



“The Ecclesiologist” and Anglican Church Architecture in the Canadian Colonies

In a sermon preached on 18 September 1856 on the occasion of the consecration of St. Michael’s Chapel at Québec, the first Anglican Bishop of Fredericton, John Medley (1804-92), asked, “Why does the good man delight in the House of God?” Answering his own question with the words, “because he feels an affection for everything which reminds him of God,”¹ Medley explained why, for many mid-19th-century Anglicans, church architecture took on an importance that was as much moral as aesthetic. From the early 1830s onwards there had been growing discontent among some Anglicans regarding what they felt to be the low state of the Church. This culminated in the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society, a group of clerics and lay persons interested in ecclesiology, the “science” of church architecture.

The importance of ecclesiology in the design of churches in New Brunswick has been explored in Phoebe Stanton’s *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856*, and in Douglas Scott Richardson’s “Hyperborean Gothic; or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley.” These pioneering studies of early Anglican church architecture in Canada draw heavily on the Society’s periodical, *The Ecclesiologist*.² This article will focus on the actual extent of the journal’s significance in the transmission of ideas from the United Kingdom to the Canadian colonies and its role in “advertising” the colonial dioceses’ need of financial assistance for construction campaigns. Moreover, several intriguing references are made in its pages to small, ecclesiologically “correct” wooden churches in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Labrador that antedate by a decade those designed by Bishop Medley’s son Edward (1838-1910).³

By Jane Russell-Corbett

1 John Medley, *The House of God, The Christian’s Home* (Québec: Lamoureux, 1856), 3-4.

2 In this article I have frequently relied upon Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968) and Douglas Scott Richardson, “Hyperborean Gothic; or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley,” *Architectura* 1 (1972): 48-74. On the impact of ecclesiology on the Victorian Gothic Revival, see Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1:279-92. George L. Hersey describes the suggestions made for “Speluncar” and “Hyperborean” Gothic by the ecclesiologists in *High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

3 Edward Medley’s first church, All Saints’, McKeen’s Corner, New Brunswick, was constructed in 1861. See Richardson, “Hyperborean Gothic,” 62.

Several bishops of important dioceses in the British colonies in North America, Medley among them, were either members of the Cambridge Camden Society (later known as the Ecclesiological Society) during the 1840s and 1850s, or sympathetic to its position. In the same period, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* displayed a lively interest in the state of Anglican church architecture in the British colonies. This interest was reflected in articles dealing with the specific problems faced by those constructing colonial churches as well as in regular accounts of the progress of church construction in the outreaches of the Empire. The editors were as demanding of designs produced for Canadian churches as of English ones. It will be seen, however, that while occasional references were made to Canadian churches beyond eastern Canada, there was a strong emphasis on the Atlantic region, and most particularly on the Diocese of Fredericton.

In contrast to the general 18th and early-19th century trend among believers of the established Church of England, especially of the Low or evangelical branch, a group of predominantly High Churchmen was interested in church symbolism and ritual.⁴ They looked to the medieval period for models of worship and spirituality.⁵ They published their learned studies in periodicals such as *Archaeologia*, the journal of the Society of Antiquaries. The Cambridge Camden Society was formed in 1837 by several students of Trinity College, Cambridge, who shared this interest in historic church architecture.⁶ One of the laws drawn up shortly after the first meeting declared the Camdenians' purpose to be "the study of Gothic Architecture, and of Ecclesiastical Antiquaries."⁷ For them, the altars, deep chancels, and symbolic design and decoration of the medieval churches reflected the importance of church sacraments and ritual.⁸

The Camdenians' journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, the first issue of which appeared in November 1841, was an important conduit for their ideas. Its original purpose was to enable members to keep in touch after they had left university. The editors declared the function of the periodical as follows:

The principal design of the present periodical, is to furnish such members of the Cambridge Camden Society as may reside at a distance from the University, with the information ... respecting its proceedings, researches, publications, meetings, grants of money, and election of members.⁹

