

TWO CHURCHES BY FRANK WILLS: ST. PETER'S, BARTON, AND ST. PAUL'S, GLANFORD, AND THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL GOTHIC REVIVAL IN ONTARIO¹

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In his entry on Frank Wills (1822-1857) in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Douglas Richardson wrote: "It could be argued that Frank Wills was the most important Gothic Revival architect of his generation in North America, even though he is one of the least known figures today. His obscurity must be due partly to the widespread range of his work—from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence River—and partly to his early death."² Richardson's assessment is quite accurate, for although Wills's Anglican cathedrals in Fredericton and Montréal are generally given an important place in the history of Canadian architecture,³ and Fredericton has often received international recognition,⁴ his role in the Gothic Revival elsewhere in North America is little studied.⁵ Nowhere is this more evident than in Ontario where his work has been almost completely ignored.⁶ To some extent, this is understandable in that there are just three Wills churches documented in Ontario, of which only one survives. That legacy is eclipsed by that of William Hay (1818-1888), who arrived in Toronto in 1853. Hay served as Clerk of Works for George Gilbert Scott on the Anglican Cathedral in St. John's, Newfoundland, and designed Anglican churches in Newfoundland and Labrador, which received the rare distinction of a positive review in *The Ecclesiologist*.⁷ During his ten-year stay in Toronto, Hay established a thriving architectural practice. He built a large number of churches for various denominations in Ontario and penned an article on Augustus Welby Pugin, which provided a neat summary of Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or*

