

“CORRECT” STYLE” Recommendations on Church Architecture, Furnishings, and Worship in the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 1849-1850

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ANGLICAN CHURCHES IN CANADA WEST IN THE 1840S

During his first decade as bishop of Toronto from 1839-1849, the Right Reverend John Strachan witnessed the building of many wooden, brick, and stone Anglican churches throughout his extensive diocese, which included all of what would become the province of Ontario. Often, he travelled to different parts of Upper Canada and Canada West to lay the cornerstones of new churches, especially for those impressive structures built of stone or brick. Either Bishop Strachan or one of his archdeacons—the Venerable George Okill Stuart of Kingston (from 1827 onward, first under the bishop of Quebec and then under the bishop of Toronto) or the Venerable Alexander Neil Bethune (from 1847 onward)—returned to consecrate these buildings after the congregations had paid the debts incurred during their construction.¹

A growing number of new Anglican churches were designed by architects who had received their training in Great Britain (especially England) or who had worked their way up from builder to designer and builder. During the 1840s, Anglicans in British North America, much like their English counterparts, increasingly fashioned their new churches in historically based Gothic Revival styles and built them from stone or brick. On May 24, 1846, Bishop Strachan replied to a letter from the young Scottish architect William Hay, before the latter took up his position of clerk-of-the-works for the construction of the Anglican cathedral



FIG. 1. BARRIEFIELD, ST. MARK'S ANGLICAN (1843) FROM THE NORTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.



FIG. 2. FREDERICTON, ST. ANNE'S ANGLICAN (1846-1847). | COFFMAN, *NEWFOUNDLAND GOTHIC*, P. 56, FIG. 3.2.



FIG. 3. BARTON, ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN (1852). ANONYMOUS PAINTING NOW IN THE HALL OF ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, GLANFORD. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2012.

of St. John in St. John's, Newfoundland, noting that several architects "of fair professional ability" then resided in Toronto.² Bishop Strachan had witnessed the worship in those churches change from something very basic—a spoken liturgy and sermon—to celebrations with choirs and congregational singing.³ In early 1849, the high level of singing at two Anglican churches received the praise of an English visitor to British North America and an anonymous promoter of singing the liturgy.⁴

However, the debates that marked the shift from classical to Gothic Revival church design and the shift from a spoken to a chanted choral liturgy in Britain and her colonies left little record in the pages of *The Church*, the official publication of the Diocese of Toronto, until near the end of the 1840s. Although churchmen had some knowledge of the changes in worship and church architecture taking place in England, neither the bishop, the Church Society (which often subsidized the building of new churches), nor the editors of *The Church* saw fit to discuss or draw up recommendations on the style of worship before the reprinting of an article on "St. Mark's College" in January 1849. In February that same year,

a published letter by a writer identified as "A.B." praised the first three issues of *The New York Ecclesiologist* and put forward an interpretation of "correct" church architecture and furnishings.⁵

The great debate over the "correct" style of Christian ecclesiastical buildings had commenced in England with the publication of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's *Contrasts*, in 1836, and the foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, in 1839.⁶ It gained further momentum with the publication of a second edition of Pugin's *Contrasts* and his *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841).⁷ The Cambridge Camden Society published the first issue of *The Ecclesiologist* and a number of inexpensive guides in 1841, and a host of publications followed in the subsequent years.⁸ Pugin and the *Ecclesiologists* not only attacked classically derived designs for churches, they also disparaged Gothic Revival designs that did not follow their interpretations of the "correct" understanding of the legacy of the Middle Ages.

By the early 1840s, some of the ideas of Pugin and the *Ecclesiologists* began to

make an impact on details of Anglican church design in Canada West and other parts of British North America. Alfred Brunel, a recent immigrant from England, had a grasp of the historically based Gothic Revival designs supported by the Church Building Commission in England and showed some understanding of Pugin in his design for St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield (1843-1844) (fig. 1).⁹ However, the full impact of a more archeologically "correct" style of Gothic Revival only became manifest in British North America with the building of St. Anne's Chapel in Fredericton, New Brunswick (1846-1847) (fig. 2). Commissioned by the Right Reverend John Medley, bishop of Fredericton, it was designed by the English architect Frank Wills, in consultation with Bishop Medley.¹⁰

Bishop Medley was founder of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society and Wills got his start as a "draughtsman" in the architectural office of John Hayward in Exeter. Both had considerable knowledge and understanding of the Gothic cathedrals and parish churches of England. While still in England, Reverend Medley had published *Elementary Remarks on Church*

Architecture and had designed the Chapel at Oldridge, Devonshire, just outside of Exeter, in 1841-1843.¹¹ After his start in New Brunswick, Wills moved his practice to New York City, became one of the founders and the official architect of the New Ecclesiological Society, and published a book on Gothic Revival churches: *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*.¹² By the late 1840s, the ideas associated with Pugin and the Ecclesiologicals on church architecture and furnishing had also started to gain acceptance among the Anglican clergy of both Canada West and Canada East.

REFLECTIONS ON “THE PROPER BUILDING OF CHURCHES” IN 1849

In his letter in *The Church* in 1849, A.B. weighed in firmly on one side of the debate by arguing that “in this Province we have got every thing to learn in regard to the proper building of Churches. From the Cathedral [the classical St. James’, rebuilt in that style after a fire in 1839] downwards, so far as my knowledge goes, we have not a single Church edifice that is constructed, either externally or internally on true and correct principles.”¹³ By “true and correct” principles, he meant those of the Ecclesiologicals. He praised the first three issues of the *New York Ecclesiologist* and noted that “as its name imports,” the new periodical would “treat of the science of Ecclesiology, or of those matters which relate to Ecclesiastical architecture and decoration, and to the correct administration of the rites and services of the Church.”¹⁴ The stress upon architecture and worship ran through this letter. Back in 1849, only the strongly committed used the expression “the science of Ecclesiology.” In effect, the letter argued that Anglicans in Canada West could learn how to construct their churches

“on true and correct principles,” from the writings of the Ecclesiologicals and from an architect with strong ecclesiological credentials, Frank Wills. Only in churches constructed on these privileged principles could Anglican clergy carry out “the correct administration of the rites and services of the Church.”

The degree of change in architecture envisaged in this letter clearly emerged in a long passage that praised the

... plan, for a country Parish Church, which Mr. Wills has furnished for a friend of mine in Canada, and I do not know where I have seen any thing equal to it in simplicity and perfect appropriateness in every part. The Chancel, that fine feature in Church architecture which we miss so much in Canada, was admirably proportioned externally, whilst internally nothing was wanting, such as Rood Screen, Prothesis, and Piscina, with the necessary Stalls for the Clergy and Choristers, &c. Should my friend succeed in his purpose of getting this exquisite Parish Church erected (at a cost to be not more than £600), Mr. Wills’s name will be inseparably connected with the beginning of a new and better era in the style of our Churches.¹⁵

The friend was probably the Reverend Robert Norris Merritt, Anglican missionary in the “Gore District” who had received a B.A. from King’s College, Fredericton—where, no doubt, he became aware of the work of Wills—and then had studied under Reverend Bethune at the Anglican Diocesan Theological College in Cobourg, Ontario. Reverend Merritt would build three churches in Canada West: St. Mary’s near Brantford, Ontario (c. 1850), St. Peter’s, Barton, now part of Hamilton, Ontario (1852), and St. Paul’s, Glanford, Ontario (c. 1851), the latter two commissioned from Wills.¹⁶



FIG. 4. FREDERICTON, ST. ANNE'S, INTERIOR TO EAST. | COFFMAN, *NEWFOUNDLAND GOTHIC*, P. 57, FIG. 5.6.

The letter most likely referred to the plans for the second of the three, St. Peter's, which had the requisite design and furnishings (fig. 3). These included the incorporation of a substantial chancel, a rood screen between the nave and the chancel, a prothesis or credence table to hold the elements of communion in readiness for use, a piscina or perforated stone basin for carrying away the water used to rinse the chalice and wash the hands of the priest officiating at communion, and “Stalls for the Clergy and Choristers.”¹⁷ This represented a less expensive version of the interior that Wills and Bishop Medley had designed for St. Anne's, Fredericton (fig. 4). In this anonymous letter to *The Church*, A.B. initiated a public campaign that would pressure Anglicans in the Diocese of Toronto who wished to build new churches to conform to some of the key architectural and worship ideals of the Ecclesiologicals.

“CORRECT” WORSHIP IN A CHORAL SERVICE

During the 1840s, the transition from a spoken to a sung liturgy, a choral service—identified by some of its advocates as recreating the spirit of the medieval mass into an English language service—began to gather increasing support in England. This shift had complex origins and drew upon the widespread desire to have music play a more important role in the parish worship that started in the late eighteenth century and gained momentum in the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ In part, it derived from earlier Anglican practice, such as the choral services that graced some English and Irish cathedrals and the much more widespread chanting of English translations of the psalms by choirs in cathedrals and in many parish churches.¹⁹ In part, it also derived from steps taken by members of the Oxford Movement to work out the implications of their positions on theology and church history for worship. Those who advocated the universal adoption of a choral service set off a great debate over “correct” worship in the Church of England and Ireland.

The movement for a choral service in Anglican parish churches gained impetus with the publication and revival of the plainsong setting contained in John Merbecke’s *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, in the revival of Gregorian chants and their application to English translations of the psalms and canticles (Greek and Latin hymns, such as *Te Deum Gloria* and *Nunc Dimittus*, translated into English in the *Book of Common Prayer*), and in the revival of the liturgical music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Society for Promoting Church Music. The importance of a choral service emphasized by such advocates as Reverend John Jebb combined with these other developments to encourage clergy

and church musicians to use a choral service in parish churches and chapels.²⁰

In Upper Canada as early as 1829, Reverend Bethune had advocated chanting parts of the liturgy, especially the psalms and verses. In reference to ending services with Psalm 95, he noted that:

It is directed in the Rubric that this Psalm [95th] be “said or sung”—which means that it shall be pronounced by the “Minister and people” . . . It denotes, however, more particularly that it may be either chanted or read by the Minister and congregation; and it would be a matter of congratulation were the former delightful method of reciting this and other elevating hymns more generally practiced.²¹

Reverend James Beaven—a graduate of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford—chanted the liturgy as the clergyman in charge of chapel services at King’s College, Toronto, after his appointment as professor of divinity there in 1843.²² From the time of the opening of Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Toronto, in 1847, the choir led the sung portions of worship from the eastern end of the nave and the incumbent, Reverend Henry Scadding, also chanted the liturgy, including the prayers.²³ A full choral service was practiced there not long thereafter. Many of the Anglican clergy in Canada West, especially those educated at Oxford, Cambridge, or Trinity College (Dublin), may have had some awareness of the revival of a choral service and early church music in England, but a forceful advocacy of this form of worship in *The Church* in early 1849 brought it more forcefully to the notice of the public.

Starting with the introductory paragraph, the article on St. Mark’s College, reprinted from *The Parish Choir*, openly championed the programme of choral music there against all its critics:

THERE is perhaps no institution of modern times which has done so much for the choral music of the Church of England as St. Mark’s Training College; yet none probably that has been so much the object of misrepresentation and abuse. Its history, its objects, and its labours, need only to be honestly stated, however, to vindicate its claim to the gratitude and respect of every sincere and earnest churchman; and to these we now invite the reader’s attention.²⁴

After some discussion on the creation of the institution as a place for training “schoolmasters for the poor” under the auspices of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, the author explained how the mansion in which St. Mark’s College was located was repurposed, dormitories for the students added, and a school built for “children of the neighbourhood” both to educate the children and to provide the upper voices for the choir of the College chapel. The “design of teaching schoolmasters the art of singing, in order that they might be enabled to conduct with greater skill the sacred music of public worship,” was key to the purpose of the College.²⁵

Against critics, the article boldly answered that: “The pious propriety of such a course can only be questioned by churchmen under the grossest puritanical or sectarian prejudice. The Church of England has prescribed the choral service with a degree of authority which no dutiful son of the Church can reasonably dispute.” In support, it appealed to the “able work” of “Mr. [John] Jebb” that proved that with “the rubrics” of the *Book of Common Prayer* (in successive editions), “taken in connection with the unbroken practice of the Church of England,” a “positive injunction is conveyed to our choirs” to perform a choral liturgical service. In the western part of the chancel, raised four

steps above the floor of the nave and transepts, the choir was “placed on the north and south sides,” under “rich stained glass” windows depicting the highlights of the life of Christ.²⁶ A different style of worship demanded the style of architecture advocated by another group of reformers, the Ecclesiologists.

Within this setting, the highly trained choir performed with great skill the services to the music recommended by *The Parish Choir*, as lyrically described at length in the article:

In the performance of the divine service, not only is the rubric carefully followed, but the practice of saying the prayers is pursued, which has prevailed from the most ancient time in every portion of the Catholic Church, whether reformed or unreformed, and which until modern times, was universal in all places within our own Reformed Church where choral foundations have existed, and even in many parish churches where they did not—that of monotone, or the sustaining of one note, the *Amens* being chanted by the choir and congregation. The *Venite* is of course chanted, and so are the Psalms: they are generally Gregorian and other single chants harmonized, except on Fast days when Gregorians are sung in unison.—The *Te Deum* and (usually) the *Benedictus* are sung anthem-wise to what are technically called “Services,” mostly those of [Orlando] Gibbons, [Thomas] Tallis, Bird [William Byrd], [Richard] Farrant, [Benjamin] Rogers, [Adrian] Batten, and [Henry] Aldrich—on Fast-days the Ambrosian and another primitive strain being substituted. The Apostles’ Creed is recited on one note. The versicles and responses are sung with full harmonies. The anthem, in its proper place, is commonly by the same composer as that of the “Services.” On Sundays the Litany is sung with Tallis’s full harmonies, on Wednesdays and Fridays, in unison. The Communion Service is prefaced by the Sanctus, as an

Introit.—The music to the *Kyrie Eleison*, to the Commandments, and the Nicene Creed, invariably corresponds with the “Services” at matins. After the sermon, the prayer for the Church Militant is said before the general congregation, which is then dismissed with the benediction from the altar; except on days when the Holy Communion is administered, the second Sunday in every month, all the great festivals, and on St. Mark’s Day, when non-communicants retire immediately after the sermon.²⁷

This description of the choral services performed at the chapel at St. Mark’s College showed how it fit into the style of worship advocated by the Society for Promoting Church Music, including music that they had republished in order to encourage Anglicans to draw upon their neglected heritage.

The article finished with an appeal that attempted to demonstrate that “There is nothing, assuredly, in this performance of the divine service, which can reasonably be obnoxious to any sincere and devout churchman, but rather everything which is deserving, not only of his full concurrence, but his hearty commendation.”²⁸ Clearly a debate on this issue had started already in England and *The Parish Choir* used language very similar to that of the Ecclesiologists and drew upon arguments used for centuries by High Churchmen in the Church of England to support the revival of the choral service as the form of worship “prescribed by the Prayer Book of the Reformation, and that which has ever been Catholic usage.—No music is introduced in the service at St. Mark’s, which is not ordered by the rubric. The monotone in which the Prayers are said, is the ancient Church tone, that which prevailed long before any corruptions, or any fancies, or vagaries crept in.” In addition, it argued that: “The Versicles, the Canticles, the Psalms, the Litany, the Creed—all these are

directed by the rubric to be ‘sung or said’; and at St. Mark’s, having the ability, they comply with the direction to sing them.”²⁹ This article also saw the choral service, the polity of archbishops and bishops, and the ancient creeds as paths by which the Roman missionary, St. Augustine, who came to convert the Anglo-Saxons “chanting litanies,” linked the Church of England to the practices of the apostles. By 1849, the movement to revive a sung liturgy had begun to coalesce with the architectural ideas of the Ecclesiologists to provide a programme for “correct” worship and “correct” church architecture.