The editors also intended to provide "critical notices of churches recently completed, or in the process of building." The articles, especially in earlier volumes, often castigated architects quite severely. The zeal with which criticism was meted out is evident in the section "Architects Condemned," included in the 1843 volume of *The Ecclesiologist*.¹⁰ Two of the architects most favoured by the ecclesiologists were William Butterfield (1814-1900) and Richard Carpenter (1812-55). Both men were associated with the Cambridge Camden Society from its inception. One of Butterfield's churches, All Saints, Margaret Street, London (1849-59) (**figure 1**), was to become a model for the ecclesiologists; indeed, it was consecrated on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Society. It illustrates many of the key characteristics of "correct" church architecture: comprised of several parts, including schools, master's room, and clergy residence, it is both diverse and compact in composition; in plan it embodies elements of the Gothic Revival church, including long nave, side aisles, and deep chancel; and it is rendered in dramatic polychromatic brick colouring both inside and out. This colouring, a characteristic of Butterfield's work, was approved by the ecclesiologists.¹¹

Richard Carpenter, a friend of Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-52), promoted Pugin's ideas within the ranks of the Church of England.¹² The ecclesiologists demonstrated their approval of Carpenter's St. Mary Magdalene on Munster Square in London (1849-52) by including a large illustration of the church in their journal (**figure 11**). Although polychromy played a far less assertive role in this church than in All Saints, its tall spire and steeply sloping roofs contributed to its appeal.

By 1840-41, the Cambridge Camden Society was experiencing rapid growth and simultaneously making a conscious effort to provide funds for the construction of churches in the colonies.¹³ This interest in the church architecture of the colonies was eventually reflected in the pages of *The Ecclesiologist*, particularly between the years 1847 and 1853. In fact, the editors devoted an entire section of the periodical during these years to colonial church architecture. In the essay introducing this new section, they stated that "the subject of the adaptation of pointed architecture to other

4 Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: John Murray, 1974), 151.

5 See Raymond Chapman, *Faith and Revolt: Studies in the Literary Influence of the Oxford Movement* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 40-41.

6 While the Cambridge Camden Society proscribed any debate on theological issues, this was not strictly upheld, as theological issues underlay most of its concerns. Indeed, its members were caught up with many of the issues dealt with by the Tractarians. James White points out that "in affecting not to be concerned about theology, the *Ecclesiologist* could inaugurate Catholic practices without too many people realizing that the Society was not interested simply in reviving quaint medieval curiosities. Even some members did not realize that their organization was in actuality a very effective machine for theological propaganda." James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement, The Ecclesiologists, and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 36.

7 White, *The Cambridge Movement*, 38-39.

8 In contrast, Anglican churches built in the 18th and early 19th centuries were more classical in style and reflected the primary focus of the church as it was understood at this point, the sermon. Chapman, *Faith and Revolt*, 230-31. For a summary of the connection between the aims of the members of the Oxford movement and those of the Camdenians, see Clark, *Gothic Revival*, 1.

9 *The Ecclesiologist* 1 (1841): 1-2.

10 In his autobiography, George Gilbert Scott discussed the damage done to him by the ecclesiologists. As he had always been a strong supporter of ecclesiology, their condemnation of his work was quite a mystery to him. He suggested that no matter how hard he tried to meet their criticism they continued to condemn his designs. While Scott praised the Society for the good it did and did not condemn their practice of criticism, he did reproach it for its practice of criticizing those who were fighting the same battle. George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, ed. G. Gilbert Scott, F.S.A. (London: Sampson, Low, Marsten, Searle and Rivington, 1879), 104.

11 For a discussion of All Saints, Margaret Street, see Hersey, *High Victorian Gothic*, 104-14.

12 The work of Pugin, a Catholic convert and passionate advocate of Gothic architecture, was very important to the Camdenians, especially when they were just starting out. In reference to the Church of England, Pugin declared that it must look to "Catholic antiquity" for models of church architecture and furnishings. Augustus W. Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* (London: John Weale, 1843), 25.