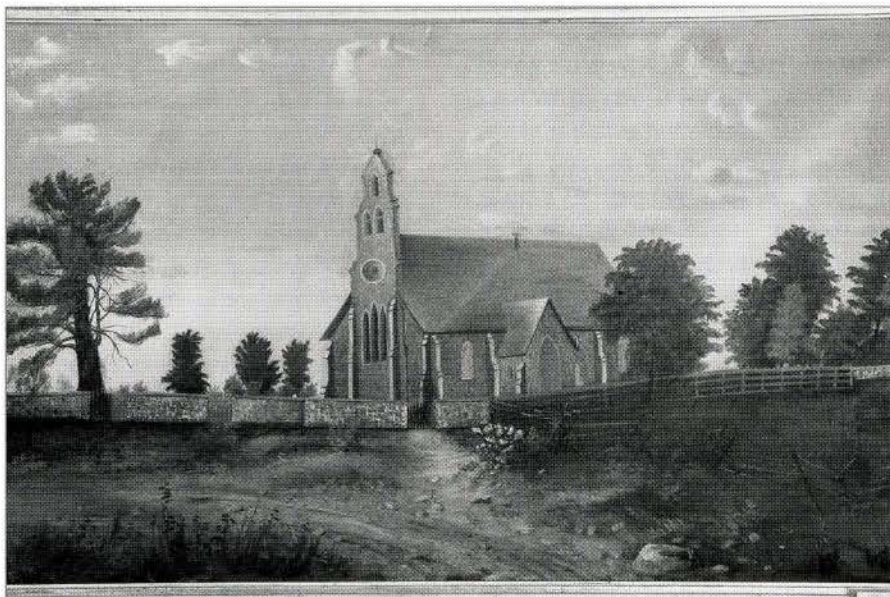


FIG. 1. ANON, ST. PETER'S, BARTON, PAINTING IN THE PARISH HALL OF ST. PAUL'S, GLANFORD. | MALCOLM THURLBY

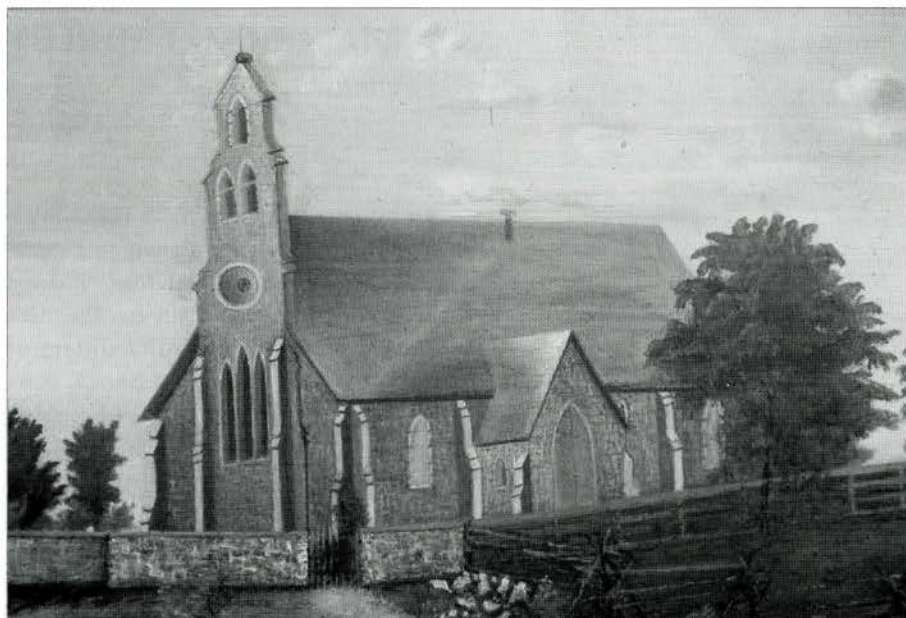


FIG. 2. ANON, ST. PETER'S, BARTON, PAINTING IN THE PARISH HALL OF ST. PAUL'S, GLANFORD, DETAIL. | MALCOLM THURLBY

Christian Architecture.⁸ Of Hay's Anglican churches in Ontario, the best-preserved are St. George's, Pickering, St. George's, Newcastle, and St. Luke's, Vienna. In 1862 Hay left his practice to Thomas Gundry and his former pupil, Henry Langley (1836-1907).⁹ Langley became the leading church architect in Ontario and continued to design in the Hay manner especially in his Anglican churches. In light of the large production of Hay and Langley, it is not surprising that the focus has been on their contribution to the Gothic revival in church architecture in Ontario in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Be that as it may, the foundation of "ecclesiologically correct" Anglican Gothic churches in Ontario was established by Frank Wills before Hay's arrival in Toronto. Examination of two of Wills's little-known Anglican churches near Hamilton, St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, allows us to understand Wills as a key figure in Gothic Anglican churches in Upper Canada in the early 1850s.

Wills was trained in the office of John Hayward in Exeter (Devon).¹⁰ He was

employed by Bishop John Medley to design St. Anne's Chapel (1846-1847) and Christ Church Cathedral (1845-1856) in Fredericton, New Brunswick. Medley was formerly a canon at Exeter Cathedral and, in 1841, he founded the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society.¹¹ He was an avid promoter of the doctrines of the Cambridge Camden Society (renamed Ecclesiological Society in 1846) for the erection of "correct" Gothic churches based on the careful study of English medieval originals. In 1847 Wills moved to New York and was a founding member of the New York Ecclesiological Society, which published the *New York Ecclesiologist* from 1848 to 1853. In 1850 he published *Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and Its Principles, Applied to the Wants of the Church at the Present Day*, which promoted the true principles of pointed architecture according to Pugin and the Ecclesiologists.¹²

Of Wills's Ontario churches, St. Peter's, Barton, was opened June 13, 1852.¹³ It was closed in 1879, reopened in 1898 but, by 1908, it was "definitely and permanently

closed except as a mortuary Church."¹⁴ The church was demolished in 1922, but it is known from two photographs of the exterior, one from the south-west, the other from the north-west, a sketch, and an anonymous painting entitled "St. Peter's, Barton, 1851-1922," that hangs in the church hall of St. Paul's, Glanford (figs. 1 and 2).¹⁵ There is also a contemporary detailed description of St. Peter's in *The Church*, the official voice of the Anglican Church in Canada, which is worth quoting in full:

It was only the other day that a kind friend drove us out in his carriage from Hamilton to see, for the first time, the little Barton church, which is a perfect gem in its way—the model, indeed, for country churches. The architectural correctness of this pretty edifice is due to the good taste of the late incumbent, the Rev. R.N. Merritt, who, as our readers have been apprised, was compelled a short time ago by ill-health to leave this Diocese, and has settled in the Diocese of New Jersey. He was happy in the choice of his architect, Mr. Frank Wills, a gentleman who, we have every reason to believe, is imbued with the religious spirit of his noble profession, as every church architect ought to be. In carrying out the plans furnished by Mr. Wills, Mr. Merritt's own appreciation of genuine Church architecture and good taste were of service to him. The result has been the erection of a building which affects you with a pleasing interest the moment the eye rests on it; and simple village-church as it is, fills the mind, immediately on entering it, with a quiet and solemn sense of God's presence. We have never entered a church in Canada where the effect of softened light and internal arrangements [is] so instantaneous and so complete in exciting devotional impressions.

St. Peter's, Barton, is of the early English style, and stands upon a site adjoining that of the old Barton Church, one of the

first Church buildings in the Gore district; to which, if we are not mistaken, the Rev. J.G. Geddes, A.M., received his first appointment. The many moss grown stones of the old graveyard which is all that remains to mark the spot on which the former Church stood, bear the names of departed members of all the old families in that part of the district. The present church is built of stone—contains nearly 200 sittings, and cost about £600. The roof is open—the chancel roof 32 feet high; the roof of the nave 40 feet. The chancel is in good proportion—about one third of the length of the nave—being 18 feet by 16 feet, whilst the nave is 50 feet by 27 feet. The walls are 20 inches in thickness and 14 feet in height. The chancel window is filled with stained glass from New York, and has the cross well represented in the middle lancet. The window at the opposite end corresponds with that in the chancel, consisting of three lancets, all of stained glass. The chancel is about 20 inches above the floor of the nave, and is divided by a single rail, inside of which, near the Communion Table, are three sedilia and the Credence Table; and on the outside are other [sic] three sedilia. Of these, the prayers are read in the one which is nearest the nave—an arrangement which most felicitously dispenses with the reading-desk, which reading-desk in many country churches, and not a few town ones, is not much better than an ungraceful and inconvenient mountain of wood. The Communion Table in front is ornamented with the Cross within a circle, the latter figure being emblematic of eternity. Both of these devices are bronzed. The lectern is neat and convenient and stands on the first step of the chancel. On one side of the chancel stands the pulpit, of plain style and proper dimensions; and on the other, is the organ, the case of which is made to correspond with the style of the Church.

This organ, by the way, rests off the floor of the nave, a position which will be found,



FIG. 3. LONG STANTON (CAMBRIDGESHIRE), ST. MICHAEL'S, GENERAL VIEW FROM SOUTHWEST. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 4. LONG STANTON (CAMBRIDGESHIRE), ST. MICHAEL'S, EXTERIOR FROM SW (AFTER RAPHAEL AND J. ARTHUR BRANDON, *PARISH CHURCHES*, 2 VOLS., LONDON, W. KENT & CO., VOL. I, 1848). | MALCOLM THURLBY

we doubt not, to encourage congregational singing; whilst it leads the choir to consider themselves part of the congregation, as they ought always to do, renouncing, on that ground, all such unsuitable screens and barriers, as curtains and the like.