BUILDING A NEW ST. JAMES’ ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL IN TORONTO

On April 7, 1849, St. James’ Cathedral in Toronto burned again. This meant that the issue of the “true and correct principles” of church architecture took on even more pressing relevance. After the fire of 1839, John Howard had proposed turning the surviving fabric of the old St. James’ into a Gothic Revival structure by adding a new range of windows above the galleries, but this was turned down at the time on the ground that it was too expensive.³⁰ In its report of May 5, 1849, the committee appointed to build a new St. James’ had recommended that “the style of Architecture be Gothic” and a second report from a month later initiated an architectural competition for the design of this new building.³¹ At stake was the type of historically derived Gothic Revival church that would be built, something closer to that of the English Commissioners’ churches as already erected in Toronto during the 1840s, or something more firmly in the camp of the Ecclesiologists. The result had many of the characteristics of a compromise, but not until after a campaign in *The Church* in favour of an ecclesiological outcome. A long article on

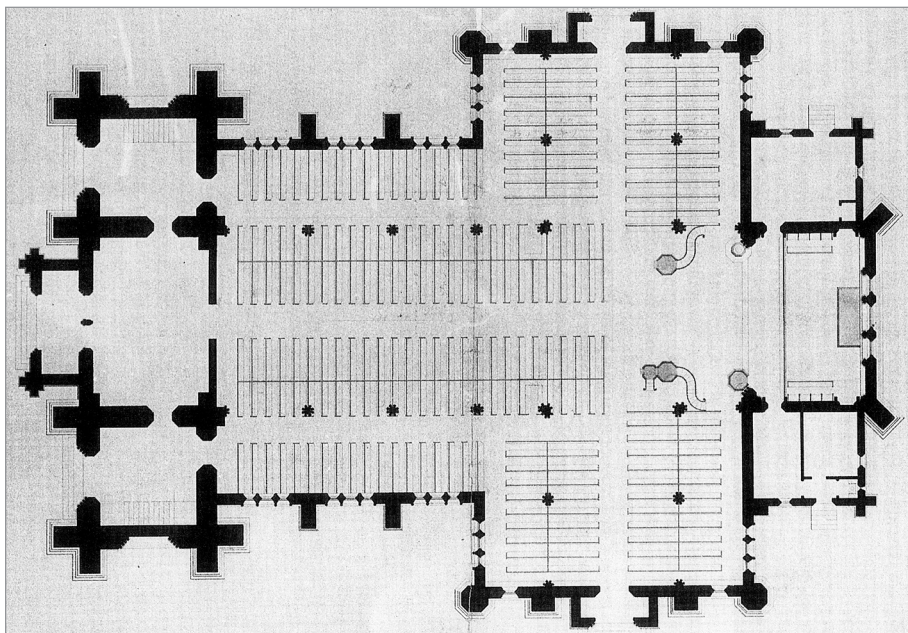


FIG. 5. FREDERIC CUMBERLAND'S COMPETITION DESIGN FOR ST. JAMES' CATHEDRAL, TORONTO, 1849. | COOKE, *THE PARISH AND CATHEDRAL OF ST. JAMES'*, P. 197, FIG. 5.16.

the designs submitted by various architects for the new St. James' appeared in the September 13, 1849, issue.

The anonymous author of that article, who voiced criticisms similar to those of the writer A.B., showed little sympathy with "the continuance of the painted band-boxes that disfigure so many of our hamlets, and towns too, under the name of churches," and noted "that the very humblest church of logs may readily possess—what nearly all want—proportion; and secondly, that if the people have not a sound taste, the sooner we indoctrinate them on the subject (as we might, for instance, in a week-day lecture) the better."³² His comments upon the plans submitted for St. James' Cathedral and the brief history on the architecture of churches in England began this indoctrination at once. The history that came near the end of the article provided a context for comments upon the designs of particular architects.

After mentioning Anglo-Saxon churches as having "the rudest workmanship and coarsest material," he characterized the Norman and Early English styles in more neutral terms: in the former, "the arches were semi-circular, often highly ornamented with zig-zag and other mouldings; the windows narrow and deeply splayed; piers massive cylindrical, square, and also polygonal," while in the latter, the "windows were called 'lancet-shaped'; mouldings numerous and deep, and often filled with a tooth ornament; pillars formed of slender clustered shafts, often banded at the middle."³³ These opening remarks applied the widely accepted nomenclature first worked out and published in 1817 in Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, and still used by some Ecclesiologists as late as 1843.³⁴

The interpretive commitments of the author came out in the comment that "The term 'Gothic' is a modern error,

though now generally allowed to characterize architecture possessing pointed arches. The name is said to have been first applied in ridicule by the celebrated Inigo Jones, in his love for Palladian (or Italianized-Grecian) architecture. The proper nomenclature is the 'Pointed style.'³⁵ Pugin had substituted "pointed" and "Christian" for "Gothic." Building upon this, the Ecclesiologists came to denote the "Early English" style as "First Pointed" and subsequent styles as "Second Pointed" and "Third Pointed."³⁶ However, other experts and learned amateurs such as Mathew Holbeche Bloxam and John Henry Parker continued to use the term "Gothic" in their books on medieval English architecture.³⁷ As an anonymous reviewer of several books on architecture in *The Church* would point out a year and a quarter later: "Attempts have been made, especially by the Cambridge Camden Society, to set aside this nomenclature, and establish some other: but it has been found too convenient, and has been too widely received, to become permanently displaced."³⁸

The "Decorated" style of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries "exhibits windows divided into two or more lights by mullions; mouldings rich in figure and foliage, besides highly adorned crockets, niches, pinnacles, and crosses." Later came "the Perpendicular or Florid style of the time of the Plantagenets and Tudors. The architecture became overloaded and profuse." Following the lead of the Ecclesiologists, the anonymous author in *The Church* argued that: "About 1346, the loss of the true principles of Church architecture led to the adoption of a debased and incongruous style, referable to no fixed principle of architectural propriety whatsoever." Despite this loss of authenticity, he took an optimistic view of the present and the role that Anglicans in England had played

and Anglicans in Canada could play in establishing a “correct” style: “Now-a-days, however, a purer taste is rapidly developing itself, and evidently extending even to the meeting-houses of Dissenters. Henceforth, we hope that the Church in Canada will be found following with active steps the move in the right direction, made by her Anglican mother.”³⁹ Again, this sounded much like the writer A.B. By 1849, the “right direction” for Pugin and the Ecclesiologists had become building Gothic Revival churches in either the “Early English” (“First Pointed”) or “Decorated” (“Second Pointed”) style.

In judging the submissions received for the rebuilding of St. James’, the author took as one of his central criteria that the successful design must meet the requirements of a “Cathedral” rather than those of a “Parish Church.” For him, this meant that “massive grandeur (of course without heaviness) should be one of the leading objects to be aimed at in its construction—a quality which need by no means attach to a mere parochial Church, where plain architectural correctness might be all that was necessary.” On the basis that it lacked a clerestory, he dismissed the submission of William Thomas (who had designed the large St. Paul’s Anglican Church, London, Canada West, in 1844, and the even larger St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Cathedral, Toronto, in 1845), and those of several other unnamed architects, who included John Howard. That of Frank Wills, while raising great expectations, failed because “The nave and chancel are on the whole in a correct style, but very coldly correct,” and the design followed too closely the lines of the cathedral he had designed for Fredericton. “Superior in massiveness and general grandeur of effect we think, is the design by Mr. [Gervase] Wheeler of Hertford County U.S. Part of this building is in the very best style of the ‘Early English,’” but even this had its flaws.⁴⁰

Receiving the longest and most favourable attention came “the very beautiful production of Mr. [Frederic William] Cumberland” (fig. 5).⁴¹ It combined beauty with economy: “Perhaps indeed considering the meagerness of the material proposed to be employed (brick finished off at the cornices, &c. with stone) this would present the most suitable model of the whole . . .” Despite the criticisms made of these drawings, such as the lack of medieval authority for “the triple lancet windows in the side aisles” in cathedrals, it still received some justification by reference to precedents from “the Temple Church in London, and if we remember right the Chapel of Lambeth Palace.” The author displayed a wide-ranging set of examples to bolster his case, noting that: “The effect of the masses of wall thrown into different projections (so well exemplified in the Church of St. Genevieve at Paris) is seen to great advantage in an angular sketch which the Architect has given.” It came as no surprise that he concluded: “On the whole, we should not wonder if the choice of the committee were to rest with Mr. Cumberland.”⁴² The committee charged with selecting the best plan agreed (fig. 6).

Despite the acceptance of the proposal by Cumberland, a plan by William Hay for St. James’ Cathedral that arrived after the deadline caught the eye of an anonymous writer who analyzed it in a long article in *The Church*. At the time, Hay was employed as clerk-of-works by the English architect George Gilbert Scott for the construction of the Anglican Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in St. John’s, Newfoundland.⁴³ While both Wills and Hay shared a strong commitment to the visions of ecclesiastical architecture articulated by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, the anonymous critic much preferred the design of Hay, which he saw as approaching “nearly to perfection”:

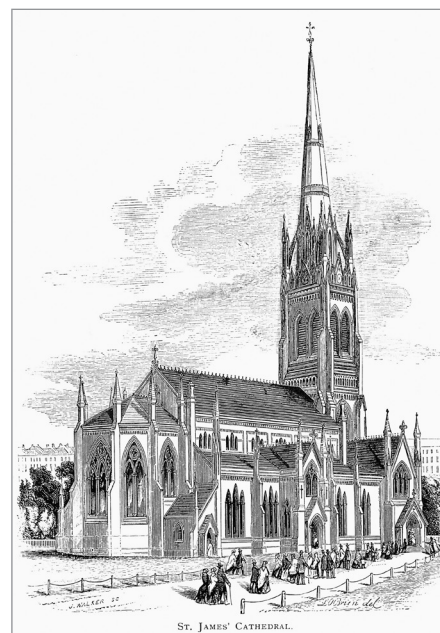


FIG. 6. TORONTO, ST. JAMES’ ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL AS BUILT, WITH STEEPLE FINISHED IN 1875. | MULVANY, *TORONTO PAST AND PRESENT...*, P. 153; COURTESY OF JENNIFER MCKENDRY.

Mr. Hay’s cathedral is planned in the form of a Latin cross (the western arm the longest), and consists of nave, choir, transepts, octagonal-shaped chancel, and north and south porches, with spire, not at the west end, but springing with an amazing combination of solidity and lightness from the intersection of the arms of the cross, formed by the north and south transepts, nave, and choir. The staircase turrets are carried up on the outside with exquisite effect, harmoniously blending with the grand simplicity of the whole, which is in the severest manner of the “Early English” or “Pointed style”; yet happily breaking any monotony that might be supposed to have arisen from the otherwise perfect regularity of the design. The building is also provided with side-aisles and clere-story. The arrangements for the interior are likewise beyond all praise.

The pulpit is placed at the angle of the nave and north transept; the organ far away behind it and on the ground, at the north side of the choir, where the arrangement of the sedilia struck us as particularly beautiful.⁴⁴

Noting that Hay had provided “an interesting” design “for any lover of a pure style in Ecclesiastical architecture—(a taste for which we should so earnestly desire to see cultivated in the Province)—to study,” he recommended “any gentleman interested in a correct style of architecture” go see it at “Mr. Wyllie’s in Churchstreet [sic].” The article ended with a virtual invitation to the architect to help in designing “our ecclesiastical and other edifices.”⁴⁵

Like the letter by A.B. on the first three issues of the *New York Ecclesiologist*, these anonymous articles in *The Church* on the plans for a new St. James’ Anglican Cathedral in Toronto clearly demonstrate that the ideas about church architecture put forth in the publications of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists in the late 1830s and the 1840s had not only reached the shores of British North America, but also had attracted converts to the cause in Canada West by 1849. Within slightly more than a year, this advocacy would take the form of official policy.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CHURCH SOCIETY OF 1850

In 1850, the most systematic statement published in Canada West on the building, expansion, and furnishing of Anglican churches appeared in *The Church* under the title: “Recommendations by the Church Building Committee of the Church Society, in Regard to Churches and their Precincts.”⁴⁶ Sometime in 1849 or early 1850, a “Committee” was “appointed by the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, ‘To prepare, under the sanction of the Lord Bishop, suggestions and instructions to persons engaged in building or enlarging Churches.’”⁴⁷ At the general monthly meeting of the Church Society held in April 1850, it reported back with a list of twenty-five detailed recommendations that combined practical

suggestions with strongly ideological positions on design and sacred space. The Canadian committee may well have drawn its inspiration from the “Suggestions and Instructions” of the “Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels” in England, as “amended, May 1842,” and printed shortly thereafter in *The Ecclesiologist*, and from the early publications of the Camden Ecclesiastical Society.⁴⁸ The English report contained twenty-one “Suggestions and Instructions,” many offering practical advice. The Canadian report contained twenty-five recommendations that included detailed proposals. On the whole, the Canadian Recommendations of 1850 took an even harder line on enforcing ecclesiological principles than the English Instructions of 1842. Indeed, they aimed at enforcing ecclesiological positions on architecture and worship throughout the Diocese of Toronto, the only Anglican diocese in Canada West.

At the general monthly meeting of the Church Society held on September 4, 1850, it was moved by “the Rev. Jas. Beaven, D.D., seconded by the Assistant Secretary [Thomas Champion, Esquire],” and carried: “That the Report as amended, of a Committee appointed by ‘The Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, to prepare, under the sanction of the Lord Bishop, suggestions and instructions to persons engaged in building or enlarging Churches,’ be adopted.”⁴⁹ In addition, a committee consisting of “the Hon’ble the Chief Justice [Sir John Beverley Robinson], the Rev. H[enry] J[ames] Grasett, the Rev. Dr. [Dominick] E[dward] Blake, the Rev. H[enry] C[hollowell] Cooper, A[lexander] Dixon, Esq., Capt. [John Henry] Lefroy and the mover and seconder” was appointed “to report upon the best mode of obtaining plans and estimates for the building of Churches

in conformity with the report on Church Building adopted this day.”⁵⁰ This second motion envisaged the drawing up, printing, and circulating to parishes standard models for smaller churches. The passage of the motion adopting the committee’s recommendations as official policy transformed the campaign to apply ecclesiological principles to the church architecture of the Diocese of Toronto into the official policy of the Church Society. It is difficult to establish all the guiding minds behind this successful campaign, but Reverend Henry Scadding—who sat on the “Standing Committee” of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto from 1845 onward—and Reverend William Stewart Darling—who served on the “Standing Committee” from 1847 onward and who became Scadding’s assistant minister at Holy Trinity in 1853—probably put together the recommendations on worship.⁵¹ No doubt they and others received support from Reverend James Beaven, who moved that the recommendations be adopted. Since the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto provided grants in aid of the building of new churches and “Parsonage Houses,” its recommendations would have a strong impact upon the style and furnishing of new churches in years to come.

The Recommendations as printed in April 1850 contained twenty-five sections with detailed advice on a variety of topics, some practical and others that sought to accommodate ecclesiological ideas to the Canadian climate and setting. For example, the first: “SITE,” recommended that the location of a church “should be central, but not so near to principal thoroughfares, foundries, &c.” to cause “the service of the Church, even on week days, to be disturbed by noise.”⁵² Even this practical proposal contained the suggestion of weekday services. The second recommendation set the tone for many to follow by

stating a High Church and ecclesiological position as normative: “2. POSITION.—The rule in England is to place the Church with the chancel end towards the east, excepting in rare cases in crowded towns. In this, as in all similar cases, it is best to adhere to ancient custom unless there is a very strong reason to the contrary.”⁵³

In Upper Canada, early churches had often been sited in relation to the settlement and very few contained a differentiated chancel, a practice that continued into the 1840s (when some churches were built with more extensive chancels to the geographical east). This seemingly simple point—underlined by the statement that “it is best to adhere to ancient custom,” that is, largely to medieval practice—contained a programme for change.⁵⁴

The next recommendation carried forward this tone and underlined the High Church and ecclesiological nature of the document:

3. CONSTRUCTION.—A grave and substantial structure should be studied before ornament; and the beauty of the interior should be considered before that of the exterior; and the beautifying of those parts of the Church which are more especially employed for acts of divine worship should be considered before the adornment of those which are only for the accommodation of the congregation; and of all, that portion of the church should receive most attention, in which the Sacrament of the Lord’s supper is appointed to be celebrated.

By stressing the centrality of the celebration of “the Sacrament of the Lord’s supper” and by privileging the chancel as the most important “portion of the church” where “acts of divine worship” took place, this language expressed the views of the Ecclesiologists. Noticeably absent was any mention of the pulpit.



