

SCOTTISH LITURGICS AND CHURCH ARCHITECTURE: A Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island

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This paper will endeavour to explore the relationship of public liturgy and the use of space in one specific ecclesiastical tradition, the post-Reformation Scottish Reformed Church, and particularly apply this to Prince Edward Island with brief reference to the larger global context. The paper contends that this liturgical practice issued in spacial design between c. 1560 and c. 1860 that was unique and often not fully recognized in church architecture.

LITURGICS AND SPACE IN THE POST-REFORMATION SCOTTISH CHURCHES

Liturgics, or *leitourgia* (Greek), has come over into Christian theology from the original concept of doing public or state duty. Thus in Christianity it has come to mean generally any reference to Christian public worship in a church and more specifically the exact elements or forms of a worship service. Liturgical discussions have often centred on the form of Holy Communion as one specific element of liturgy.² Many have explored how several Christian liturgical forms on communion have influenced the use of built space (Eucharist, or Lord's Supper). For example, in a high-Anglican tradition, the placement of a rood screen, altar, and altar rail all show how a liturgical, theological understanding impacts built space or ecclesiastical architecture. However, less well studied and understood are the Western European Reformed liturgical formularies and their impact on ecclesiastical architecture from the 1550s until the mid-nineteenth century. This three-hundred-year period saw the flowering

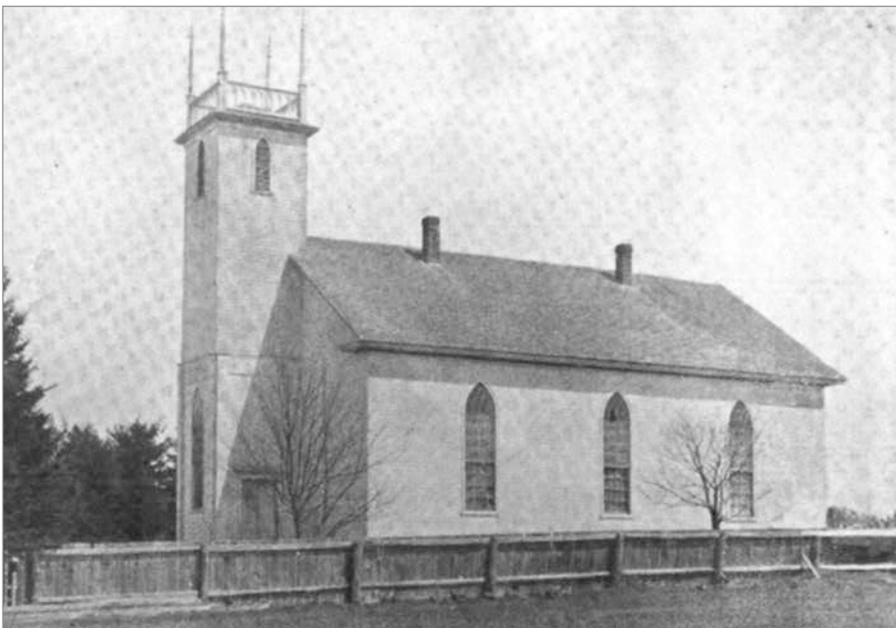


FIG. 1. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, ORIGINAL, 1852-1855. | AUTHOR'S PRIVATE COLLECTION.



FIG. 2. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, WITH SPIRE. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

of a unique liturgical tradition and an ecclesiastical architectural style. After the mid-nineteenth century, it almost ceased in its built form as a whole, except for isolated church enclaves.

What was this unique liturgical tradition that flourished for a three-hundred-year period and influenced spacial usage to create a unique ecclesiastical style?

Its roots must be traced to Zurich and Geneva and also to France to a large extent. It is the Reformation branch of churches which have become known as Reformed—the children of Zwingli and Calvin on the continent and the children of Knox in Scotland—the Reformed Church of Scotland. This Protestant branch both inherited buildings and would construct new structures. Often the focus of research has been on iconoclasm and their destroying elements of the medieval interiors they inherited rather than focusing on how the Reformed reoriented the

actual space.³ The common theme that emerged for these Reformed churches was the centrality of the pulpit “and the need to focus the interior on the pulpit.”⁴ The other common feature was the removal of anything that looked like an altar and, on occasion, its replacement with long tables, although these were not always present, a fact not always remembered today. The inherited medieval buildings were generally rectangular and oriented with the liturgical focus at the front on the short wall. Yet, several changed this to reorient to the side, the long wall. As the Reformed began to erect new buildings, there were several innovations of spacial usage—some were built with a circular pattern,⁵ but also clearly many were built with a rectangular plan but often with orientation to the side, the long wall, or in the Tplan, a new emerging pattern. Most of these new rectangular plans or Tplan church buildings set the pulpit on the long wall. In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the rectangular plan began to be oriented with the high

pulpit on the short end wall, but still with communion aisles. Thus what emerged within the grouping of the Reformed in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Hungary, Scotland, England and Wales, and New England roughly after 1560 were Reformed church buildings generally with high pulpits centred on the long wall.⁶

