The Church Missionary Society and Architecture in the Mission Field: Evangelical Anglican Perspectives on Church Building Abroad, c. 1850–1900

by EMILY TURNER

The Gothic Revival occupies a central place in the architectural development of the Church of England in the nineteenth century, both at home and abroad. Within the expanding British colonial world, in particular, the neo-Gothic church became a centrally important expression of both faith and identity throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] From a symbolic and communicative perspective, the style represented not only a visual link to Britain, but also the fundamental expression of the Church of England as an institution and of the culture of Englishness. As such, it carried with it a wide range of cultural implications that suited the needs of settler communities wishing to re-established their identity abroad.[2] Expansion during this period, however, was not only limited to the growth of settler communities but was also reflected in growing Anglican missions to the non-Christian peoples of annexed territories. The two primary organs of the Church of England in the field, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS), actively employed the revived medieval style throughout the Empire as missions were solidified through infrastructure development. As a popular style with direct connotations to the Christian faith, revived medieval design became increasingly popular with Anglican missionaries abroad in the period between the early 1840s and the end of the century. Not only did its origins in ecclesiastical buildings make it attractive, but it was also stylistically distinctive, and set apart as a sacred style from both secular and 'heathen' structures.[3]

Simply put, Gothic buildings looked like churches and were seen to embody Christian values.

Nevertheless, the Gothic's suitability for adaptation for non-English communities was not entirely uncontested after 1840, a period marked by both the rapid spread of the medieval style and by re-evaluations and revisions in mission strategy. This contestation came from the CMS, the evangelical arm of the Anglican mission program, which believed the style was inappropriate for the newly-converted communities they served. Instead, their organisational policy advocated the use of vernacular forms in the design of ecclesiastical space. Opposition to the style's use did not derive from its ability to function effectively for Anglican worship space. Rather, the Gothic style and its perceived connotations were in direct opposition to important and integral policies relating to the development of national, indigenous churches that were being developed by the CMS in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Marked by inconsistency in application, this architectural policy was never particularly successful, but, nevertheless, it was a startling divergence, throughout the second half of nineteenth century, from standard Anglican practice. This article will explore in depth both the policy and its application across the CMS's global domain and, in doing so, highlight the key considerations that drove church design and construction in CMS missions. These were not stylistic, but rather circumstantial and theological. Through a selection of case studies which demonstrate the variations in approach to church design displayed throughout the mission field, this article will identify what the CMS considered to be the acceptable bounds of architectural practice in the light of both its ideological approach to evangelism and the practical considerations of a wide and varied sphere of operation.

THE CMS, NATIVE AGENCY AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

In order to explore their stance on mission architecture effectively, it is necessary to touch briefly upon the CMS's approach to larger issues of the transmission of English culture and indigenous church development in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was a period when the Society was led by Secretary Henry Venn, who shifted the organisation's focus, beginning in the early 1840s, toward a strategy that promoted indigenous leadership in the rapidly expanding global church.[4] It was this shift that began to mark, within some areas of the Society, a new concern for architectural expression. Primarily under Venn's administration, the organisation attempted to put in place a mission practice that integrated local cultural traditions with Christian truths, a strategy that has been comprehensively explored in mission scholarship.[5] While not always successful, this mission strategy, known as 'native agency', promoted the growth of national churches administered from within by native pastors, native lay leadership and, eventually, a native episcopate.[6] Missions that followed this prerogative, which were not limited to the CMS, have been called 'Christianity without civilisation', a methodology that directly opposed the convert-and-civilise approach that characterised many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Christian missions.[7] This approach was unique in that it assigned value to non-Western cultures and strove to make Christianity an accessible and relevant faith that catered to the needs of its converts rather than the cultural assumptions of its missionaries. The explicit, and only, goal was to transmit 'Christianity in its essential truths severed from all the incidentals',[8] in order to promote

'the formation of a national and independent church, possessed of that freedom and elasticity which will enable it to adopt itself to the exigencies and circumstances of the new people amongst whom it has grown'.[9]

In order to make Christianity accessible to the non-Christian communities that the CMS missionaries approached, Venn and other policy makers advised missionaries to engage with their potential flock in the vernacular:

> In the Mission field, in every direction, the vernaculars are scrupulously utilized, and that no man is regarded as a missionary until he is capable of arraying the truths of Christianity in the vernacular of the people [...] presenting them in a garb which, being familiar to the people, is so far attractive to their sympathy.[10]

One of the most prominent and important results of this policy was the translation of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into local languages, as opposed to the emphasis on English language instruction prevalent in early CMS missions.[11] However, Venn's vision stretched beyond language to encompass all aspects of culture, independent of faith. In particular, this policy allowed for flexibility in worship and liturgy. It also explicitly focussed on the growth of native leadership in both lay and clerical capacities.[12] For Venn, the goal of evangelism was not to transplant the Church of England and its associated cultural practices but, rather, to spread the gospel message as was perceived to have been done by early Christian evangelists. As the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* reported in 1869:

> Christianity clothed with a form so rigidly, and unalterably Anglican, that encumbered with the peculiarities which attached its growth to our own soil, which however suitable to England, are unsuitable to Asiatic people, [... and] can never thoroughly adapt itself to the requirements of a new country.[13]

Attempting to transmit Christianity without importing any aspects of English culture was unrealistic, given that every missionary sent out by the CMS went with their own preconceived cultural assumptions, no matter how committed they were to fostering native agency. Indeed, it should be noted that the idea of 'Christianity without civilisation' was not one that was scrupulously followed or universally applied, and the convert-and-civilise approach was still widely practiced in the field, irrespective of official intent. Furthermore, beyond this tendency towards the convert-and-civilise methodology, a central difficulty was the fact that an exact definition of what constituted the fundamental truths of Christianity was difficult to pinpoint as certain cultural structures and practices, including architectural forms, were often regarded as integral aspects of Christian experience.[14] Integration of local traditions within a Christian framework, therefore, became both messy and difficult when viewed in light of what that framework actually constituted. The process itself, moreover, was inherently racial, something Venn and other individuals within the CMS freely admitted, and also reinforced ideas of the indigenous 'other' in missionary dialogue.[15] This was a policy, therefore, that ultimately recognised that evangelism was the meeting of two disparate cultures, but, through the very act of evangelism, implied that one was superior to the other. In addition, the hybridisation of traditions through an application of the native-agency policy necessarily altered non-Western cultures with which the CMS interacted, a central difficulty that contemporary scholarship recognises as inherent in these contact

situations.[16] In relation to architecture, having a permanent worship space was an important step in the growth of a Christian community, but the fact that this often did not mesh well with indigenous communities was an issue that in general was not addressed. Nonetheless, it was clear that the Gothic Revival style, when viewed in light of Venn's policy, was not appropriate for missions because of its very specific cultural connotations, as it was a direct by-product of the cultural development of the Christian Church in medieval Europe, and not a central tenet of Christian faith as expressed through biblical text.

The CMS's stance on architecture was consolidated in 1860 at the Liverpool Conference on Missions, a conference that set the tone for mission policy in the CMS for the next thirty years, and also reflected the shift in attitude of the Society during Venn's time as Secretary.[17] The conference, it should be noted, was not the first instance of dialogue regarding the integration of vernacular forms into mission structures. It does, however, appear to be the first time that ideas concerning native agency and their application to architecture were explicitly discussed in an official capacity. While no explicit policy statement was made on the architecture issue, the matter was addressed by the Rev. J. Mullens during the conference's seventh session as part of a general discussion that condemned Gothic architecture for its role in the transplantation of English culture, to which the native-agency policy was wholly opposed.[18] Of his own experiences in India, Mullens stated that:

> Among the simple Shanars, with their limited means, our brethren have erected some grand and capacious Gothic churches, of a much more expensive character than the locality seemed to demand. For instance, there has been built at Megnanapuram a Gothic church of freestone, spacious, handsome, with elegant windows, one of the prettiest churches in all India. The only fault I would find with it is that, in my judgement, it is out of place [...]. I think that such proceedings are a mistake, and should receive the most careful consideration on the part of all our brethren in every part of the world.[19]

Although paternalistic, Mullens's stance corresponded with Venn's vision for CMS mission strategy. Erecting Gothic churches could contribute to the feeling among the new converts that 'in becoming Christian they have become less native, and are not so entirely and identically national as they were',[20] and, all the more, by saddling them with a house of worship that did not respond to their culture and environment. The application of English principles to a wholly non-English context, and of European cultural norms inherent in the Gothic style, therefore undermined the commitment of CMS missions to convert but not Anglicise.