13 Thomas R. Millman, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), 77.

climates than our own has been briefly entered upon in the transactions of our Society, but has been very little investigated in *The Ecclesiologist*." The editors concluded that "what is wanted is that our Colonial fellow-Churchmen should learn Ecclesiology."¹⁴

Bishop John Medley had acquired an interest in architecture while a student at Oxford; subsequently, in Devon, he engaged in an active program of church construction.¹⁵ One of his churches, St. Andrew's in Exwick, received the stamp of approval from the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* in 1844.¹⁶ The following year, shortly after his arrival in Canada, he announced his intention to build a cathedral fashioned after St. Mary's, Snettisham, Norfolk, a church much admired by the ecclesiologists. Devonshire architect Frank Wills (1822-57), who had accompanied Medley from Exeter to Fredericton, developed designs for the new cathedral based on this Norfolk model. *The Ecclesiologist*, however, did not entirely approve, criticizing the design because St. Mary's parish church was not a suitable model for a cathedral. Taking the moral high ground, as was *The Ecclesiologist's* habit, the anonymous author explained that No cathedral would have choir and transept lower than the nave.... we most truly grieve that so well-meant, so noble an attempt at better things, should not embody all those characteristic features of an English cathedral, which modern research has already put us in possession of.¹⁷

The construction of a cathedral is a slow process, and Fredericton's Christ Church Cathedral (**figure 10**) was no exception; begun in 1845, its consecration did not take place until August 1853.¹⁸ Bishop Medley went to England on two fundraising missions during this period, in the summer of 1848 and in 1851.¹⁹ After the first of these trips, *The Ecclesiologist* reproduced the fundraising speech he delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Ecclesiological Society on 9 May 1848. In the speech Medley described the typical Puritan churches of New England, pointing out that they were deteriorating rapidly, since most of these buildings were wood-framed. (He also indicated that this was not such a bad thing!) The Bishop continued: "Both in the United States and in British North America there is a strong feeling in favour of Pointed architecture, though there is little knowledge of the subject, and great difficulties arise from having no positive standard before men's eyes."²⁰ He suggested that there were improvements in Fredericton, such as the slanted, steep roof, and the correctly situated pulpit.

In the same 1848 speech, Medley described the sandstone St. Anne's (1846-47), which was designed by Wills to be used as a chapel-of-ease until the cathedral's completion.²¹ Medley stressed that in many parts of his diocese significant problems were encountered when working in stone. Despite his remarks to the Ecclesiological Society on the impermanence of wood-framed churches, Bishop Medley's emphasis on the difficulties in building with stone, particularly in remote areas, and his plea for "models for wooden churches," may explain the appearance in the subsequent volume of *The Ecclesiologist* of Reverend William Scott of Hoxton's essay on wooden churches and their appropriateness to the northern colonies.²²

After Frank Wills left Fredericton,²³ William Butterfield provided revised designs for Christ Church Cathedral. He had the roof of the choir raised to the same height as that of the nave, and was responsible for the design of the tower. (The illustration of Christ Church that appeared in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1848 [**figure 10**], though quite crude, is more representative of the illustrative quality of the periodical than the illustration of Carpenter's St. Mary Magdalene [**figure 11**].) One of *The Ecclesiologist's* readers wrote to the periodical criticizing Butterfield's choir for the Fredericton cathedral, suggesting that the ornamental detail ought to be omitted for financial reasons.²⁴ The next year *The Ecclesiologist* reported on the cathedral's construction, and noted that the Bishop altered Butterfield's plan for the tower windows.²⁵