Since our focus is Scottish in this paper, let us summarize these liturgical and architectural customs from c. 1560 to c. 1860 in Scotland:

- Many of the new churches built post-1560 in Scotland were either rectangular with high pulpits on the long wall, or Tplan with high pulpits on the long wall. (By the end of our period of focus, there were more rectangular churches with high pulpits being constructed on the short wall.) The larger could accommodate three-sided galleries/lofts.⁷
- Musical instruments were in none of these newly built post-1560 buildings. Precentors led the singing and generally they stood near the pulpit, often just at the foot of the high pulpit at a table/desk (or without table/desk). Often the elders were in this area (*i.e.*, in front of the pulpit) with their own seats, or adjacent to the high pulpit (to one side and looking toward the pulpit).
- Elaborate baptismal fonts were almost never found in these churches but rather often a bracket was attached to the woodwork of the pulpit and a bowl was placed in the bracket.
- All communion services were held with the communicants sitting at long tables either inside the church in a communion aisle or outdoors to accommodate the



FIG. 3. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, HIGH PULPIT ON LONG WALL WITH ELDERS'/ PRECENTORS' AREA. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 5. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, CARVING DETAIL ON FRONT OF HIGH PULPIT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 4. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, DOOR INTO HIGH PULPIT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 6. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, CARVING DETAIL ON FRONT OF HIGH PULPIT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 7. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, LONG COMMUNION TABLE. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 8. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, STABILIZING BAR FOR LONG COMMUNION TABLE. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

large numbers. If the service was held in the church and the crowd overflowed to the outside, then the windows would be removed for the people to hear.⁸

- The design of the long tables varied but most were fifteen inches in width and could be ten feet in length, and if two or three were placed end-to-end, then thirty-five to fifty could communicate at one sitting. This necessitated careful planning of the floor space for a communion aisle. Most of these tables were not left “set-up” but were brought into the communion aisle only for the communion season, hence the reference here to “portable long tables” (or trestle tables), some with legs which could fold for storage, others with stabilizing bars with fixed legs that did not fold. Latterly, some long tables were not portable but tables in which pews converted into tables. On occasion churches “rented out”

the long tables and benches for societal gatherings and events. Some churches permanently set up their long tables with benches. Finally, there were three types of long table arrangements: portable, hinged, and fixed.

From c. 1860 to c. 1900 several liturgical changes took place amongst numerous Scottish Presbyterian churches,⁹ which also led to many alternations in existing post-Reformation buildings and in buildings purpose-built in the late nineteenth century. Thus Nigel Yates is correct when he writes: “Very few Scottish Presbyterian churches retain pre-1850 liturgical arrangements intact.”¹⁰ Church buildings were changed from having high pulpits on the long wall to the “front” or short wall with non-centred pulpits and a permanent communion table, often looking more like a rectangular box. Happening at the same time was the introduction of organs, the displacement of the precentor, the introduction of the

five feast days, the move to the individual communion cups served in the pews rather than a common cup at the long tables, the disappearance of oatcakes or shortbread replaced with bread served from a small stationary communion table at the front, the replacement of tokens with communion cards and then no cards, and finally unfermented juice replacing strong wine. These were major changes in liturgy and also in spacial orientation in the second half of the nineteenth century.

These liturgical changes are actually highly complex and defy simplistic labelling. In part some changes were pragmatic and theological (see the Begg/Chalmers discussions, endnote 20); some were influenced by hygiene concerns; some show the influence of the temperance movement; some were also influenced in part by a desire to recover a wider unity with the universal or Catholic Church of all ages (the Scoto-Catholics); and some can likewise be seen as a Lowland/Highland divide and also in part a rural/urban



FIG. 9. DESABLE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, PEI, GALLERY DENTILATION AND BOX FOR CHIMNEY. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 10. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, T PLAN. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

distinction. The purpose of this paper is not to fully analyze all the reasons for the liturgical changes that were taking place in Presbyterianism in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This would be a whole other paper on liturgics and spacial usage.¹¹

Returning now to the three-hundred-year tradition of the Scottish post-Reformation churches, what was its liturgical theology?

The move to large central pulpits dominating the church interiors in Scotland was a theological statement in architecture: the Word of God—*sola scriptura*—was central, declaring the finished work of Christ, not an altar of priestly sacrifice.¹² The people must gather around the Word (the Scriptures of the Bible), hence the people gathering on three sides around the pulpit on the long wall expressed this theological construct visibly. Also, the Word must be heard audibly by all, so gathering around the pulpit was key. The

adornment of the interior was stripped of all extra distractions in the first post-Reformation buildings. The statement was clear: the Word read and proclaimed is sufficient and there was no need of other symbols, images, or things—simplicity was to rule.¹³

Next, the people must commune as the family of God without distinction. Scripturally the move was more in imitation of the Upper Room tables (Luke 22:11-19). But the Scottish Presbyterians had become dogmatic on this liturgical matter and spacial orientation. For three weeks the Scottish delegates debated with the English Puritans at the famous Westminster Assembly. The Scots were insistent in the Directory for the Public Worship of God that their position be honoured. Eventually after three weeks of debate, a compromise was reached and the wording was carefully crafted to please both parties in the Directory: “The table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that

the communicants *may orderly sit about it, or at it*, the minister is to begin the action . . .”¹⁴ (An amazing way of using English!)

