Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, New Brunswick, with some elementary remarks on the impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills on the arrangements of Anglican churches in New Brunswick[1]

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> MALCOLM THURLBY

Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease in Fredericton, New Brunswick, are two of the better-known nineteenth-century churches in Canada.[2] They were both constructed under the patronage of Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), to the designs of Frank Wills (1822-1857), with modification by William Butterfield (1814-1900) at the Cathedral. Christ Church Cathedral was initially modelled on the early fourteenth-century, Decorated parish church of St. Mary, Snettisham (Norfolk), although revisions during construction resulted in raising the eastern arm to the same height as the nave, shortened transepts, and a simplified crossing tower and spire. The design of St. Anne's Chapel of Ease is less well understood, especially in regard to its association with medieval sources. Douglas Richardson discussed Frank Wills's background in Exeter and his association with John Medley and John Hayward (1807-1891), official architect of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, yet the buildings and church furnishings in Exeter and vicinity created by this group remain largely unpublished.[3] This paper reviews the design and construction of Christ Church Cathedral against Bishop Medley's High Church background in England, and explores specific associations with English sources, especially for the furnishings of the church. St. Anne's Chapel of Ease is investigated with respect to medieval and nineteenth-century exemplars, with particular reference to work in and around Exeter by John Hayward, and work by and for John Medley. The paper concludes with some elementary remarks on the impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills
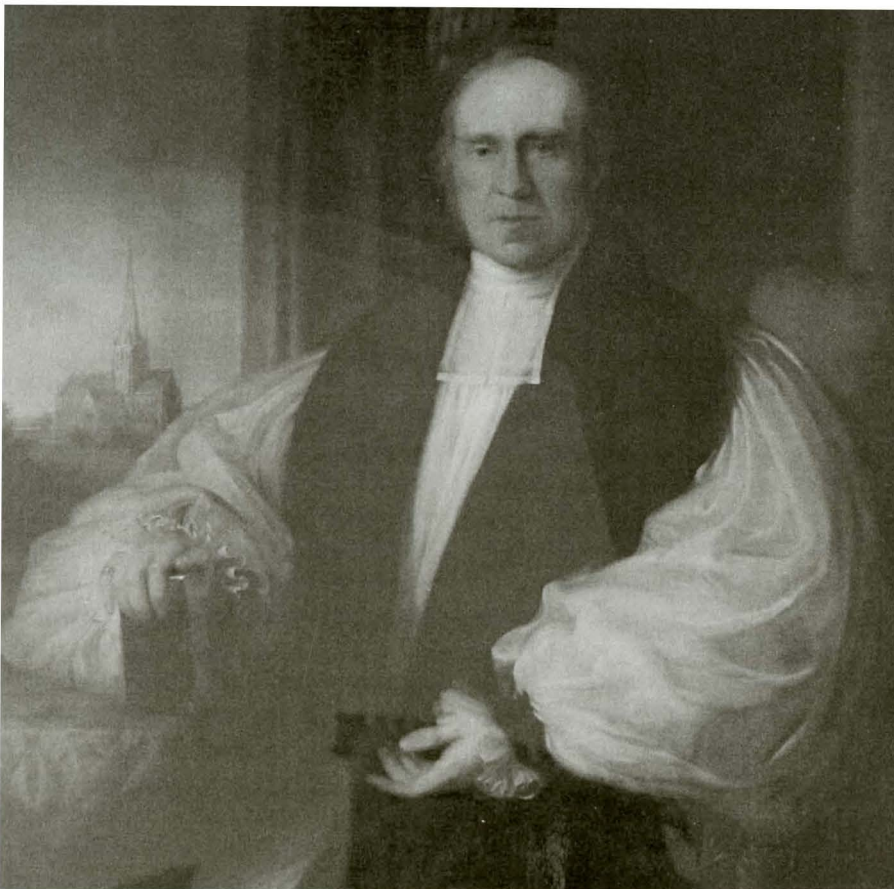
FIG. 1. JOHN BRIDGES, PORTRAIT OF BISHOP JOHN MEDLEY, FREDERICTON CATHEDRAL, SOUTH NAVE AISLE, ON LOAN FROM WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1848.

FIG. 2. ST. MARY, SNETTISHAM, NORFOLK, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHEAST, FRANK WILLS.
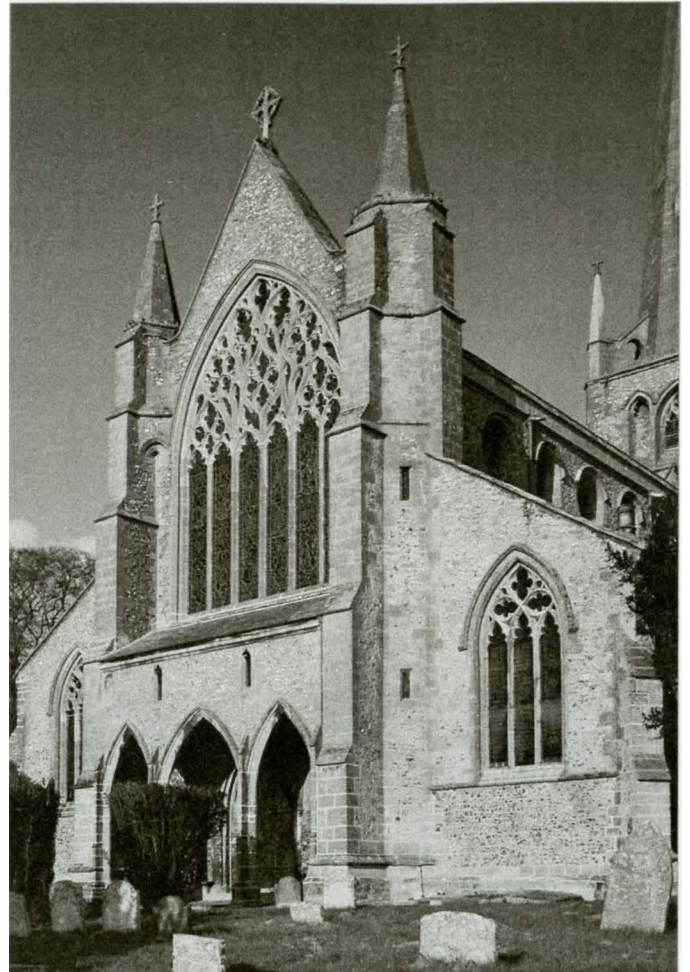

FIG. 3. ST. MARY, WEST FAÇADE, C. 1330.

on the design and furnishings of Anglican churches in New Brunswick in the second half of the nineteenth century.

JOHN MEDLEY

On June 11, 1845, John Medley (fig. 1) was enthroned as Bishop of Fredericton, having been appointed to that office on April 25 and consecrated at Lambeth Palace on May 4 of that year.[4] He graduated with honours from Wadham College, Oxford, in 1826. He was ordained a deacon in 1828, a priest in 1829, and served the diocese of Exeter from 1828 to 1845. He was a curate at St. Lawrence,

Southleigh (Devon), 1828-1831, perpetual curate of St. John, Truro (Cornwall), 1831-1838, then vicar of St. Thomas the Apostle, just south of the River Exe directly across from the city of Exeter, and in 1842 he was elected as a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral.[5] Medley was closely involved with the Anglo-Catholic ideas of High Church Anglicans of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement, which sought to return Anglican liturgy to the way it was in late-medieval England.[6] Medley was a strong supporter of the Oxford Movement and close friends with two of its leading figures, John Keble and Edward Bouverie Pusey.[7]

In 1841 Medley published *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* in which he argued that the Pointed or Gothic style is most appropriate especially for small churches.[8] The book was one that *The Ecclesiologist* "can most safely recommend."[9] This was followed in 1843 with a paper "On the Advantages of Open Seats,[10] in which he described closed (box) pews as ". . . not only contrary to all sound principles of Architecture, and fatal to all excellence in the interior arrangement of a Church, but . . . inconvenient, illegal, and unchristian."[11] He was founder of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society,[12] and designed the Chapel at Oldridge
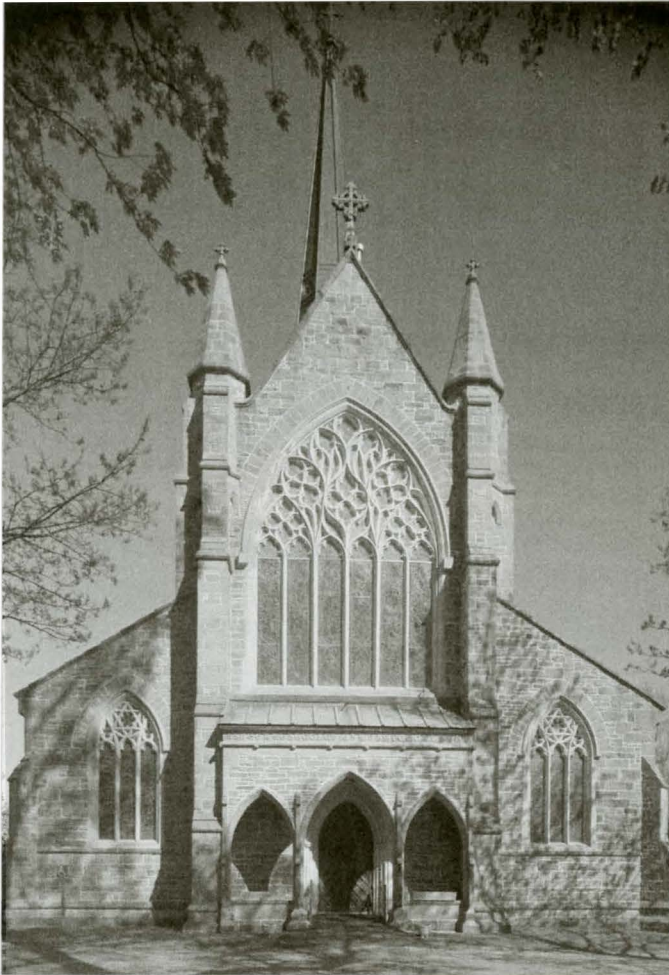
FIG. 4. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, FREDERICTON, WEST FAÇADE, FRANK WILLS, 1845.

FIG. 5. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, INTERIOR TO EAST, 1845-1853, NAVE BY FRANK WILLS, CHANCEL BY WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD.

(Devon) as a Chapel of Ease for St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter, built in 1841-1843.

A report in the [Fredericton] *Head Quarters* of September 14, 1853, described Frank Wills as "a young draughtsman in an architect's office in Exeter."[13] As we shall see, the architect in Exeter was John Hayward.

Bishop Medley on Church Architecture

Medley held strong opinions on architectural matters and was keen to voice them whenever the opportunity arose. In this section I quote freely and at length from Medley's published views that express his principles with greater clarity than any summary by the present author. He was most dissatisfied with the state of ecclesiastical architecture in New Brunswick. He complained that "[t]he existing parish church, now used as the cathedral [of Fredericton], is a mean and insufficient structure of wood, containing not above thirty free sittings..." By way of contrast, he added that "the cathedral which is now in the course of erection will contain about 800 persons; every part of it will be available for the services of the Church, and all the sittings will be free so as to accommodate the poor conveniently, without distinction of colour."[14]

Medley was therefore putting into practice the principles articulated in his paper "On the Advantages of Open Seats," a principle witnessed in his Chapel of St. Anne in Fredericton and throughout the Anglican churches in New Brunswick that were built or modified during his episcopacy.

Communicating to the Ecclesiological Society on Tuesday, May 9, 1848, Bishop Medley observed that:

Throughout the whole of North America no correct type of a church was formerly to be seen. The ordinary type seems to have
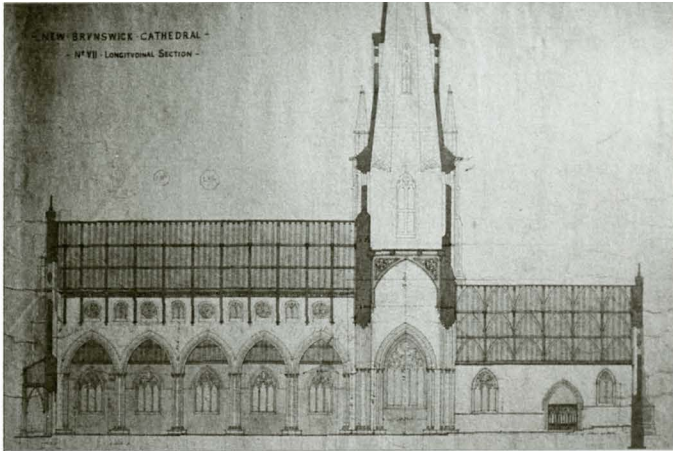
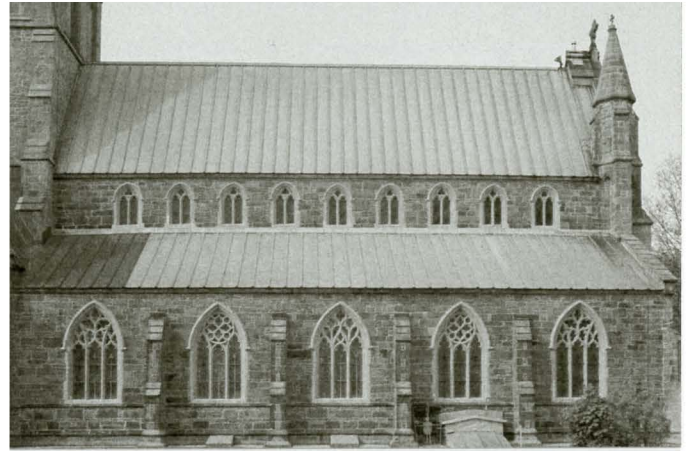FIG. 6. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, LONGITUDINAL SECTION.

