.⁵ Indeed, the situation was so bad that Catholic leaders had occasionally been taking precautions against such attacks by housing arms inside their sanctuaries. And posting armed guards outside to patrol and protect them. In Philadelphia in 1844, rioters had found 87 muskets with ammunition inside the Church of St. Philip de Neri. In a vicious circle, Protestants voiced fears of Catholic subversions of American liberty and democracy, as one Know-Nothing proclaimed in 1854: "In Cincinnati, the battle has commenced. The Roman Catholics have fortified their Churches by planting within them cannon and muskets. And for what? To shoot down American citizens, who are determined, if there be any law and justice in the land, or in the Constitution under which they live, to maintain the respect of their government, at all hazards!"⁶ Ironically, not a few of these churches had received some Protestant contributions toward their construction.⁷

One of Keely's first American commissions, for the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul Church in Brooklyn in 1847, was rumored to be threatened by a mob in 1854.⁸ Surely these were dynamics which Upjohn never had to face, no matter his difficulties with neighbors or clients.

Yet there was also curiosity, even admiration and jealousy, on behalf of the many Protestant visitors to these new Catholic churches. With such controversy, who could resist a look inside?⁹

The tone was set early on by John Adams, who reported upon visiting St. Mary's Catholic Church in Philadelphia in 1774 that: "the Scenery and the Musick" there were so calculated "to take in Mankind that I wonder, the Reformation ever succeeded."¹⁰ Later, a Presbyterian clergyman wrote in 1841, that upon his visit to see the consecration of a Catholic church in Lexington, Kentucky, which he described as an "engine for proselyting" [sic]: "the house was full, and "*Protestant spectators*," composed "at least nineteen twentieths of the audience." That same pastor acknowledged that in Baltimore, "Most strangers who visit Baltimore, are conducted to the Cathedral as one of our principal shows."¹¹

Protestant visitors toured these new churches in their hometowns and in travels. In 1847, a Cincinnati Methodist published the result of his Sunday visit to the local St. Peter in Chains Cathedral. He used such adjectives as "beautiful," "magnificent," "sacred," and "splendid" to describe the atmosphere there. "All the strangers present," he concluded, "and there are many of

them here, sit in mute wonder at the flood of mingled melody and harmony, which comes pouring down upon them from above.”¹²

There are numerous other examples, but I’ll leave off with one appropriate here. In the late 1850s, a young man from Cooperstown, New York entered school at Albany. He explained in a letter home that one Sunday, he attended Keely’s Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, “which is built of Stone and is the largest best furnished and most Costly Church in the city.” He found that “its interior [is] the greatest and most beautiful piece of Architecture of any Church that I have seen in this or any other City.”¹³

For those Protestants who wanted to linger even longer, a brisk trade in guidebooks to Catholic worship and beliefs circulated, such as John Dowling’s *The History of Romanism: From the Earliest Corruptions of Christianity to the Present Time... Illustrated By Numerous Accurate and Highly Finished Engravings of its Ceremonies, Superstitions, Persecutions, and Historical Incidents*, which reached an eleventh edition by 1846 and Samuel W. Barnum’s *Romanism As It Is: An Exposition of the Roman Catholic System, For the Use of the American People*.¹⁴

So Keely’s Catholic designs faced a daunting balancing act: they would be greeted with an unusual amount of attention from their Protestant neighbors, with some hostile, some rapturous, and most both.

Keely pointed to these difficult dynamics in an 1880 letter that survives from him to one of his clients, Mother Xavier of the Sisters of Charity. Her order was embroiled in a legal dispute over property, but he warned her not to pursue arbitration, not law, for “I have never known any Church or religious corporation in this country, to gain a law suit. The case is tried generally before a Freemason Judge and Jury, and I need not tell you the verdict.”¹⁵ Indeed his church designs were being figuratively tried before a “Freemason Judge and Jury.”

His response to these challenges was essentially cautious. He built pleasing designs in the latest Gothic Revival and Romanesque fashions. Though these carried subtle suggestions of Catholic origins, his work centered on refined craftsmanship within the constraints of modest building budgets.