In August 1852, *The Ecclesiologist* reported the annual meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, which was presided over by the Lord Bishop of Fredericton. It related Medley's account of the "state of architecture" in his own diocese. Medley explained that, generally, people in New Brunswick were more understanding and accepting of the Gothic style of architecture than before. He outlined his own plan regarding church architecture, and emphasized the use of models as opposed to designs on paper. Turning to the progress on his cathedral, he pointed out that, with the roof and exterior now complete, it was time to address the interior. He concluded his talk with "a request to those present to assist him as far as they could."²⁶

14 *The Ecclesiologist* 7 (1847): 15. A statement of the need for ecclesiologically correct designs for colonial churches occurs in another publication of the Ecclesiological Society, an 1847 volume of *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, which consisted of designs for church architecture and furnishings. A comment accompanying an illustration of the ground plan of a chancel notes that "it is intended to give in succeeding parts the plan of the nave and the priests' close on the south side of the church, the buildings of which remain in a very perfect state. The want of such a plan of a church, with ecclesiastical buildings attached, has been felt in the colonies." *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* (London, 1847), note accompanying plate VI.

15 Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 127-28; Richardson, "Hyperborean Gothic," 48; Kalman, *Canadian Architecture*, 1:280. In 1841, Medley published *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*, which the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* described as "a little book ... which we can most safely recommend." *The Ecclesiologist* 1 (1841): 15.

16 *The Ecclesiologist* 2 (1844): 58.

17 *The Ecclesiologist* 5 (1846): 81. A further, brief entry in the October 1847 issue of *The Ecclesiologist* noted the changes made to the plan since the previous reference in the journal, and suggested that the changes were for the best. *The Ecclesiologist* 7 (1847): 109. Frank Wills later worked on Christ Church Cathedral in Montréal (see figures 3 and 4).

18 On Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, see Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 27-58.

19 Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 138-39. While Stanton suggests that the Bishop was in England in 1848 and 1851, *The Ecclesiologist* reported that he presided over the annual general meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society in May 1852. It is possible that Medley made a third trip to England, or that when he went there in 1851, it was for a visit that extended into the following year.

20 *The Ecclesiologist* 8 (1848): 361. By "Pointed architecture" Medley was referring to architecture that features the pointed arch. The Camdenians favoured the Decorated Style of the first part of the 14th century.

21 On St. Anne's, see Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 127-58.

22 Rev. William Scott, "On Wooden Churches," *The Ecclesiologist* 9 (1848): 14-27.

23 Medley's funds were low at this point.

24 *The Ecclesiologist* 9 (1848): 80. One wonders how the reader had access to Butterfield's drawing, as the illustration of the Fredericton Cathedral did not appear until vol. 10 (1849) of *The Ecclesiologist*. Neither is it clear whether the correspondent wrote from New Brunswick or England.

25 *The Ecclesiologist* 10 (1849): 192-93.

26 *The Ecclesiologist* 13 (1852): 294. When finished, Christ Church Cathedral was not a straightforward replication of St. Mary's, since there was an inherent problem in its use as a model: parts of the English church were in ruins. Consequently, Medley and Wills put those aspects of St. Mary's that they could duplicate—the nave, spire, and west front—together with aspects taken from other English churches to fill in for those parts of St. Mary's that could no longer be ascertained.

The Ecclesiologist also provided accounts of other new churches in Bishop Medley's diocese. One of those was St. Andrew's in Newcastle, New Brunswick, built by Reverend J. Hudson, who corresponded with the Society during the church's construction and checked with them "on many points of architecture and ornamentation."²⁷ *The Ecclesiologist* had obtained this information from an article in the *New Brunswick Churchman* that described the visitational tours made by Bishop Medley; thus, one periodical sparked the interest of another. According to the article, "Societies at home" provided financial assistance towards St. Andrew's construction.²⁸

The well-documented case of Bishop John Medley and the Diocese of Fredericton illustrates the important role *The Ecclesiologist* played in the construction of new churches in the Canadian colonies. *The Ecclesiologist* provided information regarding "correct" architectural form for churches, and functioned as a means by which the Canadian churchmen could appeal for funds for their building campaigns.²⁹ It is significant that bishops received the publications of the Ecclesiological Society free of charge; no doubt this would have been appealing to the bishops of impoverished colonial dioceses.³⁰