The Barton Church is provided with a belfry which will hold three bells. We are glad to hear that the services of an excellent organist have been engaged—an Englishman, whose father was a Dr. of Music, and organist of St. Asaph's Cathedral, in Wales. We must not forget to add that St. Paul's Church, Glanford, and St. Mary's, near Brantford, were likewise erected through Mr. Merritt's exertions.¹⁶

In addition to that description, we should note that St. Peter's has a four-bay nave divided by stepped buttresses with weathervanes and a single lancet window in each bay, except where the porch is located in the third bay on the south side. The

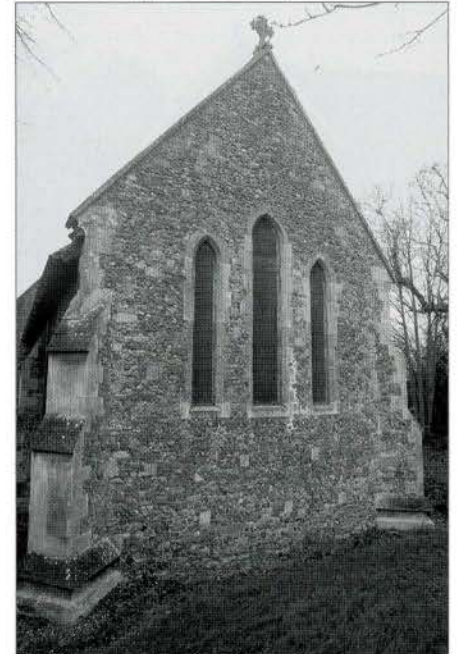


FIG. 5. LONG STANTON (CAMBRIDGESHIRE), ST. MICHAEL'S, EXTERIOR FROM EAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY

façade is divided into three vertically by stepped buttresses.

The Church article is most informative on what was considered to be the ideal form for an Anglican country church of the time in Upper Canada, one that included many of the elements advocated by the Ecclesiological Society, even though it was not written by a card-carrying member. The patron, Rev. Merritt, is praised for his "good taste" and appreciation of the "correctness" of the "genuine Church architecture." In other words, it is a Christian Gothic edifice, not a pagan classical one, and its details follow English medieval precedent. Inside, there was "a quiet and solemn sense of God's presence" and "the effect of softened light and internal arrangements was so instantaneous and so complete in exciting devotional impressions." The style is Early English Gothic and the reference to the open roof may be taken to mean that the timbers were



FIG. 6. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, EXTERIOR FROM EAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 7. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, EXTERIOR FROM NORTH. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 8. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, EXTERIOR FROM WEST | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 9. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHWEST, OLD PHOTOGRAPH. | MALCOLM THURLBY

truthfully exposed.¹⁷ That was an expression of "reality" in architecture, according to Frank Wills.¹⁸ There is a separate chancel "in good proportion" and "about 20 inches above the floor of the nave," and stained glass in the east windows. All these elements speak of the High Anglican Church, as does the inclusion of sedilia. However, the author refers to the "communion table," rather than the altar; this is the terminology of the Low Church, not that of the High Church.¹⁹

Comparison of St. Peter's, Barton, with the thirteenth-century church of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire, is instructive at two levels (figs. 1-4). First, there is the romantic ideal of the English country church nestled in a churchyard with its stone wall and trees. That established the perfect image of the colonial church for the rest of the nineteenth century, as vividly illustrated in presentation drawings by Thomas Fuller and Henry Langley, and still to be experienced in St. James-the-Less Cemetery Church, Toronto.²⁰ Secondly,

there is the architectural "correctness" in the recreation of the Early English Gothic forms with the separate nave and chancel, south porch, steeply pitched roofs, pointed arches, and stepped buttresses. Specific reference to St. Michael's, Long Stanton, is indicated in the placement of the belfry and the division of the west front into three with stepped buttresses. Rather than copy the two-light bar tracery window at Long Stanton, Wills opted for triple lancet windows in the west front at Barton, a motif he adapted from the east front at Long Stanton (fig. 5). Wills

may have visited St. Michael's, Long Stanton, himself, when he traveled to Snettisham, Norfolk, to study St. Mary's Church, which served as the basic model for Bishop Medley's cathedral in Fredericton. Long Stanton had already served as the model for St. James-the-Less, Philadelphia (1846-1847),²¹ and was the inspiration for St. Saviour's, Hermitage, Newfoundland, probably by William Grey (c. 1850-1854).²² It was also an important point of reference for Frank Wills's Chapel of the Cross, Madison, Missouri (1848),²³ Christ Church Episcopal, Newark, New Jersey (1848-1850),²⁴ and St. Michael's, Sillery, Québec (1854-1856).²⁵ In the absence of illustrations of the interior of St. Peter's, Barton, we will now turn to Wills's church of St. Paul's, Glanford, which stands to this day on the east side of Highway 6, 2869 Upper James Street, south of Hamilton.