Keely’s designs for Catholic religious life could stand shoulder to shoulder alongside Protestant churches (which were themselves undergoing a transformation toward the Catholic model of sacred space). Perhaps that is where we get the lament by some modern architectural historians, and the quiet praise by nineteenth-century Protestants, that Keely’s work was not particularly distinctive. For example, the *American Architect and Building News* concluded of Keely’s work in 1896: “Of course, with such an enormous press of work, no architect could devote much time to studying refinement of design, but his work was always skilful and clever, and often very interesting.”¹⁶

Yet at appropriate moments, where location and budget allowed, he, like Archbishop John Hughes, forwarded designs that he knew would signal permanence, as at Albany, Boston, and what might have been at Brooklyn, New York, in the latter’s unfinished Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception.

Both of these messages – of pleasing, conservative taste and, occasionally, of monumental permanence – were as important for Catholics as they were for his Protestant critics. For at the time, this denomination was also dealing with: ethnic parishes divided by language, rogue priests, unruly church trustees, and regional differences. A beautiful medieval style could help gloss these differences while subtly affirming the Irish ascent.¹⁷ In other words, Keely's church designs worked differently from those of Upjohn, etc. Where Upjohn could appear boldly inventive, Keely's six hundred churches could appear steady and calming.

Keely also remained open to Protestant commissions. Contrast this with Upjohn, who famously declined a Unitarian church commission because of its disavowal of the Trinity; or of A. W. Pugin, who invited controversy by contrasting Catholicism with the supposed degradation of the modern world following the Reformation.

For example, Keely designed at least two full churches for Protestant congregations. The first I have found was Asylum Hill Congregational Church, finished in 1865 in Hartford, Connecticut.

Only a dozen years earlier, this denomination's architectural guidebook had used bitter language in describing Catholic art. In one church design, the authors featured a symbolic cross; they argued for the symbol's inclusion by stating: "the fear or the dislike of Popery which forbids the use of this hallowed and most significant symbol in such a position, is a fear or a dislike, in our judgment, both unenlightened and harmful." In short, the book concluded that "There is no good reason why every little chapel of the Mother of Harlots," that is, the Catholic Church, "should be allowed to use what appeals so forcibly and so favorably to the simplest understanding, and we be forbidden the manifest advantage which its use would often give us."¹⁸

The story at Asylum Hill was different, however. In the 1860s, it was a new congregation of prosperous residents, which grew out of a neighborhood Bible class organized by professor Calvin E. Stowe, husband of Harriet. In 1864, during the depths of war, a building committee was appointed, and it purchased a wide, undeveloped lot west of town. It thereupon chose Keely to handle the design.

Why? Note that this commission predated his involvement with that city's cathedral by ten years. Providing the designs seems to have been his primary role, as the church's historians find that "the architect's supervision did not extend to the final details in the original treatment of the interior."¹⁹

Construction cost the enormous sum of \$116,208, and the building was dedicated by Horace Bushnell in 1866.²⁰ Taking a cue from the English Gothic, it featured rustic Portland brownstone, a central tower, and a vaulted nave with a modest clerestory above a central aisle and two flanking aisles. It was 184 feet long and originally included 186 pews to seat over 900 people. Oriented North/South, it featured an apse at its head with a central pulpit, with no altar. Its interior boasted "colored" glass and a parlor organ in the northeast corner (to be replaced by a Hook and Hastings organ in the apse by 1871).

At its opening, it received favorable press. The local *Daily Courant* wrote that: “The audience room [chancel] of the Asylum Hill church is very pleasant and in all respects beautifully arranged. It is exceedingly neat and modest. The windows are the only flashy adornments which strike the eye, being of colored glass, and there is nothing out of taste in them.” The editor also approved the woodwork throughout and noted that there were no side galleries to obstruct the clerestory.