FIG. 8. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, NAVE SOUTH AISLE, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH.

FIG. 7. ST. MARY, SNETTISHAM, NAVE INTERIOR TO EAST-SOUTHEAST, C. 1330.

FIG. 9. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, BENCH ENDS.

FIG. 10. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, FONT, SIMON ROWE, SCULPTOR OF EXETER.

been borrowed from the buildings erected by the Puritans, and from the different religious bodies who sprang up from time to time, the Church having no form of its own, nor having apparently any reference to the ancient churches in the mother country. The common plan of a small village-church was that of a parallelogram, 40 ft. by 28, sometimes with, often without, a small chancel, occasionally apsidal. The roof was very flat, and cieled [sic] inside, no timbers appearing. The spire was the favourite termination of the tower, which was poor and thin. There was no central passage to the altar. The pulpit often occupied its place,

and always concealed it from view. There was scarcely ever a font. The windows were either entirely square or round-headed, or pointed with square sash-lights, in proportion about 4 ft. by 9. These sash-lights were often covered with green Venetian blinds to keep out light and heat. The stoves, of which almost always two, and often four, are found in a church, sent their long arms throughout the entire building, meeting in the centre and going up through the roof. The pews were commonly square, and all sold by auction to the highest bidder. The sacramental plate was of inferior material and most unsightly form.[15]

The sort of church that Medley described is well represented in New Brunswick by Greenock Church, St. Andrews (1824), except for the centre aisle, the absence of which is retained in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON (1831).[16] In both churches particular attention should be paid to the box-like proportions, the galleries, the flat ceiling, the centrally placed pulpit, the communion table and box pews, all of which are in stark contrast to Medley's Fredericton Cathedral and Anglican churches in New Brunswick that were created according to his Gothic prescription.

FIG. 11. ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE, EXETER, FONT, SIMON ROWE, SCULPTOR OF EXETER, 1842.

FIG. 12. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, TOMB OF BISHOP JOHN MEDLEY.

FIG. 13. ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE, TOMB OF CHRISTIANA MEDLEY.

FIG. 14. OLDRIDGE CHAPEL, DEVON, EXTERIOR FROM NORTHEAST, JOHN MEDLEY, ARCHITECT, 1841-1842.

FIG. 15. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, FREDERICTON, FRANK WILLS, 1846-1847, EXTERIOR FROM LITURGICAL EAST-SOUTHEAST.

FIG. 16. OLDRIDGE CHAPEL, INTERIOR TO EAST-NORTHEAST FROM NAVE.

Medley added:

> In the Middle Ages the Clergy were frequently the architects as well as the guardians of the Church; and if this cannot be expected now, at all events it is desirable that those to whom the care of our holy edifices is entrusted, should not be ignorant of the essential principles of the science to which we are all so deeply indebted, and should know both how to preserve what is valuable, and to add what is deficient. Nor are the Clergy the only people interested. It might be so, if the Clergy were the Church. But as the Laity form equally with themselves an integral part of the one body, – and they alike enjoy the one benefit of the ecclesiastical taste and munificence of former ages, – some knowledge of Church Architecture ought, surely, be a part of every liberal education.[17]

Adopting the *True Principles* of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852),[18] Medley considered that Greek architecture was quite unacceptable for church buildings:

> Grecian Architecture presents to our minds no solemn associations, no inspiring thoughts; and therefore it is eminently defective in the proper characteristics of a religious edifice. The very lines of the building, as has often been observed, seem to show this. In Grecian Architecture the general lines are horizontal: in Church Architecture they are vertical.[19]

Medley concluded:

> In short, Grecian Architecture with its horizontal lines, seems low, earthward, unable to pierce the skies, and mount the soul towards heaven. Church Architecture, by its very loftiness, reminds man of his own littleness and of God's glory, and seems, as it

FIG. 17-18. OLDRIDGE CHAPEL, NAVE, BENCH END.

FIG. 19-20. ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, REWE, DEVON, BENCH END.

were, desirous to raise him above the petty business of earth, and fit him for communion with his Maker.[20]

He also made reference to the import-ance of the inclusion of pavement tiles and stained glass in the church.[21] He fur-ther observed:

However highly ornamented a church may be, so as to look very magnificent in a description of it in the newspapers, it is worth nothing as a church unless its inter-ior arrangement be church-like and catholic. If it be a square box filled with galleries, or overloaded with cumbrous pews – if the font be hid out of sight, and the altar shut out, – the people who worship in it may be church people, but the building itself is in its *morale* a meeting house.[22]

In *A Charge Delivered at His Primary Visitation Held in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, August 24, 1847*, Bishop Medley spoke on church architecture:

No express form of architecture is divinely given: yet one can see no reason for going to pagan Greece and idolatrous Rome for our models, when we can find better in Christian England, in a thousand varied but beautiful

forms. The parish Church of our father-land has been found convenient and suitable for the worship of millions of Churchmen for many centuries, and though in most instances built before the Reformation, was thankfully adopted by our Reformers. Why should it not be good enough for us? When a traveller visits an English village, he does not inquire, which is the parish Church? The building tells its own tale. The stone doth cry out of the wall, and the beam of the tim-ber doth answer it.[23]

Bishop Medley followed the medieval principle of bishops building cathedrals:

In ancient times the Cathedrals of Old England, which are still the glory and orna-ment of that country, and are now more visited and admired than ever, were built by the Bishops of the respective Sees, assisted by the multitude of the faithful, who rejoiced to pour their offerings into the treasury of God. In faith the work was begun; the build-ers died, and left their work unfinished, but others took it up, and by God's help brought it to an end. But the Colonies of England, though every where [sic] dispersed, knew no such glory; and for a long season the gathering in of the "unrighteous mammon" seemed to be the sole end of colonization.

At length, the note of preparation is heard, and in more than one Colony God's servants "think upon the stones" of his Church, and "it pitieth them to see her in the dust." New Brunswick is one of the first Colonies in which the foundation stone has been actually laid: an event the more remarkable, when we reflect, that no such work has been begun since the Norman Conquest, that is, for the last seven hundred years; a work in which the goodness of God is manifestly made known towards us.[24]

At the ceremony of the laying of the foun-dation stone of Christ Church Cathedral, Bishop Medley remarked: "The building of a Cathedral in this Province may in some sense be called a national work: for whatever reflects the genius, the piety, and the glory of England, adds lustre to the nation from which the original idea is derived."[25] He continued:

A Cathedral Church is also the common home of all; for as it is the Mother of all the Churches in the Diocese, so every one has a right to resort to it without payment, without that exclusive property in seats, alike forbidden in Scripture, and unsanc-tion by the custom of the purest ages of the Church. And I joyfully anticipate the

day, whether I live to see it or no, when the full importance of this great principle will be felt, that all men are sinful creatures, desirous to abase themselves in God's sight, and that therefore none should be excluded for want of money, and that there should be no distinction, but between those who serve the people, and those who are served by them. And possibly many who do not yet enjoy the full blessing and privileges of our Church, may yet feel inclined occasionally to enter a building so founded and built up.[26]

On Monday, October 6, 1851, Bishop Medley addressed the Quarterly Meeting of the New York Ecclesiological Society on the topic of the cathedral in which he spoke of the building of the cathedral in his own diocese. He recalled that a gentleman had once said to him: "Of course you grant that is a mere luxury."[27] Medley retorted: "It is no such thing. Building a Cathedral was not a luxury, but a privilege and a duty. It was not a mere piece of superfluous splendor and decoration, otherwise a Christian man could not consciously advocate it."[28] He added:

> The two prominent ideas conveyed by the cathedral and the cathedral services—and adequately expressed by no other—were God's greatness and man's littleness. Churches, neat, comfortable, handsome, convenient, useful, &c, could be had in other ways: but God's greatness and man's littleness could be expressed only by cathedrals.[29]

Medley's views on church architecture were inspirational, as evidenced when His Excellency Lieutenant Governor, Sir William Colebrooke, spoke at the laying of the foundation stone of the cathedral:

> To any one who has beheld the noble structures which by the piety of our ancestors have been raised to the honour of God in our Mother Country, I can appeal

for an acknowledgment of those feelings which their contemplation awakens. I have ever considered that the elevation of our Gothic spires—contrasted as they are in this respect with the temples of heathen antiquity—are calculated to inspire those lofty and sublime emotions which are the peculiar attributes of our Christian faith.[30]

Once again there are echoes of Augustus Welby Pugin, as in the frontispiece to *Contrasts* in which the skyline of the medieval Catholic town is dominated by spires, and the juxtaposition of Greek and Gothic façades in *True Principles*.[31] The significance of Pugin is also clearly expressed in the writings and practice of Frank Wills; he wrote: "Pugin, the great English architect . . . first clearly showed us what the true principles of pointed architecture were."[32] Earlier, Wills had referred to Pugin in an article entitled "Reality in Church Architecture," "The great and true principle of Gothic Architecture is, as Pugin expresses it, "the ornamenting construction and not constructing ornament."[33]

Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton

Before leaving for Fredericton, Bishop Medley had determined to build a new cathedral in the Gothic style to replace the "barn" that was there. He had gone so far as to instruct his architect, Frank Wills, to visit the Decorated church of St. Mary, Snettisham (Norfolk), with the view of using the c. 1330 edifice as the model for the new cathedral.[34] Wills's rendering of the Snettisham church from the west and a detail of the west window shows that there was a model-copy relationship with the façade of Fredericton Cathedral (figs. 2-4). The old Christ Church Cathedral in Fredericton belonged to the eighteenth-century type established by the classicizing

tradition of Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) and James Gibbs (1682-1754) and exported to North America in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*.[35] Medley's church has pointed main arcades surmounted by a clerestory, and open-timber roof, open seats in the nave, a properly articulated chancel with choir stalls, high altar, sedilia and piscina, stained glass, tiled floor, and font (fig. 5).

Designs for Fredericton Cathedral went through a number of stages. In December 1844, Bishop Medley wrote to the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture enquiring as to the suitability of the fourteenth-century cruciform church of St. Mary's, Shottesbrooke (Berkshire), as a model for a small cathedral.[36] Later, he consulted the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society "on a proposal to remodel the plan of his Cathedral, so extensive as to amount, externally at least, to a new design."[37] The report continued:

> The increased dignity, and nearer approximation to the character and type of the Cathedrals in our own cities at home, which would be thus acquired, afforded as much pleasure to the Committee to concur in the new design as they felt it an honour to be consulted. Few will question the propriety of taking the model of a Cathedral rather than of a parish Church, however beautiful, as the type of a new Cathedral; and, if it pleases Almighty God to prosper and accomplish the noble purpose of the Bishop, this Society may remember with enduring gratification how closely associated with it were the Founder and the Architect of the first pure Cathedral in the pointed styles [sic] that has ever reared in a British Colony.

