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Résumé de l'article

Le présent article, qui est basé sur la recherche portant sur quatre-vingt-dix églises existantes dans le vieux centre-ville de Toronto en 1893, envisage quatre raisons susceptibles d'expliquer la disparition de bon nombre de ces édifices ou leur reconversion vers de nouveaux usages. Il conclut 1) que les principaux facteurs qui ont mené à leur abandon ont été l'industrialisation de la ville ainsi qu'une certaine surabondance d'églises et 2) qu'il n'existe pas d'évidences vraiment probantes à l'appui de l'hypothèse de la sécularisation ou de celle d'une utilisation supérieure ou meilleure.

The Growth of the Industrial City and Inner Toronto's Vanished Church Buildings

Jon Caulfield

Abstract

Based on research about ninety churches located in inner Toronto in 1893, this article considers four explanations for the disappearance or adaption to new uses of many of these buildings and concludes (1) that the city's shift to industrial urbanism, as well as a degree of ecclesiastic overdevelopment, were the main factors leading to church abandonment and (2) that evidence does not strongly support secularization or highest-best-use hypotheses.

Résumé

Le présent article, qui est basé sur la recherche portant sur quatre-vingt-dix églises existantes dans le vieux centre-ville de Toronto en 1893, envisage quatre raisons susceptibles d'expliquer la disparition de bon nombre de ces édifices ou leur reconversion vers de nouveaux usages. Il conclut 1) que les principaux facteurs qui ont mené à leur abandon ont été l'industrialisation de la ville ainsi qu'une certaine surabondance d'églises et 2) qu'il n'existe pas d'évidences vraiment probantes à l'appui de l'hypothèse de la sécularisation ou de celle d'une utilisation supérieure ou meilleure.

Introduction

In 1893, at least ninety Christian church buildings were located in the area that today comprises inner Toronto [Map 1, Table 1].[1] Some were built in the midst of downtown, others in neighbourhoods adjacent to the core, still others on rural sites later absorbed by urban growth.[2] Their size and style varied. They ranged from two small, plain buildings in the heart of the business district with congregations drawn mainly from the city's black community—First Baptist [73], and African Methodist Episcopal [81], the oldest Toronto church still in use at the time—to the grand neo-gothic cathedrals of lower Church Street.[3] Many, like Olivet Congregational's original carpenter-gothic church [3] and E.J. Lennox's massive Broadway Tabernacle [31], were noteworthy works of architecture.[4] Others were just big, like Elm Methodist, a once-graceful gothic church clumsily enlarged [46; Figs. 3, 4], and new Cooke's Presbyterian [74], which sat 2,000 and replaced a smaller, more felicitous building. A majority were local churches seating 500 to 1,500 [Table 2] with congregations—at a time when the city's trolleys were prohibited from running on Sundays[5]—drawn mainly from nearby neighbourhoods. Overall, they were a key element of Toronto's fabric, "heaven-pointing spires that rise from every part of the city and ... form a leading feature of the place".[6]

Thirty-nine of these buildings remain substantially intact of which twenty-nine still serve as churches, some with new denominational identities [Map 2]. Eight others, unable to sustain congregations, have been converted to more secular uses; and two were adapted to other uses when their congregations moved to new buildings on adjacent sites.[7] Fragments remain of five more: two have survived only by their towers, whose sites still have accommodations for religious services [Fig. 12]; two that were largely reconstructed (one after it was moved to a new site); and one whose partial shell now encloses commercial space [Figs. 7, 8].[8] The other forty-six were either demolished or destroyed by fire: eight whose congregations or descendent congregations moved to new quarters elsewhere in inner Toronto;[9] and thirty-eight whose congregations either left downtown or simply vanished. While some churches have been built for new congregations in inner Toronto since 1893, they are mostly smaller, nondescript buildings whose overall capacity is well short of the volume of church-space previously erased. Ecclesiastic land use in inner Toronto has significantly declined in the past one hundred and two years.

Before detailed research began, familiarity with some features of this pattern suggested three possible explanations.

The first concerns a cultural tendency in modern cities often termed *secularization* "whereby [everyday life] is gradually given a direction and character ordered by principles taken solely from *this* world. In such a civilization, organized religions lose their ancient roles ... finding themselves discredited and consequently marginalized."[10]

A second possibility, a *highest-best-use* hypothesis, is based in neo-classical economic logic that "desirable [urban] locations are preempted by ... activities which can ... produce the greatest surplus of income over expenditure".[11] It suggests that, as the value of inner-Toronto building sites rose in tandem with urban development, their owners will have acted (in rational self-interest) to commit them to uses consistent with their best economic potential. In the case of such "symbolic" buildings as churches, this pattern might be tempered by the in-

fluence of "sentiment"[12] but, if it were present, should still be evident.

A third possibility, which focuses on the political economy of the city, arose from a preliminary impression that cycles of church-building in inner Toronto were congruent with the mercantile, commercial and industrial stages of Canadian urban development outlined by Gilbert Stelter.[13] According to this model, systematic shifts occurred in the social and spatial fabrics of Canadian towns as their role changed from colonial entrpôt to settlement node to industrial city. The fate of inner-Toronto churches might have been linked to aspects of *urban transition* related to this process.

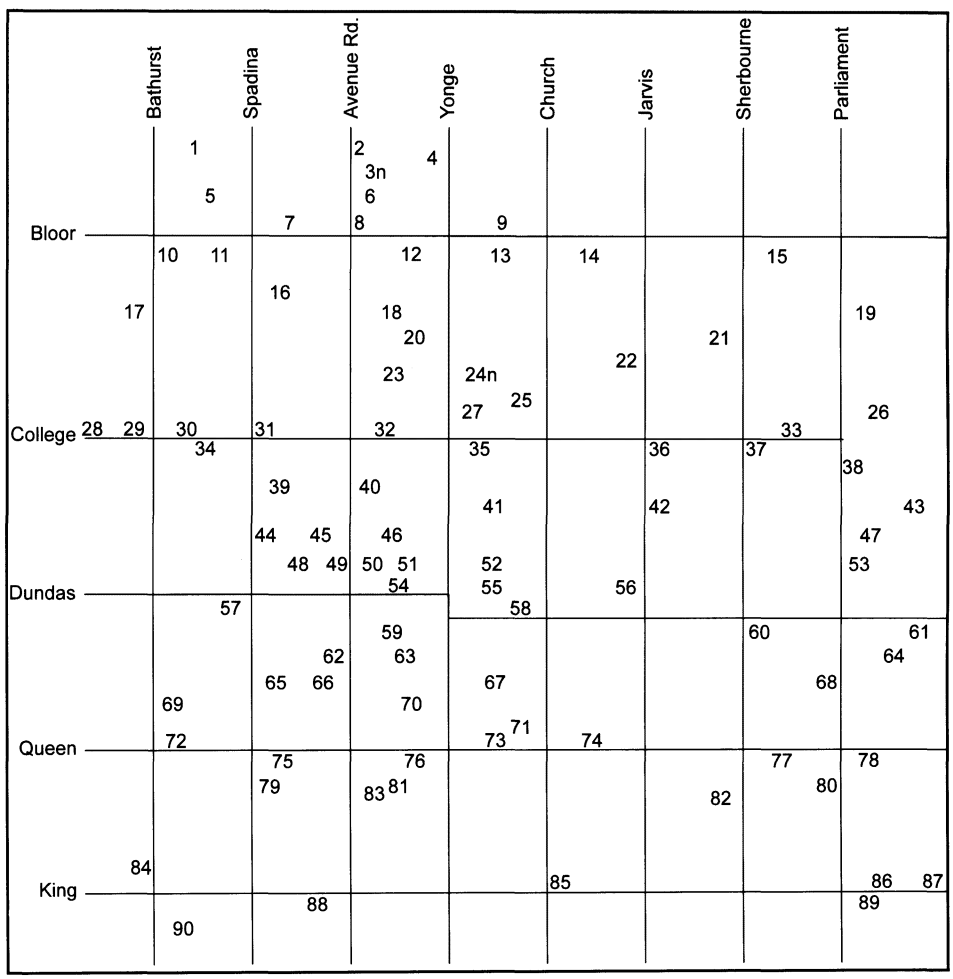
Fieldwork about inner-Toronto churches since 1893 offered small support for the first and second propositions but fairly strong support for the third—in particular, that church decline was closely related to the development of the industrial city. Further, evidence suggested a fourth explanation that might have been foreseen but was not: like property entrepreneurs at other moments in the construction of Canadian cities, Toronto's nineteenth-century church builders tended toward speculative *overdevelopment.* These conclusions are discussed following a short account of church-building in inner Toronto.

City of Churches, 1845-1869

Still mainly an imperial outpost, Toronto was known as "a city of churches" in 1834, less a matter of "extraordinary devoutness [than] the diversity of its denominations"[14] as pioneer branches of Christian belief repaired to separate quarters. A decade later, at the end of the city's first period of church building, Catholics, Congregationalists and Baptists each had a single downtown church, Anglicans two, Presbyterians three, and Methodists of various persuasions at least six—figures not counting several small chapels and religious meeting houses also scattered around town.

The city's second period of church building began in 1845 and was partly characterized by the new scale of projects undertaken. Construction commenced that year on St. Michael's [67], the city's first cathedral. Over the next few years, Anglicans and Presbyterians each started work on two major projects;[15] and in 1849, after fire destroyed the Anglicans' third St. James church, work began on a second cathedral, the fourth and present St. James [85].