The language is that of compromise and yet also reflects two different liturgical practices and hence two different spacial arrangements in church architecture. Both are very close with a central pulpit often on the long wall, but both vary on floor-space for communion. The one allowed for pew communion, the other for long tables with sittings. The one is typical of what would become known as American meeting house style,¹⁵ the other a Scottish post-Reformation style. They truly are “first cousins,” not identical siblings! Nothing was dearer to the Scots than taking Communion at the “long tables.”¹⁶ When the Scottish post-Reformed Church in 1645 accepted at its General Assembly the Westminster Directory of Public Worship, the Scottish Assembly made it explicitly clear that in Scotland communicants would come

forward and sit at the table and serve one another—they would not sit in the pews.¹⁷ The Reformed churches on the Continent had some variables here—some in France and Switzerland had the communicants walk forward and stand around the table, but not be seated, while others in Westphalia and in the Netherlands often had the communicants walk forward and be seated at the tables.¹⁸ This contrasted with most English and American Puritans who had the communicants remain on the pews/benches.¹⁹

The Scottish General Assembly in 1824 condemned St. John's Parish Church in Glasgow for observing pew communion.²⁰ Another church attempted such in 1860 and was not chastised. Thus, we see that between the 1860s and 1890s a liturgical change occurred in the post-Reformation Scottish Reformed Church where a period of transition began; and by the end of the century, the old liturgical patterns and spatial arrangements were in the minority.²¹

In conclusion, we see that the Scottish Reformed had clear theological and liturgical convictions about Word and Sacrament. These were the underpinnings to what became a distinctive architectural style or use of space for approximately a three-hundred-year period. Donald Bruggink's seminal work in the 1960s summarized this position in *Christ and Architecture*: "Church architecture is therefore first and foremost a matter of theology rather than a matter of style."²²

SAMPLES OF POST-REFORMATION SCOTTISH REFORMED CHURCHES

Since a picture truly is worth a thousand words, we will do a very select sample of purpose-built, post-Reformation Reformed churches in Scotland (bearing

in mind the difficulty of finding such buildings in their c. pre-1900s liturgical arrangement).²³ These selections are mainly from village and town churches. This will help be closer to the locations of such churches in villages and towns in Canada and in South Africa.²⁴ The common features will reveal high pulpits on the long wall or high pulpits on the short wall, no elaborate baptismal fonts—if any—three sided galleries if a larger church, and floor spacing for long tables. The last of these is often the most difficult due to the pew upgrades, whereas the central pulpit generally was not as prone to change. Here are five samples of a fairly standard post-Reformation style in Scotland:

- Mochrum Church, Dumfries and Galloway, 1794, Tplan, high pulpit on the long wall and three-sided galleries with external stairs.²⁵
- Croick Church, Sutherland, 1825-1827, from a Thomas Telford design, T-plan, high pulpit on the long wall, long communion table still present which would accommodate about thirty at a sitting, no galleries.²⁶
- Edderton Old Church, Rosshire, 1743, Tplan, two-tiered high pulpit, long communion tables present through pew backs being converted into tables and three-sided galleries or lofts.²⁷
- Iona Church, Iona (original and with changes), 1828, an approved Thomas Telford church, rectangular, original with high pulpit on long wall, and specially designed for tables, then reoriented in 1939 to hall configuration with stationary communion box table in centre on short wall and low pulpit to one side.²⁸
- Ardchattan Kirk, Argyll (north of Oban), 1836, rectangular, high pulpit on short end wall, precentor's desk, elders' seating area, bracket

for baptismal bowl, permanent long tables in communion aisle (seating for about fifty), horseshoe gallery, organ added in 1935.²⁹

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND THE DIASPORA SCOTS

Immigration of Scots in the great diaspora of the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries can be traced through their contributions in our built heritage. Often a key leader can be found amongst the Scottish diaspora who was influential upon their building programmes. In the case of Prince Edward Island, such a leader was the Reverend Donald MacDonald (1783-1867). Our purpose here is not to carry out a biographical study,³⁰ but to uncover a liturgical practice and its special impact on the ecclesiastical architecture of Prince Edward Island. MacDonald was from Perthshire, Scotland, and came to PEI in 1826. The time period of his life fits well with what was the regular liturgical form and post-Reformation Scottish church building design before the liturgical and ecclesiological changes of the late nineteenth century.