The CMS also promoted modesty and realism in architectural endeavours, a policy that was both materially and financially sound. John Barton, the Society's secretary in India during the mid-1870s, argued that the tendency for missionaries to build churches too large for their congregations was not only financially wasteful but also impractical, and remarked that:

> We do not care in India to have the material fabric until we first obtained the spiritual fabric, consisting of living stones. This has always been the principle of the Church Missionary Society, and I hope always will be. It is very easy to pull down a mud chapel and build a stone building in its place when your congregation has increased from 50 to 500, or from 500 to 1000.[21]

According to this, a purely practical point of view, building the kind of ornate Gothic church that was common in the rapidly developing settler communities did not make sense in mission stations. Focus, instead, was to be on utility and practically for the intended locale, a fairly consistent trend in CMS architecture throughout the nineteenth century.[22]

CMS policy, however, certainly did not correlate with general practice within the Church of England, and nor with that of most of their High Anglican contemporaries. The keen interest in architecture and liturgical reforms in High Church circles emanating from Cambridge and Oxford — combined with the belief that medieval architecture was the only valid source for church design — resulted in a major influx of Gothic churches in the British colonies, regardless of how well-suited the style was to a particular settlement.[23] The inception of the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society), in particular, spurred interest in the movement by promoting the application of 'correct' Gothic principles in church construction, and stressing primarily English medieval forms.[24] The Society's popularity, especially abroad, drew in part from its ability to provide advice, through printed material, on the correct way to employ the emerging style. Their publication, the *Ecclesiologist*, eagerly exclaimed in 1847 that 'a colonial bishop must be a church builder',[25] and the Society made such a task central to its mandate by going out of its way to provide plans and examples for colonial bishops and clergy to use abroad, and making the Gothic style widely available across the British Empire.[26]

Additionally, the Gothic Revival appealed to High Anglicans because it was viewed as both a fundamentally Christian form of building and as an extension of the imperial agenda to which the Church was still intimately wedded.[27] Gothic forms symbolised Englishness, in that their distinctive aesthetic made an overt, and profoundly national, statement on the landscape, and during the 1840s both architectural societies actively advocated the use of English medieval forms.[28] The style also responded to growing concerns over ritual and liturgical reforms, aimed at reflecting Catholic practices more fully, which were becoming new directions in High Anglican theology.[29] Thus, by supplying plans and assistance abroad, organisations such as the Ecclesiological Society assisted in the growth of an overtly imperial and modern-orientated approach to ecclesiastical construction. In short, they promoted a form of Gothic Revivalism, espoused by the High Anglican party, that placed a consistent emphasis on 'ecclesiological correctness' in being focussed on architectural principles rooted in medieval forms but modified to suit modern needs.

The CMS, however, forged a different relationship with the imperial agenda and, as a result, its material expression abroad. While very much invested in evangelism, the organisation was significantly less wedded to the structured integration of church and empire, and it often openly opposed the imperial relationship with native peoples.[30] Certainly, the relationship between the CMS and agents of the wider British Empire was ambiguous, and it was a relationship fundamentally shaped by local interactions and the alignment of interests over practice and policy. As a result, they were reluctant to make a visual connection to the imperial state in any way. Unlike their High Church contemporaries, moreover, the CMS did not have the same relationship with the university organisations that had facilitated much of the growth of the Gothic movement.

Due to the fact that a large proportion of CMS missionaries did not have a university education, their access to such church building protagonists was less direct.[31] Even some evangelical bishops had little, if any, contact with these elite centres and their architectural societies. A example of such a figure would be the Rev. John Horden, who was consecrated Bishop of Moosonee in 1872 having had no formal theological education outside of field experience, and who, based in a remote diocese, did not have much outside contact either.[32] In addition, the CMS, which had been building churches throughout the British Empire since the early nineteenth century, had by 1840 come to promote architectural typologies, which although broadly English reflected the theological and liturgical focus of the evangelical branch of the Church, with its emphasis on the Word. These churches, in the colonial setting, were often derisively labelled 'preaching boxes' and were simple and highly utilitarian adaptations of the Georgian Classical tradition that had limited interior ornamentation, something often criticised by their High Church contemporaries.[33] These factors, therefore, seem to point to an organisation that would not adopt the Gothic style as the *de facto* methodology for church construction, which is what the Liverpool Conference had very much implied.

CMS POLICY APPLICATION IN THE MISSION FIELD

Despite all intentions, the CMS's architectural agenda was marked by inconsistency, which can be seen in a wealth of examples across the geographic range of the organisation's operations. While an approach in line with native agency was put in place in some areas of the globe, many of the churches constructed by CMS missionaries were, in fact, Gothic in style. Moreover, in the organisation's publications, Gothic churches were consistently discussed in positive terms. Yet the CMS did little actively to address any inconsistency in the range of approaches that were adopted, and it was inhibited from doing so by the sheer spread of its operations. The global scope of the organisation and the massive numbers of missionaries spread across an increasingly diverse field made both homogeneity and policy enforcement virtually impossible. Missionaries were, for the most part, effectively on their own when building churches and many remote mission stations had a single pastor who had little connection to the outside world for months, or even years, at a time.[34] As a result, architectural development had as much, if not more, to do with an individual missionary's experience, relationship to the community, stance on native agency and access to resources as it did with corporate policy. In order to more effectively explore the application of this policy in the field, it is useful to examine several examples of churches constructed throughout the CMS mission field where native agency was applied to ecclesiastical design, as well as examples of where this policy was ignored in favour of an approach more in line with the popular Gothic Revival style.

ST THOMAS'S, MOOSE FACTORY

St Thomas's Church (Fig. 1), constructed under the supervision of John Horden at Moose Factory in Ontario, Canada, provides an excellent example of a church that did not conform to corporate policy. Throughout his career, Horden had displayed an inconsistent

Fig. 1. *St Thomas's church, Moose Factory, Ontario (photograph of 1950; Algoma University, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, John Edmonds collection, 2011-060-001, 003)*

approach to native agency as applied both to his mission and to church construction practice, and this approach reflected in the design of the church. It was constructed between 1856 and 1864, with a chancel being added in 1884, and it replaced an older, Georgian building constructed by a Methodist missionary in the mid-1840s. It was intended as a house of worship for the indigenous Cree as well as for the European employees of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), although Horden was clear, as per his CMS mandate, that he 'had come primarily for the benefit of the Indians'.[35] For the most part, he appears to have been an adherent to Venn's principles, developing a relatively positive relationship with several First Nations groups in the region, and demonstrating an acceptance of their way of life, specifically the seasonal and transitory nature of the hunt, although he occasionally showed glimpses of intolerance, notably in his attitude towards the promotion of native clergy to the episcopate.[36]

Nevertheless, when faced with the need to construct a church, he built in a style that fell firmly under the Gothic umbrella.[37] Despite its simplicity, St Thomas's is clearly Gothic in its inspiration, adhering to a standard massing of space and incorporating clearly defined medievalist features. Its design is closely related to one for a wooden church in the Gothic style that is illustrated in the American architect Richard Upjohn's 1852 pattern book *Upjohn's Rural Architecture* (Fig. 2), which was inspired by Ecclesiological Society principles and responded to advice given by the organisation in relation to construction in timber.[38] Although there are some clear differences between Upjohn's

Fig. 2. *Richard Upjohn, design for a wooden church* (Upjohn's Rural Architecture, *1852; Cornell University, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections; with courtesy)*

design and Horden's execution, the massing of forms indicates their specific connection. Horden never identified the source of his scheme, but the prevalence and popularity of Gothic Revival pattern books in nineteenth-century North America suggests a distinct possibility that such a model was used.[39] As such, it illustrates an important dilemma that plagued many missions, and not just within the CMS, which was that there was no one in the immediate area equipped to design an original church of any kind, let alone one that intended to integrate disparate cultural elements. Missionaries such as Horden had no architectural training, and so pattern books provided accessible, simple solutions in this situation for building churches, but it meant that the churches were inevitably Gothic because this was the style that these pattern books provided. It should be noted, however, that St Thomas's was not 'ecclesiologically correct' by High Church standards, in deviating from the Upjohn plan, in particular, by having a roof of lower pitch, and horizontal weatherboarding as opposed to a cladding of vertical board and batten. The fenestration is also different from the Upjohn design, particularly the nave window which is more Classical than Gothic, while the spire, too, is modified. Thus Horden's adoption of the Gothic was comprehensive but by no means was it rigorous. The changes made indicate a lack of importance given to the exacting standard of the ecclesiological Revival, although this was different in the building of the chancel. In contrast to the rest

of the structure and to the Upjohn scheme, and also to general CMS practice, the chancel is large and well defined and its windows adhere more closely to ecclesiological principles, but there is no indication from Horden as to why this design change was made.

Horden's involvement with the Gothic Revival as a larger architectural movement was tenuous, although he admitted, in an 1852 interview, that John Medley, the Bishop of New Brunswick and a major proponent of the Gothic style, had been a formative influence on his career as a missionary.[40] Otherwise, he seems to have had little interest in global architectural trends although he was undoubtedly aware of the sweeping changes that the Gothic Revival had brought about in church architecture at home, given that he did not leave England for his post until 1851. For some CMS missionaries, probably including Horden, the vigorous promotion of the 'Gothic style' was not something that interested them. Instead, they built 'English' architecture, which, for all intents and purposes, was Gothic architecture but with a different nomenclature. In his correspondence, Horden never referred to the Gothic style. Instead, of the newly completed cathedral in his diocese, he wrote that:

> To those accustomed to the grand edifices in England, our plain little cathedral may seem small and mean, but everything is [*MS illegible*], and the inhabitants of the interior of the country will be as much struck with the grandeur of our example [*MS illegible*] as English provincials are with the noble [churches?] of York and London.[41]

By making such a comparison, Horden, perhaps unconsciously, acknowledged his debt to the Gothic Revival by associating the church with an 'English' model, something he consistently did in his correspondence and published addresses. During in the nineteenth century, the terms 'English' and 'Gothic' were virtually synonymous and this terminological interchange was common practice throughout the British Empire.[42] Thus, a 'fair English church',[43] as Horden called St Thomas's, was understood to be a Gothic church because of the accepted terminology used throughout the Anglican community. His perspective on church construction centred, therefore, on the replication of an English norm, to the extent that was possible given his location.