In 1850 a meeting was held for the purpose of planning the erection of a Church of England at Glanford.²⁶ On January 28th, 1851, a Building Committee was struck and, on February 6th, 1851, a site on Lot 6, Concession 4, Glanford, was measured for the church. On September 30th, 1851, an agreement was drawn up between the Building Committee, and Robert Blair and John Simple for the construction of St. Paul's Church. Stone cost two shillings and six pence per perch (16.5 feet or 5.092 metres),²⁷ brick was eleven shillings and three pence per thousand, and plastering sixpence per square yard. The contractors agreed to finish the building of the church within two calendar months. For each and every day after the two months had expired and the work was uncompleted, the contractors were to forfeit the sum of one pound per day. The Building Committee on their part also agreed to forfeit one pound per day that the contractors were kept idle for lack of material. These were no small forfeits,



FIG. 10. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, INTERIOR TO EAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 11. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, INTERIOR TO WEST. | MALCOLM THURLBY

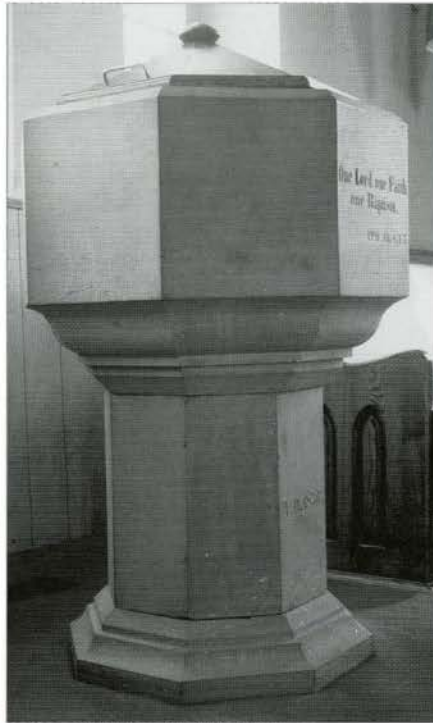


FIG. 12. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, FONT. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 13. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, NAVE, BENCH END. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 14. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, CHOIR STALLS. | MALCOLM THURLBY

the equivalent of eight perches of stone, while one pound two shillings and six pence would have bought two thousand bricks. It is not recorded when the building was completed, but it was dedicated May 7, 1858, by the Bishop of Toronto. While mention of St. Paul's, Glanford, in the article in *The Church* does not specify that Frank Wills was the architect, seeing that St. Paul's was built for the same patron as St. Peter's, Barton, it seems likely that it was also the work of Wills. That is confirmed by numerous features in the building.

St. Paul's, Glanford, is built of red brick and comprises a square-ended chancel, a wider and taller rectangular nave, and a vestry to the north of the chancel in the angle with the nave (figs. 6-8). The chancel and nave are both covered with steeply pitched roofs. The congregation now enters the church through the south tower, but an old photograph preserved

at the church shows that originally there was a south porch (fig. 9). At the western corners of the nave there are buttresses that project at a forty-five-degree angle (fig. 8). Pointed arches are used throughout. There is a single window in the north wall of the vestry (fig. 7). Taller, paired lancets are used in the sidewalls of the nave (fig. 7), while triple stepped lancets are used in the east wall of the chancel and the west wall of the nave (figs. 6 and 8). Also in the nave west wall there is a small, vesica-shaped window above the middle lancet (fig. 8). Inside, the floor of the chancel is raised two steps above the nave, and the two spaces are connected through a wide pointed arch (fig. 10). Originally, the high altar was elevated at the east end of the chancel—the step is still there, but the altar is now placed closer to the congregation. The nave preserves its original timber roof supports, albeit with a later coat of paint (figs. 10 and 11). There are short wall posts with arched braces, scissor

beams and rafters. Above the intersection of the scissor beams there is a king post that gives support to the centre of the collar beam that joins the tops of the two scissor beams. The ceiling panels in the nave and chancel are not original. The octagonal font is located at the west end of the nave and is dated 1856 by inscription (fig. 12). The nave seating is integral with the church as are the choir stalls in the chancel, although the choir stalls were rearranged as a result of liturgical reform (figs. 13 and 14).



FIG. 15. FREDERICTON, ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL OF EASE, EXTERIOR FROM NORTHEAST. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 16. EXWICK (DEVON), ST. ANDREW'S, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH-SOUTHEAST, JOHN HAYWARD. | MALCOLM THURLBY

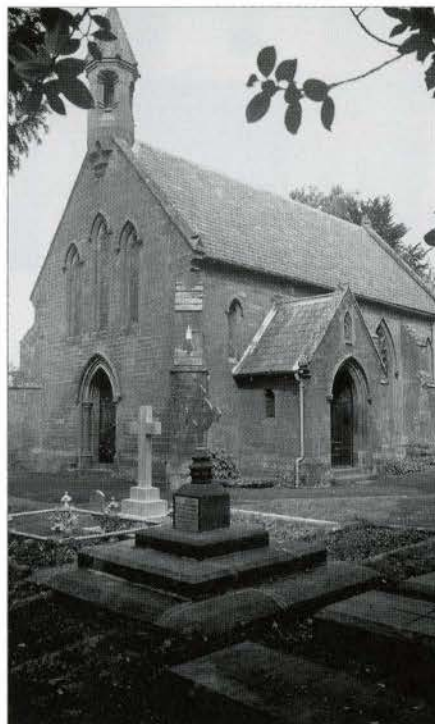


FIG. 17. WARWICK BRIDGE (CUMBERLAND), EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHWEST, A.W. PUGIN. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 18. GLANFORD, ST. PAUL'S, NAVE, SOUTHWEST BUTTRESS, DETAIL. | MALCOLM THURLBY