Reference to "a Cathedral" in the report suggests that the modification refers to the heightening of the eastern arm to that of the nave, rather than to the

twin-towered design of Exeter Cathedral. The *Illustrated London News*, April 1849, published a view of a proposed design with twin, transeptally placed towers with spires from the southwest.[38] The remainder of the nave is rendered as built, and the peak of the chancel roof is seen as lower than the nave roof. Exeter Cathedral has transeptal towers with spires as part of the Romanesque fabric commenced between 1112 and 1114.[39] Less well known is the illustration of the exterior of Fredericton Cathedral from the southeast with transeptal towers and spires published in 1847 as the frontispiece of the *Annals of the Diocese of Fredericton*.[40] The spires and tops of the towers are slightly different, and the *Annals'* illustration has pinnacles to the chancel buttresses that are absent in the *Illustrated London News* representation. The *Annals'* illustration shows the three-bay chancel as in Wills's original design. Other than Exeter Cathedral as a source for the transeptal towers, the parish church of Ottery St. Mary (Devon) also boasts transeptal towers, and was featured at length in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*.[41] Neither Exeter Cathedral nor Ottery St. Mary have spires to their transeptal towers, but spires were clearly desirable for a new cathedral, as Pugin remarked: "I cannot conceive how an architect of the Early or Decorated period could have designed a tower to be terminated without a spire."[42]

Wills's original design for Fredericton Cathedral follows details of St. Mary's, Snettisham, almost to the letter, complete with alternating round and pointed nave clerestory windows, the half arches between the nave aisles and transepts, and even the complicated pier forms in the nave (fig. 6). It was to replace the parish church.[43] *The Ecclesiologist* expressed concerns about the design:

We do very much regret that so holy an undertaking should not have been perfect in externals. As it is, the new cathedral is to be a restored copy of St. Mary's, Snettisham, in Norfolk, which though magnificent as a parish church, is essentially such, rather than a cathedral. No cathedral would have a choir and transept lower than the nave. Nor is the singular clerestory, in which the alternate windows are circular, at all suited for a cathedral.[44]

In August 1847, Bishop Medley reported: "The external walls of the nave and aisles are completed, and this summer, during my absence in England, the large west window has been put up, and the permanent nave roof added. It is still absolutely needful to finish the aisle roofs, which will cost £500, and to proceed with the choir."[45]

The June 1848 issue of *The Ecclesiologist* showed "The Cathedral in its present state," with the nave completed, and "The Cathedral Completed" with a one-bay choir with roof at the same height as the nave, crossing tower and simple Butterfield octagonal spire with lucarnes on cardinal faces, single-bay aisles flanking the crossing tower, and a morning chapel(?). The plan by Butterfield was approved by the Ecclesiological Society.[46] Medley said:

A choir 40 feet in length, with aisles, would be sufficient for our purpose. It remains to be seen how this might be connected with a tower. I had thought of two towers, as at Ottery and Exeter, but shall be content with one, if a cathedral-like appearance can be produced at less expense; for I am desirous to do whatever is most thoroughly practical, provided it be correct and church-like.[47]

Further on the topic of Butterfield's design: "'A reader of the Ecclesiologist' criticises Mr. Butterfield's design for the choir of Fredericton cathedral; recommending the omission of all the ornamental detail, in order to save funds for the heightening of the tower, and the lengthening of the choir."[48]

Wills's original design was a copy of St. Mary's, Snettisham, with aisleless transepts that project one bay beyond the nave aisles, plus the addition of a lower, three-bay chancel; the original chancel at Snettisham did not survive.[49] The complex pier form at Snettisham, of which Wills completed drawings of the capitals, bases and plan, the alternating pattern of clerestory windows, and half arches between the nave aisles and transepts, were all reproduced in Wills's design for Fredericton Cathedral (figs. 6-7). Wills included a one-bay vestry to the north of the chancel, a little to the east of the centre. This is a novel detail in that no English Gothic precedent could be found for it in a cathedral. As built, the pier plans were substituted by a simple alternation of round and octagonal plans with moulded capitals for which there is much precedent in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English parish churches, as at St. Michael's, Long Stanton (Cambridgeshire), which was a particular favourite of the Cambridge Camden Society.[50] Similarly, the clerestory windows are changed from an alternating round and pointed scheme at Snettisham to a pointed two-light bar tracery design at Fredericton (fig. 8). The window tracery of the nave aisles changes bay to bay but matches north to south as at Snettisham, although the tracery patterns do not all follow those of the Snettisham aisles. Such variety in architectural details is much loved by English architects back to Anglo-Saxon times through Romanesque to Gothic.[51] It is important to observe allied variety in the window tracery of Exeter Cathedral, which is emulated by Medley and Wills at Fredericton Cathedral.[52]

The hammerbeam roof of the Fredericton nave is more elaborate than the nave roof at Snettisham and reflects Perpendicular or late medieval precedent, as in the nave of St. Stephen's, Norwich (Norfolk)[53] (figs. 5 and 7).

William Butterfield's plan for the cathedral shortened the eastern arm proposed by Wills, and included a vestry to the north for the length of the choir, kept the crossing with tower and shortened the transepts to one bay. The design keeps to the spirit of the 1840s ecclesiology in finding authority for details, including the east window, which is copied from the east window of Selby Abbey.[54] The exterior of the crossing tower was greatly simplified while the spire was reduced to a simple broach type without lucarnes. The final version reintroduced a more Decorated type, which survived until the fire of 1911.

In August 1847, *The Ecclesiologist* reported on Fredericton Cathedral that the

> plan has been altered for the better in various respects. The roof of the choir has been raised: we trust that it may ultimately be decided to raise it to the same height as the nave, and that choir aisles will be added. The central tower and spire have been abandoned, and here transeptal towers, one of which at all events is to have a spire, are to be substituted.[55]

John Bridges's portrait of Bishop John Medley (1848) (fig. 1) includes an image of the church in the background that shows that the eastern arm is the same height as the nave and shortened transepts.

The west windows of the side aisles "are taken from the eastern window Exwick Chapel at Exeter, built by John Hayward for John Medley in 1841. This window was drawn by Mr. Hayward, architect."[56]

The side windows of the aisles are copies of Snettisham, "except two very elegant designs from Mr. Wills."[57] The west door is a reduced copy of that at Exeter Cathedral.[58]

The east window of Fredericton Cathedral was erected by the Bishop in 1852. The artist, William Wailes of Newcastle, contributed £80 to the cost of the window and part of the cost was contributed by the Church in the United States.[59] Wailes also worked for A.W. Pugin at St. Giles, Cheadle (Staffordshire).[60]

The stained glass of the great west window is by William Warrington, who worked for Pugin in the 1840s, wrote a book on the history of stained glass, and in 1850 supplied the glass for the east window of Ottery St. Mary (Devon).[61] The stained glass in the aisle windows is by the Beer Company of Exeter.[62]

The Cathedral was consecrated on August 31, 1853.[63] Frank Wills attended the consecration.[64] Canon Ketchum described the Cathedral in his biography of Bishop Medley:

> The extreme length of the building is one hundred and fifty-nine feet; breadth across the transept, seventy feet; height of nave and choir roof, sixty-two feet; height of cross on west gable, seventy-one feet; height of cross on transepts, fifty-four feet; height of aisle walls, twenty feet; height of clerestory, forty-three feet; height of tower to base of spire, eighty-five feet; to apex of cross surmounting the spire, one hundred and seventy-eight feet. The building is entirely of stone excepting the spire. The stone of the body walls is from the immediate neighbourhood, the weatherings of the buttresses, string courses, cornices, etc., are from the Bay of Fundy; all the dressings of the doorways and windows are of Caen stone executed in

England. It appears to stand the climate of New Brunswick admirably, and by its beautiful texture and light cream colour, forms an agreeable contrast to the more gloomy-toned masonry around it.[65]

There was praise for Medley's construction of the Cathedral by the Ecclesiological Society.[66]

In light of Medley's paper "On the Advantages of Open Seats," it comes as no surprise that there are open seats in the cathedral and that alternate ends towards the central and cross aisle are carved with pointed arches with trefoil cusps flanked by stepped "buttresses" (fig. 9). The alternate pattern has a chamfered recessed rectangle in place of the tracery, while the ends towards the outer aisles are quite plain. Wills also designed the Bishop's throne and the pulpit; the latter was removed to Trinity Anglican Church, Sussex, NB, after the fire at the cathedral in 1911.

The font in Fredericton Cathedral is the same as the one ordered in 1842 for the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter, when John Medley was the incumbent there (figs. 10-11). Medieval "authority" for the design is the font at St. Mary's, Beverley, as published by Francis Simpson in 1828.[67] There are similar fonts at St. Peter and St. Paul, Barnstaple (Devon), and St. John the Baptist, Broadclyst (Devon), by Simon Rowe, 1843. There was another font of this type in Exeter Cathedral given by Canon Bartholomew in 1843, and also executed by Simon Rowe.[68] The account in *The Ecclesiologist* of October 1842 reports that the font "is almost completed . . . The workmanship is very excellent . . . The carver is Rowe, of Exeter. The cost will be about £100."[69] Rowe worked on the west front of Exeter Cathedral and carved the reredos of St. Andrew's, Exwick.[70]

The ecclesiological practice of employing medieval authority for all aspects of the design of Fredericton Cathedral is continued in 1892 in Medley's tomb chest at the east end of the south aisle (fig. 12). The recumbent effigy is in the tradition of the tomb of Bishop Bronescombe (c. 1220-1282) at Exeter Cathedral. Bronescombe's tomb of which an engraving had been published in 1842, and the tomb chest provided the starting point for the design of Medley's tomb chest in which shields are centrally placed in a tracery within a square frame separated by thin shallow niches with pointed cusped heads in rectangular frames[71] (fig. 12).

ECCLESIOLOGY IN EXETER: JOHN MEDLEY AND JOHN HAYWARD

The nave and west tower of the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter, date from 1645-1657 and are fine examples of Gothic survival in the region.[72] Andrew Patey added the eastern arm to the nave in 1828-1829, and John Medley subsequently made major modifications to the sanctuary between 1842 and 1845. The wooden eagle lectern, which dates from the early fourteenth century and comes from Exeter Cathedral, is an excellent example of the Decorated or Middle Pointed style so beloved of the ecclesiologists.[73] Medley had the sanctuary remodelled to include the tomb of his wife Christiana against the north wall, the stone altar with elaborate canopied reredos above on the east wall with nodding ogee blind arches to north and south, and continuing to the south wall of the sanctuary where the blind arches flank a central doorway to the vestry (fig. 13). Christina Medley was the daughter of artist John Bacon who probably carved the tomb.[74] Douglas Richardson suggested that "Wills must have been responsible for the monument as a whole: his elevation of this handsome

work survives today in the Public Archives of Canada."[75] Further evidence for the attribution to Wills comes from the tomb of Mr. E.S. Burd of Philadelphia, PA, for St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia.[76] Burd's tomb has much in common with that of Christina Medley, such as the crocketed ogee canopy with foiled cusps and flanked by blind traceried panels and enriched quatrefoiled panels set in square frames on the front. The crocketed nodding ogee canopies over standing figures at the end of Burd's tomb derive from the medieval wooden eagle lectern in St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter, while the narrow blind arches between the square traceried panels on the front of the tomb are taken from the tomb of Bishop Bronescombe in Exeter Cathedral.[77] For the crocketed ogee canopy, with cusps (heads at ends of the cusps as on Burd's tomb), there is precedent on the tomb of Sir Robert Stapledon in Exeter Cathedral.

The altar frontal at St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter, has three square traceried panels separated by vertical thin panels and all framed within a foliage-scroll border. The St. Thomas the Apostle reredos shares much with the sedilia in Exeter Cathedral, especially the crocketed and finialed gables. It is worth noting that measured drawings of the sedilia by John Howard were published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*.[78]

Medley also introduced open seats in St. Thomas the Apostle, with carved ends based on late medieval designs in Devon and Cornwall, such as St. Mary the Virgin, Rewe (Devon) (on which more below). And, as we have seen, the font by Exeter Cathedral mason, Simon Rowe, is the same as that in Fredericton Cathedral and was copied from the medieval font in St. Mary's, Beverley (figs. 10-11).

Medley was both the patron and architect of the Chapel at Oldridge, near Crediton (Devon). Constructed in 1841-1842, it is an excellent example of the state of ecclesiology of the time. The chapel has a simple two-cell plan with aisleless nave and narrower chancel the length of which exceeds even that of St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton (figs. 14-15). The steep pitch of the roof is convincingly medieval. There is a simple bell-cote on the western gable. Interestingly, stepped buttresses are confined to the northeast and southeast angles of the nave where they project to the north and south respectively. Such selective use of stepped buttresses is common in A.W. Pugin's churches and, not surprisingly, finds medieval precedent in such Early English churches as St. Romwald, Strixton (Northamptonshire) (of which more below). The window tracery follows Perpendicular patterns rather than the Decorated forms which were to become favoured for churches by the mid-1840s, as at Fredericton Cathedral. Inside, a pointed arch separates the nave and chancel and there is a step up from the nave to the chancel as well as another step up to the sanctuary (fig. 16). Both nave and chancel have truthfully exposed open timber roofs. There are a pulpit in the northeast corner of the nave as well as open seats with carved bench ends. Medieval precedent for the tracery designs on the bench ends is found at St. Mary the Virgin, Rewe (Devon), in particular, the rose window design and the interlocking mouchettes[79] (figs. 17-20). One of the Rewe bench ends is illustrated in Wills's book.[80] The choir stalls have poppyhead terminals and there is a credence niche in the south wall of the sanctuary. Perhaps surprisingly, there are neither sedilia nor a piscina. The stained glass in the east window by Robert Beer (1843) includes coloured standing figures of St. Thomas and St. Andrew to the left and right respectively of St. Peter against

a clear background.[81] The figures relate stylistically to those in the east window of Exeter Cathedral.

St. Andrew's Chapel of Ease in the village of Exwick was built for John Medley by John Hayward (1807-1891), the official architect of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. The church was honoured with a positive review by the Cambridge Camden Society.[82] It was seen as: "an admirable example, not only of what a church ought to be, but also of what the very moderate sum which is necessary for a really Catholick building; in this case not exceeding £1400."[83]

Not surprisingly, there are features that are not quite up to par for the highly critical Camdenians, but they conclude that,

> on the whole, we do not hesitate to pronounce this the best specimen of a modern church we have yet seen, and we heartily congratulate our sister society of Exeter, that the founder and general designer of this beautiful church is the Secretary, the Rev. J. Medley; and the architect, Mr. Hayward, one of the most zealous members.[84]

Mercer quite rightly sees St. Andrew's as the precursor of St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton.[85]

As it stands today, the chapel has an extended chancel and a north nave aisle both added in 1878. The print illustrated in figure 21 shows the original state complete with the pointed priest's door in the south wall of the chancel, and the south porch in the nave. Decorated tracery has replaced the Perpendicular of Oldridge. Inside, a pointed arch separates the nave and chancel, and there are steps up to the chancel and the high altar as at Oldridge. The roofs are paneled, there is open

seating in the nave, the pulpit is located in the northeast corner of the nave, and the font is modelled on the Decorated example in St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, published by Simpson in 1828,[86] a copy of which was supplied to Christ Church, Maugerville, NB, and elsewhere.[87]

St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton

The foundation stone of St. Anne's Chapel of Ease was laid on May 30, 1846, by Hon. John S. Saunders who gave the land for the site[88] (figs. 15, 22-23). In his address, Mr. Saunders said:

> The extension of Church accommodation thus afforded will be an invaluable benefit to the increasing population of this part of the city, and as we are assured that the sittings are to be free, it must to every pious mind, be a cause of devout thankfulness to the Almighty, to know that the poor of our community will no longer be excluded from the right of attending the services of the Church, and of partaking of all its holy ordinances.