FIG. 7. TORONTO, LITTLE TRINITY ANGLICAN (1843-1844). | [HTTP://WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/ETTML/2136656011/IN/SET-72157600457339777/], ACCESSED APRIL 2017.

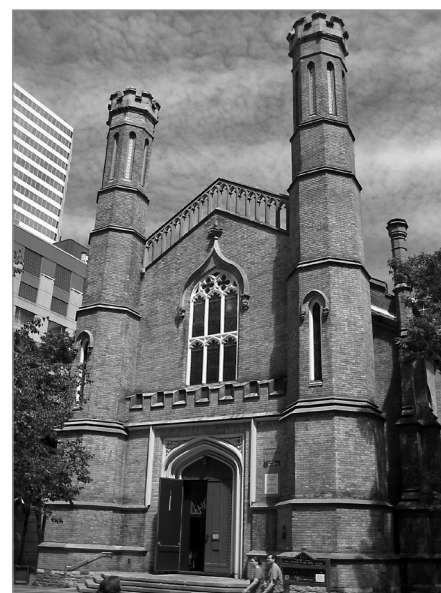


FIG. 9. TORONTO, HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN (1846-1847). | [HTTP://WWW.YORKU.CA/RSGC/HOLYTRINITY.HTML], ACCESSED JUNE 2010.

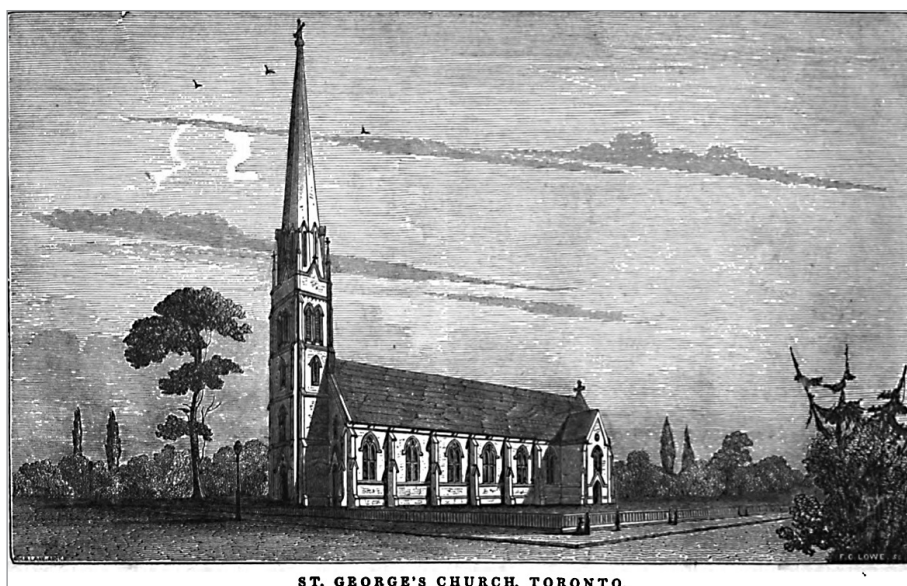


FIG. 8. TORONTO, ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR ANGLICAN (1844-1845), ENGRAVING BY F.C. LOWE. | SMITH, WILLIAM HENRY, 1846, SMITH’S CANADIAN GAZETTEER, H. AND W. ROWSELL, TORONTO, BETWEEN P. 192-193.

A second paragraph noted that in “new settlements it is often better to build in wood, unless stone is actually as cheap,” but it also portrayed wooden churches as “temporary erections” that still “should be substantial and good of their kind.”

No mention of brick appeared here, despite the fact that this was the principal material used in such substantial Toronto Anglican churches as “Little” Trinity (fig. 7), St. George the Martyr (fig. 8), and Holy Trinity (fig. 9)—all erected within

the previous five years—and in St. James' Cathedral, then under construction. This reflected the view of the Ecclesiologists.⁵⁵ This recommendation ended with the following admonition: "Care should be taken in all Churches that their appearance shall indicate the purpose for which they are intended and if possible distinguish them from the places of worship of other bodies of professed Christians. The subsequent recommendations are framed in part with a view to the attainment of these objects." With historical Gothic Revival styles becoming more widely spread in new churches in Britain and in British North America, greater differentiation seemed more pressing. The "purpose" for which Anglican churches were "intended" by the authors of these regulations centred on a choral worship service with more frequent communion (at least monthly) rather than on a read liturgy and a sermon; thus, their stress on the communion table, clergy, and choir in the chancel, and the font in the nave rather than on the pulpit in the nave. In the 1840s, Reverend Beaven had presided over this type of worship at the chapel of King's College, Toronto.

In architectural terms, this entailed a shift from what the Ecclesiologists portrayed as the classical "preaching boxes" built by eighteenth-century Anglicans and equated now with the style of "non-conformist" chapels. It also marked an attempt to deal with the growing competition that Anglicans faced from both Roman Catholics and other denominations of protestants in the period after 1829, when most restrictions were removed regarding worship by Christians outside of the Church of England and Ireland.⁵⁶ This applied equally to Britain and to British North America. "Commanding," "solid," and "substantial" buildings appealed to the Victorian assumptions of potential parishioners. By concluding

that the "subsequent recommendations are framed in part with a view to the attainment of these objects," this long recommendation laid the groundwork for spelling out a solution—adoption of the recently devised archaeological Gothic Revival style of church architecture as an Anglican style.

The next two recommendations explicated this vision of Anglican church architecture in general terms, while those that followed dealt—sometimes at considerable length—with specific details.

4. STYLE.—Some variety of the Gothic style is suitable for ecclesiastical buildings, but that is not secured merely by having the arches of the windows and doors pointed. Many other things are requisite to correctness of style, which can be understood only by those persons who have bestowed much study on the subject, and have a practical acquaintance with it.⁵⁷

This suggested the priority of "Gothic style" for "ecclesiastical buildings" and portrayed it as much more intricate than having pointed arches on doors and windows. The stress upon the need for having expertise on Gothic Revival architecture—the kind of knowledge displayed in the anonymous articles in *The Church on The New York Ecclesiologist* and on the architects' plans for the rebuilding of St. James' Anglican Cathedral discussed above—in effect privileged those architects, clergy, and laymen who had "bestowed much study on the subject." It also privileged this set of recommendations, which displayed such knowledge and those members of the committee who had extensive knowledge of Gothic Revival architecture.

This became even clearer in the next recommendation, which laid out at some length a vision of what an Anglican church should look like. Quoting it in

whole should provide insights into the systematic manner in which the committee spelled out its vision:

5. GROUND PLAN.—A perfect Church consists of a chancel, nave, containing a Font of stone, vestry, tower or bellcote, and porch or porches. If large it will have aisles, and in some cases transepts.

The chancel is the part in which the Communion table⁵⁸ is placed; the nave the part in which the congregation assemble, when there are no aisles, the aisles are the side portion added to the nave and sometimes in the chancel, for the accommodation of a larger congregation, and are separated from the nave or chancel by pillars; transepts are (as it were) the arms of a cross; supposing the nave and chancel to form the upright portion of the cross.

The whole length of the Church, according to the proportion observed in the best ancient and modern English Churches, may be from three to three-and-a-half times the breadth of the nave. This includes the tower.

The chancel, in Churches which have aisles, is generally the same breadth as the nave of the Church; in those which have not, it should be from eight to ten feet in breadth, its length will depend upon the accommodation it is intended to afford, but should be never less than nine feet.

The vestry, according to the best and most frequent example is on the north side of the chancel, and opens into it by a door, but it must not be made to open within the alter [*sic*] rails. It should not be made by a mere partition within the Church, for then every thing is heard from it in the Church.

The tower is most commonly at the west end of the Church; but it may be at either extremity of the aisles, or over the north or south porch, or stand separately, as may

be most convenient, or present the best appearance. When at the west, as in most English Churches, it is of the same breadth externally as the nave of the Church; that is including buttresses, and where the expense of a massive tower cannot be afforded, it is generally dispensed with, and its place supplied by a Bell turret or a gable pierced for the reception of a bell; or a smaller tower is erected against one of the aisles, if any.

The principal entrance to English Parish Churches is on the south side, wherever the ground will admit of it; and the distance of one or two windows from the west. The entrance is almost invariably through a porch. The font is by prescription placed in the nave somewhat west of the south entrance, either near a pillar or in the middle passage.

If another entrance for the congregation is required it is placed, where practicable on the north side, and sometimes has a porch.

An entrance by the west is much less frequent; and is inadvisable in this country, because the most frequent winds are from the west during the colder part of the year. It is likewise customary to have an entrance for the clergy on the south side of the chancel.

The opening sentence briefly characterized a shape of a “perfect Church” that differed substantially from the Anglican churches hitherto built in Upper Canada and Canada West. Very few existing churches there had large stone fonts and none had side entry porches as their primary entrance. This recommendation assumed that the ground plan of medieval English churches and modern churches based upon them—“the best ancient and modern English churches”—provided the basis for the “correct” design of contemporary Anglican churches in the Diocese of

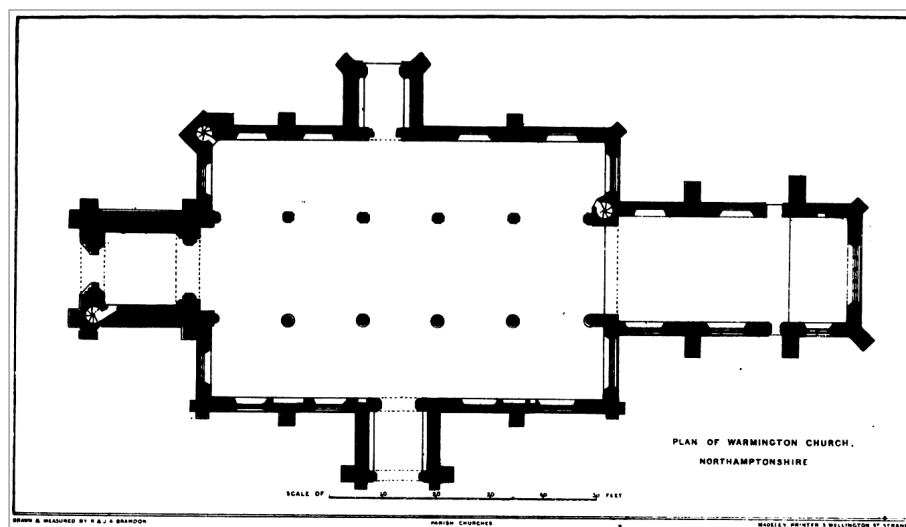


FIG. 10. WARMINGTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, ENGLAND, ST. MARY THE VIRGIN ANGLICAN (13TH CENTURY). NOTE THE ENTRY THROUGH THE WEST TOWER AND THE LARGE CHANCEL. | BRANDON AND BRANDON, *PARISH CHURCHES*, AFTER P. 18.

Toronto.⁵⁹ Within the English-speaking world, only followers of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists made this assumption.

The “proportion” of length to width—the length extending “from three to three-and-a-half times the breadth of the nave”—came primarily from medieval churches built with aisles or archaeologically designed Gothic Revival churches built in England. For example, all the churches discussed and illustrated in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, *Parish Churches*, either reached or surpassed a whole length that was “from three to three-and-a-half times the breadth of the nave” (fig. 10).⁶⁰ Books of this sort and measurements made by members of the Cambridge Camden Society (and its affiliates) and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture provided the dimensions of what the members of the committee judged as the “best ancient” churches. Medieval churches had relatively long and narrow naves because they normally created increased worship space by adding aisles separated from the nave by pillars rather than building a new, wider nave.⁶¹

The revival of medieval modes of design and construction advocated and practiced by Pugin and by architects influenced by the Ecclesiologists—the best “modern English Churches”—helped to create contemporary models with the proportions recommended by the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto in 1850. For example, the English-trained architect Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane designed in Toronto two Anglican churches with similar proportions: St. George the Martyr (1844-1845) and Holy Trinity (1846-1847). St. George the Martyr had pillars and arches that divided the floor space into an approximately 20-foot-wide nave and two approximately 15.5-foot-wide aisles (fig. 11), with an internal length of approximately 128 feet, including the tower and chancel.⁶² The overall length of the interior of St. George’s was over six times the width of the nave without the aisles. The length of Holy Trinity was three times the width of the nave (fig. 12).⁶³ Both were built in brick with stone trim, St. George the Martyr in an Early English style and Holy Trinity in a Perpendicular style; however, both churches fell short of the strictures of the Ecclesiologists.

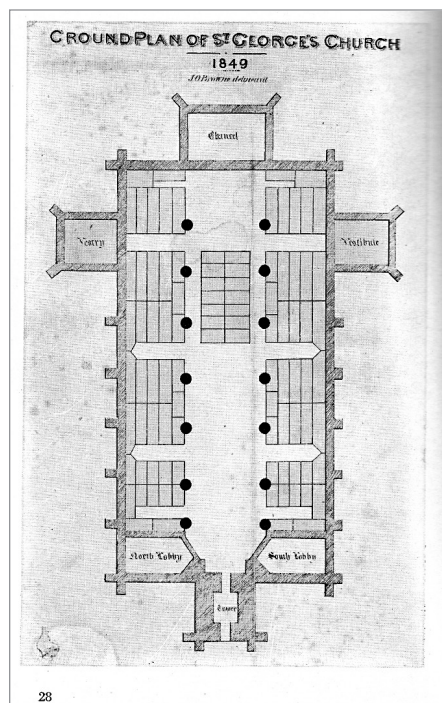


FIG. 11. TORONTO, ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR, GROUND PLAN.
| HARMAN AND UPSHALL, *ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR*, P. 28.

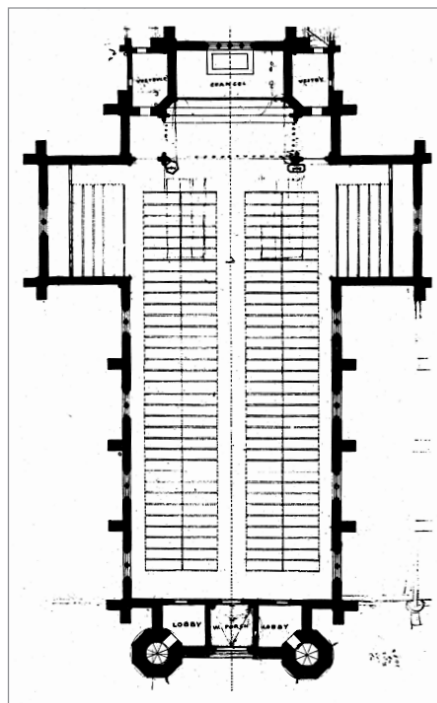


FIG. 12. TORONTO, HOLY TRINITY ANGLICAN, GROUND PLAN.
| ARTHUR, *TORONTO NO MEAN CITY*, FIG. 119, P. 84.

and divided the floor into a central nave with two side aisles.⁶⁷ This structure was covered in plaster in the late nineteenth century, so the best notion we can get of how Hay designed it comes from a nineteenth-century engraving of the similar interior of St. Basil's Roman Catholic Church, Toronto (1855-1856)—also designed by Hay (fig. 17).⁶⁸ This meant that the nave at St. Paul's, Kingston, now measured 30 feet wide by 75.5 feet long internally, with an additional 60.5 feet for the chancel and the tower adding up to an overall internal length of 136 feet, clearly more than four times the width of the new nave.

The recommendation on the minimum size of chancels, however, followed neither “the best” ancient nor modern practice. The medieval parish churches discussed in the Brandons' book on parish churches had proportionately larger chancels, as had many of the churches built in England by Pugin and by architects favoured by the Ecclesiologists. Although Reverend Neale saw the “comparative size of the Chancel and Nave” as a matter of “taste,” he argued that “the Chancel should not be less than a third or more than a half, of the whole length of the church.”⁶⁹ For St. George the Martyr, that would have meant a chancel between 33 to 50 feet deep, instead of 20 feet wide by 11 feet deep.⁷⁰ The recommendation on the size of chancels allowed a considerably smaller space, the same width as the nave for churches with aisles and “eight to ten feet” for those without aisles, and “never less than nine feet” deep. This space was both narrower and shallower than the chancels built in the 1840s at St. Mark's, Barriefield, St. James', Kingston (fig. 18), and St. George the Martyr, Toronto (fig. 11).