True to his CMS roots, however, Horden recognised that the need to build a church reflected the size of the congregation. The church that St Thomas's replaced had been replaced because the congregation had outgrown it. Horden initially suggested enlarging this building, before deciding to build afresh, which appears to have been motivated by financial concerns.[44] Financial and practical considerations were also factors when the church was initially constructed without a chancel, a feature later added only when the congregation grew.[45] Where money and resources were limited, architectural experimentation was not the foremost priority of the clergy in charge, particular when a functional pre-planned solution was at hand that that offered the flexibly of being expanded when needed.

The question as to what Horden would have built if he had tried to integrate local building traditions is, of course, impossible to answer. One of the problems faced by missionaries hoping to build a church based on local precedent was that the local cultures they were interacting with may not have had architectural traditions for creating permanent houses of worship. In situations such as these, navigating the divide between

pre-Christian architectural trends and post-conversion liturgical needs required specific and measured attention to be paid to how the building, regardless of the style used, was going to be compatible with the local lifestyle. For Horden, this was a key problem, since his integration of the relatively nomadic Cree lifestyle into his mission strategy contrasted directly with his wish to build a permanent structure.[46] Unfortunately for Horden, the mobile lifestyle of the Cree had not led to an established architectural tradition, making it impossible to design a permanent church that drew on the Cree's cultural past: building practice among the Cree was based entirely on moveable structures that were difficult to reconcile with European ideas of structural longevity. Previously, CMS missionaries in the Hudson and James Bay region had frequently performed religious functions, including administration of the sacraments, in the open air, and so had avoided any conflict with Cree construction traditions.[47] Indeed, the CMS also encountered similar problems elsewhere, such as in certain areas of Africa where many communities with which the organisation interacted were unfamiliar with the kinds of religious structures deemed acceptable by European standards that were sound and permanent in nature.[48]

MAORI *WHARE* CHURCHES

Permanent building traditions did, however, exist in many CMS areas, giving missionaries who wanted to integrate Christianity and local architectural ideas something with which to work that was more concrete and better suited to established ideas about structural permanence in the Western architectural tradition. This was the case in New Zealand, where the existing Maori settlements had well established and highly developed building traditions, and so adapting them to Christian church construction was entirely feasible and relatively straightforward.[49] As a result, a practice of amalgamation emerged in the design and erection of spaces for worship. Labelled '*whare* churches', these amalgam structures integrated the building techniques and decorative arts used in the Maori *whare*, or meeting house, with certain stylistic features of European churches.[50] It should perhaps be noted, however, that the whare, as discussed during this period as well as in recent scholarship, was a structure that had itself been significantly shaped through interactions with Europeans.[51]

Between 1840 and 1870, a significant number of churches that amalgamated Maori constructional techniques with Gothic elements were either built or planned. In contrast to many churches realised by the CMS elsewhere, the *whare* churches were Maori driven in that the role here of the missionary was primarily a facilitatory one.[52] The drive to build these churches on the part of Maori communities came after the CMS mission, established in 1814, had made significant gains in conversion, when Christian Maori groups not only wanted permanent houses of worship in their own communities, but also sought to increase their own local prestige through elaborate construction projects.[53] Early CMS churches in the region had followed a generally British plan, although many were not especially distinctive. Their interiors, however, were often decorated with *kowhaiwhai* (scroll paintings) in the rafters and *tukutuku* (lattice wall panelling), which was allowed by many missionaries who wished to stress their commitment to cultural integration.

Fig. 3. *William McCleverty, Otaki church, school and parsonage (watercolour of 1852; Auckland, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa,1992-0035-1582)*

After the introduction of the Gothic style to New Zealand in the early 1840s, Maori church design took a significant turn towards a stylistic and formal amalgamation, which often resulted in buildings constructed using Maori structural methods and interior decoration combined with a starkly Gothic exterior. This practice was condoned by the CMS and actually appears to have been encouraged; and it was certainly thought, by contemporary writers, to have produced beautiful and functional buildings with outstanding craftsmanship.[54] One of the most well known and frequently discussed of these buildings, in both missionary correspondence and recent scholarship, is the church of Rangiātea, at Otaki, although it was not the earliest of such structures (Fig. 3). Completed in 1851 at a cost of over £2500, a bill footed primarily by the local congregation, it was nominally supervised by missionary Rev. Octavius Hadfield, but, in reality, the project was overseen by the local chief, Te Rauparaha.[55] Surviving images of both the exterior and interior of this structure illustrate the radical amalgamation of techniques and styles that occurred there.

The exterior of the building is of Gothic design, incorporating lancet windows, buttressing and a steeply pitched roof, as is the basic ground plan of a long nave and an entrance porch to the side. Although again not 'ecclesiologically correct', its inspiration is clear, even despite some deviations from standard Anglican practice (such as in having

Fig. 4. *R. K. Thomas (after Charles Decimus Barraud), interior of Rangiātea (handcoloured lithograph of 1851; Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, B-080-021)*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066622X0000263X Published online by Cambridge University Press

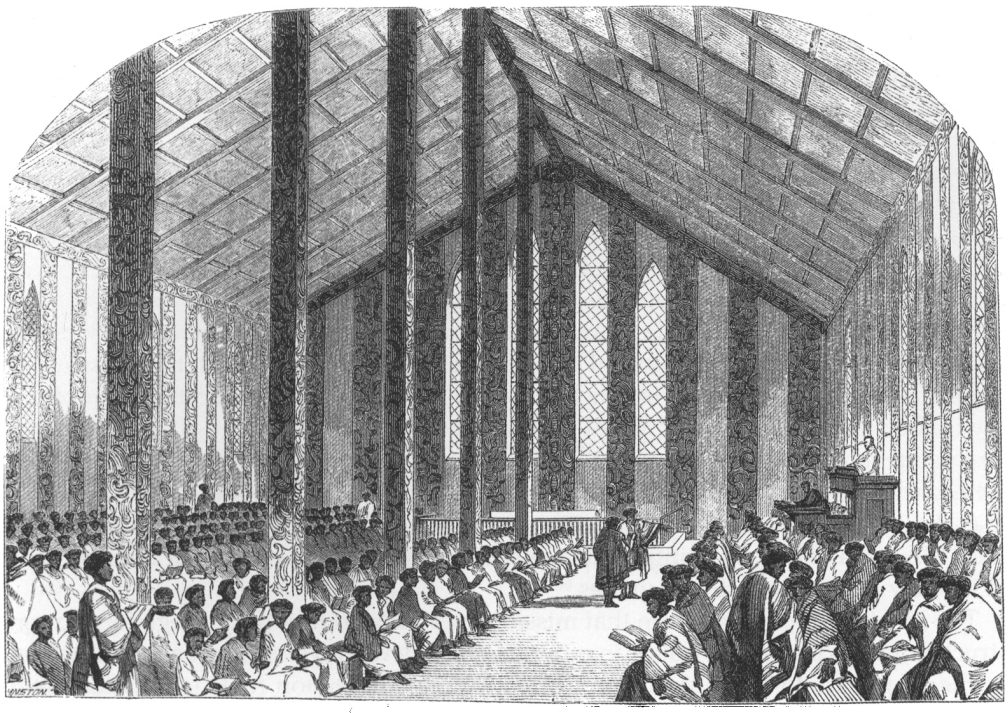

Fig. 5. *Turanga (New Zealand), church known as Manutūkē IIB, interior* (Church Missionary Gleaner,*1884; Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, PUBL-0006-1884-110)*

an external dressing probably of *raupō* rather than sawn weatherboard).[56] The inside, however, is completely different (Fig. 4). Its roofing structure, with its central ridge posts, relies on a row of central pillars, a key feature in Maori domestic spaces and one adopted in other *whare* churches, which effectively divides the interior space in half and creates a double nave; and, as in earlier churches, the integration of *kowhaiwhai* and *tukutuku* made explicit links to traditional craftsmanship. Thus, although there is a Gothic influence throughout, and the lancet windows being very clearly visible from inside, the building is stylistically and culturally distinct from, for example, settler churches in New Zealand that employed a much more rigorously Gothic mode of construction.

A particular feature of the Maori architectural tradition that is missing from Rangiātea is carved panelling. Its absence here, and in a significant number of other whare churches, was due to a general evangelical dislike for human imagery inside the worship space.[57] This concern, however, was not universal. An illustration in the 1884 volume of the *Church Missionary Gleaner* shows another church with elaborate carved panels in the interior that clearly made use of traditional Maori methods and motifs (Fig. 5). This church, retrospectively named Manutūkē IIB, was constructed between 1849 and 1863 and, aside from the carved panelling, incorporated many of the same design features as

its contemporary at Otaki.[58] It thus demonstrates the growing process of integration, aspects of which have been discussed extensively by Richard A. Sundt, of Maori decorative forms within a Gothic constructional framework.