MacDonald's strategy was to see two large churches constructed east and west of the Hillsborough River, plus numerous smaller meeting points. These two central locations were Desable and Orwell. Both of the buildings were virtually identical in size and style. The Orwell Church was dismantled in the early 1970s. It had undergone liturgical and ecclesiological changes in the late nineteenth / early twentieth century. The Desable Church has not undergone these same liturgical and ecclesiological changes and thus remains basically an unaltered post-Reformation Scottish Kirk. There have been changes—for example, new pews on the main floor and removal of



FIG. 11. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, HIGH PULPIT ON LONG WALL, THREE-SIDED SEATING ARRANGEMENT. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.



FIG. 12. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, HIGH PULPIT DETAIL. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

chimneys—but nothing that diminishes the overall theme of continuity. Its date, 1852-1855, places toward the end of the three-hundred-year Scottish continuum of post-Reformation buildings.

The building material is not that of stone or ashlar, but wood/timber, showing adaptation to the island context and economic realities.³¹ The building is rectilinear with a tower at one end for the primary entrance, but appropriately the entrance doors are in the side, not in the centre on the tower-end, thus more adequate for the climate and for stair configuration. The central aisle runs from door-to-door lengthwise of the rectangle. The large high central pulpit is on the long wall, and room is left below for the precentor or elders to assist in leading praise. There are no mid-nineteenth-century font and no organ. The main floor seating is three-sided and the gallery is three-sided. The pulpit height is proportioned properly to allow for sighting by all attendants, with seven stairs symmetrically on each

side. The overall ornamentation is plain in the interior except for some adornment on the pulpit front, which interestingly matches to a large extent the tower exterior. The gallery benches are original, as are the long tables for communion, the communion benches, and some of the interior finish woodwork. The interior is consistently post-Reformation Scottish Reformed. It is close to what many refer to as an American meeting house, but, as said earlier, they are cousins once removed. The overall configuration is Scottish Reformed, post-Reformation. Today the church has a small “communion table” below the precentors/elders’ area, but still has the wide communion aisle for placing the long tables, which remain in the building with the communion table benches.³²

The exterior is that of a very plain, Gothic Revival “overall” by way of the windows, which from all indications are original in design. Yet other features, some of which are now gone, include return box eaves

and corner pilasters, more reflective of a Georgian style. The original tower did not have a spire or a thistle, but it was topped off with four pinnacles.³³ The spire and thistle are later additions, reflecting somewhat a William Critchlow Harris imitation and an ethnic, historical identification,³⁴ and parallels the Cape Traverse Church of Scotland (PEI) spire. The spire has Gothic niches with louvers.

Brief mention can also be made of what was an almost identical building to Desable—the Orwell Church of Scotland built in 1864 by Malcolm MacLeod. It virtually had all these same interior and exterior features and elements as Desable, but with a plain spire added to its tower, original to the building. This spire’s round finial was six feet in length atop the spire and was simply circular and without the ornamentation of a thistle. The tower entrance door at Orwell was likewise in the same position to accommodate the staircase for the gallery on the tower side. The 1866 Communion



FIG. 13. GLEN LYNDEN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA, 1828, ELDERS' BENCHES. | JACK C. WHYTOCK.

season here had twelve sittings to accommodate the approximately nine hundred communicants.

Typically the high pulpits had ornamentation of some kind in the woodwork in keeping with Reformed theological and liturgical standards. If a Lutheran high pulpit on the long wall depicted biblical scenes or motifs, this was not done by the Reformed; rather the woodworking of the pulpit reflected more care and detail to woods. At Desable the ornamentation on the pulpit is most unusual as a feature. The motif may reflect cables, or plants, or—as some maintain—the thistle, but this is not conclusive. The panels also reflect graining of the wood, as also the original gallery woodwork. Graining is often indicative of using a less expensive wood and one which was more readily available or not imported from the Caribbean.³⁵ The “carving” was executed by a J. Weeks.³⁶ The gallery moulding is done with small blocks, dentils, to form a linear pattern of dentilation more in the

neoclassical tradition. The gallery moulding also included inset panels as with the one original door.

There are two curious boxes in the two central corners of the gallery in the Desable Church. These are where the chimney pipes once went up through and were removed when the building was raised to have a full basement which accommodated an oil furnace. The second staircase by the second entrance door has an original plain bannister and balustrade and newel post. It reflects a dignified plain craftsmen-like detail in keeping with the period, and the liturgical and ecclesiological principles of the post-Reformation period. The original lath and plaster ceiling is still in the building under a suspended acoustical-tile ceiling.

There is uncertainty as to who the “architect” may have been. However we know that the designer and builders clearly understood the principles and proportions for post-Reformation, high-pulpit,

long-wall churches. Interestingly there are still some examples of such buildings left in Perthshire, Scotland. The conclusion seems obvious: Reverend Donald MacDonald of Perthshire and many of the Scots diaspora from Argyll, and other regions, knew this design well; and it reflected their heritage—liturgically, theologically, and spacially—as a place of public worship.