This religious building boom marked the first instance in which Toronto church construction coincided with a transition outlined by Stelter—the town's growth from a "small and undistinguished village ... whose main distinction was that it was the seat of government"[16] to a prosper-



Map 1: ***Principal 1893 Inner-Toronto Church Buildings. Approximate sites of 90 primary inner-Toronto church buildings in 1893 are mapped on a grid of present-day street names adn alignments. Two buildings noted "n" were no longer used as churches in 1893. Church in figure numbers correspond to Table 1.***

Table 1: Principal 1893 Inner–Toronto Church Buildings

Church numbers correspond to Map 1. Names are those by which churches were known in 1893. For churches originally built under a different congregational identity, the founding name is in brackets. In cases where either the identity of a building or the congregational identity of a replacement church has changed, the current name is given in parentheses. Dates identify approximate years when construction was initiated. Bracketed letters indicate 1893 seating capacity: [A] less than 500; [B] 500 to 1,000; [C] 1,000 to 1,500; [D] more than 1,500. Symbols beside church names indicate:

- P – preceded several years by church at same or adjacent site (excluding churches preceded a few years by a temporary structure);
- p – preceded several years by church at different location;
- N – no longer used as church in 1995;
- n – no longer used as church in 1893;
- D – wholly demolished or destroyed by 1995;
- d – partly or substantially demolished or destroyed by 1995, original section or fragment remains;
- R – replaced after 1893 by building at same or nearby site;
- r – replaced after 1893 by building at another downtown site (including only cases in which congregations moved to newly-built quarters, not several cases in which congregations merged into other existing churches);
- * – footnote at end of table corresponding to church number.

	*1	Church of St. Alban the Martyr (Anglican), 1885 [B]
N	2	St. Paul's Methodist Church, 1887 [C] (St. Paul's Avenue Road United Church)
n	*3	Olivet Congregational Church, 1876 [A] (Toronto Heliconian Club)
pD	4	Christian Workers Church, 1865 [A] [Primitive Methodist Church]
	5	Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1888 [D]
PN	6	Olivet Congregational Church, 1890 [B] (Hazelton House)
	*7	Bloor Street Presbyterian Church, 1889 [B] (Bloor Street United Church
P	*8	Church of the Redeemer (Anglican), 1879 [B]
D	9	Central Methodist Church, 1854 [C]
DR	10	St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, 1872 [A]
	11	Trinity Methodist Church, 1889 [D] (Trinity St. Paul's United Church)
D	12	Bloor Street Baptist Church, 1884 [C]
pDR	13	Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1890 [C] (St. Andrew's United Church)
PNR	14	St. Paul's Anglican Church, 1861 [B] (Maurice Cody Hall)
	15	St. Simon the Apostle Anglican Church, 1887 [A]
	16	St. Thomas Anglican Church, 1893 [A]
PN	17	Bathurst Street Methodist Church, 1887 [C] (Bathurst Street United Church)
	18	St. Basil's Roman Catholic Church, 1856 [B]
	19	St. James-the-Less Anglican Chapel, 1857 [A]
D	20	St. Luke's Anglican Church, 1881 [B]
	*21	Our Lady of Lourdes Roman Catholic Church, 1884 [A]
pD	22	Immanuel Baptist Church, 1888 [B]
D	23	Central Presbyterian Church, 1876 [B]
nD	*24	The Church School, 1867 [A] [Alexander Street Baptist Church]
D	25	Northern Congregational Church, 1867 [B]
N	26	St. Enoch's Presbyterian Church, 1891 [B] (Toronto Dance Theatre)
D	27	Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1882 [B]
p	28	College Street Baptist Church, 1888 [C] (Portuguese Seventh Day Adventist Church)
dR	*29	College Street Presbyterian Church, 1884 [C] (College Street United Church)
	30	Christ Reformed Episcopal Church, 1872 [A] [College Street Baptist Church] (St. George's Lutheran Church)
PD	31	Broadway Tabernacle (Methodist), 1887 [D]
pN	32	Zion Congregational Church, 1882 [B] (University of Toronto Centre for Bioethics)
	33	St. Peter's Anglican Church, 1865 [A]
	34	St. Stephen in the Fields Anglican Church, 1858 [B]
pD	35	Carlton Street Methodist Church, 1874 [C]
	36	Old St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, 1878 [B] (St. Andrew's Lutheran Church)
	37	Sherbourne Street Methodist Church, 1871 [C] (St. Luke's United Church)
D	38	St. Augustine Anglican Church, 1888 [B]
N	39	Church of Christ, 1890 [B] (Cecil Street Community Centre)
D	40	Bethany Chapel, 1893 [A]
pD	41	St. James Presbyterian Church, 1877 [C]
p	42	Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1874 [C]
DR	43	Gerrard Street Methodist Church, 1880 [A]
PD	44	Western Congregational Church, 1887 [B]
pD	45	Erskine Presbyterian Church, 1879 [C]
PD	46	Elm Street Methodist Church, 1862 [D]
pDR	47	Oak Street Presbyterian Church, 1888 [B] (United Church of Canada, Regent Park Community Ministry)
R	*48	St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, 1869 [B] (Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church)
D	49	First Reformed Episcopal Church, 1875 [C]
D	50	Grace Anglican Church, 1875 [B]
D	51	New Jerusalem Church, 1869(?) [A]
D	52	Catholic Apostolic Church, 1855 [B] [St. James Presbyterian Church]
PD	53	Parliament Street Methodist Church, 1871 [B]

Table 1 – Principal 1893 Inner–Toronto Church Buildings (Cont'd)

D 54 – Agnes Street Methodist Church, 1873 [C]
DR 55 – German Lutheran Church, 1855 [A] First Lutheran Church
D 56 – First Unitarian Church, 1860 [B]
D 57 – St. Philip's Anglican Church, 1883 [B]
PD 58 – Bond Street Congregational Church, 1878 [D]
D 59 – British Methodist Episcopal Church, 1853 [A]
60 – All Saints Anglican Church, 1874 [B]
dR* 61 – St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church, 1873 [A]
pD 62 – New Richmond Methodist Church, 1888 [C]
63 – Church of the Holy Trinity (Anglican), 1846 [B]
D 64 – Independent Presbyterian Church, 1887 [A]
65 – Beverley Street Baptist Church, 1886 [B] (Toronto Chinese Baptist Church)
d *66 – Church of St. George the Martyr (Anglican), 1845 [B]
67 – St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cathedral, 1845 [D]
D 68 – Parliament Street Baptist Church, 1871 [B]
P 69 – West Presbyterian Church, 1879 [C] (St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church)
D 70 – Disciples of Christ Church, 1860(?) [A] [Louisa Street Congregational Church]
p *71 – McGill Square/Metropolitan Methodist Church, 1870 [D] (Metropolitan United Church)
D 72 – Christian Workers Church, 1861 [B] [West Presbyterian Church]
D 73 – First Baptist Church, 1873 [A]
PD 74 – Cooke's Presbyterian Church, 1891 [D]
PD 75 – Queen Street Methodist Church, 1856 [D]
PDr 76 – Knox Presbyterian Church, 1847 [C]
PN 77 – Berkeley Street Methodist Church, 1871 [B] (Berkeley Studios)
P 78 – St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church, 1887 [C]
Nd *79 – St. Margaret's Anglican Church, 1889 [B] (Balfour Clothing Company Building)
N 80 – South Side Presbyterian Church, 1889 [A] (Animation House)
D 81 – African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1839 [A]
D 82 – Duchess Street Mission Church (Presbyterian), 1882 [A] [Gospel Hall]
D 83 – Ascension Anglican Church, 1877 [B]
84 – St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, 1885 [C]
P 85 – St. James Anglican Cathedral, 1849 [D]
Dr 86 – Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, 1870 [A] [East Presbyterian Church]
dR *87 – King Street Methodist Church, 1866 [A] [Primitive Methodist Church] (Riverside Church)
p 88 – St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, 1874 [D]
89 – Little Trinity Anglican Church, 1843 [A]
PD 90 – St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, 1892 [B]