One of the unfortunate aspects of these *whare* churches, from a missionary perspective, was that their interior arrangement was fundamentally at odds with standard Anglican liturgical practice, because central posts created a double nave that was awkward for processions and impeded vision of the pulpit and altar.[59] Thus, despite its generally positive reception, Rangiātea, in particular, was widely criticised for its liturgical arrangement. In 1850, the Rev. J. F. Lloyd wrote that church was 'noble' in appearance but 'the interior would undoubtedly look much better if the roof had been supported by two rows of pillars, instead of one, thus forming a central and two side-aisles'.[60] Nevertheless, he recognised the importance of Maori agency in the construction of their own house of worship in concluding that 'when the whole building is completed, it will, I believe, be a standing proof that in the country of this fact — that the Natives have quite as much natural capacity for the arts as ourselves.'[61] A change, therefore, in liturgy was required to fit the building and the alternative arrangements are illustrated in early interior images of both Rangiātea and Manutūkē IIB. These reflect the fact that the CMS had a history of being flexible, where necessary, in the liturgical arrangements of its New Zealand mission churches.[62]

The nineteenth-century claim that missionaries allowed Maori congregations to construct buildings in their own style in order to attract new converts is probably unfounded as there appears to be no significant difference in conversion rates in locations with Classical and Gothic churches as opposed to their *whare*-style counterparts.[63] The integration of European design elements, including the appropriation of Gothic motifs, points to a general acceptance of foreign architecture by the Maori themselves, as well as an explicit connection drawn, within communities, between Christian worship spaces and European architectural styles.[64] In fact, the whare churches show the integration of non-European construction techniques into Christian architecture around ten years before the Liverpool Conference, which indicates that the discussion at the conference was a response to ideas that were already circulating, in the field, about using indigenous building methods for church design as a natural extension of native agency. Thus, the individuals and communities behind these moves were at the forefront of a very important development in Christian practice, which, no doubt, would have pleased Venn, as it allowed new Christians to participate actively within the growth of Christianity in the region as a permanent institution.

Allowing Maori congregations to build their own churches not only supported native agency since it was also a highly practical measure. The New Zealand mission was understaffed and missionaries were unable either to plan elaborate construction projects or to hire architects or outside labour, whereas individual communities were perfectly capable of erecting their own structures. One of the only CMS churches by an outside architect was the 1846 chapel at Maraetai, the work of British architect, Frederick Thatcher, designed for missionary Robert Maunsell (Fig. 6). It was, however, privately funded, which is what allowed Maunsell to outsource the design to a professional.[65] Thus, although Maunsell was ultimately pleased with Thatcher's timber Gothic church, his enterprise reflected an entirely different set of circumstances than those that dictated

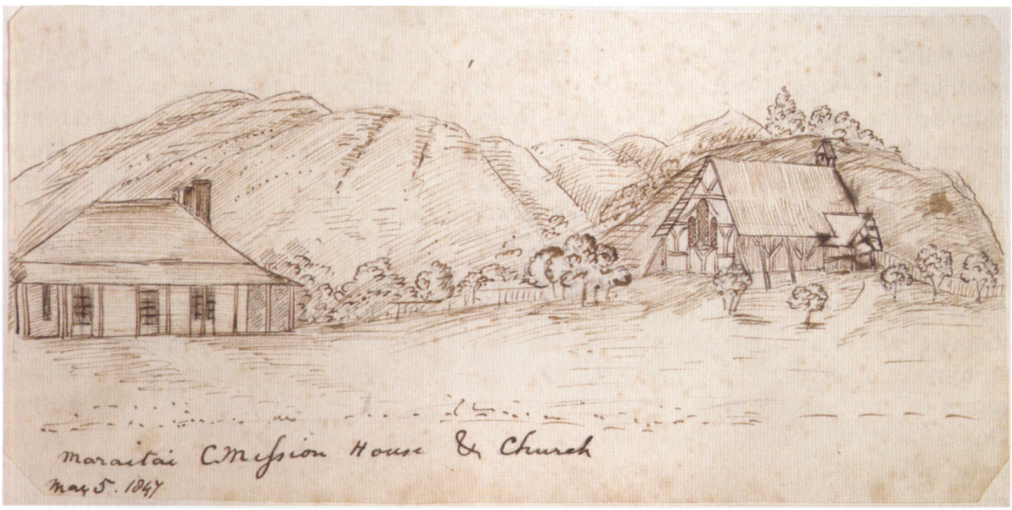

Fig. 6. *Richard Taylor, Maraetai mission house and church (drawing of 1847; Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, E-296-q-077-3)*

the construction of the whare churches.[66] Yet even in relation to these, the approach varied wildly from post to post, depending on the aesthetic preferences of the designer and the amount of Maori involvement in the construction process.

It was this significant role of Maori designers in the construction process, alongside an established building tradition, that shaped the interpretation of church architecture at sites like Rangiātea, an interpretation which was closely aligned with the aims and intentions, even before the Liverpool Conference of the CMS.

New Zealand was certainly not the only place where the CMS interacted with a culture with an active and developed practice of permanent construction. However, in North America and and elsewhere, traditions that could be accommodated within European practices were rarer. For example, in the province of British Columbia in Canada, where the CMS expanded its mandate in the 1870s and 1880s, local First Nations communities had developed a highly sophisticated tradition of cedar timber-construction, seen primarily in the erection of longhouses. Missionaries there, who worked among the Tlingit, Tsimshian and Haida, thus had full access to local technical knowledge and materials that could be used to construct churches reflecting local culture. In fact, the area had been specifically identified by HBC Governor, Sir George Simpson, as a desirable site for missionary activity because of these circumstances.[67] Yet the churches that were built by the British Columbia mission were, without exception, all Gothic, and, despite the region's strong house-building traditions, European typologies and stylistic features were consistently preferred to local techniques and aesthetics.[68]

METLAKATLA CHURCH

The remarkable CMS church at Metlakatla in British Columbia provides, however, another interesting — but contrasting — example of cultural interaction, because of the nature of the community in which it was built and the ideological stance adopted for its construction. The church is closely related, visually, to the one at Moose Factory, but here it reflects the extreme application of the convert-and-civilise approach taken by the missionary, William Duncan, in charge at the station, which did not allow the CMS's native-agency policy to be applied. Unlike Horden, who was unable to integrate any native constructional practices, Duncan actively ignored Tsimshian building traditions as part of an overall mission strategy designed to separate converts from all aspects of their pre-Christian life. Metlakatla, in the late Victorian world, was widely seen as the epitome of a successful mission because of its high rate of conversion and its ability to retain its converts.[69] However, when examined in light of the native-agency policy, Duncan's mission clearly deviates from the principles laid out by Venn and elaborated upon at the Liverpool Conference, an ideological position aptly reflected in its major church-building project. The community itself was an entirely new settlement, founded for the sole purpose of providing a Christian mission to the Tsimshian away from the perils and temptations of the HBC trading post at Fort Simpson. The settlement was, thus, to be 'removed from the contamination of ungodly white men',[70] and it was intended to create what the *Church Missionary Gleaner* labelled 'a little Christian state'.[71] Duncan's work at Metlakatla is a prime example of the convert-and-civilise approach, for there was no cultural integration and only a policy of heavily enforced Anglicisation. His goal there, entirely contrary to CMS policy, was to isolate converts from what he described as 'the miasma of heathen life',[72] in order to promote their conversion to both Christianity and English cultural practices and idealised Victorian social norms.[73] In essence, therefore, he hoped to create a utopian community where nineteenth-century Christian values could be applied in isolation, and this ideal was strongly reflected in the settlement's architectural planning, since he made every effort to develop the community along English lines, which included the building of public and private structures.[74] The specific intent of the settlement was to move away from the indigenous towards a Victorian mode of living, and so traditional building forms were explicitly rejected. It was Duncan's approach to mission that would eventually result in his dismissal from the CMS in 1881, but before that occurred he supervised the erection of one of the largest, most elaborate Gothic CMS churches in North America, and certainly the largest in the Pacific Northwest (Fig. 7), a fact that was already recognised in its day.[75] Completed in December 1874, the building consists of a long five-bay nave with aisles, replete with buttresses, steeply-pitched gabled roofs, together with a tower and a frontal entrance porch. Its design, nevertheless, is still simple and relatively unadorned, a quality reflected in the interior, which is very plain and focused on the act of preaching (Fig. 8), and without any sacramental features and allusions, which the CMS, although evangelical, regarded as an important aspect of the Anglican tradition.