The two-cell plan with nave and chancel plus a south porch, the steeply pitched roofs, and the triple lancets in the east wall of the chancel and in the west wall of the nave, at St. Paul's, Glanford, is similar to St. Peter's, Barton. The location of the vestry at Glanford is the same as Wills's chapel of St. Anne's at Fredericton (figs. 7 and 15). The forty-five-degree angle buttresses on the west wall of the nave are closely related to Wills's church of St. Mary's, Castleton, Staten Island, New York, built in 1853, and is modeled on the east front of St. Michael's, Long Stanton (fig. 5).²⁸ This motif was used by John Hayward, in St. Andrew's, Exwick, Exeter (1841-1842), where the side walls of the nave omit buttresses as at Glanford (fig. 16). St. Andrew's, Exwick, was described in *The Ecclesiologist* as "the best specimen of a modern church we have yet seen."²⁹ Forty-five-degree angle buttresses were also used frequently by A.W. Pugin as at Our Lady and St. Wilfrid's

(now St. Mary's), Warwick Bridge, Cumberland, which also share triple lancets on the west front with Glanford (figs. 8 and 17).³⁰ The tops of the buttresses at Glanford preserve an unusual detail. The weathering is constructed in wood, a detail that suggests the builders were still working in the traditions of the 1840s (fig. 18).

St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, reflect the principles of the (Cambridge Camden) Ecclesiological Society as expressed in the quarterly journal *The Ecclesiologist* first published in 1841, and a series of pamphlets like *A Few Words to Church Builders*.³¹ Here it was emphasized that the church should be oriented, that there be a separate nave and chancel, and that the chancel "should be raised at least two steps at the Chancel arch."³²

This division, essential in the interior, is not always to be traced in the exterior. It is far better indeed, generally speaking, that it

should be marked in both; and to this end the breadth of the Chancel should be a little less than that of the Nave; a difference of four or five feet will be quite sufficient. The height of the Chancel is usually less, in the same proportion. [...] The comparative size of Chancel and Nave is a point which, within certain limitations, must be left to taste. Yet, as a general rule, the Chancel should be not less than the third, or more than the half, of the whole length of the church.³³

Wills adopted this at Barton but, at Glanford, the chancel is thirteen feet six inches (4.15 metres) E-W and seventeen feet six inches (5.33 metres) N-S, while the nave is forty-nine feet six inches (15.09 metres) E-W by twenty-five feet three inches (7.69 metres) N-S (internal measurements). Here it must be supposed that the Glanford Building Committee opted for a chancel that was at once less ritualistic than recommended by the Ecclesiologists, and more traditional

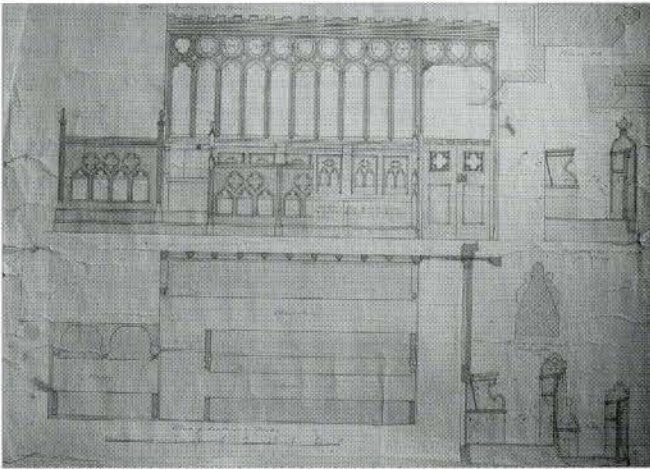


FIG. 19. FREDERICTON, CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES, FRANK WILLS DRAWING FOR CHOIR FURNITURE. | MALCOLM THURLBY

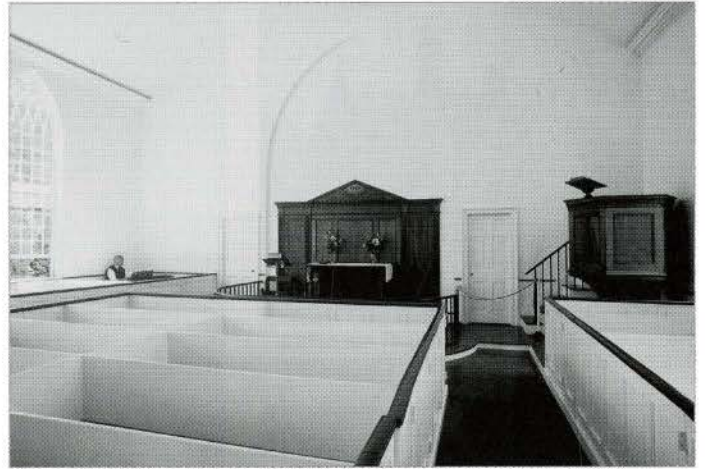


FIG. 20. MOULINETTE (NOW UPPER CANADA VILLAGE), CHRIST CHURCH, INTERIOR TO EAST (WEST). | MALCOLM THURLBY

for an Anglican church of the 1840s in Upper Canada. Although the larger chancel was adopted at Barton, the description in *The Church* does note that there were no “unsuitable screens and barriers” between the nave and chancel. This may be contrasted with Wills’s use of screens at St. Anne’s, Fredericton, for Bishop Medley, and St. Andrew’s, Newcastle, where the patron was Father James Hudson, a strong supporter of Medley’s High Church ideals.³⁴ Wills himself considered the chancel screen as an indispensable feature of the church.³⁵ One also imagines that a situation like that at Glanford was experienced by Wills in Grace Church, Albany, New York, where the chancel was eighteen feet (5.49 metres) in length, while the nave was sixty feet (18.29 metres).³⁶ For building committees it was not always a matter of conforming to the High Church values of the Ecclesiological Society and Frank Wills; compromises and changes had to be made to suit specific circumstances. To cite just two examples in Wills’s churches elsewhere: Trinity Church, Scotland Neck, North Carolina (1856), where there was no screen, no masonry chancel arch and the “walls were painted to resemble square blocks of stone,”³⁷ the very sort of sham despised by Wills. At Portage-du-Fort, Québec,