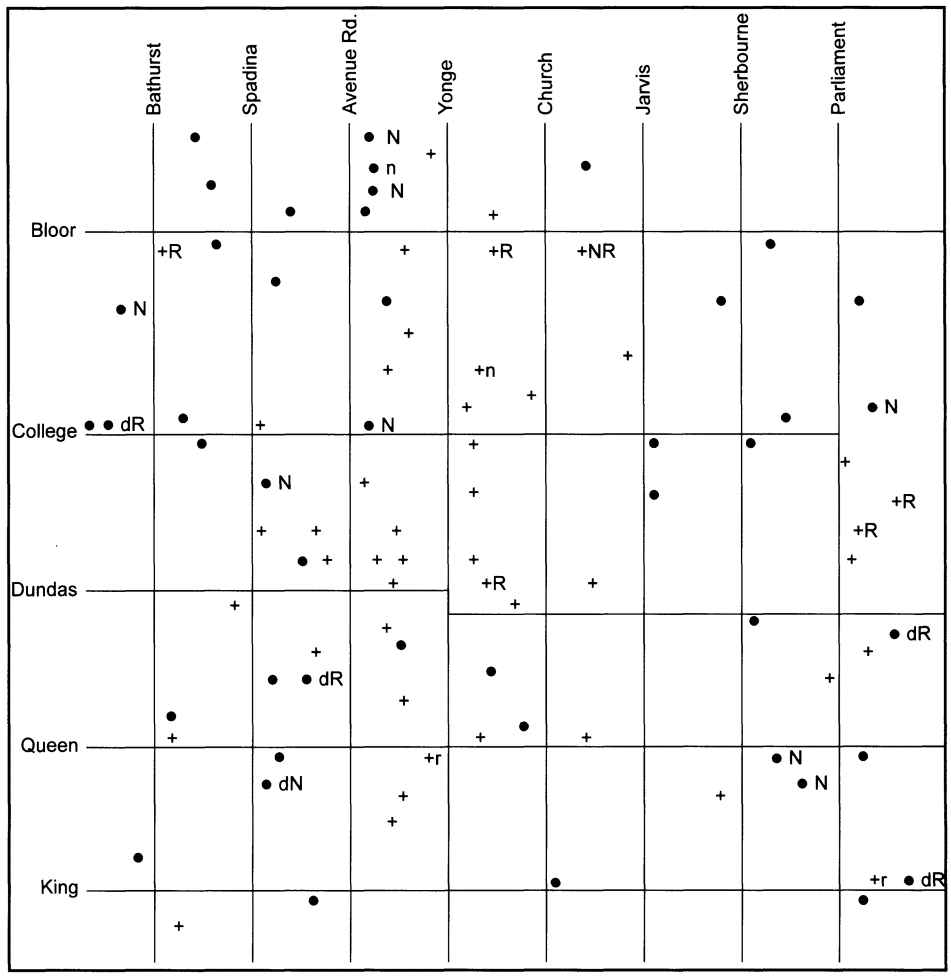
Table 1 Notes

*1 building only partially completed
*2 destroyed by fire in spring, 1995, as this article was in press.
*3 no longer used as church following construction of new church [6] on adjacent site, 1890
*7 substantially enlarged and remodelled in two phases 1908/1927
*8 preceded by original St. Paul's Anglican Church building [14] which was moved to this site, 1861
*21 substantially enlarged and remodelled, 1910
*24 no longer used as church following construction of new church [22] at nearby site, 1888; by 1893, building had been acquired by Anglican Church for use as school
*29 all but tower of original church demolished for condominium development, 1987; congregation now meets in new quarters within the condominium development
*48 parish moved to new building on adjacent site, 1905; original building remains as Our Lady of Mount Carmel
*61 moved to nearby site, 1910, and substantially remodelled
*66 all but tower of original church destroyed by fire, 1955; congregation now meets in adjacent former parish hall
*71 substantially destroyed by fire in 1928 and reconstructed
*79 facade removed for industrial conversion, c. 1912; rear shell remains
*87 building moved from original Teraulay (Bay) Street site, 1866; all but rear section demolished for reconstruction, 1903

ous business centre amid a rapidly-settling agricultural hinterland. The emergence of commercial urbanism was accompanied by an abrupt population increase, from fewer than 10,000 to at least 20,000 in less than a decade. This growth was especially evident among the entrepreneurial middle class whose patronage helped support the burst of church-building.

It was not only the scope but also the style of this work that suggests a date of 1845. Earlier, Toronto's churches were built in the neoclassical and Georgian forms that dominated secular construction of the time. Congregations of the Anglican and Presbyterian "establishment" denominations preferred the former, which was also the main architecture of the colonial state. Their churches often "repeated ... the classical forms of the Court House, Osgoode Hall, the Don Jail and the new lunatic asylum".[17] This tendency, observes William Westfall, was not just a matter of taste but "expressed perfectly the ideology and character of these institutions [and] spoke volumes about ... the close relationship between church and state" in this era.[18] Early buildings of the less patrician Methodists, in contrast, did not have a distinctive architecture; for example, their 1832 Adelaide Street church "sat unobtrusively in the Georgian streetscape of the small provincial town and could easily be mistaken for any of the offices or shops".[19] Later, however, as Methodism's size and importance grew in concert with growth of the middle class, it too adopted the neoclassical style for its 1844 Richmond Street church [Fig. 1].[20]

In the mid-1840s, church design fundamentally changed. Augured by Little Trinity [89], the first Toronto church to show medieval influence, the designs for St. Michael's and St. George-the-Martyr [66, Fig. 12] marked the arrival in Toronto of



Map 2 : ***Status of Principal 1893 Inner-Toronto Church Buildings, 1995***

Legend

Forty-six 1893 church buildings wholly or partly demolished or destroyed by 1995 are marked with a "+". Thirty-nine church buildings remaining and five of which only sections or fragments survive are marked with a "•"

Letters beside church symbols indicate:

N – no longer used as church in 1995;

n – no longer used as church in 1893;

d – partly or substantially demolished or destroyed by 1995, original section or fragment remains;

R – replaced after 1893 by building at same or nearby site;

r – replaced after 1893 by building at another downtown site (including only cases in which congregations moved to newly-built quarters, not several cases in which congregations merged into other existing churches).

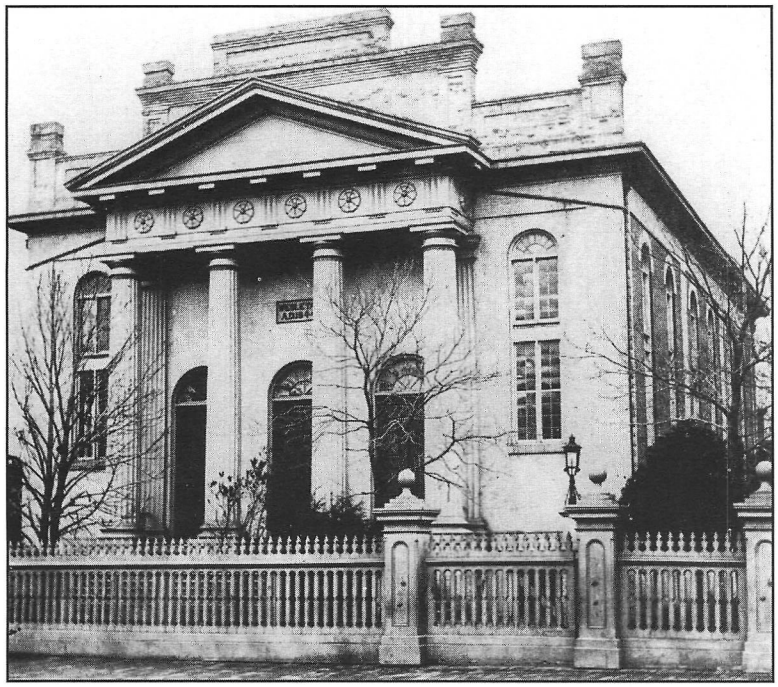


Figure 1: Richmond Street Methodist Church, 1867
s. side Richmond between Yonge and Bay
(Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-10698)

For their 1844 Richmond Street building, "the mother church of every Methodist congregration in the city", the Methodists adopted the neo-classical style, complete with Doric columns, that characterized Toronto church design until the 1840s.[74] Anglican and Presbyterian taste, however, had already turned to medieval-revival, and within a few decades, Richmond Methodist was an architectural anachronism. Demolished in 1888, its congregation moved to New Richmond [62], a large romanesque amphitheatre just west of the core that, by 1907, had become a synagogue.

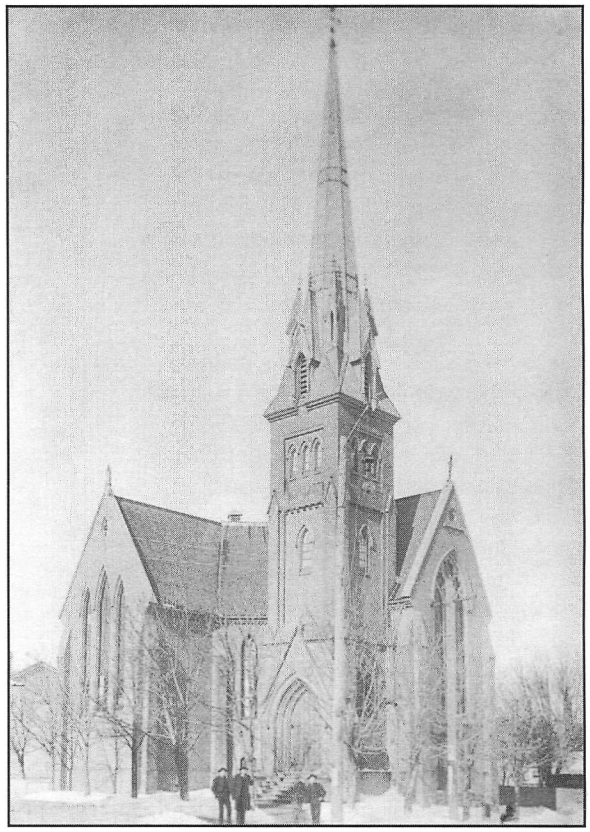


Figure 2: Primitive Methodist Church,1888
nw. corner Yonge at Davenport
(Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-10690)

Primitive Methodist [4] was one of several small gothic churches built in Toronto during the 1850s and 1860s. Over the building's lifetime, it housed two Methodist congregations, an Anglican parish and a congregation of the Christian Workers Church.[75] Demolished in about 1917, it was replaced by a large Masonic Hall.

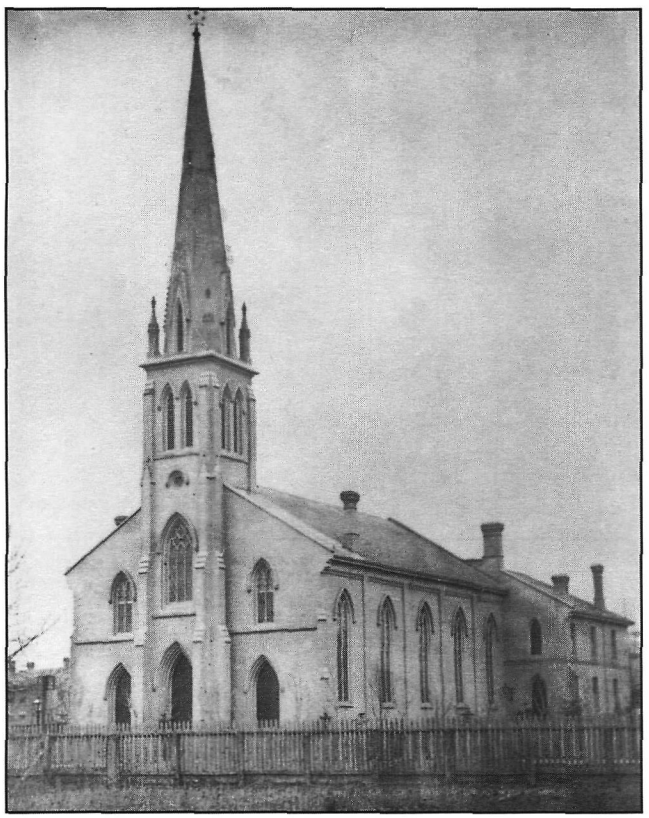


Figure 3: Elm Street Methodist Church, 1867
n. side Elm between Yonge and Bay
Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-10613