The last three topics under “GROUND PLAN” in the Recommendations of 1850,

The interior measurements of most Anglican churches built in Canada West during the 1840s, including the tower and the original chancel, however, were proportionally wider and shorter. For example, in Toronto, Little Trinity (1844-1845) was approximately 45 by 70 feet. In greater Kingston, St. Mark's, Barriefield (1843-1844), was 32 by 78 feet, St. James' (1844-1845), 45 by 107 feet, and the original St. Paul's (1845-1846), 50 by 110.5 feet (figs. 13-14).⁶⁴ The Anglican churches designed by John George Howard during that decade, including St. James', Dundas (1841), Christ Church, Tyendinaga (1843) (fig. 15), St. John's, York Mills (1843-1844), and Christ Church, Holland Landing (1843-1844), appear to have had similar proportions.⁶⁵ Although historically derived Gothic Revival churches, their dimensions more nearly reflected the proportions of the Anglican churches built in Britain and its colonies in

the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than the new ones built by architects who privileged the proportions of medieval parish churches.

The recommendation on proportions could also be constructed within the shell of an existing church that had different proportions. The architect, William Hay, did this in rebuilding St. Paul's Anglican Church, Kingston (originally 1846-1847), after a fire destroyed all but the walls and tower of the original church in early November 1854.⁶⁶ In 1855-1856, Hay added a new chancel of 19.5 feet by 38.5 feet, slightly less than the proportion recommended by Reverend John Mason Neal, but the most substantial at that time in Kingston (fig. 16). The space originally occupied by the nave was reconfigured by adding two sets of “four wooden pillars carrying five wooden pointed arches” that both supported a new roof

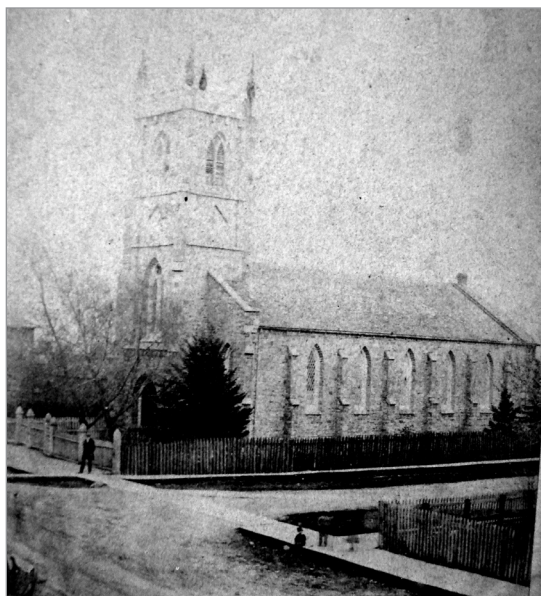


FIG. 13. KINGSTON, ST. JAMES' ANGLICAN (1844). PHOTOGRAPH FROM C. 1850 FROM THE NORTHWEST, BY PERMISSION OF THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF ONTARIO ARCHIVES. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2008.

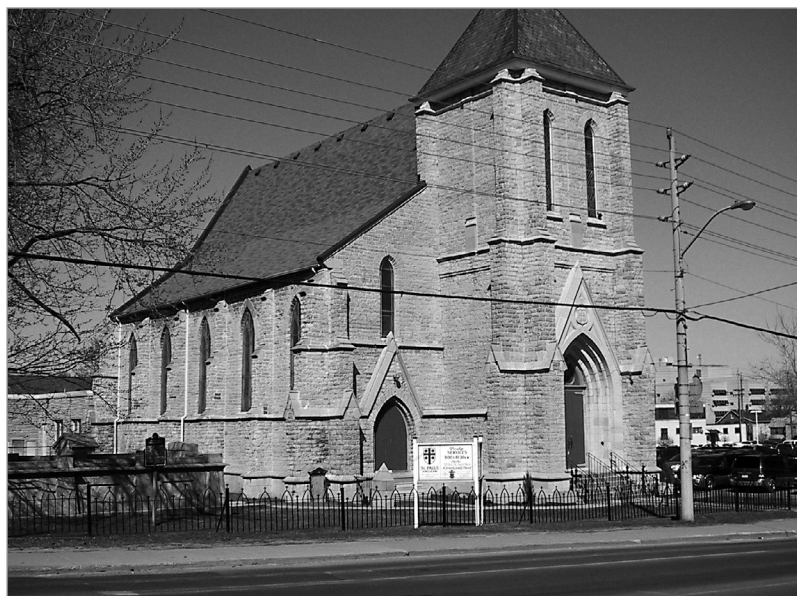


FIG. 14. KINGSTON, ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN (1845-1846, REBUILT AND RECONFIGURED 1855-1856) FROM THE SOUTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2005.



FIG. 15. TYENDINAGA, CHRIST CHURCH ANGLICAN (1843) FROM THE SOUTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON 2006.



FIG. 16. KINGSTON, ST. PAUL'S ANGLICAN, INTERIOR OF CHANCEL. THE WOODEN PILLARS AND BEAMS WERE COVERED WITH PLASTER IN 1878. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2009.



FIG. 17. TORONTO, ST. BASIL'S ROMAN CATHOLIC (1855-1856), ENGRAVING OF INTERIOR. | ROBERTSON, *LANDMARKS OF TORONTO*, VOL. 5, P. 455.

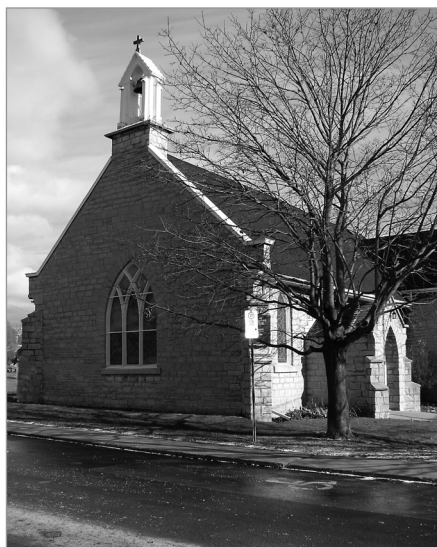


FIG. 19. PORTSMOUTH, ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN (1850-1851) FROM THE SOUTHWEST. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2007.



FIG. 18. KINGSTON, ST. JAMES' ANGLICAN, INTERIOR PHOTOGRAPH FROM 1884. | LYON, DAVID, 1995, *LIVING STONES: ST. JAMES CHURCH, KINGSTON 1856-1995, FROM STUARTVILLE TO QUEEN'S CAMPUS*, KINGSTON, QUARRY PRESS, P. 61.

even suggested the alternative of “a Bell turret or a gable pierced for the reception of a bell.”⁷² The use of bell cotes and towers at the side of naves or chancels by Pugin and architects influenced by the Ecclesiologists represented a major innovation in post-Reformation church architecture. The only existing examples of Anglican Gothic Revival churches with a bell cote and south entry porch in British North America in early 1850 were St. Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, and the wooden St. Andrew's Anglican, Newcastle, New Brunswick, also probably by Wills.⁷³ All the substantial Anglican churches in Canada West had towers on the “west” façade.

A year after the publication of the Recommendations of 1850, however, the Kingston architect William Coverdale would build a bell cote and an entrance through a south porch at St. John's Anglican, Portsmouth—now a part of Kingston—(1850-1851) (fig. 19), and design a church for Gananoque, Ontario—just east of Kingston, with an entrance through a tower on a south porch in 1852 (fig. 20).⁷⁴ A Methodist and an architect open to trends in England, Coverdale may well have seen the recommendations as an opportunity for widening his design portfolio. Furthermore, when Wills designed a south porch entrance, externally differentiated substantial chancel, and cross-beam rafters for St. Paul's Anglican Church, Glanford (1852) (fig. 21), and when Hay designed the stone All Saints Anglican Church, Niagara Falls (1856), with its original north porch entrance, externally differentiated substantial chancel, with a tower on the north side of the chancel (fig. 22), they brought an ecclesiological commitment to their work.⁷⁵

Neale had accurately noted the prevalence of towers in the middle of the west end of a church, argued that “the

however, returned to medieval precedents—“the best and most frequent example”—as setting the pattern for nineteenth-century Anglican churches. The “vestry” was to be located on “the north side of the chancel” with a door

opening into the chancel, but not inside the altar rails.⁷¹ While recognizing that towers “most commonly” stood “at the west end of the Church,” it put forth a wide range of other possibilities (largely based upon medieval precedents) and

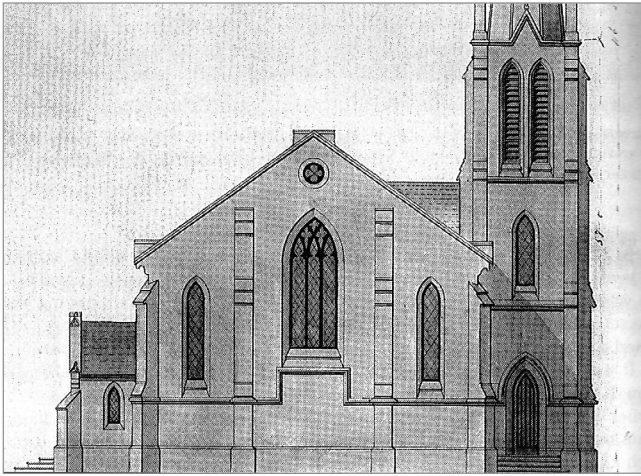


FIG. 20. GANANOQUE, ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, DETAIL OF WEST FAÇADE FROM DRAWING OF ORIGINAL PROPOSAL BY WILLIAM COVERDALE (C. 1852). | MCKENDRY, JENNIFER, 1995, *WITH OUR PAST BEFORE US* TORONTO, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, P. 78.



FIG. 21. GLANFORD, ST PAUL'S ANGLICAN CHURCH (C. 1851), INTERIOR TOWARD THE DIFFERENTIATED CHANCEL. | MALCOLM THURLBY, 2007.



FIG. 22. NIAGARA FALLS, ALL SAINTS ANGLICAN CHURCH (1856) FROM THE NORTH. | MALCOLM THURLBY, 2010.

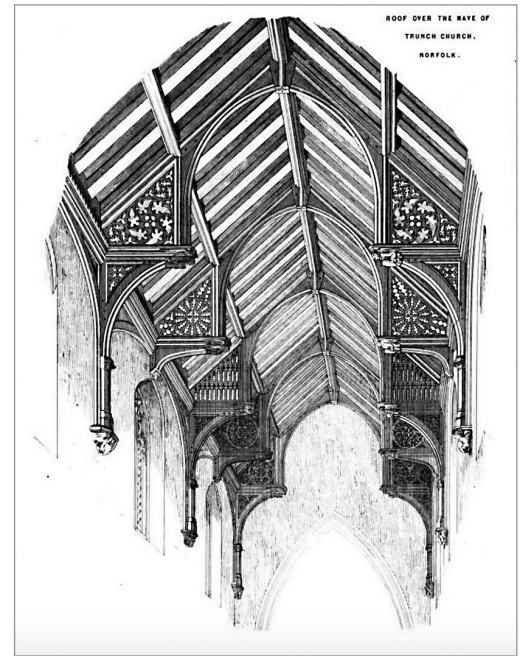


FIG. 23. TRUNCH, NORFOLK, UK, ST. BOTOLF'S CHURCH, HAMMER BEAM ROOF (LATE 14TH TO EARLY 15TH CENTURY). | BRANDON AND BRANDON, *TIMBER ROOFS*, PLATE 9.

following positions are equally good" at "the intersection of a cross church, or between the Chancel and Nave," and listed examples of sixteen specific medieval churches using other positions.⁷⁶ The vast majority (71%) of the medieval

churches in Brandon and Brandon's *Parish Churches* had towers on the western façade, but it also illustrated five examples of towers over transepts just to the west of the chancel, seven examples of bell cotes, three towers on the south

side, and two free-standing towers.⁷⁷ The statement that a western tower "is of the same breadth externally as the nave of the Church" made sense only in a church with aisles, as were most of the examples discussed by the Brandons, but not in the



FIG. 24. BARRIEFIELD, ST. MARK'S, INTERIOR FROM WESTERN GALLERY. | PAUL CHRISTIANSON, 2007.

Gothic Revival Anglican churches built in Canada West during the 1840s, which had considerably wider naves than towers (figs. 1, 8, 13, 14, 15).

Again drawing upon medieval precedents, the recommendations stated that the "principal entrance to English Parish Churches is on the south side" and that an "entrance by the west is much less frequent; and is unadvisable in this country [Canada]" because of cold west winds. Brandon and Brandon supported the first of these statements (89% of the churches discussed had south entry porches), but also made clear that western entrances (57% of the churches discussed had them, overwhelmingly through a western tower) were also common. Clearly, this recommendation was attempting to introduce another major change in Anglican church architecture under the guise of precedent.

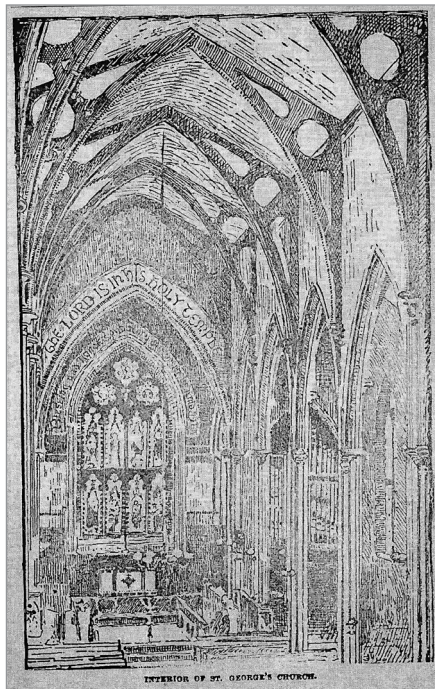


FIG. 25. TORONTO, ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR, INTERIOR. | ROBERTSON, *LANDMARKS OF TORONTO*, VOL. 4, P. 9.

The next portion of the Recommendations of 1850 dealt with the foundation, basement, floor, and walls and consisted largely of practical suggestions to make church buildings better withstand the weather.⁷⁸ "Care should be taken that the foundation may be fully adequate to the height and size of the structure, and that it should be well drained. A foundation should likewise be laid for the Font, and a drain carried from it to the main drain." The latter presupposed a large, stone baptismal font. They also applied English practices to the Canadian context: "All passages and open spaces within the Church are in England paved with square tiles or with stone; and it would be safer in respect to fire, if such a plan could be adopted in this country; and at all events in the areas, where the stoves are intended to stand, should be paved."⁷⁹ They included many imperative statements: "The space under the Font

should at all events not be made of wood. In some cases the support of the pulpit should be fixed before the floor is laid." Brick walls "should be never less than fourteen inches. When covered externally with stone, or constructed entirely of stone, the walls should never be less than eighteen inches thick."⁸⁰ The statement that "buttresses" provided "greater strength" to walls "without a proportionate increase of expense, but they should not be employed merely for ornament," drew upon the stress by Pugin and many Ecclesiologists that the ornament of buildings should come from a true expression of structure.

This applied as well to the structure of roofs, an important recommendation that summed up succinctly many of the arguments made previously by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists and worth quoting in full:

10. ROOF.—In the construction of the roof strength and durability should be most regarded. If there are not horizontal tie beams at the foot of the principal rafters, great care should be taken that the cross tie beams, collar beams, braces, kingposts, &c. (according to the style adopted) shall be substantial, and well braced together; otherwise the trusses will have a tendency to spread and thrust out the walls. According to English practice the distance of the trusses never exceeds ten feet; and neither joists nor rafters are placed more than twelve inches apart in the clear.

The timbers of the roof may to a great extent be permitted to appear internally; and with proper management may be made highly ornamental. Iron is not suitable for the external covering of the roof, as it is liable to rust partially, lead is likewise liable to blister with the heat and consequently to admit the wet. Slate is frequently employed in England, and can now be procured in this country. Battlements have not as yet been

adopted with success in this country; as they retain the snow, and cause it when melting to sink into the walls.