Duncan rarely mentioned the church or the rationale behind his aesthetic and stylistic choices in his letters or in texts he published in evangelical journals. In one of the only references to the church building itself, in an article he wrote for the *Intelligencer*, he simply stated: 'For the last two years, we have been engaged erecting entirely by Indian

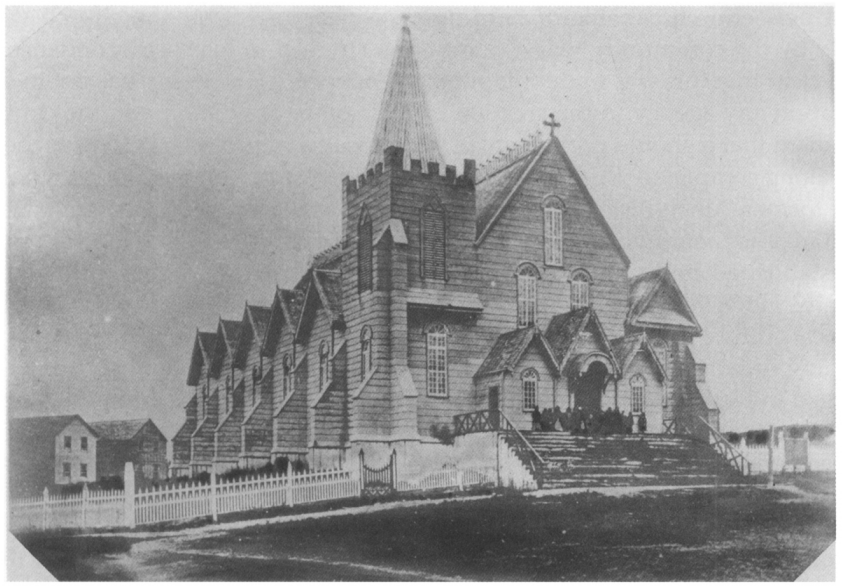

Fig. 7. *Church at Metlakatla, British Columbia (Seattle, Wa., National Archives, Sir Henry Wellcome Collection, photographs of the inhabitants of Metlakatla, British Columbia, and of Metlakatla, Alaska, 1874, inv. 297299)*

Fig. 8. *Church at Metlakatla, interior at Christmas time with man playing organ (Seattle, Wa., National Archives, Sir Henry Wellcome Collection, photographs of the inhabitants of Metlakatla, British Columbia, and of Metlakatla, Alaska, inv. 297266)*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066622X0000263X Published online by Cambridge University Press

labour a new church capable of holding 1200 people.'[76] That the church was built primarily by the community was a point often stressed in his correspondence, but he was also clear that this was under his superintendence.[77] His desire was not to deny his congregation any agency in the creation of their place of worship; on the contrary, he was adamant that it should participate in such vocational projects, as long as these were realised along completely European lines, thus erasing any connection with the congregation's former, 'uncivilised' life. In some ways, this approach was similar to those followed in other communities — such as in New Zealand — in that the Tsimshian had a well-established building tradition and were constructing a church for their own community. However, it was Duncan's radically different outlook towards the integration of local culture that made architectural amalgamation impossible, even despite the overarching organisational policies of the CMS. Whereas agency in construction was encouraged in New Zealand, the impetus behind this project was entirely Duncan's, as was his exercise of control over how his converts interacted it.

What is perhaps remarkable about Metlakatla community is that it was consistently greeted with positive feedback. Lady Dufferin's Canadian journal gives an overall positive impression of 'one of the most successful of Indian missions',[78] after her visit to the station with her husband, then Governor-General of Canada, in August 1876. She also recorded her impressions of the church:

> The Church comes next, and is quite new, having been built entirely by Mr. Duncan and the Indians. It is 120 feet long by 60 and is 50 feet high; it is made of cedar and cypress, and is, I suppose, the only building of the kind to be seen anywhere made by people so lately savage[...]. Of course it is made of wood, and is perfectly simple, but the proportions and the simplicity together give quite a grand effect.[79]

Her reaction to the building's aesthetic character thus demonstrates the value that was placed on Gothic architecture in Anglican circles and its intrinsic connection to both Christianity and a civilising agenda. The fact that the Gothic-style building was constructed by Duncan's Tsimshian converts obviously impressed her, the reason no doubt being because it looked like a Christian edifice and, as such, reflected the goals and the successes of the mission as a Christian enterprise among a 'savage' people.

Duncan, however, was clearly operating in contravention of the CMS's native-agency policy, but his architectural strategy was not the most problematic issue with his overall approach. His mission was consistently defined by an overt dismissal of all aspects of pre-contact indigenous culture, and his eventual dismissal in 1881 was due to his poor relationship with episcopal authority and his refusal to administer the Eucharist for fear that it would encourage his converts to revert to perceived pre-Christian cannibalistic practices.[80] The CMS was also uncomfortable with his dictatorial approach to his position within the community, and the lack of control he allowed his community to have over their day-to-day lives. Thus, in the light of these major doctrinal and administrative issues, the architectural style of the church was a relatively minor point, even though it was, in fact, an accurate reflection of Duncan's missiology. Moreover, the fact that CMS could intervene and take action over a missionary's lack of adherence to corporate policy as well as over theological matters indicates that their primarily concern was with the effective operations of their missions, which included, by extension, the images of the churches constructed within them.

ALL SAINTS' MEMORIAL CHURCH, PESHAWAR

In stark contrast to Duncan's regime and the Metlakatla church in respect to the integration of local culture was the Peshawar mission, in modern day Pakistan, where local traditions and techniques were actively integrated into its church, All Saints' Memorial. However, although designed in accordance with CMS policy, the building does not appear to have been very positively received. It therefore demonstrates that, while native agency in architecture was promoted in theory, it was not always regarded as being beneficial in practice.

Constructed in 1882–83 by a local architect under the direction of the Rev. T. P. Hughes, All Saints' discarded the Gothic style in favour of a comprehensive adoption of a style associated with Mughal-era mosques, for a building complete with domes and minarets (Fig. 9). In an 1885 pamphlet, Hughes himself described the mission and the church's construction:

> The Peshawar Mission has for some years past endeavored to carry on its Evangelical labours as far as possible on Oriental lines, and it is in accordance with this intention that this Memorial Church now stands in an *Oriental Dress*. It is an attempt to adapt Saracenic architecture to the purposes of Christian worship, the whole building having been constructed by a native architect under the superintendence of the missionaries.[81]

Hughes was thus very clear about his desire to build the church in a way that it would be accessible to local people more familiar with Islamic-style architecture; and he also considered it important to build a Christian building in a non-imperial style that would provide a strong witness to Christ in a primarily Muslim area. In keeping with this style, inscriptions were composed in Persian and the interior decoration also conformed to local traditions. At the time of the church's opening, the Rev. Robert Clark, an early missionary to the region, remarked that 'the chief feature of the church is the [apse] screen, beautifully carved in wood of different Peshawar patterns'.[82] This *pinjra* work, specific to the Peshawar region, was incorporated into a screen around the outside of the apse and an ambulatory was constructed around it, to draw attention to the *pinjra* work as well as providing a place for memorial tablets to deceased missionaries who had worked in the region.[83] The building also featured locally-produced panelled doors and made use of the local material known as *chunam*, which Hughes called 'Indian stucco', to cover the brick façade.[84] Undoubtedly, the employment of a local architect familiar with regional techniques and stylistic conventions allowed the church to take on a character that was more consistently indigenous than would have been possible if the building had been devised by an English architect with only limited knowledge of local conditions and cultures.

All Saints', however, also embodied features that set it apart as a Christian church. Despite its mosque-like exterior, Hughes consistently emphasised the use of a cruciform plan as fundamental to its demarcation as a Christian edifice. In his published discussions of the building, he recognised that it looked like few other structures familiar to his readers, and also conceded that 'in order to give a decidedly Christian aspect to the building, the domed belfry is surmounted with a gilded cross which can be seen by the Central Asian traveller as he emerges from the dark defiles of the Khyber'.[85] The contrasting interior, moreover, bears obvious similarity to those of various other