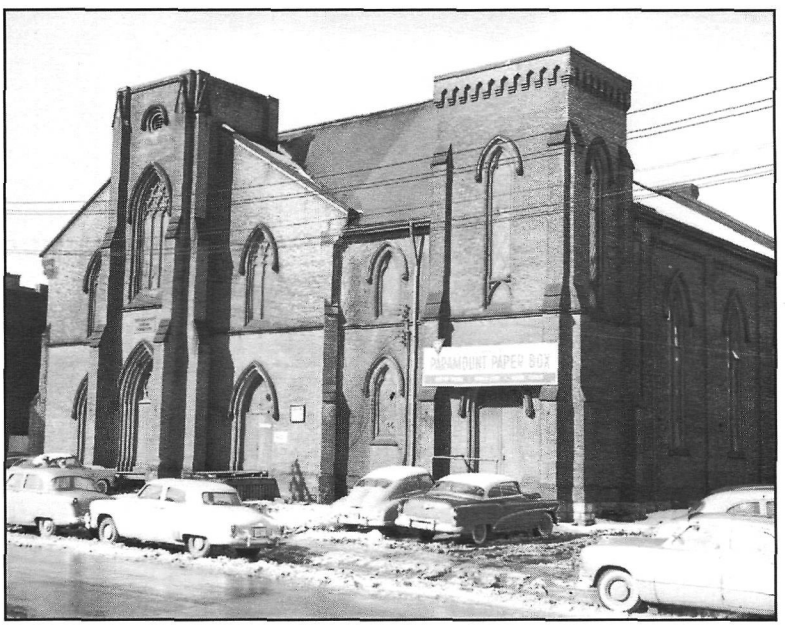


Figure 4: Elm Street Methodist Church, 1954
J.V. Salmon Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, S1-494)

Elm Methodist's 1862 gothic building [46] replaced an 1855 wood-frame church. Following an 1876 enlargement whose dimensions are evident in a 1954 photograph—the building's width was nearly doubled[76]—it was able to accommodate several hundred more seats. After it closed, it was used for several years as a paper box factory.

Pugin's "pointed" architecture and of the practice of modeling churches after British gothic precursors.[21] For example, the architect of St. Michael's—British immigrant William Thomas, who also designed eight other Toronto churches—used fourteenth-century Yorkminster Cathedral as his model, while both St. Peter's Anglican [33] and St. Stephen-in-the-Field [34], designed by different architects, were based on the same rural medieval British church.[22] The pointed style was repeated in St. James [85] and in Knox [76], and medievalism was also evident in the era's other big projects, Holy Trinity [63] and Jennings.[23]

The new church architecture is sometimes viewed as a reflection of Victorians' taste for the picturesque and ornate, their habits of conspicuous consumption, or their idle nostalgia for trappings of a stable past amid the rapidly changing milieu of the industrial era—and, among colonial immigrants, partly a nostalgia for home. Westfall, though, disagrees, arguing that major shifts in style of church building are not simply matters of ungrounded "fashion" but occur "for substantial and important reasons ... [T]he shift from the neoclassical to the Gothic marked a basic change in the religious character of society." In this vein, he summarizes the views of William Hay, architect of Toronto's St. Basil's [18]: "the revival of medieval forms signified a determination to proclaim anew a world of spiritual values at the very time when these values were in danger of being lost" amid the increasing materialism of the secular realm. He concludes that the revival represented "not simply a nostalgic longing for a golden age" but an impulse to "recreat[e] a world which stood in marked contrast to the one that was coming to dominate the life of the Victorian age". In this world, the medieval church was a demonstrative "sermon in stone".[24]

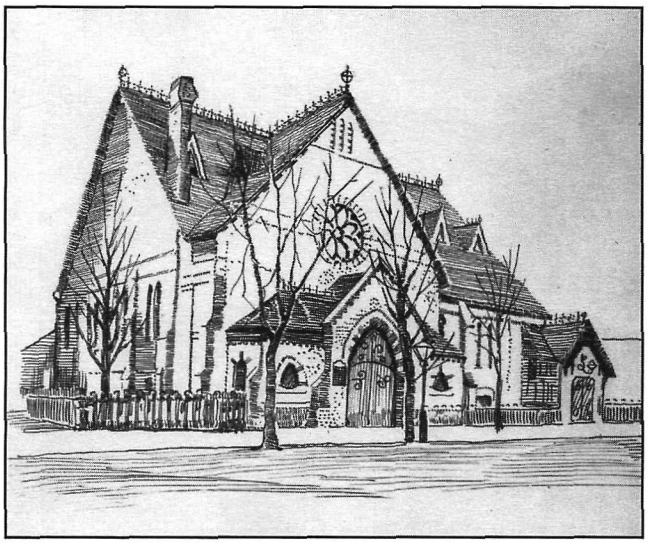


Figure 5: Grace Anglican Church, 1898
s. side Elm between Bay and Elizabeth
Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-10621

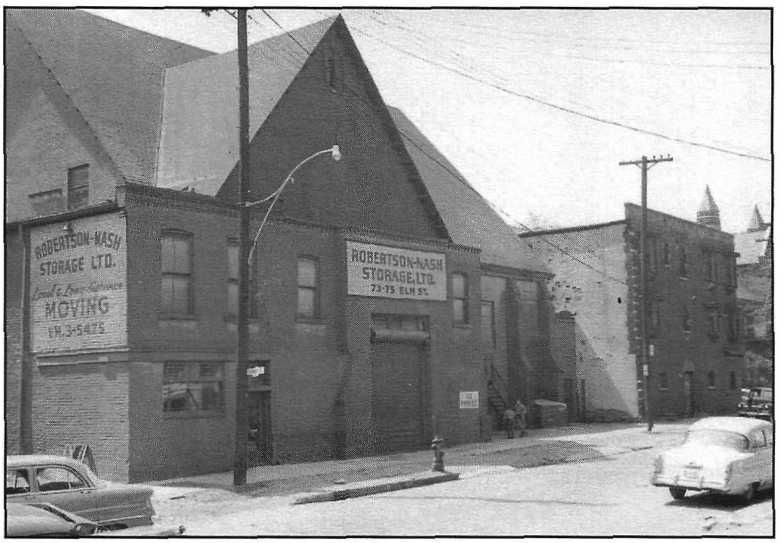


Figure 6: Grace Anglican Church, 1954
J.V. Salmon Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, S1-409

Grace [50] was founded as a low-church parish for discontented members of nearby high-church Trinity. By 1910, when the parish moved to the suburbs, its old neighbourhood was dominated by "hospitals, the armouries, factories and office buildings [and] few members of the congregation lived within parish boundaries".[77] Its building still remained in 1954, used as a warehouse.

British church buildings had become an architectural analogue of the "problematic hero" of early modern fiction, symptomatic of "a search for authentic values in a world ... degraded".[25] In Ontario, within a few years, medieval style—usually gothic, sometimes romanesque—was "almost universal", "the very image of how a church should appear".[26] Nearly all the twenty churches built in inner Toronto in the 1850s and 1860s were revival buildings [Fig. 2] whose survivors are often cited as excellent examples of the genre.[27] They were also smaller buildings [Table 3]; further construction of large churches awaited the next round of religious property development.

City of Churches, 1869-1893

The city's third phase of church building began in 1869. While only two smaller churches were erected that year, it was the start of a twenty-five-year period in which construction of at least one inner Toronto church (usually more) commenced annually and sixty-five churches were built overall. They were often big; twenty-four sat more than 1,000—or twenty-seven, if three Methodist enlargements are included [Table 3; Figs. 3,4]. In 1870, work began on Metropolitan Methodist [71], the city's third neo-gothic cathedral and Methodism's "largest, proudest, and most lavish" building,[28] not only a striking work of architecture but, like the earlier Richmond Street church, a bellwether of its denomination's social trajectory. In 1871, construction began on four churches and the first of the Methodist enlargements, an unprecedented volume of work in one year.

Again, a shift in church building was congruent with a stage of urban transition identified by Stelter, the maturing of Toronto's industrial period. While Toronto has always been more a commercial and head-office centre than an industrial city, manufacturing played an important role in its growth, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a period described by one researcher as Toronto's "industrial revolution"[29]. In the 1870s and 1880s, amid such forces as Confederation, the National Policy and the building of the C.P.R., manufacturing and attendant services were increasingly impor-

Table 2:
Denominations of Principal 1893
Inner Toronto Church Buildings by Seating Capacity

	[A] < 500	[B] 500–1000	[C] 1000–1500	[D] > 1500	Total
Anglican	6	14	–	1	21
Baptist	1	3	3	1	8
Congregational	–	4	–	1	5
Methodist	3	2	7	5	17
Presbyterian	3	6	6	2	17
Roman Catholic	3	2	2	1	8
Other	7	4	1	–	12
No longer church	2	–	–	–	2
	25	35	19	11	90

Table 3
Date Construction Initiated of Principal 1893 Inner-Toronto Church Buildings by Seating Capacity

	[A] < 500	[B] 500–1000	[C] 1000–1500	[D] > 1500	Total
1830s	1	–	–	–	1
1840s	1	2	1	2	6
1850s	3	3*	–	–	6*
1860s	6	5*	–	–	11*
1870s	6	8	9*	6*	29*
1880s	6	13	8	2	29
1890s	2	4	1	1	8
	25	35	19	11	90

* Numbers are adjusted to include in the 1870s totals two churches built in the 1850s and one built in the 1860s that were substantially enlarged: Central Methodist, built in 1854, enlarged from category B to category C in 1877; Queen Street Methodist, built in 1856, enlarged from category B to category D in 1871; and Elm Street Methodist, built in 1862, enlarged from category B to category D in 1876.

tant in the city's economy and, among other factors, helped generate a nearly threefold growth of its population in only two decades.[30]