It is advisable that the roof should be of a high pitch, in order both to carry off the snow and rain more speedily, and to prevent the wind from driving snow or rain under the shingles or tiles or other covering. A height equal to three-fourths of the external breadth will be sufficient; but many churches have been recently built by the most esteemed English architects, on which the sides of the roof form an equilateral triangle with the breadth.⁸¹

This started off with practical recommendations about the structures supporting roofs, which may have drawn upon either Brandon and Brandon's *Parish Churches*, or the much more extensive and systematic coverage in their book *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages* (fig. 23).⁸² It went on to open the prospect of permitting "the timbers of the roof" to "appear internally," as done in many medieval roofs and as revived recently in England by Pugin and other architects, who used "proper management," so that the construction was "made highly ornamental."⁸³ Several examples of this style of construction already existed among the recently built Anglican churches in Canada West, including the hammer beam rafters of St. Mark's, Barriefield (1843-1844) (fig. 24), and St. George's, Trenton (1845), and the beams and rafters of St. George the Martyr (1844-1845), Toronto (fig. 25).

The call for roofs with a "high pitch" to handle the local weather sounded practical enough, but—in reality—the only Anglican church then existing in British North America with a roof as steep as an "equilateral triangle," that is sixty degrees at each angle, was St. Anne's, Fredericton (fig. 26). The revival of high-pitched roofs supported by internally visible cross beams



FIG. 26. FREDERICTON, ST. ANNE'S. | COFFMAN, *NEWFOUNDLAND GOTHIC*, P. 57, FIG. 3.3.

or hammer beams was often practiced by Pugin and received early and lasting support from the Ecclesiologists.⁸⁴ It marked a significant part of their campaign of privileging Early English and Decorated styles of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture over the "debased" Perpendicular and the "pagan" classical ecclesiastical architecture of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The former had sharply pointed arches and high-pitched roofs, the true marks of "Christian" architecture, while the latter had flatter arches or rounded arches and lower pitched roofs.

In the Recommendations of 1850, that on "WINDOWS" had a practical tone, noting that they

should be fewer and smaller than is usually the case, to exclude the glare and heat of the sun in summer, and the cold and the



FIG. 27. TORONTO, ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR, MARBLE FONT FROM 1850. | MALCOLM THURLBY, 2016.

glare of the snow in winter. For similar reasons they should be altogether over the heads of the congregation; as well as to prevent the attention of the congregation from being distracted by external objects. Their form will depend on the style of architecture adopted.⁸⁵

The recommendation on "CHIMNEYS" warned against concealing them "in pinnacles or crosses or other ornaments," and noted that "they may with proper care be rendered ornamental without disguising their actual character."⁸⁶ This reflected the design ideal articulated by Pugin that ornament should reflect the structure and materials of a building.

A long section on the "CHANCEL" in the Recommendations of 1850 spelled out the structure and furnishing of this important part of churches in lavish and specific detail.

13. CHANCEL.—Every Church should have a chancel separated from the nave by an arch; and except where the Church is very small it should be narrower and lower than the rest of the Church. This is the almost invariable practice in England, and is recommended by various reasons; the principal of which is that it is more conducive to reverence in regard to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The chancel should never be less than twelve feet in internal width nor less than nine feet in length.

The perfect chancel consists, 1st of the sanctuary or presbytery, in which the Lord's Table stands, and which is generally enclosed with a low rail; 2nd of a space for the accommodation of the clergy upon public occasions, and in which any clergyman may take his place who is not officiating at the altar or in the pulpit, and in some cases affording room for the choir; and 3rd of an open space of at least five feet between both for the ready access of the communicants in the Lord's Table, for the approach of candidates for confirmation, and for other purposes. When so arranged the chancel may have one step at its entrance, and another at the end of the space for the Clergy and Choir; and in all cases there should be at least two steps at the commencement of the Sanctuary, the altar [*sic*] rails standing upon the highest. The Communion Table may likewise stand on a raised platform within the rails. In a succession of steps, each should be fully one foot in width.⁸⁷

By "narrower and lower than the rest of the Church," the recommendation meant less wide than the nave and lower in height than the nave from the floor to the ceiling, with the proviso that the floor of the chancel was still to be a step or two above that of the nave. This led to an external as well as an internal differentiation of the chancel from the nave.

This recommendation also referred to "the almost invariable practice in England" and used that phrase to privilege English churches built during the Middle Ages above those built after the Reformation. Ironically, the minimum size recommended for chancels fell far short of both medieval proportions and those advocated by Reverend Neale: "as a general rule, the Chancel should not be less than the third, or more than the half, of the whole length of the church."⁸⁸ Even large Anglican churches built in British North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had relatively small chancels.⁸⁹ Larger chancels arrived in Canada West in the 1840s, including a number of substantial churches with chancels that either matched or exceeded the minimum size spelled out in the Recommendations of 1850.⁹⁰ For many Anglicans, this aspect of the recommendation on chancels hardly marked a radical innovation.

The second paragraph envisaged three spaces in the chancel: (1) a space for the "Lord's Table" or "Communion Table"—terms used by most Anglicans in Canada West for what Ecclesiologists called the "Altar"—at the east end and "enclosed with a low rail," (2) a space for seating the clergy and "in some cases a choir," and (3) a space of at least five feet for "communicants," "candidates for confirmation, and for other purposes." With over five feet for the "Sanctuary," five feet more for times when lay people normally entered the chancel, and six to ten feet for the clergy and choir, the "perfect chancel" would have taken at least twice the nine-foot depth recommended in the first paragraph. This section also recommended a step at the entrance to the chancel from the nave, an additional step "at the end of the space for the Clergy and Choir," an additional "two steps at the commencement of the Sanctuary,"

with the altar rails on the highest of these, and "a raised platform within the rails" for the "Communion Table."⁹¹ In effect this would have emphasized the importance of communion by elevating the clergy above the lay worshippers in the nave and the elements of bread and wine even above the seated clergy and choir seated in the chancel. It would have produced a similar visual effect to the arrangements advocated in somewhat different language by the Ecclesiologists. In 1850, few if any Anglican churches in Canada West had choirs sitting in the chancel.

The furnishing of the Chancel received further elaboration in an additional recommendation that spelled out in detail the design, size, and placement of furniture in the "Sanctuary." It started off by stipulating that: "The Lord's Table should never be of smaller dimensions than four feet by two and a half feet; and it should not be less than three feet, nor more than three feet three inches in height. If more than seven feet in length, the breadth must be increased proportionally. It should be of solid and good materials, and not like a common table."⁹² In addition, it stipulated that: "The table should be furnished with a kneeling stool at each end," specifying the exact size for these stools, and noting that the "altar rails should be solid and substantial, most commonly with a gate in the centre, and not higher than two feet six inches above the kneeling place for communicants."⁹³ Clearly such exacting specifications indicated the importance of the "Sanctuary" and of communion as a central part of worship for the committee members who drafted these recommendations.

The revival of *sedilia* (the stone seats built into chancel walls in medieval churches) and a credence table to hold the elements of communion during the early sections

of the liturgy were supported without mentioning their medieval names. The latter received a subtle advocacy:

There is often found a niche or bracket in the north or south wall of the Sanctuary, for receiving the sacred elements and vessels, previous to the time, when according to the Rubric, "The Priest shall place upon the Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient." In place of this bracket is sometimes fixed a small stone table; or a moveable one of wood is placed in some convenient position.

Reverend Neale noted several alternatives for what he called the "Table of Prothesis, or Credence," and left it up to parishes to decide which to adopt.⁹⁴ Like those who put together these recommendations, he assumed that all churchmen would wish to revive this furniture and the relevant ceremonies.

Both of these parts of the Recommendations of 1850 relied for support on selected precedents: "In many Churches, both ancient and modern, there are seats either of wood or stone against or in the south wall of the sanctuary, for the Clergy officiating at the Holy Communion."⁹⁵ This was true for many of the medieval churches documented in Brandon and Brandon's *Parish Churches* and in a smaller number of "modern" churches, largely designed by Pugin or architects influenced by the Ecclesiologists. In Upper Canada and Canada West, seats for clergy had hitherto consisted either of a pew at the front of the nave or more commonly of chairs in a contemporary style; either stalls or sedilia in the chancel would have seemed like innovations.⁹⁶

The privileged place accorded by the Recommendations of 1850 to the chancel as the locus of worship received further

support under the heading of the choir. Because it showed strong support for a growing trend in Anglican worship in England that came to have a strong impact in British North America and elsewhere, it deserves quotation in full:

CHOIR.—In all ancient Churches and in many modern ones provision is made for the accommodation of the Clergy in the Chancel, where those who are not otherwise officiating are supposed to be leading the congregation, both in ordinary responses and in those portions which are sung by the congregation. Seats facing each other are accordingly provided for them on each side of the Chancel, at the part nearest to the congregation. These seats are raised one or two steps and should be at least three feet from back to front, and with kneeling boards of at least ten inches broad and not more than eight inches in height sloping an inch and a half.

In many churches seats are provided in front of those for the singers. Where that is not thought desirable, it will be found more conducive to congregational worship to place the singers in seats fronting each other next to the chancel, rather than in a separate gallery at the west end of the Church. This likewise has a tendency to check the irreverence too often shown by younger singers; by bringing them more into contact with the clergy, and under their eye and that of the congregation.

Some such arrangement is in accordance with the universal practice in ancient Churches, down to a comparatively recent period.

That section envisaged the clergy and choir "leading the congregation" in worship either from elevated seats in the chancel or from "seats fronting each other next to the chancel." The leadership of the clergy and choir applied "both in

ordinary responses" during the liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* "and in those portions which are sung by the congregation." The assertion that "many churches" seated their choirs either in the chancel or in the east end of the nave made little sense for Anglicans in Canada West in 1850. However, this practice had gained increasing support from Ecclesiologists and High Churchmen in England.

Although the Ecclesiologists initially had mixed feelings about having lay people sit in the chancel during worship except when receiving Holy Communion, they eventually came to advocate both of these locations for the choir during the 1840s.⁹⁷ In an article on the plans for a new church from 1841, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* wrote: "At the east end of the Nave are stalls for the choir; and this seems a perfectly unobjectionable arrangement, though they might, without any deviation from Church rules, have been placed on each side of the Chancel."⁹⁸ Exclusion of lay people from the chancel except during communion and locating the choir at the east end of the nave were upheld by *The Ecclesiologist* in 1842 and 1843.⁹⁹ This location for the choir was used at Holy Trinity, Toronto, in 1849, where an English visitor reported: "[T]here was a choir of at least forty voices, the greater part men, just before the chancel, arranged in two parties; their chanting, which was antiphonal, was indeed very fine; the most masculine, I think, I ever heard."¹⁰⁰ This church did not have an extensive enough chancel to seat a large choir.

In 1843, a pamphlet on church enlargement printed by the Cambridge Camden Society and probably written by John Mason Neale (but published anonymously) placed "the singers" during worship in the chancel on the principle that: "None ought to be in the Chancel but they who are taking an actual part in

the performance of the Divine Office, and they ought.”¹⁰¹ In order to put this into effect, Reverend Neale recommended that: “The Chancel will have two, or if very large, may have three, rows of open seats on each side . . . One of these stalls, on the South side, next to the wall, must be a little elevated, and will be the reading-pue. The other stalls will serve for the choristers, and for the communicants during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.”¹⁰² In a footnote to an article “On the Distinction of Chancel and Sacarium” in April 1846, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* supported the “church arrangement of the north of Europe, in which a merely chorus *conforum*, though composed chiefly of lay-men, has always been considered so far ecclesiastical as . . . its monastic original . . .”¹⁰³ This argument opened the way for ecclesiological support of both locations for the choir mentioned in the Toronto Recommendations of 1850.

The case made by both the Ecclesiologists and the Recommendations of 1850 that “[s]ome such arrangement is in accordance with the universal practice in ancient Churches, down to a comparatively recent period,” ignored the fact that worship had changed after the Reformation in England. Privileging the worship practices of the Middle Ages over those of Anglicans in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, it disputed the legitimacy of the very widespread practice in Anglican churches of having the organ and choir located in “a separate gallery at the west end of the Church.”¹⁰⁴ The recommendation on “CHOIRS” advocated a major reorientation of worship, with the clergy and choir leading a sung liturgy from the front of the church.¹⁰⁵

The sacramental concerns of the Ecclesiologists also came out strongly

in a concise but detailed section of the Recommendations of 1850 that dealt with baptismal fonts and specified their location, dimensions, drainage, and construction.

FONT.—The Font is required by the Canons to be of stone, and to be placed “in the ancient usual places”; that is near the principal entrance of the Church, as already described. It should not be less than one foot ten inches in internal diameter, nor more than three feet four inches in height [*sic*] from the place on which the minister stands. A hole should be pierced in the bottom of the font, and through the shaft to the ground, to let off the water; which should always be placed in the font itself. Most stone requires to be lined with zinc or lead; otherwise the water is apt to exude.

This recommendation mirrored the equivalent one in the English “Instructions of the Church-Building Society” of 1842:

FONT.—To be fixed at the west end of the building, or as near as convenient to the principal entrance, but not so as to be under a gallery. Care to be taken that sufficient space is allowed for the sponsors to kneel. The font to be of stone as directed by the Canon, and large enough to admit of the immersion of infants. To be provided with a water-drain.¹⁰⁶

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, baptism had remained an important sacrament, but large stone fonts had gone out of style and basins of water, often located near the east end of the nave, had commonly replaced them. Insistence upon the usage of large stone fonts as “required by the Canons” had received firm support from the Ecclesiologists from 1841 onward.¹⁰⁷

During the early years of the settlement of Upper Canada, the relative few itinerant

Anglican missionaries had used basins of various sorts for baptism. Addressing the more settled congregations in his “Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of York” made at various locations in September 1849, Archdeacon Bethune spoke of the “Apostle’s command,—‘Let all things be done decently and in order,’” and applied this to the provision of a surplice for the clergyman, “appropriate linen coverings for the Lord’s Table” and “an appropriate service of Communion Plate and a Font—the means for a right administration of the two Sacraments of the Church; where a sense of duty in holy things would forbid the employment of vessels adapted to the common uses and conveniences of life.”¹⁰⁸ Even large stone fonts had appeared in Anglican churches in Canada West before the Recommendations of the Church Society came into effect. In 1848, St. James’ Anglican Cathedral, Toronto, had a Gothic Revival stone font. In March 1850, a stone font was installed at St. George the Martyr, Toronto (fig. 27). According to an article in *The Church* on the latter, “The general character of the Font is of the earliest style of Early English, and was designed by the Rev. Dr. Beaven, who exhibited his usual correct taste and excellent judgment.”¹⁰⁹ This provided another example of Reverend Beaven supporting the content of the Recommendations of 1850 before they appeared in print.

Although the recommendations emphasized the liturgy and the sacraments of baptism and communion, they also made provision for preaching by giving detailed advice on the location, shape, and size of the pulpit. Much earlier in the nineteenth century, the Church Building Commissioners in England had recommended having the pulpit on one side of the Chancel arch and a lectern on the other.¹¹⁰ This was becoming standard in Britain and British North America, so the committee could with some justification

argue that: “The most general position for the pulpit is in the part of the nave nearest the chancel on the north side.” In addition, it specified the shape and orientation: “The form may be pentagon, hexagon, or octagon; the second being the best. It should have a desk on at least three sides; the middle part of which should look diagonally as near as possible towards the opposite corner of the church.” Although central pulpits either in the chancel or just inside the nave had graced early Anglican churches in Upper Canada, these had become increasingly replaced by pulpits located “in the part of the nave nearest the chancel.” While this section stated the shape and location of pulpits, it built upon recent trends and probably would not have seemed controversial to contemporaries.¹¹¹

Normal Anglican worship required furniture from which the incumbent could read or chant the liturgy, offer the prayers of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and read the lessons from the Scriptures mandated therein. In the Recommendations of 1850, the section on “READING DESK” specified that:

In many cases, both ancient and modern, the reading desk is made by fitting up, in a suitable manner, the last seat of the chancel on the south side, next the body of the Church. When that is not thought advisable, it may be placed either on the same side as the pulpit, but lower—or on the opposite side in a corresponding position. A square form is best; and it should be at least three and half feet square, and about the same height internally; and may be furnished with two desks, one looking down the Church for the lessons, and the other looking across for the prayers. It should likewise be furnished with a kneeling stool, like those at the altar.