Bishop Medley observed that there was:

> [o]ne great improvement which has been introduced in this church—a place has been provided for the poor. Formerly, there was not room for more than a very few of this class, and they were, in consequence, driven to seek for grace in other places of worship; but now that there is room for them, many are found to attend regularly.[89]

He added: "in this chapel, the white and coloured population worship side by side, and sit on the same benches."[90] It would be hard to find a better example of the social importance of the Gothic Revival.

St. Anne's was largely paid for by the Bishop's private means.[91] The chapel

was consecrated on March 18, 1847.[92] The August 12, 1847, meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society recorded that St. Anne's Chapel "is a very chaste example; probably the first church finished in America exhibiting a satisfactory knowledge of the Pointed style."[93] Wills claimed the chapel "to be the first ecclesiastical building erected in the British provinces in which Ancient Architecture has been attempted to be carried out."[94] He added: "The impossibility of procuring proper masons to execute stone tracery necessitated the adoption of First Pointed." The choice of Early English is in contrast to the Decorated St. Andrew's, Exwick, but was acceptable to the Camdenians for smaller churches and chapels; lancet windows are presented in detail in a lengthy paper in *The Ecclesiologist*.[95] On a positive note, "In the interior Seats, Pulpit Screen, Altar, &c, are of rather later date, since carpenters were found able to execute tracery in the beautiful wood of the country, butternut, which both in grain and color is superior to English oak."[96]

St. Anne's has been compared with the thirteenth-century parish church of St. Michael's, Long Stanton (Cambridgeshire)[97] (figs. 15, 22-23), measured drawings of which were sent from the Cambridge Camden Society to the church of St. James the Less, Schuylkill, Philadelphia, 1846-1848.[98] In the study of the impact of Anglican Ecclesiology in North America from the mid-1840s on, St. Michael's, Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire, has received more attention than any other medieval exemplar. Located just ten miles northwest of Cambridge, St. Michael's was put forward as one of the models proposed by the Camden Society for the "correct" design of Anglican churches throughout the English-speaking world. Quite apart
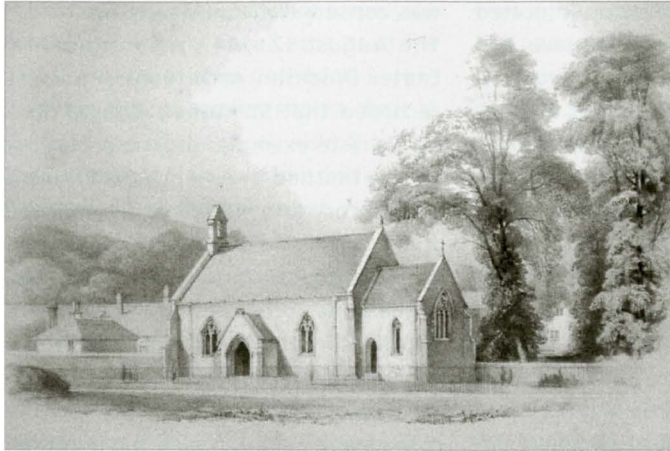
FIG. 21. ST. ANDREW, EXWICK, DEVON, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHEAST, JOHN HAYWARD, 1841, BEFORE EXTENSION OF THE CHANCEL IN 1878.

FIG. 24. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, STRIXTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH.
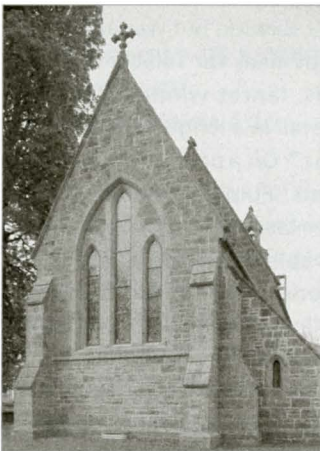

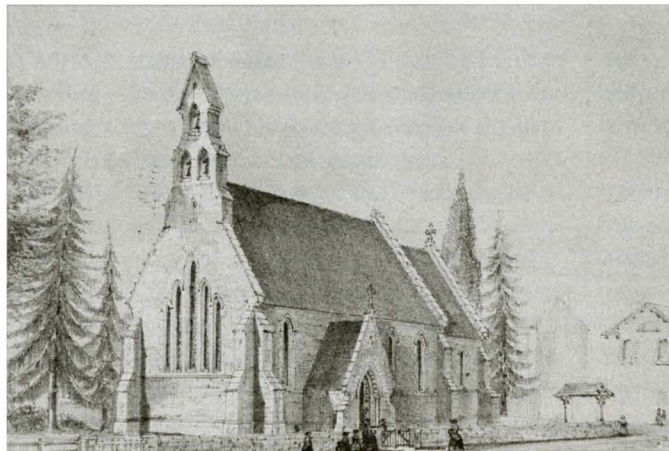FIG. 22. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, EXTERIOR FROM LITURGICAL EAST-NORTHEAST.

FIG. 23. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, EXTERIOR FROM LITURGICAL SOUTHWEST, FROM WILLS, 1850, *ANCIENT ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE AND ITS PRINCIPLES...*, PL. XV.
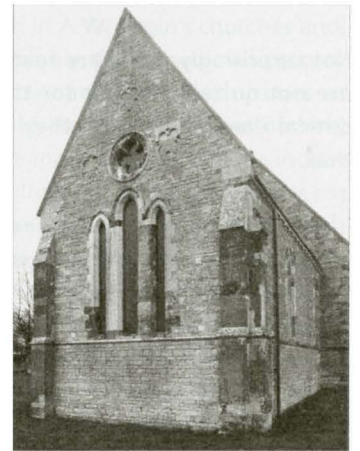

FIG. 25. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, EXTERIOR FROM EAST-NORTHEAST.

from the Gothic style of the church itself, the romantic village setting with the walled churchyard was emulated by Anglican communities eager to transpose an essential element of England to foreign parts. The publication of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's, *Parish Churches*, illustrated the church exterior from the southwest, the interior to the east, and the plan.[99] Specifically in Canada, there can be no doubt that St. Michael's, Long Stanton, was an important reference point in the design of two-cell Anglican churches throughout the country from

the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Yet it seems to me that its importance has been somewhat over-emphasized. Comparison of Frank Wills's church of St. Michael, in Sillery (Quebec), with St. Michael's, Long Stanton, indicates that Wills based the design of his west front on Long Stanton. In particular the paired stepped buttresses towards the centre of the façade in line with the edges of the belfry may be noted. However, the proportions of the two churches are quite different, not least because Long Stanton has aisles whereas Sillery does not.

Both Mathilde Brosseau and Douglas Richardson expressed caution with regard to a Long Stanton – St. Anne's Chapel comparison. Brosseau suggested that Wills "[u]sed proportions in a very personal manner in order to give his composition a pronounced vertical sweep that was completely absent from the model."[100] She added:

The handling of proportions bears the mark of the architect, Frank Wills. He gave all the components of his plan a vertical thrust that is out of keeping with the equilateral triangle configuration of small English 13th-century

FIG. 26. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, INTERIOR TO EAST.

FIG. 27. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, EAST END OF NAVE AND CHANCEL, INTERIOR TO EAST.

churches. The linear treatment of forms is a departure from the rustic character of the medieval prototypes.[101]

Like Pugin, Wills claimed no originality for the design of St. Anne's Chapel, but rather to have followed the principles of medieval master masons. In spite of this, Phoebe Stanton considered that "St. Anne's reveals characteristics which belong not to the Middle Ages but to nineteenth-century Gothic Revival style."[102] She observed that "[t]he nave of St. Anne's is 42 feet high, 54 feet long, and 21 feet wide, proportional

relationships which at once distinguish it from medieval churches."[103] On the one hand, it is true that St. Anne's has much in common with near-contemporary Victorian Anglican churches in England. On the other hand, it is incorrect to suggest that its proportions "distinguish it from medieval churches." The two-to-one proportion (21 to 42 feet) of width to height of the nave is common in small English churches from Anglo-Saxon times to the thirteenth century. Moreover, the length of the nave is generated by the common medieval formula of 21+ (21 x 1.6), i.e. the Golden Section.

Peter and Douglas Richardson compared the proportions of St. Anne's Chapel with Matthew Hadfield's church of St. Bede, Masborough (Yorkshire WR) (1841-1842), which is illustrated in Pugin's Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (1843).[104] The association may be extended to Pugin's St. Anne's, Keighley (Yorkshire WR) (1838), and St. Mary's, Southport (Lancashire) (opened 1840), also illustrated in The Present State.[105] Wills tells us that, at St. Anne's, "[t]he Pulpit is at the north-east angle of the Nave, and is entered from Sacristy by a doorway in the wall."[106] This arrangement was used

FIG. 28. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, CHANCEL, INTERIOR TO SOUTH.

FIG. 29. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, CHANCEL, INTERIOR TO NORTH.
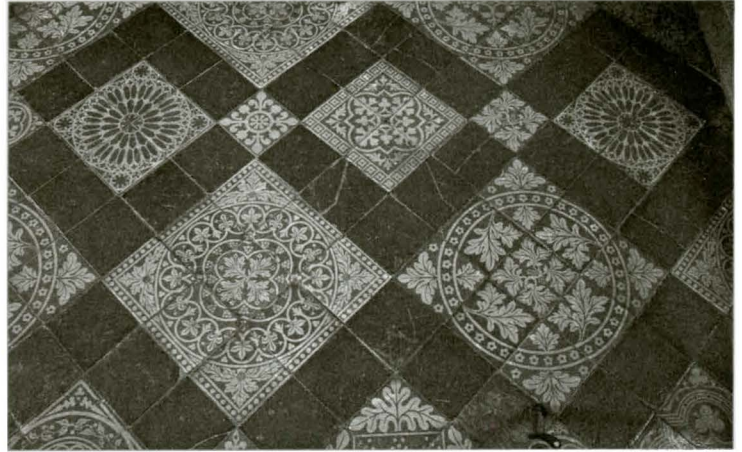

FIG. 30. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, CHANCEL TILES.

FIG. 31. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, SCREEN, DETAIL.
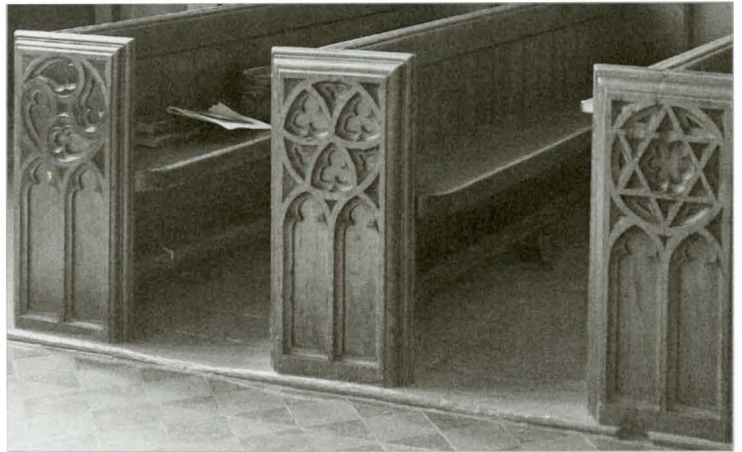

FIG. 32. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, PULPIT.

FIG. 33. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, BENCH ENDS.

by Pugin at St. Mary's, Southport,[107] and Hadfield at St. Bede, Masborough, by John Hayward at St. Andrew's, Exwick,[108] and St. John the Evangelist Episcopal Church, Jedburgh (Roxburghshire) (1843-1844).

The proportions of St. Anne's, including the steep pitch of the roofs, as well as features like the stepped triple-lancet windows in the east wall, and the two-cell, aisleless plan with south porch, find medieval, indeed Early English, precedent in St. Romwald, Strixton (Northamptonshire) (figs. 24-25). I do not know of published illustrations of Strixton church before

Edward Barr's 1849 monograph on the church.[109] Yet, in 1825, Thomas Rickman wrote: "Strixton is a small but curious Early English Church, but little altered; the east end has three lancets, and is a beautiful, though simple composition."[110] This puts it on what we might call the "ecclesiological map" for Gothic Revival architects like Pugin, Hayward, and Wills. The priest's door at St. Anne's is located towards the west end of the south wall of the chancel as at Strixton and Teversham (Cambridgeshire), a favourite of the Cambridge Camden Society.