The church would be led by the liberal Rev. Joseph Hopkins Twichell, who had recently befriended a Jesuit chaplain during the Civil War. Later, when Twichell died in 1918, the local *Catholic Transcript* paid him tribute, stating “It is our conviction that the presence and example of Dr. Twichell had much to do with the killing off of whatever anti-Catholic sentiment existed in Hartford in former days.”²¹

Mark Twain soon moved into the neighborhood, befriended Twichell, and rented a pew. He delighted in calling it the “stump-tail-church,” and the “Church of the Holy Speculators.” But it is clear that the congregation was happy with its choice, beyond some minor complaints about its acoustics, and has kept it lovingly.

Scholar Cornelia Brooke Gilder has observed that Keely’s design for Asylum Hill Congregational Church followed a similar line to that employed by him for St. Joseph’s Catholic Church in Albany (1860), though I believe the interior plans were different from one another.²²

Keely designed another Protestant church at the same time as Asylum Hill: the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer in Brooklyn. It is easier to understand how this local congregation chose to turn to its emerging local architect. In the early 1860s, when it outgrew its previous chapel, the congregation commissioned Keely for a new structure at Pacific Street and Fourth Avenue. This ambitious new church opened in 1866. For it, Keely also adopted the English Gothic mode to create a multi-hued stone structure with sandstone trimming. He articulated a chancel in the church’s cruciform plan, with recesses for an organ and choirs. The altar and font were carved of Caen stone, and the whole edifice cost \$30,000.²³

Edward Jessup was the rector at the time, and the parish’s report to the diocese that year noted that: “It is hoped that a new era has dawned upon this long-struggling parish, and that the patient self-denial which has hitherto sustained it amid many disadvantages, may be rewarded by a speedy increase of its prosperity.”²⁴ This may have proved true for a while, but this church is currently threatened with demolition.

The Protestant press generally had favorable things to say about Keely, when it took notice of him. In 1861, the *New York Times* praised St. Anne’s Catholic Church in Brooklyn, from the hand of Keely, as “a most elegant, costly and tasteful structure, in every respect creditable to the taste of the architect.”²⁵

This cautious praise became especially apparent at Keely’s death. In the *Brooklyn Eagle*’s obituary for Keely in 1896, his local paper demonstrated a well-earned pride in the architect. The *Eagle* noted that: “he was called on not only by representatives of his own faith to prepare plans for many new churches established throughout the East and West, but he was

sought by other denominations who had seen evidences of his skill and who felt that the young architect was the man best fitted to carry out their views.”²⁶

A month later, after his memorial mass, the *Eagle* offered another laudatory profile of Keely, in which it praised his skill, his character, his intellect, and his spirituality. “Mr. Keely was a man of genius in a great art,” it stated. His was a nature “in which the spiritual element predominated and its influence was far reaching and uplifting. By the death of Mr. Keely Brooklyn has lost one of her foremost citizens and one whose memory deserves to be long and tenderly cherished.”²⁷

Alongside this Protestant praise, achieved even then at no easy time, I conclude with the words of his initial patron and lifelong friend, Sylvester Malone, at Keely’s memorial mass held at the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Brooklyn. ²⁸

Father Malone began by looking around at his church, designed by Keely forty years earlier. “It is seemly and becoming,” he said, “that his memory shall be hallowed at the shrine he first built at a time when he was not known and when the Catholic religion needed one to give it a status in a growing community very little in sympathy with her efforts to plant herself in this new soil of America.”

Father Malone recalled that for this new parish, he had initially “settled on a spot where no Catholic in those days dared to safely build himself a dwelling.” But after discussing the matter with Keely, Father Malone felt confident that the experiment would work. “Remember,” he told his largely Catholic audience, “it was the first gothic church built in those days in these parts.... The church was not yet roofed when people were coming from far and near to see the new revelation in beautiful church architecture.” Probably a good number were curious Protestants. And indeed it did work.

In the end, Father Malone concluded that among Keely’s lasting legacies was that: “the effect of the beautiful gothic style on the prejudiced mind of New England within the half century must have softened opposition and won many to the doctrine at least of fair play to Catholics.”

That success, of a kind with ramifications for all Americans, makes Keely’s churches an obligation for us all to work to save and appreciate. Richard Upjohn may have achieved lasting professional recognition for a body of creative work, but Keely may have achieved something even more.