In 1841, Reverend Neale attacked what he saw as the modern “reading pue” and

recommended a “faldstool,” a small desk with a place to kneel, for praying the litany and a “lettern” on the opposite side from the pulpit for reading the Scriptures.¹¹² By 1843, he supported using a stall on the south side of the chancel as a “reading pue.”¹¹³ In 1844, the Cambridge Camden Society published a drawing of an approved two-sided “Oak Lettern” for reading passages from the Scriptures (fig. 28).¹¹⁴ The reading desk described in this recommendation sounded like an amalgamation of a “faldstool” and a “lettern.”

The section on the “NAVE” in the Recommendations of 1850 opened with: “There should be a passage up the middle of the nave, of not less than four feet in width, and another of similar breadth from the south door, and north door if any.”¹¹⁵ In Upper Canada and Canada West, although Anglican churches normally had their entrances in the west end, a “passage up the middle of the nave” had not become universal. Even among those built during the 1840s, St. James’, Kingston, and Little Trinity, Toronto, had two aisles divide their naves into three sections of pews (see fig. 16). However, St. George the Martyr and Holy Trinity, Toronto, St. Mark’s, Barriefield, St. Paul’s, Kingston, and St. John’s, Portsmouth, all had a central passage in their naves. Of these churches, only St. John’s used a south porch as the main entrance (fig. 29).

The section on the “NAVE” also stipulated that the “pews themselves should be all placed so as to look towards the chancel,” specifying that the “only exception allowed should be the clergy and the choir,” with the clergy sitting in the chancel facing toward the north and the choir sitting either in the chancel or at the east end of the nave facing each other on opposite sides of the central passage. Nor were tall traditional pews envisaged.¹¹⁶ “The backs of pews need

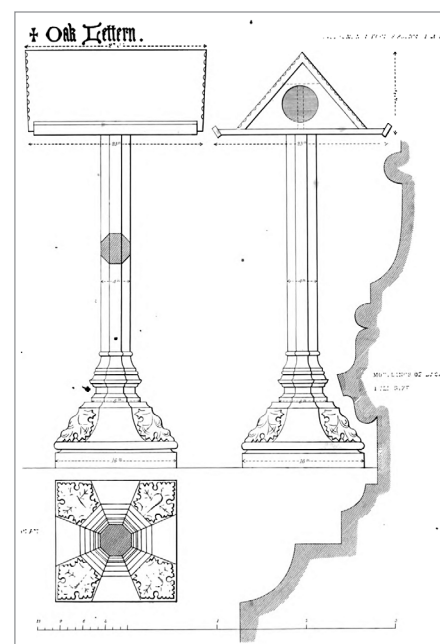


FIG. 28. “OAK LETTERN” FROM 1844. | *INSTRUMENTA ECCLESIASTICA*, PLATE II.



FIG. 19. PORTSMOUTH, ST. JOHN'S. | GEORGE LILLEY FROM 1949, BY PERMISSION OF THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, V25.5-8-414. COURTESY OF JENNIFER MCKENDRY.

not be more than three feet in height. Each pew to be at least three feet from back to front, and to be furnished with a kneeling board not less than ten inches wide, nor more than eight inches high, sloping one inch and a half, and covered and stuffed.”¹¹⁷ The substitution of slip pews for traditional box pews—strongly pushed by the Ecclesiologists—had become more common in the 1840s and received strong support here.

The Recommendations of 1850 likewise contained a section on “PORCHES” that envisaged several entrances to parish churches based upon medieval usage, with a south door as the principal entrance. “The south door according to English usage almost invariably has a porch, projecting at least eighty [*sic*] feet, and wide enough to admit seats along each side. In this country it ought to be furnished with an outer door. A small porch will be sufficient for the north door. The chancel door rarely has a porch in ancient churches; but it may perhaps be desirable in this country.” This recommendation again conflated “English usage” with medieval usage. The notion that churches needed a porch “projecting at least eighty feet” would have seemed eccentric whether judged by medieval or contemporary practice. It probably was a misprint for “eight feet,” the approximate length of many of the south porches illustrated on the ground plans of the medieval parish churches documented by the Brandons. The three longest south porches that they included measured about twenty feet.¹¹⁸ The recommendation also argued for a south porch as a buffer during the harsh winter weather of Canada West, whereas in many churches built there before 1850, an extended passage through a western tower entrance served the same purpose.

The Recommendations of 1850 dealt with “TOWERS” in a practical way by stressing the need for stone or brick towers having thick walls—“never thinner than three feet”—at the base “even when strengthened with buttresses.” This recognized brick as an approved building material, but this section also added the surprising caveat that: “It is not desirable to have an entrance through the tower, as it interferes with the ringing of the bell.” Almost all existing Anglican churches in Canada West in 1850 had their primary entrance

through a tower at the ecclesiastical west end, as did many of the medieval parish churches illustrated by the Brandons. Even *The Ecclesiologist* defended the primacy of western towers as “in accordance with ancient precedent. We believe that nineteen churches out of twenty have their towers in the position which we recommend,” and it made no prohibition to an entrance through a tower.¹¹⁹ The attempt to prohibit an entrance through a tower, therefore, must have seemed at best eccentric and at worst unprecedented in Canada West.

However, the paragraphs on towers did stress a long-standing position of the Ecclesiologists that tall towers with spires were less important than other architectural elements of a church:

When there is any difficulty in providing the cost of a tower, it may either be carried up temporarily only to the height of the Church; or it may be dispensed with altogether, and its place supplied by a bell turret, or bell-gable, either of which may be rendered ornamental. It is much better to adopt either of these courses, than to omit any more necessary part of the Church, for the sake of a tower.

Reverend Neale had argued in 1841 that: “It must always be kept in mind, that the Tower, though a highly ornamental, is not an essential part of a church; and the really essential parts should never be sacrificed for it. A bell gable may be made a beautiful ornament, and is very well suited to a small church.”¹²⁰ The section on “TOWERS” finished with a revealing sentence that spelled out what constituted these “really essential parts”: “A church character may be more effectually given to the building by a proper chancel and porch and by attention to the pitch of the roof,” than by a tower. As previously indicated, the Ecclesiologists

stressed both the chancel and a steeply pitched roof above a tower for constituting a “correct” church. More than one architect took these words at the end of this recommendation to heart. The use of a “bell turret,” the principal entrance through a south porch, and a steeply pitched roof would all appear in a newly erected Anglican stone church, St. John’s, Portsmouth, in 1851 (fig. 27 and fig. 17), and at St. Peter’s, Barton, in 1852 (fig. 3).¹²¹ *The Ecclesiologist* had recommended this format for colonial churches and it had been followed in Australia and New Zealand much earlier than in Canada West.¹²²

The Recommendations of 1850 finished with a penultimate one on “WARMTH,” which advised that a stove producing heat “be placed near a door so that the heat may be carried into the church,” and a concluding one on the “CHURCHYARD.” The latter argued that the “Churchyard may be planted with a few trees, such as hemlocks, cedar, balsam, English or Canadian thorn, mountain ash, abele, locust, &c., for ornament, and to provide the means of decorating the church at festivals” and that it “should be well fenced in some style accordant with the Church, so as to exclude animals from it.” This section envisaged “burial in the Churchyard” as normal, but also saw the importance of securing “at an early period a spot of ground at a distance which may serve as a burial ground at some future day.” And it also sought to prohibit carriages from entering the churchyard, which it claimed was “entirely contrary to English custom.” From the beginning to the end, this set of recommendations on the building and furnishing of Anglican churches in the Diocese of Toronto drew upon a particular reading of “English custom” to enforce a largely ecclesiological interpretation of architecture and worship.

THE RECEPTION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF 1850

On April 25, 1850—a week after the publication of the Recommendations of 1850—an anonymous editorial appeared in *The Church* that praised “the very excellent ‘Recommendations of the Church Building Committee of the Church Society, in regard to Churches and their Precincts.’”¹²³ The tone of the article sounded at the beginning of the second paragraph:

The seemliness of God’s Sanctuary, and the appropriateness of its general arrangements, can never be regarded as a light thing, by any properly instructed Christian; and we hail the recommendations alluded to with much pleasure, as a step taken towards the important object of diffusing among our people a more correct knowledge, and a purer taste, in the erection of our Church than at present prevails.

The discourse of “any properly instructed Christian,” “a more correct knowledge,” and “a purer taste,” as well as the criticisms and remedies it suggested, must have reminded readers of that in the article published by the writer A.B. in *The Church* more than a year earlier and, indeed, of the Ecclesiologists in general. This editorial ignored the moving of the choir to the chancel or the east end of the nave in order to lead the congregation in singing a choral service that constituted an important part of the Recommendations of 1850 and rather concentrated on architecture.

Deploring the ignorance of “the most elementary knowledge of the principles of ecclesiastical architecture and arrangement” that prevailed among the Anglicans of Canada West, the editorial suggested three remedies. First, that “every candidate for Holy Orders” should

be “required,” as part of their theological education, to obtain “some acquaintance with the principles and proprieties of ecclesiastical arrangement.” Clergy needed this knowledge to take a leadership role in the design of churches “for the simple reason that the principles” of the “ecclesiastical arrangement” of churches “are rather theological than architectural.” Second, it also suggested that: “where the services of a proper Architect can be obtained, and where the Building Committee can be persuaded to secure them, it will generally be found in the end to be the best economy to commit the supervision and responsibility of the work to a professional man.” Third, the initial step in educating Anglicans—both clerical and lay—on the design and furnishing of churches involved a careful study of the recommendations as published in *The Church*: “No Churchman, we think, however uninformed upon these matters, could fail, if he studied them with anything like attention to form a tolerably clear and correct idea of those leading features by which our churches should be characterized.”¹²⁴

The editorial further suggested that “the Church Society” procure “from properly qualified Architects such a variety of plans as might be deemed advisable, with all the working drawings, specifications, estimates, forms of contract, &c. &c. necessary for the erection of small, plain, and inexpensive churches, in wood, brick or stone,” to be printed and provided to congregations that have “resolved upon the erection of a church.” When the Recommendations of 1850 were adopted by the Church Society later in the year, it established a committee to work on the drafting of plans for smaller churches.¹²⁵ In addition, the editorial argued for the strict following of the recommendations as a requirement of receiving financial support from the Church Society:

Let it further be understood that the Church Society will grant no assistance, and that the Bishop will recommend no application to the Societies at home for aid, unless the proposed Church shall be erected according to some one of these authorized plans, or others to be approved. Let some such measures be adopted, and we will venture to predict that before two years shall have passed away impropriety of arrangement in new church will be the exception rather than the rule.¹²⁶

The “Societies at home” meant both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had provided considerable financial support for Anglicans in British North America, and other church charities in England and Ireland. Only by making financial assistance contingent upon following the Recommendations of 1850, this article suggested, could the important principles and details contained in the recommendations fully come into existence.

Any doubts about the position taken by *The Church* on Anglican worship and ecclesiastical architecture were dispelled in a subsequent editorial on the “Recommendations of the Church Building Committee.” It started by quoting from recommendation twenty-three that “in wooden churches it is far from necessary to have a tower or spire; a church character may be more effectually given to the building, by a proper chancel and porch, and by attention to the pitch of the roof.” The author deplored the normal building of “auditory” churches some “thirty feet broad by forty or fifty long” and asked that Anglicans instead erect churches with “good-sized and well-arranged chancels” along with a “projecting porch and vestry and the high-pitched roof” to differentiate their places of worship from those of “our Dissenting friends.”¹²⁷ This identified a particular style of Gothic

Revival church architecture as “Anglican” and saw it as different from “Dissenting” architecture, despite the fact that the Church of England and Ireland was not an established church in Canada West and, therefore, no “Dissenters” existed there.

However, this editorial also voiced a coherent, reasonably succinct spiritual rationale for the emphasis on the chancel and the importance of communion in the life of the church.

Now, when there is a spacious, well defined, and properly furnished chancel, the congregation constantly behold that part of it within the rails, distinctly and strikingly separated from the rest of the Church; and why is it thus separated? In order that it may be devoted exclusively to the administration of that Holy Sacrament, while it is to be looked upon in a much higher light, is also a memorial of the Saviour’s *death*. All other parts of the Church ought, in a proper sense, to be subordinate to this, because it is that deep mystery of love which is there commemorated which alone gives efficacy and blessing to all other rites and offices that are celebrated within the sacred walls.¹²⁸

This theological stress upon the chancel as the place for the celebration of communion underlay many of the detailed “Recommendations of the Church Building Committee.” The centrality of the “Holy Sacrament,” of the “Lord’s Table,” and the chancel, also helped to explain the shift of the choir and organ from the west to the east end of the church, especially with the new emphasis on a sung choral liturgy. Changes in theology and worship involved changes in architecture.

The impact of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists on Anglican church architecture in New Brunswick and Newfoundland has significantly interested architectural historians.¹²⁹ The influence of the Ecclesiologists

upon Anglican worship and church architecture in Canada West has received growing attention.¹³⁰ No doubt some Anglican clergymen, especially those educated at Cambridge, Oxford, Trinity College (Dublin), or even King’s College (Fredericton), had some familiarity with these trends in architecture and worship, but they received their initial systematic articulation in *The Church* in early 1849 in an article on the choral services at St. Mark’s College and in a letter from the writer A.B. on the worship and architecture of Anglican churches in British North America within the context of the first three issues of *The New York Ecclesiologist*. The article on St. Mark’s College spelled out and defended in detail the architecture of the chapel and the nature of the choral services performed there by a highly trained choir made up of students. It also held this forth as an ideal for Anglican worship in general. The letter from A.B. denigrated the Anglican churches built in Upper Canada and Canada West as inferior architecture and called for an ecclesiological remedy. Together with the discussion of competition to build a new Anglican cathedral in Toronto, it helped to spark interest in Gothic Revival church architecture in the pages of that periodical, a discussion that led to the formulation of the Recommendations discussed above.

“CORRECT” WORSHIP AND ARCHITECTURE IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

Taken as a whole, the “Recommendations by the Church Building Committee of the Church Society, in Regard to Churches and their Precincts” constituted a remarkable published document that spoke to the impact and enforcement of ecclesiological positions in Canada West in the middle of the nineteenth century. It provided a framework for the building of new

and the remodeling of existing Anglican churches in the Diocese of Toronto by laying down a specific model for what constituted an “Anglican” church. Both the Recommendations and the discussion in *The Church* that preceded and succeeded their publication demonstrate a strong reception of ecclesiological ideas on worship and architecture—at least in some clerical circles—in Canada West by 1850. The sections on the “CHANCEL,” “SANCTUARY,” and “CHOIR” presented remarkably up-to-date ecclesiological recommendations. The fusion between a particular archaeological style of Gothic Revival church architecture and the revival of a sung liturgy based upon Gregorian chants and the music in Merbecke’s *Book of Common Prayer Noted* had only started to take place among the English church musicians and Ecclesiologists during the 1840s and would solidify in the 1850s.¹³¹ The Recommendations had a great impact upon worship and architecture not only in the Diocese of Toronto, but in the neighbouring Diocese of Quebec, as exemplified in the “Circular to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec” issued on January 4, 1851.¹³² These would join with the ongoing leadership of Bishop John Medley in the Diocese of Fredericton and Bishop Edward Field in the Diocese of Newfoundland to produce a powerful movement to introduce and enforce the strictures of the Ecclesiologists as the model for Anglican architecture and worship in British North America.

NOTES

1. For these leaders of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada and Canada West, see the following entries in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online (DCBOnline)* [www.biographi.ca]: Craig, Gerald M., 2000, “John Strachan,” accessed January 6, 2017; Anderson, Allan J., 2000, “George Okill Stuart,” accessed June 9, 2015; and Thompson, Arthur N., 2000, “Alexander Neil Bethune,” accessed July 13, 2011.