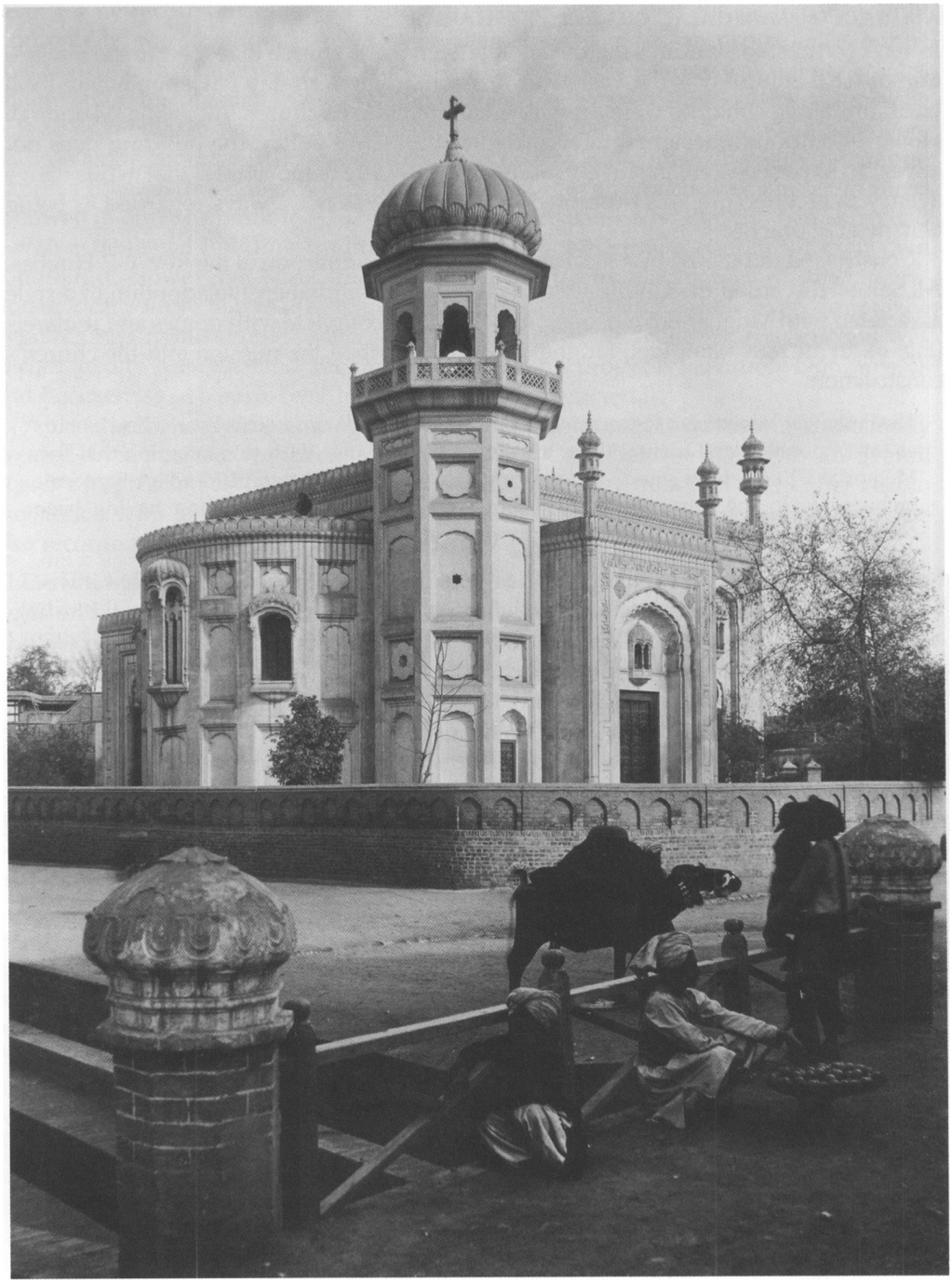

Fig. 9. *Peshawar, All Saints' Memorial Church, southwest side (University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Church Mission Society Archives, ACC 532 Z10A; with courtesy)*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066622X0000263X Published online by Cambridge University Press

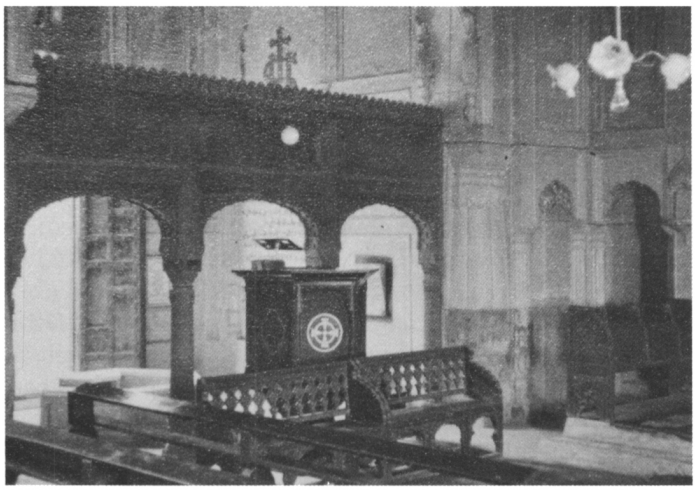

Fig. 10. *Peshawar, All Saints' Memorial Church, interior (University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Church Mission Society Archives, ACC 21 Z5; with courtesy)*

contemporaneous churches, by incorporating a long aisled nave culminating in an apsidal chancel, and separated from the nave by a scalloped arch and rood screen (Fig. 10). The interior also includes a pentagonal baptistery, located in the south transept, which sits in contrast to the northern transept which was curtained off 'to allow Mohammedan woman to attend the service'.[86]

Both Clark and Hughes alluded to the church's beauty. The latter mentions the approval bestowed upon the building by Lady Dufferin, in her travel memoir *Our Viceregal Life in India* (1890), who, however, also admitted that only the cross on the dome identified it as a Christian structure.[87] Clark, in his article, also admitted that the building had been generally disliked, indicating, that, despite CMS policy, the use of a wholly foreign style was not as popular in practice as it might have been in theory. He defended the church, stating:

> Some of our C.M.S. supporters in India may perhaps ask, Why this apparent departure from some of the cherished traditions of the Church Missionary Society, by the erection of this beautiful church in a C.M.S. station? The answer is very clear. It is no departure at all.[88]

Thus, although not specifically citing the CMS's native-agency policy and its architectural implications as discussed in Liverpool, Clark was here directly related them to the design choices made for the church. Even so, the structure was not in line with standard Anglican church-building practice in India during the late nineteenth century, where Gothic was the normal language. While, therefore, Hughes sought to follow CMS guidance on this issue, there were few others who did.

There were, however, some other CMS mission churches built in India before the 1880s which used non-English architectural styles. Two examples can be found in Pakistan which were both reported on positively in the *Intelligencer*. In his annual letter to the CMS published there in 1885, a H. U. Weitbrecht, operating out of Batala, recorded a visit to a church at Clarkabad, which he described as a 'nice little church that stands out conspicuously with its white spire' this being 'the one Western feature in its otherwise

Oriental design'.[89] The CMS church at Narowal, which was dubbed 'an Eastern Church for Eastern Christians,'[90] incorporated vernacular aesthetics in its design, and predated All Saints' by about ten years.[91] and the *Intelligencer* reported:

> The new church is a remarkable one. It is entirely Oriental in style — mosque-like in appearance — Mr. Bateman's view being that Christianity is in itself Oriental, and that we create an unjust prejudice against it by the foreign architecture of our churches.[92]

It becomes clear therefore, that All Saints', and other churches like it, faced the predicament that they did not look recognisably Christian. The problem was also that Hughes and his fellow missionaries at Peshawar had entered into a world with a highly established architectural practice that had strong associations with a different faith, Islam, that had already been seen as problematic my many. Throughout the evangelism of the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East, many previous church builders had summarily rejected local styles precisely because they arose from a faith that was often actively hostile towards both Christianity and British imperialism.[93] This, moreover, had long given rise to a major dilemma for missions that wanted to draw in converts and encourage a native-centred church, but also did not want to be seen promoting Islam. Nearly four decades before the construction of the Peshawar church, the *Ecclesiologist* had most clearly articulated a widespread dislike for Islamic-style architecture in their harsh criticism of James Wild's Church of St Mark's in Alexandria (Fig. 11) which incorporated mosque-like design elements, including a minaret, when stating:

> [...] we are sorry to say the architect was induced to adopt [...] details from the Arab architecture of Egypt; — an architecture whose associations were connected with the subversion of Christianity in the land [...] [and] a style which in its details recalls to the temples of that great scourge of Christianity.[94]

Wild, of course, was operating in a very different setting from Hughes at Peshawar. When designing a church for the British population of Alexandria, Wild had no need to resort to vernacular forms in order to appeal to a non-European segment of the population, and he employed local stylistic features so as to integrate his building with the architectural landscape. It should be noted that St Mark's lost its minaret in the course of construction, thereby lessening its resemblance to a mosque.[95] However, the schemes still demonstrates that, both within the CMS and in the wider British world, the use of alternative architectural styles for Christian spaces made people uncomfortable, this being because it stepped outside the bounds of Anglican practice, and especially when the styles were associated with Islam. Using Gothic forms in the Indian subcontinent could, by contrast, provide a clear visual alternative to Islamic architecture and, by extension, demonstrate through visual means the distinctiveness of Christianity, and this was something All Saints' could not do.

When operating in such locations, missionaries were forced to adopt a church-building strategy which they felt reflected their mission and which they were comfortable with. For Hughes, this translated into building an Islamic-style church, which was in line with corporate policy but outside English church building practice; and, for others, it meant using Gothic forms, or else adopting two other strategies, the first of which was when the building of a church was not feasible. The reuse of pre-existing buildings of Christian worship was a frequent recourse, whether because of funding or