¹ Richard Upjohn originally settled in New Bedford, Mass. in 1828, before relocating to Boston and then NYC.

² Francis V. Kervick, *Patrick Charles Keely, Architect: A Record of his Life and Work* (South Bend, IN: Private print, 1953).

³ For the table’s data and that in the following paragraphs, see Ryan K. Smith, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 2006); Ryan K. Smith, "Architecture: Roman Catholic," entry in *Encyclopedia of Religion in America*, edited by Charles Lippy and Peter Williams, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010), 1: 194-202; Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 43, 103-11, 176; *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service, for the Year of Our Lord MDCCCXXII* (1822); *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory, for the Year of our Lord 1853* (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1852); and Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith*, 137-46; and the seventh and eighth censuses of the United States, 1850 and 1860, published online by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>.

In terms of sheer numbers, Catholic churches still lagged behind the Methodist and Baptist denominations as late as 1860. But given the almost complete absence of Catholic churches in eastern Anglo-America prior to 1820, with the dramatic surge in construction after that date and the amount of controversy surrounding these buildings, Roman Catholic churches exerted a disproportionate influence on American religious architecture.

⁴ "Celebrating the Fortieth Anniversary of Rev. Sylvester Malone's Pastorate," *Brooklyn Eagle* (June 30, 1884).

⁵ For information on the above, see Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade: 1800-1860* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938) and Clyde F. Crews, *Presence and Possibility: Louisville Catholicism and its Cathedral: An Historical Sketch of the Louisville Catholic Experience as Seen Through the Cathedral of the Assumption* (Louisville, KY: [n.p.] 1973). John Gilmary Shea found that "In New England, where the people had had a taste of rioting, mob attacks on Catholic churches became so frequent that many congregations posted regular armed guards to patrol and protect their property, and insurance companies refused to place a policy upon Catholic buildings which were not constructed of noninflammable materials," p. 89. See John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church Within the Limits of the United States, From the First Attempted Colonization to the Present Time* (New York: J. G. Shea, 1886-92), 3:488; and William Byrne, William Leahy, et al., *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (Boston: Hurd & Everts Co., 1899), 1:63. Other attacks were reported on St. Anne's Church, Manchester New Hampshire; Bath, Maine; Dorchester, Massachusetts; Sidney, Ohio; the Ursuline convent at Galveston, Texas; Lawrence and Chelsea, Massachusetts; St. Mary's church at Norwalk, Connecticut; St. Mary's Church at Saugerties, N. Y.; and Palmyra, N. Y.

⁶ L. W. Granger, *Wide-awake! Romanism: its aims and tendencies; The sentiments of a "Know-nothing"* (Detroit: Published by the proprietor, 1854), 15.

⁷ We see in the career of A. W. N. Pugin how easily partisan Catholics could be embraced by Protestant artists, as Pugin's work had a tremendous influence on Upjohn and the other Episcopal ecclesiologists.

⁸ Sylvester Malone, ed., *Memorial of the Golden Jubilee of the Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: n.p., 1895), 55.

⁹ John Davis offers an excellent view of this dynamic in "Catholic Envy: The Visual Culture of Protestant Desire," on *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, edited by David Morgan and Sally Promey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 105-28.

¹⁰ Letter from John Adams to Abigail Adams, 9 October 1774 [electronic edition] and Sunday 9 October 1774, Diary 22, John Adams diary, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹¹ Robert J. Breckinridge, *Papism in the XIX. Century, in the United States: Being, Select Contributions to the Papal Controversy, During 1835-40* (Baltimore: D. Owen, 1841), 175-81.

¹² [Benjamin F.] Tefft, "A Day with the Catholics," *The Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical, Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion* 7 (September 1847): 281-83.

¹³ Lewis Coon, quoted in Kevin F. Decker, “Grand and Godly Proportions: Roman Catholic Cathedral Churches of the Northeast, 1840-1900,” Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 2000, 64.