There is one other building remaining on Prince Edward Island with a close affinity to the Desable Church building, built in 1862 and located about seven kilometres away, the Churchill Church. It appears to simply be a scaled-down version of Desable. Its overall design is in complete harmony with the post-Reformation-built Scottish churches. Today one will see that it has undergone a very modest late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century liturgical and ecclesiological change, but very conservatively in contrast to what often was done. The main point of change was to lower the long-wall pulpit and to abandon the long tables and benches, but the overall configuration was not abandoned. The Churchill Church originated as being in connection with the Church of Scotland under Reverend Donald MacDonald’s oversight.

Brief mention should be made of the changes in the orientation of the Kirk of St. James in Charlottetown. The original church interior dates to 1878 with a long-wall pulpit and a three-sided gallery design. This congregation originally was Church of Scotland. This second building comes at the end of the three-hundred-year post-Reformation Scottish Reformed period. This (second) church underwent major alternations in keeping with the liturgical and ecclesiological changes in the late nineteenth / early twentieth centuries. It thus represents well what Nigel Yates says about many of the Scottish

churches—few remain intact in their interiors reflecting the three-hundred-year liturgical style and built form.

In Canada there are very few church buildings which remain that reflect the Scottish post-Reformation approach to liturgy and built space.³⁷ The Desable Church is likely the best example, although more input is welcomed to verify if there might be others. Alterations and a move to “church-hall” built interiors with shorter pulpits and a fixed table became the norm in the second half of the nineteenth century for most Presbyterian church buildings in Canada. This has resulted in little knowledge of former liturgical and spacial orientation in these buildings.

GLEN LYNDEN CHURCH, SOUTH AFRICA

We end our discussion with a brief excursus of the first purpose-built Presbyterian church building on the continent of Africa.³⁸ It opened in 1828 and was built for Scottish immigrants who settled in the Baviaans River area in a “glen” that came to be known as Glen Lynden in the Eastern Cape.³⁹ These were the party of Scottish settlers informally under Thomas Pringle’s leadership, often acclaimed as the first English language poet in Southern Africa. This 1828 church has been preserved with minimal change. The roof is now corrugated iron but was originally thatch, and two large stone buttresses have been added to one wall to prevent further deterioration of the structure. What is most interesting, however, for the purposes of this paper, is the fact that this is a Tplan church and the interior is configured around a long-wall pulpit. Spacially the aisles in front of the pulpit would accommodate long tables. The church furnishings which are left today are benches/pews and the large pulpit with stairs. There



FIG. 14. GREENOCK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ST. ANDREWS, NEW BRUNSWICK, 1822-1824, HIGH PULPIT ON THE FRONT SHORT WALL. | NANCY WHYTOCK.

are no baptismal font, no communion table(s), small or long tables. It would appear that the pulpit is original and the stairs leading up into it as well. The pulpit includes cut volutes into the wood, making an effective linear design in the front corners. There are no galleries as the building is very low, but the configuration is three-sided around the pulpit. The building stone is from the “glen.” The church was replaced by a Gothic Revival structure next door in 1873.⁴⁰

The point about this first purpose-built Presbyterian building in Africa is that it serves as another Scottish diaspora group building a church in a very typical Scottish post-Reformation manner. Over time, this congregation was to become Dutch Reformed officially, yet once again retained a liturgical and built style very similar to that of the Scots. Many of the Dutch Reformed churches of the nineteenth century in Southern Africa were built with long-wall pulpits and three-sided seating arrangements or a Tplan.⁴¹

CONCLUSION

The example of Scottish post-Reformation churches, c. 1560, proves the thesis that a theological, liturgical position did influence Scottish post-Reformed purpose-built churches architecturally. Donald Bruggink’s ideal is met here: “Church architecture is therefore first and foremost a matter of theology rather than a matter of style.”⁴² We have seen here that the theological, liturgical stance was first, the architectural style coming as a result. Other observations are that Martin Luther’s first designed Protestant church in comparison to many of these Scottish churches, c. 1560–c. 1860, was “half-way there.” Luther’s Torgau Church certainly brought the Word to the centre of the people as they stood around it on the long wall, but on the short end wall there was a “table/altar,” elevated, but not for sitting. The Scottish Reformed were more “radical”—all were to gather around the centrality of the Word in worship, but they were to walk and express

their vows openly as they gathered at the long tables. They were to break the “bread” and pass it to the one beside them; they were to pass the cup to the next. This is a statement of the gathering of the universal priesthood of believers. The break with the medieval church was clear both liturgically and spacially. Was this almost the great “love feast” of the Scottish churches? It was not just for one parish but for others as well—rise, walk, sit, vow, sing, pass, sing, rise, and return—the drama was unique.