the chancel was never constructed and a pointed barrel vault in plaster was constructed over the nave, which was “frescoed in a most chaste and ecclesiastical manner,”³⁸ but not according to ecclesiological principles.

The Ecclesiologists recommended that the vestry “may be thrown out, as was often done, on the north or south side of the Chancel,”³⁹ exactly as at Glanford.

On the matter of style, the Ecclesiologists recorded that “[n]othing for example can be better suited to a small chapel than Early English.”⁴⁰ In other words, models should be sought in English Gothic architecture between about 1170 and 1280, in which lancet windows are used singly, in pairs, and triplets. For the east wall of the chancel “[t]hree lancets are the most usually adopted; these, it need not be said, symbolise the HOLY TRINITY.”⁴¹

On the pitch of the roof, a low trajectory was specifically rejected by the (Cambridge Camden) Ecclesiological Society in the eighth edition of *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments*, published in 1851, in which a steeper pitch was advocated.⁴² This view was earlier expressed forcefully by

Augustus Welby Pugin: “Our northern climate requires an acute pitch of roof to prevent the accumulation of snow and to resist weather. The Greeks, whose climate is the reverse of ours, had their roofs and pediments exceedingly flat; nor could they be raised to our proper pitch without violating the character of their architecture.”⁴³ Both Pugin and the Ecclesiologists insisted on the truthful exposure of timber in roofs. The Ecclesiologists were adamant about “the absolute necessity of getting rid, at any sacrifice, of those monstrous innovations, pews, or, to spell the word according to the most ancient spelling, pues.”⁴⁴ It is recorded that open wood seats were more prevalent in England. This opinion was upheld by Frank Wills when he referred to medieval precedent: “The seats were always facing east, and a central passage (the wider, the better the effect on entering) was indispensable. No square pews ever existed, no doors have we ever seen.”⁴⁵ It seems likely that the choir stalls and the nave seats at Glanford were integral with the design of the church, as at St. Anne’s, Fredericton. The recessed quatrefoil towards the top of the nave bench ends at Glanford is a motif also used by Wills and the ends of the boys’ stalls in the choir at Fredericton cathedral (figs. 13 and 19 – lower right of illustration). This



FIG. 21. KENILWORTH (WARWICKSHIRE), ST. AUGUSTINE'S, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTHEAST, A.W. PUGIN. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 22. FREDERICTON, ST. ANNE'S, EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH. | MALCOLM THURLBY



FIG. 23. TANGMERE (SUSSEX), ST. ANDREW'S, EXTERIOR FROM SE (AFTER RAPHAEL AND J. ARTHUR BRANDON, *PARISH CHURCHES*, 2 VOLS., W. KENT & CO., LONDON, VOL. II, 1851). | MALCOLM THURLBY

seating is in sharp contrast to the box pews at Old St. Thomas's, St. Thomas (1824), or Christ Church, Moulinette (1837), now at Upper Canada Village (figs. 10, 11 and 20). The objection to pews, or box pews as they are more generally known, was not simply on grounds of style. It carried an important social agenda. Box pews were rented, and cost reflected the location of the seat in the church. The more affluent members of society could afford seats at the front of the church while the poor were relegated to the back. Open seating on the medieval model would be free, as indicated by Bishop Medley, in his paper entitled "The Advantage of Open Seats."⁴⁶

On the font, "[t]he shape of the basin may be either square, circular, or octagonal; the greater number of examples in each style are octagonal; an octagon being a very ancient symbol of Regeneration. [...] The position of the Font MUST

BE IN THE NAVE, AND NEAR A DOOR; this cannot be too much insisted on: it thus typifies the admission of a child into the Church by Holy Baptism."⁴⁷ The Glanford font conforms to these principles of form and place (figs. 11 and 12).

A "[t]ower, though highly ornamental, is not an essential part of a church; and the really essential parts should never be sacrificed for it. A bell gable may be made a beautiful ornament, and is very well suited to a small church."⁴⁸ This is seen at Barton (fig. 2). "The choice of the stone must of course depend on the locality; for almost every county has its own kinds of stones. Brick ought on no account be used: white certainly is worse than red, and red than black, but to settle the precedence in such miserable materials is worse than useless."⁴⁹ By 1847 the Ecclesiologists had softened their position; in an article on Colonial Church architecture,