Impetus for the period's sixty-five new churches arose from several sources. (1) Eleven, like new Cooke's [74] and new Olivet [6], were built for congregations housed earlier in smaller churches on the same or adjacent sites. (2) At least twelve were built for congregations moving from older buildings elsewhere in inner Toronto, some from smaller churches in the same general neighbourhood (for example, College Baptist [30 to 28]), others from core-area sites to less central locations (for example, Zion Congregational [32][31]). (3) Some smaller new churches were missions or ministries established by existing congregations; Duchess [82], for example, was an east-side working-class mission sponsored by Knox, while St. Augustine's parish [38] was founded by nearby St. Bartholomew's [61].[32] (4) Others were spawned by sectarian differences; for example, the early congregations of Grace Anglican [50, Figure 5] and Independent Presbyterian [64] broke away from existing churches partly over issues of ritual.[33] (5) Some were founded by denominational hierarchies or elites; for example, Trinity Methodist [11] was partly sponsored by "some of Toronto's merchant princes and most successful businessmen" who helped supervise the affairs of Methodism, while St. Alban's [1] was begun by the Anglican diocese as the see's new Cathedral.[34]

Medieval-revival remained the principal religious architecture; streetscapes across inner Toronto became dominated by gothic and romanesque towers. In one respect, the popularity of revival design created a dilemma. The medieval church—among whose key elements was a chancel—was well-suited to Catho-

lic and Anglican liturgical needs but posed a problem for denominations for whom a deeply recessed altar area was "neither ideologically appropriate nor especially useful".[35] Architects of Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches often solved this difficulty by adapting the chancel element to a new function, as Sunday school, office or meeting-hall space; and they met the demands of clients seeking churches of larger capacity than traditional gothic design permitted—particularly Methodists—by widening the nave and adding upper galleries.[36] Westfall observes that these modifications of the medieval genre gave rise to an original church architecture, "refashioning [it] into an Ontario style".[37]

Westfall has also done interesting arithmetic about church construction in Ontario from 1851 to 1881, occurring at such a rate that average congregation size fell sharply even as the overall size of major denominations grew rapidly.[38] His figures cover the entire province, hence are only suggestive of patterns in inner Toronto. But in light of an 1890 estimate that Toronto may have had "more churches for the population ... than any other city",[39] they seem related to what occurred there; and his figures stop short of the most active decade of inner-Toronto church building, the 1880s. Conspicuously smaller congregations were surely not an objective of Ontario's ecclesiastic property developers; rather, it is fair to say that their activity was rooted in optimism, that they were building for a future in which the region's population growth and prosperity continued apace.

Downtown's third period of church building ended in 1893. In 1894, amid general economic decline, no new construction commenced. The phrase "city of churches" recurred in writers' accounts of Toronto in this era.[40] The term implied not just matters of land use and architecture but a key facet of everyday life, evoked in John Ross Robertson's 1904 description of the Sunday evening streets and an observation about the city's mores by the author of an 1898 "social study":[41]

> The feathery flakes of snow came thickly down like some white-winged messengers from a purer world than this [as] the streets of the city were thronged with people eagerly hurrying toward the brilliantly lighted churches; the chiming of the bells made the air musical as their tones rang loud and clear and sweet ... [N]o other city on the American continent presents such a spectacle as is seen every Sunday evening on the streets of Toronto. Thousands of people walk the avenues and thoroughfares on their way to church.

> Any young man commencing life in the city, and seeking advancement socially, financially or otherwise, will find no habit that will produce such advantageous results as to become a constant attendant at some church. It carries with it a respectability that no other course of action does.

Patterns of Church Decline After 1893

Church decline in inner Toronto coincided with a further stage of urban development that Stelter terms "the second phase of industrialism".[42] It was a period of corporate growth and concentration whose key features are identified by two statistics: from 1891 to 1911, as the industrial workforce more than doubled, the number of industrial firms fell from about 2,400 to 1,100.[43] While new factories were often built on rail lines outside inner Toronto, many were also located downtown.[44] Meanwhile, the inner city was one of two main zones where immigrant workers settled, in areas around the core that had often been largely middle-class during the commercial and early industrial periods. (The other zone of working-class settlement was the city's outskirts.[45])

Middle-class households, driven from several of their old neighbourhoods by the increasing clamour of manufacturing and growing working-class presence, began to depart to a ring of new suburbs outside inner Toronto, beyond the immediate reach of industrial ferment. At first, the districts most affected were south of College (Carlton) Street. British-born workers, the preponderant immigrant group, settled east of the core. A polyglot immigrant population of Jews, Italians and eastern Europeans moved into The Ward at the north edge of the business district and increasingly dominated the area west of downtown.[46] Later, from 1911 until the Depression, the blue-collar workforce continued to grow until much of inner Toronto south of Bloor Street was predominantly working class.

Inner Toronto's shifting demography quickly affected its churches. In 1905, rather than rebuild its fire-damaged Queen Street building, Knox followed the already-initiated pattern of centrifugal church movement and rebuilt at the north edge of the inner city by the new midtown suburbs. In 1907, New Richmond Methodist [62], amid a growing Jewish community, closed its doors and was sold for use as a synagogue.[47] In 1909, St. Margaret's [79], a mission founded by St. George's, was sold and soon converted as garment-district industrial space [Figs. 7, 8]; and Agnes Methodist [54], whose evening services were formerly well attended "every night of the week, winter and summer", was sold for renovation as a theatre that featured "[t]ravelling companies from the Yiddish theatres of New York".[48] In 1910, Grace [Fig. 5], now in the middle of The Ward,

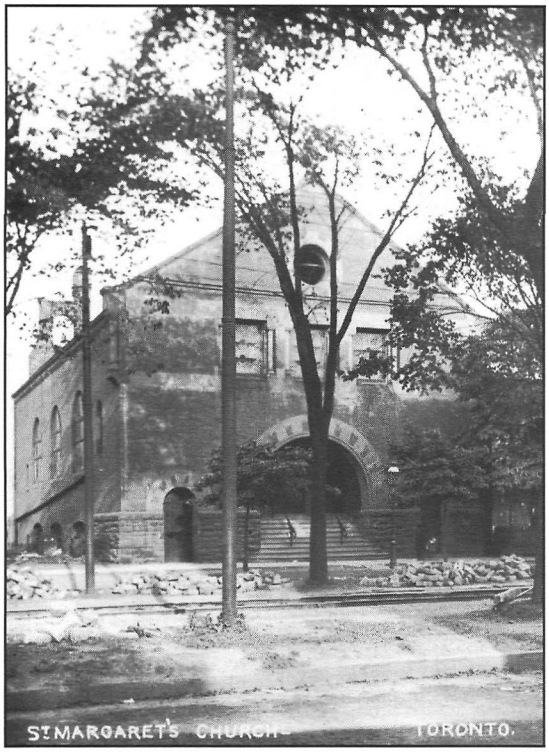


Figure 7: St. Margaret's Anglican Church, 190?
e. side Spadina between Queen and Richmond
Metropolitan Toronto Reference Libary, T-10774

Figure 8: St. Margaret's Anglican Church, 1994

St. Margaret's [79], founded as a mission of St. George, occupied a small romanesque church at the parish's western edge. After the building was sold in 1909, it was adapted for industrial use. Its rear shell remains today behind a commercial facade.

moved to the fashionable new suburbs of the escarpment north of inner Toronto to become Grace-on-the-Hill.[49] In 1915, Erskine [45] merged with St. Paul's in the northwest suburb of Seaton Village and its old building was taken over by an evangelical sect.[50] In 1921, Western Congregational [44] was also sold for use as a synagogue [Figs. 9, 10], and Central Presbyterian [23] merged with Westminster [13], selling its church to the city to be demolished to make way for a northerly extension of Bay Street.[51]

So it went for decades. Some churches moved to the suburbs. Others merged with congregations nearby or located outside inner Toronto. Still others just went out of business. Each church had a story that often reflected interesting aspects of inner-city history; two examples are St. Philip's [57] and Parliament Methodist [53]. When St. Philip's moved to suburban North York in 1943, the Catholic diocese purchased its building for St. Elizabeth's, a parish oriented to the Hungarian working-class community centred nearby. But in the 1980s, now amid the city's growing Chinatown, St. Elizabeth's also moved to the suburbs; its building was sold and demolished for a commercial mall funded by Hong Kong investors. Parliament Methodist merged with nearby Oak United [47] in 1942 but was not demolished for another decade [Fig. 11] when the city bought it as part of the site for Toronto's largest postwar public housing project, Regent Park. The following year, Oak was also demolished and its old gothic building replaced by a modernist structure consistent with the functional design of the housing project. But exploring the story of each vanished church is beyond this article's scope; it turns instead to the propositions outlined in the introduction.

Assessing Possible Reasons for Church Decline

Secularization has clearly influenced the trajectory of religion in urban Canada; for example, it helps explain declining membership in religious institutions and many church closings that have occurred since the 1960s when a period of substantial church growth that followed

World War II abruptly reversed. But it does not accurately describe the earlier process of church abandonment in inner Toronto when there did not appear to have been a significant decline in affiliation to religious instititions. The middle class who left downtown did not lapse from church membership but refabricated their religious life in the suburbs; and the new inner-city working-class communities appear not to have been alienated from organized religion in general but from the traditional denominational institutions established in the city. (An exception was Catholicism, which remained integrated with the fabric of several immigrant communities and had no net loss of inner-Toronto church buildings during the industrial era.)

The years 1885 to 1900 in Canada have been described as a period of "great evangelical revival ... which gained particular strength in the large urban centres", "a religious movement which might well be described as the Great Revival of the City" and in which Toronto was "a capital of evangelical Christianity".[52] The 2,500 seats of the Salvation Army's 1884 hall were regularly occupied; the Army's parades and street missions were popular public events. In the evenings, downtown arenas and meeting halls were commonly filled by crowded revival meetings. In subsequent decades, not only Erskine but several other vacated churches also became headquarters for evangelical sects. They included two of the city's once-foremost churches, St. James Presbyterian [41] and Bond Congregational [58]—which merged and moved to the suburbs in 1929—as well as one of the largest, Central Methodist [9].[53] A trend toward secularization was not highly evident in Toronto of the era.