The Diocese of Fredericton was not the only focus of interest for the Ecclesiological Society. In 1839 the British government recognized the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda, and Aubrey George Spencer was declared bishop. The following year Spencer wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (established in 1701), suggesting the need for a new and larger parish church in St. John's. The foundation stone was laid on 21 August 1843, at which point it was announced that Spencer would be leaving the diocese. His successor, Bishop Edward Feild, a graduate of Oxford, was much more open than Spencer had been to the High Church position.³¹ Feild's arrival in Newfoundland in July 1844, and the terrible St. John's fire two years later, cleared the way for a new, ecclesiologically correct cathedral. Because Feild was not pleased with the original design, which he disparaged as "early Newfoundland style," a new design in the Gothic style was requested of George Gilbert Scott (1811-78).³² *The Ecclesiologist* included an account of the Anglican Cathedral of St. John the Baptist (c.1845-55) in its issue of April 1848. It had been decided from the time of the earliest plans that stone for the new cathedral was to be brought over to the colony from Ireland, since it was believed that local stone was not strong enough and, moreover, too difficult to transport. The article in *The Ecclesiologist* suggested that Scott's simple design took into account the problem of cold weather by eliminating "all external monials, shafts, tracery, mouldings and the like."³³ The second problem facing the St. John's cathedral was the necessity of combining the purposes of a cathedral with parochial concerns. The author suggested that these special conditions required a special response, but that "Mr. Scott has ... chosen to build by precedent: and the result, though scrupulously correct, appears to us deficient in the indescribable character, the moral feeling, if we may so say, — of originality."³⁴ Thus, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* managed to praise the bishop and his workers while slighting his architect, Scott.³⁵

During a tour of his diocese in 1849-50, Bishop Feild was accompanied by the Reverend William Grey (1819-72), whom he had appointed diocesan architect. Grey designed several churches for Newfoundland, two of them in Labrador.³⁶ In 1853, Grey's letter from Portugal Cove to the secretary of the Oxford Architectural Society concerning ecclesiology in Newfoundland was published in *The Ecclesiologist*. He divided his discussion into two parts: the first dealt with the "present state" of ecclesiology in Newfoundland; the second related to the future of church building in the diocese. He wrote: "we must look to the clergy to be the architects.... it is little use to send home for designs to persons who do not know our manner of building, or the climate of Newfoundland."³⁷ In this way, *The Ecclesiologist* served to disseminate the idea that any clerics planning a career in the colonies should have training in ecclesiology.

The Ecclesiologist reported on other new churches in the Diocese of Newfoundland. In 1849 they included an abridged version of an article on new churches in Petty Harbour and Pouch Cove that appeared in the *Newfoundland Times* of 6 December 1848. The British editors also requested more information because they considered the development of a national style of wooden church architecture to be important. Of the church in Petty Harbour, it was noted that there was a chancel, a feature that was new to churches in the region and, as has been suggested, important to the ecclesiologists.³⁸ St. Thomas's in Pouch Cove met with the warm approval of *The Ecclesiologist*, which declared it "the best pattern ... for wooden churches, which has yet been exhibited in this diocese."³⁹ The following year, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* wrote of a new

27 *The Ecclesiologist* 12 (1851): 23.

28 *Ibid.*, 24.

29 For an example of the way that ecclesiological ideas and designs could be transported from England to other countries, see Phoebe Stanton's discussion of St. James the Less (1846-48) in Philadelphia, a church that can be compared with St. Anne's, Fredericton, in design. Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 91-105.

30 It would be interesting to know the circulation of the journal in Canada during these years, but information of that sort is very limited. (Queen's University, originally a theological college, did not possess a run of *The Ecclesiologist* until one was purchased in the late 1970s or early 1980s.)