it was said that brick was "by no means proscribed."⁵⁰ In 1850, Frank Wills somewhat reluctantly approved: "The red color of the bricks in general use is the great objection to them; if they cannot be obtained of a more quiet tone, and if painting be required to preserve them, the bright tint can be modified without concealing the nature of the walling."⁵¹ In the same year, in an article entitled "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," published in *The Ecclesiologist*, George Edmund Street advocated the use of brick.⁵² Perhaps there was an element of inevitability in the use of brick for church building. Pugin used red brick in a number of his churches, as at St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham,⁵³ St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester,⁵⁴ and in a church of a similar scale and design to St. Paul's, Glanford, at St. Augustine's, Kenilworth, Warwickshire (fig. 21). This is most significant, for Wills hailed Pugin as "the great English Architect" while, more generally, Mordaunt Crook regarded Pugin as "the godfather of Anglican ecclesiology."⁵⁵ Brick was later used by Wills and Dudley in St. John's, Montgomery, Alabama (1852-1853),⁵⁶ Christ Episcopal Church, Napoleonville, Louisiana (1853), and Christ Church, Oberlin, Ohio (1855).⁵⁷ And, in November 1852, W.A. McVickar's article entitled "Brick, a Material for Churches," published in the *New York Ecclesiologist*, promoted a polychromatic masonry in the manner of William Butterfield's All Saints', Margaret Street, London (1849-1859).⁵⁸ Clearly, attitudes towards the use of brick changed dramatically around 1850, which is not that surprising given George Gilbert Scott's observation: "There was no class of men whom the Cambridge Camden Society held in such scorn, as those who adhered to their own last opinion but one."⁵⁹

"The sedilia I would restore, if I could, because at least they are ornaments; but

if their restoration would give offence I would not insist on them, because they are only ornaments."⁶⁰ Sedilia were used at Barton but there are none at Glanford.

STAINED glass is of much importance in giving a chastened and solemn effect to a church. Those who travel on the continent might find many opportunities of procuring, from desecrated churches, at a very trifling expense, many fragments, which would be superior to any we can now make. But if it be modern, let us at least imitate the designs, if we cannot attain to the richness of hues, which were our ancestors.⁶¹

Stained glass is recorded at Barton and was used in St. Anne's Chapel and Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton.

The absence of buttresses on all but the western angles of the nave at Glanford is unique in Wills's churches, although at St. Anne's, Fredericton, buttresses are confined to the angles on the nave and chancel, there being no buttresses to mark bay divisions in the nave (fig. 22). The omission of buttresses on sidewalls is frequent in High Victorian churches, but it is also common in English medieval parish churches, as at St. Andrew's, Tangmere, Sussex (fig. 23). Paired lancet windows are used in each bay of the nave at Glanford, as in Wills's House of Prayer, Newark, New Jersey.⁶²

St. Mary's near Brantford, mentioned in the article of St. Peter's, Barton, in *The Church*, is likely to be St. Mary's, Cainsville, about which little is known. It was a frame church which by 1883 was "much out of repair, owing to the accident that the leading members happen to have lately removed from the neighbourhood of Cainsville, its services are but insufficiently attended."⁶³ To date, no illustrations of the church have come to light

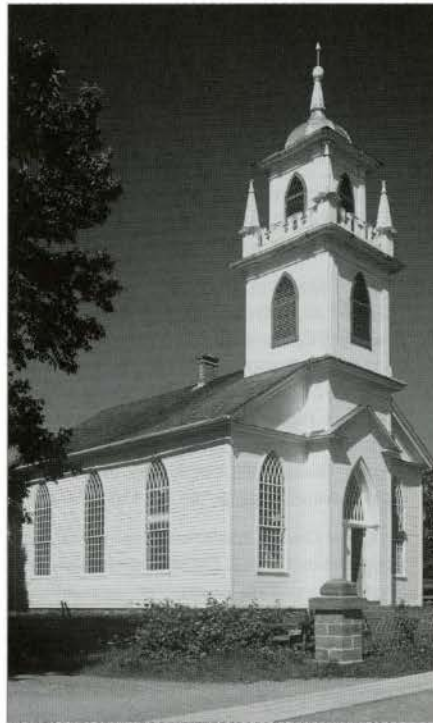


FIG. 24. MOULINETTE (NOW UPPER CANADA VILLAGE), CHRIST CHURCH, EXTERIOR FROM NORTHWEST (SOUTH-EAST). | MALCOLM THURLBY

but circumstantial evidence suggests that it may have used board-and-batten construction. Wills used board-and-batten in Grace Church, Albany, New York (1849-1850),⁶⁴ and with Henry Dudley, at St. Luke's, Canton, Mississippi (1851).⁶⁵ It is also used at St. George's, Hannon, commissioned by Robert Merritt's successor, Rev. Geo. A. Bull, now preserved at Balls Falls Conservation Area.⁶⁶ And, just along Highway 54, southeast of Brantford, the board-and-batten and ecclesiological correctness of St. John's, Middleport, 1868, may reflect Wills's St. Mary's, Cainsville.