The *highest-best-use* hypothesis does seem to describe what occurred in a limited number of inner-Toronto church closings. Knox, for example, kept ownership of its Queen Street property, which became the site of an extension of one of downtown's two largest department stores, clearly a sound investment in inner-city space. By 1929, Ascension [83], once among "the most fashionable churches of the city", was in the shadow of the growing Bay Street business corridor. When it was sold that year, prior to suburban re-establishment as St. Margaret's, it secured substantial profit from its location (though its renovation as an auto-repair shop the next year suggests that onset of the Depression may have damped the new owners' hopes for the site).[54] The abandonment of Central Presbyterian for the Bay Street extension occurred under a court order ending the church's protracted negotiations with the city to secure the most favourable price.[55] But these cases were exceptions. While church closings were often a consequence of economic circumstance, the positive force of financial interest consistent with the highest-best-use hypothesis (and expressed through site-owners' "rational" decisions) appears, in most cases, to have been less relevant than the adverse factor of simple debt arising from declining congregational support.

Some, like Broadway Tabernacle [31], which merged with College Presbyterian [29] in 1929 under the aegis of the new United Church, were unable to carry large mortgages; others, like Grace, could no longer raise sufficient revenue for ongoing parish expenses.[56] Moreover, many of the properties did not ascend to highly intensive economic use. As already noted, a number of the buildings were adapted as evangelical churches, synagogues, or theatrical or industrial space. Along Elm Street in The Ward, for example, an area directly adjacent to the downtown core, Grace's old building survived into the 1950s as a warehouse [Fig. 6], Elm Methodist was converted as a packaging factory [Fig. 4], and New Jerusalem [51] served several years as a synagogue. Broadway Tabernacle, meanwhile, was located away from the core in an area under no intense redevelopment pressure, and after its demolition in 1930, it was four years before it was replaced (by a low-rise medical arts building).[57] But it had no further use as a church, and the cost of sustaining its mortgage and sheer physical size ill suited it for other uses. The way in which many inner-city churches were abandoned and the later use of their sites is not consistent with a highest-best-use hypothesis.

Overdevelopment of religious facilities, on the other hand, does seem relevant to subsequent patterns of church closing. Church buiders of the 1870s and 1880s, especially among the Methodists, speculated well beyond the immediate need for congregational space and, when inner Toronto's circumstances abruptly altered, held substantial surplus product.

Still, there was no absence of potential demand. The rate of decline of the inner-city churches of major Protestant denominations appears to have been well in excess of a simple oversupply of inventory, particularly in light of the net increase of population that seems to have occurred in some downtown neighbourhoods with middle-class departure and higher-density working-class succession.[58] But the city's Protestant churches appear to have been uninviting to the newcomers, a pattern reflecting processes of *urban transition* in the industrial city—in particular, the emerging quality of its class relations.

The lifeworld embodied in the neo-gothic church was a patrician mythology of coherence, of a more organic and morally constant society—to be sure, a simula-

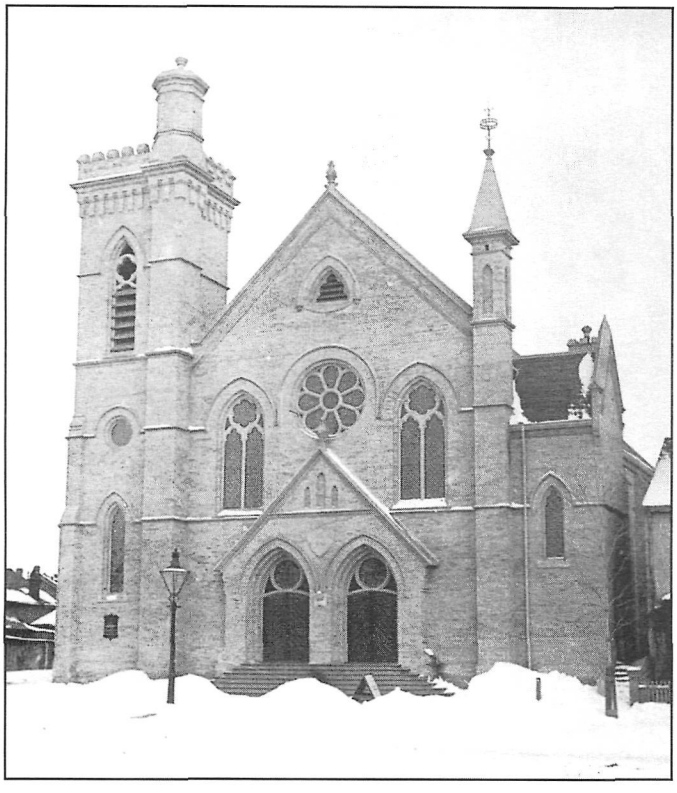


Figure 9: Western Congregational Church, 189?
e. side Spadina between Darcy and Baldwin
Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-10840

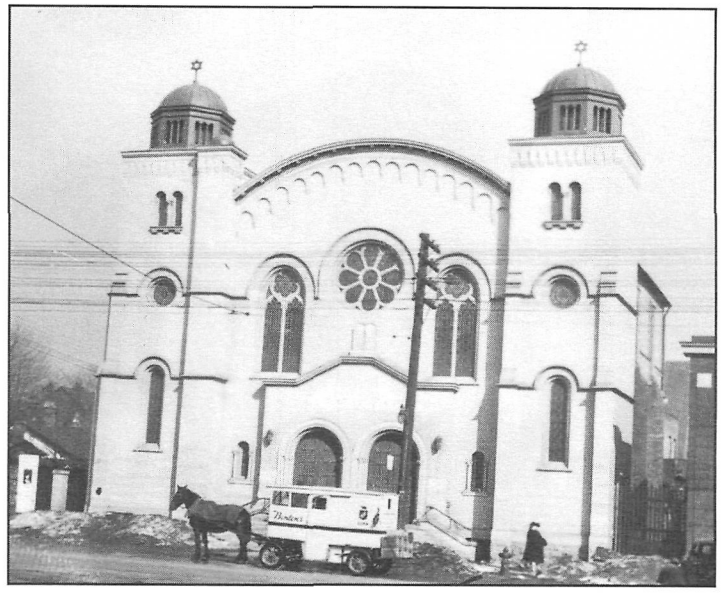


Figure 10: Western Congregational Church, 1947
(Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-10841)

After Western [44] merged with a nearby Presbyterian congregation in 1921, the building's new owners renovated it as the Hebrew Men of England Synagogue, which it remained until it was destroyed by fire in 1960.[78]

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tion in Baudrillard's most insouciant sense, copying an original that had not really existed.[59] While this was a myth that could be effectively sustained in the less-problematic urban setting of Canada's pre-industrial period, it could not withstand the social fragmentation spawned by industrial capital. In the economic realm, this involved growing alienation of blue-collar labourer from white-collar burgher and, in the domestic realm, increasingly rigid separation of the classes in distinct residential enclaves—processes exacerbated in parts of inner Toronto by the polyglot character of the immigrant population. With collapse of the old social fabric, writes S.D. Clark, "[t]he very fact that the churches were churches, that is to say established religious institutions, meant that they were not able to meet the needs of people"—the newcomers—"who found themselves outside the established social order".[60] A breach arose in spiritual life directly mirroring the city's larger polarity as religious institutions "came to reflect the ... social divisions [of] an urban industrial order".[61]

The aristocracy of the old mythology was not always able to grasp what was occurring. In an early expression of the secularization thesis, Toronto's Anglican Synod observed in 1900 that "[i]n town and city parishes whole classes of people have dropped out of the ranks, don't go to church, and manifest no interest in spiritual and eternal concerns."[62] But this was not the case; rather, whole classes of people were not going to *their* churches, nor those of the other major Protestant denominations. "It was clear that the regular ministrations of the church were failing to attract ... large new classes of city-dwellers."[63] In this milieu, the plan for St. Alban's was abandoned after only its chancel was built, its completion compromised by widespread sentiment that it was an unneeded addition to inner Toronto's Anglican church space. As well, the denominations's

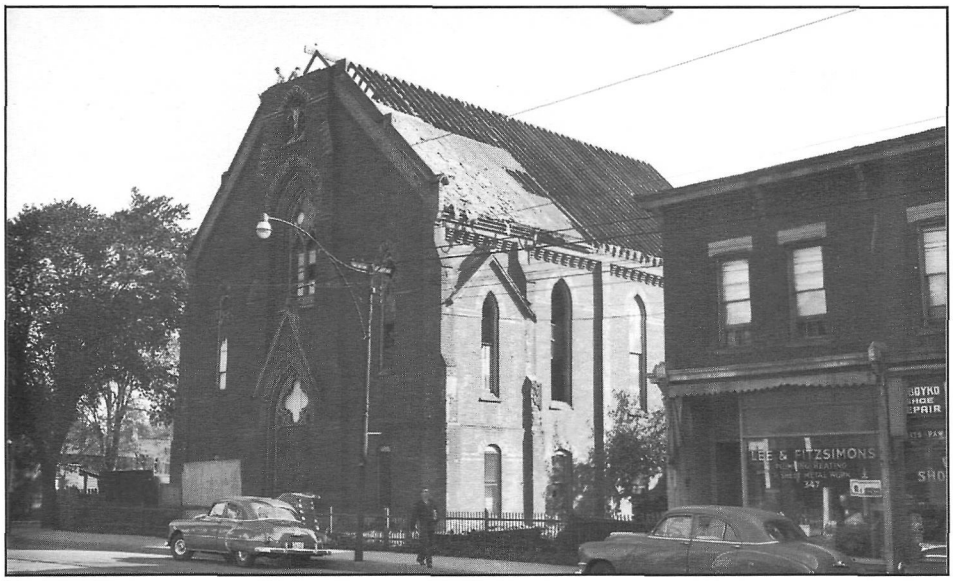

Figure 11: The Demolition of Parliament Methodist Church, 1952
se. corner Parliament at Oak
J.V. Salmon Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, S1-979

Parliament Methodist [53] merged with Oak United [47] in 1942 and was demolished a decade later as part of the site for the Regent Park public housing project.

more evangelically-oriented members had the view that a new cathedral would "embody the superficial trappings of institutional Christianity" rather than foster "practical Christian work".[64] Some congregations pursued a new strategy for inner-city ministry based on a social gospel rather than liturgical observance. The Anglican Downtown Churchworkers' Association, for example, which grew out of St. George's parish in 1912, oriented its work to such issues as recreation programs and charitable assistance for downtown children, relief aid during the Depression, and service work to the city's immigrant communities. In subsequent decades, the diocese came to see downtown as an area of distinct religious needs that was best viewed as mainly a "missionary" zone.[65]

Decline of the old order was especially poignant for Methodism. Once a populist formation, it had "ceased to be a religion of the city streets"[66] as its congregations in colonial Toronto tended toward larger decorative churches expressing their more affluent members' social ascent: the 1844 Richmond Street church built in the neoclassical style of the establishment denominations even as the latter were turning to gothic-revival; the 1870 Metropolitan church built between St. James and St. Michael's in the city's cathedral district; the amphitheatres of the Queen [75], Elm and New Richmond churches and the Broadway Tabernacle. The dilemma was that, if these churches "were to be filled with the sort of people financially able to maintain them, the pulpit appeal had to be one directed toward the higher social levels of the population"[67] increasingly absent from inner Toronto.