Other than Strixton, St. Mary, Duddington (Northamptonshire), provides an example of stepped triple lancets with enclosing arch in the east wall of the chancel as at St. Anne's. St. Mary, Duddington, is illustrated in the Brandons' *Parish Churches*. Although Wills may not have had access to the Brandons' book before designing St. Anne's, the inclusion of a plan of Duddington in Wills's book indicates that the church was known to him.[111] It is also worth noting that enclosed stepped triple lancets are used in George Gilbert Scott's earliest church, St. Mary Magdalene, Flaunden (Hertfordshire) (1838).

FIG. 34. ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, FONT, 1849.

FIG. 35. ST. MARTIN, MARTINHOE, DEVON, FONT.

St. Anne's should also be seen against the Gothic Revival background in Exeter in the early 1840s, specifically Medley's Chapel at Oldridge, and John Hayward's St. Andrew's, Exwick (figs. 14-15, 21-23), on which Frank Wills would have assisted in the design. Exwick provides a source for the aisleless two-cell plan with a rectangular east end, the south porch, the bell-cote atop the west gable—albeit not exactly the same in detail—and a vestry to the north of the chancel abutting the east wall of the nave. Vestries were common in Pugin's two-cell churches, yet they were rare in small thirteenth-century churches.

The comparisons cited for St. Anne's suggest that St. Michael's, Long Stanton, had little to do with the design of St. Anne's Chapel. St. Anne's incorporates aspects of Wills's training with John Hayward in Exeter, his association with Bishop John Medley, his knowledge of Pugin's small churches—and perhaps those of George Gilbert Scott—and, most significantly, a knowledge of Early English churches other than St. Michael's, Long Stanton.

The ironwork of the doorway to the south porch repeats patterns used at St. Andrew's, Exwick.

The five graduated lancets on the west front of St. Anne's Chapel may have been inspired by the "five-light lancets at Ottery St. Mary" to which Medley referred in his *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*.[112]

The masonry details essentially follow English Gothic precedent as clearly articulated in Pugin's *True Principles* in contrast to the large size of the stones and regularity of "modern jointing."[113] However, constructional details of inserts of small stones resembling the thickness of Roman tiles taken from King's College [now Sir Howard Douglas Hall, University of New Brunswick] (1829), Fredericton, the Soldiers' Barracks, Fredericton (1827), and "Cranewood," Sackville (built c. 1836 for William Crane). Additionally, the "long-and-short" stones in the priest's door-jambs, which resemble Anglo-Saxon work, are also taken from King's College. Similarly, the large stones used for the jambs of the doorway to the south porch and for the nave windows exceed the size and form of stones used in these positions in medieval churches.

On the arrangement of the chancel, there is a step up from the nave and also to the high altar (fig. 26). The sedilia for the celebrant, epistler, and gospeller take the form of three wooden seats against the south wall in the sanctuary, rather than being integrated architecturally in three recessed arches (figs. 27-28). There is a credence on the north wall.[114] Surprisingly, there is no piscina. The choir stalls are fronted with stepped "buttresses" and geometric bar tracery, and the patterns of the encaustic tiles include rose window tracery as on the thirteenth-century tiles in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey[115] (figs. 29-30). The chancel walls "are diapered between the emblems and text."[116] The stained glass of the east windows is by William Warrington.[117]

The choir screen has geometric bar tracery and "buttresses" like those on Fredericton Cathedral bench ends (figs. 9, 26, and 31). The pulpit is a variation in wood of the stone pulpit at Exwick Chapel, with shafts and capitals at the angles and trefoil cusps to the pointed arches (fig. 32). At St. Anne's, Wills introduces moulded, rather than foliated capitals, and bar tracery that is absent at Exwick.

On the St. Anne's bench ends, Bishop Medley observed that "[t]he seating is somewhat later in style than the building. The bench-ends are of one

FIG. 36. ST. ANDREW, NEWCASTLE. EXTERIOR FROM NORTHEAST.

FIG. 37. ST. ANDREW, INTERIOR TO EAST.

FIG. 38. ST. ANDREW, SCREEN DETAIL.

FIG. 39. ST. ANDREW, PULPIT.

FIG. 40. ST. ANDREW, NAVE, CORBEL.

general pattern, with sixteen varieties of tracery"[118] (fig. 33). The starting point for the basic design is in the late medieval bench ends in Devon, such as Rew(e), as illustrated by Frank Wills. Traceried bench ends are used at St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter; St. Andrew's Exwick and Medley's Chapel at Oldridge. Together with the Rewe bench ends, these examples provide the background for those at St. Anne's (figs. 16-20, 33).

The lich-gate at St. Anne's is a simplified version of that illustrated in *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*[119] (fig. 15).

Just as the font in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, was copied from a medieval model that had been published, carved in Exeter and shipped to Fredericton, the font in St. Anne's Chapel has a similar history. It follows Early English design principles as appropriate to the architecture of the chapel. Wills informs us that "the font is west of the entrance doorway, bowl is of Caen stone, supported on a central and four encircling pillars of polished Devonshire marble"[120] (fig. 34). The round bowl is carried on a central limestone shaft surrounded by four black marble shafts, all with moulded capitals and

water-holding bases. Eight trefoil arches ornament the lower half of the bowl with heads and recessed points beneath alternating trefoils. The upper half of the bowl has stiff-leaf scrolls below a roll-moulded rim. The design is based on the thirteenth-century font at All Saints, Leicester, which was published in Francis Simpson's (1828) *A Series of Ancient Baptismal Fonts*, and Frederick A. Paley's (1844) *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*.[121] The font was restored between the two publications—shafts replace 1828 stem. Details of the stiff leaf on the Anne's font depend more precisely on fragmentary

early thirteenth-century tombs in Exeter Cathedral. Closely related fonts are at St. Michael, Marwood (Devon), where the chancel was largely rebuilt by John Hayward (1858-1859); and St. Martin, Martinhoe (Devon)[122] (fig. 35).

In the Report of the Ninth Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society, it was recorded of St. Anne's Chapel that: "for the first time the inhabitants of New Brunswick have the opportunity of learning what was the intention and true spirit of those venerable services which they have inherited from their Mother Church of England."[123]

OTHER FRANK WILLS CHURCHES IN NEW BRUNSWICK

St. Andrew's, Newcastle, consecrated by Bishop Medley on July 25, 1850, was the fourth church built by Rev. James Hudson[124] (fig. 36). *The Ecclesiologist* reported that Rev. J. Hudson, of Miramichi, "had much correspondence with this [Ecclesiological] Society, during the process of the work, of many points of architecture and ornamentation."[125] The account continues with a description:

The church of S. Andrew, Newcastle, is on a small scale one of the most successful efforts at Colonial church building. Its dimensions are, chancel 19 ft. by 12 ft. 6 in., nave 42 ft. by 19 ft. 3 in, height of walls 14 ft.; the roof is open and equilateral, and the ties which connect the principal rafters meet simply in the form of an X, or S. Andrew's cross. The principals are carried down below in a curve. The seats are all open and free, and the standards solid and plain, but handsome—a low and somewhat massive screen separates the nave from the chancel. The windows are of two lights, with a simple quatrefoil in the head; the east window of three lights, with

similar early tracery. It is filled with painted glass by Mr. Wailes of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and contains three figures of Apostles. The other windows contain flowered quarries, by Messrs. Powell, of Whitechapel, London, which have an excellent effect. The glass is of great thickness, and the price of about 4 s. sterling per foot. The walls have buttresses externally, and the porch, which is of good projection, has an ornamental verge-board; a small bell turret crowns the west end, in which is a bell weighing 4 cwt. The church is light by two most handsome coronae lucis which are painted and gilt.[126]

There is no record of the architect but various details suggest that it is Frank Wills. According to Douglas Richardson, "in spite of unusual details like verge-boards on the porch, other features point to Wills as the designer."[127] The verge boards on the porch are unusual in ecclesiastical architecture although the design may have been inspired by an illustration in Pugin's *True Principles*.[128] Alternatively, it may be explained as a feature taken from domestic architecture, as represented in pattern books by John Claudius Loudon and Andrew Jackson Downing.[129] Another possible source in wooden porch is illustrated in *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*.[130] Here it is important to note that the design of the hinges of the north door is taken from the "Iron Hinges" no. 4 in *Instrumental Ecclesiastica*.[131] The screen takes the same form as that in St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, with geometric tracery (figs. 31, 37-38). Significantly, dogtooth ornament replaces the ballflower at St. Anne's—the former Early English, the latter Decorated. The former is more appropriate for the Early English design of the church. The pulpit has bar tracery similar to that on the pulpit at St. Anne's, albeit without the stepped "buttresses" at the angles, or the shafts and moulded capitals included at St. Anne's (figs. 32 and 39). For the latter, the tracery at the

back of the benches by the south doorway at St. Anne's is closer to Newcastle. The corbels for the wall posts with shields are precisely the same as those in the nave of Fredericton Cathedral and the nave of St. Anne's Chapel (figs. 40-41). The bench ends have stepped "buttresses" as at Fredericton Cathedral (fig. 9). The octagonal stone font, which was probably imported from Exeter, has quatrefoils on each face and an alternating infill of central shield with symmetrical flowers in the lobes and spandrels of the quatrefoils (fig. 42). The design of the font is based on the medieval original at Pinchbeck (Lincolnshire), as illustrated in Paley.[132] The priest's door on the north side of the chancel may be compared with that on the south side of St. Anne's Chapel (figs. 15 and 36). Similarly, the Newcastle vestry is on the south side of the chancel, while at St. Anne's it is on the north, and there is a north porch at Newcastle versus the south porch at St. Anne's. At Newcastle there is a credence table with ogee arch and trefoil finial recessed in the north wall of the sanctuary. The east window glass displays figures of St. James the Great, St. Andrew and St. John, each beneath a canopy with a trefoil pointed arch and crocketed gable like the east window of Fredericton Cathedral. The chancel has a paneled roof as at St. Andrew's Exwick,[133] and Pugin's St. Mary, Southport.[134]

St. Paul's, Burton (demolished), which was consecrated on January 4, 1860, is attributed to Frank Wills by Douglas Richardson and Phoebe Stanton.[135] Comparison with Wills's church of St. Peter at Milford, Connecticut, is entirely convincing.[136]

The cruciform plan of Holy Trinity, Lower St. Mary, has been compared with St. John the Baptist, Shottesbrooke (Berkshire), which was the subject of an 1846 monograph by William Butterfield.[137] Bishop Medley observed that "[c]ross Churches

are very pleasing in effect when small, and the arms nearly equal, but cannot be recommended as large churches."[138] Holy Trinity, Lower St. Mary, is attributed to Frank Wills by Gregg Finley and the present author.[139]

St. Anne, Welshpool, Campobello Island, which was consecrated on September 18, 1855 (fig. 43), was the church chosen by Bishop Medley for his wedding to Margaret Hudson on June 16, 1863.[140] The church has a two-cell plan, south porch to the nave and a vestry to the north of the chancel as at St. Anne's, Fredericton (fig. 22). The stepped triple lancet east window within an enclosing arch is also paralleled at St. Anne's, Fredericton (figs. 15 and 43). The board-and-batten technique was used by Frank Wills in his Grace Church, Albany, New York.[141] If Wills was not the architect of St. Anne, Welshpool, then the design follows his principles very closely. The church has an octagonal stone font, but not one for which I have been able to trace a source. The rectangular wooden pulpit has stepped buttresses like those on the bench ends of Fredericton Cathedral, and the pulpit at Nashwaaksis (on which more below) (fig. 9).

Christ Church, Maugerville, has been discussed in detail by the present author, who argued that the design of the church represents a fusion of the ideas of William Butterfield, Frank Wills, and Bishop Medley.[142] Attention was drawn to the font, and its twin at St. Andrew's, Exwick, and I have since discovered that the design follows the Decorated example in St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, published by Francis Simpson in 1828.[143] Just as in Fredericton Cathedral, medieval "authority" was established not only in the architectural details but also in the "correct" form of the font. The design was

clearly a popular one in New Brunswick. At St. Paul's, Chatham Head, the font is essentially the same as Maugerville, but without the row of ballflower ornament below the frieze. The church at Chatham Head, which dates from 1819, was "improved" according to the Gothic doctrine of Bishop Medley, with the font, open seats, triple lancet windows in the east wall, and tracery in the side windows. The font at St. John the Evangelist, Bay-du-Vin, is very closely related to that at Chatham Head with just minor variations in the tracery details. The importation of these fonts was not confined to the Diocese of Fredericton. In his account of the Church of the Holy Innocents, Albany, New York, Frank Wills records that "[t]he font is of Caen stone after the beautiful example in St. Mary's, Oxford."[144]

The Impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills on Anglican Churches in New Brunswick

In his quest to promote an understanding of the principles of Gothic architecture amongst the clergy of New Brunswick, Medley wrote that: "[Matthew Holbeche] Bloxam's *Manual of Gothic Architecture* will supply a great deal of useful Information, is inexpensive, and on the list of the S[ociety for the] P[romotion of] C[hristian] K[nowledge]."