2. Letter from John Strachan to William Hay, May 1846, Strachan Papers (Archives of Ontario), as quoted in Vattay, Sharon, 2001, *Defining "Architect" in Nineteenth-century Toronto: The Practices of George Howard and Thomas Young*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of History of Art, University of Toronto, p. 162; available online: [<https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/16537/1/NQ58974.pdf>], accessed May 12, 2016. Among these, John George Howard designed the following Anglican churches built in the 1840s: St. Paul's, Toronto (1841), Holy Trinity, Chippawa (1841), St. James', Dundas (1841), St. John's, York Mills (1843-1844), and Christ Church, Tyendinaga (1843). During the same decade, Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane also designed many Anglican churches, including: Little Trinity, Toronto (1843-1844), St. George the Martyr, Toronto (1844-1845), St. Paul's, Kingston (1845), and Holy Trinity, Toronto (1846-1847), while Alfred Varnell Brunel designed St. Mark's, Barriefield (1843-1844), and used this design for St. George's, Trenton (1845), as well. See MacRae, Marion and Anthony Adamson, 1975, *Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada*, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin; also the listings under Howard, John George, and Lane, Henry Bowyer Joseph in the online *Dictionary of Architects in Canada* (DAC), [www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org], accessed respectively on November 27, 2009, and November 9, 2009. For Brunel, see Christianson, Paul, 2010, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* (JSSAC), vol. 35, no. 1, p. 17-30.
3. For example, see the ceremonies involved in laying the cornerstone for St. James' Anglican Church, Stuartville (on the western fringe of Kingston), in September 1844, which involved Bishop Strachan, Archdeacon Stuart, and Reverend Bethune, along with other clergy, and the opening of that church on August 24, 1845. *Kingston News*, October 3, 1844; and *The Church*, September 5, 1845, p. 34.
4. See the praise of choir at Holy Trinity Anglican in the English periodical *The Parish Choir*, quoted in *The Church*, January 18, 1849, p. 98; and the praise for the singing school at St. George's Anglican Church, Kingston, in *The Church*, April 12, 1849, p. 147. Publication of *The Parish Choir* began in 1847; for the early years of this periodical and its relationship with the Ecclesiologists, see Adelman, Dale, 1997, *The Contribution of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-1862*, Aldershot, Brookfield, Singapore, Sydney, Ashgate, p. 43-45.
5. *The Church*, January 25, 1849, p. 101, 104; and February 22, 1849, p. 118. St. Mark's College was established in 1842 in Chelsea to train schoolmasters by the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. The Reverend Thomas Helmore, a recent graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, became precentor and vice-principal of St. Mark's College in 1842 and kept this position after he was appointed choirmaster of the Chapel Royal in 1846. The choral service at St. Mark's College became one of the most important forces in the revival of a sung liturgy in the Church of England and Ireland. See Rainbow, Bernarr, 1970, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)*, New York, Oxford University Press, chap. 3.
6. Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, 1836, *Contrasts: or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day*, London, John Weale.
7. Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, [2nd ed.] 1841, *Contrasts or A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day*, London, John Weale; and Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, 1841, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London, John Weale.
8. The impact of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists upon ecclesiastical architecture in North America has received considerable discussion. See, especially: Stanton, Phoebe B., 1968, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press; Kalman, Harold, 1994, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols., Toronto, Oxford University Press, vol. I, p. 279-296; Bennett, Vicki, 1997, *Sacred Space and Structural Style: The Embodiment of Socio-Religious Ideology*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press; and Coffman, Peter, 2008, *Newfoundland Gothic*, Quebec, MultiMondes.
9. Christianson, "St. Mark's Anglican Church..." : 17-30.
10. See: Thurlby, Malcolm, 2015, "Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, NB, with some elementary remarks on the impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills on the arrangements of Anglican churches in New Brunswick," *JSSAC*, vol. 40, no. 1, p. 31-58; Stanton, *The Gothic Revival...* : 130-137; Richardson, Douglas, 2000, "Frank Wills," *DCBOnline*, accessed November 27, 2009; and McFarland, Elizabeth Ann, 2007, *Invisible Text: Reading between the Lines of Frank Wills's Treatise, Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, M.A. thesis, Department of Architecture, Cornell University.
11. Medley, John, 1841, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*, London, P.A. Hannaford. See also Thurlby, "Bishop John Medley..." : 32-33.
12. Wills, Frank, 1850, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, New York, Stanford and Swords.
13. *The Church*, February 22, 1849, p. 118. A.B. was possibly Archdeacon Bethune, Reverend James Beaven, or another Anglican clergyman in the Toronto area. As ecclesiastical commissary (1845) and then archdeacon of York (1847), Bethune had taken over much of the day-to-day administration of the large western portion of the Diocese of Toronto; he edited *The Church* from 1837-1841 and 1843-1847, and had already obtained the reputation of having "ultra high Church" views. (See Thompson, "Bethune," *DCBOnline*, *op. cit.*) A graduate of Oxford, Beaven taught at King's College, Toronto, and he also "had charge of chapel services" where he preached "in the surplice and intoned the service." When King's was closed down, he taught metaphysics at the University of Toronto. Widely published, Beaven remained active in the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto, being elected as one of the vice-presidents from 1844 through 1852. Both Archdeacon Bethune and Reverend Beaven had travelled very widely in the Diocese of Toronto. See: Millman, Thomas R., 2000, "James Beaven," *DCBOnline*, accessed January 19, 2012; and Slater, John G., 2003, *Minerva's Aviary: Philosophy at Toronto, 1843-2003*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, chap. 2.
14. *The Church*, February 22, 1849, p. 118.
15. *Ibid.* Many of these elements of architecture and furnishing had been championed by the Ecclesiologists and will receive detailed discussion below.
16. For the first, see the description of the opening of St. Mary's in *The Church*, January 16, 1851, p. 193-194. For the second and third, see Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological

- Gothic Revival in Ontario," *JSSAC*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60. Also see 1850, *Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, vol. 2 (1849-1850), New Haven, George Bassett, p. 451. Born in St. John, New Brunswick, in 1826, Merritt served first as a missionary and clergyman in the area around Hamilton until 1853, when he received a call to St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Morristown, New Jersey, where he served as rector until his death in 1895. For the latter part of his career, see [www.stpetersmorristown.org/about_us/parish_history], accessed September 2012. The parish history section no longer exists on the website.
17. All of these elements of design and furnishing had received strong support from the publications of the Cambridge Camden Society by the time that they were built; for example, see [Neale, John Mason], 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge University Press, p. 5-6, 11-12, 19-20, reprinted in Webster, Christopher (ed.), 2003, "Temples . . . Worthy of His Presence": *The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading, Spire Books; and 1843-1860, *The Ecclesiologist*, Cambridge, London, and Oxford, Stevenson, Rivingtons, and Parker. Also see the fuller discussion below.
 18. For the complexities of changes in worship in Britain and British North America, see, especially: Yates, Nigel, 1991, *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900*, Oxford, Clarendon Press; Yates, Nigel, 1999, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; Vaudry, Richard W., 2003, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill Queen's University Press; and Craig, Barry L., 2005, *Apostle to the Wilderness: Bishop John Medley and the Evolution of the Anglican Church*, Madison and Teaneck, New Jersey, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. For the musical side, see: Rainbow, *The Choral Revival...*, *op. cit.*; Temperley, Nicholas, 1979, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; and Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists...*, *op. cit.*
 19. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. I, chap. 4-7; and Wilson, Ruth M., 1996, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660-1820*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
 20. Merbecke, John, 1844, *The Book of Common Prayer Noted*, London, William Pickering (a facsimile edition); Jebb, John, 1841, "Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England," *The Christian's Miscellany*, no. 3; and Jebb, John, 1843, *The Choral Service of the Church of England and Ireland*, London, John W. Parker. See also: Rainbow, *The Choral Revival...* : chap. 2-4; Gatens, William J., 1986, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 1-44; Zon, Bennett, 1999, *The English Plainchant Revival*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, chap. 8-9.
 21. Bethune, Alexander Neil, 1829, *Sermons on the Liturgy of the Church of England*, York, U.C. [Toronto], Robert Stanton, p. 43, footnote *.
 22. Millman, "James Beaven," *DCBOnline*. Also see Headon, Christopher F., 1975, "Developments in Canadian Anglican Worship in Eastern and Central Canada, 1840-1868," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, p. 33-34. Reverend Bethune praised the plainsong "sung in the chapel of King's College," Toronto, as "by far the most beautiful music in existence" (quoted in Headon : 33).
 23. Scadding, Henry, 1871, *On a Sung Service and Its Appurtenances*, Toronto, Copp, Clarke and Company, p. 1-4. The position of the choir at Holy Trinity received at least one early notice. (See *The Church*, January 18, 1849, p. 98.) Reverend Scadding attended Upper Canada College, graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, taught at Upper Canada College, became the domestic chaplain of Bishop Strachan (his former tutor) in 1840, and served as the first incumbent of Holy Trinity from 1847 to 1875. Frith, Edith G. and Curtis Fahey, 2000, "Henry Scadding," *DCBOnline*, accessed March 27, 2017.
 24. *The Church*, January 25, 1849, p. 101. *The Parish Choir*, published by the Society for Promoting Church Music from 1846-1851, supported the revival of choral services and printed a considerable number of scores for anthems and choral services for church choirs. By 1849, positions advocated in *The Parish Choir* had received praise in *The Ecclesiologist*. Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists...* : 43-46, 144-146.
 25. *The Church*, January 25, 1849, p. 101.
 26. *Ibid.*
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Id.* : 104.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. Cooke, William (ed.), 1998, *The Parish and Cathedral of St. James', Toronto 1797-1997*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 190.
 31. *Id.* : 194-195.
 32. *The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26. See the comments of Reverend Beaven on log and frame churches in Beaven, James, 1846, *Recreations of a Long Vacation: or, A Visit to Indian Missions in Upper Canada*, London, James Burns and Toronto, H. and W. Rowsell, chap. 20.
 33. *The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26.
 34. See Rickman, Thomas, [3rd ed.] 1825, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, London, Longman. This book went through numerous editions and expanded from 146 pages in 1817 to 414 in 1825, largely due to the inclusion of more specific examples of medieval churches that embodied the various styles. Even the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society followed Rickman's analysis and terms. See: Cambridge Camden Society, [4th ed.] 1843, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 3-17; reprinted in Webster, "Temples . . . Worthy of His Presence..." , *op. cit.*
 35. *The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Bloxam, Matthew Holbeche, [3rd ed.] 1838, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture Elucidated by Question and Answer*, Oxford, J.H. Parker. The much larger 10th ed. appeared in 1859. [Parker, John Henry], 1829, *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, Oxford, John Henry Parker; with many further editions, as late as 1925.
 38. *The Church*, January 2, 1851, p. 182.
 39. *The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26.
 40. *Ibid.* This was Gervase Wheeler, an Englishman who immigrated to the United States and set up an office in Hartford, Connecticut; he designed several important houses and published several books of designs. Tribert, Renée and James F. O'Gorman, 2012, *Gervase Wheeler: A British Architect in America, 1847-1860*, Middleton, CT, Wesleyan University Press.
 41. *The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26. Born and educated in London, Cumberland was a civil engineer as well as an architect who immigrated to Toronto in 1847, where his wife's sisters had married prominent businessmen. See: Armstrong, Frederick H. and Peter Baskerville, 2000, "Frederic William Cumberland," *DCBOnline*, accessed July 13, 2011, and "Cumberland, Frederic William,"

- DAC, accessed July 13, 2011. For a contemporary representation of St. James' Anglican Cathedral as finished in 1875, see Mulvany, Charles Pelham, 1884, *Toronto Past and Present: A Handbook of the City*, Toronto, W.E. Caiger, p. 153.
42. *The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26.
43. See: Armstrong, Frederick H., 2000, "William Hay," *DCBOnline*, accessed July 3, 2008; "Hay, William," DAC, accessed November 2009; and Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic*: 109-110, 124-125, and 130-131.
44. *The Church*, January 24, 1850, p. 102.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *The Church*, April 11, 1850, p. 144-146; and April 18, 1850, p. 149. All capital letters in original quotations.
47. *The Church*, April 18, 1850, p. 149. Neither the report nor the minutes of the annual meeting of the Church Society names the members of this Committee.
48. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 152-156. *The Ecclesiologist* was originally published in small segments that were gathered together into volumes published starting in 1843; these recommendations appeared originally in the segment dated July 1842. In the previous segment of *The Ecclesiologist*, the editors had noted their intention of printing these suggestions and instructions as "containing an almost unexceptionable guide to church-builders, who may desire to erect new churches in conformity with ancient usage as to materials, construction, and arrangement; and as throwing light on the views which have been advocated in the *Ecclesiologist* and other publications of our Society." *Id.*: 147.
49. *The Church*, October 10, 1850, p. 181.
50. *Ibid.* This motion used the wording of the English Instructions of 1842. For committee members, see: Millman, "James Beaven," *op. cit.*; Saunders, Robert E., 2000, "Sir John Beverley Robinson," *DCBOnline*, accessed February 28, 2013; Turner, H.E., 2000, "Henry James Grasett," *DCBOnline*, accessed January 19, 2012; Turner, H.E., 2000, "Dominick Edward Blake," *DCBOnline*, accessed January 19, 2012; and Whitfield, Carol M. and Richard A. Jarrell, 2000, "Sir John Henry Lefroy," *DCBOnline*, accessed January 9, 2012. Alexander Dixon established the British Saddlery Warehouse in Toronto, served on the Toronto City Council, played an important role in building Little Trinity Anglican Church, Toronto, and sat on the building committee for the new St. James' Cathedral. See Rose, George Maclean, 1886, *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, Rose Publishing Company, p. 428-429. Henry Cooper, the illegitimate son of a baronet, studied at Westminster School and Cambridge, graduating from the latter in 1828, immigrating to Canada in 1832, and serving at Christ Church Anglican, Mimico, Ontario, for nearly thirty years. See: Venn, John Archibald, 1944, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, part 2, vol. 2, p. 126; and [<https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=65317721>], accessed May 30, 2017.
51. For Reverend Scadding, see note 23 above. In 1844, Reverend Scadding served on the "Central Board of Management" of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto. See the 1844, *Second Annual Report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto*, Toronto, Diocesan Press, p. 9. See the membership of the "Standing Committee" in the reports from the following years: 1845, p. 4; 1846, p. 4; 1847, p. 4; 1848, p. 4; 1849, p. 4; 1850, p. 4; 1851, p. iv; and 1852, p. iv.
52. The first thirteen Recommendations appeared in *The Church*, April 11, 1850, p. 145. See the English Instructions of 1842 in *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 152: "SITE.—Central . . . , but not so near to principal thoroughfares, as to subject the service of the Church to the danger of being incommoded by noise."
53. The English Instructions of 1842 stipulated that: "The Society earnestly recommend that, in proportions and great features, as well as in the details, good ancient examples should be closely followed." (*The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 152.) This principle would be repeated and spelled out in detail in the Canadian Recommendations of 1850.
54. The English Instructions of 1842 stipulated that churches "should stand east and west as nearly as possible and noted that "the best form is either the cross, consisting of a nave, transepts, and chancel, or the double rectangle, composed of a nave, with or without side aisles, and of a chancel" (*ibid.*). In Kingston, both the original wooden St. George's Anglican Church and the classical stone structure that succeeded it, in 1825, faced south, with the "chancel end" to the north, as did St. James' Anglican Church, Maitland (1826), and St. Peter's Anglican Church, Brockville (1831), both early Gothic Revival churches. By the 1840s, it became more common to have the "chancel end" face east; see Christ Church Anglican Church, Tyendinaga (1843-1844), St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield (1843-1844), St. George's Anglican Church, Trenton (1845). None of the churches listed in this note originally had extensive externally differentiated chancels. This was condemned strongly in [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders*: 5: "[I]n nine-tenths of 'new churches,' we shall find no attempt whatever at having a distinct Chancel, or it is at best confined to a small apsidal projection for the Altar. And this, one of the most glaring faults of modern buildings, has not met with the reprobation which it so well deserves; nay, has even been connived at by those who knew better."
55. For example, see [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders*: 9, for an unambiguous statement: "Brick ought on no account to be used: white certainly is worse than red, and red than black: but to settle the precedence in such miserable materials is worse than useless."
56. For the issue, see Machin, G. Ian T., 1964, *The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820 to 1830*, Oxford, Clarendon Press; and about the passage of *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects* of 1829, see: Davis, Richard W., 1997, "Wellington and the 'Open Question': The Issue of Catholic Emancipation, 1821-1829," *Albion*, vol. 29, p. 39-55; and Davis, Richard W., 1999, "The House of Lords, the Whigs and Catholic Emancipation 1806-1829," *Parliamentary History*, vol. 18, p. 23-43. In British North America, *An Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America* of 1774 guaranteed religious freedom for Roman Catholics and the collapse of the attempt to provide a landed base for Established churches meant that all Christian churches became denominations. For the Anglican fight to maintain an Established status, see Fahey, Curtis, 1991, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854*, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, chap. 4, 7.
57. See *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 152: "No style seems more generally suitable for an English Church than the Gothic of our own country, as developed in its successive periods."
58. In 1850, most Anglican churches in British North America had "communion tables," as specified by the Injunctions issued by Elizabeth I, rather than the "altars" that Archbishop Laud and his supporters attempted to enforce during the 1630s. Even Neale (in *A Few Words to Church Builders*: 11), who supported the use of "altars," recognized that