In terms of their ecclesiological correctness, Wills's churches represented something quite new in Ontario. The decade of the 1840s witnessed a demise of classicism in Anglican church architecture measured by St. James Anglican Cathedral, Toronto, rebuilt after a fire in 1839 in classical style, but rebuilt Gothic after the 1849

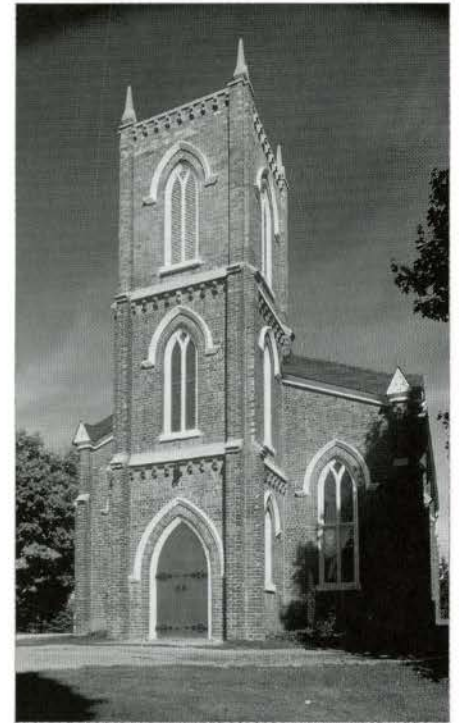


FIG. 25. HOLLAND LANDING, CHRIST CHURCH, EXTERIOR FROM WEST. | MALCOLM THURLBY

fire.⁶⁷ Gothicised versions of Gibbsian preaching boxes had already appeared in an Anglican context in Upper Canada, as at St. Thomas Old Church (1824), Christ Church, Moulinette (1837) (fig. 24), and St. John's, Nelson (1839). Four churches by John G. Howard built from 1841 to, 1844—Christ Church, Holland Landing (fig. 24), St. John's, York Mills, Christ Church, Tyendinaga, and St. James's, Dundas⁶⁸—appear somewhat more medieval, especially in the form of their towers. However, Howard's roofs retained the low pitch of the Gibbs tradition. St. George the Martyr, Toronto (1844), by Henry Bowyer Lane, has a higher pitch to the roof, but has wooden arch mouldings and columns in imitation of stone to the west doorway, as in the contemporary main arcades in William Thomas's St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto.⁶⁹ The detailing of St. James's Cathedral, Toronto, is more convincing in a medieval sense, although the

placement of the four side porches reflects the earlier church rather than medieval precedent and the inclusion of galleries is totally against ecclesiological principles.⁷⁰ Not surprisingly, when the Ecclesiologists compared it with Wills's Christ Church Cathedral, Montréal, the account was not favourable: "Altogether Montréal cathedral will, when completed, mark an epoch in transatlantic ecclesiology. It will be the largest completed cathedral in America of our communion; for although the new one at Toronto would, if completed, be larger, it is as yet unfinished, and on (we believe) a much inferior and less correct plan."⁷¹ Interestingly, Frank Wills had submitted a design for the competition to build St. James's Cathedral, Toronto, but his nave and chancel were described as "cold and correct."⁷² Furthermore, his spire, which copied St. Mary's, Snettisham, was deemed suitable "for a country parish Church situated close to some rugged shore of the mother country," but was "hardly fit for the metropolitan Church of Western Canada."⁷³ Fortunately, Rev. Merritt saw Wills's work in a more positive light when he commissioned St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford. With these churches, Wills introduced the ecclesiological principles of design based on the careful study of English medieval design into Anglican churches in Ontario. Wills sought true Gothic precedent for his work and, far from producing cold copies of medieval models, he succeeded in creating stone, brick, and wooden exemplars for Anglican churches throughout North America.

NOTES

- I should like to thank Rob Hamilton for his help with archival material relating to St. Peter's, Barton; Mark Richardson of the Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Huron for his search on St. Mary's, Cainsville; Rev. Patricia Lucy, Rector of St. Paul's, Glanford, for facilitating the study of her church; and Peter Coffman,
- Candace Iron, Barry Magrill and Luc Noppen for their help with references and discussion on various aspects of ecclesiology in Canada.
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- On Christ Church, Fredericton, see Richardson, Douglas Scott, 1966, *Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick*, unpublished MA Report, Yale University; Stanton, Phoebe, 1968, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 127-153; Watson, Robert L., 1984, *Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton: A History*, Fredericton, Christ Church Cathedral; 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. 95-107.
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- Wills's church of St. Peter's, Barton, is illustrated and discussed briefly in Thurlby, Malcolm, 2006, « More 19th-Century Churches in Hamilton », [<http://www.raisethehammer.org/index.asp?id=314>].
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On Hay in Newfoundland and Labrador, see *The Builder*, vol. 8, 1850, p. 462-463; *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 9, 1849, p. 215-217; *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 11, 1850, p. 200; *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 12, 1851, p. 240; Coffman, Peter, 2006, « Sectarian Rivalry, Denominational Identity and Gothic Revival in Newfoundland », unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, p. 89-133, 155-156; Coffman, Peter, 2006, « St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland », *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 1, p. 3-22. On Hay in Bermuda, see Magrill, Barry, 2004, « 'Development' and Ecclesiology in the Outposts of the British Empire: William Hay's Gothic Solutions for Church Building in Tropical Climates (1840-1890) », *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 1-2, p. 16-26.
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36. *Idem* : 113.
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48. *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 8; Webster : 140.
49. *A Few Words to Church Builders* : 9; Webster : 141.
50. *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. VIII, December 1847, p. 142-147. I owe this reference to Peter Coffman.
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70. Simmins, *Fred Cumberland* :124-139. Interestingly, Frank Wills had submitted a design for the competition to build St. James's Cathedral, but his nave and chancel were described as "cold and correct" (*The Church*, September 13, 1849, p. 26). Furthermore, his spire, which copied St. Mary's, Snettisham, was deemed suitable "for a country parish Church situated close to some rugged shore of the mother country," but was "hardly fit for the metropolitan Church of Western Canada" (*The Church*, October 11, 1849, p. 42). On the design competition for St. James's Cathedral, see Morriss and Benn : 195-200.
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