He also strongly recommended the Brandons' *Parish Churches*, *Timber Roofs*, and *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*, published by Bell, Fleet Street, London,[145] and provided further thoughts on church architecture in an appendix to the *Charge*.[146]

Bishop Medley spoke to the Annual General Meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, Friday, May 21, 1852, on the rise and progress of

ecclesiastical architecture in the diocese of Fredericton.[147] His remarks are most informative and worth quoting at length:

In the first place the prejudices which had naturally existed, in reference to a new style of architecture, had almost disappeared. The old style of architecture—if architecture it could be called—was a kind of copy from the Grecian dissenting meeting-house, of which there were so many examples in this country, and which, they could not be surprised, had been pressed into the service of the Church, at a time when the Churchmen of the Colony had no opportunity of procuring plans, and no means of building, without going to the nearest carpenter. He remembered a church, built by a clergyman who was very desirous that it should be built of stone, but who was compelled to abandon his intention, and to build it of wood, after all, because he could get mason in the place, for less than 15 s. a day, and he was a 100 miles from any large town. Under these circumstances, there was naturally prejudice against any style of architecture, and especially against Gothic architecture. It is, in fact not generally known what it meant. The Rev. F. Coster of S. John's [sic], and the Rev. Mr. Dunn, had been among the first to overcome these difficulties, and build before his own arrival in New Brunswick. His plan had been, whenever a proposal had been made for the erection of a new church, first of all to ascertain what were the wants and wishes of the people in the district in which it was proposed to build it. This he was enabled to do, as well by the inquiry of the clergymen, as by his own knowledge of the locality, and he then caused a model to be made, and sent down to the place, with an intimation to those on the spot, that, if they would agree to execute the work according to that model, it should be furnished to them free of expense. He had found that this plan had been generally successful. The people, for the most part, had been very glad to avail themselves of

FIG. 41. CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, NAVE, CORBEL.

FIG. 42. ST. ANDREW, FONT.

FIG. 43. ST. ANNE, WELSHPOOL, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHEAST.

FIG. 44. ST. PAUL'S, SACKVILLE, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH.

FIG. 45. ST. PAUL'S, INTERIOR TO EAST.

the assistance offered—and, thus, in many places, a good, but simple church, had been erected in the first instance, where it would probably have been found impossible—or if possible, might scarcely have been right—to procure an alteration of a church already built. The churches so erected have been copied, in their turn, and other persons had applied for similar models, or had varied them according to circumstances. In one place, where there was a large and growing population, with not many educated church people among them, he had sent a missionary churchman as an experiment, and the people had built one of the nicest little churches in the Colony; all that he had done had been to send down one of the models of which he had been speaking, and the church was so much liked that others had been built according to the same plan. It was always difficult to make people understand mere plans upon paper; but, if they had a model, they could walk round it, and examine it, and see what it was made of and how it was made, and, in this way, a great many difficulties had been got over, and he had, in consequence, been applied to, to furnish models and information to the neighbouring dioceses of Nova Scotia and Montreal. He might say, therefore, that upon the whole, the progress of architecture, in the diocese of Fredericton, was in a favourable direction.[148]

Medley's views on the importance of models for the dissemination and understanding of church design are most significant and deserve more detailed study than is possible in this essay.[149] Models of Fredericton Cathedral and Christ Church, Maugerville, survive.[150] And there is an important reference to the use of a Medley model at St. Paul's, Sackville, which was erected in 1856 during the incumbency of the Rev. T.N. DeWolfe.[151]

It was consecrated on October 3, 1858.[152] An account in the *Progress of the Church of England in the Seven Rural Deaneries* records that: "[t]he church is interesting inasmuch as even to the details of the seats, the whole fabric follows a model which Bishop Medley caused a skilled workman who had wrought on the cathedral to make, in order that it might serve as a pattern for parish churches in the diocese."[153]

The exterior appearance of St. Paul's is remarkably close to Christ Church, Maugerville, with similar, although not identical, proportions to the chancel, nave, south porch, and west tower and spire[154] (fig. 44). The spire is the same as at Maugerville, but lucarnes occupy the cardinal sides of the Sackville spire as at Snettisham and the original spire of Fredericton Cathedral. On the nave, stepped buttresses are confined to the eastern and western corners, and both churches have a string course at the level of the window sills of the nave, but none on the south wall of the windowless chancel. There is clear separation of the nave and chancel, triple trefoil-headed lancets in the east wall, the seats are open and there is an open timber roof and a stone octagonal font, but seemingly not an import from Exeter (fig. 45).

The Influence of St. Anne's and Medley-influenced Churches

The two-cell plan of St. Anne's Chapel of Ease is adopted for several churches in New Brunswick. With the exception of St. James, Lower Jemseg (1887), which is built of fieldstone and is somewhat different in proportion from St. Anne's and has a west tower,[155] the churches are constructed of wood. In addition to the general similarity in external appearance to St. Anne's, with a rectangular, aisleless nave, shorter and lower chancel, both

with steeply pitched roofs, all of the followers presented here have steps up from the nave to the chancel and again to the high altar, open-timber roofs, and open seats with a central aisle.

In White's Cove, St. John, consecrated on June 19, 1853, there are a north porch to the nave, stepped buttresses at the angles of the nave and chancel, a three-light, Y-tracery east window, a two-light, Y-tracery window on west front, and lancet windows on the north and south walls of the nave (fig. 46). The wooden font is of the same design as the fonts at St. Lawrence, Bouctouche; Holy Trinity, St. Martins; St. Mary's Dalhousie; St. Peter's, Fredericton; and the font in the north porch at Apohaqui.[156]

Black River, St. Thomas, built in 1853, has stepped triple-lancet windows in the east wall, a vestry in the angle of the nave and the south wall of the chancel, a north porch, lancet windows in the nave and north wall of the chancel.[157] The west tower is mainly above the west bay of the nave and projects slightly from the west wall of the nave in a Gibbsian tradition.

St. Lawrence, Bouctouche, which had its first service on December 18, 1865, has stepped triple-lancet windows in the east wall, with a two-light plate tracery window in the west front, a south porch, a bell-cote at the apex of the west gable, and lancet windows in the nave.

Lower Woodstock, Christ Church, which was consecrated on November 6, 1867,[158] has a south porch, clapboard, no buttresses, and a west belfry (fig. 47).

St. John, Richmond Corner (demolished), 1871, had stepped triple lancet in the east wall of the chancel, lancets in the north and south walls of the nave, and a south tower porch.[159]

St. Barnabas, Greenfield (1876), has triple stepped lancets in the east wall, paired lancets in west front, single lancets in the north and south walls of the nave, and a south porch.[160]

St. John, Gagetown, which was built in 1880, has a three-light, Y-tracery east window, a vestry to the north of the chancel, lancet windows in the nave and south tower porch.[161]

Gray Rapids, St. Agnes (1892), which was built in 1892 and consecrated on September 9, 1900, has a north tower porch.[162]

Jackson Falls, St. Mark, has a south tower porch with spire, a three-light, early Decorated bar tracery east window, and a vestry to the north of the chancel.[163]

St. Mark, Nelson (1894), has a south porch, lancet windows, vestry to the north of the chancel next to the nave east wall, a three-light Y-tracery east window, a two-light Y-tracery in the west window, clapboard siding with stepped buttresses at the corners of the nave and chancel and the south porch, and a wooden octagonal font.[164]

St. James, Tay Creek (1896), has triple stepped lancets in the east wall, lancets in the nave, a south porch, and west tower.[165]

In his biography of Bishop Medley, Canon Ketchum praised the bishop for his impact on Anglican church architecture in the diocese and for the introduction of open seats.[166] Ketchum wrote:

> In the Diocese of Fredericton, the style of architecture of olden days has been revolutionized, and all through the influence of the Bishop and his practical skill in architecture. At first there was some opposition. The

FIG. 46. ST. JOHN, WHITE'S COVE, EXTERIOR FROM NORTH.

FIG. 47. CHRIST CHURCH, LOWER WOODSTOCK, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH.

Bishop's good taste and knowledge on the subject, were not all at once appreciated. Time soon wrought a change. For many years past, few churches in the Diocese have been planned without the Bishop's advice.

Ketchum also enhances our knowledge of Medley's impact on church architecture with reference to otherwise unknown examples. For example, we learn that on August 6, 1846, Bishop Medley visited Blackville in the company of Rev. James Hudson: "the travelling missionary of a large district, in length ninety miles."[167] The following morning, "we had service in an unfinished church furnished with a spacious chancel, and an open roof, by the exertions of Mr. Hudson, and the liberality of his friends and neighbours."[168] On June 18, 1858, on his visit to St. David's, Medley noted that "[t]he church, as a whole, is one of our best country churches, and reflects great credit on the zeal of its pastor, Rev. J.S. Thomson."[169] And, on July 8, 1858, Medley observed that "[t]he church at Musquash has been much improved, and a chancel has been built."[170]

St. John the Evangelist, Nashwaaksis, which was consecrated on September 27, 1856, has been attributed to Frank Wills by Gregg Finley, but this is not convincing.[171] Even allowing for the dearth of masons trained in a Gothic tradition, the detailing of the masonry does not conform to Wills's medieval principles. In particular, the regular side-alternate quoins at the eastern corners of the chancel and nave rather conform to a classicizing tradition. The use of monoliths for the window jambs and each arc of the window heads is alien to a medieval Gothic manner of construction, and the pointed lath-and-plaster barrel vault in the nave is quite against ecclesiological principles. Additionally, the plan of the church, two-cell with a separate aisleless chancel and nave, and the inclusion of the side (north) porch, are essentially the same as St. Anne's, even though the proportions are different. The pointed arch is used albeit not with medieval authority. The pointed east window has Y-tracery as at Christ Church, Maugerville, and also grisaille glass but not with the same pattern as Maugerville. The pulpit has stepped buttresses framing pointed arch panels

with trefoil cusps in the manner of the bench ends at Fredericton Cathedral, and the form of the upper part of the pulpit with sunk quatrefoils below brackets carrying the cornice is close to the original pulpit in Fredericton Cathedral which was moved to Trinity Church, Sussex, in 1911. This situation suggests that Frank Wills was not the architect and that Bishop Medley's architectural principles were followed only in a general way. Be that as it may, the inclusion of stained glass in the east window and especially the details of the pulpit suggest the impact of Bishop Medley.

The Churches of Edward Medley and Some Aisled Churches

Bishop John Medley's son, Edward Medley, was the architect of four splendid Anglican churches in New Brunswick: St. Mary the Virgin, New Maryland (1863-1864); All Saints, McKeens Corners (1861-1862); Christ Church, St. Stephen (1864); Church of the Ascension, Apohaqui, have been studied by Douglas Richardson.[172] Trinity, Sussex, wooden with aisled nave, was constructed between 1874 and 1876

under the patronage of Rev. Charles Medley, son of Bishop Medley. All Saints, St. Andrews, was consecrated in 1867 by George Snell of Boston, Massachusetts.[173] Woodstock, St. Luke, aisled nave with wooden arcades, was constructed in 1881-1884.[174] Trinity Church, Saint John, by William Tutin Thomas, a great town church in stone, replaced the earlier Gibbsian preaching box after it was destroyed in the devastating fire in the city in 1877.

Some "Improved" Churches

St. Peter, Fredericton, which was consecrated in 1838, has a Gibbsian aisle-less nave with a plastered barrel vault, west tower with imitation quoins, which are also used at the western angles of the nave, and roundels in the Gibbsian tradition.[175] The chancel and vestry are added according to the Gothic principles advocated by Bishop Medley. There are stepped triple lancets in the east wall with stained glass, open seats with plain bench ends and pointed arches with sunk quatrefoils in the spandrels on the eastern bench front. The pulpit has stepped "buttresses" like the bench ends in Fredericton Cathedral, and pointed arches with sunk roundels in the spandrels. The butternut altar has six moulded pointed arches on the front and recessed trefoils in the spandrels similar to the five-bay altar frontal in Trinity Church, Kingston, New Brunswick.[176] The font is wooden as at White's Cove and elsewhere, and has a contemporary cover.

Trinity Church, Kingston, was built in 1789.[177] Ketchum records that it was "almost rebuilt" and that "[i]t is much improved by a central passage, a small chancel, and by the removal of two most unsightly desks."[178] The core of the church retains its Gibbsian box plan with a west tower and short chancel.

Stepped buttresses with tall pinnacles topped with foliated finials occupy the angles of the chancel, nave, and tower. The pointed windows with hood moulds and short horizontal stops have correct Gothic tracery whose flowing form in the three-light east window is particularly splendid. The nave has pointed arcades on octagonal columns with moulded capitals. There is a central aisle, the seats are open and have simple pointed arches on the bench ends, and there are two steps up to the choir and one to the sanctuary. The wooden pulpit and lectern are "correctly" placed to the north and south of the chancel arch at the east end of the nave. The lath-and-plaster pointed barrel vaults in the nave and chancel and flat plastered ceilings over the galleries are retained from the original church. The font with an octagonal bowl and stem is closely related to that in St. Michael and All Angels, Sowton (Devon), a church rebuilt in 1844-1845 by John Hayward. The bowl has quatrefoil cusps in a roundel alternating with pointed quatrefoil cusps in diamond/lozenge frames. The tracery on the Kingston stem is simpler than the Sowton design. The font at St. Martin's-in-the-Woods, Shediac, is similar.

The stone chapel of St. John the Evangelist, Chamcook, consecrated by Bishop Medley on July 16, 1846,[179] consisted of a simple rectangular nave and pointed windows.[180] The chancel, vestries, and south porch were added in 1875.[181] The addition of the south porch required the blocking of a former window.