In the wake of Methodism's ambitious building program, denominational journals often expressed doubts about its wisdom. *Canadian Methodist Magazine* observed in 1885 that "[t]here are classes in the city whom it is difficult, if not impossible, to reach through the regular church agencies" and, in 1900, "It is in vain that we erect handsome buildings and conduct decorous services if we do not reach the unchurched masses."[68] While the less affluent social strata were still represented in Methodist congregations, they were largely a residue of the old order, "tend[ing] to be the poor who were least affected by industrialism ... those able to maintain their traditional attachments within the urban setting".[69] The philosophy of Methodism as it had evolved in Ontario, stressing individualism and social harmony, and hostile to labour unions and working-class interest, effectively cut the church off from much of the industrial underclass.[70] The other evangelically-rooted denomination that might have been well placed to secure affiliation among the new downtown population, the Baptists, had also followed patterns of seeking enhanced social respectability and building large, medievalist and increasingly problematic inner-city churches.[71] In this milieu, the Salvation Army and working-class revivalist sects grew and prospered, as many of inner-Toronto's older churches stood increasingly empty.

Conclusion

This article's perspective is not that religious affiliations and institutions are determined by forces of political economy but that human choices, including choices involving religious matters, are made in specific historical contexts.[72] In the case of inner-Toronto church buildings, these

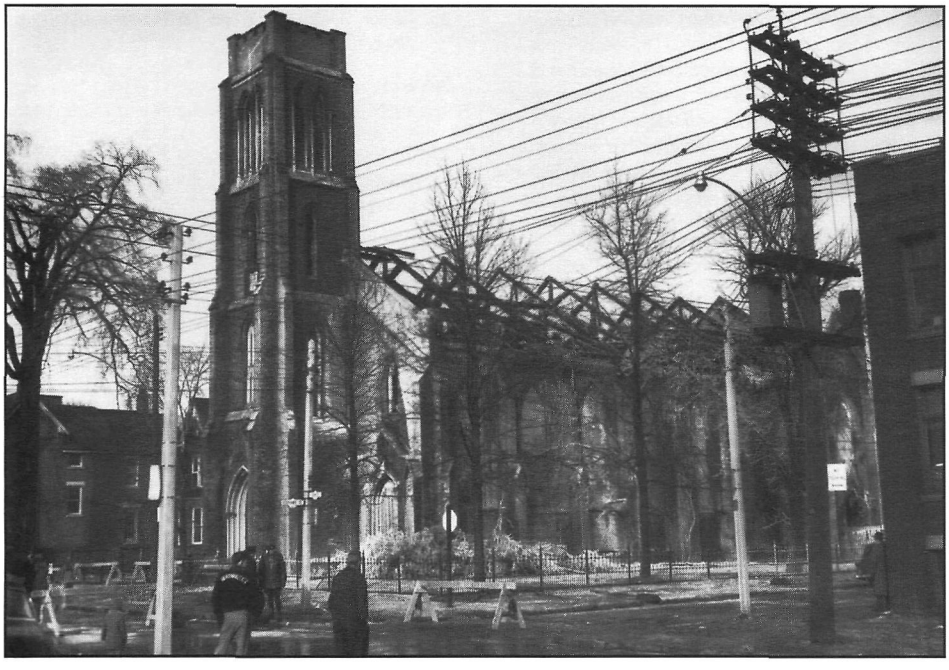

Figure 12: St. George-the-Martyr Church after the Fire, 1955
n. side Stephanie at John
J.V. Salmon Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, T-33703

Fire took a constant toll on early Toronto churches and also destroyed some that survived into the present century. They included St. Augustine's in 1931 [38], Western Congregational in 1960 [Figs. 9, 10], Bond Congregational in 1981 [58] and, in 1955, one of the city's earliest neo-gothic churches, St. George's [66].[79] This photograph was taken the morning after the fire. Today, only the tower remains, and the congregation meets in the old parish hall.

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contexts and choices led first to the construction and then to the widespread disappearance of a dominant feature of the city's nineteenth-century landscape.

Concerned that overgeneralization about religion in urban settings may sometimes submerge important distinctions, Hugh McLeod has observed that there "is not only a general history of religion in the modern city, but a local history, with features peculiar to particular countries, or even to particular cities".[73] This is also true of zones *within* cities. Inner Toronto's disappearing churches suggest that, just as inner-city neighbourhoods have had a distinct political economy and culture of everyday secular life over the course of modern urbanism, they have also had a distinct religious history.

Acknowledgement

The writer thanks William Westfall, John Radford, James Lemon, Roy Merrens, Michael Goldrick, as well as two anonymous reviewers and Richard Harris at *Urban History Review,* for comments on earlier drafts of this article; they share no fault for its shortcomings. The Office of Research Administration at York University provided funds to acquire the photographs.

Notes

1. *Definition of "inner Toronto".* "Inner Toronto" denotes an area generally identified as the "core" or "central area" in current municipal planning documents: about two k. west and east of the city's Yonge Street axis (from Bathurst Street to the Don River), and north from the lakefront to Bloor Street, including the southern part of neighbourhoods west of Yonge adjacent to Bloor. This area is commonly identified as a salient unit in historical study of Toronto; for example, it is almost identical with the area mapped by J.M.S. Careless in plotting "Toronto's Inner City to the 1900s" (*Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* [Toronto: Lorimer, 1984], 137).

   The 90 churches. The 90 buildings are churches erected for congregations of traditional Christian denominations and are comprised of 65 larger churches (seating 500 or more) as well as 25 smaller churches falling in one or more of three categories: those of architectural interest, including gothic and romanesque revivals; those in use for many years, often housing congregations of more than one denomination; those located on principal streets or at principal intersections. These criteria exclude small woodframe sidestreet churches of rudimentary design, used for relatively few years; buildings originally constructed for other uses, such as storefronts or houses, later adapted as religious meeting places or street-missions; Salvation Army meeting halls; and two buildings originally built as synagogues (whose genealogy is distinct from that of Christian churches).

   A note on sources. Maps, tables and anecdotal accounts of specific churches distill material from several sources including John Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches, Vol. 4* (Toronto: J.R. Robertson, 1904); C.P. Mulvany, *Toronto: Past and Present, A Handbook of the City* (Toronto: W.E. Caiger, 1884), 147-84; Thomas Champion, *Methodist Churches of Toronto* (Toronto: G. Rose, 1899); archives at the United Church of Canada (95 Charles St. W.), Anglican Diocese of Toronto (135 Adelaide St. E.), Presbyterian Church of Canada (59 St. George St.) and Metroplitan Toronto Reference Library (789 Yonge St.); as well as Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City, 3rd Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); William Dendy, *Lost Toronto: Images of the City's Past* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993); Patricia McHugh,

Toronto Architecture: A City Guide, 2nd Edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989); and William Westfall, *The Sacred and the Secular: Studies in the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period* (University of Toronto: Ph.D. Thesis, 1976), 336-43, and *Two Worlds: Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 126-58. Westfall's work (and that of S.D. Clark) has also strongly informed the paper's historical analysis.

2. As Table 1 and Map 1 indicate, while churches built later tended to be more distant from the city's original townsite, this was not an invariable pattern.

3. The bracketed numbers correspond to the churches' numbers in Map 1 and Table 1.

4. McHugh, 204; Dendy, 178-9.

5. C. Armstrong and H. Nelles, *Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company: Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977).

6. *Toronto Illustrated 1893* (Toronto: Consolidated Illustrating Company, 1893), 34. The wording appears to borrow from an 1884 passage in Mulvany, 147: "heaven-pointing spires that rise from every part of Toronto, and form a leading feature of our city".

7. The congregation of one of the two, Olivet Congregational [3], had already moved in 1893; the other is St. Paul's Anglican [14]. Some surviving churches, identified in the Notes to Table 1, were partly rebuilt or remodeled since 1893.

8. These five are College Street Presbyterian [29] and St. George-the-Martyr [66]; St. Bartholomew's [61] and King Street Methodist [87]; and St. Margaret's [79]. See also the Notes to Table 1.

9. These include one whose congregation had already moved in 1893, Alexander Street Baptist [24], and was purchased by the Anglicans for use as a school.

10. Robert Black, "Inwardly renewed: the emergence of modernity in the Diocese of Toronto, 1939-1989" in Alan Hayes (ed.), *By Grace of Co-Workers: Building the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 1780-1989* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989), 98.

11. Walter Firey, "Sentiment and symbolism as ecological variables", *American Sociological Review* 10 (1945), 140.

12. Firey, 140-8.

13. "The city-building process in Canada" in Stelter and Alan Artibise (eds.), *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1981), 1-29. Stelter's argument is based not in economic-determinist logic—against which Westfall cautions in approaching religious history ([1989], 129-30)—but in the idea that shifts of urban political economy are associated with dialogical processes of social and spatial change.