31 Millman, *A History of the Anglican Church*, 96.

32 *Ibid.*, 114-15.

33 *The Ecclesiologist* 8 (1848): 276.

34 *Ibid.*, 277.

35 See n. 10 on Scott's difficulties with the ecclesiologists. The construction of St. John the Baptist took an enormously long time and was not finished until 1885, only to have the interior destroyed by fire in 1892.

36 Rev. Grey later published *Sketches in Newfoundland and Labrador*, a series which included numerous illustrations of Newfoundland scenery and churches. On Grey, see Millman, *A History of the Anglican Church*, 121, and Shane O'Dea's entry in the *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* (New York: Free Press, 1982), 2:247.

37 *The Ecclesiologist* 14 (1858): 158-59.

38 Perhaps this was a reference to St. George's Anglican Church, illustrated in Kim Ondaatje, *Small Churches of Canada* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1982), 88.

39 *The Ecclesiologist* 9 (1849): 216.

church proposed for St. Francis Harbour in Labrador: "It is with much pleasure that we have seen a rough lithographic view of this proposed wooden church, which will be the first church of our communion on the Labrador coast.... The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has already sent a missionary, and this is the church intended to be built."⁴⁰ The article stated that the wooden church was designed by William Hay, who was informed by "a paper of our own on the subject."⁴¹ This reference to Hay, George Gilbert Scott's clerk of works at St. John's, together with references to the churches in Petty Harbour and Pouch Cove, reveal that there were ecclesiological acceptable wooden churches in parts of Atlantic Canada earlier than has hitherto been realized.

Similarly, volume 8 of *The Ecclesiologist*, a volume rich in articles and notices regarding church architecture in the Canadian colonies, included a note on a church in Falkland, Nova Scotia, near Halifax. It would have been built under the aegis of Bishop John Inglis, a follower of the High Church tradition.⁴² The authors of the entry had seen a woodcut of the new church published in the quarterly of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and on the basis of this woodcut they were "very happy to see [it] is really like a church."⁴³ The church for this "poor fishing place" was built in 1846 in a Puginian middle-Pointed style based on early-14th century English models.⁴⁴

Thus far I have indicated the quite intense interest in Canadian church architecture expressed in the pages of *The Ecclesiologist* in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The majority of the notices on this subject are quite brief, consisting primarily of critical descriptions of proposed churches and reports of consecrations. The editors of *The Ecclesiologist* seem to have received their information from two main sources: subscribers to the periodical familiar with the situation in British North America; and Canadian newspapers and church newsletters. Of course, it is quite possible that the latter were supplied to *The Ecclesiologist* by the former. What is clear, nevertheless, is that this periodical had a decisive impact on Canadian ecclesiological architecture in the mid-19th century.

The foregoing discussion gives rise to several questions. Foremost is the basic question, why was *The Ecclesiologist* interested in colonial church architecture? There are, I believe, two reasons for this. First, the ecclesiologists were very concerned with the "health" and "progress" of the Anglican Church. They believed that its apparent decline could be reversed through a return to certain liturgical practices that had, to a large extent, been abandoned. Churches had to be designed accordingly in order for these abandoned practices to be carried out. Second, the ecclesiologists were concerned about the relative independence of the Church from the State, and were disturbed by the apparent threat posed by the British government to Church authority.⁴⁵ In advocating a return to medieval forms of worship, and in stressing the symbolic aspects of church architecture associated with the Gothic era, the ecclesiologists appealed to a "golden period" when the Church basked in unrivalled authority. One of the ways that this authority was affirmed was in the distinctive and symbolic character of its architecture. The ecclesiologists bemoaned "the increasingly numerous chapels built like meeting houses."⁴⁶ Consequently, it was understandable for them to be concerned with the kind of churches being constructed in British North America. In other words, "the mother is interested in the progress of her children."⁴⁷ In congratulating themselves on the success of their efforts, the editors of *The Ecclesiologist* wrote in 1846, "the Colonies are feeling the revival, and some of them promise soon to rival the mother country."⁴⁸