Examples of this Scottish post-Reformation church are now rare for several reasons—the liturgical changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have altered many historic buildings. Secondly, there have been demographic shifts in communities and awareness of the Scottish diaspora and some of their liturgical customs have been forgotten. In Canada there is literally only a “handful” left of buildings as described in this paper and these need to be recognized for their unique liturgical and architectural qualities of the Scottish post-Reformation church. They may appear the same as American meeting houses, but we have shown that they have added uniqueness. Can others be identified in Canada which conform to this Scottish ecclesiological style of the dominating central high pulpit, usually on the long wall, and spacially proportioned for long tables with a communion aisle?

NOTES

1. I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of the late Dr. Nigel Yates, professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Wales, Lampeter, an internationally acknowledged ecclesiastical historian. I was privileged to have had him as one of my internal examiners for my Ph.D. thesis and to have collaborated with him on one research project. His work in ecclesiastical architecture was prolific, resulting in several published works in

the field. One which I will reference was the work released by T&T Clark, Edinburgh, UK, in the year of his death, 2009: *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors, 1560-1860*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark. This was preceded in 2008 by *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*, Aldershot, Hampshire, UK, Ashgate. Other major works on ecclesiastical architecture and liturgy by Dr. Yates include: *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2000 [1st ed. 1991]; and *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999. Dr. Yates' work fills in a gap as there has not been such a major study undertaken on Scottish churches since George Hay's classic work of 1957, now over fifty years old: *Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches*, Oxford, UK, Clarendon Press.

2. Colquhoun, Frank, 1960, “Liturgy,” in Everett F. Harrison (ed.), *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, p. 325. Also, Provance, Brett Scott, 2009, *Pocket Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, Downers Grove, IL, IVP Academic, p. 79.
3. This typical fascination usually focuses upon the “idols and monuments” only, but does not draw itself to the spacial reorientation which was occurring. See “The Third Head: Touching the Abolishing of Idolatrie,” in James K. Cameron (ed.), *The First Book of Discipline*, Edinburgh, UK, The Saint Andrew Press, 1972, p. 94-95. This must be compared with “The Ninth Head: Concerning the Policie of the Kirk” and the section on “The Reparation of the Kirkes”: “. . . Every Kirk must have dores, close windowes of glasse, thack able to withhold the raine, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpet, a basen for baptizing, and tables for ministration of the Lord's Supper . . .” p. 203.
4. Yates, *Liturgical Space*... : 70. See also, in Ralph Turnbull (ed.), *Baker's Dictionary of Practical Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker: Reid, W. Stanford, “Reformed Worship,” p. 386; and Babbage, S. Barton, “Aids to Worship,” p. 402.
5. Calvin's preference was to build “in-the-round” and not in the rectangular. Barraclough, Geoffrey (ed.), 1981, “Calvinism,” in *The Christian World: A Social and Cultural History*, New York, NY, H.N. Abrams, p. 178-179. See, on Dutch and French examples of church architecture in the seventeenth century: Benedict, Philip, 2002, *Christ's Churches Purely*

Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 498-499.

6. Note in this general listing of nations where the Reformed built new buildings post-1600 that there are some differences such as between English/American Puritans and Scottish Reformed Puritans. This will be explored later in the paper.
7. Latterly (nineteenth century), some of these galleries were known as horseshoe galleries.
8. Forrester, Duncan and Douglas Murray (eds.), 1996 [2nd ed.], *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, Edinburgh, UK, T&T Clark, p. 43; Stanley-Blackwell, Laurie, 1997, “Tabernacles in the Wilderness: The Open-air Communion Tradition in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Cape Breton,” in Charles H.H. Scobie and George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, Montreal, QC, and Kingston, ON, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 93-117; see also MacPhail, Andrew, 1994 [1st ed. 1939], *The Master's Wife: Sir Andrew MacPhail*, Charlottetown, PEI, Institute of Island Studies, p. 143 on removing the windows on PEI.
9. The liturgical changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are summarized in two articles: Murray, Douglas M., 1993, “Lord's Supper”; and “Liturgy,” in David F. Wright (author) and Nigel M. de S. Cameron (author and editor), *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, Edinburgh, UK, T&T Clark, p. 489-490 and 495-496. These changes were often referred to as belonging to the “ecclesiological movement,” terminology which is less than satisfactory because of the confusion with the theological subject of ecclesiology. In popular parlance they are often spoken of as “high church” or “Scoto-Catholic,” again a less than precise term.
10. Yates, *Liturgical Space*... : 60.
11. Yates, in *Preaching, Word and Sacrament*..., summarizes many of these changes and the people behind them in chap. 6, “Liturgical and Architectural Developments since 1860,” p. 111-138. See also Yates, *Liturgical Space*..., p. 125 *et seq.* To understand this liturgical period of change in Scotland, the influence of Thomas Leishman and George W. Sprott must be considered for the return to liturgical formularies, etc. See Sprott, George W. and Thomas Leishman, 1913 [9th ed.], *Euchologion: A Book of Common Order*, Edinburgh, UK, William Blackwood.