Old Stone Church, Saint John (1824), is an excellent example of early Gothic Revival architecture in New Brunswick. The design is a Gothicized version of the nave of James Gibbs's church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London (1721-1726), complete with giant-order arcades and galleries above the aisles and at the west end. The

church was "improved" in 1878 by local architect Matthew Stead, who added a substantial chancel.

The stone font with octagonal bowl at St. Paul's, Hampton, is probably imported from England. It is based on the fourteenth-century example at Postwick (Norfolk) illustrated in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*. The Kingston font substitutes horizontal mouldings for the alternating heads and fleurons between the stem and bowl at Postwick, but otherwise the octagonal bowl with alternating quatrefoils and diagonally set cusped lobes in square frames repeats the pattern of Postwick, while the cusped pointed arches on the stem are a rectilinear version of the model.[182]

There are many octagonal fonts in the Anglican churches of New Brunswick for which I have not been able to find precise medieval models. They deserve further study.

CONCLUSION

At the June 14, 1848, meeting of the Oxford Architectural Society, on the approaching visit of the Lord Bishop of Fredericton, it was announced that: "The Society would doubtless be glad to see one who has done so much for the cause of ecclesiology among us, and may hope that he will himself be present, when the Society greets him for the first time as a Patron."[183]

It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills for Anglican Gothic Revival churches in New Brunswick. At Fredericton Cathedral we started with reference to a precise medieval model, St. Mary's, Snettisham, which was chosen as an example of the Decorated, or Middle Pointed, style, which represented the apogee of English Gothic architecture. Wills's

initial design went through various modifications to transform the parish-church model into a cathedral. There were open seats for the congregation, stained glass windows were imported from England, and the font was based closely on the medieval example at St. Mary's, Beverley (Yorkshire ER), which had also been copied at Exeter Cathedral and Medley's church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter.

Medley's background in Exeter, especially his refitting of the chancel and the introduction of open seats with carved bench ends and the font at St. Thomas the Apostle, Exeter, represented the start of the application of his High Church Anglican principles which included the correct Gothic form and fittings of the church. St. Thomas, Exwick, designed by John Hayward, and Medley's own chapel at Oldridge further served as an apprenticeship for his work in New Brunswick. The principle of finding authority for the fittings is absolutely in keeping with the Cambridge Camden Society and the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, as witnessed in similar nineteenth-century copies in Devon. St. Anne's Chapel of Ease was not based on a single medieval model, but rather the design was eclectic in following medieval design principles, both directly and with reference to A.W. Pugin and Matthew Hadfield. The bench ends followed the late medieval designs at Rewe and their nineteenth-century descendants at Exeter, St. Thomas, and Oldridge Chapel. The floor tiles, screen, stained glass, and font were all imported from England. And, elsewhere in the Anglican churches of New Brunswick, we encounter a range of fonts imported from Exeter and based on medieval exemplars published in Simpson's and/or Paley's books on the subject.

Wooden churches on a two-cell plan follow the basic form of St. Anne's, and it is likely that St. Andrew's, Newcastle, and St. Anne's, Welshpool, are by Wills himself. Elsewhere, the principles of Wills and Medley are found throughout the Anglican churches in the diocese. Particularly interesting is the use of one of Bishop Medley's models for St. Paul's, Sackville, and even where a new church was not created in Medley's time, we find the introduction of open seats and other correct details like the font and Gothic windows. Bishop Medley led by example and succeeded in creating the proper English Gothic image for the form of the vast majority of Anglican churches in New Brunswick.

NOTES

1. This paper is an expanded version of a public lecture delivered in Fredericton Cathedral on May 30, 2014, and includes material from a paper on St. Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, presented at the Society's Annual Meeting held at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 28, 2013. I am greatly indebted to Candace Iron for her feedback on the paper. Hank Williams, verger at Christ Church Cathedral, facilitated photography of the building. Richard Parker generously shared his vast knowledge of nineteenth-century church furnishings in Devon. John Leroux and Canon John Matheson were of great help in clarifying matters of details. Frank Morehouse, archivist of the diocese of Fredericton, generously provided photographs of fonts in New Brunswick. Janet Curry kindly facilitated photography at St. Andrew's, Newcastle. Martin Cherry was most informative on the career and work of John Hayward and helped with aspects of research at the Devon and Exeter Society Archives.

2. Wills, Frank, 1850, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, New York, Stanford and Swords, p. 109-111 (St. Anne's Chapel of Ease); Review: *The Ecclesiologist*, XI, 1850, p. 168-169; see also review of Wills's churches in *The Ecclesiologist*, XI, 1850, p. 201-202; Gowans, Alan, 1966, *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 94-95, pls. 114-115; Richardson, Douglas, 1966, "Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick," unpublished M.A. thesis, Yale University, New Haven,

CT; Stanton, Phoebe, 1968, *Gothic Revival in American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 127-158; Brosseau, Mathilde, 1980, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture*, Ottawa, Parks Canada, p. 13-14, 68, 72; Watson, Robert L., 1984, *Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton: A History*, Fredericton, Bishop and Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral; Kalman, Harold, 1994, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols., Toronto/New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, vol. I, p. 280-287; Finley, Gregg and Lynn Wigginton, 1995, *On Earth as It Is in Heaven: Gothic Revival Churches of Victorian New Brunswick*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Editions, p. 87-107; Richardson, Peter and Douglas Richardson, 2007, *Canadian Churches: An Architectural History*, Richmond Hill, Firefly Books Ltd., p. 36-37, 39, 71-76; Hughes, Gary, "The Golden Years, 1840-1914," in John Leroux, 2008, *Building New Brunswick: An Architectural History*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Edition, p. 79-83; Magrill, Barry, 2012, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 26, 51-62; Bremner, G.A., 2013, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, p. 60, 80-89; Leroux, John and Peter Pacey (eds.), 2014, *Building Capital: A Guide to Fredericton's Historic Landmarks*, Fredericton, Fredericton Historic Trust Inc., p. 21, cat. 45; p. 63, cat. 86.

3. Richardson, Douglas, 1985, "Wills, Frank," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wills_frank_8E.html], accessed December 12, 2014. Also on Frank Wills, see McFarland, Elizabeth Ann, 2007, "The Invisible Text: Reading Between the Lines of Frank Wills's Treatise, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture*," M.A. thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, [http://dspace.library.cornell.edu/bitstream/1813/7961/1/MAthesis-FINAL.pdf], accessed September 1, 2014; Hill, Robert, n.d., "Wills, Frank," [http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/1284], accessed December 12, 2014._

On John Hayward, see Cherry, Martin, 1995, "Patronage, the Anglican Church and the Local Architect in Victorian England," in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, p. 173-191 at p. 173-184.

4. Ketchum, William Quintard, 1893, *The Life and Work of the Most Reverend John*

Medley, D.D., First Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada, Saint John, NB, J. & A. McMillan, p. 50, 62; Ross, Malcolm, n.d., "Medley, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB) Online*, [http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=6294&interval=15&&PHPSESSID=jo56934adh1t752fibror0j2i1], accessed December 12, 2014. Also on Medley, see: Craig, Barry L., 2005, *Apostle to the Wilderness: Bishop John Medley and the Evolution of the Anglican Church*, Madison, NJ, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press/Cranbury, NJ, Associated University Presses; Mercer, David E., 2004, "Medley, John (1804-1892)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18500], accessed June 29 2014.

5. Mercer, *op. cit.*

6. White, James F., 1989, *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*. Louisville, Westminster/John Knox Press, p. 108-109. The Tractarian name derives from the *Tracts for the Times*, published between 1831 and 1844. On the Oxford Movement, see Yates, Nigel, 1983, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*, London, Chameleon Press Ltd.; Herring, George, 2002, *What Was the Oxford Movement?*, London, Continuum.

7. Mercer, *op. cit.*; see also Tuck, Robert C., 1983, "The Impact of Tractarianism on the Maritimes," [http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/tuck_maritimes.pdf], accessed March 30, 2015.

8. Medley, John, 1841, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture*, Exeter, P.A. Hannaford, p. 10-12.

9. *The Ecclesiologist*, I, no. I, 1842, p. 15.

10. Medley, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture, op. cit.*; Medley, John, 1843, "The Advantages of Open Seats," *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, I, p. 155-170; also published, *The Advantages of Open Seats*, Oxford, I. Shrimpton. Open seats versus pews was a hot topic amongst ecclesiologists at the time; in 1842 the Cambridge Camden Society published a four-page pamphlet entitled *Twenty-three Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews*, which sold for one penny or five shillings per hundred: *The Ecclesiologist*, I, nos. XII, XIII, 1842, p. 209. See also: "Pues," *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 61; The Writer of the History of Pues, "Pues or Pens," *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 101-104; "Open Seats," *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 122-125; "Open Seats," *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 162-163.

11. Medley, "The Advantages of Open Seats" : 156.

12. *New York Ecclesiologist*, III, November 1851, p. 192; Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral..." : 15.

13. Quoted in *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, VII, 1854, p. 192.

14. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, II, 1849, p. 31.

15. "Colonial Church Architecture," *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, 1848, p. 361-362 at p. 361. Not surprisingly, Medley's views are go hand-in-hand with *A Few Words to Church Builders*, in which John Mason Neale describes types of ceilings referring to those with tie-beams as resembling barns and those with flat ceilings as reminiscent of drawing rooms, but describes the arched open roof as ". . . most elegant and churchlike" (p. 17). Compare with Jacob, W.M., 2011, "Sacred Space in the long Eighteenth Century: Seating in Churches," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 44, p. 3-16, [http://www.ecclsoc.org/ET44_lores.pdf], accessed November 20, 2014.

16. Reference should also be made to the Anglican church of St. Paul, Halifax, in its 1749 state, which was modelled on James Gibbs's church of St. Peter, Vere Street, London (McAleer, J. Philip, 1993, *A Pictorial History of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia*, Halifax, Technical University of Nova Scotia), and Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec, 1800-1804 (Noppen, Luc and Lucie K. Morisset, 1995, *La présence anglicane à Québec : Holy Trinity Cathedral (1796-1996)*, Sillery, Québec, Septentrion).

17. *Id.* : 5-6.

18. Pugin, Augustus Welby, 1841, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London, John Weale.

19. Medley, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* : 11.

20. *Id.* : 12.

21. *Id.* : 33-35.

22. *Id.* : 37.

23. Medley, John, 1847, *A Charge Delivered at His Primary Visitation Held in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, August 24, 1847*, Fredericton, John Simpson, p. 31, [https://archive.org/stream/cihm_22095#page/n5/mode/2up], accessed March 30, 2015.

24. Ketchum : 66-67.

25. *Id.* : 71; *An Account of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Cathedral in Fredericton, October 15, 1845, Church in the Colonies, No. XI, Diocese of Fredericton*, London, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, February 1846, [http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=aeu.ark:/13960/t1rf69q37;view=1up;seq=], accessed March 30, 2015.

26. Ketchum : 71.

27. *New York Ecclesiologist*, III, 1851, p. 187-191.

28. *Id.* : 187.

29. *Id.* : 189.

30. Ketchum : 69.

31. Pugin, Augustus Welby, 1836; 1841, *Contrasts: or A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Accompanied by Appropriate Text* [privately printed 1836; London, Charles Dolman, 1841]; Pugin, *The True Principles* : 48-50.

32. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 85.

33. Wills, Frank, 1848, "Reality in Church Architecture," *New York Ecclesiologist*, I, April, [http://anglicanhistory.org/ecclesiologist/ny/1.html], accessed March 30, 2015.

34. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, VII, 1854, p. 192. On St. Mary, Snettisham, see Fawcett, Richard, 2008, "Snettisham Church," in John McNeill (ed.), *Kings Lynn and the Fens: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, vol. 31, Leeds, W.S. Maney, p. 134-147.

35. Gibbs, James, 1728, *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornament*, London, William Bowyer. For a description of the old church with square pews, galleries, and no chancel, see Ketchum : 64. It was well kept, and was in good repair.

36. Magrill : 52, 186 note 7. Drawings of Shottesbrooke church by William Butterfield were exhibited at the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture in 1843 – *Proceedings*, May 10, 1843, p. 3, 12. Subsequently, at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Society, June 15, 1844 – *Proceedings*, p. 11, it was recorded that "The drawings of Shottesbrooke Church, a well-known and very perfect specimen of the Decorated style, have been engraved, and will be ready for publication in a few days; the Society is indebted to

W. Butterfield, Esq." Reporting on "St. Mary, Burlington [New Jersey], United States," *The Ecclesiologist*, V, 1846, p. 80, stated that this church was to be modelled on Shottesbrooke, which they considered to be "a bad model."

37. Report of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society Read at the Sixth Annual Meeting Holden in the College Hall, Exeter, April 15, 1847, *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, III, p. 7.

38. Bremner : fig. 71.

39. On the Romanesque fabric of Exeter, see Thurlby, Malcolm, 1991, "The Romanesque Cathedral [of Exeter] *c.* 1114-1200," in Michael Swanton (ed.), *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, Exeter, Dean and Chapter of Exeter, p. 37-44; and Thurlby, Malcolm, 1991, "The Romanesque Cathedral of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter," in Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral. Vol. XI: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1985*, The British Archaeological Association, p. 19-34.