WHY DID *THE ECCLESIOLOGIST'S* INTEREST IN ATLANTIC CANADA flourish so intensely between 1847 and 1853? It seems more than coincidental that this was the period Bishop Medley was most active in building Christ Church and St. Anne's, and that Feild was similarly engaged in St. John's. The explanation for *The Ecclesiologist's* overwhelming concern with Atlantic Canada generally and Fredericton in particular clearly has to do with the energetic character of Bishop Medley and his personal connections with the Ecclesiological Society — it was primarily Medley who relayed the state of ecclesiological architecture in British North America to his English colleagues through the pages of *The Ecclesiologist*.

The Ecclesiologist had an impact on the design of wooden churches, albeit humble ones, constructed a number of years earlier than those designed by Edward Medley and previously discussed by Douglas Richardson. These hitherto obscure

40 *The Ecclesiologist* 11 (1850): 200. So far, the print in question has eluded discovery.

41 Presumably they are referring to the article by William Scott that appeared in *The Ecclesiologist* 9 (1848): 14-27.

42 In 1839 John Inglis was the first North American cleric to become a patron of the Cambridge Camden Society.

43 *The Ecclesiologist* 8 (1848): 320.

44 *The Ecclesiologist* 8 (1848): 321. This is yet another wooden church approved by ecclesiologists built significantly earlier than those designed by Edward Medley and discussed by Richardson in "Hyperborean Gothic." The periodical in question has yet to be traced in Canada.

45 John Keble's Assize Sermon, delivered to "His Majesty's judges" at the University Church of St. Mary in Oxford on 14 July 1833, focused on the issue of Church-State relations. It was prompted by the British government's suppression of almost half the Irish Bishoprics, an act that seemed to symbolize the Church of England's loss of status. In response to this sermon, four clergymen, including Richard Froude, a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, met at the rectory of Hadleigh ten days later: they wanted to fight government infringement on the authority of the Church of England. It was this meeting that spawned the Tractarian movement.

46 *The Ecclesiologist* 5 (1846): 4.

47 *The Builder*, 24 April 1858, 278.

48 *The Ecclesiologist* 5 (1846): 5.

references to churches in Newfoundland, Labrador, and Nova Scotia have yet to be explored in depth. It must also be acknowledged that my focus on *The Ecclesiologist* has biased this article in favour of the Atlantic provinces. Both *The Builder* and *The Architect* contain tantalizing, though less numerous, notices of Anglican churches in other parts of Canada. These citations are occasionally supplemented with excellent illustrations (figures 3, 5, 6). Other literary sources, such as James Beaven's interesting account of wooden churches in *Recreations of a Long Vacation; or a Visit to Indian Missions in Upper Canada*, might be used in conjunction with these to fill out what is known about the role of ecclesiology in the Canadian colonies.⁴⁹ Yet another area that might be delved into is the extent to which the ecclesiological movement affected restorations of churches built earlier.⁵⁰ Hopefully, further research prompted by this investigation will yield more details.

49 Beaven, who was Professor of Divinity in the University of King's College, Toronto, and later, after the institution was secularized, Professor of Metaphysics and Ethics at the University of Toronto, begins his chapter on wooden churches with the following: "Ever since I came to this country and observed the unecclesiastical character of most of our sacred edifices, I have felt an anxiety that some remedy might be found for it." James Beaven, *Recreations of a Long Vacation; or, A Visit to Indian Missions in Upper Canada* (London and Toronto, 1846), 185. For a discussion of church architecture in Ontario during this period, see "Epics in Stone: Placing the Sacred in a Secular World," in William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 126-58.

50 See, for example, the case of St. John's Anglican Church in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, in Arthur W. Wallace, *An Album of Drawings of Early Buildings in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia and The Nova Scotia Museum, 1976), pl. 17.

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