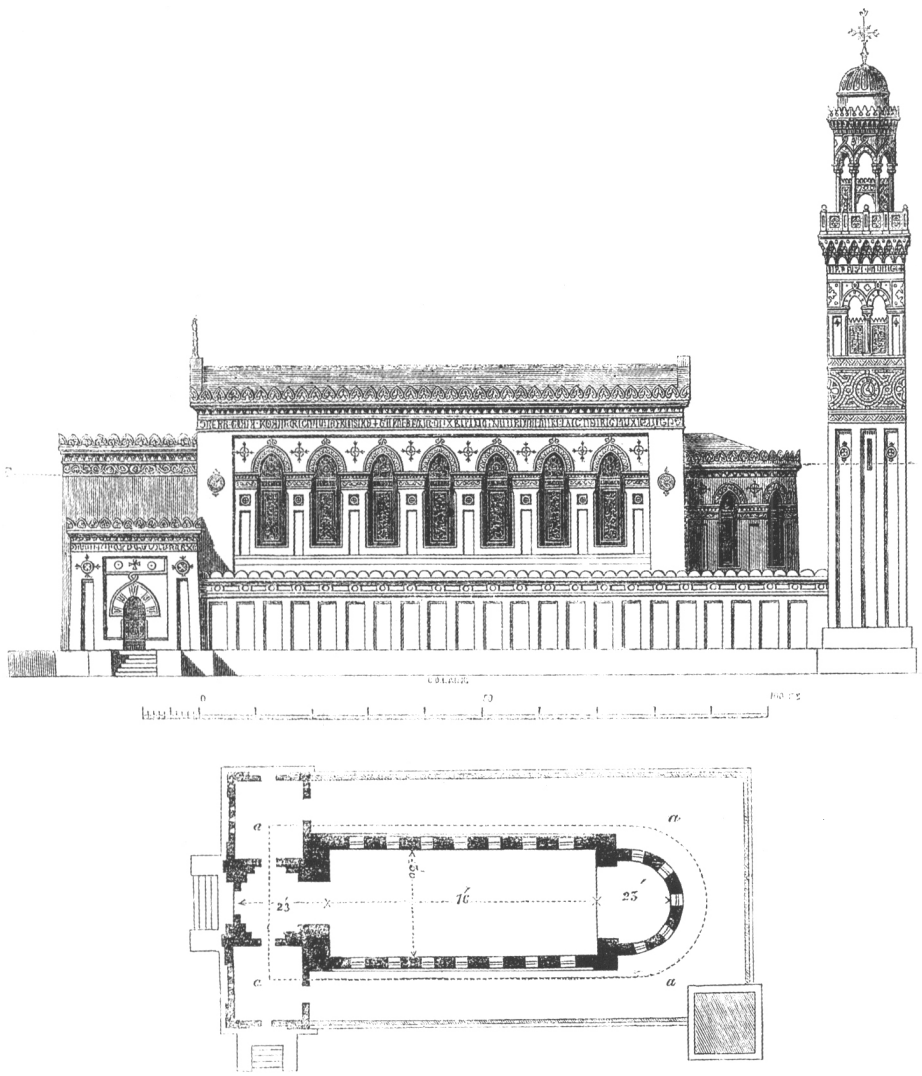

Fig. 11. *James Wild, design for St Mark's, Alexandria* (The Builder, *1846; University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library; with courtesy)*

practicality, of CMS missionaries, especially in areas that had well-established building traditions, and so it often resulted in a direct and unavoidable use of the vernacular. In Myanmar, for example, CMS missionaries often turned to assembly buildings, or *zayats*, in local communities to conduct services of worship.[96] However, this use of the *zayat* by Christian missionaries did not originate with the CMS. The American Baptist missionaries, Adoriam Judson and his wife Ann Hasseltine Judson, had actually constructed several zayats in the mid-1820s, in order to integrate their belief system with local

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066622X0000263X Published online by Cambridge University Press

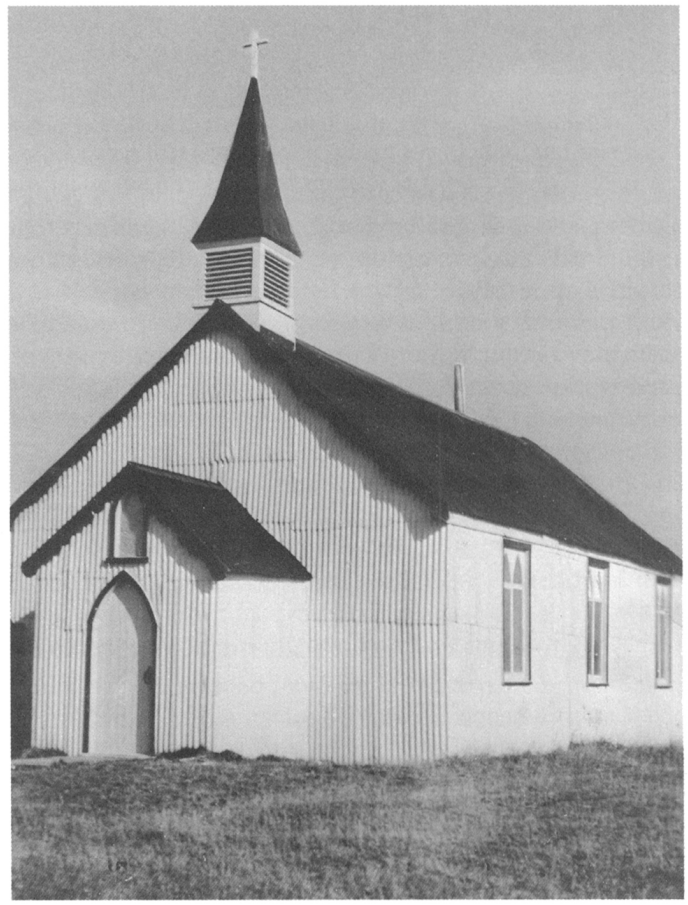

Fig. 12. *Great Whale River, St Edmund's Church: constructed from a prefabricated kit in 1879 (Yellowknife, Northwest Territories Archives, Archibald Fleming Fonds, N-1979-050; 0298)*

customs, which therefore, constitute, very early examples, albeit not an Anglican ones, of the integration of non-Western architectural language into missionary space.[97]

The other stategy was to use prefabricated buildings, which was, again, a relatively common trend across the CMS mission field. Manufactured in England, these buildings were primarily made of corrugated iron with a timber skeleton and lining and were sent out in ready-to-assemble packages, accompanied with instructions for the missionary who received them.[98] They provided easy, relatively inexpensive solutions for clergy with no architectural knowledge, and with limited manpower or minimal material resources, and because they were mass-produced in England, they were inevitably in the Gothic style. Many missionaries chose to make use of these structures preferring them to no purpose-designed space at all, and utility, rather than style, was the primary concern. Five such prefabricated churches were shipped to remote parts of Horden's diocese, where climate and population meant they were effective at providing a useable building for worship at a low cost (Fig. 12).[99] In the Niger Delta in Africa, at least three such structures were erected during the second half of the century, where churches had to be constructed quickly in remote areas where there was limited available labour.[100]

PRACTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE CMS ARCHITECTURAL PROGRAMME

These various churches illustrate the wide discrepancies in the CMS's application of its policy on architecture and demonstrate that the spectrum of approaches was as varied as the society's fields of operation. It is also clear from these case studies that church construction in the CMS's overseas operations was influenced not so much by corporate policy but by the practical considerations of a local area and the ideological stance of individual missionaries, particularly as regards church design and native agency. It is, therefore, evident that the CMS did not exercise control over architectural activity within its missions. However, the approach it took towards the enforcement of policy abroad can be accounted in several ways, which usually involve, among an array or related practical and ideological issues, the perception locally of the Gothic style as a helpful tool for conversion.

What, therefore, becomes obvious when examining a selection of CMS churches constructed during the second half of the nineteenth century is that the Gothic style was very common, and more so, in fact, than vernacular alternatives. The two overtly Gothic churches discussed here were both constructed in North America, but a blind adoption of the style was not a specifically North American preoccupation, since the Gothic Revival was a globally influential movement that was pervasive across the mission field. As noted above, the prevalence of Gothic design in CMS missions is immediately apparent in the pages of the organisation's main publications, the *Intelligencer* and the *Gleaner*, where missionaries regularly advertised that they had overseen the construction of large Gothic churches at their stations. The church constructed in 1847 at Megnanapuram, the very building Mullens criticised at the Liverpool Conference in 1860, was described the *Intelligencer* as 'a noble Gothic church' in an Early English style, and as promoting 'the admiration of our English visitors and the marvel of the natives'.[101] Descriptions such as this were not uncommon and, in fact, this positive assessment of Gothic style can often be also found in the pages of evangelical publications. Yet what makes this example so fascinating, besides Mullens's criticism of it, is that, in the *Intelligencer*, the discussion of its architecture is embedded in an article arguing emphatically for native agency within the Church in India. The unnamed correspondent does not appear to perceive Gothic architecture as being incompatible with native agency (as had been argued by Mullens), suggesting that many missionaries, such as Horden for example, did not see constructing a Gothic church as a deviation from their overall mandate to promote a native-centred church.

This discrepancy between the support of native agency and a desire to build within the accepted British architectural framework may be accounted for by the way in which many individuals, CMS missionaries included, saw the style because of its associations with pious and historical Christianity, as a tool for conversion. In fact, Bishop Edward Sargent, a CMS member, noted what he regarded as the stylistic success of the Megnanapuram church when he wrote in an 1885 letter to the Society: 'As the beautiful Gothic building sprang under their hands week by week, he [the head workman] became so impressed with the excellency of Christian architecture that he concluded the religion must have the same superiority.'[102] Such an opinion this echoed the earlier writing of A. W. N. Pugin regarding the direct correlation between architecture and the growth and

resilience of Christianity within a given community. As Pugin had seen it, architecture, aesthetics and religion were intimately connected because 'the belief and manners of all people are embodied in the edifices they raised' and because medieval churches embodied 'the principles and worship of their builders.'[103] Thus Gothic churches could be seen as promoting Christianity and conversion, the primary goals of evangelism, even if vernacular architecture could reinforced ideas of native agency. The belief that Gothic architecture was not an English construct but a legitimate and fundamental expression of core Christian beliefs that could assist in conversion efforts may, therefore, have prevailed over the organisation's agreed policy on architectural development. Moreover, by building a church in a non-Western style, missionaries ran the risk of reinforcing 'heathen' beliefs. This, as we have seen, was a major criticism of All Saints', Peshawar, where the Islamic style was seen to detract from its success as a specifically Christian edifice, even despite its very clear adherence to CMS policy. In addition, not all missionaries disassociated the Gothic style from English culture. Missionary George Gordon in India, for example, 'had a great horror of Anglicising the natives, and when he designed a chapel for the Divinity College [...] took great care that it should be of the Eastern and not of the Western type of architecture'.[104] Nonetheless, Gothic architecture was generally viewed independently from English culture as 'an exposition of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity clothed up in material form',[105] even if the emphasis on ecclesiological correctness so present in High Anglican circles did not manifest itself within the CMS, a point acutely made, as we have seen, by churches such as St Thomas's, Moose Factory. Thus, while Gothic architecture was regarded by some as a helpful tool in evangelism, it was a flexible and fluid style that could be interpreted in a wide variety of ways to best suit a site and its resources.