40. Hawkins, Ernest, 1847, *Annals of the Diocese of Fredericton*, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

41. *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, I, 1843.

42. Pugin, Augustus Welby, 1843, "Pugin's Letter on Spires," *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture*, Lent Term, p. 18-27 at p. 19-20.

43. Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 1842, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated from Drawings by W.H. Bartlett*, London, George Virtue, between p. 102 and 103.

44. *The Ecclesiologist*, V, 1846, p. 81.

45. Medley, *A Charge Delivered at His Primary Visitation...*, *op. cit.*

46. *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, no. LXVI, June 1848, ill. opp. p. 360; p. 381.

47. *Id.* : 362.

48. *The Ecclesiologist*, IX, 1849, p. 80.

49. *An Account of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Cathedral in Fredericton...* : frontispiece. A description of the cathedral written by Frank Wills appears as a footnote to an address on Cathedral Churches given by Bishop Medley to the New York Ecclesiological Society: *New York Ecclesiologist*, III, 1851, p. 187-190; Wills's description on p. 190.

50. Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, 1846, *Parish Churches*, London, George Bell, illustration between p. 32 and 33.

51. Thurlby, Malcolm and Yoshio Kusaba, 1991, "The Nave of St. Andrew at Steyning and Design Variety in Romanesque Architecture in Britain," *Gesta*, vol. XXX, no. 2, p. 163-175.

52. On Exeter Cathedral window tracery, see Jansen, Virginia, 1991, "The Design and Buildings Sequence of the Eastern Arm of Exeter Cathedral, *c.* 1270-1310: A Qualified Study," in Kelly, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral...* : 35-56; Russell, Georgina, 1991, "Some Aspects of the Decorated Tracery of Exeter Cathedral," in *id.* : 85-91. On Decorated tracery, see Sharpe, Edmund, 1849, *A Treatise on the Rise and Progress of Decorated Window Tracery in England*, London, John Van Voorst; Sharpe, Edmund, 1849, *Decorated Windows: A Series of Illustrations of the Window Tracery of the Decorated Style of Ecclesiastical Architecture*, London, John Van Voorst.

53. Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, 1849, *Open Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages*, London, David Bogue, pl. 33.

54. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, VII, 1854, p. 192.

55. *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, no. LXVII, 1848, p. 109.

56. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, VII, 1854, p. 192.

57. *Id.* : 192.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Ketchum : 115.

60. Shepherd, Stanley A., 2009, *The Stained Glass of A.W.N. Pugin*, Reading, Spire Books, p. 20-34, 334-338, 413-415.

61. Warrington, William, 1848, *The History of Stained Glass from the Earliest Period of the Art to the Present Time Illustrated by Coloured Examples of Entire Windows in the Various Styles*, London, published by the author. The book was most unfavourably reviewed by *The Ecclesiologist*, X, 1849-1850, p. 81-82, nor did Warrington's window at Ottery St. Mary appeal to them: *The Ecclesiologist*, XIII, 1852, p. 85. On Warrington, see Shepherd, Stanley A., 2004, "Warrington, William (1796-1869), Stained-glass Artist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [http://odnb2.ifactory.com/view/article/58226?docPos=&backToResults=%2Fsearch%2Fresults%2Fcontributors.jsp%3FcontributorId%3D41783], accessed March 30, 2015.

62. On Beer Company glass, see Cheshire, Jim, 2004. "Glass Painters: The Beer Family of Exeter," in *Stained Glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 78-106.

63. Ketchum : 117.

64. *Id.* : 118.

65. *Id.* : 120.

66. *The Ecclesiologist*, XIV, 1853, p. 351-352.

67. Simpson, Francis, 1828, *A Series of Ancient Baptismal Fonts, Chronologically Arranged*, London, Septimus Prowett, illustrations unpaginated. *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 58, mentions the font at St. Mary's Beverley as the source.

68. *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 24; White, William, 1878-1879 [2nd ed.], *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Devon Including the City of Exeter...*, Sheffield, William White, and London, Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., p. 341. The account in *The Ecclesiologist*, tells us that the model for the font is the one in Beverley St. Mary's, "of very late but good Tudor workmanship (1534)." Richard Parker informs me that the font was removed from the cathedral in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. He last saw it serving as a planter in a garden in Howell Road, Exeter. It has now disappeared.

69. *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 24.

70. Cherry, Bridget and Nikolaus Pevsner, 1989 [2nd ed.], *The Buildings of England, Devon*, London, Penguin Books, p. 101, 215, 375, 390.

71. Kendall, John, 1842, *An Elucidation of the Principles of English Architecture, Usually Denominated Gothic*, London, Henry G. Bohn, pl. XVIII.

72. See [http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-89013-church-of-st-thomas-the-apostle-devon], accessed March 30, 2015.

73. *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 58.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *DCB* Online.

76. *New York Ecclesiologist*, II, July 1850, p. 160; Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral..." : 122. The Burd tomb is currently being studied by Suzanne Glover Lindsay to whom I am most grateful for sharing her research.

77. Bishop Bronescombe's tomb was published in Kendall : pl. XVIII.

78. *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, I, 1843, p. 179, pls. 20-23.

79. On bench ends, see Cox, J. Charles, 1916, *Bench Ends in English Churches*, London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne and Bombay, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; Gray, Todd, 2012, *Devon's Ancient Bench Ends*, Exeter, The Mint Press.

80. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 71, pl. 11.

81. Cheshire, "Glass Painters: The Beer Family of Exeter" : 80, fig. 20.

82. *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 21-23.

83. *Id.* : 21.

84. *Id.* : 23.

85. Mercer, "Medley, John (1804-1892)," *op. cit.*

86. Simpson, *op. cit.*, ill. n.p.; *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 22. Exwick font is illustrated in Thurlby, Malcolm, 2013, "Christ Church, Maugerville, New Brunswick: Bishop John Medley, Frank Wills and the Transmission of Ecclesiological Principles in Anglican Churches in Canada," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, fig. 11.

87. Simpson, *op. cit.*, ill. n.p.

88. Ketchum : 75.

89. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, I, 1848, p. 439.

90. *Id.* : 440.

91. Ketchum : 76.

92. *Id.* : 76.

93. *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, 1848, p. 103.

94. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 109.

95. "Early-English Lancets," *The Ecclesiologist*, 1844, p. 65-71.

96. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 109.

97. On St. Anne's and St. Michael's, Long Stanton, see Brosseau : 14; Kalman, vol. I, p. 281-282; and Magrill : 58. On St. James the Less, Philadelphia, see Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture...* : 91-115.

98. *The Ecclesiologist*, XIV, 1853, p. 60-61.

99. Brandon and Brandon, *Parish Churches*, illustrations between p. 32 and 33 and between p. 34 and 35; text with principal measurements on p. 33-34. Fascicles of the Brandons' text were available before the publication of the book.

100. Brosseau : 14.

101. *Id.* : 72.

102. Stanton, *Gothic Revival in American Church Architecture...* : 131.

103. *Ibid.*

104. Richardson and Richardson, *Canadian Churches* : 76.

105. Pugin, Augustus Welby, 1843, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, London, Charles Dolman, pl. IX.

106. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 110.

107. Pugin, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : pl. X.

108. Exwick has modified so that the pulpit is entered from the nave by steps.

109. Barr, Edward, 1849, *Elevations, Sections, and Details of Strixton Church, Northamptonshire*, Oxford and London, John Henry Parker; Review *The Ecclesiologist*, IX, 1849, p. 310-311.

110. Rickman, Thomas, 1825 [3rd ed.], *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, London, Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Co., p. 280.

111. Brandon and Brandon, *Parish Churches*, illustration between p. 6 and 7; Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : pl. 10.

112. Medley, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* : 28-29,

113. Pugin, *The True Principles* : 18, pl. II.

114. "The Arrangement of Chancels," *The Ecclesiologist*, III, nos. XXXV-XXXVI, 1844, p. 161-168 at p. 161.

115. For a discussion of tiles, see: "Encaustic Tiles," *The Ecclesiologist*, I, no. III, 1842, p. 39-41; and "On Tiles," *The Ecclesiologist*, IX, 1849, p. 81-85.

116. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 110. Wills gives a full lists of the texts on the wall (p. 111).

117. *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, 1848, p. 362. The nave side windows are by the Beer Company, Exeter.

118. *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, 1848, p. 362. Twelve of the St. Anne's bench ends are illustrated in Finley and Wigginton : 90-91.

119. The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society (ed.), *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, I, 1847, London, John Van Voorst, pl. XXXIV; Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral...," : 31.

120. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 110.

121. Simpson, *op. cit.*, ill. n.p.; Paley, Frederick A., 1844, *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*, London, John Van Voort, n.p.

122. I am indebted to Richard Parker for introducing me to the Marwood and Martinhoe fonts.

123. *The Ecclesiologist*, VIII, 1848, p. 378.

124. Finley and Wigginton : 207; *The Ecclesiologist*, XII, 1851, p. 23.

125. *The Ecclesiologist*, XII, 1851, p. 23.

126. *Id.* : 24.

127. Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral..." : 120. Stanton also attributes it to Wills.

128. Pugin, *The True Principles...* : ill. opp. p. 39.

129. Loudon, John Claudius, 1846, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, New Edition by Mrs. Loudon, London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, p. 845; Downing, Andre Jackson, 1842, *Cottage Residences*, London and New York, Wiley and Putnam, p. 142, fig. 58.

130. *Instrumental Ecclesiastica*, I, pl. XLIX.

131. *Id.* : pl. VIII.

132. Paley, *op. cit.*, ill. n.p.

133. *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 22.

134. Pugin, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : pl. X.

135. Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral..." : 110-111; Stanton, *Gothic Revival in American Church Architecture...* : 154, 258. Burton church is illustrated in Hubbard, Robert, 1954, "Canadian Gothic," *Architectural Review*, vol. 116, p. 102-108. It was deconsecrated on August 1, 1967, and subsequently demolished.

136. On St. Peter's, Milford, see Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 112, pl. XVI; *New York Ecclesiologist*, III, 1851, p. 159-161; *The Ecclesiologist*, XIII, 1852, p. 270-271; Stanton, *Gothic Revival in American Church Architecture...* : 185, ill. on p. 186.

137. Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville..." : 27, fig. 12. Butterfield, William, 1844, *Elevations, Sections and Details of St. John Baptist, Shottesbrooke, Berkshire*, Oxford, J.H. Parker for the Oxford Architectural Society.

138. Medley, *A Charge Delivered at His Primary Visitation...* : 46.

139. Finley and Wigginton : 109; Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville..." : 21-28 at p. 27.

140. *Progress of the Church of England in the Seven Rural Deaneries*, Saint John, 1897, p. 31.

141. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 113, pl. XVII.

142. Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville..." : 21-28.

143. Simpson, *op. cit.*, ill. n.p.; *The Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p. 22. Exwick font is illustrated in Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville..." : fig. 11.

144. Wills, *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture...* : 117.

145. Medley, *A Charge Delivered at His Primary Visitation...* : 32.

146. *Id.* : 43-44, "Note D."

147. *The Ecclesiologist*, XIII, 1852, p. 291.

148. *Id.* : 293.

149. On the use of models in Anglican nineteenth-century churches, see Bremner : 64-68.

150. Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville..." : fig. 2. The model illustrated in Bremner, fig. 55, is not the one in Christ Church, Maugerville, as claimed. On the model for All Saints, St. Andrews, NB, see Finley and Wigginton : 128.

151. *Progress of the Church of England...* : 39.

152. Finley and Wigginton : 207.

153. *Progress of the Church of England...* : 39.

154. The exterior of Maugerville is illustrated in Thurlby, "Christ Church, Maugerville..." : fig. 1.

155. Morehouse, Frank, 2011, *Photographs of Anglican Churches...* : 84.

156. Finley and Wigginton : 137.

157. Morehouse, *Photographs of Anglican Churches...* : 45.

158. Finley and Wigginton : 208.

159. Morehouse, *Photographs of Anglican Churches...* : 77.

160. *Id.* : 79.

161. *Id.* : 13.

162. *Id.* : 5.

163. *Id.* : 78.

164. *Id.* : 7.

165. *Id.* : 92.

166. Ketchum : 123-124.

167. *Id.* : 86-87.

168. *Id.* : 87.

169. *Id.* : 134.

170. *Id.* : 136.

171. Finley and Wigginton : 109.

172. Richardson, Douglas Scott, 1972, "Hyperborean Gothic: or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley," *Architectura*, vol. 2, p. 48-72.

173. Hill, Robert G., n.d., "Snell, George," [http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/architects/view/476], accessed March 30, 2015.

174. Morehouse, *Photographs of Anglican Churches...* : 82.

175. *Id.* : 18.

176. The Kingston altar is illustrated in Finley and Wigginton : 125.

177. *Progress of the Church of England...* : 45-46.

178. Ketchum : 138.

179. *Id.* : 83.

180. *Progress of the Church of England...* : 27.

181. Finley and Wigginton : 148.

182. Simpson, *op. cit.*; Paley, *op. cit.*

183. *Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society* : 46.