- this represented a controversial stance: "There is some difficulty in speaking on the subject of the Altar, on account of the vehement objections raised by many against the use of any thing beyond a Table, nay, to the very name ALTAR."
59. As early as the issue of July 1842, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist*—the official publication of the Cambridge Camden Society—encouraged both designers and artisans to learn from their medieval predecessors. See note 48 above, also: "A Hint on Modern Church Architecture" and "The Practical Study of Ancient Models," *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 133-136 and 149-151, respectively.
 60. Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, 1848, *Parish Churches; Being Perspective Views of English Ecclesiastical Structures: Accompanied by Plans Drawn to a Uniform Scale, and Letter-Press Description*, London, George Bell.
 61. Even those medieval parish churches with relatively wider naves and no aisles, such as that in Elsing, Norfolk, with a width of 39.5 feet by an overall length of 133 feet (including the west tower), would have fitted into the recommendations. For this church, see Brandon and Brandon, *id.* : 119-120.
 62. Only the tower of St. George the Martyr, Toronto, still exists, so the dimensions and interior were estimated from the information—including an illustration of the interior—contained in Robertson, John Ross, 1894-1914, vol. 4, p. 6 and 9; and the floor plan contained in Harman, H.M. and W.G. Upshall, 1945, *The Story of the Church of St. George the Martyr of Toronto*, Toronto, Rouse and Mann Press, p. 28.
 63. See the plan of Holy Trinity reproduced in Arthur, Eric, 1964, *Toronto No Mean City*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 84, ill. 119.
 64. See Christianson, Paul, 2011, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Kingston, 1844-1856," in Pittsburgh Township Historical Society, *A Collection of Talks 2010*, Kingston, Pittsburgh Township Historical Society, p. 10 and 21, note 13. These are interior dimensions that include the tower, nave, and chancel.
 65. See Arthur, *Toronto No Mean City* : 77 and illustration; and MacRae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls...* : 92-104. For Howard's career, see note 2 above.
 66. [Kingston] *Daily News*, November 11 and 13, 1854.
 67. See Christianson, "The Design, Building, and Rebuilding of St. Paul's..." : 15-18.
 68. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, 1914, vol. 5, p. 455. The medieval precedents for Hay's wooden interior appeared in two Cheshire churches from the mid-fourteenth century, St. Oswald's, Lower Peover, and St. James' and St. Paul's, Marton. Both churches had half-timber naves and chancels, so the wooden interiors were consistent with the overall construction. In St. Paul's, Kingston, and St. Basil's, Toronto, however, Hay placed a wooden interior structure in stone buildings. The type of structure that he used more closely resembled that in St. James' and St. Paul's, Marton. See the photographs in [www.martonchurch.co.uk/], accessed February 2, 2017. I would like to thank Malcolm Thurlby for bringing the Cheshire churches to my attention.
 69. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 6.
 70. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto* : vol. 4, p. 6.
 71. *Id.* : 24. The churches in Brandon and Brandon (*Parish Churches...*, *op. cit.*) invariably located the vestry on the north side.
 72. See *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 154: "The usual place of the Tower, in a Church without transepts, is at the west end; or it may be placed about the middle of the side.—If funds are scanty, it is better to leave this part of the Church to a future period, than to attempt its immediate completion in an inferior manner."
 73. For St. Anne's, see the references in note 10 above; and for St. Andrew's, see: Thurlby, "Bishop John Medley..." : 47; and [http://mynewbrunswick.ca/saint-andrews-anglican-church-miramichi/], accessed February 2, 2017. Thanks again to Malcolm Thurlby for bringing the latter to my attention.
 74. See Christianson, Paul, 2013, "St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *JSSAC*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 8-9, 15, and 19, note 14.
 75. For St. Peter's, see Thurlby, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills..." : 52-57.
 76. *Id.* : 8. After experiencing Gothic Revival churches with towers located in other positions, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* decided in 1845 to adopt the policy that: "Every church, not being cross, should have its tower or bell-cot at the west end, unless there be some stringent reason to the contrary." The article gave a reasoned explanation, including historical precedent for this decision. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1845, vol. 4, p. 205-208.
 77. For examples of "bell cotes," see Brandon and Brandon, *Parish Churches...*, under Little Casterton, Howell, Manton, Long Stanton, Barnwood, Whitwell, and Burton Lazars.
 78. The English Instructions of 1842 contained extensive practical recommendations on foundations and floors. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 152-153.
 79. See the English Instructions 1842 in *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 1, 1843, p 153: "Floor.—To sittings, wood: to open spaces, or chancel, stone or encaustic tiles."
 80. The English Instructions of 1842 contained even more detail on the width of walls, with greater width for higher walls, stipulating a minimum of "1 ft. 10½ in." for "Square Stone of the best quality or Brick" if "less than twenty feet high" to "2 ft. 3 in." for "Inferior Stone, Flint, or Rubble" walls of the same height, noting that these dimensions assumed the use of buttresses. *Ibid.*
 81. The English Instructions of 1842 contained several of these points, often in a slightly different form. It recommended lead and copper coverings as well as slates and stated that: "If the distance between principal trusses exceed ten feet, intermediate trusses must be introduced. The distance between the common rafters should never exceed twelve inches." It also favoured high-pitched roofs: "Next to a stone vaulted roof none has so good effect internally as an open roof, exhibiting the timbers. It is desirable that this should be of high pitch, the transverse section forming or approaching to the figure of an equilateral triangle." *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 154.
 82. Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, 1849, *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*, London, David Bogue. This was a classic study.
 83. See [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 17, for a brief, if not entirely clear, discussion of visible wooden roof beams. Also see Magrill, Barry, 2013, "Open Timber Roofs: New Thoughts on Nineteenth-century Architectural Literature," *JSSAC*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 59-68.
 84. For an early example, see [Webb, Benjamin], 1841, *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments, no. 1, to Country Parishes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 10; reprinted in Webster, "Temples . . . Worthy of His Presence..." , *op. cit.* For the authorship of this anonymous work, see Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists...* : 26.

85. The English Instructions of 1842 stated that: "In Gothic Churches, where stained glass is not used, the glass should be in small panes, those of a diamond shape being generally preferable." *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 154.
86. *Id.* : 155: Chimneys "should be as unobtrusive as possible, but not disguised under the form of any ornamental feature of the building."
87. The English Instructions of 1842 did not deal as extensively with the chancel, but did include the following instructions: "The Lord's Table.—Should be raised two or more steps above the floor of the chancel, which should be raised a step or two above the floor of the nave. Where the rails do not extend across the chancel, no seats should be allowed between the rails and the north and south walls; and as much room as possible should be left about the rails for the access of communicants." *Ibid.*
88. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 6.
89. For the layout of chancels in Anglican Churches in Upper Canada, see MacRae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls...* : 282-283. For English examples, see Yates, *Buildings, Faith, and Worship...*, *op. cit.* For the apses at the ecclesiastical east end of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec (1800-1804), and St. George's, Kingston (1825), see the website of Holy Trinity, [www.cathedral.ca/en/], accessed November 15, 2016; and Swainson, Donald (ed.), 1991, *St. George's Cathedral: Two Hundred Years of Community*, Kingston, Quarry Press, p. 32, fig. 1.
90. This was true of the original St. George the Martyr and Holy Trinity in Toronto, St. Mark's, Barriefield, and St. James', Kingston. For St. James', see Christianson, Paul, 2013, "The Building of St. James' Anglican Church, Stuartville: Social and Architectural Sources, 1844-1845," *A Collection of Talks of Historical Interest 2012*, Kingston, Pittsburgh Historical Society, p. 11-25, at p. 19-22. Little Trinity, Toronto, had no chancel at all until 1888. See Hayes, Alan L., 1991, *Holding Forth the Word of Life: Little Trinity Church 1842-1992*, Toronto, Little Trinity Church, p. 9, 17, 18, 19. Also see note 54 above.
91. Reverend Neale stated that: "Every Chancel . . . should be raised at least two steps at the Chancel arch" that separated it from the nave and that: "The Altar should be raised on one, two, or three flights of three steps each." However, he displayed an ambivalence toward "Altar rails" as a modern innovation. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 11-12, 20. This also appeared in a note in *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 2, p. 55-56. For articles on chancels and their furnishings, also see *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 1, 1843, p. 43; and vol. 3, 1844, p. 161-168.
92. Recommendations 14 through 25 appeared in *The Church*, April 18, 1850, p. 149; quotations from them will not be noted individually. See "The dimensions of an altar for a small church might be from 6 to 8 feet long, 3 feet broad, and 3 feet 3 inches high," *The Ecclesiologist*, 1850, vol. 12, p. 80.
93. These recommendations did not follow those of the Ecclesiologists who almost always specified an "Altar" rather than a "Lord's Table" and expressed an ambivalent attitude toward altar rails. See note 58 above.
94. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 12, text and marginal heading. *The Ecclesiologist* repeatedly specified both credence tables and either sedilia built into the south wall of the chancel or stalls there for the seating of clergy. See *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 43; and vol. 3, 1844, p. 161-168. For the revival of credence tables, see Rainbow, *The Choral Revival...* : 10.
95. Even Reverend Neale realized that the revival of sedilia might prove controversial. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 11-12.
96. The English Instructions of 1842 did not contain specific instructions on the furnishing of the chancel or on the seating of the choir in the chancel.
97. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 10, text and marginal heading.
98. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 19.
99. *Id.* : 19 and 55; and *The Ecclesiologist*, 1844, vol. 3, p. 164.
100. *The Church*, January 18, 1849, p. 98, quoting from "a recent number of the 'Parish Choir.'" The critic from England loved the fine unaccompanied chanting, but thought that: "They ought with, all those men's voices, to have sung the old manly Gregorians." Ecclesiologists in general, but especially Thomas Helmore, championed the revival of Gregorian chants for the Psalms. See Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists...* : 63-70, 78-84, *passim*.
101. [Neale, John Mason], 1843, *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, Cambridge, Oxford, and London, Cambridge University Press, Stevenson, Parker, and Rivingtons, p. 16. This appeared within a lengthy section on the location of the organ that concluded: "the best place for the organ is on the floor." *Id.* : 17.
102. *Id.* : 4.
103. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1846, vol. 5, p. 138, footnote 1.
104. See Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p. 118, 154, 230, 253, 337, and plates 12, 14, 20, 24. The practical reason for this move was similar to that given in [Neale], *Church Enlargement...* : 15-16; and *The Ecclesiologist*, 1844, vol. 3, p. 3.
105. Examples of substantial Anglican churches in Canada West with their organ and choir in a gallery in the ecclesiastical west end in the 1840s and early 1850s included St. George's and St. James', both in Kingston, St. Mark's, Barriefield, St. John's, Portsmouth, Little Trinity, Toronto, and St. George the Martyr, Toronto. The major exception for which evidence exists was Holy Trinity, Toronto.
106. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 155, item 15.
107. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 14-15; Poole, George Ayliffe, 1842, *The Appropriate Character of Church Architecture*, Leeds and London, T.W. Green, Rivingtons, Burns, and Houlston and Stoneman, p. 61-81. For Poole's appreciation of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, see *id.* : 54, footnote *. Neale referred to Poole's lectures at the opening of 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, p. 3. Neither says anything about draining the font through a pipe.
108. Bethune, Alexander Neil, 1849, "A Charge Addressed to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of York," *Church*, November 1, 1849, p. 53-54, at p. 53.
109. *The Church*, March 28, 1850, p. 138. For the old marble font at St. James' Cathedral, see Cooke, *The Parish and Cathedral of St. James'...*, coloured photographs between p. 176-177, fig. IV.2. This font was brought to my attention by Malcolm Thurlby in his paper on early stone fonts in British North America read at the 2017 Conference of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada held in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, May 24-27.
110. See Port, Michael Harry, [2nd ed.] 2003, *600 New Churches: The Church Building Commission, 1818-1865*, Reading, Spire Press, p. 16; and [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 21-23.

111. Even the conservative octagonal three-decker pulpit shown in the original plans for St. Mark's, Barriefield, was located on the north side at the east end of the nave. See Christianson, "St. Mark's Anglican Church..." : 25. The English Instructions of 1842 made a brief statement about the "Reading-Pew and Pulpit," stating that they "should be so placed as to intercept the view of the east end as little as possible from the body of the Church." *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 156.
112. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 23-24.
113. [Neale], *Church Enlargement...* : 16.
114. 1844, *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, London, John van Voorst, plate II.
115. The English Instructions of 1842 stated: "There must invariably be an open central passage up the whole length of the Church, from west to east." *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 156.
116. For the campaign of the Ecclesiologists against traditional box pews (which carried earlier criticisms into the middle of the nineteenth century), see: [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 20-21; [Neale, John Mason], [2nd ed.] 1842, *A History of Pews*, Cambridge, Oxford, and London, Cambridge University Press, Stevenson, Parker, and Rivingtons; Medley, John, 1843, "The Advantage of Open Seats," *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol. 1, p. 155-171; and *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 128-129 and 145-146; and vol. 2, 1843, p. 61, 101-102, 122-125, and 162-169.
117. The English Instructions of 1842 included a detailed paragraph on "open seats with backs" to replace pews: "The distance from the back of one seat to that of the next must depend in great measure on the height of the backs and the arrangements for kneeling. Where the funds and space admit, convenience will be consulted by adopting a clear width of three feet, or even three feet four inches; but the width of two feet six inches in the clear may be allowed if the back of the seat be not more than two feet eight inches in height. This height is in all cases to be preferred both for convenience and for appearance." *The Ecclesiologist*, 1843, vol. 1, p. 156.
118. Brandon and Brandon, *Parish Churches...* : 105-106 and plan; 107-108 and plan; 121-122 and plan. All these churches were located in Norfolk. Most churches in this book had south porches between 8 and 12 feet long, but eight extended to about 18 feet. See p. 45-46 and plan; 51-52 and plan, 53-54 and plan; 77-78 and plan; 101-102 and plan; 103-104 and plan; 123-124 and plan. The length of the porch has been calculated from the ground plans.
119. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1845, vol. 4, "Western Towers," p. 206.
120. [Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 8.
121. See: Christianson, "St. John's Anglican Church...", *op. cit.*; and Thurlby, "Two Churches by Frank Wills..." : 50-52.
122. Bremner, G. Alex, 2013, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire c. 1840-1870*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, p. 38-45, 48-49, 58-62, figs. 30, 31, 34, 38, 39, 50, 51, and 52.
123. *The Church*, April 25, 1850, p. 154.
124. *Ibid.*
125. *The Church*, October 10, 1850, p. 181.
126. *The Church*, April 25, 1850, p. 154.
127. *The Church*, May 9, 1850, p. 162.
128. *Ibid.*
129. See the works cited in note 8 above.
130. See: Bennett, *Sacred Space...*, *op. cit.*; and the works cited in notes 8, 13, 16, 22, and 74 above.
131. See: Rainbow, *The Choral Revival...* : chap. 4-7; Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, chap. 8; and, especially, Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists...* : chap. 2, 3.
132. *The Church*, January 23, and February 27, 1851, p. 202 and 242.