12. Hume, John, 2005. *Scotland's Best Churches*, Edinburgh, UK, Edinburgh University Press, p. 5.
13. Luther also placed the pulpit on the long wall when he designed a new purpose-built church following the Reformation. A very consistent pattern emerged throughout the Reformed branch of the Western Reformation Church. Yates illustrates this well in *Liturgical Space...* (p. 46, 55, 65, 17); see also Chapell, Bryan, 2009, *Christ-centered Worship*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, p. 15-16. See Hartenfels Castle for the first Protestant built church, 1544, at Torgau: "Effects of the Reformation on Architecture, Art and Music," *Motherland of the Reformation. On The Trail of a World Event*, p. 51, [http://www.sachsen-tourismus.de/fileadmin/userfiles/TMGS/Startseite/Reisethemen/Reformation/Inhalt/TMGS_Luther_Brochure_Engl.pdf], accessed on October 5, 2014. "It is the intention of this building that nothing else shall happen inside it except that our dear Lord shall speak to us through His Holy Word, and we in turn talk to Him through prayer and praise." (Martin Luther, October 5, 1544, the date of the church's dedication). There very well may be some medieval precedents for pulpits or lecterns being on the long walls, as seating was not always fixed in medieval churches/chapels. See also Loveland, Anne C. and Otis B. Wheeler, 2003, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History*, Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press: p. 5-9 on plain, commanding pulpits; and p. 9 on interior of Sandown Meetinghouse, New Hampshire (1773-1774).
14. *The Directory for the Public(k) Worship of God*, 1983 [1st ed. 1645], Glasgow, Free Presbyterian Publications, p. 385. See also Burnet, George B. 1960, *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland 1560-1960*, Edinburgh, UK, Oliver and Boyd, p. 108-110, where the author discusses the controversy at the Westminster Assembly "about where communicants should be seated at the sacrament."
15. See "Architecture," in Horton Davies, 1999 [1990 1st ed.], *The Worship of the American Puritans*, Morgan, PA, Soli Deo Gloria, specifically p. 273 et seq.
16. Chapell : 58.
17. An act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (Uniformity in This Kirk), February 7, 1645, Session 14. This act is very explicit and it affirms the practice before 1645 (post 1560) and what it would be after 1645. This was the common practice until after the 1860s, when it started to decline. The act spoke of singing a psalm as communicants walked to and from the tables. The foundation of all of this liturgical action can be traced back to the 1560 *First Book of Discipline*. See "The Second Head: Of Sacraments," in Cameron, James K. (ed.), 1972, *The First Book of Discipline*, Edinburgh, UK, The Saint Andrew Press, p. 91-92, "But plaine it is, that at supper Christ Jesus sate with his Disciples; and therefore doe we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action . . . That the Minister breake the bread and distribute the same to those that be [sat] next unto him, commanding the rest, everie one with reverence and sobrietie to breake with other, we thinke it neerest to Christs action, and to the perfect practise . . ."
18. Carver, Joel "Uniformity in This Kirk," concerning France, Switzerland, Westphalia, and the Netherlands, [http://www.lasalle.edu/~garver/uniform.htm], accessed April 14, 2014.
19. Davies, Horton, 1997 [1948 1st ed.], *The Worship of the English Puritans*, Morgan, PA, Soli Deo Gloria, p. 207-208, 214, for a summation of the differences.
20. Maxwell, William D., 1955, *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*, London, UK, Oxford University Press, p. 171-172. Also, Begg, James, 1824, *The Use of the Communion Table in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, Glasgow, UK, Maurice Ogle. Begg is very clear in this small book that not sitting at the table is an "innovation in worship" or in liturgical custom. Thomas Chalmers "begged" to differ on this matter. See Sefton, Henry, "Thomas Chalmers and the Lord's Table," [http://www.churchservicesociety.org/sites/default/file], accessed September 26, 2014.
21. Yates, *Liturgical Space...* : 59-60.
22. Bruggink, Donald J. and Carl Droppers, 1965, *Christ and Architecture: Building Presbyterian/Reformed Churches*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, p. 6. The authors assert: "Because the Word is indispensable, the pulpit, as the architectural manifestation of the Word, must make its indispensability architecturally clear . . . this means that there can be no thought of building churches in which an altar, or even a table . . . is given the architectural focus while the pulpit is relegated to a strictly secondary role," p. 80-81.
23. The reader is directed to appendices B, C, and D in Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...*, for much fuller lists and explanations.
24. Stevenson, F.R., "Architecture, Scottish Church," in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and the comment about village and smaller towns or basically the rural churches.
25. "Interior of Presbyterian Church, Mochrum," Royal Institute of British Architects, Kirks Throughout the Ages, [http://preview2-riba.contensis.com/001Oldfolders/], accessed February 26, 2014. Also, "Mochrum Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://www.scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014.
26. "Croick Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://www.scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014; Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...* : 166. See also the general book on the Highlands and Islands – Scotland's Churches Scheme (author), 2011, *Sacred Highlands and Islands (Sacred Places)* (illust. John Hume), Edinburgh, UK, Saint Andrew Press.
27. "Edderton Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014; Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...* : 166.
28. "Iona Church," Scotland's Churches Trust, [http://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk], accessed February 26, 2014. Also, "Iona Heritage Centre," [http://www.ionaheritage.co.uk/church/index.html], accessed May 21, 2014.
29. Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament...* : 80, 86, 160. Yates incorrectly identifies this church as St. Modan. It is actually the Archattan Kirk and is linked with the second point, being the St. Modan Church.
30. For biographical information on Donald MacDonald, see Lament, Murdoch, 1902, *Rev. Donald McDonald: Glimpses of His Life and Times*, Charlottetown, PEI, Murley and Garnham; and Weale, David, 1966, "McDonald, Donald," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto, p. 480-481.
31. The current colour of the exterior of the church is white. The original paint colour was salmon in tone, which was common for many wooden-clad churches.
32. Smith, Scott, 1994 [1st ed. 1986], *The Historic Churches of Prince Edward Island*, Erin, ON, Boston Mills, p. 78-79. Smith has included an excellent entry on the Desable Church. I demur with him somewhat about his meeting house comment.
33. I am using the term "spire" here as the additional tapered portion added to the tower and take tower and spire together as