14. Edith Firth, *The Town of York, 1815-1834* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), lxi.

15. The former were St. George-the-Martyr [66] and Holy Trinity [63], the latter Knox [76] and Jennings (demolished 1886).

16. Firth, xviii, xxxiv.

17. Westfall (1989), 145-6.

18. (1989), 145. See also Westfall and Malcolm Thurlby, "Church architecture and urban space: the development of ecclesiastical forms in nineteenth-century Ontario" in David Keane and Colin Read (eds.), *Old Ontario: Essays in Honor of J.M.S. Careless* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 135.

19. Westfall (1989), 145.

20. Dendy, 140-1.

21. Westfall and Thurlby, 120, 125. Another example is St. James Anglican [85] in whose design Frederic Cumberland "managed to produce ... quite a fair imitation of one of the large parish churches built in the prosperous sheep-raising districts of England in the fourteenth century" (William Cooke, "The diocese of Toronto and its two cathedrals", *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XXVII:2 [1985], 100).

22. Their model was St. Michael's, Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire (Westfall [1989], Fig. 15-16; Westfall and Thurlby, 134, Figs. 2, 14). Like Thomas, most church architects practicing in Ontario at the time were trained in Britain; the best short source of information about these architects is Arthur.

23. Jennings, on Richmond Street near Bay Street, was replaced by Erskine [45] and demolished in 1886; see note 31.

24. (1989), 134-5, 139, 151. See also Westfall and Thurlby, 118-23, and Westfall, "The dominion of the Lord: an introduction to the cultural history of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period", *Queen's Quarterly* 83: 1 (1976) cited in J.W. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 186. Concerning Hay, see Frederick Armstrong, *A City in the Making* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), 212-26.

25. Lucien Goldmann, *Toward a Sociology of the Novel* (London: Tavistock, 1975), 1.

26. Richard Ruggle, "The saints in the land 1867-1939" in A. Hayes, 188; Westfall and Thurlby, 118.

27. The survivors are old St. Paul's Anglican (now Maurice Cody Hall) [14], St. Basil's [18], St. James-the-less chapel [19], St. Peter's Anglican [33], St. Stephen-in-the-Fields [34], and old St. Patrick's (now Our Lady of Mount Carmel [48]). See William Dendy and William Kilbourn, *Toronto Observed: Its Architecture, Patrons and History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), 81-83; Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Hallowed Halls: Church Architecture in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clark Irwin, 1975), 156, 158, 172-5; and McHugh, 124, 131, 142, 185, 196, 220.

28. Dendy, 145.

29. Gregory Kealey, "Toronto's industrial revolution, 1850-1892" in Michael Cross and Kealey, *Canada's Age of Industry, 1849-1896* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 20-61.

30. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1984), 200. The city's population grew from about 56,000 in 1871 to at least 145,000 by 1891, probably higher (although a later revised Census figure of about 181,000 counts phantom increases due to annexations).

31. The latter—of interest partly as precursors of later, more widespread church diaspora propelled by centrifugal middle-class residential movement—included three churches in the developing Bay Street commercial district: Zion, Jennings (replaced by Erskine [45]) and Richmond Methodist (replaced by New Richmond [62]). Lack of data obscures whether "highest-best-use" was a factor in their removal.

32. Robertson, 223-5; Elwood Jones, "Reaching out for two hundred years: church growth and church extension, 1780-1989" in A. Hayes, 156.

33. *Grace Church-on-the-Hill, 1874-1964* (Toronto: Grace Church, n.d.), 1-2; E. Jones, 150; Donald Jones, "Grace Church-on-the-Hill had humble beginnings", *Star,* Jul. 24, 1982, H10; Westfall (1976), 340.

34. Champion, 219; Alan Hayes, "Repairing the walls: church reform and social reform, 1867-1939" in A. Hayes, 68-70; McHugh, 243.

35. Westfall (1989), 152.

36. Westfall (1989), 153-4.

37. (1989), 158. See also Westfall and Thurlby.

38. Westfall (1976), 330. From 1851 to 1881, as the number of congregations in Ontario grew rapidly, their average size fell from 978 to 536 for Anglicans, 381 to 274 for Baptists, 426 to 249 for Methodists, 713 to 490 for Presbyterians and 1330 to 874 for Roman Catholics. See also Westfall (1989), 129. Meanwhile, affiliation to major Toronto denominations rose by a factor of 2.8 in this period (Careless, 201).

39. Dendy, 142 (citing *Illustrated Toronto: The Queen City of Canada* [Toronto, 1890], 49).

40. E.g., Mulvany, 147; C.S. Clark, *Of Toronto the Good–A Social Study: The Queen City of Canada As It Is* (Montreal: The Toronto Publishing Company, 1898), 147.

41. Robertson, 219, 373; C.S. Clark, 148. (Attending evening service was customary Sunday practice in Ontario; while the basis of Robertson's comparison of Toronto with other cities is unclear, his words suggest Toronto's mood of religiosity.)

42. Stelter, 19.

43. Careless, 200. Careless writes that the 1911 figure was partly deflated by record-keeping practices but reflects "no less ... the rise of larger-scale plants".

44. Gunter Gad has noted that in the previous decade, the 1880s, "23 of the 46 large employers in [Toronto's] manufacturing sector were found in the CBD"; those concentred here were mainly in the garment, shoemaking and printing industries ("Location patterns of manufacturing: Toronto in the early 1880s", *Urban History Review XXII (1994), 129).*

45. Richard Harris, "Self-building and the social geography of Toronto, 1901-1913: a challenge for urban theory", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 15, 387-402. The working-class neighbourhoods beyond the middle-class suburbs (from which they were distinctly segregated) are illustrated in Lawren Harris's landscapes of "shack" housing in Toronto's Earlscourt district; see Anthony Adamson, *Lawren S. Harris: Urban Scenes and Wilderness Landscapes, 1906-1930* [Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1978], 99, 103, 108, 111.

46. Harris writes that in the years 1901 to 1913 "the social geography of Toronto was transformed" and maps the working-class presence in downtown neighbourhoods in 1913 (Harris, 392, Fig. 1). Immigration to Toronto around the turn-of-the-century was mainly from Britain, but minority ethnic groups were often more highly represented in west-end inner-city districts. While much of the area south of Bloor Street became increasingly working-class, middle-class households did not generally retreat from inner-Toronto neighbourhoods north of Bloor (such as the Annex).

47. M.T.L.P.A. (Metropolitan Toronto Library photograph archives); U.C.A. (United Church archives).

48. H.M. Harman and W.G. Upshall, *The Story of the Church of St. George the Martyr* (Toronto: Church of St. George the Martyr, 1945), 37, 47; M.T.L.P.A.; Champion, 260; Robert Harney and Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975), 190.

49. *Grace Church,* 15-6; Black, 106; E. Jones, 155; D. Jones.

50. U.C.A., M.T.L.P.A.

51. U.C.A., "Uptown churches decide to unite", *Mail and Empire,* Feb. 10, 1921; "Grosvenor church farewell services", *Mail and Empire,* Feb. 21, 1921.

52. S.D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 381; Armstrong and Nelles, 6.

53. *The St. James-Bond Story: The Church of the Lighted Cross* (Toronto: St. James-Bond United Church, 1983); O.J. Smith, "Our one hundredth anniversary", *People's Magazine,* Third Quarter 1954, 5.

54. "Enhanced value of church's land like fairy tale", *Globe,* Sep. 2, 1929; "Noted city church will soon be sold", *Globe,* Mar. 16, 1926; F.H. Wilkinson, *St. Margaret's Church: Dedication of the Complete Edifice* (Toronto: St. Margaret's Anglican Church, 1964), 1; "Church rehabilitated for service station", *Telegram,* Apr. 8, 1930.

55. "Grosvenor Presbyterian Church: Sketch of the Congregation", typescript, c. 1920, U.C.A.; "Grosvenor church passes to city", *Mail and Empire,* Feb. 5, 1921.

56. *Diamond Jubilee: College Street United Church* (Toronto: College Street United Church, 1934), 25; *Grace Church,* 12-3.

57. Dendy, 179; Rosemary Donegan, *Spadina Avenue* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 170.

58. One bit of evidence concerning the density of some working-class districts are Arthur Goss's photographs of everyday life in The Ward (among hundreds of photographs in the City of Toronto Archives documenting living conditions in inner-city neighbourhoods early in the century); see, for example, "Arthur S. Goss" in *Official Photographers* (Toronto: Department of the City Clerk, 1992).

59. Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (New York: Semiotext, 1983), 11.

60. S.D. Clark, 423. See also 393.

61. Westfall and Thurlby, 142.

62. *Toronto Synod Journal* (1900), 182.

63. J.W. Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press, 1972), 98.

64. A. Hayes, 68. See also Cooke.

65. John F. Hayes, *The Challenge of Change, 50 Years: 1912-1962* (Toronto: Downtown Churchworkers' Association, 1962); Black, 115; *Canadian Churchman,* Jun. 29, 1944, 391; Mar. 21, 1946, 21-2.

66. S.D. Clark, 400. See also 387.

67. S.D. Clark, 400.

68. Cited in S.D. Clark, 397. See also 392-3.

69. S.D. Clark, 392.

70. S.D. Clark, 394-5.

71. S.D. Clark, 352-3.

72. See note 13.

73. "Religion in the city", *Urban History Yearbook 1978,* 11.

74. Dendy, 140-1; Arthur, 86.

75. M.T.L.P.A.

76. Champion, 154. Fig. 4, as well as Figs. 6, 11 and 12, are by J.V. Salmon, a photographer whose visual record of inner-Toronto cityscape in the 1950s includes many churches; his photographs are held by the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library.

77. *Grace Church,* 1-2, 13.

78. U.C.A.; M.T.L.P.A.; Donegan, 136-7.

79. Anglican Church archives; "Arson probe under way in church fire", *Star,* Sep. 21, 1981, 1, 6.