While the CMS was not usually interested in policing the architectural activities of its missionaries, this was not always the case. An early, and rare, example of central committee intervention in architectural affairs occurred in September 1841, and it in response to the plans of W. T. Humphrey, based at Mayaverum in the Diocese of Madras. Humphrey's intent, he explained to the Madras Corresponding Committee, was to construct a church with physical divisions between the converts and 'the heathen', this being specifically

> to build a Church in the early English style, substantial as to material, and with as much ornament as funds may allow of; and of such form as to combine under one roof distinct portions for each class so as to hold out the position of the Faithful to be the highest and holiest [...] a portion should also be assigned for future penitents, who, in conformity with the censures of the Church, shall be inaccessible to full communion.[106]

He also proposed this separate section for the 'heathen' so as 'only gradually to bring before them to mysteries of the faith'.[107] As a result of his proposal, Humphrey was summarily dismissed, and the church was never erected.

It should be made clear, however, that the issue was not at all the style of the proposed building, and, indeed, the fact that it was to be 'early English' (i.e. Gothic) was never mentioned in subsequent correspondence. The problem, at least to a point, was the emphasis placed on the 'mysteries of the faith' and the lack of emphasis on the efficacy of preaching made possible by the building's internal arrangement.[108] This would have

been seen as a blatant move towards Tractarian dogma, which to the CMS would have been completely unacceptable.[109] That kind of planning approach was most notably advocated by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in the 1860s and '70s and, as in Humphrey's explanation of his proposed scheme, usually resulted in a division of space through the addition of a narthex that allowed non-Christian observers to witness the service without being admitted to the space reserved for the faithful.[110] This movement, however, was an Anglo-Catholic organisation and its perspective on the segregation of space was consistent with its theological stance, and incompatible with the evangelical theology of the CMS. Aesthetics and style, therefore, were not so much at issue in this case as the scheme's ideological implications and their relationship to the theological principles of evangelical Anglicanism.

What further becomes clear is that the stylistic development of architecture across the CMS domain was dependent on the perspectives of individual missionaries over the role that architecture could play in the process of conversion. It is an area over which the home Committee did not exercise control, and had no bearing on the dismissals of both Humphrey and Duncan, mentioned in this study, which were actually over theological disputes. With an expanding global domain, policing architecture was administratively impractical and was simply not done. As a result, the intereactions between individual missionaries and their communities had a more direct and significant impact on their approach to ecclesiastical architecture than did corporate policy.[111] For example, Duncan's distain for all aspects of Tsimshian culture, which represented a link to a 'savage' pre-Christian past, translated into an architectural program that focused on the use of a British, and therefore civilised, style for a model Christian settlement. The approach Hughes adopted, however, reveals a markedly different viewpoint, both on architecture and on the people amongst whom he worked. During his twenty years in the region, he developed both a pastoral and scholarly interest in the region and its culture, writing about them in a series of articles in evangelical Christian publications and in independent volumes.[112] While there were aspects of Afghan culture that Hughes was uncomfortable with (especially tribal violence), he showed a genuine respect for and an understanding of the cultural values in the region, and this sentiment was then translated into his architectural endeavours.

The approaches to mission of both Hughes and Duncan were both reflected in their views on architecture, but each was representative of a different ideological stance. There were other missionaries who valued native agency but, nevertheless, chose to erect Gothic churches. There were even indigenous clergy who chose to erect churches in the Gothic style, the go-to style most intimately linked with the British Empire, and most readily associated with Christianity within a wider institutional framework.[113] Thus preconceived ideas about what Christian churches should look like sometimes affected these decisions, but so did the individual visions and preferences of those locally in charge, and so also did access to local material resources and available architectural expertise.

The availability of architectural knowledge over the mission field often proved critical in determining how churches were built. Central to the burgeoning Gothic movement was the education of clergy in architectural matters, which also enabled them take charge when an architect was unavailable.[114] The Ecclesiological Society recognised that most

colonial clergy were not equipped to construct 'ecclesiologically correct' churches, and responded accordingly by sending advice and patterns all over the globe. Providing the colonies with church-building assistance was a central facet of their mandate and it contributed significantly to both impetus and interest in the matter, with articles by individuals such as A. J. Beresford Hope and William Scott explicitly addressing challenges and strategies abroad.[115] Moreover, this phenomenon extended beyond High Anglican circles through the dissemination of pattern books and other forms of printed resources illustrating Gothic church construction and decoration. These were readily available and easily modified, as St Thomas's at Moose Factory demonstrates, to suit local conditions, and even when 'ecclesiological correctness' was not a particular concern. Some CMS missionaries, such as the Rev. Robert Hunt, actually declared their interest in consulting pattern books to assist in their church building endeavours.[116] The massive spread of the Gothic Revival through print resources promoting the style even allowed colonial clergy to take on the role of architect for the building of Gothic churches.[117] But for CMS missionaries, who wanted to explore an alternative direction, these developments underlined a key problem, namely a lack of resources for designing and building places of worship in styles outside of European norms.

A direct comparison between Hughes and Horden underlines the massive disparities between resources available to missions in different areas of the world. At Peshawar, as we saw, Hughes had both an established building tradition that could be easily adapted to Western ideas about Christian worship space, and also access to a competent architectural professional. At Moose Factory, Horden had neither of these things, since he was operating within a culture whose building traditions did not align with European architectural practice, and he had no one in the locality with sufficient architectural knowledge to negotiate the divide. He was effectively operating alone with little external support, and so a pattern book illustrating Gothic-style churches provided the most effective solution to an immediate need. At Rangiātea and elsewhere in New Zealand the CMS was often in a similar predicament over the availability of professional resources, but here it was the established Maori building traditions that enabled missionaries to put architectural matters into the hands of their congregations and feel confident that they would erect a permanent structure that would be easily integrated into Christian practice.

The reality throughout the CMS mission field, however, was that Gothic churches abounded. Circumstances beyond the reach of the parent Society made the style the most convenient type of building to erect. This convenience, coupled with the inability of the CMS to police architectural matters across its domain meant that the nineteenth-century development of the society's ecclesiastical architecture, like that in other evangelical Anglican missions, mirrored more-or-less that of their High-Anglican contemporaries. The CMS churches did not display the same dogmatic approach to the Gothic style, and the society consistently emphasised practicality in their missions. Architectural rigour was not central to society's mandate, and its approach allowed for a broader interpretation of the Gothic idiom and an inconsistent application of architectural policy, a policy that was largely responsibility of individual missionaries to implement. While they may have sometimes commitment to fostering an indigenous church architecture, financial and material resources did not always make this possible. Building a church entirely in

a native style may have been sometimes desirable and, in some places, fully within what could be reasonably asked of individual missionaries. But in areas with limited access to architectural resources, or in those with architectural traditions incompatible with permanent houses of Christian worship, building Gothic-style churches was probably more realistic.

What was centrally important to the CMS, therefore, was not style. It was the theological implications of architecture, and the activities of missionaries, that marked the bounds of acceptable practice. The examples of both Duncan at Metlakatla and Humphrey at Mayaverum demonstrate this, in that the churches they constructed, or aimed to construct, did not actually use vernacular forms; and it was their departures from traditional Anglican evangelical thought that made their activities objectionable to the main organisation, as Duncan strayed to towards an anti-sacramental, and borderline anti-episcopal, evangelicalism, and Humphrey drifted, in the opposite direction, towards a hyper-sacramental High Anglicanism, which were both intrinsically reflected in the church schemes they promoted. In contrast, the churches erected at Peshawar, Otaki and Moose Factory, which each interpreted ideas of native agency and architecture differently, remained able to reflect an evangelical understanding of Anglicanism, by allowing for inclusive, preaching-based worship that was in line with CMS values. Admittedly, some liturgical practices had to be adjusted for buildings such as the Rangiātea and Manutūkē IIB churches, but these changes retained the core beliefs of how worship should be focused within an architectural setting, as images of these buildings indicate. Thus, while ecclesiastical architecture in CMS missions was consistent in its adherence neither to corporate policy and nor to a specific stylistic movement, it ultimately reflected the CMS's overall goals not on the externals of worship but on conversion and evangelism within the Anglican tradition.

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