¹⁴ John Dowling, *The History of Romanism: From the Earliest Corruptions of Christianity to the Present Time... Illustrated By Numerous Accurate and Highly Finished Engravings of its Ceremonies, Superstitions, Persecutions, and Historical Incidents* (New York: Edward Walker, 1846); Samuel W. Barnum, *Romanism As It Is: An Exposition of the Roman Catholic System, For the Use of the American People* (Hartford: Connecticut Publishing Co., 1871).

¹⁵ Quoted in Kervick, *Patrick Charles Keely, Architect*.

¹⁶ *American Architect and Building News* (August 22, 1896).

¹⁷ See, for example, Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeship* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987).

¹⁸ *Congregational Churches in the United States. A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*. (New York: D. Burgess, 1853), 3, 5, 11, 37-39.

¹⁹ Lillian M. Mansfield, *The History of Asylum Hill Congregational Church, Hartford, Connecticut* (1965), 6. Keely was paid \$630, or .5% of total cost. Mansfield found that “here the architect has been creative, not simply imitative. Keely pursues this imitative course in his details in the nave such as the corkscrew corbels or stiff-leaf foliage of the capitals.” Quote on p. 131.

²⁰ The *Hartford Daily Courant* (April 1865) reported “27 masons, 12 stone-cutters and 32 laborers are now at work upon the church.” Its tower rises 226 feet; the steeple above the bell tower was added in 1875 and “was not constructed according to Keely’s original plan, which called for a shorter one-story steeple with single-arch gabled windows at the main sides and small turrets at the four corners. The steeple is not situated at the crossing of a transept... but rather is located on the south at the narthex.” Mansfield, *The History of Asylum Hill Congregational Church*, 124. See also Daniel Sterner, *A Guide to Historic Hartford, Connecticut* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2012), 136; James Hammond Trumbull, *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut* (Boston: Edward L. Osgood, 1886).

Mansfield also relays the story that “Howard Goodwin, a former deacon, told the present writer an ecumenical story about the blessing of the Hill Church by a Roman Catholic priest. He had heard this from his roommate at Yale, Mr. Twichell’s son, Joseph Hooker Twichell. In 1866 the elder Twichell was showing the half-built Hill Church to a priest (probably Father O’Hagan who sometimes came to call on his former fellow chaplain). The priest remarked that, if this were a Roman Catholic Church, it would be blessed at this stage of its building. Thereupon Mr. Twichell asked him if wouldn’t bless this church. He gladly complied,” See p. 39.

²¹ Mansfield, *The History of Asylum Hill Congregational Church*, 39-40.

²² Cornelia Brooke Gilder, entry for Patrick C. Keely in Diana S. Waite, *Architects in Albany* (Albany, N.Y.: Mount Ida Press, 2009), 12-3.

²³ See Henry Reed Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: n.p., 1870), 3:683 and <http://www.nycago.org/Organs/Bkln/html/RedeemerEpis.html>.

²⁴ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eighty-Third Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York* (1866), p. 187. Kervick states that Keely designed a Protestant church in Hartford, Connecticut for “Doctor Leonard,” but I cannot find any record of that. William Leonard took over the Church of the Redeemer in

the 1870s, to later become Episcopal bishop of Ohio. See Louis E. Daniels, *William Andrew Leonard: A Beloved Prelate of the Old School* (Artcraft Printing Company for the Diocese of Ohio, 1930), 37.

The *Brooklyn Eagle* also notes that Keely “completed the spire of the [Episcopal] church of the Holy Trinity at Clinton and Montague streets” in 1867.

²⁵ *New York Times* (September 9, 1861). On May 20, 1894, the *New York Times* praised Keely’s Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist as “without equal in magnificence in this part of the country.” Upon Keely’s death, the *New York Times* also provided a bland obituary for him on August 13, 1896.

²⁶ “Was Known the World Over,” *Brooklyn Eagle* (August 12, 1896). The paper noted that “among his achievements were a number of cathedrals and several Protestant houses of worship.”

²⁷ *Brooklyn Eagle* (September 13, 1896).

²⁸ “Honor Mr. Keely’s Memory,” *Brooklyn Eagle* (September 11, 1896).