- the steeple. See terminology for spire and steeple in: Atkinson, Thomas Dinham, 2004 [1st ed. 1906], *A Glossary of Terms Used in English Architecture*, Almonte, ON, Algrove, p. 253, 254-256. This is the same in Curl, James Stevens, 1999, *A Dictionary of Architecture*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, p. 629, 636.
34. The thistle finial on the spire is at least six feet.
35. This contrasts with the wood used in the high pulpit of the Greenock Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, where there is no graining.
36. Scott : 79; and MacFadyen, Jean, *For the Sake of the Record*, Summerside, PEI: n. pub. [1984], p. 45.
37. For example, possibly the Union Presbyterian Church, Albert Bridge, Nova Scotia, comes close. See Hyde, Susan and Michael Bird, 1995, *Hallowed Timbers: The Wooden Churches of Cape Breton*, Erin, ON, Boston Mills Press, p. 30-31, 40-41. Research into the original communion tables needs to be conducted here. This is in distinction to the Barrington Meeting House, Nova Scotia, which is reflective of a Puritan New England meeting house style, as is the Covenanters' Church, Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, interestingly enough, despite the now popular name which comes from a later period of the church's history. The latter two church buildings are close cousins to the Scottish post-Reformation churches. The Geddie Memorial Church in New London, PEI, has had its high pulpit lowered and changed in the early twentieth century. The best example of a two-tiered high pulpit in Maritime Canada is the Greenock Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, on the front short wall. This pulpit has not been modified and is made of expensive woods, unlike the Desable pulpit. Often referred to as the Scotch Church, it too belonged to the Church of Scotland. This church dates from 1822 and was completed in 1824 after Captain Scott involved himself in its completion. There is no doubt that his involvement resulted in such a well-built and costly high pulpit being constructed. This church also originally used the long communion tables in the aisles. Cockburn, Melville N., *A History of Greenock Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, from 1821-1906*, n.pl., n.pub. [1906], p. 5-10. Further examples need to be studied, particularly in Quebec.
38. The Glen Lynden Church was the first Presbyterian church building to open in Africa in 1828. The next year, 1829, the Scottish Church (latterly called St. Andrew's) opened in Cape Town, and this would be technically the second Presbyterian church to be built in Africa. See Whytock, Jack C., 2014, "1813-2013 - A Forgotten Anniversary: Die Presbiteriannse Moederkerk in Suid-Afrika, The Presbyterian Motherkirk in South Africa," *Haddington House Journal*, vol. 16, p. 31-38. Also, Hofmeyr, J.W. and Gerald J. Pillay (eds.), 1994, *A History of Christianity in South Africa*, Pretoria, RSA, Haum, p. 68-69.
39. The historical plaque on the Glen Lynden Church reads as follows: "Old Glen Lynden Church. This church was built in 1828 by the Government through the influence of Thomas Pringle for the Scottish settlers and their Dutch neighbours. It became a Dutch Reformed Church in 1829 (Erected by the Historical Monuments Commission)." The 1829 date is incorrect; it should read 1831. The 1820 Scottish settlers in Pringle's Party were sent to the Baviaans River area and named the place where they settled Glen Lynden (a Scottish glen). See also Pringle, Thomas, 1834, *African Sketches: Part 2, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, London, UK, Edward Moxen, p. 155-157 for a description of the first Presbyterian worship service held in Glen Lynden on July 2, 1820.
40. The author visited the Glen Lynden churches on February 9, 2014, doing photography there and making notes.
41. For example, the second church building for the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) in Graaff-Reinet, which was in use upon the arrival of Reverend Andrew Murray, Sr., in the 1820s, was of this rectangular configuration. The present church, now the third, is a Tplan building. Visit by the author to Graaff-Reinet in April 2013.
42. Bruggink and Droppers : 6.